

TOURISM, RECREATION AND SUSTAINABILITY

2nd Edition

Linking Culture and the Environment

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2nd Edition

Linking Culture and the Environment

Edited by

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and

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CABI is a trading name of CAB International

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A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library, London, UK.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Tourism, recreation, and sustainability: linking culture and the environment /
edited by Stephen McCool and R. Neil Moisey. -- 2nd ed.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-84593-470-5 (alk. paper)

1. Tourism. 2. Ecotourism. 3. Sustainable development. I. McCool,
Stephen F. II. Moisey, R. Neil. III. Title.

G155.A1T59244 2009
910.68--dc21

2008025497

First edition published by CABI in 2001

ISBN: 978 1 84593 470 5

Typeset by SPi, Pondicherry, India.

Printed and bound in the UK by Cromwell Press, Trowbridge.

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Preface to the 2nd Edition

When we were asked by CAB International to prepare a second edition to this book, we were pleasantly surprised. There are many books about sustainable tourism in the market, most of which do not have such second editions. While the academic reviews of the first edition were favourable, we had not expected such a request. When we agreed to do a second edition, we decided that some substantial revision in content was needed. Since the first edition was published, a number of issues have emerged or have grown into a substantial discourse, and we felt the second edition should attempt to address these.

In addition, there have been some major contributions to the literature, including new books, major conferences, even publications of tourism management guidelines by such organizations as the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICIMOS), the UN World Tourism Organization and the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. In the 8 years since the first edition was published, there has been substantial growth in discussion about tourism, the environment, culture, and how tourism can be constructively used to enhance protection of important cultural and natural heritage sites and values, and provide opportunity for economic advancement.

In constructing this edition, we asked the existing authors to revise their earlier manuscripts in light of new information and knowledge, any shifts in social values and priorities and new insights gained from a more extended experience. In addition, we asked some authors to prepare new manuscripts on important and emerging issues. We hope that readers will find the resulting book useful in stimulating discourse and research in this critical area of human endeavour.

Stephen McCool
Neil Moisey

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Introduction: Pathways and Pitfalls in the Search for Sustainable Tourism

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Introduction

The growing, even accelerating, concerns about the status of the world environment initially triggered by such publications as Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* and the Club of Rome Report (Meadows *et al.*, 1972) were coalesced by the Brundtland Commission's *Our Common Future* which argued that survival of the human species depended on adoption of a new paradigm of economic development termed 'sustainable development' (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). This paradigm was significantly different from previous calls for environmental protection and economic progress in the sense that it represented a combination of both while attending to quality-of-life needs. The Commission argued that the only effective method of protecting the environment, addressing economic progress, alleviating poverty and preserving human rights was through a developmental paradigm that 'provided for the needs of the present while ensuring that options for the future were preserved'.

The Brundtland Commission Report served as a catalyst for discussing the future of human society and ways of ensuring that development is sustainable over the long term. The report was favourably received in many academic and policy circles around the world, and as a result stimulated a great amount of discussion. Yet, many questions have been left unanswered: how does one conserve the environment, provide a more equitable distribution of income among those living at the present and ensure that there is equality in access to quality of life? Can we optimize all three goals, or are there trade-offs involved? If so, what are they? How does one provide for the needs of the present while preserving options for future generations? Who represents future generations and their needs in these decisions? What is supposed to be sustained? What roles do different economic sectors, non-governmental organizations and government institutions play in seeking

sustainability? What are the roles of ethics and science in sustainability policies? How can development be sustained? Can sustainability be achieved within existing institutional and political economy frameworks and processes? How does one develop and apply a science of sustainability while promoting more public participation in government decision making? How do we make human societies and the environments upon which they depend more resilient in the face of unanticipated social, political and climate change?

Academic fields such as agriculture, ecology, economics, management, political science, psychology and community development have made progress in developing research and policy on the meaning of sustainability and sustainable development. In this widely scattered search for purpose, a variety of themes have developed, including sustainability as ecosystem maintenance, preservation of natural capital, provision for intergenerational and intragenerational equity, sustainable development, redistribution of political power and maintenance or restoration of human-environment systems' resiliency. These different themes have made communicating about sustainability difficult and challenging but also have the advantage of raising important and useful questions about the pathways, interrelationships and pitfalls to a more sustainable world.

Tourism has not escaped the discussions concerning sustainability. Indeed many texts, including this one, have been challenged to frame the question of sustainable tourism (e.g. Innskeep, 1991; McCool and Watson, 1995; Stabler, 1997; Wahab and Pigram, 1997; Hall and Lew, 1998; Swarbrooke, 1999; Font and Tribe, 2000). More recent texts, such as Weaver (2005) and Bushell and Eagles (2007), have advanced the academic discourse to include issues such as scale, management of visitors, ethical questions and the relationships between tourism and protected areas. The growth of interest in World Heritage Sites as engines of economic growth has stimulated additional work to clarify the roles of the tourism industry and to suggest mechanisms for managing congestion and visitor experiences (e.g. Eagles *et al.*, 2002; Pedersen, 2002; World Tourism Organization, 2005).

This discourse is even more significant in light of the dramatic growth, both actual and predicted, in the international travel. The UN World Tourism Organization suggests that international arrivals will double in the period 2007–2020, from about 800 million to 1.6 billion, an amount of travel *four* times higher than that which existed at the time of publication of the Brundtland Commission Report (see Fig. 1.1). This dramatic growth carries with it important implications for economies, cultures and the environment.

Clearly, tourism has become a global financial power, achieving a planetary presence unequalled by many other economic sectors. As it has grown, so have the criticisms of its environmental, economic, cultural and political consequences (e.g. Cater and Goodall, 1992; McLaren, 1997; Rothman, 1998; Honey, 1999). Tourism is no longer the benign economic development tool that the boosterism of the past purported it to be. In fact, many of the negative consequences of tourism, particularly in the social domain, are challenging and pernicious. Yet, many of the social and environmental issues associated with tourism development are not necessarily significantly different from

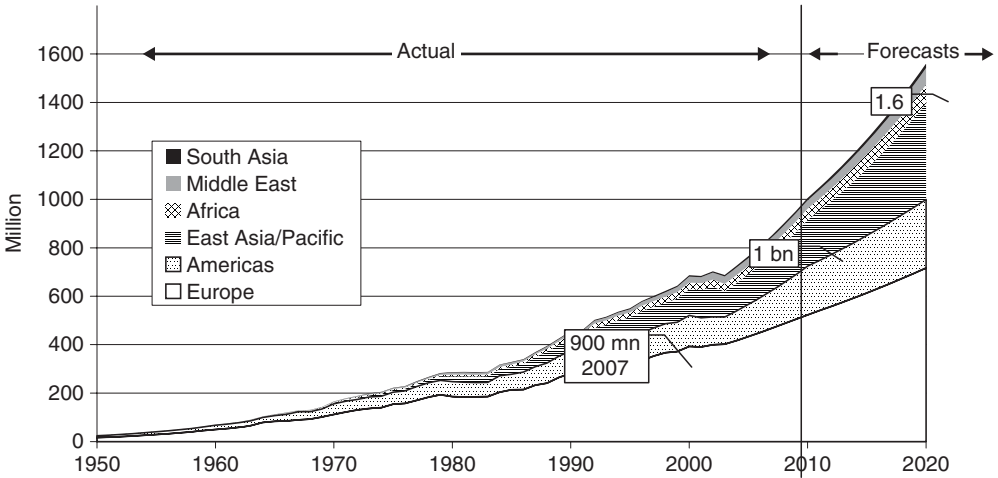


Fig. 1.1. Actual and projected international arrivals, 1950–2020. (From UNWTO.)

those of other methods of development such as forestry, mining, manufacturing and agriculture.

This book is designed to illustrate many of the issues and approaches associated with sustainable tourism development, policy and research. Included are case studies of tourism development using both quantitative and qualitative methods, analytical frameworks for managing tourism and chapters addressing critical questions about the relationship between tourism and sustainability goals. As a whole, the book demonstrates the many dimensions and topics associated with attempts to address the complex issues associated with sustainability and tourism. In this edition, we have added several new chapters that address emerging issues in management of tourism.

In this chapter, we outline several of the pathways and pitfalls confronting tourism as it seeks an appropriate role in this world. These include:

1. *The meaning of sustainable tourism* – there are several such meanings; which ones are used suggest not only world views, but have implications for other issues as well.
2. *Integration with the larger economy and linkage with scale of consideration* – planners, academics and advocates are increasingly concerned with how tourism development fits in with broader social and economic development goals.
3. *The search for indicators* – how do we know if sustainable tourism is indeed sustainable without a set of measurable variables that indicate progress?
4. *Planning and implementation* – sustainable tourism does not just happen, it occurs only with explicit decision-making processes that consider what futures are plausible and desirable and the pathways leading to them.
5. *Forms of knowledge and public participation* – achieving sustainable tourism will require a variety of individuals, agencies and programmes, each using different forms of knowledge and each involving those affected by decisions.

We briefly discuss each of these pathways and pitfalls, and then provide an overview of the book.

Sustainable Tourism, Sustaining Tourism or What Should Tourism Sustain? Different Meanings, Alternative Pathways

As with its larger context, the meanings attached to sustainable tourism have varied significantly, with little apparent consensus among authors and government institutions. This leads to two problems. First, sustainable tourism constitutes what is termed a 'guiding fiction': guiding fictions serve socially valuable functions as long as definitions remain vague; they stimulate and organize social discourse around problematic issues, but when individuals seek the more specific definitions needed to guide action, this function breaks down as groups argue over the meaning of terms (Shumway, 1991). The challenge here is to maintain the pathway to sustainable tourism while providing secure venues for public deliberation about meanings and actions.

Second, agreement on meanings is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for making progress on socially problematic challenges. Action in society requires a variety of actors performing cooperatively and in collaboration (Friedmann, 1973). In tourism development, this includes promotional agencies, governmental planning and zoning institutions, community development groups, local residents, transportation planners, private entrepreneurs and others. Use of different meanings of terminology central to discourse can lead ultimately to conflict and development of mistrust. This lack of consensus on meanings is a significant pitfall in the search for sustainability, for the different meanings result from significantly different perceptions of tourism and its role in society. These meanings also lead to different implications for appropriate social action.

There are at least three different meanings that relate directly to the notion of sustainable tourism that are used in the literature. These meanings reflect a continuum of world views from those that are industry-centred to those that are more broadly social-centred:

1. *Sustaining tourism: how to maintain tourism industry businesses over a long time frame.* This view suggests that the primary task is to build and manage a set of tourism businesses that can maintain themselves over a long period. This view is narrow in the sense that the objective of sustainable tourism is the tourism (and recreation) industry and included business firms. This view of sustainable tourism would place great emphasis on maintaining promotional programmes that ensure that the number of tourists visiting an area continues to rise. In this sense of sustainable tourism, the more tourists, the better. While maintaining the health of individual businesses may be viewed as a worthy social goal, this perspective does not necessarily recognize tourism as a tool to enhance economic opportunity, protecting a community's cultural and natural heritage and maintaining a desired quality of life.

2. *Sustainable tourism: a kinder, gentler form of tourism that is generally small in scale, sensitive to cultural and environmental impact and respects the involvement of local people in policy decisions.* This view comes from an argument that there are finite biophysical and social limits to tourism development. It recognizes that tourism, as any other economic activity, can overwhelm a community with negative social and environmental impacts. Thus, sustainable tourism, closely allied with the notion of ecotourism, is small in scale, designed to benefit local peoples and communities and protect heritage resources upon which the tourism and recreation industry is built. Within this view, there remains considerable divergence of opinion, with some authors suggesting that sustainable tourism represents the conduct of individual tourists, others maintaining that it is ethical behaviour on the part of tourism and recreation-based businesses, and still others suggesting that it focuses on the amount of social and environmental impact. In a sense, it is probably all three. A larger question, however, concerns unnecessary, normative and counterproductive distinctions between sustainable tourism and mass tourism that often accompany this meaning. Much of the globe's tourism may qualify as mass tourism, but the central question of sustainability concerns how the negative social and economic impacts of human activity can be reduced. Given that most tourism would probably be defined as mass tourism, it follows that the greatest progress in reducing impacts would be to address mass tourism, not ignore it.

3. *What should tourism sustain? Tourism as a tool for development.* This view sees tourism as a tool of social and economic development, as a method to enhance economic opportunity, not as an end in itself. This question is similar to Gale and Cordray's (1994) question of 'what should be sustained?' in a natural resource management context, for which they provided nine different answers, primarily focusing on various ecosystem characteristics. In this sense, tourism is integrated in broader economic and social development programmes (Hunter, 1995; McCool *et al.*, 2001) and can be viewed as a method – similar to many definitions of ecotourism – to protect the natural and social capital upon which the industry is built. By asking this question, we view tourism as a tool, which at times may be important to a community and at other times not so important. In this sense, we are not speaking of protecting cultures for their value to the tourism industry, but because of their value to their people (Robinson, 1999). It may be possible under this view that tourism is not sustained over a long period, but is used as a method to accumulate income and government revenue that can be later used for other development tools. Tourism would be viewed as part of a larger policy framework designed to achieve a sustainable society. In addition, the type of tourism in this view may not necessarily be small in scale.

These alternative views of sustainable tourism carry significantly different implications for social and economic policy, selection of indicators, public participation and the planning processes needed to encourage tourism development in the private sector. They reflect differing perspectives on the concept of sustainability.

We prefer to use the third approach to study sustainability and tourism. It seems that it places tourism more properly as a means and not an end to economic development. It allows tourism to be considered as one of several alternatives that can help a community overcome its weaknesses and preserve its strengths. It views tourism as a tool and not as an end.

Integrating Tourism into Broader Social and Economic Development Processes

To think of tourism in terms of any of these meanings, except for the first, means that tourism is integrated into development decisions in the larger social and economic context. Sustainable tourism viewed as a kinder, gentler form embraces not only growing societal concerns over social and environmental impacts but also a moral commitment to future generations. It promotes softer forms of tourism, but fails to address where the largest gains in impact reduction – particularly environmental consequences – can occur. In many cases identifying all the consequences and the trade-offs involved, such as reducing the carbon footprint of tourism, can be problematic. For example, if no one travelled to visit natural and cultural heritage (as some have suggested), the carbon footprint of tourism would indeed be small. But millions of people would be unemployed, which would lead to another set of negative consequences. In this context, how does the concept of sustainability help us select an appropriate strategy?

Tourism is a method that society in many places has decided collectively can be used to enhance economic opportunity. Far too often, however, its ultimate goal of enhancing economic opportunity has been neglected in favour of unbridled boosterism with few acknowledgements of tourism's negative social and environmental consequences. In the USA, state-level tourism agencies are generally involved solely in promotion activities – through advertising, 'fam tours' and the like – without significant responsibility in other areas of marketing, such as pricing and product development. This focus on promotion only fails to capture the important positive and negative consequences of tourism in identification of goals and policy implementation. Such a narrow emphasis and definition of tourism marketing limits social discourse of tourism as a serious tool for economic development.

The fragmented and disjointed nature of tourism development remains an important pitfall in seeking a more sustainable world. State and local (e.g. destination marketing organizations, visitor and convention bureaus) promotion agencies, for example, often have little planning relationship with local government agencies, usually are focused on promotion rather than marketing (which includes 'product protection and development') and generally have little influence over private investment in tourism infrastructure, services and opportunities. The variety of agencies and organizations with competing, if not conflicting, goals makes the coordinated action needed for achieving sustainability difficult. One agency may promote protected areas as a tourism destination while another is responsible for managing the tourists

and their impacts when they arrive. Such compartmentalized decision making remains a large obstacle to integrated planning and development.

Since tourism development and promotion are collective decisions (in the sense that government agencies provide the funding), knowledge and attitudes of the public are important considerations in policy articulation and implementation. Attitude data have been collected for many years in a variety of situations. The data show general support for tourism (see Chapter 13, this volume), but also demonstrate concerns for equity in funding the cost of services needed by tourists, excessive use leading to congestion in favourite recreation areas and the ability of tourism to provide jobs that pay good wages. This type of information can assist tourism marketing agencies in reviewing the impacts of their advertising efforts and suggest new ways to enhance opportunities for tourism development.

The Search for Sustainable Tourism Indicators

Given a goal of sustainability, and a real and legitimate desire to measure progress towards achieving that goal, there is a need for indicators that will suggest the extent to which the goal is being attained. In a sense, we need to know if indeed sustainable tourism has become sustainable! We need to know if what tourism is supposed to sustain is becoming sustainable. The search for indicators is an important path to sustainability, but the meaning of the term is a critical influence on what path is measured.

There is a growing literature on the concept of sustainability indicators, both in a larger context and with respect to tourism (see Moldan *et al.*, 1997, and Bossel, 1999, for excellent discussions of sustainability indicators). A number of efforts by the World Tourism Organization, Manning and other individuals have identified an almost unlimited set of indicator variables. The extent to which these variables (concerning sustainable tourism) relate to broader efforts concerning sustainability (such as those proposed by the International Institute for Sustainable Development, the Montreal Process, etc.) is unknown. Again, there is the very real possibility of compartmentalization of attention, when sustainability is more of a holistic concept. Selection of indicators in the past has been conducted primarily on an ad hoc basis, without a specific theoretical or conceptual framework of the system in place. A number of authors have argued that ad hoc approaches run a number of dangers in indicator selection (e.g. Bossel, 1999). Others have suggested that indicators based solely on the opinions of experts further divide policy and practice (McCool and Stankey, 2004). This suggests a need for further research and description of the tourism-recreation system that would be useful for sustainability questions. These concerns also suggest the need for more inclusive indicator identification processes.

Selecting indicators is constrained by our lack of knowledge about the effects of tourism development at larger scales – such as communities and nations – and over long time frames. Often such effects significantly lag in time from the initial causes. The system may exhibit non-linear dynamics

(consequences are not additive) because of interaction of many variables over time. Effects may be spatially displaced. A resort development near a tropical marine park may eventually lead to reef decline because of excessive nutrients from inappropriately treated sewage, but these effects may not be measurable for a long time. Declines in the quality of the coral may then lead to changes in the resort's clientele, which in turn may result in other developments leading to further insidious and difficult-to-trace impacts.

What indicators might there be that are available at the community level and at the national level, and are data for those indicators available over periods of, say, decades? We need to understand and specify the function of indicators, of which there are at least three: (i) indicating the state or condition of some entity (such as a community or industry); (ii) measuring the effectiveness of a particular management practice (such as a specific advertising programme or development plan); and (iii) providing leading information on changes that may occur in a later time period (McCool and Stankey, 1999).

Indicators must meet certain criteria to be useful. These criteria include such things as containing an output orientation, holding construct validity, being quantitatively measurable, having inter-observer reliability, being easy to collect or measure and sensitive to change across space and time (Livermann *et al.*, 1988). Most importantly, indicators must be carefully chosen to reflect the interests of policy makers who must make decisions based on indicator information.

Planning and Implementation of Tourism Development

Tourism, particularly those forms based on the local cultural and natural heritage, contains great potential to negatively impact the very resources upon which the industry is founded. The literature contains a great outcry about 'tourism destroying tourism'. And, given that the 'friendliness' of community or destination residents may be an important influence on the satisfaction of tourists, understanding the capacity of local residents for tourism and their involvement in development decisions is important for successful tourism implementation. Therefore, planning of tourism development at both larger and smaller scales must take great care to reduce negative impacts.

Planning and implementation can only be considered as linked activities, for if planning is to change the future, it needs to be linked directly to means of implementing actions. Proceeding with planning but without providing for implementation represents an unnecessary compartmentalization of functions without any redeeming value. To paraphrase Wildavsky (1973), the promise of planning must be dignified by its performance. This can only occur if implementation is considered a component of planning processes.

While the basic function of planning is to select a future and find the best path to it, traditional planning processes for tourism development may no longer be appropriate for 21st-century contexts. These contexts are likely typified by seemingly competing goals (e.g. protecting environmental quality and providing economic opportunity) and lack of scientific agreement on

cause–effect relationships, particularly at the larger spatial and temporal scales of interest in sustainability issues. While attaining these types of goals is an apparent purpose of pursuing a sustainable tourism policy, they are not necessarily compatible in all situations. Analyses are needed that suggest what trade-offs between them will occur. We need to ask what costs occur, what benefits result and who benefits and pays.

These contexts may be termed ‘messy situations’ (Ackoff, 1974; McCool and Patterson, 2000). In messy situations, traditional approaches to planning, based on formalized rational-comprehensive planning involving only minimal public participation, quite often lead to hostile and polarized relationships without resolving the problem. In messy situations, where goals conflict or compete and science contains a lot of uncertainty, planning is based on the notion of social learning (Lee, 1993; Stankey *et al.*, 1999) to better understand how things fit together, and consensus building (Krumpe and McCool, 1997; McCool *et al.*, 2000) to organize the societal action needed to implement a plan. Importantly, in these processes, implementation is viewed as an extension of planning rather than as compartmentalized from it.

There is a myth in the sustainable tourism literature that suggests that resources responsibly developed in this paradigm will not be negatively impacted. For example, Innskeep (1991, p. 144) observes that carrying capacity is the level of ‘use that will not result in environmental or sociocultural deterioration’. This, of course, is impossible: any kind of development will result in some change in the social and natural environment; thus, tourism development deals with trade-offs. However, the validity of the carrying capacity concept is increasingly contested in the tourism and recreation literature (see especially Getz, 1982; Butler, 1996; Lindberg *et al.*, 1997; McCool and Lime, 2001). Carrying capacities, as Stankey and McCool (1984) have long argued, lead planners to ask the question ‘How many is too many?’ when the real issue concerns how we should best protect the values, biophysical conditions and social meanings that are important to people.

While much progress has been made in developing frameworks for managing visitors and tourism (McCool *et al.*, 2007), the tourism literature is still all too often dogged by a desire to find the one number carrying capacity solution (e.g. Edgell, 2006). Such continuing arguments for carrying capacities tend to excessively reduce a complex dynamic phenomenon to a question that is, simply, too simple. A substantial tourism literature exists critiquing the concept of a tourism carrying capacity (e.g. McCool and Lime, 2001), and yet few authors, in arguing for establishing carrying capacities, have substantively responded to these critiques. We need to advance the state of practice of tourism planning by recognizing and addressing its intrinsic complexity through policies and approaches that address problems and not symptoms.

The question is then how much change from a defined and agreed-upon condition is acceptable, given the benefits provided. For example, a new tourism development may lead to some biophysical impacts in a nearby protected area, but also provide employment for local residents. In a sense, this could be looked at as a conflict, for example, between providing economic opportunity

and protection of the natural heritage. If protection is viewed as an ultimately constraining goal, then the question is how much impact will we permit in order to gain a certain economic or quality-of-life benefit? While this question can be informed by science, it is not a science question but a political and economic one. One of the problems of carrying capacity approaches is that they give the illusion that the question is primarily scientific.

Planning for sustainable tourism represents a redistribution of power, particularly to those living in the future. Given this definition, a number of questions arise: who represents the future? How well are institutions prepared to consider the needs of future generations or those in the current generations that are not as well off? More inclusive approaches to planning empower local people with experiential knowledge. This shift of power away from technocrats and science is not always viewed favourably.

We cannot predict the future with any level of accuracy, and thus we are continually faced with uncertainty. In this context, how can we adapt tourism development strategies to maintain community resiliency in the face of ecological and economic surprises? Can we develop strategies that are robust in the face of alternative futures? What role can scenario planning play in identifying sustainable tourism approaches?

Integrating Different Forms of Knowledge into Sustainable Tourism Planning

Given the complexity of tourism sustainability and the current lack of scientific knowledge about cause–effect relationships, it is clear that various forms of knowledge (scientific, emotional and experiential) are all legitimate in making tourism development decisions. While sustainability is often posed as a technical-scientific issue, it actually represents a moral commitment to future generations, because it represents a decision to provide future generations with the same array of options current generations now enjoy (Pearce *et al.*, 1989). Science can inform sustainability decisions, but cannot determine those decisions. In addition to scientific knowledge, experiential and emotional forms of knowledge can contribute to more informed decisions. These forms of knowledge may not only substitute for the lack of scientific knowledge, but they frequently inform policy makers of the importance of various values and places. They suggest where conflicts between tourists and local residents may appear. They indicate how much tolerance for tourism the local community may hold. They can help identify goals of economic and tourism development and how particular policies may or may not contribute to attaining those goals. They indicate what values are important to a community.

This suggests that policy makers pay particular attention to the design of public participation programmes and their objectives. The literature of tourism development provides powerful arguments that the affected public has rights to engage in decision-making processes. Such rights, however, are not limited to simply being informed about what an agency or private firm may wish to do but also involve helping to identify desirable futures and the

acceptable pathways to them. However, such processes are often so designed as to make participation such a formality that conflict is often aggravated. In the messy situations that were identified earlier, public participation provides important learning and consensus building functions that serve to address uncertainty and conflict over goals.

Some suggestions about participation include identifying objectives of participation efforts (Arnstein, 1969), determining if a consensus is desired, developing the situational conditions to enhance the usefulness of public participation (Shindler and Neburka, 1997), experimenting with new forms of participation and collaboration (Hall, 1999; Ritchie, 1999) and identifying methods for evaluating the success of participation techniques (Marien and Pizam, 1997). Increasingly, authors are calling for planning processes to involve collaboration and recognize that planning should be adaptive and viewed in a sense as experimental (cf. Reed, 1999).

Organization of This Book

Understanding these pathways and pitfalls is fundamental to developing and implementing sustainable tourism policies, but is only illustrative of the challenges confronting the industry as it seeks a more sustainable world. That they are complex and demand equally sophisticated responses is an imperative not to be ignored. Tourism and recreation are two aspects of the same phenomenon: society's search for meaningful uses of leisure. What those uses and their consequences are can be understood only within the context of the linkages between culture and the environment. To examine one without considering the other leads to incomplete analyses for they are both inextricably joined. In many situations, this linkage is neither neat nor pretty, but rather complex and difficult to describe and understand.

This book further illustrates in the chapters that follow the complexity and messiness of sustainable tourism. This book is designed in part to address, through a variety of case studies and analytical frameworks, these pathways while acknowledging and addressing the pitfalls. The chapters report on sustainable tourism as it is occurring in different areas at diverse scales throughout the world. We have divided the book into three parts, each of which addresses a different sustainable tourism theme.

In Part I (Frameworks and Approaches), several authors discuss the need for integration of social and environmental issues in tourism development, though what has been written about integration far exceeds its practice. The frameworks and case studies included in this part provide readers with several perspectives, indicating there is no 'one size fits all' answer, that understanding how the issue of tourism development is framed is fundamental to creating useful and productive policy, and that various forms of knowledge all have something to offer in developing policy. The fundamental proposition here is that successful tourism development occurs only within a framework that explicitly considers impacts on these two domains. Part II of the book (Tourism and Place) explicitly recognizes the importance of

understanding the values and attributes of areas that become tourist destinations. The notion of 'place' has become a major arena in the tourism and recreation literature. Places are attractive because of the values, cultures and other attributes that make them different from where tourists permanently reside. Tourism development holds many consequences for how residents and tourists assign and derive meanings from specific communities and tourism destinations. These studies examine these issues and significance of 'place attachment' in tourism development decisions. The call for wider public participation in tourism planning has many subscribers; such calls are based on ideologies that strive for a restructuring of political power. Part III (Emerging Issues in Culture and Tourism) illustrates that we live in a dynamic world, that what was once acceptable is no longer, that our mental models of tourism development are in constant change and that researchers and policy makers must be alert to shifting public values and beliefs. This part includes important material on local attitudes, poverty alleviation, indigenous people and tourism, and a discussion about culture and tourism.

The last chapter summarizes the lessons learned and the challenges to be met in this bid to discuss sustainable tourism. We have included this chapter in an attempt to synthesize the underlying learning that has occurred from these studies of sustainable tourism in vastly different circumstances. Archiving this learning, then, becomes an important footstep along the pathway to sustainability and helps avoid the pitfalls that must have occurred in each of the studies.

Conclusion

If anything, tourism is a complex form of economic development that has many forward and backward linkages not only to the economy, but to the culture and environment as well. Sustainable tourism – in the sense of what tourism should sustain – links cultures and their environment, for cultures have developed out of their interaction with their embedding environment. Ignoring one while dealing with the other leads to potentially negative and irreversible consequences, which may not be identifiable for a long time. The experience of others, as archived here, is helpful in understanding how we can better link both in our trek to a more sustainable world.

Making tourism sustainable and cultures resilient requires that we properly frame the question of sustainable tourism. Clearly, as we have shown here, there are several possible ways of framing the question; this indicates the importance of asking the right question. The 'answers' depend on how the question is framed. Too often, we have seen questions framed narrowly or miscast (such as how many visitors are too many), with the result of creating inadvertent barriers to dialogue and consensus on appropriate futures and the pathways to them.

All too often, solutions are aimed at symptoms and not the problems, previous solutions, or problems that have nothing to do with the problem

at hand (Bardwell, 1991). The pitfall in discussing sustainable tourism is that we maintain an illusion of knowing what the question is when we really do not. The promise is that we will be better off in the future by examining the concept of sustainability than by not examining it.

The sustainable tourism literature, including the chapters in this book, informs us as to the alternative pathways to the future. They suggest the types of pitfalls one may confront along those pathways, as well as ways of bridging them. They indicate how culture and the environment are inextricably linked in tourism development. The chapters suggest the enormous complexity of tourism development, particularly that type of development that is designed to be softer and oriented towards achieving socially important goals. Which pathways are selected and how the pitfalls are avoided are of course political and ethical decisions, not necessarily scientific ones.

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I Frameworks and Approaches

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The rapid increase in travel we are now experiencing leads to many manifestations on both environmental and social systems. Development of tourism opportunities to take advantage of the increase in travel has been the centre of much debate in academia, by activists and by managers of the protected areas that often serve as the product base. This discourse has been informed by a variety of disciplines and has concluded that integrated frameworks are needed to successfully deal with the consequences of touristic activity.

The authors in this part discuss the need for systematic frameworks and approaches to integrate cultural and environmental issues in tourism development decision making. In so doing, they suggest some useful approaches and illustrate through several case studies the intricate relationships between these two domains. The fundamental proposition of this part is that successful tourism development occurs only through the use of frameworks that explicitly impact these two dimensions and their interactions.

The environmental impacts of tourism are fairly well understood and documented, but the rise of ecotourism and nature-based touristic activity has often shifted the locus of impacts to more undeveloped and fragile locations. With this shift, impacts are more related to tourist behaviour than either numbers or large-scale infrastructure. Leung, Marion and Farrell (Chapter 2, this volume) propose that the field of recreation ecology can help protected area managers and tourism developers better understand environmental impacts of tourism. This understanding informs processes to predict and manage impacts. They argue that the level of impacts is influenced by environmental and use-related factors that are unique to each location.

Successful management of tourism, both positive and negative, also requires understanding of the diversity of demand for a variety of social-psychological outcomes and recreational settings. We know that people, over time and space, expect and desire diversity in settings. Putting these expectations into a framework that helps managers work through the complex

challenge of matching supply and demand is the subject of Dawson's chapter (Chapter 3, this volume). Dawson, building on the concept of a recreation opportunity spectrum, proposes a 'Tourism Opportunity Spectrum'. This spectrum could be used to zone different areas in a region for different recreation opportunities thereby clustering similar facilities and programmes together and minimizing conflict.

While tourism leads to a number of positive social and economic consequences, it is the negative impacts that have captured the attention of anthropologists, sociologists and geographers. Understanding these impacts and the trade-offs with positive impacts they imply can help community developers identify strategies and approaches to mitigate the undesirable results. In Chapter 4 (this volume), Ioannides suggests that longitudinal frameworks may help these decision makers better understand the sequence of both primary and secondary effects. Sustainability occurs over large temporal scales; understanding longitudinal developments and effects is important to ensure that decisions are indeed sustainable.

Thinking regionally about sustainability and securing decision-making processes that are inclusive and transparent are important dimensions of sustainable tourism, as argued by Payne, Johnston and Twynam in Chapter 5 (this volume). They begin their discussion with a review of the road towards sustainability, one that was triggered by the Brundtland Commission Report in 1987. Thinking regionally about sustainable policies and practices helps reduce the 'problem displacement' phenomenon that often occurs when implementing sustainability at too small a spatial or social organizational scale. The authors also provide arguments and evidence that populations and their perceptions and beliefs must be included in the development of sustainability – thus providing the foundation for further articulation in latter parts of this book.

In the final chapter of this part, Johnston and Twynam (Chapter 6) provide a case study of application of sustainable tourism principles. The locale for the case is the Arctic, an area that has become increasingly tenuous since the first edition with evidence of global climate change being experienced. This sensitive region is also growing in popularity with tourists, and the combination may make for accelerating impacts. Johnston and Twynam thus describe the generation and application of principles and practices to make Arctic tourism more sustainable.