

Proceedings of a round table

**Culture, tourism, development:
crucial issues for the XXIst century**

Paris, 26-27 June 1996

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Opening address

Lourdes Arizpe
Assistant Director-General for Culture
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Ladies and gentlemen,

I should like to begin by welcoming to UNESCO the participants in this round table organized as part of the World Decade for Cultural Development in co-operation with the International Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism, and I extend greetings to its Chairperson, Mr Peter Keller, who is present; the meeting also enjoys the assistance of the review *Annals of Tourism Research*, whose Editor-in-Chief, Mr Jafar Jafari, we are likewise pleased to have among us.

I should also like to thank those present in this room, in particular the members of the Permanent Delegations, for their interest in this round table.

It is as a result of the great interest shown for several years in questions relating to tourism and expressed strongly during the last General Conference by Member States that I have asked for this round table to be held, in order to study in depth, in four debates, the crucial issues involved in the development of tourism and to help UNESCO to define the main thrust of its action in this field.

I should like to affirm here that there is nothing inevitable about the ill-planned growth of tourism, imposed from the outside and bringing in its train the wrong kind of development and socio-cultural disruption.

By identifying the crucial issues involved in tourism as it relates to culture and development and by throwing light on the future of these issues, we aim to contribute towards assisting Member States and all those actively involved in tourism, in formulating tourism policies that respect societies, cultures and nature, while contributing to development.

We hope, to that end, to work in partnership with the Member States and the appropriate institutions concerned.

This round table thus follows on from the "Culture and Tourism" Forum held in Milan in February 1996 with the European Union and the World Tourism Organization and opened by Mr Federico Mayor, Director-General of UNESCO.

UNESCO, the "house of cultures", must keep a close watch on tourism. It is an essential partner whose energy must nonetheless be tamed and it is therefore necessary to have a good understanding of the forces that drive it, in addition to the complexity of its relations with culture.

In this regard, the subject of the relations between culture and tourism falls within the broader issue of the interaction between culture and development, which is discussed in depth in the report of the World Commission on Culture and Development, *Our Creative Diversity*, which is currently being considered in the Member States.

This report raises basic questions about the aims and purposes and also the content of development and attempts to answer the question of how to develop and modernize while raising the human condition, duly taking socio-cultural specificities into account, and without destroying the cultural identities that constitute the wealth of our planet.

These questions are also raised by the development of tourism. In the context provided by the globalization of communications and of the economy there is an urgent need for reflection on development and its cultural dimension.

The debates of this round table are a timely addition to the reflection and action launched by the World Decade for Cultural Development — almost ten years ago — and rounded off by the report *Our Creative Diversity*, which was produced by the World Commission on Culture and Development.

I hope that your discussions will be fruitful and that their conclusions will be put to good use.

General introduction to the debates

Hervé Barré

World Decade for Cultural Development

Debate 1: Trends in tourism and its contribution to development

In the space of fifteen years, tourism has developed into a major economic, cultural and social phenomenon of the end of this century. The scale of the phenomenon is shown by the steady growth (+4% per annum for the next ten years) in the number of international visitors, the total of which already exceeded 570 million in 1995 according to WTO.

The challenge mass tourism presents is complicated by the ever increasing complexity of the phenomenon, in which many different actors participate, making it more and more difficult to grasp and resolve the issues at hand.

When we realize that the destinations of 85% of all international tourists are the 24 Member States of OECD, it rapidly becomes clear that tourism is an activity whose growth depends heavily on the economic development of States. The marked increase in both national and international tourism in the countries of South-East Asia, which corresponds to the current high economic growth rates in this region, is additional evidence for this idea.

It is also recognized that a high proportion of the income generated by tourism in the developing countries does not remain in those countries but returns to the firms and banks of the industrialized countries.

Nevertheless, tourism represents a great opportunity for the developing countries, which may consider that the authenticity of their cultural landscapes and especially of their cultural heritage, often better preserved than in the industrialized countries, constitutes the basis of a resource which could be used to promote development that would be at once economic, social and cultural.

The challenge for the developing countries consists in creating the conditions in which the greater part of the revenues from tourism will be invested locally, in cultural projects (preservation of the heritage), in tourism projects (infrastructures), and for education, health and general development.

Tourism may serve as a means to boost handicraft production, transportation, communications and agriculture, for example. To this end, it would be useful to encourage professional training in tourism and to assist the creation of small businesses to supply goods which are currently imported.

This reappropriation of the tourism sector by the developing countries will be a necessary precondition if tourism is to contribute effectively to their economic takeoff and to raising the standard of living of their populations. The transfer of know-how can be effected through co-operation agreements and through the involvement of appropriate intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.

The development of tourism can contribute to qualitative and sustainable development if it is based on the commitment and participation of the local populations, who must be involved in its conception and execution, and if the natural and cultural resources upon which tourism is based are preserved on a long-term basis.

Debate 2: Tourism and the preservation of natural and cultural sites

Over thirty years ago, UNESCO mobilized the international community to save the monuments of Nubia which were threatened by the construction of the Aswan dam. In doing so, UNESCO showed the world that it assumed responsibility, in the name of the international community, for protecting the common heritage of humanity and ensuring it was handed down to future generations.

The campaign to save one of the principal Buddhist monuments in the world, at Borobudur, reinforced awareness of the absolute necessity of protecting the monuments of humankind and the riches of nature, which are as inseparable from the history of humanity as they are essential to its future. The Convention on the protection of world heritage (cultural and natural) adopted by UNESCO in 1972 was the fruit of this process of growing awareness.

This awareness stems from the realization that “the cultural and natural heritage of the world are increasingly threatened with destruction, not only by the traditional causes of their degradation but also by the evolution of social and economic life which aggravates their fate by altering or destroying them in ever more powerful ways.” The States signatory to this convention have committed themselves to identifying, protecting and conserving their heritage.

The reference to “the evolution of social and economic life” is particularly aimed at mass tourism, which — and we should be grateful for this — makes our cultural heritage accessible to an ever greater number of people, but at the same time represents a direct threat to the “cultural landscape” (according to the recently-adopted UNESCO terminology to designate the natural and cultural heritage). On the other hand, certain sites suffer from not being well enough known, protected, visited and managed. Lack of interest and neglect also constitute dangers for the cultural and natural heritage.

The protection of the heritage includes art objects and cultural goods collected in museums, which are the object of the 1970 Convention on the means for the prevention of illicit import, export and transfer of ownership of cultural property.

Thus, the solutions we are looking for must take into account the priority objectives of 1) protecting the heritage, and 2) the moral obligation which goes with the economic opportunity of granting the widest possible access to heritage sites.

Careful planning of promotion of a site, by evaluating its carrying capacity and fixing quantitative and qualitative goals for tourism, makes it possible to manage the flow of tourists and to organize the economic functions of tourism around the site, that is, the infrastructures, services and shops.

The responsibility of government is to set limits on economic and commercial activity, as well as on the movement of tourists. Capabilities and responsibilities should be shared between the different administrative levels and the different actors, both public and private, in the tourism sector.

Understanding the universal cultural value of the sites and the necessity of preserving them for future generations is a key element in assuring their protection. This educational effort should be aimed both at visitors and at host populations, as well as at local and national authorities and private operators. Tour guides (who act as cultural mediators) and information centres have a major role to play in this objective.

An appropriate level of training is also necessary for the staff involved in managing the

sites. Mechanisms for the transfer of resources from tourism to site restoration and maintenance activities should be established. The success of the touristic experience and thus the appreciation of the cultural value of the site by national or foreign visitors also depends on avoiding a distorted or stereotyped presentation of local cultures.

Debate 3: Tourism and cultural interaction

Tourism would not exist without culture, because it is culture that is one of the principal motivations for the movement of people, and because any form of tourism will provoke a cultural effect, on the visitor as well as on the host.

Temporary international migrations (without counting those within the boundaries of States) constitute a phenomenon without precedent in the history of humanity, allowing contact between different cultures on a scale previously unimagined.

These massive movements give many people access to representative works of different cultures and allow them to experience at first hand the diversity of cultures and lifestyles, without any hierarchy of experiences being established. In this sense, and above all for the young, tourism is a privileged vector for intercultural exchange, and a school of tolerance where everyone can encounter a world that is at once unique and diverse.

This ideal model is often disturbed by the imbalance in the encounter between rich visitors and poor local populations. This situation tends to place the economically poorer culture in a position of inferiority, and its members are tempted to see the visitors' culture as superior and to copy its outward forms. Conversely, it may lead to reactions of hostility and rejection on the part of host populations if the question is not approached carefully.

Tourism can also cause disturbance and discomfort in the everyday life of local populations when priority is given to infrastructures and functions geared to tourists, to the detriment of the host population's businesses, schools, marketplaces, places of worship, etc. Art cities are particularly susceptible to this phenomenon of competition between urban and touristic functions.

The culture shock, linked to the social shock, is often aggravated by the difference in standards of living of visitor and host. This may lead to undesirable consequences, and even threaten cultural identities. Phenomena of acculturation and appropriation by the young of the characteristics and lifestyles of visitors is a symptom of the contact between tourists and local populations, often already influenced by the media.

Tourism may be the vehicle of this threat or, on the contrary, may help societies to reaffirm their cultural identities, to make them both better known to others and better able to take pride in themselves, for they constitute one of the primary motivations for tourism. Thus tourism can contribute to the protection of the right of every people to preserve its contribution to universal culture.

It is necessary to seek the conditions of a balanced cultural exchange, if a true dialogue is to be established which can lead to appreciation of and respect for the culture and the way of life of others.

Solutions should be sought first of all through actions to educate and raise awareness among both local populations and tourists, tour operators and guides, and through strict non-interference with that inviolable part of culture that is for each individual a kind of basic equalizer which determines, positively or negatively, his relationship to the world.

One essential element in improving the encounter between tourists and local populations lies in the participation in and, ultimately, the control over the protection and management of sites by the local people themselves, as well as their sharing in the profits which derive from tourism. No longer imposed, tourism will then be accepted as an opportunity to show off one's culture and at the same time to earn income. Tourism must also enable the non-physical cultural heritage to be revitalized through stimulating artistic creativity, the production of crafts and the performing arts.

A vital element in the relationship between tourists and local populations is the role tourism can play in raising the standard of living, of education and of health for the local populations, in terms of resources and jobs. On the other hand, tourism should not be allowed to dominate the local economy; resources (water, arable land) should be set aside for agriculture and to provide those natural spaces necessary for the socio-economic harmony of the community.

Ways must be found to develop tourism so as to preserve both the cultural and natural resources, whilst also inviting the substantive participation of local communities; that is, a tourism which can be part of sustainable development.

Debate 4: The place of culture and development in tourism policies

Just as Antarctica and the great deserts already have their tourists, so sooner or later there will be no place on the planet which is not affected by this phenomenon.

Tourism presents a considerable challenge for the future of humanity. At stake are the preservation and best use of cultural and natural resources and heritage, the possibility of a harmonious development based on these resources, and the contribution of tourism to world peace by promoting quality encounters between different cultures. In the space of a few decades, tourism has developed from an amateur activity into an industry of the future employing the most modern techniques.

As the Greek philosopher Aesop said of language, tourism may be the best or the worst of things, depending upon how it is done. It is more important than ever not to leave the development of tourism to chance, to unco-ordinated decisions and to the pursuit of individual objectives. The way in which tourism will develop will determine the future of the world's heritage and its preservation for generations to come.

Today, we face a race against the clock; will the extensive development of tourism outstrip our growing awareness of the need for qualitative control over this development?

The outcome of this race is still uncertain, but we can see that the international community and tourists in particular are ever more conscious of how high the stakes are.

What we should like to reaffirm here is that the growth of ill-planned tourism, imposed from the outside, and leading to the wrong kind of development and to socio-cultural disruption, is not inevitable. Political decision-makers at the national and local levels, in co-operation with the various actors involved in tourism, have the possibility of choosing what type of tourism they want for their country or their community. Questions of orientation will not be resolved by technology and investment, which can only support the implementation of tourism policy choices.

Another question which needs answering here is that of the role to be played by States and financial circles in the choice of tourist policies.

The right to travel brings with it a responsibility, that of preserving the cultural and natural diversity of the planet, so as to preserve the capacity of future generations to enjoy the same right to travel, to discover and to know. This duty of protection lies as much with individuals as with institutional and private actors in the travel industry. UNESCO is particularly desirous to promote mutual respect and dialogue between peoples, so as to contribute to peace in the world.

To shed light on these questions for the future, and in co-operation with all interested partners, UNESCO would like to assist its Member States, as well as all those responsible for tourism, to design and execute development strategies for tourism which, while contributing to that development, will respect cultures, societies and nature. In this undertaking, particular importance will be attached to UNESCO's priorities in favour of the least developed countries, of Africa, of women, and of minorities.

Conclusions

The conclusions resulting from this seminar could contribute to the above action in the following ways:

- Assertion of the values, principles and rules governing the development of a form of tourism that is sustainably integrated within the cultural, social, ecological and economic contexts of the societies involved; and projection of the major issues at stake for tourism development in the coming century (publication of a summary of the debates, and of an extensive record);
- Providing Member States with a body of international expertise consistent with the respect of these general objectives;
- Encouraging the development of partnerships with a view to undertaking actions in this field, and to this end associating, both at the conceptual and implementation levels: United Nations system organizations, major international organizations, States, business firms, experts, and public and private representatives from the world of culture and tourism;
- Evaluation, perfecting and diffusion of actions undertaken.

Debate 1

Trends in tourism and its contribution to development

Moderator: P. Keller

General trends in tourism today

Peter Keller

Thesis 1: At the dawn of a new millennium, tourism is becoming one of the most important leisure activities, and one of the world's main employers and sources of revenue.

Half a billion people already travel abroad today. According to the forecasts of the World Tourism Organization (WTO) the numbers will have exploded to over 937 million by the year 2010. And ten times that figure will be enjoying the pleasures of tourism in their own country. The untapped potential for tourism in the future is in any case still great, in view of the fact that the departure rate from developing nations is as low today as it ever was.

Thesis 2: The snowballing of technological progress and the growing number of countries moving from a state-controlled to a market economy is creating a "megatrend" in favour of globalization, and bringing about significant changes in the field of international tourism.

Technological progress in the areas of transport and telecommunications, together with the introduction of market economy conditions in a growing number of countries, are creating the conditions for increased international tourism on a truly worldwide basis. At the same time, the tourism market has been expanding as a result of the creation of new destinations. The speed of growth is naturally not equally great in all the world's regions. There has been an increase in competition on quality and on price between the traditional tourism countries and the new destinations. The process of globalization, which in any case is not a "zero-sum game", has created both winners and losers. In the long term it will bring additional growth to benefit all market players.

Thesis 3: International tourism develops along exactly the same lines as world trade and the world economy. It mainly involves industrialized nations, which have the same demand preferences and the same supply structures.

The process of globalization is gathering speed, but this has not changed the fact that international tourism is an affair that mainly involves the world's major industrialized nations. A glance at the travel flow patterns shows that tourism exchanges above all occur within or between these same industrialized nations. Despite globalization, intra-regional tourism in Europe for example accounted for 88% of the total in 1995. A mere 12% of flows concerned international tourism. Intercontinental travel flow patterns mainly occur between Europe, America and the East Asia/Pacific regions.

Thesis 4: A few emerging and developing nations are increasingly, and against all earlier expectations, the driving force behind globalization in tourism.

The share of worldwide travel flows and revenues going to developing countries has been virtually unchanged for a decade, at around 25%. This proportion is destined to increase

considerably in the next few years, however, as an increasing number of emerging and developing nations become integrated with the world economy. In the decade of the 1990s, almost 40% of direct investments were made in these countries. However, private capital flows have been concentrated in some 12 emerging and developing countries in East Asia and Latin America, as well as in China and India. The poorest developing countries are as little integrated in the world economy today as ever, and they do not yet participate in the globalization process. However, their further development would nevertheless improve their chances of integration into the world economy and fortify their hopes for stronger participation in world tourism.

Thesis 5: Globalization of the tourism economy has resulted in a much broader supply of products. The larger companies are putting increasing pressure on the far more numerous smaller tourism enterprises. This in turn is resulting in professionalization and industrialization of this sector of the economy.

If we look at statistics from the hotel trade, we can see that capacity in this key sector of tourism has increased from 9.2 to 13.2 million rooms in just nine years. And this growth is no longer concentrated exclusively in the small enterprises which predominate in the traditional tourism countries. Indeed, a far greater number of large firms are being created, of a kind which depends on no particular national base and which has branches in all parts of the world. Such companies take advantage of new technologies, and offer products which are highly industrial and professional, and at the same time increasingly standardized and uniform.

Thesis 6: Individual travellers are benefiting from the dynamics of globalization. Uniform habits are being created which differ little from one part of the world to the next.

Today's tourists have unlimited choice. In the month of January they can choose between a winter holiday's skiing in the European Alps, or such summer activities as lying on a beach in New Zealand. Never before has the consumer been so much the ruler of his destiny, and his destination. Thanks to the new multimedia distribution channels of the world of telematics, it is easy to get information about the best connections and the most advantageous prices for the world's most beautiful destinations. At the same time, common standards of tourism comfort are becoming internationally accepted. No matter where you are in the world, you can count on an identical Coca Cola and Big Mac. And communication is no longer a problem, thanks to the ubiquity of the language of Shakespeare.

Thesis 7: In the industrialized countries, culture has again become one of the major reasons for travel. It seems a more sensible one than hedonistic sunbathing.

Tourism is at a cultural turning-point. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, getting away from the routine of industrial life was the main driving force behind tourism. Today's voyager is more likely to be looking for a meaning to life. He or she seeks an escape from the humdrum routine of "post-modern" reality, which is also a global phenomenon. This is where culture can play a major role. It was in the 1970s that culture began to establish itself as an antidote which could give some sort of higher meaning to the banal workaday world of

Mr and Mrs Everyman. Today the same is happening in the world of leisure and tourism, and for the same reasons.

Thesis 8: Cultural tourism is booming and is spreading to all levels of society.

Cultural tourism is the market segment which offers the greatest growth potential today. As much as 50% of the tourists currently making their rounds fall into the category of "consumers of culture". Exhibitions of works of art, concerts, itineraries based on an historical or cultural theme and other such "mega events" often attract people by the hundreds of thousands. And cultural tourists are prepared to pay a lot of money for their travel and accommodation. They are not so much interested in "consuming" cultural goods, as in the enjoyment of culturally life-enhancing experiences.

Thesis 9: This renewal of interest in culture has led to questioning of the likely consequences of globalization, and to a counter-trend of regionalization, individualization and the rediscovery of cultural identity, which is currently underway.

"Culture vulture" tourists are no less demanding when it comes to standards of comfort and services, wherever in the globe they may be. But today's tourist is more likely to have a greater sympathy and understanding for the cultural identity of the place he is visiting and to be interested in the cultural differences between one destination and another, and in safeguarding these. From the economic standpoint, this rediscovery of culture brings a new dimension. For the traditional tourism regions it signifies a reprieve, a new lease of life. At the same time, it improves the chances of the developing countries, which are more likely to have kept their cultural identities intact than the industrial nations.

Thesis 10: This welcome new interaction of culture and tourism will be assured only when it becomes possible to manage, in time and space, the scale of the travel flow in as sustainable a way as possible, at both the human and ecological levels. Numerical phenomena and overburdening diminish the desire for tourism in the long term.

The tourism industry is aware of these interrelations, and is therefore making efforts to improve the quality of tourism products and services. This inevitably means defending a destination's cultural uniqueness, which is destined to play an ever greater role in answering the question "to travel or not to travel". The greatest threat to this cultural identity is when ever larger numbers of people want to travel at the same time.

Effects of tourism growth on development in the Asia-Pacific region: the case of small islands

Hiroshi Kakazu

1. Tourism as an engine of growth

According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO), about 500 million people travelled abroad with estimated tourists' expenditures of \$306 billion in 1993. The growth of tourism has been particularly impressive for the East Asian countries which have been vigorously promoting the tourism industry as an important source of foreign exchange earnings (see Table 1). Tourist receipts accounted for about 0.1% for Japan and 10% for Singapore of their respective GDP. We can expect a continuous boom in the tourism industry in the region being supported by the region's dynamic growth, increasing trend of business networking coupled with the changing lifestyle.

For small island economies such as Northern Mariana Island (NMI), Hawaii, Okinawa (Ryukyu Islands), tourism or visitors' industry has been the fastest growing and most important industry. In these island economies, external receipts from tourism accounted for 20% for Okinawa, 56% for Hawaii and 67% for NMI of their respective total current external receipts. For NMI, about 70% of the island's economic activities depend on tourism (see Table 2). These small islands transformed rapidly into tourism dependent economies because (1) they almost totally lack natural resources to exploit for export earnings; (2) their market sizes are too small to develop a viable manufacturing industry; (3) tourism related industries are usually small-scale and labour-intensive; (4) they are endowed with marine resources, particularly beautiful beaches; (5) these islands are part of or surrounded by rich countries such as the United States and Japan with well-organized transportation networks; (6) their tropical or semi-tropical climatic and cultural conditions are complementary with those rich countries; and finally these island communities have maintained political stability and hospitality to visitors.

2. Tourism as an industry

Tourism is usually classified as a "service" industry. Therefore tourist expenditures are recorded as "service receipts" in the balance of payment statistics. Tourist expenditures, however, are quite different from other external "service receipts" such as sales of transportation, insurance, intellectual property right and labour. Besides lodging, a large portion of tourist expenditures are in the form of local consumption and purchases of local or imported products as souvenirs (see Table 3). Therefore, "sales to tourists" are directly reflected in local production or imports of goods, including agriculture and manufacturing. In this sense, tourism and goods producing sectors (agriculture and manufacturing) are supposed to complement each other and it is not necessary for them to be trade-off as many economists have asserted. The case of Okinawa demonstrates that one unit of tourist expenditure actually generated about two units of manufacturing sales (direct and indirect)

which were met largely through cheaper imported goods. This will suggest that tourism can be used as a powerful engine for industrial diversification for these island economies (see Figures 1 & 2). In this sense, tourism needs to be conceptualized as a composite industry not as a mere service industry. Such re-conceptualization of the tourism industry in small island economies will provide a development framework within which to diversify and revitalize diminishing local agriculture and manufacturing as well as conserving tourism resources, including marine and historical and cultural assets.

3. Tourism as an export industry

As we have already seen, tourism incomes, in effect, are equivalent to “exports” of not only services but also goods which are sold to non-resident tourists. Although factors to determine comparative advantage of the tourism industry very much differ from those of the manufacturing industry, the former faces more or less similar competition and characteristics as the latter. NMI and Okinawa in particular, have been competing with each other for the growing Japanese tourism market. Okinawa has suffered cost disadvantage in recent years against NMI and Hawaii because of the rapid appreciation of the yen. NMI has also labour cost advantage over Okinawa because NMI has been able to import cheap labour, mainly from the Philippines (see Figures 3 & 4).

Although Okinawa has been struggling to diversify its markets in order to reduce instability in the tourism industry as well as to capture the emerging East Asian market, it is not succeeding. One important bottleneck for diversification is the lack of networks in terms of transportation, hotels and promotional activities between Okinawa and the Asian countries. The tourism industry in Okinawa is so meticulously tailored toward mainland Japan, it will require tremendous efforts to diversify elsewhere.

4. Tourism as “cultural catalyst” and friction

The important difference between commodity exports and service exports through tourism is that the former are consumed or stocked in the imported region, while the latter are inseparable from the exporting region where services are rendered. In this sense, tourism is considered to be a package of economic as well as non-economic factors. This is where Okinawa has a comparative advantage over Hawaii and NMI because Okinawa has a rich cultural heritage almost comparable to that of Japan proper. In any country, tourists are mostly welcome not only because of the income and employment they generate, but also because they are regarded as “cultural catalysts”. Particularly the latter concept is becoming increasingly important in Okinawa where “internationalization” is the major theme of the Okinawan development objectives.

Despite a welcome attitude towards tourists, however, there are always deep-rooted fears amongst the island people that their fragile environments and rich culture might be eroded or degraded by a massive and continuous intrusion of outsiders. There are also constant complaints on the part of Okinawa that major tourism businesses, including hotel facilities and airline transportation, are dominated by mainlanders and a major portion of tourism income is boomeranged back to the mainland.

In the case of NMI, cultural conflicts brought about by tourism are more serious than that of Okinawa because NMI has imported almost its entire workforce in the tourism industry, mainly from the Philippines. The Filipino workers are not only cheaper than the locals, but they are more fitted into the business than the latter who are mostly employed in the public sector. NMI's over-expanded tourism industry through imported foreign labour has been creating various socio-economic problems and uncertainty in the life of the islanders including water shortage, food insecurity, imported inflation and family problems. Therefore, it is an urgent task for tourism-dependent island economies to determine the capacity of tourist absorption for sustainable development.

Table 1: Tourist Receipts of Selected Asian Countries

	(Millions of US\$, nominal)								(Annual growth rate, %)						
	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Indonesia															
No. of tourists ('000)				2178	2507	3064	3403	4006				15.1	22.2	11.1	17.7
Tourist receipts	924	1283	1628	2153	2515	3051	3651	4298	38.9	26.9	32.2	16.8	21.3	19.7	17.7
GDP	75932	84300	94449	106141	116623	128028	144707	164966	11.0	12.0	12.4	9.9	9.8	13.0	14.0
Receipts/GDP (%)	1.2	1.5	1.7	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.6							
Malaysia															
No. of tourists ('000)						5687	6380	6889						12.2	8.0
Tourist receipts	714	770	1036	1684	1783	2023	2220	2397	7.8	34.5	62.5	5.9	13.5	9.7	8.0
GDP	31602	34696	37872	42822	47111	58014	64433	70686	9.8	9.2	13.1	10.0	23.1	11.1	9.7
Receipts/GDP (%)	2.3	2.2	2.7	3.9	3.8	3.5	3.4	3.4							
Philippines															
No. of tourists ('000)				1025	951	1153	1372	1415				-7.2	21.2	19.0	3.1
Tourist receipts	458	405	469	466	570	944	1178	1215	-11.6	15.8	-0.6	22.3	65.6	24.8	3.1
GDP	33197	37886	42573	44309	45416	52979	54392	63917	14.1	12.4	4.1	2.5	16.7	2.7	17.5
Receipts/GDP (%)	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.8	2.2	1.9							
Singapore															
No. of tourists ('000)				5323	5415	5990	6426	6899				1.7	15.8	-17.5	7.0
Tourist receipts	2140	2622	3307	4593	4557	5249	5793	6200	22.5	26.1	38.9	-0.8	15.2	10.4	7.0
GDP	20245	24845	29510	36510	42277	48547	55085	68967	22.7	18.8	23.7	15.8	14.8	13.5	25.2
Receipts/GDP (%)	10.6	10.6	11.2	12.6	10.8	10.8	10.5	9.0							
Thailand															
No. of tourists ('000)				5299	5122	5136	5761	6166				-3.3	0.3	12.2	7.0
Tourist receipts	1945	3118	3754	4325	4537	4848	5438	5820	60.3	20.4	15.2	4.9	6.9	12.2	7.0
GDP	48719	61667	72251	85640	98193	110429	124862	143336	26.6	17.2	18.5	14.7	12.5	13.1	14.8
Receipts/GDP (%)	4.0	5.1	5.2	5.1	4.6	4.4	4.4	4.1							
Japan															
No. of tourists ('000)				3236	3533	3582	3410	3470				9.2	1.4	-4.8	1.8
Tourist receipts	2090	2890	3150	3590	3440	3610	3560	3623	38.3	9.0	14.0	-4.2	4.9	-1.4	1.8
GDP	2408912	2898399	2871825	2932088	3350137	3662456	4215549	4698500	20.3	-0.9	2.1	14.3	9.3	15.1	11.5
Receipts/GDP (%)	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1							

Sources: ASEAN Center, 1995 Statistical Pocketbook of ASEAN and Japan and ADB, Key Indicators

**Table 2: Comparisons of the Main Economic Indicators
NMI, Hawaii and Okinawa, 1980 and 1994**

	Unit	1980			1994		
		NMI	Hawaii	Okinawa	NMI	Hawaii	Okinawa
Land area	Km ²	457	16705	22264	467	16705	22264
Population	,000	17	969	1107	21	1179	1256
Population density	per/km ²	368	58	497	458	71	564
GIP	US\$m	137	12226	6893	542	33834	33110
Per capita GIP	US\$	815	12619	6227	2533	28697	26368
Employment by industry	(%)						
All industries		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Primary		-	35	14	-	2	8
Secondary		-	24	37	-	15	35
Manufacturing		-	8	7	-	3	6
Tertiary		-	41	49	-	80	58
Trade		-	24	27	-	23	28
Services		-	7	22	-	28	30
(Hotels)		-	-	-	-	7	-
Government		-	10	7	-	19	8
					(1989)		
Merchandise exports	US\$m	-	1569	1456	154	2234	2905
% of GIP		-	13	21	32	7	9
Merchandise imports	US\$m	-	6239	4604	353	13060	10612
% of GIP		-	51	67	74	39	32
Trade balance	US\$m	-	-4670	-148	-199	-10826	-7707
Tourist arrivals	,000	-	3935	1801	302	6455	3417
Tourist income	US\$m	-	2875	796	318	9683	3179
% of GIP		-	24	12	67	29	10

Notes: GIP = Gross Island Products; Secondary industries include transportation and utilities; Exports and imports are for 1993 and they include costs of insurance and transportation.

Sources: *The State of Hawaii Data Book*, *Okinawa Economic Outlook* and *NMI Data Book*, various issues.

**Table 3: Types of Expenditure Per Visitor Day
Hawaii and Okinawa, 1992**

	HAWAII		OKINAWA
	Visitors from		Visitors from
	Mainland	Japan	Japan
All items (US\$)	117	345	273
	Percent Composition		
Lodging	38	29	25
Food & beverage	24	14	16
Souvenirs	3	14	18
Clothing	7	9	4
Transportation	10	4	19
Entertainment	7	6	14
Others	11	24	4
Total	100	100	100

Sources: See Table 2

Figure 1

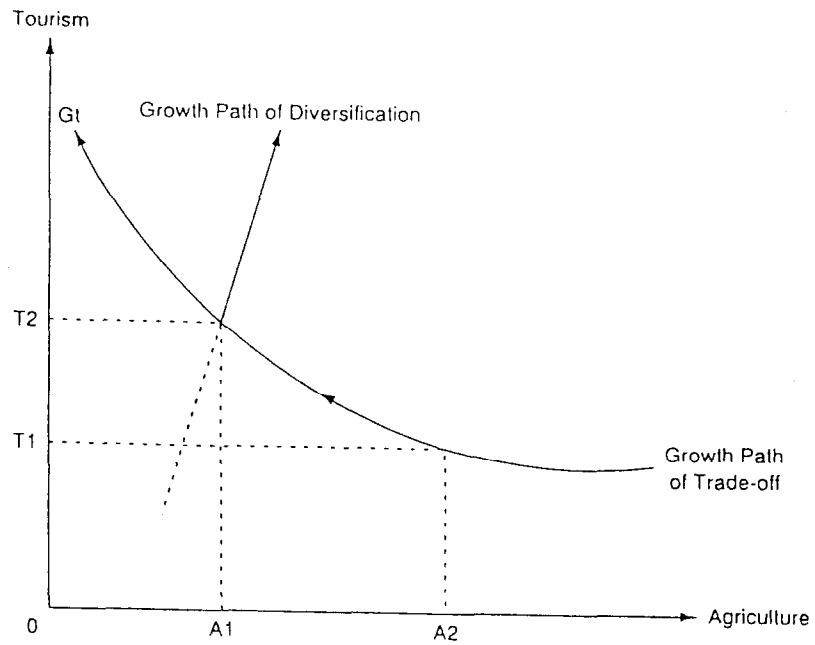


Figure 2

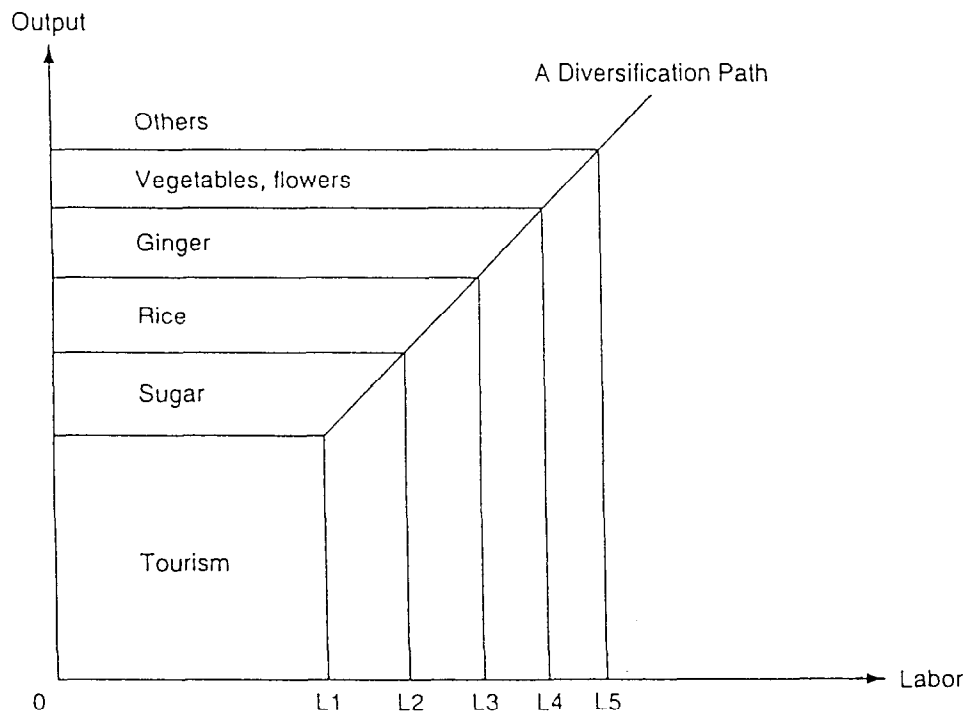


Figure 3

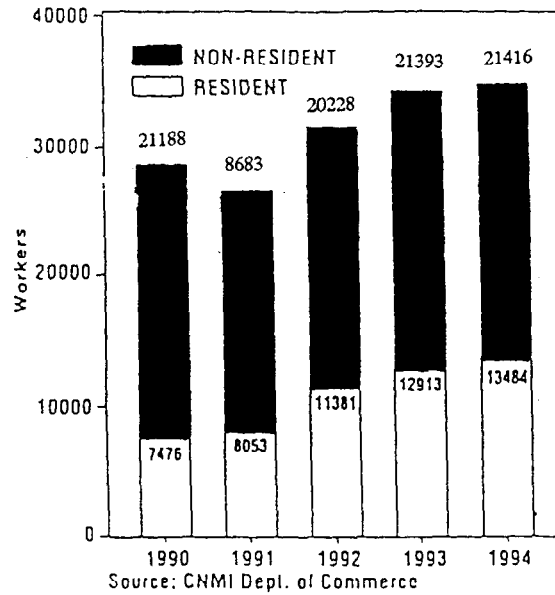
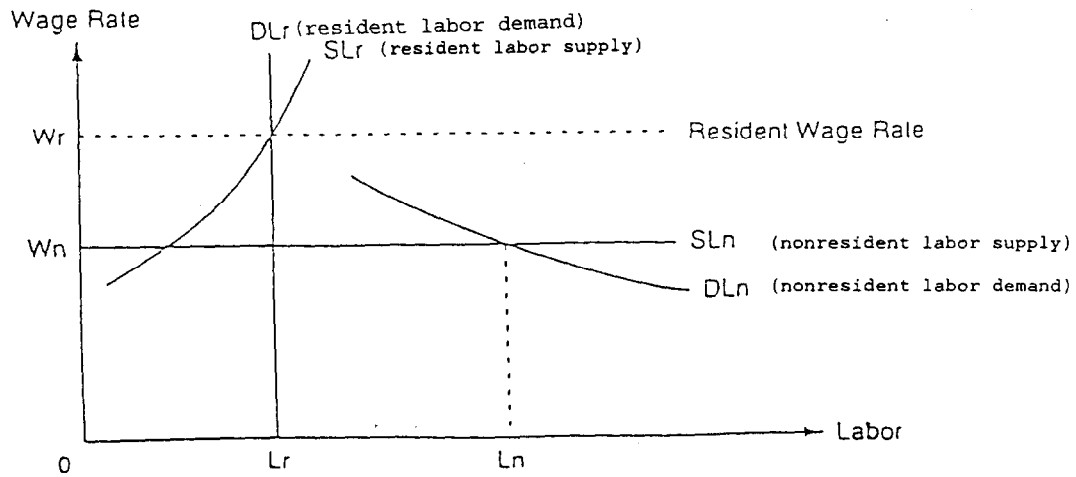


Figure 4



Source: H. Kakazu, *Sustainable Development of Small Island Economies*, Westview Press, 1994.

The growth of tourism in the developing countries

Georges H. Cazes

I. Place of the developing countries in the international tourist flow

The spectacular growth of international tourism — the number of arrivals has increased by over twenty times during the past four decades (from 25 million in 1950 to 567 million in 1995 — clearly reflects the boundless rise in mobility, which has been greatly facilitated by the “transport revolution”. The rate of expansion recorded during the past half century, since the end of the Second World War, is one of the most impressive of modern phenomena, in spite of a progressive decrease in overall average growth rate: +18% per year on average between 1950 and 1960, +9% per year during the following decade, +6% per year from 1970 to 1980, and +4% per year during the last recorded years. To the very high increase in the long-term, and a gradual medium-term deceleration, can be added an extreme variability from year to year. Thus, with a growth rate of 3.8%, the year 1995 showed a marked decrease compared with the year 1994 (5.4%). This sector is both lively and unstable, rapidly emerging and having brilliant prospects: approximately 600 million international arrivals in 2000 and 940 million in 2010, according to WTO forecasts.

This progression, and the quantitative and qualitative leaps it portrays, can be explained principally by the ongoing globalization process, now almost completed, of the flows and territories concerned. In effect, during the past few decades, the scope of international tourism has been enlarged both by new supplying countries, or “senders” (Japan and the newly industrialized countries of Asia, Australia-New Zealand, Latin America, Central Europe, Middle East, etc.) and by new “receiving” destinations. The latter may be the result of recent, pioneering openings, or of reappearance on the international tourist market following a more or less prolonged absence, or of a new boost following a temporary crisis. Amongst the many cases of this sort, countries such as Jordan, Burma, China, Cuba, or Guatemala, can serve as examples of the various situations.

The growing global distribution of an ever-wider tourist flow logically gives rise to an extension of the zone covered by travellers and, therefore, to the appearance or consolidation of new participants, sometimes to the detriment of traditional destinations which are suffering from serious difficulties. Respective positions are constantly in the process of readjustment within an increasingly extended and unstable “competitive arena”, which is closely related to the vast deregulation movement currently affecting the closely-related field of transportation.

In this changing and difficult context, the progression of groups of developing countries amongst the major receiving areas becomes even more significant and commendable. A detailed analysis of available statistics at the international and national levels — which from the point of view of coverage, reliability and comparability are not entirely free from doubt — reveals a spectacular development: the developing countries, which on average received

only one international tourist arrival out of twelve in 1960 and one out of six in the 1970s, currently claim almost one out of three (31.5% according to our calculations, and 30% according to WTO, in 1995). This suggests that the growth rate of international arrivals in that part of the world has been, in the different periods, two to three times higher than world average, and three to five times higher than in the rest of the touristically competitive world. The increase in the relative share in international tourism revenues has been hardly less spectacular, rising from approximately 18% in 1970 to a little over 30% in 1995 (\$114 billion out of a world total of \$372 billion).

II. High instability in internal and external balances

Before outlining the major characteristics of this evolution, it should be noted that the latter is no doubt distorted by a statistical slant. In effect, over the long period under review, a large number of developing countries have entered the tourism market and are therefore newly associated with WTO's observation system, and in the process of improving the quality and representivity of their statistical data: pre-existing tourist movements have no doubt thus been gradually identified and accounted for simply due to this technical improvement. Over and above this, certain important points can be emphasized:

1. At the external level, the continuous erosion of the relative position of European destinations (from 75% of world arrivals at the beginning of the 1970s to 70% in 1980 and 59.5% in 1995, with a forecasted 56% in 2000) in favour of more distant horizons, is a major concern for those responsible for European tourism;
2. In a way which is surely correlative, the privileged position of countries, often belonging to the DC group, which are situated near to the major "sending" countries, as confirmed by the marked predominance of short-range travel: the three major "basins" (or "holiday lakes") — the Mediterranean, the Caribbean, and the Asia-Pacific area — concentrate over two-thirds of recorded arrivals in the South;
3. The lightning advance of the Asian East-Pacific zone, which alone accounts for 80% of additional arrivals recorded in the South during the past decade, with annual growth rates three or four times higher than global averages; comparatively, the other major zones observed advance more slowly and irregularly;
4. Finally, the marked concentration of the flow on a fairly limited number of leader-countries which — with the exception of a few highly touristic Caribbean or Oceanic groups of islands — are of high economic scope (Mexico, Argentina, Thailand, Indonesia, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Turkey, etc.). The LICs (countries classified as low-income by the World Bank) receive no more than 4% of arrivals and 2% of global receipts, and if we exclude China these percentages would fall to less than 1% of arrivals and 0.6% of receipts. On the other hand, the developing countries which are in an emerging economic situation, belonging to the World Bank category of upper-bracket intermediary income, receive over 15% of the total number of international arrivals and almost 54% of the flow

in the direction of countries of the South.

These various developments, pointing in many different directions, from maintenance to redeployment, and from eclipse to take-off, express a complex convergence of tendencies both within and outside the developing countries. A first series is linked to general changes in the international touristic demand, which has become highly diversified: both younger and older tourists, of broadening social and professional origin, more mobile and itinerant, looking for the authentic experience (ecotourism, cultural tourism, encounters and exchanges), more individualistic and spontaneous than the passive consumers of traditional "mass tourism". From the point of view of supply to meet these new demands, the touristic success of developing countries mainly depends on three factors, which are unevenly matched according to the countries considered. Conditions of *accessibility* are obviously foremost amongst these encouraging factors: they are facilitated both by the proximity of major sending zones and by the existence of privileged transportation networks, mainly by air (good examples are the Caribbean basin or South-East Asia). In their wake, the second factor plays a discriminatory role: that of the interest, which is highly uneven, of the major enterprises involved in the *multinational tourism system*, hotel chains, holiday clubs, GDS, travel organizers and agents, related services (financing, studies, publicity, guides and tour leaders). Their involvement, or withdrawal, within the tourism development programmes of developing countries simultaneously constitutes activating or withdrawal effects and factors (not forgetting the fact that a too high dependence on these transnational firms can limit the net economic gains in the developing countries). The third favourable factor in this area, as elsewhere, is the *determination, choice, action and means* of the developing country wanting to be a receiver of international tourism. This factor leads to highly variable and unequal situations and can explain the surprising spatial juxtapositions, frequent in the South, of countries which are touristically developed with others which have seemingly been "forgotten".

Conclusion: significant geopolitical issues

Several themes could be developed in this area. We shall simply present them briefly here, as an introduction to more in-depth discussion or analysis.

1. The economic scope — too often ignored — of world tourism is the first point to note. According to WTTC (World Travel and Tourism Council) estimates, the tourist industry produces the equivalent of 10.9% of gross world product, 10.7% of total employment, 11.4% of world investment and 11% of fiscal revenues in 1995. This places it, without any possible doubt, amongst the foremost world economic sectors. Looking only at international tourism, the prominent role it plays in world exchange must be stressed: receipts from this sector are equivalent to 8% of that from goods exports, to over 20% of receipts from world exchanges of services, to 30% of oil exchanges, to 40% of food exchanges. *Gross* receipts from international tourism supply the developing countries with valuable hard-currency income, the relative significance of which merits consideration: although the amount of public aid for development aimed at these countries has stagnated during the past decade to around 50 to 60 billion dollars per year, the contribution provided by international tourism has risen

from approximately \$35 billion in 1985 to \$115 billion in 1995.

Added to the accumulated foreign capital flow directed towards the developing countries during the past few years, international tourism represents slightly over half. It should be noted that these receipts remain preferentially focussed on a few countries: the first twelve take 41% and the first twenty, almost 60%.

2. The second issue is the increasingly significant and prominent role played by the tourism argument in international relations. Over and above the traditional and numerous bilateral co-operation agreements between sending and receiving countries, the new interest for tourism manifested at major international events should be stressed: UNCTAD conferences, GATT negotiations, Lome IV agreements, joint UNDP-UNESCO-WTO conferences, etc. Tourism is now a recognized party to the "World System", of which, remarkably, it mirrors the many, sometimes contradictory, components and tendencies: on the one hand, incertitude, risk, even terrorism; on the other, progress in favour of the meeting of civilizations and cultures, of mutual understanding and peace, and of North-South co-operation. It will no longer be possible to ignore its role in the world reconstructions and balances of the future.

Debate 2

Tourism and the preservation of natural and cultural sites

Moderator: J. Jafari

Tourism, sites and museums: presentation of the problem in Latin America

Yani Herreman

As we analyse the recent evolution of tourism in Latin America and its relation to its cultural landscape, we shall confirm the complexity of this situation. With huge potentialities in historical and archaeological monuments, natural sites, ethnological expressions and artistic demonstrations, Latin America has been conscious of the richness of its cultural landscape and proud of its identity for a long period of time. Perhaps due to its common language, religion, history and traditions, it has been able to maintain a certain unity that has successfully promoted a sense of being Latin American. The countries of the region have also shared during the last decades the economic pressures and contingencies that have resulted in a very unbalanced equation between tourism and the region's cultural and natural heritage conservation. Even though modern social sciences have demonstrated the dangers of unplanned tourism, the highly sophisticated contemporary web of technology that supports this modern phenomenon (mass communications, transportation, hotels, infrastructures, etc.) has left Latin American nations' efforts in research, planning, conservation and education programmes way behind.

Because of the huge number of archaeological and historical monuments and natural sites located in Latin America — 68 declared World Heritage Monuments and Sites — the required funds and human resources needed to ensure their correct conservation and further use, for among other things tourism, is completely out of range of the region's financial possibilities. Furthermore, present world economic conditions demand greater efforts from cultural agencies, such as museums, than ever before, pressing them towards a self-financed profile. Marketing practices are becoming common in these modern “cultural enterprises”. Driven by the severe situation, these activities may increasingly become a goal in themselves and lose their initial supportive aim.

Fortunately, Latin American specialists have undertaken significant interdisciplinary research projects on conservation, sustainable development and tourism. A growing awareness of the need to protect, through proper legislation and planning, is emerging. Thus, projects such as the down-town area of Havana, Cuba, have been launched, taking into account not only the conservation point of view but also its touristic possibilities. Easy to understand, these mega-scale projects have also provided much-needed experience and expertise.

Another important issue is legislation. Different approaches have been taken up by the various countries. In Peru, where a rapidly growing economy allows tourism to enjoy the wonderful cultural landscape, colonial churches, archaeological sites and other cultural monuments charge an entrance fee. In the case where a church is still used as a place of worship, certain hours are reserved, free of charge, for the celebration of mass and other special activities. (Needless to say, some people have not agreed.) Under this legislation, Cuzco, a city of under 200,000 inhabitants, with extraordinary examples of Inca and colonial architecture and its surrounding archaeological sites, manages to be very well preserved, in spite of the 18 full tourist flights a day during the high season.

One of Latin America's biggest problems, shared by all third world countries, is illicit traffic. Even though significant advances have been made, great ignorance still prevails among ordinary people and not enough attention is paid by government officials. Tourist associated illicit traffic in cultural and natural heritage is still common practice.

A very important issue in the tourism-sites and museums field is international co-operation. Heritage conservation is a responsibility that should be shared by all: the host nation and the "visiting" countries as well; by the local people and by the federal governments; by the individual and by the community. The possibilities of doing so are many and of very different types, as some experiences have shown, but much more needs to be done.

Among the fruitful results of international agreements and co-operation, SICLAC is a unique example. Created in 1994, under the auspices of UNESCO during the Meeting of Ministers of Culture of Latin America, it is the region's cultural information network. Among its aims is promotion of the region's cultural offer for tourism purposes. Other equally important applications are research and illicit traffic control.

Tourism's social, economic and cultural features affect cultural heritage — tangible and intangible, movable and non-movable. According to its management and correct planning it may be positive and even profitable. Mexico may offer a couple of examples where tourism, attracted by the local cultural landscape, has managed to invest tourist-gained profits in the restoration and rehabilitation of archaeological and historical sites and promoted museum activities, finally establishing a positive algorithmic dynamic. The city of Zacatecas may be considered among these examples.

New approaches to the use and conservation of the region's cultural landscape has tourism as one of its main aims. Thus, in recent years very ambitious, multinational projects, such as the Maya Route, have been designed and implemented. Now, research on the tourism impact should be carried out, as well as an extremely careful conservation scheme for natural sites and cultural monuments and museums.

In recent years, a growing interest in tourism and its influence on cultural and natural heritage has appeared in Latin America. Specialists have organized various meetings throughout the region which have focused on the culture-tourism relationship. The international meeting on Patrimony, Museums and Tourism, held in Barquisimeto, Venezuela last year, shows the concern regarding such a contemporary and decisive topic.

Touristic management of the Giza Plateau

Zahi Hawass

The Pyramids of Giza are probably the best-known ancient monuments in the world. The sole survivor of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, the Great Pyramid of Khufu and its two companion pyramids have suffered the ravages of stone-robbers, treasure-hunters, fanatics and tourists. Yet they still cannot fail to astonish visitors by their sheer size and perfect proportions. The unparalleled engineering feats exhibited in their construction are as much a source of wonder today as the mystical search for immortality inherent in their conception and design. The importance of this site can hardly be overestimated. It contains three of the oldest stone-built structures in the world, which have become the symbol of ancient and modern Egypt. Nowadays, the pyramids are so famous that people come from all over the world to visit Giza. Each year, over a million foreign tourists enter the pyramids and over two million Egyptians, seeking their heritage, visit the site. For the national economy, this source of income is most important but until recently, the cost to the monuments in terms of wear and tear had not been properly evaluated.

The damage caused by mass tourism on man-made and natural sites is now well documented. In Egypt, where tourist management is in its infancy, the problems created by large tourist groups is very evident. For example, at the Great Temple of Abu Simbel, an average of two thousand tourists arrive daily at the same time. It is impossible to control such numbers; some touch or knock against the walls, others take flash photographs, and all of them breathe out humidity and carbon dioxide. Small wonder that a piece of stone recently fell from the temple ceiling. From the tourists' point of view, such a crowded visit is disappointing; they are obliged to wait in the sun for their turn to visit, they are crowded into small, oxygen-starved chambers, unable to see the wonderful reliefs and paintings or appreciate the ambiance.

Tourist threat to the monuments of Giza

For decades, the need for foreign currency has overridden any respect for the monuments themselves. For example, at Giza, the road built in the 1940s around the east side of the Great Pyramid actually ran across the basalt pavement of the funerary temple. Cars and buses were allowed right up to the pyramids, and holiday-makers, horses and camels all left their mark on the site. Even the massive pyramids and Great Sphinx show serious signs of deterioration due to the stresses imposed by mass tourism. The enormous number of visitors inside the Great Pyramid caused the level of humidity to rise to 95% and the temperature inside the burial chamber was often unbearable, encouraging salt efflorescence on the walls. Graffiti were daubed on the inner chambers, and a crack appeared in the Grand Gallery.

In the Second Pyramid, a piece of stone fell from the ceiling of the burial chamber. As in the Great Pyramid, high humidity caused salt efflorescence and parts of the corridor showed deterioration due to tourist passage.

A master plan for the management and conservation of the Giza Plateau

Several years ago, a master plan was drawn up to manage and restore the monuments of Giza in four phases. The first two phases have already been successfully completed; the last two are being carried out and should be completed by 1998.

Phase I

The first part of the plan was concerned with the overall access to the site and the movement of visitors and vehicles. A one-way road system was established and a separate entrance fee for vehicles was introduced to regulate and reduce traffic. A new entrance gate and car park was built near the Mena House hotel and admission is now charged to all visitors regardless of whether they go inside the monuments or not. Parking areas on the plateau are now sited a short distance from the monuments.

A private cleaning company has been hired to clean the site, and camel corps police regulate the horses and camels allowed on the plateau.

The Great Pyramid was closed for a year while a ventilation system was installed, dramatically reducing the humidity and temperature in the burial chamber. Efflorescing salts and modern graffiti were removed and a closed-circuit TV camera was installed for security.

The Second Pyramid was closed for six months while the stone surfaces were cleaned and salts were removed. Belzoni's graffiti "2nd of March 1818" was cleaned and conserved and some damaged parts of the corridor were consolidated.

Most importantly, a training programme for conservation and archaeology was established to ensure a supply of properly trained personnel to safeguard the future of the monuments.

Phase II

The second phase aimed to make the Giza Plateau more comprehensible to visitors. Some modern additions were removed and new sites opened in order to encourage visitors to stay longer and to spread themselves more thinly in the hope that the more vulnerable areas would be less crowded.

The road built over Khufu's funerary temple in 1949 was removed, the basalt pavement of the temple was cleared, and a boat pit on the north-east side was re-excavated. The top of the causeway was cleared as were two important nearby sites — the trial passage and the tomb shaft of Queen Hetepheres.

Also on the east side of the Great Pyramid, the three subsidiary pyramids were cleaned and their chambers prepared for opening to the public. A small later temple built up against the third subsidiary pyramid was restored. In the course of this work near the south-east corner of the Great Pyramid, the satellite pyramid of Khufu was discovered, badly ruined, but with the internal rock-cut chamber intact.

Phase III

The plan for the third phase was prepared in co-operation with UNESCO to implement improvements in visitor management and facilities while preserving the monuments. The main

points to be effected are the following:

1. A ring road around the Giza Plateau will carry all traffic. Inside the site, electrically powered (and non-polluting) transportation will be provided for those who need it.
2. Two educational centres will be established to provide educational archaeological information and tourist facilities.
3. Horse and camel stables will be transferred south of the plateau.
4. A picnic and recreation area will be established south of the monuments.
5. A conservation laboratory will be built.

Phase IV

The final phase is a 10-15 year programme of maintenance and research. It includes:

1. Staff training to provide adequately knowledgeable personnel to administer the site, to provide up-to-date conservation whenever necessary and to continue the clearing and research programmes which will enhance the site for visitors and scholars.
2. Re-excavation and clearing, especially in the cemeteries of the nobles to the east and west of the Great Pyramid.
3. A programme of photogrammetric planning of all the pyramids as an aid to assessing their stability and conservation needs.
4. Mapping and excavation of the area south and west of the Third Pyramid where tumbled debris from the pyramid has never been cleared. This needs skilled photogrammetric planning before removing fallen blocks which may be covering long-sought-after evidence of building ramps and construction methods.

Conclusion

The economic need to accommodate more visitors and to encourage them to stay longer has to be balanced with the long-term future of the monuments themselves. More careful regulation of visitors and traffic (both vehicular and animal) combined with judicious opening of more areas of interest is vital to achieve this end. To implement and maintain this, it is essential to establish local training centres for conservation, restoration and scientific archaeological work.

That Khufu's name "lives forever" through his most perfectly proportioned funerary monument, four and a half thousand years after his death is testimony to the importance of this site to the world's culture and history. We owe it to him to see that his monument and name survive in dignity for another few thousand years.

Touristic management of natural sites

David Musila

Introduction

Tourism has been one of the largest economic activities around the world. According to the World Tourism Organization, in 1995 some 534 million people travelled as tourists around the globe (18.8 million to Africa), generating some US\$372 billion revenue. By the year 2000, WTO forecasts that some 661 million people will travel as tourists around the world. Nature and cultural tourism, also known as ecotourism, represents one segment of tourism and is estimated at about 10% of overall tourism. It is distinguished from mass tourism or resort tourism by having a lower impact on the environment and by requiring less infrastructure development.

A large number of African countries, notably those in Eastern and Southern Africa, are endowed with abundant wildlife. This, coupled with the region's rich cultural heritage has made nature and culture the main tourist attraction in these countries. In fact some estimates say that nature and cultural tourism in these countries account for 80% of their overall tourism.

This brief paper discusses issues connected with the management of natural sites for tourism purposes with general reference to Africa but with specific reference to Kenya, 40% of whose tourism is safari-based and evolves around nature and cultural sites. The paper aims at provoking discussion on the topic.

Historical perspective

Soon after their independence most of the emerging African nations realized that wildlife was the main cultural resource which when combined with the rich African cultural heritage could be used for tourism purposes to generate revenue, employment and much needed foreign exchange. Game parks and reserves were established as tourists to these countries increased. The enthusiasm with which governments took up the issue of wildlife conservation left little time for proper planning and management of these resources, giving the following results:

- Wildlife-Human conflict
- Overuse of some parks resulting in environmental degradation.

Wildlife-Human conflict

As governments became more protective of wildlife, mainly for tourism (Kenya banned hunting in 1977), the animal population increased. At the same time human populations increased. The end result was a major wildlife-human conflict mainly due to the destruction of human life and property by wildlife and the obvious competition for the available land for agricultural use and human settlement. As a result of the above, communities developed a

very negative attitude towards the conservation of wildlife, with some communities viewing wildlife protected areas to be exclusive recreation areas of a privileged few. At the same time, due to increased human population and poor economies poverty increased among communities. Poaching of wildlife mainly for sale of their trophies and the destruction of forests as people looked for livelihood from forest products increased steadily in the African region. These activities have continued to contribute a very serious threat to the preservation of wildlife and other natural resources, and to tourism itself, to such an extent that while there were around 130,000 elephants in Kenya in 1970, by 1990 only about 20,000 remained. A proportionate drop was true in other animal species like the lion, the rhino, the cheetah, etc. According to Mr David Western, Kenya's Director of Wildlife Services: "the wave of poaching which devastated Kenya's wildlife for over fifteen years to the point of jeopardizing the tourism industry owes much to the antipathy that the local communities had to wildlife."

Overuse of game reserves

Lack of proper planning and management of some game parks and reserves in the African region and indeed in other parts of the world have harmed these resources, resulting in environmental degradation. Sustained tourism depends on sound conservation and management policies. The environment must always remain the basis for attracting tourists to natural and cultural sites. Therefore, in the coming decades, environmental protection programmes in nature and cultural sites will be essential for the long-term success of tourism. As a matter of policy therefore, tourism development in natural and cultural sites has to be properly planned, taking into consideration the **carrying capacity** of these areas in order to define the number of wild animals to be accommodated and the level of visitor use. Unplanned concentration of tourism facilities such as lodges and tented camps in game parks has negative social and environmental effects. "Regulatory controls of natural and cultural sites will be more extensive and demanding in order to assist in the development of responsible and sustainable tourism". (WTO Global Tourism Forecasts to the year 2000 and beyond.)

Needless to say a large proportion of revenues earned in wildlife areas should be reinvested in the development of the parks and their infrastructure.

Community involvement in the preservation of nature and cultural sites

If the preservation of nature and cultural sites is to be sustained not only for tourism but also for posterity, communities living around the areas must be fully involved, not only in the actual conservation but also in the ownership of some sites, as individuals or co-operatives and in the sharing of the revenues accruing from these sites. If the communities are involved in this way they begin viewing wildlife as necessary for their economic survival. The following two examples illustrates this point.

In 1989, having realized the mistakes of the past, the Kenya government formed the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) with a mandate to foster "a sense of community participation in wildlife preservation" (G.J. Lusiola 1992). The goals of KWS were defined as:

- to conserve the natural resources of Kenya and its fauna and flora,

- to use the wildlife resources of Kenya for sustainable economic development, and
- to protect people and their property from wildlife damage.

A new approach to conservation was thus started and a community wildlife programme initiated for the purpose of promoting socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to national parks and reserves through conservation and sustainable management of natural resources. Already this programme has started bearing fruit and communities are benefiting from a 5% share of the net revenue receipts through the financing of their social projects like schools, health centres, cattle dips, etc. The wildlife management authorities are also encouraging economic projects for the community owned cultural centres and game sanctuaries. These projects generate income for the local people, thus improving their living standards.

Although the Kenya Wildlife Services has been in existence for only seven years it has done a lot to change the image of nature conservation in Kenya. Communities now view wildlife as a means of generating income for themselves. Poaching of wildlife has virtually been eliminated, with some communities forming their own anti-poaching groups to assist the Kenya Wildlife Service. Communities are being educated as to the economic benefits of wildlife when conserved as opposed to the value of trophies. For example one economic model showed that in Kenya's Amboseli National Park, a lion was worth \$24,000 a year in tourism revenue and the total net returns amounted to \$215 per hectare a year for viewing only, compared to US cents 80 per hectare under the most optimistic agricultural returns (David Western 1992). The end result of this new policy in the preservation of wildlife as a natural resource will mean a more sustainable tourism industry for future generations.

Another example, from Zambia: "In Zambia, tourism resources are based in wildlife and other natural resources such as Victoria Falls, and places of historic and archaeological importance. But wildlife viewing and controlled hunting are the primary tourism attractions. However, wildlife had been declining rapidly. In Luangwa Valley National Park, for example, the number of elephants decreased from an estimated 100,000 to 30,000 mainly due to illegal poaching. The Zambian government realizing the importance of wildlife to tourism introduced community-oriented programmes to protect wildlife and involve local residents in conservation and tourism.

Wildlife revenues are shared with village communities for the development of community facilities and services. Local residents developed a vested interest in and protective attitude towards the wildlife in their area. Village wildlife scouts are trained voluntarily to carry out anti-poaching patrols, greatly supplementing the number of government wildlife scouts. Wildlife management authorities ensure that 35% of the revenue earned from wildlife is provided to the local village communities in areas where such revenues were generated." (*Tourism Planning: An Integrated and Sustainable Development Approach*, New York, Edward Inskeep, 1991.)

Protection of the natural heritage versus the cultural identity of local communities

Apart from wildlife viewing by tourists, communities living around game parks have been encouraged by the flow of tourists to conserve their cultural heritage for tourism. In such

areas communities have developed cultural villages where they perform their traditional dances, show their ancient ways of living and sell their arts and crafts. These sites are included in the tour operators' itineraries and so help to preserve the cultural heritage of these communities while earning them income. This is not, however, without some criticism. In Kenya, for example, some communities view the cultural villages as a means of adulterating or even killing their culture. There are also accusations of exploitation by middlemen of the indigenous communities.

Nonetheless, all in all, whether it is in viewing wildlife, buying curios or being entertained through cultural dances, tourism has played a major role in the promotion of world peace, understanding and appreciation of different cultural values. Through income generated from tourism, living standards of African communities have been greatly improved.

Summary

- Conservation of wildlife in game parks and reserves though practised in Africa earlier, became more important for tourism purposes after independence. There was widespread wildlife-human conflict as populations of both wildlife and human beings increased and resulted in environmental degradation due to an overuse of natural resources.
- If the preservation of nature and cultural sites is to be sustained, communities living around these sites must be fully involved, not only in the conservation but also in the ownership and/or sharing of the revenues accruing from tourism.
- In the coming decades environment must always remain the basis for attracting tourists in natural and cultural sites. The carrying capacity of these sites must be taken into consideration for sustained tourism.
- Tourism must not be allowed to "adulterate" cultural values of communities and all efforts should be made to preserve the authenticity of cultures including arts, crafts, music and dance of communities.
- For sustainable conservation of wildlife, a good proportion of revenues earned from tourism should be used for the maintenance and management of game parks and reserves.
- Tourism has played a major role in the promotion of world peace, understanding and appreciation of other peoples' cultures.

Debate 3

Tourism and cultural interaction

Moderator: J. Jafari

Tourism and culture: an inquiry into paradoxes

Jafar Jafari

UNESCO's document outlining the scope and nature of this seminar on *Culture, Tourism, Development: Crucial Issues for the 21st Century* declares that "Tourism would not exist without culture". This *sine qua non* announcement stands solid, because according to the programme, culture is "one of the principal motivations for the movement of people, and because any form of tourism will provoke a cultural effect, on the visitor as well as on the host". These propositions can be supported with recent research findings, but this is not all tourism is and involves. A holistic view of tourism *à la culture*, with its structured and structuring paradigms, can capture much more, including its nature, scope, and influences.

In retrospect, the earlier and still prevalent economic treatments of tourism — as a business, as a trade, or as an industry — have in the main shaped the present thinking on the subject. The economic forces of this mega-industry and the study of its potentials have undoubtedly been instrumental in bringing tourism to the national and international forefront, as an attractive economic opportunity, for developed and developing countries alike. But, unfortunately, this very singularized and popularized economic dimension of tourism and its pronounced supply and demand axioms have conditioned the whole notion about tourism in itself and in respect to other conceptual and operational realms. For example, when culture, the key theme of this seminar, is viewed from the demand/supply angles, it is suddenly reduced to a tourism commodity — an attraction which influences the choice of a destination, where tourists consume their packaged experiences, where cultural production is shaped by the wishes of the market, where the visited population is cast and animated in that image, and where the supply-side host and demand-side guest interact. But even this very supply/demand construct suggests that tourism is more than an economic activity. Tourism, as recent studies reveal about its complex inward/outward functions and structures, is most and foremost a socioculturally embedded phenomenon with diverse dimension and untold influences, of which economics is but one. Therefore, to expand the coverage, tourism should be emancipated from its traditional economic bounds for augmentation in larger systems. Culture, with its holistic orientation and approach, presents itself as an accommodating context for the study of tourism, as the programme of this international seminar suggests, and this coherent system can illustrate functions and structures of tourism in today's and tomorrow's global community.

To view tourism within this larger cultural system to which it fittingly belongs, one can begin by outlining here some of the tourism notions and constructs which best relate to the theme of this UNESCO meeting and by posing a number of contextualized yet searching questions. Minimally, such a treatment would help to detect some of both the complexities and interconnectedness within tourism's operating system. Significantly, this process can suggest many research challenges and opportunities ahead, some of which are to be discussed during the course of this seminar. An *Agenda 21 for Tourism*, coupled with appropriate proactive strategies, may indeed emerge through this deliberation in Paris.

Travel as a need

Recent research reveals that tourism is no longer considered as an activity practised by the privileged few, but as a sociocultural norm expected by all. This shift, though not uniform worldwide, with many developing countries at its early stage and developed ones nearing its end, still indicates that tourism has become a cultural institution in itself, a rite in its own right. What is to be understood about this rising expectation, this societal requirement? Who should respond to this leisure need? What fostering role and responsibility should the government play in this respect? Or, on the contrary, should this growing tourism phenomenon and the corresponding societal expectations be controlled, curtailed, or diminished?

Externalization of tourism practice

Whether assisted by the government or not, tourism in action functions as an unwinding process, or an escape outlet from bounded and rigid ordinary daily life. Often tourists from the developed countries find themselves in less developed areas, doing whatever it takes to undo their home-grown fatigue, dumping it on shores afield. To what extent should the host countries absorb these often unwelcome touristic exhalations? Is it fair to the destinations to act as the recreational satellites of and playgrounds for the big tourism generating markets of mostly developed countries? Is the apparent monetary compensation a fair return for the socioeconomic investment that a host destination makes in tourism? Viewed differently, if no or limited tourism is advocated by some, then what would happen to the tired minds and bodies — and consequently to their societal functions and economic productivity — if travel and vacation outlets were reduced? Can today's culture, at a national or global level, function if its now externalized touristic channels are shut off? What alternatives to tourism or what alternative forms of tourism are more promising in years ahead?

Tourist culture

Tourism operates according to its own culture, enacted almost uniformly by tourists everywhere. Their free-floating animated and unstructured practices often stand in contrast to the host cultural norms of the host destination. This tourism culture is a lifestyle — a cultural pattern — in its own right and like other cultures can be observed and studied. Is this emancipating and uninhibiting tourist culture responding to the cumulative pressures at work, at home, in one's culture and society? What can tourism and the tourist culture, with endless liberating patterns, do for the stationary man? To what extent do this unstructured culture of the guest and the structured culture of the host establish an acculturative relationship? Which of the two cultures bends, shifts, and adapts? What consequences repair and which ones add insults to injuries?

Carry-on cultural baggage

Each nationality travels with some of its own home-grown cultural norms and expectations. The law of market “demands” an understanding of these market-segmented tendencies. How do these cultural importations through each tourism-generating market influence the local host

culture? How can a host at the same time sustain and transform its norms every which way in order to offer the brand of hospitality expected by each tourism market? On the contrary, how can each tourist type totally relax, let go, recreate, and learn, if the host medium is rigid and unaccommodating? In a broader sense, since people have traditionally been studied in their own community/national settings, would studying them as tourists — away from their ordinary rules and roles — shed new light on their hidden cultural selves manifested only away from home?

Host culture

As already noted, tourism has the tendency of commercializing the host culture — commoditizing, deodorizing, and sanitizing for the consumption of tourists rushing in and out of their lives and turf. This process is not acceptable to many host populations, and perhaps to as many tourist types. How would this manipulation of the host culture influence its integrity, its very structure and existence? To what extent can its contents and boundaries be defined and redefined? Should people and their culture be “frozen” in time and space for the sake of tourists? What would be some of the emic and etic views on this homogenization process to which the culture is touristically subjected? How can the resulting influences be minimized in the face of mass tourism, with a growing number of tourists sincerely desiring to sample cultures far afield (with as many locals and/or their governments willing to oblige)? How similar are the cultural and physical carrying capacities of different destinations?

Cultural revitalization

Tourism not only can influence the future course of a host culture, but also can, as it has on many occasions, revive some of the bygone cultural patterns or heritage. This process has not necessarily been for the sake of the host culture, but often for tourists always seeking for additional attractions to visit, to encounter past eras only found in historical books. Who decides what is to be revived and what left alone? To what extent can the resurrected souls interact with the present norms occupying the “modern” host niches? What inward and outward (mixed) messages might this juxtaposition of the past and present generate and for whose consumption? Turning the coin over, if it were not for tourism, how many past lifestyles, traditions, and practices would have been totally forgotten and thus lost? What role can these touristically generated and constructed bridges to the past play for the host (and the guest) populations?

Patrimonial preservation

Tourism is also credited by many researchers and practitioners for its ability to both revive cultural patterns and to rebuild and/or preserve the man-made inheritance of the host. Castles, historical buildings, monuments, heritage centres, and even artifacts of many types reportedly owe much to tourism for their revival and maintenance — a sustenance process to which UNESCO in principle is committed. But who decides which patrimonies are to be revived, repaired, maintained, and /or promoted (internally and externally)? At what cost and who pays for it? What if this fortification of the past brings back what the host is trying to forget, to

leave behind, in order to move forward? Viewed from an opposite angle, how many monuments would have been diminished, ruined, and buried forever if there had been no tourism demand for them? What would happen to future preservation attempts — both inbuilt and natural domains — if tourism demands were lessened?

Staged authenticity

The above revivals, refortification, and/or redevelopment have continuously received serious attention worldwide. To this trend one may add the aforementioned revival of cultural matters and materials, as well as the tendency of tourism to commercialize both past and present and sell all by the pound. In any event, this practice is regarded by many as unethical, artificial, synthetic, and at best is termed as pseudo-development or staged authenticity. What would this artificiality and “disneyfication” of the past or even the present do to or for the host population? What consequences would this process have on the legitimacy or sacredness of a culture and every fabric of it? Who does decide what should remain “buried” and what resurrectedly staged? Stepping away from the touristic forces, is tourism the only industry which commercializes, consumes, and destroys?

What goes public, what remains private

Still from a different vista, each culture features both private and public domains — and whatever falls in between. All, part, or none of these cultural and spatial zones may be shared with tourists. But who decides which ones are accessible to tourists (and to what extent)? How deep can tourists penetrate into cultural and spatial layers of the host? On the reverse side of the coin, if some or most destinations are sealed off, then what about the “rights” of the tourists who wish to experience the inner world of the host — authentic and natural as it comes? Does a cultural form or a monument belong to a group or nation or to the whole of mankind?

Cultural diversity in the face of uniformity

The above factors contribute to a process which is at the same time pulling the host culture in two opposite directions. On one hand, the host is enticed to become reacquainted with and build new bridges to its “glorious” past. On the other hand, by bringing the world to one's back yard via tourism, the external forms and forces begin to establish acculturative relationships with the host. What would this simultaneous inward and outward movement do to the host and its culture? As such, is tourism a force to bring out native colours or to camouflage all across cultural lines into one? If the latter, then what would this process do to the very existence of tourism which is mobilized more in search of diversity than familiarity? Is the process of globalization served or severed by tourism?

The tourism industry

Tourism, now a universal practice, has gradually developed into a structure and institution unique to itself, a system of operation able to make waves of its own felt shores apart. In addition to its own aforementioned tourist and carry-on cultures, tourism functions according

to its internal culture patterns of operation. While each country may want to favour its traditional systems of operation and hospitality, the industry is universalizing its own brands. Many factors contribute to this transformation. Among others, multicultural companies, mostly headquartered in the developed countries which generate the bulk of tourists, are very influential in shaping and controlling the process. In the meantime, many destinations, especially those in the developing countries, are becoming increasingly dependent on tourism. What consequences should one expect from this dependency? Is tourism another form of cultural and economic "imperialism"? What other trade options are available to many countries now fully committed to tourism? Does tourism hold the same/similar promise for different cultures, different peoples, different countries? In today's global community, is it possible for a country to keep out of tourism — both as a generating market *and* a receiving destination? If so, what would be the consequences of this self-imposed isolation?

In summary, despite the above complexities and paradoxical relationships between culture and tourism, one thing is definite: tourism is here to stay. If there are still countries which can or want to do without tourism, tourists cannot. The act of going away has become an institutionalized must for almost all. In an economic vein, tourism is regarded as the largest industry in the world, but actually it has not reached its full maturity, especially since developing countries, with the bulk of world land and population belonging to them, have so far had limited participation in it. Whether regarded as a phenomenon or an industry, tourism demands dedicated attention, with special focus on making it sustainable (in the broad sense of the term). The generalized forms and forces outlined in this paper, among others, will continue to define and redefine tourism, including its inward and outward relationships and connectivities. Cultural maintenance, historical restoration, ecological preservation, etc., are among the conceptual frames or operational fields which will continue to influence tourism and be influenced by it. All relevant issues and concerns will have to be identified and placed on a research agenda rooted in retrospective insights on the subject and guided with prospective views on what tourism is and can be in the next century:

The sheer magnitude of tourism and its societal institutionalization as a cultural universal calls for its full multidisciplinary investigation and contextualization in today's global village in which tourism is a visible common denomination and whose near and far corners are connected and integrated by its very touristic networks and apparatus. UNESCO, with its commitment to man's collective culture and heritage of the past, present, and future, has a definitive role to play in formulating a comprehensive and informed proactive *Agenda 21 for Tourism*.

Tourism and cultural interaction: issues and prospects for sustainable development

Ronald G. Parris

International tourism is understood as a system of relationships and processes, practices and networks of action, involving peoples and institutions of different countries and cultures for the purpose of organizing international travel and overnight accommodation and supplying and consuming leisure activities in various countries of destination.

Theoretical pre-suppositions

Tourism and cultural interaction

The concept of interaction is fundamental to understanding this phenomenon. Such interaction is at the same time *intersocietal*, *intercultural* and *intersectoral*. My approach to this theme therefore starts from the system of relationships or social interaction in which such cultural contact occurs. In some usages, social and cultural factors are co-joined into a single concept of *socio-cultural interaction*, which reflects the difficulty of maintaining the distinction empirically.

Some conceptual clarity, however, can be derived from the traditional social science interaction paradigm of an hypothetical actor facing conditions in a situation in which he (used generically) is motivated to define objectives and goals (rational, irrational, non-rational or expressive) and means to achieve them. In pursuing his interests and goals, culture provides some guidance as it does also inform social interaction with other actors.

It is in this sense that I understand the point in the Secretariat's paper that the role of culture in tourism is doubly manifested in stimulating or motivating individuals to travel as well as in its impact on host-guest interaction. Just as tourism can be viewed economically as an "origin-linkage-destination" world-wide system, culturally there is a tourism-culture interface of "backward" and "forward" linkage, the former in the country of origin; the latter in the country of destination.

Cultural interaction starts with the cultural images that permeate the publicity and promotion activities of advertising agencies and national tourist bureaus in the sending countries. These idealized models enter the decision-making situation of prospective tourists, and in interaction with their own "culturally specific" values, are carried to the chosen destinations.

Culture is understood here in two senses: first, as a social paradigm of dominant beliefs, values, traditions, common-sense knowledge and prescriptions (norms and sanctions) that guide and legitimate decision choices, social practices and human interaction; second, as the tangible manifestations of a society's patrimony, put on display as tourist attractions. The Secretariat document appropriately draws attention to the role of culture in both senses. Both meanings are significant in understanding how tourists negotiate and give meaning to the cultural (as well as physical and social) differences and attractions they experience in the host countries.

Sustainable development

Problems of underdevelopment are immediately signalled in considering issues of tourism and cultural interaction, especially in small island societies. Many of these, often former colonies, have committed themselves to tourism as a path to "development." The transition to tourism has been relatively smooth, with plantation elites simply converting their estates into tourist facilities (e.g. Antigua, Barbados). Tourism incorporates these countries into the world system of trade, in which, in their traditional role as "primary producers," they make available their resource base (land, labour, cultural patrimony) in the organization, production and "export" of leisure to countries in the North. International tourism then is constituted by "centre-periphery" relations of structural dependency and asymmetry. Current emphasis on the principle of sustainability adds an additional challenge to the development efforts of these countries.

The issues

Outstanding complex issues remain on the tourism agenda for the 21st century. The fundamental problem is how to balance economic development goals of tourism with the preservation and protection of cultural heritage and identity. Some specific issues of tourism and cultural interaction include:

Role of "touristic" cultural models

At the initial tourist-host cultural "linkage" in metropolitan countries, the issue is the degree to which the idealized cultural images or "markers" of destination countries promoted to stimulate demand are positively correlated with local cultural values and national identity. Tourism policy is directed simultaneously to potential visitors and to motivating the local population to internalize these idealized images, regardless of their fit with the more authentic local versions ("Be friendly to tourists", "Invite a tourist to lunch"). These efforts may be functional for tourism earnings, but could produce cultural ambivalence or even dissonance and a "touristic cultural identity" among the local population. This calls for governments to balance the economic objectives of tourism more closely with the preservation of local values and cultural identity.

Process of cultural adaptation

In the tourism cultural-interaction linkage system, there is an ongoing process of cultural adaptation. Tourists adapt to new cultural experiences, probably reshaping the idealized cultural models acquired before arrival. The host society adapts to the presence and imported cultural models of tourists. Are the outcomes negative or positive in promoting respect for cultural diversity and mutual understanding? The Secretariat's paper suggests that such adaptation could be either positive or negative. The outcome depends on: the social characteristics of the tourists (age, ethnicity, social class, communication skills); conditions of the interaction (duration of stay, type of accommodation) and the number of tourists and

type of tourism. Certain types of tourism are thought to be correlated with certain phases of tourist development and varying adaptations to local norms and values.

The demonstration effect

Acculturation may manifest itself in the imitation by the local population of a touristic life style. Negative effects of this adaptation include: increased demands for imported consumption goods and consequent strains on the balance of payment position; deviant behaviour (e.g. crime, drugs, prostitution) to support the acquired life style; and a more general change in world view, attended by loss of cultural identity. While tourism is not the only source of these negative effects, some observers see it as contributing to conflict between "modern values" and the traditional way of life.

"Tipping-point" or "cultural carrying capacity"

In considering tolerable levels of cultural adaptation in the receiving country, the concept of "carrying capacity" is useful for describing the critical level of cultural impact that the host society can sustain. It is the "tipping-point" of local acceptability of tourism, similar to a community's degree of tolerance for the presence of other ethnic groups. A similar idea is that of a linear sequence of "increasing irritation". In the context of tourism planning, the cultural-interaction tipping-point and the factors that could trigger it should be taken into account. One such factor is population size in relation to tourist flows.

Deviant behaviour

Evidence of the effects of tourism on deviant behaviour is mixed. Recent reported incidents in Florida, U.S. Virgin Islands and elsewhere are examples of individual tourists becoming crime victims in violent robbery attempts. Also, a more recent phenomenon has been spontaneous violence against tourists in general (New Zealand), and as selected targets of terrorism in other places.

Sexual deviance, particularly prostitution, accompanies tourism. This is facilitated by the "non-ordinariness" of the tourists' insertion into distant societies in which they are not closely constrained by local norms, which themselves may be undergoing change towards greater sexual freedom. Besides, such sexual encounters fill some of the employment needs of the local population.

Sustainable development

Can developing countries adopt the principle of sustainability and develop a tourism that is compatible with the environmental and cultural heritage of the local population (sustainable tourism)? If so, what is the likelihood of success? The answers to both questions are guarded.

Small island societies generally share certain features of underdevelopment and fragility of their ecosystems. They are constrained by size, systemic openness, market vulnerability, limited resources and the scientific and technical support for sustainability. They also share

narrow development and environmental options. In some island societies (Caribbean, for example) displacement by tourism of traditional agricultural exports has only meant the substitution of one monocrop for another in a persistent relationship of structural dependency. Tourism itself is likely to be linked with environmental fragility, manifested in problems of coastal erosion, pollution, drainage, and inadequate management capacity of fresh water resources, waste disposal and hazard prevention planning. Diminishing resources pose problems of competing social claims for resource allocation or lack of political will to invest in the infrastructure and human resources for sustainable tourism. These particular limitations of small island societies to achieve sustainable development are likely to persist.

An even more general problem of "development" is that "success" has often by-passed goals of justice and equity, in spite of impressive rates of economic growth. In planning for the future, conscious differentiation is required between economic growth, industrialization, modernization and development, which are often used interchangeably. Development itself is a normative concept that implies both societal and social change, the mobilization and rechannelling of energies and the ongoing evaluation of these efforts. Change is development or underdevelopment only when some value position is invoked. The problem is whose value positions and the type of values. The most currently invoked value has been economic growth itself. I propose here that economic growth, without justice, equity, self-reliance, cultural integrity and environmental sustainability cannot be equated with development. UNESCO could continue to play an important role in legitimizing these broader sets of values as integral to development itself.

Such a reformulation would have important implications both for small island developing societies and those countries considered developed. Current models of "development" tend to ignore the fact that in any context of change (development or underdevelopment), there are difficulties of managing different perspectives of what, if anything should be changed; perspectives about change priorities in view of limited and unequal distribution of resources; proposals about alternative approaches to change; about how fast such changes should occur and in fact what, if any, change has occurred. These perspectives, change priorities and alternative choices all occur in practical settings that are unlikely to be congruent with such theories of development.

Such assumptions may well pose the dilemma for national leaders of practical powerlessness in self-determination and decision-making. Although theories of change have a long history, seldom are the perspectives of participants and their practical situations of choice used as theoretical reference points. Little attention is given to the fact that development implies a theory of power, a theory of decision-making and a theory of culture. In understanding the relationship between tourism and development that is sustainable, equitable and just, consideration of the structure of power, decision-making processes and the role of culture in tourism at the international and national levels is inescapable. In terms of this formulation, these problems will persist well into the next century.

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Tourism and cultural change

Frans Schouten

1. The attractions

Tourism is all about selling dreams. The core of the tourism industry is the commodification of escapism, the commercial answer to the longing of mankind for another reality beyond the dull and grey of the everyday experience. In a way one could say tourism is related to the eternal search for the meaning of life. Tourism is about experiencing beyond the ordinary, to step out of the daily treadmill into a more wonderful, exciting and challenging world. Tourism is not so much about travel, accommodation, and destinations, all these are merely the means to another end: it is to do with the attractions.

An attraction is a physical and/or psychological experience that fits into the frame of mind of the seeker of diversion, and which lifts him or her out of the ordinary. Attractions are manifold and we refer to them as motivations to travel.

In this contribution I would like to probe more deeply into the nature of cultural attractions, a rapidly growing aspect of the tourism industry. Tourist boards and local authorities have recognized the enormous potential of cultural attractions to realize a flow of visitors. Why are attractions based on cultural experiences and the historical remains of our past so much in popular demand? What is the nature of the experience that visitors are looking for while visiting heritage sites and museums, watching dance performances and attending concerts? I think there are two main drives for tourists: the search for nostalgia and authenticity.

2. Nostalgia and authenticity

Nostalgia is a very strong motive for visitors to determine their destinations. Graham Dann (1994) distinguishes between four types of nostalgia: the Longing for Paradise, the Simple Life, Past Times, and the Return to Childhood. I do not perceive these as four different types, but rather as four expressions of the same: to escape from the stress or tedium of ordinary daily life. Society has grown so complex, life has become so hectic, social cohesion so fragile, values so questionable, that there is an urgent need for reconciliation. The post-modern consumer tries to find this both in the past and in far away "unspoilt" countries where people live their "traditional lives". For the post-modern consumer the "Here and Now" in his/her own life represents a discontinuity which is both the expectation and the norm.

Authenticity is the desire to encounter the real thing, to be in touch with the real world. Tourists are in search of the authentic experience. As MacCannell (1979) observes, tourists are looking for opportunities to have a backstage glance, there where the real life of their hosts is going on. The best stories tourists can take home is how they were invited by the local people to eat and to stay in their houses. He calls a lot of the touristic experience: staged authenticity. But the paradox of all tourism, whether mass tourism or green tourism or cultural tourism is that the harder you try to find the authentic experience the less you will get

it. Through tourism authenticity is rapidly eroding. Michel Picard (1983) observed that the dances performed on Bali are dances that were staged specifically for tourists in the early days of tourism on the island. The Balinese now see these dances themselves as their genuine heritage, but the original “sacred” and “forbidden” dances are no longer remembered.

3. Identity

So much for nostalgia and authenticity. Let us look into the common denominator of both: identity. Cultural identity is the expression of one's place in the world. Both the host and the guest carry their awareness of identity with them and from the encounter of the two something new always emerges.

From one perspective it can renew the bonds with one's own roots, from the other side it can make one envious of what was lost and someone else seems to have, or what the other has that you never had. The tourist has often the advantage in this exchange, for in most countries he/she seems to have what the others do not possess: freedom of travel, leisure time and affluence. In displaying these the tourist further contributes to the wear and tear of the very thing he/she was looking for.

These processes of cultural exchange are however at the same time as old as culture itself. Any culture in the world has shaped itself in an endless process of giving and taking. Culture is a phenomenon constantly in development, a living identity. Culture is a dynamic pattern and when it is forced into a static pattern it will cease to be a source of inspiration. When conservation of culture is turning into conservatism, the treatment will be worse than the disease and will eventually kill the “patient”.

Cultural identity as a living force will eventually prove itself as a powerful counter-trend against the global cultural domination of the West and the cultural uniformity it brings with it. Cultural identity represents the wish to protect the uniqueness of one's own culture, language and identity — and their attached value-systems — from foreign influence. Our roots are becoming increasingly important, to quote Naisbitt (1990): “The more homogeneous our lifestyles become, the more steadfastly we cling to deeper values. We all seek to preserve our identities, be they religious, cultural, national, linguistic, or racial. The more worlds grow more similar, we shall increasingly treasure the traditions that spring from within”.

Out of the exchange between cultures something will be lost and something will be gained. It is a difficult challenge to give direction to the route of development to avoid the above-mentioned dilemma between to conserve and conservatism, for only in freedom can be made choices that can be executed.

To put emphasis on one's own historical and cultural roots is an undeniable human right. The irony is that human rights are only respected by those people who would respect them anyhow, even if they were not formulated. The starting-point for the formulation of cultural rights is the idea of parity of all cultural systems and their expressions. The problem however is that all who violate these fundamental rights do not recognize this paradigm of parity.

4. The revival of local and regional identities

The more the world turns into the global village, the bigger is the need to identify with what

is at hand. The revival of regional idioms, the renewed interest in regional and local history, folklore, etc., are an expression of this development. The enormous influx of museums in Europe over the last 20 years is not particularly in prestigious national institutions, but in modest developments at the local level. Bringing together a collection and building a museum, being proud of one's own history and achievements, is the expression of trying to find a solid base for one's identity in a world which is increasingly becoming so complex, abstract, and obscure that it no longer provides the consolidation that is needed.

Within many countries there is a growing interest in the regions, the dialects and regional languages, the past, and nature. It is a move away from a political culture dominated by economics. In tourism, the regions try to build a distinct profile, based on the different atmosphere, different people, different culture, different language, different heritage, different food, and different customs. Tourism takes an active part in this development of culture into unique selling points that can distinguish one destination from another. But it is more than being competitive in a tough market, it is also the rediscovery of identity.

5. Keeping the balance in development

Within tourism a balance is needed between the tourist, the experience of the culture visited and the host community, a touristic "ecological" equilibrium. The tourist, the culture and the community are interdependent. The tourist needs for his/her authentic experience the living culture and the maintenance and improvement of the resources, which in their turn depend on the spiritual and economic development of the local community.

The local population should be able to gain economic benefit and renewed self-esteem from any tourism development, in terms of jobs, shops and pride in oneself. The local or national authorities should gain in terms of direct and indirect taxation from the heritage resources. And they have to be aware of these benefits. Improvement of the existing infrastructure for tourism should also be beneficial to the local population.

Cultural tourism can give incentives to training and education. Improvement of local skills, traditions, arts and crafts are of mutual benefit to the population, the tourists and the government.

In this respect modernization in a society is not always an improvement. Originally the Sonobudoyo Museum in Yogyakarta on Java had a crafts-school annex to the museum. The students used the collections as examples to learn different styles and techniques. That has all been abandoned, but I assure you our ancestors often had better ideas of cultural continuity than we have today.

6. Getting prepared for the encounter with the other culture

The Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam is a good example of what can be done. It offers a programme in which experienced travellers to exotic destinations advise those who are planning a journey about the specific situation in a particular country and the various "dos" and "don'ts". But also on the local level we can make a contribution in educating people to deal with the influx of foreigners. Often there is time needed to do so, but only a few countries, like Bhutan have adopted a policy which puts education before the "fast money"

of the tourists.

Product development at the local level is essential to guide the tourists. In this respect we can think of special interest tours in collaboration with tour agents. People love a special treatment and exclusive experiences. Allowing small groups on excavation sites with a specially trained expert to give explanations is such an experience people are willing to pay for. Museums and heritage centres should also develop into focal points for quality souvenirs and handicrafts; they have the original models and the expertise, and increasingly the sophisticated tourist is bored with the junk for sale on the streets and on the tourist markets. They want a genuine piece to take home.

To meet both the need for authenticity of the tourists and the economic needs of the host community, the emphasis in tourism development should be more on quality guesthouses run by the local people than on building 4 and 5 star hotels with foreign investments which draws more money out of a region than it contributes to local development.

7. Conclusions

The aim of sustainable cultural development and cultural tourism based on this concept is the continuity of our past in the future. In doing so we need to care more for traditions, for authenticity, for identity, for people, and for opportunities to meet and to exchange. In this way the whole economic viability of the cultural and heritage attractions can be improved to the benefit of the heritage itself and those who are attracted by it and those who depend upon it. Our heritage is not only a mirror of our past, it is also a window to the future.

Notes

1. Dann, Graham, "Tourism and Nostalgia: Looking Forward to Going Back", *Vrijetijd en Samenleving*, Vol. No. 1/2, 1994.
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Debate 4

The place of culture and development in tourism policies

Moderator: P. Keller

Strategies for the sustainable development of tourism and culture

Peter Keller

1. The meaning of tourism

The motives behind travel and tourism are being called into question for the first time in history. As we approach the *limits of saturation*, the fun we used to associate with tourism is disappearing. Genuine experience is being replaced by so-called “*virtual reality*” and by products that no longer need soil — native or otherwise! — to grow, such as Disneyland. In such conditions, people once again begin to prefer the comforts of “home, sweet home”.

Such phenomena are particularly noticeable in the wealthier industrial nations. Despite these developments, travel for the purposes of tourism is as much a fundamental human need as it ever was. In today’s world, tourism is as *natural* an activity as breathing. This is of course less true in the developing countries, where the intensity of travel remains at a low level, and where the untapped potential is considerable.

Is there a deeper meaning to our desire for travel? If there is, it is not something empirical science has been able to explain. Neither can medical practitioners say why it is that the human animal seeks relaxation in feverish holiday activities. As for the sociologists, as far as they are concerned it all has something to do with our eternal quest for Paradise Lost. In the final analysis, our desire to travel is only understandable, if at all, as a *metaphysical or a religious* phenomenon.

2. Emphasis on the human dimension

Tourism, and in particular the opportunities it provides for experiencing and enjoying different cultures, is the spice of life that makes it all worthwhile. When people in the industrial countries are in need of personal satisfaction, the first thing that comes to mind is to take a holiday. “Getting away from it all” is indeed one of the few remaining ways people still have of expressing their right to *freedom* in a meaningful way.

Tourism is what might be called a very “fragile” social phenomenon. Its appeal cannot stand up to constant *attacks* from those who, *in the name of culture and civilization*, see tourism as an entirely destructive force. Tourism is no more than the reflection of our society. It is not a Trojan horse waiting to level and destroy our cultures and our environment. We must resist the temptation to use it as an arena for the clash of *ideologies*. Nor is it fair to see tourism as “the opium of the people”, a hindrance to social change. Likewise, attempts to graft simplistic “dependence theories” into this pliable context are wide of the mark. Considering tourism as a purely economic activity is equally harmful, for there is far more to the question than can be summed up in equations of supply and demand.

As well as promoting greater critical awareness of the true nature of this activity in the general population, we in tourism have another important task. We must help create new habits in tomorrow’s travellers and vacationers. We must convince them to take more time

when making their travel and holiday arrangements, and to give it all a great deal more thought. We must help develop a *new culture of travel*, which is *more personal*. At the same time we must increase our efforts to make travel and tourism accessible to people of all cultures and classes. Tourism must not remain the privilege of the rich.

3. Sharing the moral responsibility for making tourism culturally sustainable

The responsibility for a more culturally sustainable form of tourism which does not threaten cultural differences, is a responsibility which must be shared by all. To begin with, as parents we must do a better job of teaching our children *the difficult art of getting along with people from other cultures*. Our educational institutions too must do more to *awaken an interest in travel and tourism* and an *understanding* of their importance to society.

Our social institutions, from the level of local associations right up to the level of political parties, must also contribute to creating the conditions in which we learn to accept our responsibilities as travellers and holiday-makers, with greater general *tolerance for differences between cultures, which goes hand in hand with a greater appreciation of one's own culture and its uniqueness*. Even if we may never really understand the "otherness" of the other, we must be prepared to accept it. Only then will it be possible for people visiting tourism regions to truly take the local inhabitants into their consideration and esteem.

At a time in history when the power of the state is in retreat, the private sector must begin to shoulder its fair share of responsibility. Corporations must begin to think about ways to *internalize the socio-cultural and ecological costs of their activities, so that these are reflected in the prices charged*. It will be up to the state to create an appropriate framework for this process. There will also be a need for certain guarantees between governments. UNESCO conventions designed to protect cultural and natural monuments, as well as the Agenda 21 requirements for sustainable development must, despite their recognized complexity, be implemented in the long-term interest of our cultural and natural heritage.

4. Partnership strategies in the search for a new state of equilibrium in the areas of culture and tourism

A *great many concepts* for tourism designed to be socio-culturally and ecologically sustainable already exist at the *national, regional and local* levels. None are particularly controversial, either at the expert or at the political level, and yet few efforts have been made to put any of them into practice. It is a somewhat tragic fact that developments in tourism, as in general human relations, rarely live up to our original expectations, concepts or plans. It is much more likely that the economists who argue in favour of a "laissez-faire" approach, leaving the market to determine the limits of saturation, will in the end be proven right.

Even so, in the interest of future generations, we must resist applying a "*scorched earth*" policy which would engulf the last unexplored and unexploited regions of our small planet. And in this context we must make the best use of the available tourism policy instruments. It will require a great deal of creative effort on our part. Above all we shall need *highly qualified specialists in all areas of tourism and at all levels*, who, in addition to economic skills, have the necessary administrative and political abilities.

A number of far-sighted people have already managed to take culture into consideration in their existing tourism policy. These are the planners who include a *cultural dimension* in their communication and marketing, whether aimed at the domestic or the foreign market. They are the managers who, when modernizing tourism infrastructure and installations, always keep one eye on *local architectural traditions*. They are the *area planners* who make an effort to avoid over exploitation, putting too much stress on tourism facilities including the landscape. They are all the people who go out of their way to avoid overcrowding, both in space and time, by means of such techniques as “visitor management” and staggered holiday periods.

Great efforts are required of us all, at every level, in the context both of national and regional tourism policy, and of course at the local level which is the most relevant. From the viewpoint of culturally sustainable development, the most important aspect of all is a *community development* programme, designed to improve the quality of life, in the broadest sense of the term, at the local level.

Level of development of culture and tourism: governmental and intergovernmental action

Narzalina Z. Lim

Tourism and culture are interdependent. All forms of travel, even if these are not for the specific purpose of visiting monuments and sites, attending festivals, and watching the performing arts, have a cultural impact on tourists and their hosts.

The variety of cultures is one of the main motivating factors for travel. People travel to experience and learn from the cultures of others and, in the process, widen their horizons and improve themselves. Thus, culture and tourism can mutually reinforce each other. This is the positive side of the picture.

Mass tourism, the modernization of once underdeveloped countries, and the explosion of information technology have created a mass culture — call it global culture — which is turning cities all over the world into “look alikes”. Except for cities in the “Old World” which have kept their character, modernization has bred a boring uniformity in the layout of cities — shopping malls, tall buildings, fast food centres, hotels, private homes with satellite dishes, etc., each experiencing its share of traffic jams and environmental problems. Paradoxically, tourism, which is spurred by the human desire for diversity, is a vehicle for bringing about this homogeneity. This is why tourists are going further and further away, into wilderness areas and remote villages with traditional and often indigenous cultures to experience a change from the “sameness” they experience in urban centres. These remote villages are culturally fragile and are susceptible to change upon contact with a large number of visitors. Thus, the threat of modernization and commercialization of culture becomes real. When this happens, it will undermine the very essence of tourism.

Understanding this paradox, governments have realized the need to plan and manage tourism growth and development very carefully. This is easier said than done, considering that tourism touches almost all aspects of life, and co-ordinating the planning of these fragmented aspects is a major challenge.

In Southeast Asia, Malaysia was the first country to recognize the interdependence of culture and tourism and in 1988, a Ministry of Culture and Tourism was created with the responsibility of planning, policy-making, standard-setting, and training. Thailand is following suit and a bill has been filed in Parliament proposing the creation of a Ministry of Culture and Tourism to replace the current national tourism organization, the Tourism Authority of Thailand.

In the Philippines, the task of setting cultural policy and the preservation of material as well as the non-material aspects of culture is lodged with the National Commission on Culture and the Arts created by law in 1992. An Undersecretary of the Department of Tourism sits in the highest level of the Commission as Commissioner and therefore has a say in cultural policy. The funds of the Commission come from 10% of all travel taxes collected in a year which go to the Department of Tourism. Originally, these amounts were set aside for infrastructure development in tourism areas. Now, 10% of it goes to the Commission for cultural preservation, research, training and dissemination. The money involved is in the range of USD 4 million-5 million a year. It is interesting to note that the seed fund for the

Commission in the amount of USD 4 million came from the Philippine Amusement and Gaming Corporation or PAGCOR, the government entity that operates all the casinos in the country. The interest generated from this fund is used by the Commission for operational expenses while the travel tax money is used to fund projects. I believe that the structure I have just described is a model which can be used by others whereby revenues generated from outbound travel and from gaming are used to fund cultural projects. It may be worthwhile to explore how inbound travellers can also contribute to the preservation of cultural sites of a destination as well, other than through the entrance and tour package fees they pay. After all, they are the consumers of culture. Historical monuments and sites are destroyed, polluted and eventually deteriorated with the onslaught of too many visitors.

The Philippine Department of Tourism (DOT) has laid down two key policies relating to culture and tourism. The first one is that domestic tourism, i.e. the travel of Philippine nationals around their own country, should be used as a vehicle for fostering national pride, identity and unity as a people. Thus, a strong domestic tourism programme was established by the DOT in 1986, which went as far as subsidizing the tours of public school children to nearby destinations, with particular emphasis on visiting historical monuments and sites. A "North-South" Cultural Exchange Programme, also sponsored by the DOT, brought the indigenous peoples of the northern part of the Philippines to Muslim Mindanao, the most southern island of the country, to meet and form friendships with their fellow Filipinos there, and vice-versa.

The other policy is that the country's rich culture and history must be used to promote the Philippines as a tourist destination. All promotional and advertising materials should carry a cultural theme. Thus, in the mid 1980s, the theme chosen was "Fiesta Islands Philippines" to showcase the hundreds of festivals which reflect the diversity, colour, and unique heritage of the country. This policy was particularly important in the light of the negative perception of the Philippines as a sex tour destination during the mid 1970s to the early 1980s. In 1986, the new government of President Corazon Aquino used the country's return to democracy and Philippine culture as themes to change the image of the country to a more positive one.

Indonesia has convened and hosted two international conferences on Culture and Tourism, in 1993 and in 1995. At the 1995 conference, the Minister of Tourism in Indonesia announced that this event would continue to be held once every two years in view of the importance of the subject. I am privileged to have been invited to address this conference twice and I laud the Government of Indonesia for its leadership in this important field and for successfully convening a large number of distinguished personalities, scholars, and academics involved in culture in one form or another. I note with regret however, that private tourism practitioners were conspicuously absent at both conferences. I am talking here of hotel and resort owners and developers, hoteliers, tour operators and tour guides. I would have liked to see more urban planners and architects as well. It is this gap which must be bridged in the dialogue between culture and tourism, for culture is not just for the scholars and the academics and tourism is not just for the profit-seekers. They have to come together so that tourism can be used as a vehicle to preserve culture and thereby achieve differentiation of product. Bridging the gap will also mean that culture does not appear to be in an ivory tower to be discussed only by scholars. Young people — students in secondary schools and in universities, who are the inheritors of our cultural legacies — must be involved in this continuing dialogue so that

they take up the responsibility of sustainable tourism development from the older generation.

The setting of policy on culture and tourism should not emanate from ministries of Culture and Ministries of Tourism alone. This is an exercise that should involve several Ministries because tourism is a very rich, complex, and multi-faceted subject which requires a multidisciplinary approach in its planning and management. Because of its many impacts on our lives, it needs the attention and support of the highest leadership of the land.

I end this short paper by quoting the former Prime Minister of Thailand, Anand Panyarachun, who stated, at an international forum I attended, that historic monuments, sites, and other material manifestations of culture should be considered as assets in a country's books, not burdens for which the government has to look for financial resources before they can be restored, preserved and showcased to domestic and foreign visitors. The former Prime Minister has shown the way — invest in culture and you invest in a financially-rewarding tourism industry, which is sustainable. Invest in culture and you invest in economic growth for your country.

Host communities, culture and tourism: local strategies

Claude Moulin

Cultural planning and tourism development are important dimensions and crucial issues as we enter the XXIst century especially when we apply them at the community level. Cultural tourism is not a panacea for all problems, nor is it a new device to attract more tourists and consequently more money. It is an opportunity for hosts and tourists alike to better know and understand our world, to make it a mirror of ourselves, to develop our tastes and emotions, and to acquire rich "place" experiences (Moulin, 1995). It leads us to a better quality of life through enhancement of our daily lives, landscapes and tourism experiences. McNulty defines cultural tourism at the community level as the end process of making a community more liveable for the residents and then for the tourist. He does not see tourism as a goal in itself.

This paper will offer some recommendations to further strategies and policies of cultural planning and tourism development at the community level. The development of cultural tourism is an opportunity to care for our past, our history and our heritage. It also creates more incentive for keeping cultural resources as assets of our communities. The danger is always in falling into a tourist logic rather than a culture logic. This is the challenge that has to be taken up. The protection and enhancement of cultural heritage resources will succeed only if the mechanisms of tourism planning and development are understood and used adequately.

A community is "a relatively homogeneous human group, within a defined area, experiencing little mobility, interacting and participating in a wide range of local affairs and sharing an awareness of common life and personal bonds" (Dalton & Dalton, 1975). Community development is also a process that shapes people's lives and activities. According to Christenson and Robinson (1980) community development can also be "a group of people in a community, reaching a decision to initiate a social action process (i.e. planned intervention), to change their economic, social, cultural or environmental condition".

Culture is the main factor for community development, and heritage is a structural element of planning the territory. Man, under every latitude and every condition, is not only an integral part of the culture of a given country, but constitutes its unique, essential and irreplaceable source (Haulot, 1980). There are three characteristics of culture that are widely recognized by anthropologists. First, culture is not innate but learned. Second, the various facets of culture are interrelated. Third, culture is shared within and defines the boundaries of different groups (Hall, 1977).

What is important for each individual and each community is to come to grips with their own unique model of culture. Culture has visible manifestations that people may be aware of, but it also contains latent forms. The difficulty is to raise these latent forms to consciousness. Cultural tourism encourages the appreciation of animate and inanimate elements of cultural heritage. It encourages individuals and communities to involve themselves in tourism, to study their roots, their history and their evolution while forcing them to define their future goals. The collective memory needs to be at work, the imagination must be active.

Heritage is a living tool that must give us a picture of ourselves. It enables us to continue developing our territory and leading our lives in accordance with our forebears' genius

(Martin, 1978). This is an extremely important statement as it contains the very elements essential for community cultural tourism development. The community cultural tourism development sector calls for familiarization with various concepts, knowledge, dimensions and approaches. The field of cultural tourism development is interdisciplinary, using a holistic or systemic approach.

First, the community needs to define its character and its uniqueness. This is possible by being aware of its past, and its specificities. Such a process is called cultural literacy which entails the reading of a community's sense of place. Place, space and landscape are also crucial elements of cultural heritage. The concept of place is not only physical, but also psychological and interactional (Steele, 1981). The essence of particular places must be recognized and the social design process should lead to "human environments that are in tune with the genius loci rather than at odds with it" (Seamon, 1984).

It is therefore important at the community level to exercise a number of abilities in order to successfully develop sound cultural tourism projects. Questions to be answered relate to how communities develop distinctiveness in terms of sense of place, and how to promote the visibility of rooted communities that are lacking visual symbols. All landscapes have cultural meaning. Even if a landscape outwardly seems very ordinary, it contains layers of history. Just like books landscapes can be read and understood. If it is our desire to develop communities and involve them in the cultural tourism development process, there must be an appreciation, evaluation and reading of the environment and the landscape.

The community which is tempted by cultural tourism development needs to assess and recognize the quality of a place. Planning has to be carried out carefully, taking into account three equally important factors in tourism: economic, socio-cultural sustainable and environmental aspects. During the planning period resources should be assessed in order to develop the appropriate quality of cultural tourism. Care should be given to include the rediscovery of traditional knowledge related to the natural milieu and past activities, the healthy exploitation of natural and cultural resources as well as the means of safeguarding these resources.

According to Muller and Thiem (1995) cultural tourism can revitalize old traditions and cultural components and adapt these to the new situation. But a community may suffer from anonymity if the product is not unique. Tourism development can stop emigration and improve standards of living which serve to increase self-esteem and foster positive attitudes among inhabitants. Conversely, cultural tourism can inflate prices, create competition for resources and intrude on residents private lives (Muller and Thiem, 1995). In fact cultural tourism can either increase the activity and skill level of a community with the larger number of facilities and resources tourism brings or it can promote inactivity by excluding the residents of the area causing hostility, apathy and resignation towards tourism.

Carrying capacity should also be introduced as a concept to prepare the community for the impacts of cultural tourism development and as a monitoring device to control the quality of the resources vis-à-vis the flux and the intensity of the tourists. This last ability will allow host communities to accommodate an appropriate number of tourists and to offer them a quality experience without deteriorating non-renewable resources.

In conclusion, what seems important for both hosts and guests, is to experience a rich quality place in order to reawaken a sense of wonder about the earth, its places (Seamon,

1984), and the ability of human beings to find solutions and create better places in which to live. As a community plans and develops cultural tourism, an intense self-reflection on its strengths and on its ways of doing things is mandatory. The community should be able to read itself before attempting to present itself. It should know in advance that any encounter with tourists will create changes and give birth to new challenges. Strategies and policies which encourage maintenance and enhancement of cultural resources should include a strong educational component, community involvement, conservation guidelines, and codes of ethics. At the community level, these policies should be rooted in the basic principles, ideas and characteristics of a particular local culture rather than being viewed as only a profitable commodity. We therefore suggest the following basic guidelines for the betterment of local cultural and tourism development:

1. Development of educational programmes at the community level, to focus on the environment with a particular emphasis on cultural environment;
2. Development of a communications strategy in partnership with the tourist industry to promote awareness of the built environment and cultural heritage;
3. Development of greater understanding of the tourism phenomenon. This includes understanding of the tourism experience, the importance of respecting cultural integrity and authenticity, the preservation of cultural resources and the interrelationship between nature and culture;
4. Development of a code of ethics and practices which include social, cultural and ethical responsibilities for the local population, tourists and the tourism industry.

Conclusions

A. Crucial issues for the XXIst century

Over thirty years ago, when mobilizing the international community to save the monuments of Nubia, UNESCO made the world aware of the existence of a heritage which is common to all humanity and of the need to preserve it and hand it down to future generations.

This cultural and natural heritage, conveyed by the term cultural landscape, is today affected by the ever-growing phenomenon of tourism.

A seemingly irreversible phenomenon, tourism can represent a great opportunity for many countries — particularly those of the South, as well as for culture, for cultural landscapes in general, for promotion of the heritage, and for the preservation of cultural identities.

Aesop said of language that it could be “the best or the worst of things”. So is it with tourism. We can rejoice in the success of cultural tourism and be glad that an ever-increasing number of tourists want to discover the planet. These touristic successes have often enabled the restoration of sites, the revitalization of craft techniques and artistic creativity, the encouragement of knowledge and understanding between peoples, the “reawakening” of villages and buildings otherwise doomed through neglect and disinterest.

On the other hand, we are well aware of the dangers tourism represents for the heritage, both in its integrity and its diversity, and of the social disruption it causes within the host populations.

Culture belongs to the domain of metamorphosis, not of immortality. History is the result of reciprocal influences of cultures; attempting to freeze a culture in isolation will result in its fossilization.

But, if cultural exchange is something to be encouraged, the domination of any culture by another is unacceptable. The multicultural world to which we aspire is inseparable from the maintenance of the dual dimension — universal and specific — of culture. The building of a single, but diversified, world demands this. What would our world be without its diversity of architecture, cooking, clothing, music, and literature, which express the thousand different and equal ways we live?

The cultural heritage is the compost in which the aspirations and motivating values of individuals and peoples breed and grow. Its diversity is therefore consubstantial with human diversity. Today, more than ever before, one can observe public taste for cultural tourism, that is to say for the discovery of representations and cultural expressions of different human groups. This search for “difference” is proof of an awakening awareness which should be extended and broadened. Only through knowledge can appreciation, acknowledgment and dialogue be attained: the differences reveal the common substratum.

The preservation of diversity very much depends upon the willingness of everyone — from political leaders to the tourists themselves and via intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations — to develop new conceptual tools to take up the major challenges of tourism.

The challenges

The major challenges of tourism can be expressed as questions:

- a. How can access to sites by the largest possible number of people be reconciled with the need to preserve the heritage for future generations?
- b. How can these temporary migrations on an unprecedented scale — 565 million international visitors and ten times as many national visitors in 1995 — be exploited to encourage knowledge of cultures, appreciation of differences, and genuine intercultural dialogue?
- c. How can tourism be made to contribute to the enrichment of the intangible cultural heritage through, specifically, stimulation of artistic creation and the production of crafts?
- d. How can tourism more effectively boost the sustainable development of local economies in the LDCs, particularly in Africa, through the creation of small touristic service and reception enterprises, and through the acquisition of modern technology for communications, reservations and administration?
- e. How can touristic activity be used not only to prevent the erosion of cultural identities but, over and above, to encourage their preservation and enrichment? What role can museums play in this particular field?
- f. How can the freedom to travel for all, and particularly for youth, be reconciled with the necessity for education, awareness-raising, and information about “dos” and “don’ts” preparatory to the exercise of that right?
- g. How can local communities, particularly indigenous communities, receive and regulate the flow of tourists so as to control the rhythm of cultural interaction and avoid socio-cultural shock? How can these societies be given a greater economic stake in the development of tourism?
- h. How can one win acceptance of an ethical dimension to tourism, an economic and human activity in which human beings are respected and not exploited as “attractions”?
- i. How can the cultural and human aspects of tourism be made to counterbalance its too frequently dominant commercial functions? How can dialogue on the theme of culture, tourism and development be improved among private tourism enterprises, investors and tour operators, whose interests are primarily commercial?
- j. How can women more fully participate in the development of touristic activities and benefit from the spin-offs in terms of revenues and social promotion?

- k. How can modern technology be made to serve culture, tourism and development?
- i. How can an aesthetic dimension, adapted to each context, be introduced in touristic developments and infrastructures, to ensure the preservation of cultural landscapes for future generations?

B. Proposals for action

Any attempt to take up these issues individually would be useless. Responses to the international phenomenon of tourism should be sought through a global, interdisciplinary approach and through co-operation between all the actors involved.

Because of this UNESCO, within the framework of its mission, and in partnership with the Member States, the United Nations institutions, the IGOs, the NGOs, the business firms in the sectors concerned, the networks of experts, and the tourists, would like to help take up the challenges set out above.

The principle behind this co-operation should be that of allowing the most competent partner to undertake actions with maximum efficiency and at minimum cost.

1. Examples of co-operative action already undertaken or in preparation

- a. Participation in the organization of international conferences and seminars on the theme of tourism, culture, nature, e.g. Lausanne, Switzerland in October 1994, Yogyakarta, Indonesia in August 1995, Lanzarote, Spain in April 1995, Majorca, Spain in November 1995, Milan, Italy, as part of the International Tourism Fair, in February 1996. Partners, in addition to the Member States concerned: WTO (World Tourism Organization), UNEP (United Nations Environmental Programme), AEC (European Agency for Culture), EU (European Union).
- b. Regional seminars, held in Asia (Jomtien, Thailand, February 1994), in the Arab States (Chefchaouen, Morocco, June 1995, and planned for autumn 1996 in Sana'a, Yemen), and in Africa (planned for Autumn 1996 in Bamako, Mali), which provide for exchanges of experience and the formulation of projects and recommendations to be implemented in partnership: Member States, UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), WTO (World Tourism Organization), World Bank. Green Cross International has created a network of sustainable tourism projects on the Internet.
- c. Cultural itineraries and routes (Silk Roads, Slave Route, Routes of Al Andalus) which combine the study of an historical and cultural heritage with its promotion through tourism, in co-operation with WTO.
- d. In co-operation with UNDP, implementation of a cultural tourism project for the creation of a cultural tourism circuit in the central region of the island of Java, Indonesia.
- e. Support, in partnership with the European Union, for the Venice University project "Art

Cities and Visitor Flow”, which seeks solutions to the problems of mass tourism in twenty European historic cities. Exchanges of experience, publications.

- f. Cultural tourism development programme in Sao Tome and Principe and, on the basis of a study undertaken by a team from Mali, regional meeting planned in that country to exchange experience and set up cultural development projects geared towards village communities, for submission to funding sources (UNDP and the World Bank in particular).
- g. Development and management programmes for the reception of tourists at sites registered on the World Heritage List, such as Angkor in Cambodia, or the Citadel in Haiti.
- h. Encouragement for co-operation between university institutions within the framework of the UNESCO CHAIRS programme. UNESCO CHAIRS could be set up through the Aiest network and the review *Annals of Tourism Research*. The University of Tourism for Peace (G. Trigano Foundation) is also a good example of inter-university co-operation.

2. Other actions which might be undertaken

- UNESCO has offered ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) its help with the revision of the latter's Charter on Cultural Tourism, drawn up in 1979. Once it is drawn up, procedures could be started for its submission to the Executive Board of UNESCO.
- In co-operation with Aiest's network of experts and with the review *Annals of Tourism Research* we should like to help bring expertise closer to decision-makers and encourage the search for criteria on the basis of which the cultural impact of tourism could be studied, in the same way as its environmental impact.
- Through the UNESCO CHAIRS and UNITWIN networks for interuniversity co-operation, we could contribute to exchange of experience and transfer of know-how.
- The Complementary Agreement of 28 February 1996 signed between UNESCO and WTO should have the effect of strengthening synergy between the two Organizations and facilitating access to tourism engineering and training in particular.
- UNESCO might support initiatives such as those of ECPAT (End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism), with which the Universal Federation of Travel Agents and Associations is already associated.
- Study of the drafting of an Agenda 21 for culture based on the Rio de Janeiro model for the environment.

- Project on sustainable tourism in the Caribbean and on the degradation of coastal zones.
- Proposal of a professional code of ethics for tour operators.
- Introduction of an aircraft fuel tax to finance the safeguarding and management of the cultural heritage.
- Inventory and dissemination of examples of qualitative tourism policies that permit a transfer of tourism receipts to culture.
- Organization, in 1998, on a large scale, under the aegis of UNESCO, of a round table in which a dialogue would be launched between cultural workers and those involved in tourism.
- In co-ordination with the World Tourism Organization, UNESCO should collect from national tourism organizations in the Member States their viewpoints on relations between culture and tourism and thus set up a data bank. This information could be evaluated by a group of experts, convened by UNESCO, whose conclusions and recommendations on tourism policies would be submitted to Member States.
- The printed documents and video produced at the end of the round table on “Culture, Tourism, Development” should be distributed and viewed in schools so that young people could discuss it and become aware of issues that were raised at the round table.

Panel of experts

Prof. Georges H. CAZES: Geographer. Has published many publications on tourism in France and in other countries. Former President of the French Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism (AFEST). Currently Professor at the University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, teaching and conducting research on "Development, Culture and Tourism".

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Dr Zahi HAWASS: Egyptologist. Served with the Egyptian Antiquities Organization from 1968 until present primarily as Inspector of Antiquities. Also taught egyptology at several universities in the USA and Egypt. Currently Director General of Antiquities at Giza and Saqqara. Author of many publications on egyptology, site management, and cultural tourism. *Director General, Giza Pyramids and Saqqara & Bahria Oasis, 42 Aden St., El-Mohandessen, Cairo, Egypt*

Arq. Yani HERREMAN: Art historian and museologist. Former President of International Council of Museums (ICOM) Regional Organization for Latin America and the Caribbean, and editor of its publication *Chaski*. Currently professor at the National University of Mexico and member of the Advisory Board of the UNESCO journal *Museum International*.

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Dr Jafar JAFARI: Cultural anthropologist. Faculty member of the University of Wisconsin-Stout Department of Hospitality and Tourism, in the USA. Editor-in-Chief of *Annals of Tourism Research: a social sciences journal*; Chief Editor of the *Tourism Social Science Series* (a book series); Chief Editor of the *Encyclopedia of Tourism* (scheduled to appear in 1998); and Founding President of the *International Academy for the Study of Tourism*.

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Prof. Hiroshi KAKAZU: Economist. Born on the island of Okinawa. Has worked with the Asian Development Bank and the International University of Japan. Currently Senior Professor in Development Management at the Graduate School of International Development, Nagoya University. Has published several books on sustainable development of small island economies.

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Prof. Dr Peter KELLER: Economist. Head of the Tourism Division of the Swiss Federal Administration in Berne and Professor at the School of Economics and Management (HEC), University of Lausanne, Switzerland. Also President of the International Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism (AIEST) and President of the Commission for Europe of the World Tourism Organization (WTO).

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Ms Narzalina Z. LIM: Former Minister of Tourism of the Philippines. Former Deputy Minister in charge of Tourism Planning, Development and Policy Formulation. Currently managing the Asia Pacific Tourism Training Institute (APTTI) in Manila.

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Dr Claude MOULIN: Recreologist and City planner. Former Vice-president of ICOMOS-Canada, and Founder and President of the National Committee on Cultural Tourism with ICOMOS-Canada. Author of many publications on heritage conservation and cultural tourism. Currently a faculty member of the University of Ottawa, teaching also cultural tourism at several universities in Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela.

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Mr David MUSILA: Former Director of Tourism for Kenya. Served as an officer at the World Tourism Organization (WTO) from 1990 to 1993. Currently Director of a Nairobi based tourism consulting firm, Tourism Partnership. Has undertaken consultancy work for many international organizations.

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Dr Ronald PARRIS: Sociologist. Has taught sustainable development and cultural tourism especially in small islands at several universities in the USA. Currently Director of Ralph Bunche Institute of International Studies, Montclair, New Jersey. Also a member of the Executive Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations with the United Nations Department of Public Information.

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Mr Frans SCHOUTEN: Phycologist. Formerly lecturer in museum education, then Director of the Training Centre at the Reinwardt Academy in the Netherlands. Currently senior lecturer at the Netherlands Institute for Tourism and Transport Studies, in Breda and advisor to the European Heritage Centre in Barcelona. Has worked as a consultant on heritage tourism at Synthesis International.

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Rapporteur

Mr Jean Luc MICHAUD: Vice-President International of Aiest. Former Director of Tourism at the French Ministry of Tourism.

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Guest participants

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Hervé CEVEAR	Director-General, Visit France-Visit Europe (Air France Group), France
Laetitia GONZALES	Director, South American Destination, Peru
Michael Wolf IWAND	Executive Director, Department of Environment, Touristik Union International (TUI), Germany
Jean-Pierre RESPAUT	Director, Clio-Voyages culturels, France
Maureen WHEELER	Co-founder and editor of the tourist guide <i>Lonely Planet</i> , Australia

UNESCO

Lourdes ARIZPE	Assistant Director-General for Culture
Hernán CRESPO-TORAL	Principal Director, Sector for Culture
Doudou DIENE	Director, Division for Intercultural Projects
Mounir BOUCHENAKI	Director, Division of the Physical Heritage
Francis CHILDE	Co-ordinator, World Decade for Cultural Development
Hervé BARRE	World Decade for Cultural Development

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