

TOWARDS COMMUNITY DRIVEN TOURISM PLANNING: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THEORITICAL DEMANDS AND PRACTICAL ISSUES

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Abstract

This paper outlines the historical context in which 'participatory tourism planning' emerged and links this ideology to the practicality. Key elements of community based planning are summarized. The literature reviewed helps identify several tensions in achieving participatory planning. To move the enquiry forward, it is argued that there is an urgent need for identifying and further examination of five inter-related fundamental issues: (1) who are the affected community or communities? (2) who are tourism stakeholders? (3) who should select stakeholders? (4) who should act as a promoter/convener of the participatory planning? and (5) what methods should be used to attain effective and efficient public participation.

Key words: *Community participation, Tourism planning, Review.*

Introduction

Different terms, such as community development, public participation, and community empowerment, are used to denote the involvement of people in local affairs. Although apparently different, these terms are interrelated. Underneath the terminological variations rest the same concepts, conveying similar ideas and entailing similar processes.

Originally rooted in political theories of democracy, the participatory concept evolved into a core agenda for developers, policy makers and planners in the 1970s and 1980s (Jewkes and Murcott 1988). Central to this rationale is a reaction against governmental centralisation, bureaucratisation and rigidity (ibid.). The focal point of the concept is that state power has extended too far, exploiting and diminishing ordinary people's freedom and rights to control their own affairs. Advocates of the concept of participatory tourism planning postulate that, by actively and genuinely involving people in the

development process, attempts to promote economic and social progress would be accelerated. They also believe that the benefits of development will achieve greater equity in distribution. Community participation is thus seen as a useful tool to reduce unbalanced development.

Community participation is premised upon: a voluntary and democratic involvement of people (Strawn, 1994; Butler et al., 1999; Warburton, 1998); grass-roots initiatives, as opposed to an imposition from above (Strawn, 1994; Butler et al., 1999); participants' capability to make choices and influence outcomes (Beeker et al., 1998; Warburton, 1998; Stewart and Collett, 1998); shared decision-making at all levels of the programmes (setting goals, formulating policies, planning, implementing) (Strawn, 1994; Butler et al., 1999); and, equitably-shared benefits from development as a result of participation (Zetter and Hamza, 1998).

To date, attempts at achieving genuine community participation in the tourism field encounter some difficulties; the requirement that all public shareholders be directly involved at

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every planning stage has proven difficult to satisfy. Given this predicament, it is therefore not surprising that the debate on community participation in tourism has largely focused on how to involve the community in the planning process (Burns 1999, Jayawardena, 2002, Hanna 2005)

Lingering questions abound. Most notably questions about the links between the participatory concept, political forces, administrative arrangements and re-distribution of wealth and power; only effective answers to these questions will produce effective, successful and genuine participatory planning. Yet, many of these issues remain unanswered, starting with the question as to whether community involvement in planning would indeed result in communities taking control of and benefiting from tourism development in their localities (Woodley, 1993). There is after all a significant difference between having an effective plan and being able to effectively implement it.

In light of all this questioning, it seems therefore pertinent to the author to revisit the existing body of knowledge on these points and identify the most salient issues in need of further research and want of practical, applicable answers. This review will provide the researchers concerned with a basis from which to advance the topic in the future.

A critical review of the literature identifies and highlights the gap between theoretical requirements and practical difficulties. In doing so this paper also identifies several tensions in achieving participatory planning and urges their further examination.

Thus, after some introductory comments on participatory planning as applied to tourism, definitional issues with regard to the term 'community' will be considered. Part three will then explore the notion of representation and the attending concept of stakeholders. In part four, the issue of community readiness will be examined, paving the way for a discussion in subsequent parts on the role of governmental and local power structures. This paper will conclude

by articulating some directions for further research.

1. Community Participatory Planning as Applied to Tourism

Community-based tourism planning has received substantial attention from and advocacy by scholars (Murphy 1985, Gunn 1988, Haywood 1988, Blank 1989, Simmons 1994, Jamal and Getz, 1995, Reed 1997, Timothy, 1999). Much of the current agitation has been spurred by concerns over host-guest relations in tourism and the negative impacts tourism may have on host communities (Jafari 1990). This interest has translated into a call for a tourism planning approach which would advance our understanding of what could be done to predict and alleviate these negative consequences.

In the 1980s, this call also combined with a growing concern over the uneven response to developmental and environmental issues, which in turn, led academics and planners alike to question economic efficiency as the predominant goal of development.

One of the responses was the appointment of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) by the United Nations to examine these issues. In the wake of this appointment, the concept of 'sustainable development' was formulated and proposed as an agenda to resolve environmental and developmental problems (WCED, 1987).

Defined 'as paths of development that satisfy the needs and wants of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (p.49), sustainable development emphasizes the right of local people to take part in the decision-making process and to be consulted on activities likely to have an effect on their well-being. This principle was affirmed at the 1992 Rio UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) and integrated into the subsequent literature on the subject. As the UNCED made clear, sustainable development requires community participation in practice as well as principle (Warburton,

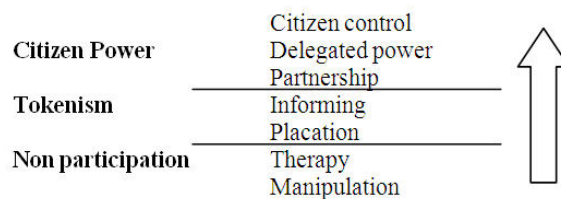
1998). Following that conference, development agencies were also encouraged to help people help themselves, thereby promoting a gradually less interventionist role in the community planning process.

What characterizes first and foremost this approach is a quest for community inputs through their active participation in the tourism development process. As Smith (1978) argues, such community mobilization not only fosters improvements in host-guest relationships but also strengthens human and community bonds, enhancing socio-cultural harmony. The community should thus be consulted and constantly informed. “Two reasons account for this: first, the impacts of tourism are felt most keenly at the local destination area and, second, community residents are recognised as being an essential ingredient in the ‘hospitality atmosphere’ of a destination” Simmons (1994:1) (emphasis added).

Consistent with Simmons’ rationale, both Murphy (1985) and Krippendorf (1987) urged a community-based approach that directly involves host communities in tourism planning. ‘Residents’ input is required since “the industry uses the community as a resource, sells it as a product, and in the process, affects the lives of everyone” (Murphy (1985: 165). In other words, as tourism extensively draws from communities’ resources, it should not merely exploit those resources for its own benefit without considering what could be reciprocated to these communities.

Still, as a number of participatory cases/projects examined and evaluated in the past decades show, the community is still treated as the object of the investigation rather than the active partner in the process (see for example, Timothy, 1999, Jayawardena, 2002, Hanna, 2005). Arnstein’s hierarchy of participation (1969) illustrates this distinction.

Figure 1: Ladder of Participation



Source: Arnstein (1969)

Community participation evolves from a tokenistic and therapeutic manipulation at the lower end to a more positive empowerment at the upper end where resource control and decision making are transferred to local interests. To date, authentic participation (citizen partnership) seldom occurs (Tosun, 2000). Yet, many participatory techniques have been explored by scholars. They include: drop-in centers, nominal group technique sessions, citizen surveys, focus groups, citizen task forces, and consensus-building meetings (Ritchie, 1985, Simmons, 1994, Yuksel, Bramwell and Yuksel, 1999). However, given that the choice and effectiveness of these techniques are governed by the objectives sought and the stages of the planning process considered, and the relative knowledge of the parties, none of them has, yet been found to be adequate (Simmons, 1989). One line of questioning as to why this state of affairs exists, pertains to the definition of the term ‘community’.

2. A definitional issue: What is meant by ‘community’?

In the tourism literature, the meaning of the term ‘community’ has generally been taken for granted, neither fiercely contested nor thoroughly examined; appearing instead to be self-evident.

‘Community’, in the context of tourism planning and development, is ordinarily defined from a geographical perspective; as a body of people living in the same locality. Yet, continuing to consider the notion of ‘community’ from a purely geographical

perspective will cause the current contradictions and tensions to endure as this approach fails to take into account the multifaceted nature of a community and its need to be subsumed into 'communities within the community'.

While the purpose of this paper is not to embark on a lengthy semantic debate on the merit of the various ways the word 'community' could be defined, and come up with an all-encompassing single definition, it can, nonetheless, be argued that the term 'community' needs to be approached from a different perspective; one departing from the current geographical basis; and one systematically embracing a typology and taxonomy of the term 'community' that apprehend its history and characteristics. Such a conceptual framework will provide a clearer perimeter in which to identify precisely what constitutes a 'community' - or 'communities' - can be explored. As a result, some of the perceived problems in participatory planning, inherent in the historical, social, political, economic and cultural structure of the community, will be better understood, acknowledged and dealt with.

The tourism literature abounds with evidence of the wide diversity, within the same locality, of host community's attitudes, interests and opinions toward tourism. Different types of hosts respond differently to different types of tourism and tourists. Regarding hosts' responses to tourists, Ross (1992), for example, found that while older residents of an Australian community were more accepting of American and Australian visitors than of other visitors, younger residents were less positive about American visitors than they were about Japanese ones. Simmons (1994) determined that in Canada, there was greater support for tourism, which was locally owned and small to medium in scale.

As to hosts' responses to tourism, Madriga (1993), employing a 'balance of power' as a measurement of host perceptions, found it to be a significant predictor of differences. And

earlier work by Davis, Allen and Cosenza (1988) show the origins of community members, their birthplaces, to be significant tools in identifying community segments.

While these various findings have drawn attention to the existence of differences within a community, they have failed to provide meaningful details of the background and contextual factors specific to a community, such as its history, community sense, and socio-cultural and political values. As Belsky's (1999) empirical study shows the 'conservationist imaginings' of a community lacks a dynamic, historical understanding of particular communities. In other words, these imaginings tend, instead, to rely on the idea of unity in sameness (e.g. shared geography, identity, and experience) rather than unity based on intra-community differences, competition, and resistance. She went on to conclude that 'attention was never devoted to analyzing a community or how a community history, institutions, and social processes might affect outcomes on the ground' (ibid. p.13). In short, Belsky was concerned about the fact that community analysis was for the most part uncritical and based on historically limited views.

Attempts at understanding the essence of a community, however, are not completely absent from such analysis. A large part of Horn, Simmons and Fairweather's study (1998) was given to delineating a community's divisions and structures. These two scholars' findings reveal that "although the community [in this case, the Kaikoura community] is close knit in the sense that locals tend to know each other, in fact there are many ways in which the community divides itself..." (p.9). They then concluded that "the structure of the community and the divisions within the community are factors that affect the development, management and perceptions of tourism [in Kaikoura]" (p.18).

The multifaceted nature of a community undoubtedly makes a comprehensive analysis or classification difficult. Yet, at the same time, most contemporary studies pertaining to

community attitudes and reactions to tourism have led to the conclusion that, in the process of promoting participatory planning, a community should not be treated as a homogenous group. The way community groups can be accurately defined then needs to be further investigated.

Correlation between several contextual factors and community attitudes towards tourism/tourists could lead to the establishment of a more suitable and yet effective participatory community-specific mechanism. Pearce et. al (1996) urged tourism scholars to use an emic, contextual, processual approach. In other words, an understanding of tourism and community relationships should be derived from the words and images of communities themselves. To that end, Pearce et al. (ibid) developed a series of critical questions such as, for example: what prototypes do residents use to understand tourism and its impact?; what visual images do residents have when they talk about tourism either to researchers or to others in their communities? Indeed, these questions, raised from a community cultural standpoint, should be regarded as an essential prerequisite to achieving effective participatory design and process.

The complexity outlined thus far suggests that re-conceptualizing multiple interests and identities within a community – or within communities - is critical to meeting the formidable challenges facing community-based tourism planning efforts.

3. Community Stakeholder and Representation

The current debate is not on whether local communities should be involved in tourism development and planning, but more on who should be involved and how and when.

With regard to stakeholders, Sewell and Phillip (1979) identified three fundamental predicaments in achieving participatory planning:

(i) it is difficult to achieve a high degree of participation with a large number of participants as the depth of engagement tends to decline as more people participate in the activity;

ii) in order to overcome predicament (i), the idea of resorting to community group 'representatives' has been introduced. The difficulty, then, is to obtain equity in participation whereby all potential views will be represented;

iii) when trying to achieve a high degree of participation (i) and/or when resorting to representatives (ii), it is not always possible to attain a high level of efficiency in terms of time and available resources.

Sewell and Phillip went on to add that it may not "be possible to attain a maximum level on all three parameters simultaneously; trade-offs, therefore must be made" (ibid. p.354), all the more as they concluded "while it is clear that the public needs to be consulted on a wide range of issues, not all citizens wish to be consulted on a large number of issues that are of little interest to most people" (ibid. p.358). Clearly, identifying tourism stakeholders themselves is problematic.

Planners should thus: carefully identify the issues that require input from the public and those that do not; determine the segments of the public which should be consulted; and, articulate how all necessary and meaningful inputs can be obtained most effectively and efficiently (Sewell and Coppock, 1977). According to Sautter and Leisen (1999) this underlying premise provides the preliminary groundwork for constructing a stakeholder's map in the tourism field.

Compounding these predicaments, "it appears that each stakeholder, other than end-users, will have its own unique group of stakeholders, thus the list of potential stakeholders for any one given player in the tourism industry is almost endless". Robson and Robson (1996: 535). As suggested by Sewell and Phillip, some trade-offs may alleviate such inherent tensions (ibid). Analytical decisions with regard to which community segments should be consulted; on what issues; and for what objectives, should also be made. Clearly, developing a systematic method of identifying a relevant group of stakeholders and drawing representatives from them is paramount. All the

more as, as identified by Haywood (1988), there are a number of institutional and system-based obstacles to full-scale representation in the planning process. These obstacles include: the presence of extensive bureaucratic organisations at various levels in tourism; a lack of comprehensive tourism planning in a majority of communities; the perception that participation is an unnecessary, unwieldy and time-consuming endeavour and an idealistic dream; the view by the industry that a more comprehensive approach to planning - one more responsible to society - may pose a threat (to the extent that recommendations mean adding to the cost of doing business); and a lacklustre interest on the part of decision-making officials in encouraging representational democracy. This last reference to 'commitment' ushers in the next issue to consider; 'readiness'.

4. Community Readiness for participation

Another key factor in achieving participatory planning is community 'readiness': i.e., readiness with respect to tourism knowledge, resources, and commitment (Bourke and Luloff, 1996). The literature identifies and the author concurs, that some level of community readiness is necessary, it remains to determine, how and when a community should be deemed ready to participate in the planning process. To date, two competing views seem to prevail.

On the one hand, advocates of a self-emerging community argue, as expected, against the paternalistic nature of participatory tourism planning and development, stressing that a genuine participatory approach requires responsibility for directing change to lie with the people themselves, not with an outside organisation or change agency (Vasudevarao and Chakrapani, 1997). In other words, central to community-driven planning is an explicit recognition that outsiders cannot assess the perceptions, preferences or priorities of host communities. Under this perception, all necessary changes would emerge from within the communities themselves.

Alternatively, many commentators hold the view that it is too naïve and unrealistic to believe that local communities are readily self-emerging and evolving toward more self-governing programmes.

These two competing conceptions can be seen at play most acutely within the developing world context where the capacity and readiness of communities to participate are more constrained, all the more as they will often set their own limitations. Timothy's (1999) study of the Javanese community provides a case in point. Perceiving themselves to lack tourism knowledge, Javanese felt they should not be involved in the planning process. Compounding this counter-productive self-perception, planners in the developing world often lack expertise on how to incorporate community participation into planning (Tosun, 2000). This plight seems to be ongoing and keeps hampering the effectiveness of participatory programmes in developing countries (ibid).

Clearly, the challenge is to find a model capable of overcoming these obstacles to community participation. Several methods have emerged from the relevant literature on this issue. They include empowerment, training, partnership, motivation, building awareness and persuasion (Din, 1993, Jamal and Getz, 1995, Timothy, 1999). Charnley's observation (2005) of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) - Tanzania most visited protected area - and his conclusions thereon illustrate how these various methods can come into play. In his opinion, "one way for the Maasai to increase their participation in NCA tourism would be to increase their education and training so that they could compete for tourism jobs. Doing so would entail acquiring language skills [Kiswahili and English], attending secondary school or beyond, and, at least partially altering their customary lifestyles" (p.56).

Given that, these methods have been insufficiently tested; their effectiveness and practical implications in the tourism context cannot yet be assessed. Nevertheless, one

valuable conclusion can be drawn from this NCA study; namely that moving towards more participatory tourism planning should be viewed as a process; one that requires a willingness to change from and the involvement of a wide range of people, not least, public-sector planners and managers, particularly at the local level (Godfrey, 1998).

The latter, however, presupposes that those who feel inadequate and powerless or have little or no control over their future are less likely to become active agents of change through participation in community development; which is tantamount to saying that community-based intervention strategies are therefore essential. And, paradoxically enough, stating this is also paramount to advocating more government intervention strategies specifically earmarked for community capacity building.

There is support among tourism analysts for more governmental involvement. Mowforth and Munt (1998), among others, see such intervention as inevitable: “while it is important that ideas for, and control of, tourism developments should come from within the community, it is also important that the local community be able to make use of, and benefit from, the assistance of national government resources to help establish and co-ordinate their ideas and schemes. This is particularly necessary where local communities may lack the resource, skill and finance base required. Hence, a partnership arrangement may often be more suitable than a community attempting to do everything entirely from within its own human, physical and financial resources” (ibid p.257).

As noted above, enlisting community participation should be seen as a step-by-step or incremental process; one that steadily expands as communities gain trust, develop mastery, and discover how they can make a contribution. This process will result in greater and more meaningful community participation. Still, adapting such a vision of community empowerment to tourism planning is a daunting challenge as it requires tourism planners to

consider major changes; whether they be: in the way they envisage the tourism planning processes and goals; where they direct their interventions; how they work with communities; or how they develop, and deploy limited tourism funding.

5. Government Roles and Support: Seeking the Change Agent or Convenor

Tourism analysts concur on the necessity of having a legitimate ‘change agent’ in charge of effectively facilitating the participatory programme (Jamal and Getz 1995, Jantararat and Williams 2000). The complex nature of participatory planning and the diversity of tourists and tourism products are key justification for strongly advocating such support from local and national governments. As these commentators pointed out, a major component of the tourism product is public goods, which must be shared among every party in the system (see Leiper, 1979). However, for this system to work effectively, the tangible elements and intangible services provided by all the industries concerned, need to be supported with suitable infrastructure, public services, and public-related services, and to be bolstered by the attitudes of local communities. Indeed, the success of tourist businesses largely rests upon the wider social and natural environments in which they operate.

Typically, public sector planners are responsible for preparing policy statements, developing destination-marketing strategies, controlling development within the local planning system, and providing tourism information. And, it is also standard for governments to dominate tourism planning affairs and have the mandate and power to direct the growth and development of tourism. Moreover, it is largely through governments that tourism-related investments and overseas aid as well as international policy pressures are agreed upon and channeled. Community participation advocates cannot therefore ignore the role played and the approach undertaken by governments and/or government-mandated tourism

organisations. Yet, most scholars have been silent on this issue. The government's role as a 'catalyst' has been little discussed (e.g. WTO, 1979; Pearce, 1992).

As mentioned earlier, while communities may vary in their capacity or readiness to participate in tourism planning activities, community mobilisation may not occur in the absence of a mandate, an organisational base, or government support. According to Beeker et al. (1998), this is particularly true in a community lacking: a strong, recognized leader; mature community-based organizations; and, a successful problem-solving history. More specifically, Beeker's point is that community mobilisation may not be possible in the absence of prior governmental investment in community development, i.e. without creating new networks, strengthening the existing ones, invigorating community institutions, and motivating and training community members to become effective leaders and participants. Tosun (2000) and Timothy (1999) argue that there appears to be a lack of communication between communities and government bodies that substantially contribute to maintaining a 'knowledge gap' and isolating the local community from the tourism development process. As Tosun sees it, the underlying problem is the inevitable presence of obstacles associated with a centralized public administration, too bureaucratic to respond to local public needs. This state of affairs calls for a major change in the way policy makers work with communities; a necessary change which has not gone unnoticed by scholars

Jamal and Getz (1995) suggested that national tourism organisations act as conveners of collaborative projects. In their opinion, these organizations, which tend to have been formally established, possess the legitimacy, expertise, resources – and the authority – required for this convening role. Jantararat and Williams's study (2000) of the role of the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) as a convener in the development of the 'Amazing Thailand'

campaign also supports this position. They found that the reason the proposed collaborative campaign enjoyed wide acceptance was because TAT (a national tourism organization) was perceived to have expertise and to be government-mandated. Indeed, the proactive role played by TAT-like organizations is vital to bring stakeholders to the table, constructively explore their differences of opinion, and assist the search for common solutions or identify necessary trade-offs and compromises. Understandably so, such organizations are seen as important mechanisms in the promotion of participatory planning, due, in no small part, to the fact that one of their essential roles is to find effective ways of involving all sectors and all constituencies in the planning activities. This latter point brings the discussion back to the shareholder-selection issue tackled earlier.

As stated then, selecting the right community stakeholders and representatives from all those stakeholders is a complex yet critical step; one slated to be explored further. This is particularly true of shareholders' roles in tourism planning and marketing and of the approach used to promote broad-based community participation.

6. Power Relations - Elitist and Pluralist Views

The author's review and critical observation of the relevant literature on the relationships between tourism development and local power structures reveal a dearth of research on this particular issue. (Reed, 1997, Mowforth and Munt, 1998). In addition, with the exception of Reed's work (1997, the few discussions of power relations appear to be unstructured and, the topics not thoroughly analysed.

As Reed indicates in the following comment, the assumption that the planning process is a democratic one accounts for this paucity of analysis; 'community tourism analysts tend to assume, often implicitly, that the planning and policy process is a pluralistic one in which people have equal access to economic and political resources' (p.567). Her remark is cogent in that, even though a number of tourism

stakeholders still tend to exercise political power and have control over the future of community and tourism development, tourism analysts fail to acknowledge this state of affair, assuming instead that there is equal access. Power emanates from institutional authority with tourism planners rooted in these structures. And practice is confined by the limits set by legislation, budgets, community resources, attributes of location, and community political and social dynamics (Hanna, 2005). As Ploger (2001) argues, planning is a form of discursive power. It can also be a process in the course of which conflicts will emerge over power relationships that reflect the entrenchment of strong economic or social interests (Hanna, 2005). Clearly, the elitist paradigm endures and remains a challenge to be overcome.

Drawing from inter-organisational studies on collaboration within the field of organisational behaviour, Jamal and Getz (1995) outlined actions/steps that should be undertaken in a collaboration process for community-based tourism. Their map, conceding the unbalanced power issues, suggests that a suitable convenor should be involved, from the very early stages on to balance power differences. These commentators posit that any local authority or local government or like-organisation could act as a convenor.

Reed (1997) however is more restrained, cautiously arguing that relying solely on local authorities to convene power relations may be misguided as these authorities will often have their own agenda and may not consistently act neutrally. In the absence of well described theoretical and practice models for community inclusiveness, representativeness, and readiness, how to manage power relations so as to achieve parity in participatory planning remains unclear.

Directions for Further Research and Ways Forward

The literature reviewed for this paper identifies several tensions in achieving participatory planning. It pointedly

demonstrates the need for not only just new participatory planning techniques, but also new ways of thinking about political, social, economic and environmental goals. Whilst the theoretical arguments for participatory tourism development are compelling, the fact is that effective community participation cannot be easily achieved.

What is made particularly clear is that the establishment of appropriate process, criteria, and structures is critical to the process of undertaking a participatory planning approach. It is important to note that all the limitations and obstacles herein mentioned which tourism planners encounter are generic and can also be found in any other planning situation. As indicated in the introduction, tourism is only one of the many activities calling for greater participation. Finding ways of increasing local participation in tourism planning should therefore be viewed as a major focus for democratisation, with the democratic momentum initiated in the tourism field likely to spill over and emulate greater participation elsewhere. Moving toward participatory planning in the tourism context is arguably ever more challenging and issues ever more complex. Yet, as we have seen, some issues are paramount; interrelated, they need to be addressed urgently. They can be summarised as follows.

(1) Who is (are) the affected community(ies)?

Community divisions (an assessment of existing community structures and knowledge, and the composition of community or communities) need to be further explored. An understanding of this issue will help identify who should participate in what. Furthermore, a solid grasp of this topic may significantly lay the ground for addressing the question of what needs to be done to prepare communities so as to achieve their more meaningful participation.

(2) Who are tourism stakeholders?

Identifying tourism stakeholders was shown to be problematic. Specifically, since ‘local’ tourism resources have national and international standing as tourism attractants, these same national and international firms or organisations also have a ‘stake’, and in most cases have strong ‘capitalised’ interests, in the development of tourism at a local level. With this added international component, ‘local’ community participation in such a multifaceted development becomes an ever more complex issue.

(3) Who should select stakeholders?

Answering this challenging question rests on an ability to redress the unbalanced power relations impediment. What is suggested here is that part of the problems stems from an ineffective institutional framework and the inadequacy of governance tools. Good governance and sound public management are absolute prerequisites for the implementation of community based tourism development. These preconditions include efforts to ensure an ethical and more transparent governmental process, i.e. decision-making practices sufficiently unambiguous to citizens.

(4) Who should act as a promoter/convenor of participatory planning?

It was argued that government support and intervention are necessary. Activities such as: choosing the representatives of the relevant entities within a community; selecting the issues to be considered; and, constantly communicating with the wider community need to be systematically undertaken. Commentaries also indicate that, to assume that community empowerment will emerge from within the communities is misleading. As a result, tourism planners initially need to create a stronger local body (i.e. respectable local government officers or local residents). It is rightfully argued that government intervention in this matter is a vital

steppingstone to improving community participation as governments typically dominate tourism planning affairs and possess a mandate and the potential power to control development within local planning systems.

(5) What kind of methods should be used to attain effective and efficient public participation?

Tradeoffs between depth and breadth of participation need to be made. The status of a community (as addressed in question 1), current developmental issues, goals of the participation, and stages of the planning should shape this compromise and provide the fitting contours for participation to flourish.

Community participation ideology and the challenges discussed offer fundamental criteria for designing a framework for evaluating community-based planning. As shown in Table 2 below, these criteria are organised into five themes so as to further advance the existing body of knowledge.

Table 2: Key Features of Community Participation in Tourism Planning: Evaluative Criteria – a checklist

Criteria	Description
Goals of Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Democracy ✓ Projects’ acceptability ✓ Equally distributed benefits
(1) Who is(are) the affected community(ies)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ History and Structure ✓ Unity & Solidarity ✓ Tourism Awareness and knowledge ✓ Participants must acknowledge need for the participatory planning. ✓ Participation must be voluntary. ✓ Identification of community leadership roles ✓ Community institutional capacity
(2) Who are tourism stakeholders?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Identifying planning goals and issues ✓ Defining affected stakeholders ✓ Drawing representatives
(3) Who should select	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Legitimacy ✓ Power relations

stakeholders?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Conflict resolution ✓ Negotiation
(4)Who should act as a promoter/convenor of participatory planning? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Empowerment and Community Building ✓ Participants must be provided sufficient and timely training, funding and information. ✓ Maintain communication with constituents. ✓ Institution arrangements to facilitate participation
(5)What kind of methods should be used to attain effective public participation? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participatory Design • Methods/Trade offs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Timely notification of opportunities to participate must be given. ✓ Tourism related industries/entities must be committed to the participatory process. ✓ The number of participants or representatives must be manageable. ✓ Defining the need for resources of the participation. ✓ A realistic timeframe and resource must be set. ✓ Selection of issues to be considered ✓ Media Relations

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