Managing Tourism Growth

ISSUES AND APPLICATIONS

Fred P. Bosselman, Craig A. Peterson, and Claire McCarthy

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Planning for Tourism Growth

Consider the community of Whistler, British Columbia. Until the early 1970s it was a remote backwoods outpost. Today it is one of Canada’s most successful tourist destinations. The process by which it reached its current status provides an example of how one community developed a plan for tourism growth. Over more than twenty years, an active community participation process evolved to develop a strategy to manage tourism growth in Whistler, to monitor the efficacy of the strategy to mitigate the impacts of continuing development, and to amend the strategy to respond to changing conditions.

From Outpost to Destination

The scenic beauty surrounding Whistler, located about seventy-five miles north of Vancouver, has been attracting visitors for almost one hundred years. Early tourism was limited largely to Canadians who enjoyed trapping and fishing, were willing to ride in on horseback or take the train, and were content to stay in one of the small boarding houses, cabins, or lodges scattered around the lakes or at the base of the Coast Mountains. Then in 1965, the highway connecting Whistler with Vancouver was completed and the first ski lift was constructed. Since then, the resident population has grown from a modest 250 to over 7,400; and Whistler has become a world-class, year-round destination mountain resort, with approximately 1.5 million tourist visits a year.

Soon after the dramatic growth began, residents of what was then known as Alta Lake, including those involved in businesses serving tourists, grew concerned about the tourism pressures facing the area in and around Whistler and the neighboring Blackcomb Mountains and the potential impacts of unmanaged growth. Local lobbying efforts led to the incorporation of the Resort Municipality of Whistler in 1975. The new 12,630 hectare (31,209 acre) municipality was granted broad powers to regulate land-uses within its borders, including tourism development. Since that time, Whistler has set a remarkable example of a successful relationship of process and substance. The municipality has for over twenty years had an active and evolving public community participation process that has resulted in a carefully crafted, and continually monitored, growth management strategy that responds to community needs and goals. We will discuss here the process used in Whistler, and in Chapter 5 (p. 162) we will look at the substance of the strategies Whistler has adopted to manage its dramatic growth.

In the early 1970s, the population was relatively small (five hundred), with few distinct constituencies. There was thus a generally uniform desire to adopt a mechanism for controlling the pace of growth and for channeling development into a high-quality tourist product. These were the very goals that had prompted the lobbying efforts for incorporation. In 1976, the first Official Community Plan reflected the wishes of the fairly homogeneous Whistler community. The few objections to the plan focused on the moratorium it placed on development in areas other than what would become the center of development, Whistler Village. Even this limited opposition abated, however, when the municipality offered trade-off opportunities to the affected landowners.

As Whistler grew, second-home owners, resident-entrepreneurs, and seasonal workers created new constituencies whose interests diverged to a greater degree than when the population was more homogenous. The municipality responded to these changes by expanding the forums for public participation in an effort to ensure significant levels of participation by all affected parties. By the 1980s, the municipality undertook a Community Facility Requirement Study. Based on the results of the study, the municipality built an ice arena, a swimming pool, a library, and medical facilities.

By the early 1990s, the municipality was providing additional opportunities for public involvement in the planning process: public information meetings, public hearings, small group meetings, “living room” discussions, workshops, and open houses. The greatest expansion of channels for community participation came with the 1994 Official Community Plan, which essentially provided that new development would be approved only if it (a) provided substantial benefits to the community and resort; (b) was supported by the community; and (c) would not cause unacceptable impacts on the community, resort, or environment. In order to evaluate the existing condition of the community and to be able to determine which impacts from proposed developments might be unacceptable and which might provide desired benefits, the 1994 plan instituted a formal public consultation process that included two new elements: the community and resort monitoring program and the annual town hall meeting.

The comprehensive monitoring program was designed to “provide the information that allows the community to measure how it is changing and, more importantly, to predict how it will change in the future if there is additional population growth, development, and visitation.” Each year the program gathers a wealth of data concerning residential and commercial development; social aspects of the community; quality of the environment, community facilities, and infrastructure; the tourism and business market; transportation; resident and visitor satisfaction; and regional trends. Information on specific measurable indicators for each of these topics is included in the report. Statistics are included for previous years (often back to the 1980s), providing even more information.

An extensive resident survey is hand delivered to all residents (over 2,200 households) with a high return rate in 1995 of 30 percent. Its main objective is to monitor social and attitudinal changes of residents. Developed in conjunction with academic experts, the survey covers such topics as evaluations of aspects of community life in Whistler, ratings of community services, attitudes toward tourism issues, level of support for development, and development priorities. Responses to each question are broken down between permanent residents and second-home residents.

This information, along with the other findings, is made public in the final report of the monitoring program. An important section of the report highlights the findings and identifies significant issues for the community to consider. Based on community feedback, refinements are made to the monitoring program itself. In 1996, for example, the monitoring system included requested information on trail line counts and fish and wildlife.
habitat inventories and undertook new studies concerning affordable housing and unique land acquisition. The community also embarked on a "community visioning process," an exercise that has now been incorporated into the monitoring program.

A well-attended annual town meeting is held each October to discuss the findings of the monitoring program, the related policy implications, and the directions the community might take in the following year. At the meeting, the community addresses four primary questions: (1) whether any additional development is appropriate and in the best interests of the long-term vision for the community and the resort; (2) what is the single most important short-term issue facing Whistler; (3) how to improve the monitoring system and the town meeting process; and (4) how to measure and ensure that protection of the natural environment is actually achieved. The community also decides whether any new development should be approved in return for community amenities. If necessary, a second town meeting is held later in the year to discuss implementation of the priorities agreed upon for the municipality over the next few years.

Whistler's community participation process has evolved to ensure a continuous—and well publicized—flow of information among those parties with an interest in managing tourism growth in the municipality: the government, the residents (including second-home owners), developers, employees, and visitors. Information that comes from the process then informs the substance of the strategies and regulatory mechanisms that the municipality adopts.

One of the most significant results of the wide dissemination of shared information has been that Whistler's planning efforts have attained a high degree of community confidence. People know that they have specific and objective information on which they can make their own judgments; they have the opportunity to participate in making decisions about what tourism development will be permitted (based on whether the benefits it brings are important enough to the community or whether its impacts are unacceptable); and they have the opportunity to recommend changes each year to amend either the process or the substance to respond to changing circumstances. The community appears to believe that the process is both fair and effective.

Tourism Resources

Whistler is a good example of a community whose planning process demonstrates an appreciation of the community's tourism resources. Tourism resources can be defined as whatever attracts tourists. What attracts tourists to Whistler? A good highway, ski lifts, and modern hotels are obvious answers. But they aren't the complete answer. You can't get lots of tourists to visit every place that provides these facilities, as many communities have learned at great cost.

Whistler provides more. It has beautiful scenery, favorable climate, aesthetically harmonious appearance, friendly service, clean air, and an ambiance that is very hard to define but easy to like. Unlike the hotels, the ski lifts, and the highways, these assets of Whistler are not owned either by the public or private sector. They are "common-pool resources," shared by all but owned by no one.

Most tourism destinations have learned through experience which resources seem to attract tourists. What attracts tourists to Whistler? Watch their ads. Advertising agencies design their material on the basis of experience with the things that motivate tourists to visit a place. Looking at tourism advertising makes it apparent that many of the resources tourists seek are neither private nor public, but are common pool resources that are shared by everyone.
that locally accepted and managed regulations can sometimes control sharing behavior effectively.\textsuperscript{15}

Systems of common-pool resource management not only span the globe, but they also span the centuries. For example, Richard W. Judd's recent history of common land in New England cites many such systems that date back to the first half of the nineteenth century and earlier.\textsuperscript{16} It is not the systems that are new, it is the study of them in a coordinated manner.

Empirical research involving currently operating shared resource management systems has now attracted the attention of social scientists of many disciplines. But most of this research is still in an early stage. The authors of studies of these systems include James M. Acheson, Arun Agrawal, Fikret Berkes, William Blomquist, Daniel W. Bromley, Susan J.B. Cox, Jere L. Gillis, A. P. Lino Grimpa, Susan Hanna, Gary D. Libecap, Bonnie J. McCoy, Margaret A. McKean, Mohan Munasinghe, Ronald J. Oakerson, Elinor Ostrom, Samuel G. Pooley, C. Ford Runge, Shui Yan Tang, Glenn G. Stevenson, Ralph E. Townsend, and Michael D. Young. (See the endnotes for citations to specific works.) These works include such disciplines as anthropology, ecology, economics, geography, marine biology, political science, and sociology.

Most of this research began within the last ten or fifteen years. It is somewhat premature for a definitive summary of the research findings, but some tentative conclusions can at least be drawn from those published to date. In the United States’ experience to date with growth management systems, some strategies for common-pool resource management have proved to be successful, while others have played out the tragedy that Hardin anticipated. So the tragedy of the commons is a possible—even frequent—result when resources are held in common, but it is evidently not a necessary result.

To say that the studies found that some of the systems for managing shared resources were successful raises the question of how one should define success. Different research programs have defined success in different ways, sometimes only implicitly. We propose a four-factor test that is generally consistent with the objectives identified by most of the research programs.

**Management Objectives for Common Resources**

The goal of a successful common resource management system can be achieved if the following objectives are attained: equity, sustainability, efficiency, and resilience.\textsuperscript{17}

**Equity**

An equitable system is one that is perceived as fair by most potential participants. Users of common-pool resources have a natural tendency to worry about what other users are doing. To create a perception of equity, a management system must overcome these worries. As Elinor Ostrom puts it, each individual must be assured "that he or she will not be the 'sucker' who cooperates" while others do not.\textsuperscript{18}

And to understand people's perception of equity, Daniel Bromley reminds us that we need to be aware that history may give certain people more reason than others to suspect that the system is inequitable.\textsuperscript{19} Past legacies of discrimination may mean that it will take real effort to convince some groups that a system is fair. Ostrom cites a study of an irrigation system that was poorly managed. The downstream landowners were uncooperative because they believed that the upstream landowners were taking more than their share of the water.\textsuperscript{20}
On the other hand, Gary Libecap has pointed out that groups who believe that their past successes in appropriating common resources reflect their greater diligence may believe that such diligence should be recognized. Resolving such disputes may be made more difficult by unequal access to relevant information and by puffing on both sides.21

Considerations of equity in tourism planning vary greatly with the makeup of the local population, as the case studies illustrate. But in places as diverse as Bermuda (p. 144), and Aspen, Colorado (p. 167), planners have successfully dealt with issues of equity in developing strategies for managing tourism growth.

Sustainability

A sustainable system is one that protects the resource for future generations. The idea of sustainable growth is supported by people of many differing views because the concept is loosely defined. In general, a system is sustainable if it is "basically conservative in the way resources are utilized" with an emphasis on "taking what is needed" and "social sanctions against excessive individual gain."22

Sustainability can be tested by observing changes in the quality or quantity of the resource, although such changes may be heavily influenced by changing environmental conditions that are beyond human control. But attitude is what counts. Michael Young and Bonnie McCay call for a "strong sense of stewardship" through which "resource users prefer potential long-term benefits to short-term, opportunistic gains."23 Zbigniew Mieczkowski argues that the creation of a symbiotic relationship between tourism and natural resources promotes sustainable resource use.24

The communities discussed in the case studies in Chapters 4–6 have all given consideration to the need for sustainability. Examples worth particular note are Sanibel Island, Florida (p. 137), and South Pembroke, Wales (p. 254).

In general, the necessary attitude is a recognition that resources are not purely private. Carol Rose postulates that if the users of a resource recognize that it has elements of a "public-good," they may develop a system of careful common management that "permits some individual consumption at an appropriately low level but aims primarily at conserving the bulk of the resource as a whole, for the common benefit of the entire collectivity of users."25

Efficiency

An efficient system is one that produces enough value for the effort expended that it results in considerable economic benefit, though perhaps nowhere near perfection on an economist's typical scale of efficiency. It is often impossible, notes C. Ford Range, to "do the precise technical and economic calculations necessary to determine whether aggregate use of the commons is optimal," particularly because the "costs of obtaining collective action" may suggest "that some degree of suboptimal use may actually be efficient."26 Ostrom's study of irrigation districts in the Philippines has shown that landowners may often reject incremental improvements in efficiency where the transaction costs of achieving them seem too burdensome.27

Forecasts of the economic impact of tourism are notoriously unreliable, and a pessimist might argue that in many countries the prospect of dramatic economic improvement is so remote that "perhaps we should not worry overly much about improving incomes" but about "preventing incomes from continuing to decline because of resource degradation."28 Nevertheless, most communities have at least some reason to hope that tourism growth may bring economic benefits that outweigh its costs.

Many case studies illustrate a wide variety of ways to promote economic efficiency in tourism management, from dispersal (the Republic of Maldives, p. 215) to concentration (Bruges, Belgium, p. 237).

Resiliency

A resilient system is one that has demonstrated a capability to respond to changing environmental conditions. Resilience is an ecological concept that can also be applied, Young and McCay suggest, to "the capacity of an institutional system to continue to function in the face of new and different circumstances."29

The prospect of potential climate change, together with unpredictable fluctuations in the global economy, makes long-range planning difficult. Decision makers, says Susan Hanna, need to have "the appropriate incentives" to take into account "equilibrium shifts" and "make the appropriate trade-off between the social costs and benefits to society at large."30

To be resilient, a management system needs good procedural rules for changing the substantive rules. For example, McCay's historical study of oystering in New Jersey illustrates the difficulty of maintaining workable systems for managing common resources that are particularly susceptible to random or cyclical changes in the environment.31

Many of the case studies in this book illustrate resiliency in the management of tourism growth. The Lake Tahoe Regional Planning Agency (p. 91) and the Great Barrier Marine Park in Australia (p. 115), for example, have continuously adapted their management strategies to changing environmental conditions.

These objectives are far from precise, and there is room to argue about their exact meaning and about whether additional objectives should be considered. However, there seems to be sufficient agreement on the general outlines of these objectives that they can be used to evaluate tentatively what works and what doesn't.

No attempt has been made to quantify the extent to which systems having the characteristics discussed in the next section meet these objectives. Judgment about the kinds of systems that seem to work are merely hypotheses that will undoubtedly be revised as research progresses, but at this stage they seem to be shared by most of the people familiar with the field.

Characteristics of Successful Strategies

Most of the research in successful strategies for common-pool resource management contains common elements important to success. A review of these conclusions suggests that successful strategies for managing common-pool resources are likely to have the following six components (which we will apply to tourism management strategies in the next section).

Define the Boundaries Clearly

Strategies for managing common-pool resources must clearly identify the resources and their location. For purposes of analysis, some set of physical boundaries must be posted, says Ronald Oakerson, even if ambiguous, and the boundaries should "derive from nature and technology" rather than being imposed by legal rule.32 Only if the boundaries are "consistent with the natural boundaries of the ecological system" will decision making be fully effective, Hanna suggests.33
Boundary definition may need to be temporal as well as spatial, Iere Gilles and his colleagues, who studied the use of common pasture land on the slopes of Morocco’s Atlas Mountains, concluded that the key to success was the setting of strict seasonal entry and exit dates for use of the pasture because these rules preserved the sustainability of the pasture and were easy to enforce.34

Identify Permitted Users of the Resource
Those individuals who have a right to use the resources should be clearly specified. For example, in a study conducted in six villages located in the middle Himalayan ranges in Northern India, Arun Agrawal examined how small councils of farmer-leaders regulated the use of fodder and fuel wood in community forests. He concluded that “rules that limit who can use a forest” are among the most important components of a workable system.35 Agrawal concluded that strong institutions were needed to administer “boundary and authority rules determining who can use how much from a resource.”36

Rules that define permitted users must be clear and well understood. Resource users will not have an interest in cooperative management, says Elinor Ostrom, unless they know that they can enforce limits on the number of people who can use the resource.37 All successful strategies for managing shared resources, Fikret Berkes found, “are characterized by the presence of arrangements for allocation of the resource among co-owners.”38

Encourage Repetitive Users
When participants in a system of sharing resources know that they are going to be dealing with the same people again and again, they are more likely to obey the rules. One of the prerequisites for “major, long-term collective action,” Ostrom states, is “extensive common knowledge” about “the types of individuals with whom they would be interacting over the long run…”39

Repetitive users will be more concerned about sustainability. When the “biological limits of the resource have been learnt [sic] by experience” of repeated users, the “community has a built-in incentive” to stay well within those limits.40 While if “assurance to future claims to resource benefits is absent, no incentive exists to limit current use.”41

Game theory postulates that players who anticipate that a game will continue indefinitely will be more likely to cooperate with each other than those who perceive their participation as temporary.42 Ostrom’s game-playing simulations of common-resource problems found that the ability to communicate continually with other repeated players resulted in even more cooperative behavior than game theory had predicted.43

Let the Users Participate in Making the Rules
Users of common-pool resources typically have their own perspective that needs to be taken into account. If all users feel that they are represented in the process of managing the asset, they are more likely to comply with and enforce the rules necessary to manage the asset. As Margaret McKeans pointed out in her study of common lands in Yamashita Prefecture, Japan, “the villagers themselves invented the regulations, enforced them, and meted out punishments. It is not necessary, then, for regulation of the commons to be imposed coercively or from the outside.”44

User participation helps efficiency as well as equity. In Hanna’s economic terminology, user participation can improve efficiency by providing “supplemental nontechnical knowledge” that reduces information costs and can improve compliance by creating a sense of “management legitimacy.”45

Localize the Rules as Much as Possible
Because any particular resource is likely to differ from any other, even within the same category, the rules applicable to each shared resource should be localized to local conditions to the greatest extent possible. For example, Bonnie McCay found that the “turn and turn about” customs of the shad fishers of the Delaware are examples of particular and enduring solutions to conflict and congestion problems, sanctioned by the Legislature but clearly local and crafted by the fishing industry.46

Localizing rules increases resiliency. When conditions change, local rules can be adapted to the new conditions more quickly than rules applicable to larger areas. Berkes points out that a recognition of the need to localize rules to reflect “ecosystem and social-system variation” implies a willingness to decentralize administration. This “involves a major shift in the role of resource-management agencies and bureaucracies unaccustomed to sharing power.” Nevertheless, he argues, such a change in attitude may be necessary if the advantages of user participation are to be realized.47

Monitor and Mediate Rule Violations
If rules are to be workable, people must know both that they will be enforced and that disputes about their application can be resolved without undue expenditure of time and money. Equity requires, says Berkes, mutually agreed upon rules that provide an efficient means of conflict resolution with a minimum of internal strife or conflict.48

In Agrawal’s Himalayan study, he concluded that in addition to the need for “(1) boundary rules …” (discussed above), there was a need for “(2) effective monitoring of rules, (3) sanctioning of violators who break rules, and (4) arbitration of disputes among monitors, users, and managers.” The villages that best conserved their fodder and fuel resources had such rules, whereas the least successful ones “did not create appropriation rules that could prevent users from overexploiting and degrading resources.” Nor did they create adequate institutions to monitor and enforce what rules they did have.49

Where the users of a resource have participated in making the rules for its use, they are often the most reliable monitors and mediators to administer the rules. Shui Yan Tang found that where irrigation projects use unpaid and part-time local farmers for enforcement, they “are more proactive and rule conformance is more predictable than when full-time external government agents are the guards.”50

Lino Grima and Fikret Berkes suggest that the research on common property management has produced a broad agreement on monitoring and enforcement methods, although it is often masked by terminology differences. “Regulation, monitoring, policing and enforcement—all these are elements of ‘mutual coercion.’ The rhetoric of the ecological romantics and the hard-nosed economists differ; the instruments for allocating rights-to-use are quite similar.”51

Processes Tailored for Community Tourism Planning
Our examination of the efforts of hundreds of places to manage tourism growth has led us to observe that although each strategy is “tailor made” to the needs of a specific destination community, the processes by which successful strategies evolve have common characteristics, and these characteristics are similar to those identified by the studies in common-pool resource management discussed earlier. The processes that are most successful in producing equity, sustainability, efficiency, and resiliency are those that (1) define clearly the boundaries of the affected area; (2) identify the players; (3) let the players make the rules;
(4) localize the rules as much as possible; (5) give the players a sense of permanence; and (6) monitor and mediate violations of the rules efficiently but effectively.

**Define Boundaries Clearly**

Any strategy for planning tourism resources needs a clear definition of the resources and their location so that well-recognized boundaries can be drawn. Meaningful planning is not possible if the boundaries of the planning area are forever changing. For example, a community that seeks to preserve historic areas that are attractive to tourists needs to clearly identify those areas in which the historic character needs to be maintained. In Whistler, British Columbia (see Chapter 5), the bowl into which geography placed the community created the logical planning boundary, but sometimes the definition of resource boundaries is more complex. The case studies in Chapters 4–6 will illustrate the way that boundary selection often proves to be an important factor in devising a solution to a problem.

Identifying tourism resources is the first step. To define manageable boundaries, it is important to understand the special qualities of the area that attract tourists. Sometimes, the attractive qualities of an area are obvious, but not always. The art deco buildings in Napier, New Zealand, went unnoticed for many years until a group of citizens recognized their potential as a tourism asset. Sanibel Island, Florida (p. 137), has had a particularly difficult time pinpointing the resources that make it so attractive. Its wide beaches with their abundant seashells, its easily accessible wildlife refuge, and its favorable climate are obvious attractions. But to many seasonal visitors these assets are secondary to the peaceful lifestyle that results from factors less easily identified. Similarly, tourists to Ambergris Caye in Belize (p. 178) appear to be drawn by the sandy roads of San Pedro and the laid-back atmosphere of the island just as much as by the scuba diving, snorkeling, and cooling tradewinds.

Identification of areas impacted by tourism development will help determine appropriate boundaries. In some instances, enlarging the boundaries of the resource area led to a solution. In Canterbury (p. 211), for example, the problem of overcrowding in the cathedral was seen, not just as a problem to be solved within its walls, but as a problem for the historic district as a whole.

In other situations, narrowing the area’s boundaries has led to the desired result. In the Indonesian government’s plan for Bali (p. 232), the boundary selection process served the purpose of narrowing the scope of the impacted area rather than broadening it. The assets to be shared with the tourists were the beaches and the climate, but not the privacy of the Balinese. By concentrating tourism in Bali in a particular district, the plan reduced the impact of the tourists on the traditional lifestyle of the Bali residents.

New laws may sometimes be needed to resolve boundary issues. For Lake Tahoe, defining the boundary of the planning area was the crucial decision that made it possible to define a plan that preserves the key resource. Prior to the creation of the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency (TRPA), with a jurisdiction limited to the watershed of the lake, the lake served merely as the boundary for a group of large California and Nevada counties. No single county was the seat of power or held a concentration of population within the Tahoe Basin, so the lake was largely ignored until the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency was created with a jurisdiction limited to the basin (p. 91).

Interlocal agreements may be used to define boundaries for new planning areas that do not conform to any existing jurisdictional or zoning borders. When Park City, Utah, was experiencing development pressure, it entered into an Interlocal Planning Agreement with Summit County that allows Park City to annex additional land and creates cooperative planning arrangements for any remaining unincorporated land in the area requiring regulation (p. 79). The town of Jackson and Teton County joined in a similar cooperative effort after they had begun independent planning processes. Both town and county came to the realization that growth and its impacts on transportation, air and water quality, affordable housing, and wildlife habitats do not respect jurisdictional boundaries. Recognizing their interdependence, the two worked together to develop a joint comprehensive plan (p. 85).

**Identify the Players**

Studies of the allocation of common-pool resources have concluded that those individuals who have a right to use the resources should be clearly identified. If a "tragedy of the commons" is to be avoided, people need to develop confidence that the value of the resources will not be so dilated by an ever-expanding pool of users that there is no point in conserving resources for the future. For tourism development to be sustainable for future generations, the negative impacts of tourism development must not be so severe that the destination community loses the very qualities and assets that attract people to live and visit there.

There is no scientific method for identifying who should be included in the community planning process. The legitimate players vary from community to community and from culture to culture. In parts of Asia where respect for authority and the wisdom of the elderly is a societal value, it would be an affront to the customs of the community for younger individuals or "informal" groups to expect to be part of the tourism planning process. But in many American cities and towns, where there is a tradition of community organizing, special interest groups and small cadres of neighbors may demand to be treated as equal players with larger, more formally established groups. In some Islamic countries, the religious authorities are regularly consulted by private developers, and their views are afforded great weight.

Location will identify some players. Certainly the developer of any proposed project will play an active role. Close neighbors of a development will almost always want to be involved. The boundaries of a planning area will also help to identify affected parties: those living or working within the borders are, after all, the people who use the affected area the most.

As in boundary selection, identification of the impacts—both burdens and benefits—will indicate some of the appropriate players. Perhaps the economic benefits will accrue to businesses that cater to tourists, resulting in closures of small stores serving locals. Outsiders may get hired for all the "good" jobs, while locals fill the slots of chambermaids and busboys. Some residents may be forced to relocate to make room for new tourism development or may see the character of their neighborhood change completely. Access to a popular recreational spot may be lost due to development. Those who believe that they will bear the brunt of the burdens are likely to feel that their interests are not being given due consideration.

A similar problem arises when the benefits of tourism growth are seen to accrue to only a small segment of the community, even though community-wide resources are being committed to tourism development. Perhaps scarce public resources are being diverted from improving community facilities serving a larger population, for example, to building amenities for tourists in only a limited area. Those who believe that the benefits of tourism development will be unfairly allocated may well oppose any plan that is developed unless they can be assured that their views have been heard and their concerns taken into account.
An additional reason for an inclusive approach to identifying the players is purely practical: solutions arrived at through consensus tend to be more successful than those imposed from the outside. Examples of failed top-down solutions to tourism problems are numerous. In the Florida Keys, for example, initial attempts by the state to impose standard solutions for problems unique to the Keys produced local revolt and ineffective controls. Only after the state created a local office with experienced personnel did cooperation begin. Similarly, the Maltese government decided to promote the medieval walled city of Mdina as a major cultural and historic attraction as part of an effort to broaden Malta’s appeal from that of only a seaside destination, extend the visitor season, and increase revenues. Unfortunately, the three hundred or so residents of the Mdina had not been included in the decision-making process and resented the number of tourists (seven hundred and fifty thousand in 1993) who poured into their narrow streets and sometimes into their homes as well. Their frustration at the loss of privacy and dissatisfaction with the changes in the character of their community meant that visitors no longer felt welcomed or comfortable. Tourism declined and the situation steadily worsened until the government worked with the Mdina residents to develop ways to alleviate the most troublesome of the tourist pressures.

The type of development being considered will also affect who is sufficiently motivated to become involved. In the United States, for example, efforts to permit riverboat gambling casinos are inevitably met by the organized opposition of certain religious groups. Similarly, proposals for increased development in environmentally sensitive areas may evoke the protests not only of local people but of national organizations as well. When the tourism resources are perceived as belonging to the patrimony of people well beyond the boundaries of the planning area, local decision makers may find themselves facing broader coalitions.

In 1991, Colorado voters approved a measure to allow limited gambling in the old mining town of Black Hawk. The impetus for the measure was to save the dying town and its old mid-nineteenth century houses. By 1997, the main casino grew so popular that it wanted to expand its parking lot onto the site of the 1863 historic landmark Lace House. The casino offered to move the Lace House two blocks away into a new “historic village,” and the Black Hawk Town Council voted six to one to approve the move. Preservationists across the state fumigated against the vote; Colorado Preservation, Inc. drew up a list of the state’s most endangered places, with Lace House heading the list; the Colorado Attorney General successfully filed a court injunction to stop the move; the Colorado Historical Society brought suit to forestall relocation or demolition; and a historian at the University of Colorado planned to lead a protest. The National Trust for Historic Preservation used the episode as a cautionary tale to persuade other communities not to use gambling as a tool to save historic towns.

Similarly, development that is perceived as insensitive to the community’s culture and heritage may draw fire from a variety of constituencies. Disney’s plans to build a theme park on a three thousand acre parcel near the historic Civil War battlefield at Manassas, Virginia, pitted the entertainment giant against what at first was a small group of residents who objected to the proposal. They were soon joined by an impressive array of historians and scholars. The media coverage led to a widespread public perception that Disney was exploiting America’s Civil War heritage and desecrating the site where more than twenty-two thousand soldiers died. Eventually, Disney ultimately abandoned the project, in large part because it had failed to predict the degree of opposition its plans evoked.

Participants in the planning process are usually self-identified and become involved because they feel directly affected by potential development. Acceptance of such players into the process is essential if an equitable result is to be achieved. If there are some who find these democratic ideals unconvincing, they may need to be reminded of a practical reason for inclusiveness: excluded people cause trouble later! So efficiency, resiliency, and sustainability all benefit from inclusive participation.

The case studies in this book suggest that this inclusive approach is appropriate for communities of any size, although it is obviously easier for a small town or village to seek such participation than it is for larger and more diverse communities. In the early stages of Whistler’s development as a resort, the population was relatively small and homogeneous, but as it grew it needed to expand its process for encouraging participation to involve new groups in the planning process.

Regional developments bring their own challenges. The management plan for the Saguenay-St. Lawrence Marine Park in Quebec involves two governmental units (national and provincial), hongovernmental organizations, residents of over fifteen separate municipalities, Native communities, as well as the fishermen who use the waters (p. 120). Often, the larger the affected community, the greater the number of constituencies that exist, the less cohesion there is among the constituencies, and the more subcultures there are to the distinctions among each constituency. All these nuances can make it difficult to reach consensus concerning who the legitimate players are. Often, but not always, the conundrum will be resolved by the practicalities of participation: it takes time (and often money as well, for professional advice and other services), and only those sufficiently interested and invested in the outcome will take part in the process.

**Adding Players**

Communities will sometimes need to make special efforts to promote the inclusion of other relevant players who do not become involved on their own initiative. This may be particularly necessary in cases where there are cultural barriers. In developing tourism in the poor villages of the Oaxaca valleys, government planners faced the challenges of working with multiple ethnic groups with distinctive dialects and cultures (p. 190). The New Zealand case study (p. 196) shows how the government provided for participation by Maori people and a wide range of other groups.

Sometimes the job of identifying legitimate players involves the enlistment of people who hadn’t given much attention to the potential benefits of tourism. The goal of the South Pembrokeleigh Partnership for Action with Rural Communities (SPARC) is to improve the economic and social life of the local people in that southwest area of Wales. SPARC worked with local people in thirty-seven villages to identify the problems and opportunities of their own communities. It was only after a series of discussions that villagers identified rural tourism as a potential source of economic growth and became involved with tourism planning (p. 254).

At other times, a commitment to an inclusive process means inviting potential adversaries to the same table. The current Lake Tahoe regional plan developed from several years of “consensus building workshops” that brought together representatives of sometimes conflicting constituencies: conservation and property rights groups; federal, state, and local governments; utilities and other businesses; and the general community (p. 91). In Door County, Wisconsin, the “Future Search” process fostered communication among groups that often clash: environmentalists, builders, property owners, farmers, and government officials. Both these approaches were effective in part because the inclusive process fostered collaborative problem solving. Had any one of these groups been excluded from the process, they may have withheld support from any final plan (p. 173).

A final group that is often added in an advisory capacity is the consultants that com-
municipalities hire to provide expertise. Peninsula Township, Michigan, secured the help of the American Farmland Trust and Michigan State University students who created comprehensive resource maps of the peninsula (p. 129). SPARC in South Pembrokeshire, Wales, secured expert assistance from such organizations as the Swansea Institute and the Dyfed Archaeological Trust.53

LIMITING THE PLAYERS
Although the planning process itself should focus on including all legitimate players, the area’s assets are often such that they necessarily limit the number of people who can beneficially use them. Nantucket, for example, has only limited supplies of water. Until new technologies are developed to provide increased water supplies, the island will need to limit the number of potential users. Similarly, the “calm” of Westminster Abbey is an asset that cannot exist for an unlimited number of users at the same time. By rerouting visitors and charging admission fees, the Abbey has protected the quality of the experience for those who are willing to pay a modest amount for the privilege.

The residents of Ambergris Caye, Belize, worry that rapid tourism growth will mean immigration of newcomers attracted by tourism jobs, with the result that the local population will be quickly outnumbered.

Limiting those who can share tourism resources affects residents as well as visitors. Bermuda, for example, controls the impact of tourism through limits on who may open hotels, serve as entertainers or tour guides, etc. Similarly, on the Great Barrier Reef in Australia, the number of people who may operate facilities for tourists on the more convenient islands has been limited by grandfathering in existing facilities and refusing licenses for new ones. Bonaire in the Netherlands Antilles is considering reevaluating existing unused licenses to build tourist accommodations, and revoking some of those licenses. The government of the Republic of Maldives has adopted a policy of developing resorts on unoccupied islands to insulate the local population from adverse foreign influences (p. 215).

Let the Players Make the Rules
Our study of the tourism planning process indicates that if strategies for the allocation of tourism resources are developed by one group without the participation of other affected parties, they are rarely successful. When a community is considering ways to manage its tourism development and the use of its shared resources, it needs to create a process for meaningful participation by disparate parties with different objectives. In modern planning parlance, this is often referred to as a “shared vision” theory of planning or even, to the disgust of language purists, as “visioning.”54

There is no easy formula for devising an effective process for participation. What works for one community will not necessarily work in another. The culture of the community will always govern what kind of process will be successful. The process, however, should be perceived by the players as inclusive and fair according to local standards. Whatever the process ends up looking like, it will need, in its own way, to address the following issues.

THE CONVENER
Who initiates the process and invites the players to participate? Frequently it is the government, which is facing uncontrollable, or inadequately controlled, development and seeking to impose regulatory mechanisms. The Whistler experience is a particularly good example of the evolving role of a government convener. In the 1970s and 1980s, the governing municipality simply instituted formal public hearings to elicit community response to proposed plans. Today, it uses a wide range of community-wide surveys, data gathering and analysis, and large public meetings to achieve the same objective.

Environmental groups may be the catalyst when seeking to protect a special place they believe to be endangered by existing or potential tourist pressures. In the Czech Republic, a group known as “Greenways—Zelené Stezky” promotes eco-friendly tourism. It develops hiking and biking trails, linking formal gardens, farms, forests, castles, and even a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve. The organization works with communities, encouraging them to participate in the Greenways program. Any number of towns, particularly in Moravia and Bohemia, have joined the program, using local volunteers to maintain the trails, and adapting existing buildings as small hotels and restaurants rather than constructing new tourist facilities.

Business interests are sometimes the initiators of community discussions. For example, a group of owners of small hotels near the Monteverde cloud forest in Costa Rica55 has undertaken efforts to limit the number of tourists who visit the forest because of its ecological sensitivity. The cloud forest, located in the mountains between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, is an area of astounding biological diversity. It is home to the legendary quetzal as well as the beautiful blue Morpho butterfly. Because of poor access and rain, which often turns the single mountain road into a series of ruts and mud holes, Monteverde is difficult to reach, even with four-wheel drive vehicles. Local dairy farmers would like the road to be paved to increase their access to markets. Some villagers want a better road to make it easier for them to get to areas where there are more job opportunities. The hotel owners and conservationists want the road to remain in its present state to serve as a barrier to increased tourist pressure on the delicate ecology of the cloud forest. The hotel owners have joined together in a cooperative effort and have voluntarily agreed not to expand their facilities. (The case study of Door County, Wisconsin, provides another good example of a planning effort stimulated by the local business community.)

In some instances, the process begins with grass root efforts of local people who want to attract tourists to their community. The “Book Villages” of Hay-on-Wye in Wales, Redu in Belgium, and Montolieu in France were largely created by the efforts of single individuals, who convinced others to invest in bookstores, bookbinderies, and galleries, and to market the towns to the bookworms of the world (p. 249).

Occasionally the convener is an international organization that is addressing economic development issues. The United Nations and the World Tourism Organization, for example, are involved in efforts in numerous “undeveloped” nations to create sustainable tourism projects in rural areas as a means of improving economic and living conditions. In St. Lucia, for example, studies conducted by United Nations agencies established the need for new policies for the location of tourism facilities.

The most important issue is not who convenes the players, but the perception that the convener is not using the power of the position either to exclude any legitimate player or to limit genuine participation in the decision-making process. If the players view the convener as manipulating the process, whatever plan is adopted may be crippled by the lack of broad-based community support.

FORUMS FOR PARTICIPATION
Creating a process that promotes real participation in decision making by all the relevant players is not an easy task.56 Some groups, such as developers of proposed projects, will surely participate in discussions, as will neighbors who feel threatened by potential devel-
opments, some "community activists," and possibly special interests groups whose mission is involved. The challenge is to attract (and maintain) the participation of the broader community—the equivalent of "getting out the vote" on a cold, rainy morning. Discussions concerning a "shared vision" or "community character" sound annoyingly boring to some and frighteningly abstract to others, while assessing the impacts of potential tourism development is a daunting prospect to any non-specialist.

Organizers must recognize that any successful process for public participation will need some techniques for dealing with such potential problems as low interest levels, apathy, lack of knowledge, limited time availability, and variable levels of commitment. There will always be a significant fraction of the population who choose not to participate, and that choice must be respected. The most common method for addressing these problems is to offer a spectrum of opportunities for people to participate.

Whistler, British Columbia, offered public information meetings, formal public hearings, small group meetings, "living-room" discussions, workshops, extensive community surveys, open houses, and well-attended annual town meetings. For many years, Whistler has also conducted surveys of visitors to understand why they did choose Whistler and whether their expectations have been met. Aspen, Colorado, included more than 400 individuals in its latest public participation process, using interviews, surveys, community meetings, smaller focus groups, and neighborhood meetings. Five formal citizen committees drafted the "Action Plans" that guide implementation of the community plan. The town of Jackson, Wyoming, divided itself into seven neighborhood planning areas for "small-area" meetings, while Teton County provided public forums, one of which drew more than three hundred participants. Santa Fe held some of its public meetings to discuss a draft general plan in local malls; parking was easy; people could combine shopping errands and civic obligations in one trip; passersby could drop in to the meeting on their way to another destination in the mall.

Planning for large regions presents difficult logistical problems. In the Florida Everglades, where a massive and complex planning effort is underway, planners have been posting complex hydrological and ecological models on a web site and receiving comments from scientists all over the country. The planning agencies for both Yosemite National Park, California (p. 150), and Milford Sound, New Zealand (p. 201), submitted draft documents with alternative proposals to the public for comment. Milford Sound received hundreds of comments at public meetings throughout the Southern Lakes District, while Yosemite garnered more than four thousand comments from workshops held throughout California, its large mailing list, and its web site.

Some forums are more appropriate for providing information, while others are better geared to eliciting community opinion, and still others to sharing and generating ideas. Regardless of what forums are used, there should be sufficient variety and flexibility to meet the needs of both disparate constituencies and different individuals within those constituencies. Inevitably, there will be some members of the community who will never actively participate, and the process should include a variety of techniques to solicit their feedback. This is particularly important if large segments of the community are remaining aloof from the process.

The goal in all these cases is to elicit the opinions and perceptions of the broadest range of players as possible. It can require enormous time and effort to secure involvement of at least a representative sample of the community, but it is essential if the final strategy is to reflect the values and vision of the community.

The Focus of Discussions
Before any destination community can fashion a suitable management strategy for tourism development and use of the community's tourism resources, it needs to define the goals of such a strategy. Organizers need to plan a method for structuring discussions to arrive at a consensus concerning goals.

These types of discussion are often referred to, particularly in the United States and Canada, as creating a "shared vision" for the future of the community that will guide all discussions concerning further development.28 This is often the easiest time in the planning process to achieve consensus, because this step involves an identification of shared pleasures: the special qualities of the place that make people want to live, work, and visit there. These may include such elements as the ambiance, the cultural amenities, the friendliness of neighbors, the open spaces, the natural beauty, the sense of history, the architecture, the good schools. These are shared assets that the community will want to protect or enhance.

In Park City, more than three hundred residents met with city staff, City Council members, a Citizens Advisory Committee, and planning consultants to redefine their vision for the future of the city. The resulting Community Vision, which established as goals the preservation of the mountain resort, the historic, small-town character of the city, its environmental quality and open space, was the starting point for the revision of the city's general plan (p. 79).

The Town of Jackson and Teton County participated in a Successful Communities program, where residents split into ten randomly selected groups, each one of which developed a vision statement.29 These ten statements were then fused into a single vision by a workshop organizer. The process continued over a period of two years of workshops and moderated roundtable discussions, often with consultants. The final vision emphasized preservation of the unique, small-town, western character of Jackson and the rural setting and outdoor recreational opportunities of Teton County.

The villages of South Pembrokeshire, Wales, used a different vocabulary but had similar discussions. Members of those communities went through a process of "Community Appraisals." Almost all final appraisals included two elements: they stressed maintaining the "quality of life" and rural character of their community, and they highlighted concern for the environment and the heritage of the area. When they targeted tourism as a means of economic development for the region, they stressed that it must be consistent with the goals they had identified: tourism must be small-scale and rural in character, providing an experience based on enjoyment of the culture, countryside, and heritage.

In Bermuda, the Department of Planning organized "Working Groups" to identify those characteristics that defined the "quality of life" in Bermuda. All groups included elements of the physical environment, often with a visual and aesthetic emphasis (e.g., "Bermuda architecture" and "pleasant views"). This led to detailed surveys of residents and visitors identifying the specific visual elements of the island that contribute to its aesthetic quality and to new planning policies to protect and enhance those elements (p. 144).

While the case studies in this book present numerous examples of communities that have successfully moved from goal-identification discussions to strategy development, the transition is not always smooth. Organizers need to establish clear objectives for "visioning" exercises (or "community character" analysis or "community appraisals"). Without such definition, participants may well feel that they have not achieved their purpose until they have unanimous agreement on every potential issue. In order to be efficient, processes also need a time table for reaching consensus. With no deadlines, there is little impetus for
compromise. Interminable talks will exhaust the enthusiasm of most players and achieve little.59

Organizers also need a structure for linking the planning process to action. In some instances the political decision makers are not invested in the process, so that there is little impetus for them to initiate whatever actions are necessary to meet the goals set by the community. In other cases, participants feel their role is finished when they have created the vision, and they withdraw from the process before difficult decisions are made concerning what strategy to adopt to foster that vision of the future.60

**Power Disparities**

There are inevitable distinctions among the skills and resources of various constituencies.61 Large business interests often have access to far greater financial resources than do small community groups. Experts can be enormously persuasive and usually testify for whoever can afford them. Access to the media and the knowledge of how to use it effectively can shape public opinion.

Local residents, on the other hand, may have a big advantage over outsiders because of their familiarity with local traditions and relationships. A history of working relationships with government officials and influential business and community leaders can mean that one constituency’s voice may be heard in private as well as in public conversations.

Occasionally, neighborhood groups may exercise such dominant control of local elected officials that they can kill most development proposals simply through extended delays. In some communities, neighborhood organizations are able to demand cash from developers for the purpose of hiring consultants to advise them about the developer’s proposed project.

Lengthy processes often turn in favor of one party or another. A developer may not be able to afford to hold on to a piece of property while community opponents clamor for more and more public hearings. On the other hand, community members may not be able to sustain the high level of energy and commitment required to show up at evening meetings month after month to counter the positions articulated by a well-paid staff of business interests.

Such imbalances are inevitable, and no process can level the playing field between emergent groups and conventional power holders. The greatest threat these disparities pose is not that one group will outmaneuver another, but that the entire process will be seen as favoring one constituency over another. Being open to all affected parties is not enough; the process must also be seen to treat all parties, whatever degree of power and influence they have, in an equitable fashion.62

In some places the difficulties of obtaining cooperation among antagonistic groups may appear almost insurmountable. The old city of Jerusalem is a classic example of a place in which widely disparate interests need to participate if the amicability needed for optimal tourism is to succeed. For years, the former mayor, Teddy Kollek, labored mightily to reach a consensus on development issues with at least some success. Sadly, the present administration seems either less adept at or less interested in building a consensus.

**Localize Rules as Much as Possible**

Studies of common-pool resource management have particularly emphasized the need to tailor solutions to local conditions instead of trying to impose "model" solutions. Because any particular combination of tourism resources is likely to differ from any other, even within the same category, the rules applicable to each situation should be tailored to local conditions to the greatest extent possible. Even in a string of beach communities, such as Spain’s Costa Brava, each community has an individual character that is not submerged in the identity of the area as a whole.

Failure to give adequate consideration to the human and financial resources of a destination often results in failed plans. An extremely detailed and impressive “Tourism Action Program” was prepared in 1989 for Bangladesh under the auspices of the World Tourism Organization. The plan included, in a scaled-down version, conservation and marketing of a world heritage site that had been previously outlined by UNESCO. It also included recommendations for small-scale, up-market developments with great specificity concerning location, costs, amenities, and possible sources for funding. Then in 1992 the government adopted a “National Tourism Policy,” identifying tourism as “an industry of due priority” and outlining steps the government would take to encourage and facilitate tourism development. As of the date of writing, the situation has barely changed: the country lacks the financial resources and the necessary level of skill to implement the plan.63

A similar problem occurred in Nepal, where officials are eager to develop Lumbini, the birthplace of Buddha, as a tourist destination. A master plan, funded by the United Nations, ambitiously proposes three-mile square zones. However, only 20 percent of the recommendations have been implemented because Nepal is far too poor to fund them and outside resources have been limited.

In some cases, failure to take local conditions into account may result in protests, disruption of proceedings, and refusal to participate further. The Iguazu Falls in Brazil, designated by UNESCO as part of the World’s Patrimony, is that country’s most popular tourist attraction. Shortly after the designation, part of the surrounding Iguazu National Park, home to jaguars, monkeys, armadillos, and butterflies, was declared a wildlife refuge. To protect the park and the refuge, a thirteen-mile-long road was closed in the late 1980s. Then in 1998 a bitter dispute arose, with local businessmen and residents clamoring to have the road opened. They maintained that families at either end of the road are now forced to drive one hundred miles to visit each other, and that many businesses have fallen into bankruptcy. Residents, along with the local Rotary Club, seized a piece of the park and opened the road and once again started operating a ferry across the river at the end of the road. Demonstrators apparently threatened to set fire to the park at one point; conservationists called for a worldwide boycott of the Iguazu Falls until the demonstrators were ousted; and one environmental official threatened to call in the military. In an election year, many politicians were carefully avoiding making decisions.64

Sometimes the problem is less one of confrontation than it is of indifference to or disregard for whatever plan or regulations have been adopted. On the French Polynesia island of Bora Bora, the mayor pursued a policy of strict environmental protection measures in order to promote the growing tourism element of the economy. The focus was primarily on water quality of the island’s famous lagoon with its own color name, “Bora Bora Blue.” But many local citizens who traditionally support themselves by subsistence farming and fishing resisted these governmental efforts. Mayor Tong Sang asserts that “(m)y greatest problem has been to get the residents to accept tourism. By the year 2000, tourists will choose their destinations because of the environmental conditions of the place, and I’m betting on Bora Bora. Without hotels there would be no employment; without Mother Nature there would be no destination.”65

The case studies in this book provide numerous illustrations of communities that emphasized their individuality in the development of their plans. The residents of Teton County, Wyoming, identified the “rural and Western character” of the area as its most
important feature. After a long process, the residents of Aspen, Colorado, identified a series of local objectives that included maintaining specific physical attributes (such as the small scale of buildings and important viewpoints) as well as unique social factors (such as the diversity of the population). Both the Maldives and Bali have a goal of isolating tourists to protect the local population from foreign influences.

The case studies show that communities not only localize objectives, but they also localize techniques for reaching those objectives. When some landowners opposed the moratorium on development imposed on some areas in Whistler, their protests abated when the municipality offered specific local trade-off opportunities. The complex rating system devised for Lake Tahoe includes procedures for frequent reanalysis of environmental conditions for parcels to allow reasonable changes to the ratings, as well as trade-off mechanisms.

Bruges, Belgium, used "target marketing" to encourage visits from overnight tourists, who provide more economic benefit than day-trippers (p. 237). Bermuda's ads seek to attract high-income overnight visitors, while they limit the number of cruise ships that can discharge passengers for daytime excursions (p. 144). The Times Square Business District pays for quick removal of graffiti and garbage collection, to the delight of both residents and visitors (p. 241).

**Give the Players a Sense of Permanence**

If participants in a system of common-pool resource management know that they are going to be dealing with the same people regularly in a system that is going to be around for a long time, informal social sanctions can often be used to enforce rules. It is people who have or will put down roots in the local community who can develop this kind of cooperative spirit. For example, shopkeepers who feel that they are a part of the community are less likely to rip off customers in ways that will damage the reputation of other merchants. For all of the players, a sense that the system has permanence makes them less likely to grab for short-term advantages. A sense of permanence includes agreement on long-term objectives and confidence in the ability of the system to adapt to changes that are likely to occur over time.

Family ties are often an important factor in promoting a sense of permanence. If participants can envision benefits from the system for their sons and daughters, they will value long-range sustainability instead of narrowly calculated present interests. Residents of the Galápagos saw jobs for their children as tourist guides and park rangers as a positive benefit of the Ecuadorian government's policy of restricted tourism, but an influx of mainland Ecuadorians to the islands has raised doubts about the permanence of those benefits.

The need for continued community involvement does not end with the initial implementation of a tourism management strategy. As any tourism development progresses through stages, its impact upon the community will change as tourist numbers in the community grow, those impacts will multiply. The community itself will also change over time and will need to adapt its tourism management strategy so that it continues to address the needs and desires of a changing community. This requires a continuing relationship among all of the players.

One example of the development of an ongoing relationship among groups that participate in the tourism planning process is the South Pembrokeshire Partnership for Action with Rural Communities (SPARC; p. 254). SPARC forged working relationships with educational institutions and various public agencies, which provided expertise and financial and technical assistance, offered training to small businesses, cooperated in developing and marketing the tourism program, and continued to be involved in the process over the long term rather than as one-time consultants. The partners' continued participation not only enhanced the tourism program that developed, but also assured the villages of South Pembrokeshire that they would continue to receive the assistance they needed to improve and sustain their tourism management approach.

Community organizations can be created in ways that emphasize their permanence. The British "Tarka Project" (p. 250) operates through a coalition of members and groups that intend to work together indefinitely for the purpose of making the project work. The Business Improvement District (BID), which was such a catalyst to the Times Square redevelopment, continues to fund projects, oversee development, and work cooperatively with the city government on issues facing the district.

Laws can also be structured to foster continuing relationships. New Zealand emphasizes the ongoing roles of particular groups and agencies by requiring that they be consulted as part of the resource consent process. California's Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) similarly fosters ongoing relationships among groups that regularly comment on development proposals.

Because developers who maintain a long-term presence in a community are likely to be more respectful of local needs than those who intend to build and leave, some communities, such as Jackson, Wyoming, try to attract quality developers by limiting speculation in development approvals. To make it unlikely that someone will obtain development approval with the hope of selling the approval to the highest bidder (an all too common practice), they strictly limit the time period in which the approval must be exercised (p. 85). The Tahoe region is a good example of an area in which controversial and restrictive regulations needed to reduce deterioration in water quality have finally been relatively well accepted by those who live and work in the community. Most of the objections come from outsiders who bought lots for speculation or future use and are not long-term participants in the activities of the area (p. 91).

Places like Stewart Island, New Zealand, which are at an earlier stage of development and depend heavily on outside consultants paid by the central government, will have a much harder time gaining people's confidence that tourism policies for the island are likely to be in place for a long time. Still, with its small population and obvious interest in maintaining tourism quality, the people of the island may be able to assert control of its ongoing planning if they can form a consensus around long-term objectives (p. 221).

The development of long-term relationships may be hampered where a local community lacks the full panoply of skills needed to manage a successful tourism program, with the result that many jobs are initially filled by consultants and temporary workers who may lack interest in the community's long-term objectives. To achieve a cohesive approach that maximizes long-range sustainability, it is important to develop locally a wide range of tourism-related skills.

Training programs may be desirable to ensure that the community has the skills both to manage tourism development and to participate in the tourism program itself. The SPARC program provided business training so that local residents could become small entrepreneurs and training in restoration skills to local craftsmen so that they could perform the necessary work on historic buildings and sites. Ambergris Caye, Belize, has imposed incremental growth restrictions on tourism development in part because it recognizes that in order for local people to be able to hold jobs in the tourism industry, they will require job training and better education.

In some cases the business community may not have the required investment capital or access to it. In the Oaxaca Valleys of Mexico where the state government was working with
villagers to establish central market places to sell locally made crafts, residents could often not afford the cost of constructing even relatively simple stalls and shops. The government would sometimes provide financing if villagers provided labor or would share the costs of construction with a few families.

The 1997 proposed Tourism Plan for Bonaire identifies a shortage of adequately trained staff, combined with a strong resistance to further immigration to supply skilled workers, as a particular challenge to successful tourism development on that Caribbean island.66

Even established tourist destinations can have continuing training needs. With the economic downturn that affected much of Asia in 1997–1998, Thailand lost most of its traditional market from South Korea, Japan, and Hong Kong. At the same time, the relaxation of both travel restrictions in China and visa requirements in Thailand meant that it was much easier for Chinese to visit. Suddenly, the Bangkok Handicrafts Center needed sales clerks speaking Mandarin, and tour guides who spoke Japanese or Korean needed retraining.

Availability of information is another key issue which often needs to be addressed specifically in a process for tourism planning. In order for a community to have confidence in the legitimacy and permanence of any shared asset management program, there must be a perception that relevant information has been, and continues to be shared with all the players. Clear information, particularly concerning potential negative impacts, should be made available to community members. If the community is prepared for these impacts, and decides that they will not be unduly damaging, most individuals will not resent having to put up with them.

In situations where visitors will come from different cultures than the hosts, sharing information can do much to explain what might otherwise be viewed as bad manners or disrespectful behavior. A recently developed five-year tourism management policy for the Cayman Islands was coupled with a tourist awareness program to help the local population understand tourists' expectations and behavior and their own role in making the tourism product successful.

In some situations, an important element of information relates to the responsibilities of the host community. The ruins of a Mayan city were discovered in Teksul on the Yucatan Peninsula of Mexico, during cleanup efforts following Hurricane Gilbert in 1988. Recognizing the potential for tourism development, the local and national government, together with the tourist administration, undertook excavation of the site and, together with local people, developed a tourism plan. This included a major education component; convincing the community of the importance of protecting the Mayan site. Often members of the local community need to recognize that their own behavior can negatively impact tourism development.

Details about a proposed strategy need to be shared with all the members of the destination community. In Peninsula Township, Michigan (p. 129), a group of citizens, who had banded together as "Concerned Citizens in Support of PDA," became the core group of volunteers who coordinated a community-wide campaign to circulate information that led to passage of a referendum approving an increase in property taxes to support a development rights purchase program. The effort was successful in part because the networks used and the spokespersons chosen were designed to appeal to the local community.

For the players to feel confident that a plan is sustainable and resilient over the long term, the sharing of relevant information needs to continue on a regular basis. Whistler is an example of a place in which the planning effort has attained a high degree of commu-

nity confidence. An important element of that success has been the development of information about the community and its options and the wide dissemination of that information throughout the community. In Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, the present structure for tourism planning dates from the adoption of special legislation for the islands in 1973. The process includes detailed data-gathering and effective distribution of the information. Although not without controversy, the planning process has proved its staying power and created a sense that it will be in place permanently.

Even when the issues are technical and complex, modern technology has increased the ability to disseminate information effectively. The web posting of detailed models for the Florida Everglades, referred to earlier, enabled planners to get comments in much faster time than would otherwise be possible. This is one of the techniques used by the National Park Service in Yosemite as well, both to share information about its draft alternatives for growth management in the Park and to elicit public comment.

**Monitor and Mediate Violations Efficiently but Effectively**

Users of common-pool resources who have participated in making the rules for their use are often the most reliable monitors and mediators to ensure that the rules are followed. Successful systems of common-pool resource management often use informal penalties, such as exclusion of violators from social occasions, to control minor rule violations. When informal sanctions fail to control players' behavior, however, a relatively quick and inexpensive method of arbitrating disputes is important.

**Monitoring**

Monitoring efforts to ensure compliance with the rules are often the responsibility of the government. Enforcement of building codes, design guidelines, various performance standards, zoning ordinances and maps, tax regulations, and environmental standards is normally delegated to a specific public entity. Voluntary associations often develop their own monitoring systems to guard against rules violations.

Monitoring can ensure that a sustainable tourism management strategy is being achieved and that a resilient strategy is being adapted as necessary to meet changing circumstances.67 Tourism, in most cases, will grow, and that growth may result in unexpected impacts on the community. The charming village of Clovelly on the Devon coast of England has one cobblestone pedestrian street, lined with stone houses bright with geraniums, leading down a steep incline to the sea. At the height of the season, the street is crammed with tourists wending their way down past the shops and houses, or struggling, panting, back up. No one originally predicted how popular this picturesque village would become. The strategies it has now devised weren't needed fifteen years ago.

The impacts of growth were clearly visible in Clovelly. Sometimes monitoring is needed to determine precisely what effects increased numbers of tourists are having on a destination.68 Golfo Nuevo, a bay on the southern coast of the Peninsula Valdes in Argentina, is a major breeding ground for the southern right whale. Tourist numbers have recently grown to one hundred and twenty thousand a year, and additional growth of 25 percent per year is expected. Most visitors to the Gulf arrive on cruise ships, resulting in fifty bussloads of tourists unloading in the small port town of Puerto Piramides (population 104) in a single day. Some environmentalists have been concerned that the increasing number of tourists has been adversely affecting the sea lions and elephant seals in the area, and that whale watching boats have been disturbing the southern right whales. A new monitoring program has established ways to measure site-specific, quantifiable negative impacts from
tourism growth. If such impacts are found, the World Tourism Organization is recommending establishing the peninsula as an ecological reserve.

Sometimes tourist markets change in unpredictable ways, with unexpected changes in economic and social impacts on the destination community. Places that initially appeal to one type of tourist, later may appeal to a totally different category of visitors. Because of cheap excursion fares, the Greek island of Corfu is now inundated by package tours from Britain, traveling the island on large buses, buying English tabloids at kiosks, and eating at tavernas that now serve fish and chips instead of moussaka. Areas once visited only by a few adventurous backpackers are now destinations on up-scale "exotic" tours. One can tour the Sahara and travel the Silk Road in air-conditioned buses with the assurance of a firm bed, bottled water, and specially catered meals.

No matter how well thought-out tourism programs are, there usually develop at least some unforeseen occurrences, which the community has no control, that significantly alter how that tourism progresses. Strategies adopted one year may not address the problems faced in future years. Hurricanes have periodically devastated numerous Caribbean islands, turning successful destinations into shambles. Communities that were basking in the glow of tourist dollars marks/yen suddenly were having to seek loans to rebuild themselves and then tourist confidence that they were safe to visit. The "green algae" in the Adriatic caused visitor numbers on the Italian coast to plummet.

Political disturbances can be as disastrous as natural ones. Reports of attacks by bandits have scared tourists away from visiting the Mayan ruins in Guatemala, and bombings of tourist buses in Cairo have dampened tourist enthusiasm for that destination. And of course economic fluctuations in the world financial markets affect people's travel plans. Hawaii and many other destinations that depend heavily on Asian markets have been badly hit by the Asian recession that developed in 1997. Once a community has embarked on tourism development, no matter how small and controlled, it needs continually to monitor how that tourism is impacting the community and how the community may be changing.

Monitoring can also help communities determine whether they are achieving the benefits that they expected from tourism development. Chepstow, a market town in southeast Wales, wanted to increase its level of tourism primarily to generate economic growth. Over a five-year period its monitoring program included research on (1) annual pedestrian counts and attitude surveys of both residents and visitors; (2) the economic impact of visitors on local commercial establishments; (3) the costs to local government and agencies of visitors; (4) economic and environmental analysis of costs, benefits, and multiplier effects; and (5) analysis of market trends. Based on the data and information gleaned from the monitoring program, Chepstow's community began its strategy each year in ways aimed at increasing the economic benefits of tourism.

Sometimes, of course, monitoring can be so effective that nothing happens at all. For years the redevelopment program for Times Square was criticized so intensively that it was implemented only in a very limited fashion. In the end, however, the critics proved to be right, and a much-revised plan has now proved to be much more popular and workable.

One important element in monitoring is sometimes overlooked: visitor satisfaction. Every destination community needs to ensure that it is offering a high-quality visitor experience, so that tourists will return. Whistler, British Columbia, discussed earlier, includes an annual visitor satisfaction survey in its monitoring program. Bermuda took a survey of residents and visitors to identify "the principal visual elements which contribute to aesthetic quality in Bermuda." The results were used to guide policy to protect visual and environmental quality on the island. The survey was a response, in part, to the sense that the changes Bermuda was experiencing could lead to a loss of the island's appeal to the specific type of tourist it desired.

In general, private enterprises are much more apt to pay attention to visitor satisfaction than destination communities. The Ritz Carlton Hotel chain has instituted complex quality management programs that focus on enhancing visitor value, with the goal of retaining 100 percent of its customers. One practical result of the hotel's "quality conscious culture" is that the chain generally leads the industry in generating revenue per available room. The Shangri-La Hotels have pursued quality in another area. This chain has incorporated any number of environmentally responsible systems into their daily operations, which are used to educate guests about "green" habits, to create a separate "identity" for the hotel, and to attract guests back. The Shangri-La Kowloon in Hong Kong encourages hotel guests to participate in a variety of measures to minimize the environmental impact of their stay without endangering the guests' experience. Destination communities could adapt many of the attitudes of successful businesses in the tourism industry concerning visitor satisfaction to their own long-term benefit and incorporate this element into their monitoring programs.

MEDIATION

Any realistic process for managing tourism resources should involve some mechanisms based on local norms and values and agreed upon early in the process, for negotiation and conflict management. Sometimes this involves the assistance of either an experienced, disinterested third party who can act as mediator or an organization that specializes in alternative dispute resolution. An experienced mediator, vested with the needed authority, can often bring opposing camps to agreement, foster better communication among disparate groups, and identify areas of congruence. In those instances where one party's goal is to derail the entire process rather than finding a mutually acceptable solution, failure to cooperate with the mediator may effectively marginalize that party and destroy its credibility in the community.

On some occasions it is possible for a government official, a convener, or another involved player to be accepted in the role of mediator or binding arbitrator. Volunteers from among the users of the resource often act as mediators. In a community like Carmel, California, the unpaid local zoning board spends much of its time resolving disputes over rules designed to regulate tourism.

Sometimes groups that have opposed each other can reach an accommodation without formal mediation. The beach at Parker River Wildlife Refuge on Plum Island, Massachusetts, was closed in 1991 to protect the endangered piping plover. The local Chamber of Commerce fought the closing, less worried about the plover than about lost revenues through decreased tourism. After more than four years of contentious struggle, the business community is now cooperating with the Massachusetts Audubon Society. The Chamber decided to promote the Refuge to ecotourists as a sanctuary for migratory birds, hoping to expand its market to Europeans interested in bird-watching and to attract visitors in the winter as well as summer. Some residents still oppose the access restrictions, but most have come to see the plover preservation as good for tourism business.

Sanibel, Florida, has also been able to maintain consensus on the need for development limits by ensuring that decisions are made by permanent residents of the community, rather than development interests whose goals were short-range profits. Sanibel's plan has now existed for twenty-five years and serves as an anchor for tourism policies that are
widely perceived as permanent, but continued monitoring and mediation are essential elements of the plan’s resiliency.

Common-pool resource research suggests that a forum in which disputes about the rules can be mediated cheaply and easily is important if confidence in the system is to be maintained. Agencies, like the Vieux Carré Commission (p. 51) and Whistler’s annual town meeting illustrate this type of forum.

Legal Implementation of Common-Pool Resource Management

Many studies of systems of the management of common resources have emphasized the importance of legal sanctions for the enforcement of rules governing the resource. Lino Grima and Fikret Berkes suggest that the “legal specification of user rights at the community level lowers management costs and helps solve implementation problems.”72 But legal rules imposed from the outside without an adequate appreciation of local conditions may have a negative impact.

Legal scholars have only recently begun to realize the valuable implications of research in common-pool resource management. By observing the way people reach agreements among themselves about common property, lawyers can model the needed legal rules on those that have been developed through the process of “customary law.” Books like Yale law professor Robert Ellickson’s Order Without Law have focused on the ways in which cohesive groups are able to manage potential property-right conflicts through the development of internal norms.73

Procedural changes in legal systems are paralleling the research results. Proposals that encourage the participation of well-defined interest groups in negotiated rule making emphasize clearly bounded group participation, a characteristic that has been observed in successful strategies for managing common-pool resources. And dispute resolution strategies rely on trained facilitators to promote informal communication among potential adversaries within local communities; the importance of communication networks in developing and implementing informal norms has been seen in the shared asset management studies.

Law plays an essential role in managing tourism resources. If there are no enforceable rules that will effectively control development so as to avoid unacceptable impacts, then the profit-centered behavior of private parties can and often does create consequences that are contrary to the public good. Markets by themselves are inadequate protection for common-pool resources. We have noted a few such examples in Chapter 1; unfortunately, there are many others that could be identified.

Most tourism destinations are too large, and too closely tied into even larger networks, to rely solely on informal norms to manage shared assets. The more legal jurisdictions involved, the more complex the problem. The study of fishing in Chesapeake Bay by Susan Cox74 illustrates the problems caused when the legal boundaries of the governing jurisdictions do not match the boundaries of the resource (an issue that will be discussed in the next chapter).

Some studies of common resource management have found that self-organizing institutions have successfully replaced poorly functioning legal mechanisms. These situations deserve careful study for designers of legal mechanisms, but it is important not to obey the nostalgic impulse to conclude that “primitive is better.” Duncan Snidal’s analysis of the literature led him to conclude that decentralized enforcement is more fragile (i.e., less resilient) than when enforcement is “rooted in external authority.”75 But Snidal also recognizes that external authority can be given to decentralized systems by the appropriate legal rules. Ralph Townsend and Samuel Poole suggest that legal mechanisms, rather than self-organizing institutions, can best create equity and resiliency:

Spontaneous and indigenously organized institutions may certainly have a credibility that centrally sponsored institutions lack. But self-organizing institutions also have significant limitations. Most obviously, there is no guarantee that a self-organizing institution will arise in any particular situation. If an organization does self-organize, it may not necessarily be representative of the entire set of local interests. And finally, a self-organizing institution may also self-disorganize, which would cause a renewed void in governance.76

The legal rules that contribute to management of shared assets often do so indirectly. Ellickson points out that the laws that promote planning for future generations of a family promote sustainability. “Laws that authorize inheritance by kin, disposition of property by will, and perpetual (fee simple) interests in land all encourage a living person to manage capital assets as if the game of life were infinite in length.”77

It is helpful for our purposes to define the term “law” very broadly. The most obvious examples of law are legislative enactments at the national, regional, state, and local levels. Such binding enactments normally are the products of political compromise—an appropriate method for arriving at a fair, balanced consensus on how to advance important public values. Another category of law is rules adopted by executive officials pursuant to a power conferred by legislation. And in “common law” countries such as the United States, the term “law” also includes the body of judicial appellate opinions (there are thousands of written opinions in the United States involving land-use disputes among landowners, governments, and/or objecting private parties). Most countries have another less obvious type of “law”: the system of judicial and administrative adjudication of disputes among private parties and/or governmental units. Still another form of “law” is a system of monitoring and enforcing compliance with established rules.

Generally, public interests are best protected from harmful activities by legal regulation. In the specific context of tourism development, law should play a central role in the management of tourism resources. But these legal systems can be most effective if they parallel systems for controlling common-pool resources that have shown that they can be efficient, equitable, sustainable, and resilient. In the next chapter we will review growth management systems used in the United States as background for our later examination of specific case studies of the management of tourism growth.
Managing Growth

From the perspective of a local community, tourism development is simply one of many kinds of land development. Consequently, the strategies a local community uses to manage tourism development will be interrelated with its comprehensive plans and policies for land use and development. In the United States, local communities have been managing land development in various ways for over a century. In modern terminology, the various techniques used are known as "growth management."¹

Growth Management Strategies
A leading text by David Godschalk and David Brower defines growth management as a "conscious governmental program intended to influence the rate, amount, type, location, and/or quality of future development within a local jurisdiction."² For our analysis, we can collapse their five objectives into three: "type" is subsumed in quality of development; "rate" and "amount" relate to the quantity of development; and the third is the location of development.

A growth management strategy can work toward all three of these objectives, but many put the emphasis on one of the three.

1. Some strategies focus on the quality of development, usually with the objective of encouraging only development that meets certain standards.
2. Other strategies manage the quantity of development by regulating the rate of growth or ultimate capacity for development.
3. And many strategies emphasize the location of development by expanding or contracting existing areas that attract growth or by diverting the growth to new areas.

Sophisticated communities may consider all three of these objectives in managing growth, but in most cases one objective or another tends to take precedence.

It is important to note that the term "management" does not imply a negative attitude toward growth.³ Some growth management strategies encourage development to take place; others emphasize limitations on development. The term "management" is intended to be neutral in that respect. But growth management strategies all emphasize the need to balance economic growth and environmental protection.⁴

The extent to which local growth management strategies can influence the nature of tourism development depends on the way the responsibilities for managing growth have been distributed by law among (1) private law; rules that affect the relationship of various parts of the private sector; (2) customary law; rules enforced by legal processes but derived from local norms and traditions; and (3) public law; rules administered by various levels of government agencies.

Before addressing the management of tourism development specifically, a brief and non-technical review of growth management in the United States will be helpful to set the stage.

Quality
Today, Americans are so accustomed to a wide array of programs designed to maintain the quality of development that these programs are largely taken for granted. Protection against toxic dumping, poisoned water, and unhealthy smog has produced a substantially cleaner environment than that of twenty-five years ago. Building and zoning codes have so successfully protected neighborhood property values that we are often barely conscious that the codes exist.

This current backdrop of quality controls is a product of gradual evolution. The medieval idea of "nuisance" has been replaced with more sophisticated regulations that reflect changing ideas of quality, increasing scientific understanding of impacts, and a growing need to manage human relationships in more crowded conditions.

Early in the twentieth century, zoning began to be used to control quality by segregating land uses in ways designed to encourage high-quality development. New York City's initial zoning tried to protect Fifth Avenue's expensive housing from too close contact with the burgeoning garment industry. Countless suburbs used zoning to insist that large areas be limited to single family housing on a lot of a certain size.

Gradually communities began to expand on the kinds of quality standards they enforced. Architectural controls became common in some communities, particularly where the maintenance of a particular historic character was desired. Landscaping requirements also became popular, as did regulation of signs and billboards. And the construction of public facilities was increasingly seen as an opportunity for aesthetic improvement through public art and beautiful parks and gardens.

The concern about nuisance increased and was channeled into a wide range of pollution control regulations, both at the state and local level. After Congress enlarged the federal presence in the 1970s, businesses and industries were required to install particular technologies to limit the dumping of waste materials into the air or the surface or underground waters. State and local governments supplemented the required federal regulations with a wide variety of their own programs tailored to local conditions.

The more we understand health and safety hazards, of course, the more amorphous the idea of "nuisance" becomes. Hazard is typically a question both of likelihood and harmfulness. Mosquito bites in Alaska have a high likelihood but are only moderately harmful. Grizzly bear bites are much less likely but much more harmful. Any process of risk assessment must try to quantify both the likelihood and the degree of harm and the cost of safeguards. Moreover, safeguards associated with tourist development may produce not only a reduction in risks but positive benefits as well. Thus, for example, widening a road may not only reduce the likelihood of accidents but may save everyone time through faster travel.⁵

The process for more carefully deciding whether to build things is called environmental assessment. Conceived in the late 1960s and incorporated into the law through the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA),⁶ the idea was deceptively simple—that the impact of development on the environment should be analyzed in some formal manner before the development took place.⁷
The process of impact analysis has pointed to the difficulty of predicting impacts even on familiar issues such as public health. Assume, for example, that the introduction of tourism into a new area will bring with it imported food that will also then be available to the local population. Will the improved food supply reduce chronic malnutrition, as it has in some parts of Alaska? Or will it induce local people to give up a healthy diet for imported foods loaded with sugar and fats and create a serious risk of diabetes and heart disease, as it has in parts of Micronesia?8

The environmental analyses required by NEPA also raised public consciousness of some types of environmental impact that had often been ignored. For example, awareness of the impact of development on wildlife, and particularly endangered species, led to a growing interest in biodiversity.9 And the loss of wetlands to development highlighted an increasing recognition of the valuable functions that wetlands perform.10

But in the United States and many other developed countries, the most omnipresent source of discontent about the quality of new development is simply its impact on vehicle traffic. The public has gradually come to realize that rapid growth can lead to critical congestion that defies any cure. Adding more lanes of highway simply attracts more vehicles, creating time-wasting delays and unhealthy air quality. Increasingly, efforts are being made to manage traffic cooperatively through coalitions of local businesses that stagger hours and combine car pooling efforts, but traffic remains a very common cause of opposition to new development proposals.11

As scientific knowledge has increased, communities have begun to recognize that certain types of land should be developed only in ways that will protect the natural attributes of the land. Development on hillsides, for example, is now frequently regulated to protect lower areas from erosion and mudslides. Maintenance of wetlands' natural functions, such as absorption of pollution and floods, often requires that development meet strict quality standards. More and more environmental regulations have become location-dependent, and thus involve both quality and location controls.

Despite these scientific advances, to a great many communities the quality of a potential development is still measured primarily by the amount of tax revenue it will contribute to needed local services and facilities. Such "fiscal zoning" is commonly denigrated, but in states where local governments are under strict legal restrictions on revenue raising methods, the competition for those few revenue sources that are available seems inevitable. In California, where a succession of ballot initiatives has hamstrung local governments, strip malls (which generate sales tax) often demand "payola" from a local government for moving into its jurisdiction.

Insofar as tourism development is concerned, many communities have decided that they want such development only if it meets certain standards of quality. The economic benefits and environmental impacts of various kinds of tourism development vary greatly. The case studies in Chapter 4 illustrate techniques by which communities implement strategies designed to maintain desirable qualities.

Despite all of these quality controls, which drive developers crazy with their complexity, the public is often unhappy about the results of the land development process. This has led some communities to conclude that they need to control the quantity of development as well.

**Quantity**

Strategies to manage the quantity of development are not new, but until recently communities have usually wanted more and more development rather than less. Many places throughout the United States and the world are still desperate for almost any kind of development that will bring enough jobs to the local community to keep normal services and amenities alive. How many times has one heard the laments of industrial workers whose jobs have moved to low-paying areas? Or the rural families who complain that there is nothing in the community to keep their children there once they have grown?

Many such communities have long had economic development programs, designed to attract more development to the area. These programs are not indiscriminate about quality—try locating a waste disposal site if you are in doubt of this. But within certain quality limitations, the primary objective of economic development programs is to increase the quantity of development in the area. State governments often spend very large sums of public money in support of these programs to attract economic development.

In the third world's early post-colonial period, many countries viewed tourism development in a similar light. Seeking a quick fix for the economy, they saw tourism as requiring small and easily financed capital outlays that would generate rapid improvement in the balance of payments. But as pointed out in earlier chapters, sometimes uninformed and desperate players made bad bargains that depleted tourism resources with little overall benefit to the communities in which they were located.12

More sophisticated communities, in both developed and developing countries, have been successful in promoting sustainable beneficial tourism development through strategies that emphasize quality and location. But until recently, few strategies emphasized a desire to attract tourism development while limiting its quantity. This reflected the fact that few communities had experience with any form of quantity-limiting growth management.

Environmental analyses under NEPA contributed to the recognition of quantity as an issue. Assessing the impact of a series of small, gradual changes in natural systems raises an issue that cuts across all categories of impact analysis but is particularly difficult in the ecological context—the question of cumulative impact: if the change caused by any individual development proposal seems minor, but it can be seen that a major impact will take place when the impacts of many projected developments are aggregated, to what extent should each development bear the costs of safeguarding against this impact?13

As a technical matter, it is much easier to devise needed safeguards if one can accurately predict the total amount of development that will take place and the time frame during which it will occur. In real life, however, those factors are likely to be speculative projections that are subject to considerable debate. The early developer will have a strong incentive to use estimates that reduce the costs assigned to the initial proposal. Even when agreement can be reached on the degree of safeguards needed and the appropriate share for each participant, legal and financial considerations may make it very hard to implement methods of providing such safeguards if there is no way to project the quantity of development accurately.

Beginning in the late 1960s, some communities in the United States began to adopt policies to limit and control the quantity of increases of their resident population that would otherwise occur. Since that time, states and localities have adopted many growth management programs that emphasize thoughtful coordination of the quantity of land development.14

Many quantity-oriented growth management programs are based principally upon environmental protection grounds. Other programs seek to reduce the cost of public services and facilities. Often the community really worries about less easily quantifiable objectives, such as avoidance of overcrowding and maintenance of an existing "character" or ambiance.
The late arrival of these quantity limitations reflected lingering doubts about their legal validity in the United States. Early enabling legislation for land-use controls did not contain specific authority for regulation of the rate or amount of development. Initially, the legal support for quantity limitations grew out of the local practice of adopting a "moratorium" on development when confronted with a development proposal that caused public outcry. When the outcry reflected serious public concern about the impact of the proposal on, for example, the adequacy of sewage treatment or the protection of scenic views, the courts allowed communities to halt all development for a reasonable time while they formulated a regulatory strategy.\(^{15}\)

Once the legal validity of these time-based regulations became established, some communities began to develop more sophisticated use of time factors in their growth management strategies. Some set a limit on the number of dwelling units to be permitted in the community each year. A widely publicized example was Petaluma, California's, phased growth plan that was adopted in the 1970s and approved by an appellate court. That program limited the number of building permits to 500 per year (with a "point system" for allocating those permits). It also imposed a moratorium on annexations and on extensions of such services as sewers to land adjacent to the city boundaries, and it established capacity limits on water and sewerage on the basis of the needs of a 55,000 maximum population.

Quantitative limitations on growth have been widely accepted when the limits are correlated with programs to expand public services or facilities.\(^{16}\) In the states of Florida and Washington, for example, the term used for this correlation is "concurrency." New development is supposed to take place at the same time as the public facilities necessary to serve it are built.\(^{17}\) Concurrency, like sustainability, sounds great but is hard to define. Difficult timing issues arise over when facilities are deemed to be complete. Is it when financing is assured? Or when construction has started? Or when facilities are open for business? But the concept itself has wide support despite, or perhaps because of, its indeterminacy.

Strategists who use quantity limitations need to make difficult policy decisions. How do you decide if the level of service demanded by a community reflects realistic objectives? If the local voters continually refuse to vote money to upgrade schools or roads, can they legitimately deny development because these facilities are too crowded? On the other hand, if Los Angeles runs low on water, does it need to build desalination plants in order to accommodate growth?

Limiting the supply of development without reducing the demand has a natural tendency to increase the price that buyers must pay for the product being developed. Where is the line to be drawn between public services that everyone traditionally has a right to receive, such as education and police protection, and scarce resources that can legitimately be conserved by pricing policies?

One early celebrated example of a strategy that placed limits on the number of new dwelling units until particular essential facilities or services were in place occurred in Ramapo, New York. Developers of residential units had to apply for and receive a "special permit" that would be granted only if the development had fifteen "development points," calculated by reference to the current availability of sewerage, drainage, parks, schools, roads, and firehouses. If a development company did not wait until the municipality had installed those elements necessary for it to be awarded the minimum fifteen development points, then it could "earn" the points by installing sufficient infrastructure to reach that point level.

Another technique currently in increasing use employs mapped "urban growth boundaries." Lines are drawn on a map to delineate where growth will be permitted or encour-

-aged and, conversely, where it will not. Although this technique is location-based (see the next section), it is often used as a practical means for regulating the quantity of development as well. Oregon, and more recently Washington, have adopted policies at the state level encouraging such boundaries, and of course such boundaries have been effectively employed in many European countries for many years.

Urban boundaries are designed to contain growth to places where costly infrastructure services can reasonably be provided and to preserve from development those areas outside of the line that are rural in character. Douglas Porter's recent book discusses such programs in such diverse places as Clackamas County, Oregon; Fort Collins, Colorado; King County, Washington; Lexington/Fayette County, Kentucky; Portland, Oregon; and Sarasota County, Florida.\(^{18}\)

There are many other kinds of growth management mechanisms for quantity control, many of which are variations of the principal types just discussed. Porter suggests that effective quantity-based strategies have certain key elements in common. First, he notes that the process should be "dynamic"; instead of a plan of action, it should be "evolving and ever changing" as to objectives and methods. We have referred to this characteristic as "resilience." Second, successful programs anticipate growth and seek to accommodate it without undue stress in an efficient yet sustainable manner. Third, there should be an equitable "forum and process" to allow for a fair and effective balancing of public and private interests. Finally, Porter emphasizes the importance of localities being aware of the regional nature of many problems,\(^{19}\) a point we will return to in the last section of this chapter.

Most of the programs Porter discusses are designed to mitigate the adverse impacts that the community believes will occur if unchecked population growth is permitted. But there are many other local strategies that seek as much development as possible and view quantity as a minimum to be achieved rather than a maximum to be avoided. In many cases, these communities see no need for maximum quantities because they anticipate that they can avoid adverse impacts of the new development by managing both for quality and for location.

With tourism, the quantity is often very important. Unless a certain volume of tourism builds up, neither the private nor the public sector can afford to provide the services and facilities that tourists expect. But if the quantity becomes too great, it may not be possible to expand support systems without destroying the resources that attract the tourists. Management strategies that regulate quantity are illustrated by the case studies of tourist destinations in Chapter 5.

**Location**

Many growth management programs encourage new development to locate in particular areas. A wide range of techniques is available to communities that seek to attract development to, or to divert it from, specific parts of the community. These location-oriented management techniques generally fall under the umbrella of land-use planning. Communities identify areas that are appropriate for particular uses and plan to provide the public facilities and services needed by the projected type and quantity of development.

Capital improvements programming, under which a community develops a list of infrastructure improvements and a time schedule for their construction, can guide the placement and timing of development. The location of new streets and highways determines where new development will take place. Sewer and water line extensions are often necessary to make housing subdivisions feasible; timing those extensions and deciding where they will go has a large impact on development patterns.
Tourism development is subject to the same three rules (pardon the cliché) as other real estate: location, location, location. Sometimes the strategy is to locate the tourists in a separate area away from the local population, as in the Maldives (see Chapter 6), while in other places the strategy is to concentrate the tourists in the heart of town, as in Bruges. The case studies in Chapter 6 illustrate a wide range of strategies for managing the location of tourism development.

This discussion of growth management skims only the surface of a topic of increasingly creative experimentation. One issue that cuts through all of these programs, however, is a debate over basic methodology. The debate is among those who would like to emphasize (1) market-oriented strategies, (2) local vision-sharing and mediation, or (3) legal equity and predictability. In formulating strategies for managing tourism development, communities need to keep these issues in mind.

The Role of the Market, Local Norms, and the Law

In evaluating potential growth management strategies, consideration must be given to three strikingly different approaches to management. One emphasizes reliance on the market’s invisible hand to produce an efficient balance of goods and services. A second focuses on the development of community norms that will influence behavior in desirable ways. The third relies heavily on legal processes to prevent violation of appropriate standards.

We believe that it is a mistake to adopt strong ideological preferences for or against any of these three management opportunities. The market regulates many things very well and some things quite poorly. Local norms can be highly effective in some situations but may break down in others. And the law can be effective, but only if it takes into account the working of the market and the beliefs and standards of the community.

The Market

Earlier chapters have described a number of communities that were or could have been dramatically harmed by unchecked tourism. There is no inherent problem with allowing and even encouraging tourism businesses to flourish; indeed, the industry has and continues to benefit thousands of destination communities, especially economically. But if the private conduct of revenue-seeking parties is allowed to deplete the area’s shared resources for tourism rapidly, to the detriment of both the destination and the visitors, then the market has failed.

Economists readily acknowledge that the market is incapable of preventing the tragedy of the commons, for the reasons summarized in Chapter 2. When there is open access to a common resource that cannot effectively be privatized, normal market behavior will often cause the resource to be gradually appropriated by private individuals until the resource is destroyed.

Many economists argue, however, that we too often accept the proposition that a common resource is incapable of privatization. Interesting experiments with conversion of common resources into private allotments are underway, and many more deserve investigation. But it must be recognized that while some of these experiments have succeeded, many have not.

One cause of failure is the treatment of units of a resource as a fungible commodity despite the fact that the public recognizes important distinctions among them. The widely touted Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) program for the trading of sulphur dioxide air emissions is a case in point. The program allocates equal credit to the elimination of...
a ton of sulphur dioxide wherever it may be located and allows industries to trade pollution units as if they were completely fungible. But local communities can easily figure out that when a local utility trades pollution rights to an upwind polluter, it is the equivalent of spitting into the wind. Long Island Lighting Company has recently agreed to limit trades in pollution credits because of local pressure. In fact, the entire program of trading credits has languished because of fear of such local opposition.

Transfer of development rights is another way of turning a common resource into individual allocations, but such programs have only been successful in places where the public has provided the long-term support for the concept necessary to assure potential buyers and sellers of the program's sustainability.22

These two examples illustrate the complexity of designing workable market-based growth management strategies. Unless the process of creating units to be traded truly creates units that are perceived as equal over both space and time, programs to trade those units may be seen simply as opportunities for political manipulation. But the difficulty of the task shouldn't deter the attempt. When market-based strategies work, they tend to have low administrative costs and adaptability to changing conditions, which make them both efficient and resilient.

**Local Norms**

As discussed in Chapter 2, many of the recent studies of common-pool resources have focused on places in which community norms and customs provided the standards by which the sharing of resources is allocated and enforced. In some instances, these norms counteracted both the normal market behavior that economists would have predicted and the established rules that lawyers had drafted.

The success of these informal systems for sharing resources has led some observers to wonder whether the influence of both law and economics may not be less powerful than often assumed. While this observation deserves considerable attention, it must be noted that many informal resource sharing systems have failed as a result of outside economic forces or because the scope of the system outgrew the effectiveness of nonlegal enforcement mechanisms.

Micronesia provides one example of the breakdown of traditional systems for sharing resources when economic conditions change. A society that had long maintained a healthy lifestyle and clean environment on the basis of the shared use of local resources broke down when foreign governments introduced processed foodstuffs and welfare programs. High market prices obtainable in some Asian countries for live reef fish induced local individuals to poison the reefs, which produces one big haul of fish and then none.23

The breakdown of customary legal systems in the face of outside pressure also is familiar throughout history. A few centuries ago the English fen people operated the country's wetlands as a thriving economic operation, cutting reeds for thatch, harvesting fish and game, and digging peat according to customary rules that had maintained a sustainable economy for centuries. But increasing wool prices and the growing political power of large landowners led to changes in the laws that took away the rights of the fen people and resulted in the conversion of virtually all of the wetlands to grazing or crop land.24

Informal systems of norms can provide useful models for determining the characteristics of management strategies that will be perceived as equitable, efficient, sustainable, and resilient. But if they are to be applied to large-scale, complex situations, they usually require a degree of enforceability that only formal law can provide.

**The Law**

Each of the growth management techniques discussed in this chapter is adaptable to the management of tourism development. All that is needed is the appropriate legal authority to undertake the desired measures. Just as effective planning requires appropriate legal authority, effective management also requires such authority.

But legal techniques that ignore the market and local norms can also prove to be unworkable. The laws criminalizing the use of marijuana have proven no more enforceable than earlier laws prohibiting the consumption of alcohol, because of the low market price of the product and its broad acceptability in many segments of the community. Similarly, rigid enforcement of 55-mph vehicle speed limits proved to be impossible in the face of both community norms that made faster speeds not only acceptable but also fashionable and of economic pressures to reduce time spent getting from place to place.

Countless other examples could be cited of laws that have failed to overcome economic pressures and community norms. The risk is particularly great when shared resources are involved because of the low success record in managing such resources in the past. Growth management strategies need to be cognizant of the appropriate role of the market, the local norms, and the legal system.

**Hierarchies of Management Strategies**

The geographical breadth of tourism resources varies greatly, as noted in the previous chapter. Some tourism resources are worldwide in scope—the average temperature of the world's climate,25 for example, while others may be highly localized, such as Jerusalem's "wailing wall." The nature of the resource being managed should determine the appropriate levels at which it should be managed.

With complex resources, this often involves hierarchies of strategies that could involve international, national, provincial, local, and even neighborhood levels. If properly organized, each strategy should be designed to allow various aspects of these resources to be managed at the lowest possible level consistent with the goals of equity, efficiency, sustainability, and resiliency identified in the previous chapter. Thus, a neighborhood level strategy is typically "nested" within other strategies operating at larger scales, but these strategies allow the more localized system considerable autonomy.26

**Global Scale**

Some resources can be brought under control only by actions at the global level. If current predictions of climate change hold up, the long-term value of many tourism destinations will be disrupted by future climate change in the absence of some treaty enforced at the international level.

An existing global treaty that protects many tourism destinations is the international convention to reduce chlorofluorocarbon usage, which has often been cited as one of the major successes of international environmental law. The troposphere, home of the ozone layer, is of vital importance in the long run to any community that relies on sun-seeking tourists. It is of most immediate importance to places near the Antarctic ozone hole, such as Punta Arenas, where people are already taking measures to avoid the summer sun.

Other globally shared resources are badly in need of international cooperative man-
agement. Fishing villages of the Canadian Maritime Provinces have been tourist attractions, but the fishing fleets are idle because the fish are gone. Attempts to regulate ocean fishing internationally are continuing, but with limited success.

The tiger reserves of India are threatened by widespread poaching. The poaching is bankrolled by the international trade in wild animals and their parts. Some aspects of the CITES treaty, which attempts to control that trade, have been controversial, and the treaty has not solved the problem completely, but it has had an impact.

Bilateral

Bilateral agreements among nations are effective means of regulating some shared tourism assets. Thus, duck hunting in North America has long depended on migratory bird treaties among the continent's nations that protect nesting and wintering sites.

Acid rain has been a serious problem for the forests of Ontario and Quebec, which have long been favorite destinations for summer tourism. The sulfates are damaging the trees and acidifying the lakes, reducing the population of game fish. Most of the sulfates originate in the United States. Treaties between Canada and the United States, implemented by the Clean Air Act of 1990 and additional regulations proposed in 1997, should reduce the problem over a period of time.

The few remaining European wetlands are a major attraction for birding enthusiasts. European community rules now require member countries to protect key wetland sites. And water pollution standards at the regional level have improved water quality in the wetlands.

National

Some tourism destinations rely on national controls of shared assets. The Maldives, for example, impose national regulations that limit development on many of the nation's islands to only one hotel.

Even very large countries have resources that are shared among the entire nation. The primary attraction of the Grand Canyon is the awesome scale of the canyon as viewed by a person standing at the edge. In recent years that view has increasingly been obscured by haze originating outside Arizona. Special applications of the Clean Air Act have been made by the Environmental Protection Agency and the Interior Department in an attempt to reduce the buildup of haze in the Grand Canyon.

Breton, in northern France, has few remaining examples of the beautiful, wild landscape that has attracted tourists to the area. The French government bought up many small parcels of private land at La Pointe De Raz in order to recreate one of the finest wild areas.

British history has long provided a common framework of interest that has attracted English-speaking travelers to Britain. The national government imposes strict requirements for the preservation of "listed buildings" to ensure that the visitor can obtain a visual perception of historical conditions.

State, Provincial, and Others

Many communities depend on state or provincial authorities to allocate their key assets. California has created a special commission to ensure that development along its beautiful coast is appropriately designed and located.

The Everglades, a unique sawgrass marshland, is a major attraction for visitors to South Florida. The ecology of the glades has deteriorated badly as a result of inflows of heavily fertilized agricultural runoff and invasions of exotic species. The voters of Florida have directed the state to develop methods to restore the natural environment.

Over a century ago, the voters of New York state adopted a constitutional amendment declaring the forests of the Adirondack mountains "forever wild." The Adirondack Park Agency, a state board with regulatory powers in the Adirondacks, works with local governments to try to create a balance of a healthy tourist industry with an emphasis on winter sports while retaining the wilderness ambiance that is so rare in the Eastern United States.

The Bungle Bungle mountains, located in the state of Western Australia, have important religious significance to members of the local Purnulu Aborigine Council. A management plan developed with the cooperation of the state and the council restricts most permanent structures in favor of camping and limits access in fragile limestone areas.

Local

Most commonly, local communities undertake their own efforts to preserve their shared assets. Oxford, one of England's most popular tourist destinations, uses local planning powers to try to protect its historic character while accommodating a profitable traffic of visitors.

Residents of the suburban area outside Washington, D.C., became concerned that urban sprawl would overwhelm all of the picturesque farming activities of the traditional landscape. One county, Montgomery County, Maryland, developed a program of transferable development rights for the protection of farmland, requiring developers to contribute to the protection of farmland as a condition for the approval of new developments.

In Boston, the historical setting that attracted tourists had been lost in many places by mixture of new and old structures. The city created a very powerful local agency (BRA) with both the power to control development and the power to buy land and resell it, enabling the city to deal with very fragmented ownership in the Faneuil Hall area and thus create a successful tourist destination.

Neighborhood

Neighborhood groups, formal or informal, often play a key role in protecting shared assets. The game parks around Victoria Falls, for example, have been relatively well protected by informal networks of local residents who recognize the economic benefits that they bring to the tourism-based economy.

In Canterbury, where the Cathedral attracts huge crowds of tourists, the city had many other picturesque and historic sites that were being ignored. A local public–private corporation has been created to reach agreement on alternative local sites to which some of the tourists might be diverted.

New Orleans is the only major community in the United States to have been established by settlers from France. The Vieux Carré, or French Quarter, retains many of the structures dating from this period and reflecting the architectural styles then prevalent in France. For more than fifty years the local landlords, through the Vieux Carré Commission, have required new construction in the quarter to harmonize with the original character of the area.

In the 1970s, the reputation of Miami Beach had declined significantly. Vacant buildings were commonplace and the crime rate was high. At the initiation of a few entrepreneurial builders who admired the art deco style of the South Beach area, special taxing dis-
tricts were created by which property owners in the area could raise funds to redevelop the area, which has once again become a popular tourist destination.

The Case Studies
The following chapters explore a variety of strategies to manage tourism growth. Most of the examples of successful strategies involve legal components, because regulation is often needed to ensure the preservation of shared resources, which are highly vulnerable to degradation. The beautiful vista that is blocked by highrise hotels; the crystal clear water that is polluted by sewage from tourism facilities; the serenity and seclusion of a small medieval village lost to the hordes descending from tour buses—all require the protection of law.

We divide these strategies into three broad categories: (1) quality control, covered in Chapter 4; (2) quantity management, addressed in Chapter 5; and (3) location enhancement, discussed in Chapter 6. These are not necessarily exclusive strategies and can often be used effectively in combination.

In each chapter, we first discuss these strategies in general terms and then describe in greater detail specific techniques that can be used to implement them. We illustrate each technique in a series of case studies drawn from throughout the world. Almost all of them involve strategies planned during the 1990s. "Closing Comments" note special strengths and possible weaknesses of the community's approach. The case studies are as follows:

- Agritourism, U.S.A. (p. 259)
- Ambergris Caye, Belize (p. 178)
- Aspen, Colorado (p. 167)
- Bays of Huatulco, Mexico (p. 262)
- Bermuda (p. 144)
- Bonaire, Netherlands Antilles (p. 156)
- Bruges, Belgium (p. 237)
- Cancun-Tulum Corridor, Mexico (p. 125)
- Canterbury, England (p. 211)
- Door County, Wisconsin (p. 173)
- Great Barrier Reef Marine Park, Australia (p. 115)
- Indonesia (p. 60)
- Jackson, Wyoming (p. 85)
- Lake Tahoe, Nevada and California (p. 91)
- Milford Sound, New Zealand (p. 201)
- New Zealand (p. 74)
- Nusa Dua, Bali, Indonesia (p. 232)
- Oaxaca Valleys, Mexico (p. 190)
- Papua New Guinea (p. 265)
- Park City, Utah (p. 79)
- Peninsula Township, Michigan (p. 129)
- Saguenay-St. Lawrence Marine Park, Quebec, Canada (p. 120)
- Sanibel Island, Florida (p. 137)
- Santa Fe, New Mexico (p. 63)
- South Pembrokeshire, Wales (p. 254)

Following each set of case studies, we describe potential constraints on the usefulness of the approach. In the concluding "Final Observations" section of each chapter, we analyze some lessons to be learned from the case studies, highlighting important issues that destination communities should address as they consider these strategies for managing tourism growth.
project achieved the 1994 Grand Golden Award for Heritage and Culture from the Pacific Area Travel Association. Unfortunately, implementing the zoning approach required the relocation of 800 families.

**National Parks**

Use districts in national parks have been commonplace in many countries for years. The United States National Park Service uses a districting system to protect its parks, as does Australia. Parks Canada uses a five-district system: (1) special preservation districts for preservation of rare or endangered species with some limited public use with limited access upon grant of a permit; (2) wilderness districts for dispersed human activities such as hiking; (3) natural environment districts for "intermediate levels of outdoor recreation" with some motorized access at the periphery, serving as a buffer between the preservation and visitor access goals of the parks; (4) recreation districts for visitor activities and supporting facilities, with some preservation of wildlife and landscaping; and (5) park services districts for essentially urban service and administrative areas.

Use districting is particularly well suited to national park settings, because it provides a “method for differentiating between conflicting uses and goals, by separating them into distinctive areas. . . . As such (it provides) a way to reduce conservation–tourism conflicts and operate within apparently incompatible mandates.” Although the disparities among the differing qualities of differing areas may be most apparent in national park settings, they exist in most communities to a lesser degree. Districting is a viable technique to minimize the negative impacts of potentially conflicting uses.

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**Case Study: Indonesia**

A national map divides all of the land into zones, imposes regulations governing the type of development that will be encouraged, identifies the infrastructure needs of various locations, and describes the appropriate target market for each zone.

The Republic of Indonesia consists of a group of approximately 18,000 islands lying between the mainland of Southeast Asia and Australia. The Archipelago is the largest in the world, stretching from the Malay Peninsula to New Guinea. The largely Islamic population of two million people is spread over an area of approximately two million square kilometers. The climate is generally tropical with heavy rainfall from October through March. Although the official language is a form of Malay, there are roughly 600 other languages and dialects spoken in Indonesia.

Tourism is extremely important to the national economy. In 1995 there were 4.3 million visitors, and project planners estimate that there will be close to 9.4 million tourists by the year 2005. Indonesia has adopted a complex national approach to develop facilities to support that visitor level and simultaneously to accomplish a number of other policies. In the early 1990s, it adopted an initial national tourism development plan and then in March of 1997, a supplemental plan. The initial plan covered a period of fifteen years and focused on development, promotion, and marketing of a tourism product; investments; and mitigation of environmental impacts. It also identified Tourist Destination Regions and Selected Strategic Areas for tourist development. The 1997 supplemental plan addressed strategic directions and infrastructure improvements at the regional and local levels.

An extensive planning staff developed these materials and focused on a number of issues such as the unwillingness of some local areas to accept tourism, the need to extend the economic advantages of tourism to less prosperous communities (what we have referred to in Chapter 2 as "equity"), the need for better integration of services and planning, and the need for increased environmental consciousness. The staff also identified another very significant problem: the disparity of growth and economic advantage between the western regions of the country and the eastern regions, and among groups within each of those two regions. Although the eastern area of Indonesia is well situated for tourism development, private investment has been concentrated in the western area (e.g., Sumatra, Java, and Bali). This is due, in part, to the lack of infrastructure and facilities in the east.

**The Indonesian System of Spatial Tourism Planning**

Indonesian planners have developed an elaborate, complex system of spatial planning. It designates as many as seventeen Tourist Development Regions; any number of Tourist Destination Areas (stratified in a hierarchy of main, second level, third level, and fourth level areas); various Tourism Supporting Areas, composed in turn of Main Tourism Supporting Areas and Second Tourism Supporting Areas scattered throughout the provinces. (These elaborate designations are not surprising, given a similar approach in nontourism planning. Cities in the National Space Area are designated as Centers for National Activities, Centers for Regional Activities, and Centers for Local Activities. There are also a number of mapped Leading Areas—thirteen in the eastern segment of Indonesia—that are identified as areas expected to develop at a rapid rate.)

Even though this spatial designation system is very complex, there is one aspect of the program that is of considerable interest: the establishment of a limited number of tourism zones, each accorded different development policies and funding opportunities, dependent upon their current state of tourism development, their natural amenities, and the potential for growth.

**Six Tourism Zones**

Indonesia's mapping system divides the country into six zones, A-F (see Map 4-2), going generally from west to east. The 1997 Master Plan for National Tourism Development states that each zone is expected to become self-reliant, with its own market opportunities; that the zones will not compete with one another but rather mutually support one another; and that particular types of attractions present in one zone will be designed to complement and reinforce similar attractions in other zones.

In Zone A, which includes the westernmost islands of Indonesia and Sumatra, the main tourist attractions are nature, the mountains, and the Malay culture. This area is at present crowded with domestic tourists. The goal of the Master Plan is to maintain these current numbers and to promote increases in the growth rate of foreign tourists. The supporting infrastructure is generally available, but there will be some limitations on growth because of size and carrying capacity issues. (In general, see Chapters 3 and 5.) Since most tourism is currently concentrated in two areas within Zone A, the basic strategy for development is to encourage tourists to visit other areas. This will necessitate significant improvements in access and transportation infrastructure.

Zone B, which includes the islands of Java, Bali, and Lombok, is a heavily visited tourist area, with the important city of Jakarta as its center. Government planners believe that sev-
eral locations in this zone cannot support any increase in tourism numbers, but that many other areas could accommodate a measure of tourism growth as long as supporting infrastructure and facilities were provided. The overall strategy for Zone B is "intensification and consolidation," coupled with efforts to increase the carrying capacities of the region.

Zone C is a widespread and diverse area, overlapping Zone B on the west and Zone E in the north. It includes the central archipelagic area of Indonesia, with numerous islands that have important natural and cultural attractions. Government planners regard this area as unsuitable for mass tourism, but a perfect target for increased domestic tourism. The Master Plan expresses concern over the small number of domestic visitors who travel to Zone C, since they are the most obvious market for exposure to their own history, nature, and culture (each of which is available in abundance throughout the zone).

The western gateway section of Zone C (part of Java, Bali, and Lombok) already has a stable market, while the infrastructure is so poorly developed in the eastern portion that only modest tourism can presently be accommodated there. The government plans to develop touristic products emphasizing the zone’s diversity and its unique natural and ethnic elements, recognizing that it will need to improve infrastructure and facilities throughout much of the zone.

Zone D, which encompasses a number of small islands and Borneo in the South China Sea just south of Malaysia and Brunei, is likely to experience substantial tourist growth and provide significant economic benefits to Indonesia. The fact that foreign tourists are now permitted to enter the zone with their own cars at the border with Malaysia is expected to dramatically increase the number of visitors. Regional cooperation among the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) members should also have a positive impact on the number of tourists in this zone. The government recognizes that because natural conditions of the area are the principal attractions, sustainable development practices are essential. Special interest tourism (especially adventure tourism and river tourism) has particular potential.

Zones E and F contain most of the islands in the north and eastern portions of Indo-

nesia, stretching all the way to Papua New Guinea. Although there are a variety of ecosystems on the islands with interesting flora and fauna, the marine resources are the major attraction for most tourists. Government planners have determined that mass tourism would be inappropriate in most locations; therefore, tourism development is to be directed only to cities and the few already established touristic areas.

**Closing Comments**

Each of the six tourism zones has been mapped with reference to its existing and potential qualities, its present degree of tourism development, and its ability to sustain additional tourism growth. Each zone has been targeted primarily for one or more development strategies, on the basis of the type of tourist attracted by its special qualities. It remains to be seen how effectively the government will implement the zoning plan over time, especially in light of its great complexity and nationwide scope, as well as the political upheavals of 1998. National or regional staff and other officials may not be sufficiently familiar with local conditions to render sensitive decisions on development proposals. A similar, centralized decision-making approach has not worked well in Greece (another country composed of numerous islands, many of which have limited access and infrastructure), but perhaps there will be some decentralization in practice as implementation goes forward.

Indonesia is a huge and diverse country that has attempted to map the entire land area and provide regulation by way of separate books of detailed rules for each of a number of zones. Santa Fe, New Mexico, presents an example, on a much smaller scale, of a proposal to augment the existing plan with a multifaceted mapping approach to protect those qualities of the community that residents value.

**Case Study: Santa Fe, New Mexico: A Plan in Progress**

A draft General Plan seeks to enhance the quality of life by managing growth, promoting the development of neighborhoods, conserving natural resources, and fostering a Santa Fe tradition. One of the principal techniques the plan proposes is districting rules.

Located on the Rio Grande River in a valley of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, Santa Fe has a rich heritage influenced by Pueblo, Spanish, Mexican, and American cultures. The city has long appreciated the diverse elements that have shaped its personality and has sought to preserve its imprint on its physical development. The very first city plan in 1912 proposed maintaining the winding, narrow streets that lent "charm and distinction" to the city. Santa Fe now has five separate Historic Districts, three Archaeological Review Districts, four National Historic Landmarks and over 100 sites registered at the national or state level for their special qualities. Santa Feans are not the only ones who find their city appealing. Tourists now flock to this chic oasis, admiring what has become known as “Santa Fe style”—a unique blend of such components as adobe architecture, desert coloration, Spanish tiles, Mexican furniture, silver and turquoise jewelry, Native American pottery, and an acclaimed contemporary cuisine.
exists to properly manage these activities, which have grown exponentially over the last few years. Furthermore, based on experience it is clear that the existing (regulations) which stipulate that disturbing marine mammals is prohibited... (are) inadequate to protect the whales.\textsuperscript{10}

There are a variety of concerns related to whale watching. Crowds of boats can result in increased whale injuries, collisions with whales, disturbances during the breeding season, and eventually a diminishing number of whales. Secondary concerns relate to the safety of seagoers in congested shipping lanes and the mounting dissatisfaction among visitors, whose experiences are diminished by traffic and tourist numbers. There are, however, no legal mechanisms yet in place for controlling the expansion of the whale-watching industry or even properly managing it.

The Discussion Paper did not recommend specific measures but did recommend "guiding principles." These included providing increased protection of marine mammals; fostering the preservation of ecosystems through integrated management; offering a public education program to enhance understanding of ecosystems; guaranteeing an excellent tourist product and superior park experience; complying with public safety standards; and promoting sustainable development principles.

Regional Cooperation

The governments of Quebec and Canada agreed early in their discussions that the Marine Park should be characterized by "harmonious integration into the region." The overall purpose in this respect was "to encourage local governments and community groups to integrate projects and activities compatible with the Marine Park's objectives into its programs." To foster long-term cooperation among municipalities surrounding the Marine Park, non-governmental organizations, and businesses, and to encourage the development of tourism facilities consistent with the park conservation purposes, the governments established a Coordinating Committee.

This Coordinating Committee is composed of nine members, one nominated by each of the municipalities bordering the park, a representative of the indigenous community, a scientist, an environmentalist, and two members selected by the Federal Department of Canadian Heritage and the Quebec Ministry of the Environment. In the words of park director Claude Filion, "these different groups have learned to work together toward the fulfillment of the park's objectives described in the Management Plan. The Coordinating Committee has recently adopted an action plan (identifying) precise goals to attain for next spring (of 1998)."\textsuperscript{11}

Closing Comments

The joint efforts of the national and provincial governments to establish and manage this significant Marine Park are still in the early stages of development. The success of the use districting approach along with supplemental mechanisms to protect the ecosystem and adequately control activities within the park is as yet unknown. There is a long history of mixed uses that potentially conflict with preservation goals as well as with each other. As each use increases, the pressures on the environment multiply exponentially. The challenge is to develop regulations and management techniques that will protect the ecosystem in a heavily trafficked transportation corridor and a highly popular tourist destination, where various water-related activities provide a major source of local income.

A further challenge is to maintain the cooperative attitude that the various players have thus far practiced. As restrictions are implemented, there may well be changes in the allocation of the economic benefits of tourism. As the impacts of the new management system are felt, it may well be more difficult to sustain the support of the varied players.

Both the Great Barrier Reef and the Saguenay-St. Lawrence regions have had years of experience dealing with tourism. Many of the challenges they face come from a recent surge in the numbers of visitors coming to their waters. Not all tourist destinations have the benefit of long familiarity with the impacts of tourism nor a lengthy amount of time to plan for them. Tourist destinations can now be created in areas that had been tourist wastelands (Disneyworld is a prime example); and areas that were off the beaten path a few years ago can suddenly become tourist meccas. Mayan ruins that were buried under hundreds of years of jungle growth have been rediscovered by archaeologists and now have tourists clambering over their crumbling stones. The Antarctic used to be a subject of interest for only the most dedicated and adventurous scientists. Now tourists who've been everywhere and done everything can pay their way to this ultimately special place, creating unknown impacts on that forbidding environment.

As tourism spreads, more and more special places are vulnerable to pressures that didn't exist just a few short years ago. The challenge is to frame an approach that will protect what is fragile in their settings, while still creating opportunities for tourist development and economic expansion.

Case Study: Cancun-Tulum Corridor, Mexico

Municipal, state, and national governments cooperate to try to protect land and marine environments along a rapidly developing 100-mile tourism corridor through use of zoning and mapping.

Located on the Caribbean coast of the state of Quintana Roo on the Yucatan Peninsula, Cancun was the first master-planned tourism center in Mexico. Created in the 1970s by the governmental tourism development entity FONATUR from undeveloped land, Cancun is one of Mexico's most well-known and visited resort areas. Private development by almost every major international hotel chain over the decades has generated thousands of overnight beds for the 2.5 million visitors from throughout the world who are attracted to the long, sandy beaches, warm year-round climate and broad range of facilities. (See the discussion of Cancun as a classic example of a concentration strategy, p. 228.)

The dramatic economic success of Cancun has, not surprisingly, triggered powerful interest in extending tourism projects to currently sparsely developed beach land to the south. (See Map 5-3.) Travel essayist Terry Pindell's 1995 drive along the corridor south of Cancun convinced him that this was "where the development drama is still being played out." In the fishing town of Puerto Morelos, he stayed at a small beachfront hotel around which "properties recently have been bought by outfitters that put towers in Cancun... Bulldozers are pushing sand around, and the road to (his hotel) is muddied by their activity."\textsuperscript{12}

Many of the beachfront properties south of Cancun are controlled by small owners (sometimes ex-patriates from the United States or Canada), who operate bungalow facilities
for budget travelers. Some contend that Mexican businessmen are now eyeing their parcels as sites for lucrative, more upscale accommodations (as well as gambling casinos and marinas) to capitalize on the popularity and excellent transportation access of the area. Land values have risen dramatically, from $2 to $80 per square meter, for some beach sites south of Cancun.13

Development of the Tourism Corridor

About 100 miles south of Cancun, on a steep cliff overlooking the Caribbean is the Mayan ruin Tulum. In great contrast to the party atmosphere of much of newly created Cancun, Tulum is haunting and mysterious, with intricate carvings of gods and sacrifices and stone buildings of unknown use, given such beguiling names as “Temple of the Wind.”

A single, poorly paved north-south road currently services the corridor between Cancun and Tulum. Soon Highway 307, presently under construction, will provide an easy and rapid route along the entire corridor, connecting now remote regions with the large international airport just outside Cancun. This key transportation linkage is among the important factors prompting rapid tourism development in the area, a process that is expected to increase over time.

Much of the corridor is already being transformed. Playa del Carmen, located about 40 miles south of Cancun, has an ideal setting, sheltered from high waves, with largely empty beaches of powdered sand. A few years ago this once tranquil town was known primarily as a ferry stop for nearby Cozumel Island, popular with scuba divers and snorkelers. As growth began, the town boasted small beach cabanas made from native palapas, beachfront bars with strolling Mayan musicians, and a quaint pedestrian shopping street. As a 1995 visitor described it, “In Playa the Mexican penchant for passionate fun, which is such a rich’ vein to the tourist industry, thrives without being forced or formulated. The place has been discovered, but it is not yet Cancun.”14

Now new resorts, hotels, and restaurants are sprouting throughout “Playacar,” as the locals refer to the town. Very popular with Europeans (especially from France and Germany), Playa del Carmen is now a cruise ship stop as well as home to new four- and five-star hotels. Companies that own and operate resorts in such well-known sun-and-sand Mexican locations as Manzanillo and Puerto Vallarta are now moving into the Playacar area as well.

Summarizing the transformation of Playa del Carmen, London Sunday Times travel writer Mark Ottaway wrote in late 1996: “Such have been Mexico’s political and economic uncertainties, however, that investors have, until now, felt safer over on Cozumel or the virtual island of Cancun’s hotel zone. Suddenly, for no apparent reason, Carmen is airborne. Property prices have gone up by 400 percent in a year. It has eclipsed Cozumel for the fun crowd . . . and has become the sort of freewheeling good-value place with rooms to rent, snack stalls, bars, and restaurants that one associated more with the Med and Southeast Asia than with the Caribbean.”15

The Cancun-Tulum Corridor, called by some the “Yucatan Sandbox,” already includes many built tourist attractions of varying quality. Every day hundreds of tourists from Cancun take buses to visit the Xcaret theme park, an aquatic zoo with underground rivers and caverns for snorkelers and for forms of family enjoyment, accurately billing itself as an “eco-archaeological park.” Another popular commercial operation is the Xel-Ha facility along the coast, characterized by its natural lagoon system, restaurants, deck chairs, and tour buses from Cancun. By contrast, 16 miles south of Playacar is the little used but naturally beautiful Paamul Beach on a crescent shaped lagoon. Development again appears south of Paamul Beach at Puerto Aventuras with its overbuilt 900 acres of hotels, condominiums, and marinas.

Given the rapid development of the Cancun-Tulum Corridor, it is not surprising that industry representatives believe that the boom will continue. Cesar Bistrain Tanus, president of an international resort company based in Mexico, was quoted in mid-1997 as predicting that the corridor will have more than 48,000 hotel rooms by the year 2000. Travel essayist Pindell also predicts rapid change: “The return trip to Puerto Morelos again convinces us that someday this entire coast will be developed; it is such a natural. We turn off the highway [north toward Cancun] to check out several of the little beach hideaways. . . . Each fulfills a vision of ‘the perfect little beach paradise’—at least for the moment. It’s heartening to know that they still exist at all. It’s sobering to imagine what may march down this coast from Cancun.”16

The 1994 Ecological Regulations for the Cancun-Tulum Corridor

Anticipating tourist development along the 100-mile corridor, government planners and officials from a number of departments and jurisdictions adopted a set of ecological regulations in 1994. The intention of this “Ecological Ordering Plan” is to mitigate many of the otherwise potentially harmful effects of the corridor’s growth. The plan involved cooperation and decision making at three governmental levels: national, state, and municipal. It also reflected the concurrence of a number of departments. At the national level, coordination involved the offices of Social Development, Ecological Planning, Urban Development, Natural Resource Use, and Federal Land Use. Participating departments
from the state of Quintana Roo were Environment and Land Regulation, Touristic Development, and an agency known as “FIDEICARIBE.” Three separate municipalities lie along the corridor, and each was involved in promulgating the plan.

The regulations are grounded on a mapping technique that divides the corridor into 46 separate land zones and 28 individual marine zones. Each of these is assigned one of four major use designations. “Actual usage” zones permit varying degrees of urban development or industrial use. “Conservation” zones may permit small rural or tourism development and are designed to protect wildlife. “Protected” zones limit uses to those that are compatible with existing ecosystems. Finally, “restoration” zones aim to restore the natural state of the land.

In addition to these use designations, each of these land and marine zones is subject to a number of specific environmental regulatory “criteria,” from as few as one to as many as 29. There are additional mapped areas, which act as “overlay zones” to protect such natural assets as tortoises, crocodiles, manatees, primate, and reefs. Specific reefs, for example, may have few restrictions on their use, may be limited to educational use only, or may have absolute restrictions on their use.

The number of various restrictions and ecological criteria that can apply to relatively small land and marine areas allows for very tailored regulation. For example, zone T-30, which lies inland from the beach area in Playa del Carmen, is mapped for “actual usage” that permits urban development with a density of 300 persons per hectare and is subject to just a few ecological criteria (one prohibits drainage of wetlands or interruption of water flow). By contrast, zone T-31, which lies just south of T-30 on the coastline and is also mapped for “actual usage,” has a limit of 50 rooms per hectare; while zone T-32, abutting T-31 to the east and also lying on the coast, can build only ten rooms per hectare. Both of these last zones are subject to 25 separate restrictions, including prohibitions on use of nearby cenotes (wells that are used by surrounding communities), a maximum height limitation to the level of surrounding vegetation, and the requirement of a buffer zone between the tourist area and the nearby protected area.

The area just west of the Tulum archaeological zone is a “conservation” zone whose development is limited to 15 rooms per hectare. Additionally, there are 27 ecological criteria that apply, ranging from the requirement for a water treatment system for any tourist area, maintenance of the natural vegetation, and construction that conforms to the surrounding terrain. An illustrative example of a site zoned for “restoration” is a very large inland area, also near Playa del Carmen. Here the criteria permit human uses provided that they will not inhibit recovery of the land to its natural state, while they bar human settlements on deteriorated ecosystems.

The 28 marine zones are all designed either to protect or to restore the area so mapped. The Bay of Chemuyil, for example, is a “protected” zone where applicable criteria limit uses to “scientific and contemplative” activities in compliance with a separate governmental control decree; there may be no fishing, boat docking, or waste disposal. The offshore reef area known as Chak-Halal, west of Playa del Carmen, is a marine restoration zone. Here, any use that will prevent a return to the natural state is prohibited, and all restoration activity must support the existing ecosystem.

Closing Comments
The zoning system attempts to tailor regulations to the specific needs of each mapped area to a remarkable degree. Development is more restricted in environmentally sensitive areas and much of the ecosystem is protected from what is deemed inappropriate uses. The regulatory system has preceded much of the projected tourism growth, and much of the area has yet to be developed. While this offers the opportunity to shape future growth, it also suggests that there will be a great deal of opposition to the restrictions by those wishing to reap the economic benefits of development.

This zoning approach has serious limitations that could stymie its effectiveness. Because it treats relatively small areas differently, applying vastly different restrictions to abutting spaces, it is open to the argument that criteria were inappropriately applied. “My parcel is like the one to the east that permits twice as much development without worrying about the vegetation.” There is a great need for data and analysis that clearly identify expected impacts from development in each zone to support the restrictions. There is also the question as to whether the various zones are large enough to protect the environment as they are designed to. The restrictions also need to take into consideration the cumulative effects of development (an issue that the Great Barrier Reef Plan of Management approach is trying to address). Finally, because there are enormous economic incentives to develop tourism facilities, the regulations will succeed only if there is adequate and universal enforcement.

Zoning systems have been used to protect the environmentally sensitive areas of the Great Barrier Reef and are being adopted in an attempt to protect the Saguensay-St. Lawrence Marine Park and the Cancun-Tulum Corridor from the escalating impacts of tourism development. In each case, regulations limit the amount of development and use in designated areas. Another technique that can be used functionally removes permission to develop the land at all: the purchase of development rights. This very expensive mechanism is often used to protect prime agricultural land from the pressures of residential development, whether tourist related or not.

Case Study: Peninsula Township, Michigan

Following combined government, nongovernmental organization and citizen involvement in research, planning, community education programs and an active campaign, Peninsula Township passed a referendum permitting the purchase of development rights to save agricultural land and open space and control the rapid development of seasonal homes.

The Old Mission Peninsula is a narrow spit of land jutting from the northwest edge of lower Michigan into Grand Traverse Bay. (See Map 5-4.) Just 17 miles long and 2.5 miles wide, the peninsula has had a history of agriculture since the days when Native Americans grew corn and squash on the land. European settlers moved to the area in 1839, harvested timber from the forests, and soon most of the gently rolling terrain was being farmed. The first cherry orchard was planted in 1852, and red tart cherries became the dominant crop of the peninsula. The week-long National Cherry Festival still attracts thousands of tourists each July.

The long shoreline and mild (for Michigan) climate of the peninsula have long attracted summer visitors. Church groups from Chicago and Cincinnati created their own summer resorts in the late 1800s, and before long wealthy residents from large midwestern cities followed their lead, building summer homes along the bay. Relationships between
structure improvements are ambitious, but necessary, if the corridor plan is to succeed. After all, few visitors choose to drive even moderate distances on very poor roads or dirt tracks to visit a village, no matter how appealing its crafts might be. And rental car companies might well bar their cars on especially problematic roads. Bus routes and dependable public vehicles are currently an inadequate means for visits outside of the city.

Regarding the conservation of abandoned houses in the city and creation of pedestrian circuits, government planners have targeted opportunities that have worked well in other settings throughout the world and, if adequate funding is provided, should be successful in Oaxaca as well.

Initial efforts to improve access to villages and provide financial and technical assistance for construction of central markets have already brought increased numbers of tourists to many of the most famous craft villages. As always, however, there are some unexpected impacts from the new flow of tourists. The Day of the Dead is a popular Mexican holiday that has for years been drawing tourists to the city of Oaxaca. Many villages celebrate the event with elaborate costumes, music and dances, and parades. Soon, however, tour buses from one of Oaxaca’s five-star hotels will be carrying guests to watch the festivities in the small village of San Agustín. Residents are ambivalent about turning their traditional fiesta into a commercial event. “And the whole question of where to draw the line between allowing tourism and preserving the sanctity of their private village world is a very big deal.”

The state of Oaxaca, Mexico, shares many similarities with the Southern Lakes district of New Zealand. Both have a single popular destination city where the vast majority of tourists congregate. Both are attempting to expand tourism to outlying areas in order to increase the economic benefits of tourism and to distribute those benefits to a broader number of citizens. Both have a mountainous terrain that places constraints on travel. There is one major distinction between the two: while Oaxaca is in the midst of implementing its expansion strategy, New Zealand is still in the planning process. It has developed a series of draft strategies to achieve its goals but has not yet garnered the public support necessary to adopt and implement them.

Case Study: Southern Lakes Region, New Zealand—A Plan in Progress

This UNESCO World Heritage Area developed a multifaceted strategy to expand its nature-based tourism products to increase economic benefits and reduce seasonality.

One of New Zealand’s most heavily visited tourist areas is the Southern Lakes region in the southwestern portion of the South Island. (See Map 6-2.) Many of the one million yearly tourists who visit the area are attracted by the Fiordland National Park, a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Almost all of the 500,000 annual visitors to the park are highly concentrated in a very narrow corridor, from Doubtful Sound on the coast eastward to the town of Te Anau and northward to Milford Sound.

In the Southern Lakes region, tourism is a major economic force, accounting for two-thirds of the employment in the area. Reflecting the significance of the industry, a Southern

Lakes Tourism Strategy Steering Group, composed of representatives of the New Zealand Tourism Board and various district councils, came together to develop a strategic plan for the future of tourism in the area. In June 1997, the group published a comprehensive draft tourism strategy document and submitted it for extensive public comment. A final strategy document, dated February 1998, establishes five goals to guide future decisions concerning tourism development in the Southern Lakes Region:

1. to ensure environmental quality in the Southern Lakes is safeguarded or enhanced;
2. to ensure tourism development is supported by local communities;
3. to enhance the economic benefits of tourism to the Southern Lakes;
4. to encourage the benefits from tourism to be spread throughout the entire region; and
5. to ensure product meets or exceeds visitor expectations.

In an effort to meet those goals, the strategy document identifies a number of objectives, two of which are of special interest. The first is to increase the average length of stay, which would then trigger visits to additional regional destinations. The second is to increase the range of tourist offerings to ensure that the needs of visitors are met and that the Southern Lakes Region remains competitive with other destinations. The tourism strategy proposes a number of strategies to bring about this about.

Strategy to Increase Length of Stay

The primary strategy aimed at encouraging longer stays is to expand attractions beyond the central town of Queenstown, the largest town in the area, which attracts the vast majority of all overnight tourists in the Southern Lakes region. Located on the shore of a very deep lake and backed by the appropriately named mountains (The Remarkables), the town resembles a Swiss or Italian mountain lake resort hub. Upscale shops and restaurants abound, as do such day-tripping activities as a 1912 steamboat cruise, as well as more contemporary pursuits such as hang-gliding and bungee jumping. Queenstown offers five-star hotels with dramatic water and mountain views, as well as a variety of other accommoda-
tions, most notably elegant bed and breakfasts. The typical stay is Queenstown in two or three days.

The strategy document correctly notes that opportunities to enhance the quality and quantity of longer stays in the region—for example, with five- to ten-day self-catering packages (referred to as “stay-and-play vacations” in New Zealand)—will require international marketing. Potential visitors need information concerning the amenities available for such a vacation, such as short-term apartment rental listings in Queenstown and elsewhere. The strategy also recommends developing and marketing allied elements, such as rental car packages and local discounts for dining and shopping. The existing honeymoon sub-market is largely self-planned, but packages oriented to that group could well produce more and longer visits (about 22,000 international visitors presently state that the purpose of their trip is a honeymoon). The luxury lodge and “elegant” bed-and-breakfast product is growing but would benefit from improved Friday through Sunday air transportation. Queenstown has a large modern airport, but the same is not true in other areas of the mountainous region.

The strategy proposes more “multitasking” products that would appeal to the family market (especially from Asia). With more things for families to do, and with more potential overnight accommodations that would permit families to move from place to place, stays could lengthen. One popular family attraction is a “jet boat” trip along the very shallow Dart River north of Queenstown. The experience begins with a 1-hour scenic bus ride along the newly paved road along Lake Wakatipu from Queenstown to the small hamlet of Glenorchy. Along the way, the driver discusses geological, cultural, and social aspects of the route. The second element of the attraction is a three-hour jet boat ride of approximately 100 kilometers in a wilderness setting with high mountains on both sides. This activity is locally controversial because the boats have considerable power and some noise. On the other hand, the Department of Conservation has licensed only one company to offer such a service and has limited the number of boats allowed on the river at any one time. Animals on the riverbank seemed unfazed by the boats or their noise. Despite its appeal, this will presumably not develop into an activity for mass tourism because of the combination of governmental restrictions and its relatively high cost (US $105 per person in late 1997).

The strategy document also proposes an increased emphasis on improving and expanding special subject “trails.” These suggested routes—some day-trips and some longer itineraries—are individually planned and created to expose visitors to local crafts, heritage, wine, or other regionally interesting attributes. The strategy also recommends improvements to and added information on nature trails in the countryside. There are many excellent day hikes (as well as overnight tramps) from such locations as Queenstown and Te Anau, but there is limited international information about those opportunities. Most tourists learn about them when arriving at a visitor center or a store selling hiking or camping gear. These initiatives could increase the average length of stay once visitors are aware of the variety and number of such opportunities in the area.

Finally, the strategy document mentions developing new products for specific markets: stays on local farms for Japanese school excursions (which generally involve 100-300 students) and lakeside health spas and resorts for Asian women.

Strategy to Reduce Seasonality
The primary strategy to reduce seasonality is to develop products to increase demand during the low winter and autumn season. Skiing is an attraction that currently draws thou-

sands of visitors during the New Zealand winter. Its appeal could be expanded by offering regional ski passes to all sites in the area, creating a “super-ski” region. Promoting other snow-based activities, such as tobogganing and sleigh rides, could also expand the market. The Southern Lakes region already stages autumn and winter festivals and special events (an annual Bunnny Shoot, for example), but they have never been actively marketed outside the country itself. Finally, the strategy suggests developing specialized niche attractions like food and wine tours, mountain biking, hunting vacations, and agricultural tourism. Conference-based programs and education trips for “seniors” offer another opportunity for low season activities.

Strategy to Increase Heritage-Based Tourism
A third promising approach to expanding visits is to create new products to differentiate the Southern Lakes region from other areas of New Zealand. One promising avenue is the development of regional heritage activities. The culture of the indigenous Maori—their legends, history, religion, and crafts—have considerable tourist appeal. The high-quality Waitangi National Reserve in the Bay of Islands area of the North Island and the vastly more commercial New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute (incorporating a religious Thermal Reserve) in Rotorua on the South Island are both popular tourist destinations. Although the commentary on both the Doubtful Sound and Milford Sound cruises mention that the Maori used to travel to the islands to seek out jade for their carvings, there is little other information on the Maori in the Southern Lakes region. The strategy document wisely notes the importance of cultural sensitivity if the Maori heritage is used as the basis of new tourist attractions.

Another potential for development is to capitalize on the gold mining history of the Southern Lakes Region. This has already proven to be attractive to tourists. The restored Chinese Goldfield settlement in Arrowtown, a half-hour drive from Queenstown, is a popular day trip. The 17 sites along a pathway illustrate through restoration and interpretive plaques the lives of some of the 1,200 Chinese who arrived there in 1889 to rework gold claims abandoned by their previous owners. The restorations include such places as a store, huts, an outhouse, and an opium den. A small museum in the immaculate and pleasant town has nineteenth-century artifacts, pictures of the miners, and a history of the town. This superior 1988 project was a collaboration of the Department of Tourism and the Department of Conservation.

Strategy to Increase Nature-Based Tourism
Another strategy is to market the region as a nature tourism focal point, with the towns of Te Anau and Glenorchy as particularly promising overnight locations because of their positions on the edge of the World Heritage Area (Fiordland National Park). As explained in more detail in the following case study on Milford Sound, Te Anau is the gateway (via the scenic 119-kilometer Milford Road World Heritage Highway) to the world famous Milford Sound on the coast. The road includes a number of spectacular viewing locations, picnic and camping sites, trailheads for nine day-hiking trails, and an interpreted self-guided trail for the less adventurous but curious visitor. Also discussed in that case study is Glenorchy, as of the time of writing a tiny hamlet but likely to be quickly developed because of the recently paved, scenic road from Queenstown. At least that is the hope of horseman Bill Macmillan, who anticipates that most of the new visitors will be neophytes in horsemanship, interested in trying a ride in the rural setting. Certainly rapid tourism growth is the
plan of Minister of Tourism Murray McCully, who was selected to dedicate the new road. Minister McCully was ebullient in dedicating the new 47-kilometer road: “The road opens up new tourism opportunities for Glenorchy and the whole Lakes District. This road is tourism-creating, wealth-creating, and employment-creating.” That may well be true. But at least one local farmer, John Hasselman, is concerned that maintaining community character should be a high priority as the impacts of the road paving become more evident.

The nature-based tourism focus of the New Zealand tourism leaders and officials led to the conferment of the 1996 Supreme Tourism Award for the well-designed Doubtful Sound tour. This day-long activity begins in Te Anau with a short but scenic bus trip to the eastern tip of Lake Manapouri, a clear glacial lake dotted with islands. A boat takes riders across the lake where they transfer to another bus and travel over Wilmot Pass on a road carved over a two-year period in the rain forest wilderness, with a view of Doubtful Sound below. Once at the Sound, the visitors board another boat for a 40-kilometer cruise of the remote and majestic sound (ten times larger than the more visited Milford Sound), with glimpses of bottlenose dolphins, fur seals, and sometimes rare penguins. The return trip follows the same path, with an added two-kilometer trip by bus down a tunnel to visit a power station deep within a mountain. The overall quality of the experience is high and well deserving of the national award, with excellent and extensive interpretation of the natural features, flora, and fauna.

Closing Comments

The region's strategy to expand tourism opportunities is commendably broad. It consists of a number of objectives—reducing seasonality, encouraging longer overnight stays, improving heritage-based tourism, and increasing nature-based tourism—that are mutally complementary and include very specific steps for implementation. This is much more than lofty goal setting; it guides citizens and others in practical ways.

Implementation of the strategy, however, is a complicated matter because of the cooperation and coordination it requires. The marketing elements require that independent promotion groups throughout the Southern Lakes area work together to promote the entire region as a destination in its own right. Necessary infrastructure improvements and environmental management rely upon the cooperative efforts of regional councils and the national Department of Conservation. The strategy document itself states that “(t)he broad range of issues associated with tourism development in the Southern Lakes means that implementation of the strategy is dependent upon the involvement of a number of groups and agencies,” including district and regional councils, community boards, Maori tribes, regional conservation boards, fish and game councils, the national transit authority, tourism organizations, local associations, health services, tourism businesses, and local communities. As Chapter 2 suggests, securing broad-based support and consensus from such diverse constituencies, with differing goals and often representing different levels of government authority, can be a challenging process.

The Southern Lakes region strategy is broadly directed to expanding tourism for the economic benefit of the entire region. One element of that plan involves strategies for coping with the single instance of tourism that is too intensive the congestion at Milford Sound. The original draft plan proposed three separate solutions; each one was an expansion approach with both temporal and physical elements. Although carefully thought-out, each alternative involved controversial elements and had significant drawbacks. The Milford Sound Strategy is an excellent example of the practical difficulties of building consensus for any complicated option from distinct constituencies.

Case Study: Milford Sound, New Zealand—A Plan in Progress

Current tourist numbers approach the limit of both the physical carrying capacity of Milford Sound and the visitors' satisfaction capacity. New means of access are being considered to alleviate midday congestion and overcrowding at this popular tourist attraction.

One of New Zealand's most well-known international attractions is under considerable pressure because of its very popularity. Milford Sound is a fiord, opening into the Tasman Sea on the west coast of the South Island's mountainous Fiordland National Park, a UNESCO World Heritage Area. It is spectacularly beautiful, surrounded by perennially snow-capped peaks, with hundreds of waterfalls cascading down its steep cliffs, seals resting on its rocky outcroppings, and bottlenose dolphins playing in its pristine waters. Tourists are drawn to this remote and rugged site to encounter the majesty of nature in a cloistered setting.

The Road to Milford Sound

Access to such beauty does not come easily. The four-day, strenuous hike along the 54-kilometer Milford Track, across mountains and through glaciated valleys in a temperate rainforest (the source of those awe inspiring waterfalls), is one way to approach Milford Sound. The priciest passage is by small plane, over the often foggy mountains. Most of the 300,000 tourists who visit every year, however, opt for a lengthy day-trip. For the vast majority of visitors, the 12-hour excursion begins in Queenstown, 300 kilometers away. Motor coaches (see Photo 6-1) carry their passengers south and west along the aptly named Remarkable Mountains and across valleys filled with sheep and deer, to the small town of Te Anau. Here the buses pick up more passengers for the remaining 120-kilometer ride along the Milford Road World Heritage Highway. This scenic route follows the shore of Lake Te Anau, then snakes up and down through the Eglington and Hollyford Valleys, passes through a mountain tunnel, and finally arrives at Milford Sound, resting beneath the towering Mitre Peak.

The national Conservation Department has devoted extensive recreational funding and staffing resources to improving the Milford Road. It now provides camping facilities, picnic areas, trailheads, a self-guided interpretive walk, and scenic viewing areas. Plans for the future include additional and expanded interpretation facilities, more self-guided walks and an audiotape that interprets important features along the road. While it may be true that “(t)he journey along the road is spectacular and adds value to the Milford Sound experience;” it is also true that few tourists in rental cars are willing to tackle the often challenging drive on the narrow, winding road, subject to landslides, washouts, and, in winter months, avalanches.

Once they're arrived at their destination, the motor coaches discharge their passengers, who board one of the charter boats that offer 1.5-hour cruises, with commentary, along the Sound. Scenery is the biggest draw in Milford Sound, but there is a fairly recent underwa-