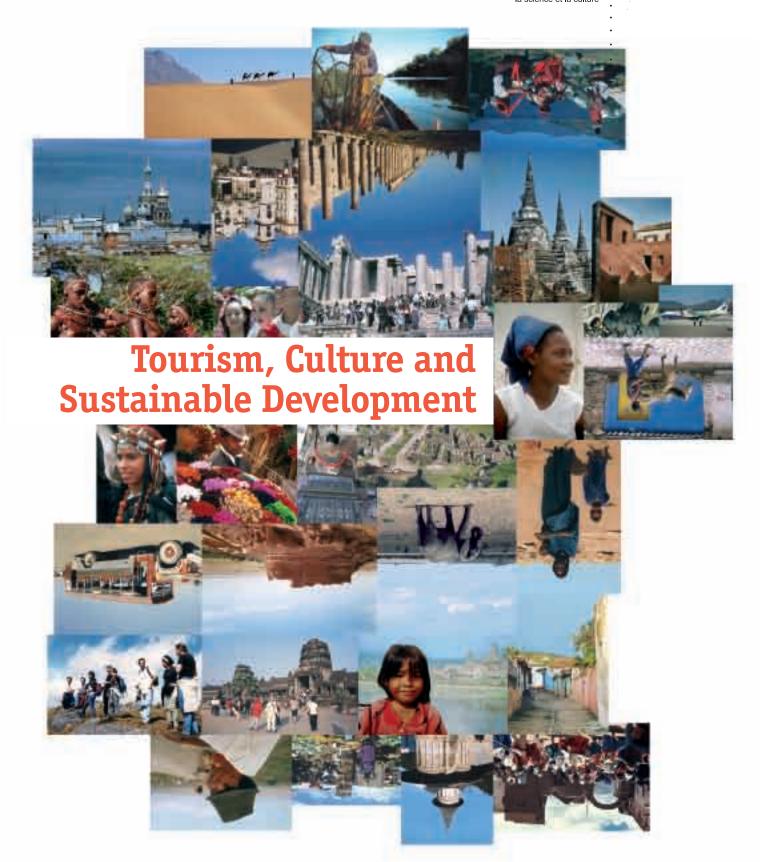




Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture



This study has been carried out as a part of the programme "Culture, tourism and development" of the Division of cultural policies and intercultural dialogue, Section culture and development by Pr Mike Robinson and Dr David Picard.

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# Tourism, Culture and Sustainable Development

Mike Robinson & David Picard



## **Preface**

We can safely say today that, thanks to the boom in tourism in recent decades, never before in the history of humanity have the inhabitants of this planet travelled as much, or been as much engaged in the discovery of other cultures. So, what are we, as international organizations, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), politicians, policy makers, practitioners and as ordinary citizens and tourists, doing with this tremendous opportunity to advance understanding among the inhabitants of the planet through encounters with others and their cultural and artistic expressions, monumental and living, past and present?

We believe that tourism, which brings individuals and human communities into contact, and through them cultures and civilizations, has an important role to play in facilitating dialogue among cultures. Tourism also has the capacity to assist the world's inhabitants to live better together and thereby contribute to the construction of peace in the minds of men and women, to paraphrase the Constitution of UNESCO.

Cultural and natural heritage, that attracts so many tourists, and is a resource for development, is, fortunately, distributed throughout the world, thus providing an additional opportunity for many non-industrialized countries. Raising awareness, educating and training the staff concerned, is essential in involving communities in the process of conserving and enhancing their heritage. It is the involvement of all that will enable the heritage of humanity to be better preserved, living conditions to be improved and poverty reduced. Preserving cultural and natural heritage, to bring it within reach of all, making cultures and civilizations better known, improving daily living conditions and reducing poverty, is what gives meaning to the sustainability of tourism development.

However, these objectives depend upon the quality of the design and the implementation of tourism policies and activities - that is to say, their understanding of culture and their sustainability - which involves the participation of communities in the preservation and enhancement of cultural heritage in the long term.

The negative impacts of tourism are, by no means, inevitable. Tourism can have positive and lasting effects on our cultural and natural heritage, on creativity and cultural diversity, and on the environment and balance of societies. We believe that the objectives set out above, of dialogue among cultures and development, may be reached if decision-makers and actors in tourism and culture, the societies hosting tourists and the tourists themselves, develop respectively, policies and attitudes resulting from an



understanding of the complex relations between tourism and culture, in the light of the conventions, declaration and texts of the United Nations adopted in the fields of culture and sustainable development.

This is the purpose of this publication: to open a debate on the complex questions that surround the relations between culture and tourism, tourism and development, tourism and dialogue among cultures; questions that every decision-maker and actor engaged in tourism should address before a tourism project is launched. This report presents several of the operational projects implemented by, or with the support of, UNESCO, to illustrate how cultural tourism policies developed in the spirit of the principles and values contained in the texts, standard-setting instruments, declarations and recommendations adopted by UNESCO, are put into practice.

UNESCO is resolutely engaged, alongside its Member States, the private sector and civil society, and in cooperation with the relevant agencies of the United Nations, in promoting the sustainability of development in tourism, which, as we know, preserves cultural diversity and the dialogue among cultures.

Mounir Bouchenaki Assistant Director General for Culture, UNESCO



### **Contents**

PREFACE	4
INTRODUCTION Finding Meaning Through Tourism Tourism as a World of Paradoxes The Centrality of Experience Changing Contexts and Emergent Challenges Report Aim and Structure	8 8 9 10 11 12
SECTION 1, KEY THEMES AND ISSUES IN TOURISM, CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT COMPLEX RELATIONSHIPS The Context of Development Priorities	14 15 15 16
CULTURE, HERITAGE AND DIVERSITY AS TOURISM RESOURCES Understanding Culture Cultural Resources Mobilised in Tourism The Commodification Process	16 17 18 21
CULTURAL TOURISM AS A FORM OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT Cultural Tourism as a Means of Economic Diversification Uneven Development and the Exploitation of Culture The Agenda of Poverty Alleviation Developing the Cultural Supply Chain	23 23 24 26 28
TOURISM AS A VEHICLE FOR INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE AND CROSS-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING Tourist – Host Encounters The Role of Routes The Role of Intermediaries The Role of the Media Resisting a Uniform World? Tourism/Tourist Education	29 30 32 32 33 34 36
TOURISM AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION  Tourism and the Spirit of Nature  Natural Environments as Fragile and Vulnerable Ecosystems  The Cultural Implications of Mobilising Natural Resources for Tourism  From Eco-tourism to Integrated Tourism	38 38 40 40 41



SECTION 2, ISSUES OF GOVERNANCE IN TOURISM, CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT DEVELOPING STRUCTURES TO MANAGE AND DEVELOP TOURISM AND CULTURE The Complexities and Challenges of Policy Making in Tourism and Culture Responsibilities, Tensions and Actions The Gender Dimension Stakeholders and Collaboration	<b>44 45</b> 45 49 51 52
SECTION 3, MAKING LINKS – DEVELOPING ACTION: UNESCO'S ACTIONS IN THE FIELD OF TOURISM, CULTURE, AND DEVELOPMENT NORMATIVE ACTION UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972) UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development (2002) UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)	<b>56 58</b> 59 60 61 62
PRESERVATION AND MOBILISATION OF CULTURAL RESOURCES  "Jesus Christ Route" – A Cultural Tourism Itinerary in the Palestinian Territories  Developing a Handicraft Route for Central America (Masaya, Nicaragua)  Raising Awareness about the Fragility of Heritage Sites  Reconnecting to the Spirit of the Islamic Desert City in Mauritania  Education for lasting tourism: Preserving the Khmer Smile at Angkor  Tourism, Culture and Development in West Africa	63 64 64 65 66 67 68
ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION  The Sahara of Cultures and People: Towards a Sustainable Tourism Development Strategy Forging Innovative and Interdisciplinary Approaches in the Aral Sea Basin Towards a Baltic Cultural Tourism Policy Indigenous Resource Management Systems and Local Effort in Asia and the Pacific (LEAP) Empowering Communities through Tourism in the Mountainous Regions of Central and South Asia	69 70 71 72 73
PROMOTION OF INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE AND PEACE Bridges to a Shared Future: Intercultural Mediation in the Balkans The Slave Route: Dissemination of Knowledge and Reconciliation with the Past Local and Indigenous Knowledge Systems in a Global Society (LINKS) UNITWIN Networks and UNESCO Chairs Theorising Cultural Diversity and Tourism: International Seminar (Havana, Cuba)	74 75 76 76 77 78
MOBILISING NATURE FOR SUSTAINABLE TOURISM Capacity Building in Sao Paulo's Green Belt Biosphere Reserve Youth Poverty Alleviation through Tourism and Heritage (PATH)	<b>79</b> 80 81
CONCLUSION	82
REFERENCES	84



## Introduction

## Finding Meaning through Tourism

The world as we know it today exists as testimony to, and evidence of, the fact that people travel. Early patterns of travel were fundamentally directed by basic human needs (finding

food and shelter), exchange (trade), relationships with natural phenomena (developing new settlements, escaping droughts or floods etc.) and as a result of conquest and conflict (occupation, expulsion, forced migration and re-settlement). Such factors still exert considerable influence on a large proportion of the world's population today, with contemporary pilgrimage routes relatively easy to identify, frequently building on established trading relationships and patterns of diaspora and relocation.

From the late seventeenth and well into the twentieth century, motivations such as curiosity, education and social betterment took over as 'essential' travel evolved into discretionary leisure travel, gradually moving from a pursuit of the social elite of the developed world, to a widespread activity of the masses of the developed world, supported by a highly complex network of support structures and services.

It is all too easy to dismiss contemporary international tourism as a leisure activity somehow separate and below more 'worthy' social practices. As a leisure activity, tourism is carried out in 'leisure time', as a temporary discretionary activity, and as a form of 'reward' for, or counter to, daily work (Spode 1994). However, the value of tourism cannot be solely judged in terms of the hedonistic recompense it brings to the individual. Nor can its value be solely expressed in relation to the economic benefits that it can undoubtedly generate. Tourism is centred on the fundamental principles of exchange between peoples and is both an expression and experience of culture (Appadurai 2002). Tourism is cultural, and its practices and structures are very much an extension of the normative cultural framing from which it emerges. As such it has



a vital part to play in helping us to understand ourselves, and the multi-layered relationships between humanity and the material and non-material world we occupy and journey through (Robinson and Phipps, 2004).

## Tourism as a World of Paradoxes

There is no doubt that tourism is a global phenomenon. Few places on the planet have escaped the curiosity of the tourist, or the ability of the tour operator to

package even the most remote or dangerous location (Lanfant 1980). Estimates from the World Tourism Organisation (2005) anticipate that by the year 2020 international arrivals are expected to reach over 1.56 billion. This will comprise 1.2 billion intraregional arrivals and 0.4 billion will be long-haul travellers. Europe is scheduled to be the top receiving region with 717 million tourists, followed by East Asia and the Pacific with 397 million, the Americas with 282 million, and Africa, the Middle East and South Asia. Above average growth regions are scheduled to be East Asia and the Pacific, South Asia, the Middle East and Africa. However, while such statistics are useful, from them it is both difficult and unwise to see tourism as some unified economic sector or as a 'catch-all' term for people's behaviour while on holiday (Bruner 2004). Moreover, in saying that tourism is global in its scope and influence, this does not take account of the fact that a significant majority of the world's population does not engage in tourism as tourists. Nor, does it reflect the reality of a substantive imbalance in the benefits of tourism to the advantage of the developed over the developing world.

Tourism operates at various levels and displays various paradoxes and tensions in the way it is organised and operates. At one level tourism is a highly structured and globally inter-connected industry. It operates in a globalised world of flows of transnational capital, multi-national organisations, and liberal movements of people, and ideas (Lanfant, Allcock, Bruner 1995). However, despite the apparent 'de-territorialisation' that would seem to underpin international tourism, the reality is still one of an industry built around the concept of the nation-state, each with their own institutions and political systems, economic needs and social/cultural capital, and all essentially competing with one another for the wealth and status that tourism can create.

On the one hand, tourism is heavily influenced by the public sector, particularly in the provision of basic infrastructure (energy, roads, runways, water supply etc.) and in the promotion of strong national imagery to attract both tourists and tourism developers. On the other hand, the tourism sector usually consists of a multitude of fragmented small and medium sized, privately owned and operated businesses, which can be difficult to co-ordinate and legislate for.

Arguably, the greatest paradox of tourism is centred upon its capacity to generate so many benefits and yet, at the same time, create pressures and problems. This is a constant tension across all parts of the world and communities that are touched by



tourism. The issues involved are often highly complex and sensitive, particularly when dealing with aspects of 'culture' where meanings and values are often problematic to assess and are frequently contested (Saïd 1978; Clifford 1987; Cohen 1993). A clear starting point in addressing this tension is to better understand the changing nature and extent of tourism and the issues it raises in relation to the preservation and sustainable development of cultural diversity and cultural heritage resources.

#### The Centrality of Experience The

The business (large and small) dimension

of international tourism can sometimes be seen as remote and impersonal, and almost disconnected from the actual experience of 'being' a tourist. For at its heart tourism is constructed around a series of very personal and intimate experiences as tourists encounter new and different cultures (Cohen 2004). Tourists can be impressed and emotionally moved by a work of art, a festival, a musical performance, or by a building or an object in a museum. These tangible and intangible expressions of culture act as triggers for interpreting the world past and present (Canestrini 2001). But tourists also encounter 'living' culture through a variety of other forms and media which express culture, and which embody both tradition and change.

Being amongst people who use a different language, eat different foods, and behave in different ways is at the very heart of tourism. Experiencing directly different 'ways of life', can have a valuable educational function that stretches beyond tourism, and despite advances in communicative and virtual reality technologies it is difficult to emulate except through basic human contact, encounter and exchange. In a world where much conflict is a product of cultural mis-understanding, mis-communication and a basic lack of knowledge of the 'hows and whys' cultures are different, exposure to, and experience of, a wide variety of cultures in the most ordinary of ways is essential.

It would be mistaken to suggest that the search for different cultural experiences lies at the root of all international tourism. Clearly, there are a vast number of tourists which seek escape from some aspects of their own environments (Enzensberger 1964), but not all, preferring instead to remain in the environmental 'bubble' that is sometimes associated with 'mass tourism'. This is not to say that the individuals that go to make up so-called 'mass' tourism are somehow devoid of any interest in culture(s) (Wagner 1977). But it does remind us that tourism reflects a certain degree of polarisation between the persistence of culture as somehow elevated and special in society, and the culture of the ordinary and the everyday.

For a substantial percentage of tourists, experiences of different or 'other' cultures in the settings of ordinary life presents its own challenges. As tourists, and as people, in a globalising world, we are increasingly in contact with 'other' cultures, able to experience the uniqueness of each and the commonalities of all. Tourism can be a powerful mechanism for understanding other places, peoples and pasts, not through selective,



high profile cultural sites and activities that may not necessarily be representative of the societies they operate in, but through a more democratic and ubiquitous approach to cultures (Bouchenaki 2004). In these terms even mass tourism has important and forgotten cultural elements. Our first encounter with another culture is most likely to be through the food on the menu and the language of the waiter.

#### Changing Contexts and Emergent Challenges

The inter-relationships between tourism and culture have attracted considerable scholarly attention over recent years and,

quite rightly, have become a focal point for policy at regional, national and international level. In policy and planning terms much has been done to 'protect' culture, heritage resources and related natural environments from the excesses of unplanned and uncoordinated tourism development (Robinson and Boniface, 1999). Focus has very much been on attempting to alleviate the unwanted consequences of tourism (de Kadt 1979). However, as our understandings on the complexities of culture have evolved, and the pace and extent of change has increased within the context of globalisation, so new challenges have emerged and new ways of addressing problems are required.

Since the landmark UNESCO 'Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage' (1972), we can broadly identify four key changes relating to the tourism and culture interface. First, our understanding of culture as a concept and its fundamental importance for the construction of social identity has both broadened and deepened considerably. The definition of cultural heritage now also relates not only to material expressions such as sites and objects, but also to intangible expressions such as language and oral tradition, social practices, rituals, festive and performative events. Culture is seen much more to refer to 'ways of life' and everyday practice as well as being manifest in buildings, sites and monuments. Moreover, the diversity of culture(s) is recognised to be fundamental to, and in line with, the principles of sustainable development and thus something which needs to be both "recognised and affirmed for future generations" (UNESCO, 2001).

Second, we better understand the close inter-relationships between culture and natural environments and in protecting each we are helping to enable both to protect and re-create their resources. Cultural diversity relates strongly to the concept of biodiversity in that it shapes the landscapes in which genetic diversity, species diversity, and ecological diversity occur and interact. Indeed, there is a link between the social, economic and health issues of indigenous peoples living in sites of significant biodiversity and the conservation and evolution of this biodiversity. This inter-relationship, what Posey (1999) has termed the "inextricable link", is also at the centre of the sustainable development concept. Tourists, in consuming the natural environment may also be consuming culture in terms of the various local cultural values that may have been ascribed to a particular landscape or natural site. It is also important to recognise that



tourists in approaching natural sites, do so armed with their own sets of values and categories which can conflict with those of the local community.

Third, in recognising the fact that international tourism continues to expand, we also need to recognise that it is continually changing the ways in which it operates. While the global tourism sector is highly complex and fragmented in its operations, it has significantly changed its attitudes to the cultural resources and communities it depends upon. Clearly there is still substantive variation amongst the practices of the sector, but it is far more willing to engage in the sustainable development agenda and this relates to its increasing ability to segment the market reflecting growth in sectors such as cultural, heritage and ecologically based tourism. This on-going process of market segmentation and product differentiation fits well with programmes of developing cultural tourism and is especially important for lesser developed countries whose infrastructure or environmental/cultural fragility may only support limited numbers of tourists.

Fourthly, and importantly, policy and planning goals are shifting away from solely dealing with tourism's 'impacts' on various aspects of culture and the environment towards a more proactive role whereby tourism is integrated with other development aims and instruments to deliver key sustainable development outcomes (Rauschelbach, Schäfer, Steck 2002). There is a growing network of stakeholders involved in tourism development including local, national and international organisations eager to assist in monitoring and ameliorating any detrimental impacts on culture and also in mobilising tourism as a force for sustaining and developing culture and economy.

## Report Aim and Structure

Following the 2002 Johannesburg Summit which identified the need to explore the relationships between cultural diversity, inter-cultural dialogue and sustainable development, the central

aim of this report is to assist policy makers and practitioners working in the field of tourism and culture by highlighting and critically examining the role of tourism in the processes surrounding these relationships.

The report is broadly divided up into three inter-related sections. The first discusses the centrality of the tourism and culture relationship and the way this is fundamental to social, cultural, economic and spiritual development. The discussion will relate to other key concepts such as heritage (tangible and intangible), sustainability and biodiversity. Tourism is characterised as playing a number of roles in the development process as they relate to society, economy and environment.

Having articulated the various roles of tourism and culture, Section Two addresses issues of structure and governance which provide the changing contexts for action and implementation in the fields of tourism and cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue and sustainable development.



Section Three draws upon the normative actions and instruments that UNESCO has developed over the years with Member States and partner organisations, and also the practical research and actions undertaken in the field of tourism, culture and development. It highlights ways forward that address the problems and challenges discussed in sections one and two.





# Section 1

Key Themes and
Issues in Tourism,
Culture and
Development



# **Complex Relationships**

It is important to recognise that any discussion of the inter-relationships between tourism, culture and development is confronted by several layers of complexity. The very nature of culture entails that it

is not static. Rather it evolves and changes, and as such the multifaceted relationships it shares with tourism also change (Fabrizio, Snowdon, Prasad 2000). In addition, the structures and practices of tourism are seldom isolated from other aspects of life; rather tourism, in structural terms and as a set of social practices, is inter-connected with all aspects of daily life. Tourism touches upon people's connections with other peoples, places and the past (all being highly contested terms at both the individual and collective level), and in policy terms tourism cuts across the fields of planning, education, health, environment, transport, development and culture. The overlaps and competing priorities have made it difficult to devise precise policy frameworks for an area such as tourism and culture, and even discussion of the issues involved becomes complex as themes merge and intersect.

## The Context of Development

The term 'development' has emerged since the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm (1972), as a more qualitative and focused term than that of growth. Over the past

decades, and particularly since the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987), and the UN Conference on Environment and Development (1992), as linkages have been made between the environment, culture and socio-economic issues of poverty and degradation, the concept of sustainable development was established in recognition of the need to balance economic and social progress with the protection and conservation of the environment and natural resources (UNESCO 1995). Drawing upon the report from the Johannesburg Summit of 2002, importantly, the concept of sustainable development has widened to include the imperatives of social justice and the alleviation of poverty.

Both culture and tourism are important components of development; indeed, in the context of a well-travelled world it is difficult not to consider one without the other. While there is clearly a role for culture and tourism to be part of development in an economic sense, their roles extend beyond this as integral parts of human development whereby social well being and basic human freedoms and rights are exemplified and enriched by travel and cultural exchange.



#### **Priorities**

The themes and issues discussed here as emerging from the inter-relationships between culture, tourism and development are universal, affecting both developed and developing nations. However, how these issues are dealt with in policy and management terms vary considerably and, moreover, their importance in the broader development context also varies. In line with the overall thrust of the sustainable development agenda, the principles adopted at

the Johannesburg Summit in 2002 and the priorities of the United Nations system, the issues outlined are critical in the context of lesser developed and developing countries linking as they do to agendas of poverty alleviation, human rights, social and political

stability, democracy, and environmental degradation.

The following section highlights four key aspects of the debates and discussion surrounding tourism, culture and development. First, the issues surrounding the mobilisation of culture (and the closely related concept of heritage), for tourism and development are discussed. Second, the problems and opportunities relating to using cultural tourism as a focus and mechanism for economic development are discussed. Third, the potential and the realities of cultural tourism as a form of inter-cultural dialogue and exchange are explored. Fourthly, the role of cultural tourism in the agendas of environmental protection and biodiversity is discussed.

## Culture, Heritage and Diversity as Tourism Resources

One of the defining principles of tourism practice lies in the fact that people physically travel to spaces outside of their daily life and experience other or different environments (Selänniemi 2003). Through particular types of setting, these spaces allow us to live out various types of touristic realities (Shields 1991). In this context, the encounter with, and participation in, what are usually defined as 'different cultures', are important elements in most forms of tourism.



Culture, in its widest sense, provides a set of material and symbolic resources that are abundant in supply (arguably infinite), and highly mobile. Culture is certainly at the basis of international tourism and indeed has facilitated its growth and allowed various societies and sections of societies to participate in the development process. However, in treating culture as a resource we should not neglect aspects of agency, as the value and priority of culture(s) relates not only to its intrinsic worth, but to the ways that it is used. This in turn begs questions about ownership of, and access to, culture, and also raises issues with regard to the ways in which culture is 'read' by particular typologies of tourists. So called 'cultural products', as Therkelsen (2003) points out: "generate associations and meanings that are influenced by the cultural backgrounds of the potential tourist". In this sense, tourists do not encounter culture as some value-neutral form or process. Rather, they decode culture(s), in social spaces and times in relation to particular formal and informal knowledge regimes accrued through exposure to formulated tourism packages and through the normative processes of socialisation (Hennig 1997).

#### **Understanding Culture**

It is important to acknowledge that although tourism is founded

upon culture(s), culture – through its practices and manifestations – exists independently and for reasons other than tourism. In line with the conclusions of the World Conference on Cultural Policies (MONDIACULT, 1982), of the World Commission on Culture and Development (*Our Creative Diversity*, 1997), of the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development (Stockholm, 1998) and of the *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, "culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (UNESCO, 2001). Article1 of the *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* stresses that "culture takes diverse forms across time and space. This diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind. As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations" (UNESCO, 2001).

However, there is a clear role for tourism in the process of expressing culture and cultural difference. In his intervention at the Barcelona 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures, Mounir Bouchenaki, General Vice Director for Culture at the UNESCO, emphasised the role of tourism to enable spaces for "all cultures to express themselves and make themselves known, and hence to achieve a form of intercultural dialogue leading to peace and facilitating sustainable development" (UNESCO 2004). He further stressed that "without tourism, cultural diversity is not lived, experienced or felt through aesthetic emotions and a comprehension of values it contains and expresses".



## **Cultural Resources Mobilised in Tourism**

Culture is a fluid and problematic concept to deal with. In this context it is summarily taken to mean both 'ways of life' (beliefs, values, social prac-

tices, rituals and traditions etc.) and the tangible (buildings, monuments, objects etc.) and intangible (language, performances and festivals, craftsmanship etc.) expressions and manifestations of society's values and beliefs. In a touristic sense, culture refers to both 'peoples' and their ordinary social characteristics, traditions and day-to-day patterns of behaviour which mark them out as 'different', as well as to more exceptional representations of creative and artistic endeavour.

Various dimensions of culture are utilised in the context of tourism, though each has its own standing independent of its mobilisation for economic purposes. It is important to recognise that increasingly the tourism sector creatively draws upon the fullest range of expressions of culture to provide it with products and experiences for tourists. Key formulations of culture and their touristic uses are set out below.

#### **Cultural Heritage**

Since 1972, a series of consecutive UNESCO conventions and declarations have aimed to set an international framework for the protection of diverse forms of heritage. While initially focusing on works of art, built environments and natural spaces (UNESCO 1970, 1972), later UNESCO conventions and declarations have included other forms of cultural heritage, notably the notion of intangible heritage (UNESCO 2001, 2003). Since 1992, World Heritage Sites also include 'cultural landscapes' in recognition of the intimate relationships between culture and nature.

From a touristic perspective it is easy to see the value of historic buildings, heritage sites and objects d'art. Much of international tourism is centred around these material expressions of culture whether it is the Taj Mahal in India, the contents of the Louvre in Paris, France, or a city such as Venice in Italy. The 1972 UNESCO convention focused on the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, with an emphasis both on built environments and natural spaces, which are of 'outstanding universal value' from various aesthetic, scientific, artistic, historic and conservationist points of view. In 2005 812 cultural, natural and mixed world heritage sites inscribed. Of these, 611 are cultural sites, 154 are natural sites and there are also 23 mixed sites in some 137 countries.

The very fact that such sites are recognised and designated for their universal significance can transform them very quickly into tourist destinations. Indeed, this is one reason why some countries seek inscription in the first place, along with reasons to do with genuine protection of sensitive sites, landscapes and species, and the increased international profile and prestige designation brings with it. World Heritage Site status effectively allows greater levels of engagement with the past and its meanings outside of purely national, and sometimes, nationalistic contexts. Sites are provided with global exposure



which generates a discourse of both interest and tangible concern; in some cases a concern which will make the difference between a site being abandoned or being preserved for future generations. The designation of World Heritage Sites is not only a recognition of their significance, it is also a powerful means by which heritage can be liberated to a global audience. Recognising the 'heritage of the world' not only signals a wider sense of responsibility towards our common past, but also the opportunities for public access to, education about, and the experience of, such important sites.

This increased exposure and popularity with tourists, can generate significant economic benefits for heritage sites and their wider geographical locations. At the same time it is important that such increased touristic activity is effectively managed to ensure the sustainability of the site and its surrounding communities. Increasingly, the World Heritage Centre, established in 1972 as the UNESCO coordinating body for World Heritage matters, is involved with management and training issues relating to the touristic dimension of sites, including supporting the elaboration of management plans to handle the pressures that tourists can create.

Although the notion of 'cultural heritage' was originally conceived within the industrialised and developed world and thus reflected the works and values inherent in such societies, the idea has been widened to cover heritages in the lesser developed world where there is less emphasis upon grand and permanent structures and recorded narratives. The recognition of intangible and 'movable' cultural heritage in the Convention for the Safeguarding for the Intangible Heritage (2003) significantly recognised other forms of heritage that has meaning beyond material manifestations, is transmitted through the generations and which is also central in shaping identity.

Tourists do not only encounter cultural heritage as just 'the past', but rather the past of a particular people or community in a living context. Tourists engage with the cultural heritage of a destination not only through monumental forms but in more intangible ways as the past enshrined in contemporary behaviours and practices. Increasingly various forms of intangible heritage are being mobilised for tourism purposes and experiencing living heritage is a particularly enriching experience for both tourists and the community. Festivals which highlight cultural rituals and artistic performances are often a key element in tourist itineraries. While tourist demand to see cultural displays and rituals can produce conflict with local communities over changing times of performance and content to suit the timings of the tour operator and the curiosity of the visitors, it can also provide a rationale to showcase and effectively preserve enacted traditions which would otherwise be lost.

#### **Cultural Diversity**

The UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) states that "cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit



of present and future generations". Arguably, tourists have been amongst the first to recognise the diversity of cultures along with cultural heritage. The desire to encounter and experience different cultures and their material and immaterial expressions is one of the key motivations for tourists and lies at the very heart of many tour operators' business.

The global diversity of cultures and the unique experiences they can provide is a key resource for the tourism sector; a resource which would appear to be limitless. But this diversity is contingent upon a number of factors. The quality of the environment – as both the natural and built environment – influences whether cultures can survive and flourish. So too does the political system which can grant, infringe or remove basic human and cultural rights. Though societies may have the right to express themselves culturally and participate in cultural practices which shape their identities, they also have the right not to. Related to these factors is the issue of poverty which can force people and societies, in the face of desperate need, to accept pathways to development which are not sustainable and which could threaten diversity. It would seem clear that just as the tourism sector has begun to realise that in the context of sustainable tourism it is both morally right and economically prudent to assist in the preservation of cultural diversity.

Another facet of cultural diversity, which is increasingly of interest in the context of tourism development, particularly in the urban context, is that of multi-culturalism. Increasingly, tourists visiting countries and cities rarely encounter only one cultural or ethnic group. In both the northern and southern hemispheres, populations maybe representative of several ethnic groups, each with their own languages and traditions. For the tourist this expression of diversity within one location can be a rewarding event extending as it does insight into, and experience of, difference through cuisines, musical and artistic heritages and performances. In some destinations certain cultures may be privileged over others in relation to access to resources which would allow them to express themselves to tourists and thus benefit from potential income and employment opportunities. This is an extremely sensitive and challenging area for policy development amongst host destinations and for local and transnational tour operators, however, it is also a vital opportunity for cultural groups to participate in the tourism development process and enliven the experience of the increasingly cosmopolitan tourist.

#### **Cultural Creativity**

As recognised in the Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development (Our Creative Diversity, 1997) cultural creativity is a valuable resource which requires nurturing. The idea of cultural creativity is difficult to express but in part it is the result of the dynamic process by which cultures interact with their environments, other cultures, and undergo a learning process in order they can adapt and survive. Creativity exhibits itself in an artistic and intellectual sense, a technological sense and in an institutional or governmental sense. As a process it is essential for all societies as they navigate



themselves through the complexities of modernisation and 'globalisation' (UNESCO 2000a). This is particularly the case in the field of tourism development which requires innovative 'products', developed in ways which do not compromise the cultural integrity of the host communities and which maximise social, economic and environmental benefits. Harnessing the cultural creativity of communities is a significant strategy in encouraging greater participation in the tourism development process and can assist in spreading the benefits of tourism throughout society.

## The Commodification Process

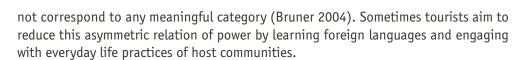
Tourism in its widest sense has long mobilised culture as a central means to make sense of the 'other' and to make the 'other' visible. Poets, art-

ists, administrators, academics and travel writers have often used very elaborate systems of sub-categories to translate and make meaningful the social life of peoples visited or otherwise encountered (Blanchard et al. 1995). Such categories typically include fields such as geography, history, demography, politics, kinship, festivity, economy, arts, architecture, literature, music, religion, and gastronomy. Similarly, archaeologists and historians have used similar categories to study the social life of ancient and past cultures and ways how cultural contact and creativity transformed social life (Geertz 1973).

The mobilisation of culture in the tourism field broadly uses the same type of approach. Indeed, tour-operators, tour guides, and tourism planners translate, commodify or package particular types of artefacts, spaces, stories and social practices into discourses, products and events that are accessible to tourists. Tourists, by definition, spend only a short period of time in any particular place and thus they can only experience selective aspects of the host culture. Such translation and packaging processes happen in any form of intercultural communication and exchange, but in the context of tourism this process of commodification has often been criticised as it unavoidably transforms original configurations and meanings and puts them in ways tourists and other outsiders can understand (Greenwood 1977).

This critique is usually based on two observations. The first is that tourism and its wider institutional networks operate an asymmetric relation of power, imposing touristic aesthetics and underlying values to the selection and interpretation of various cultural resources (Nash 1989). For instance, tourism typically creates its own forms and types of landscape, often revolutionising the spatial and demographic realities of a place. Accordingly, tourism has transformed traditionally marginal spaces like mountains, shores or countrysides into touristically visited landscapes (Roger 1997). At the same time, particular elements, practices or spaces essential to a community's social life may be ignored by tourists when irrelevant or untranslatable in terms of their aesthetics and ways to understand the world. In these cases, central cultural resources remain anaesthetic and invisible to the touristic mind because they do





The second observation concerns processes of recontextualisation and resignification of culture and cultural resources mobilised for touristic exchange (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). Indeed, the introduction of tourists often enlarges and transnationalises the social spaces of host communities. In this context, particular elements, social practices or spaces originally without any considered intrinsic relevance for a community's social life may be highly relevant to the tourist gaze. In such contexts, they can be elevated as a means for these communities to exchange with the world outside and as a symbolic resource mobilised to define and delimit forms of local and social identity (Lash & Urry 1994). In other cases, where communities recognise particular elements, spaces or practices as 'sacred', the recontextualisation and resignification of these elements by tourism often generate perceptions of tourism development as a form of aggression (Whittaker 1994). In such conflicting contexts, tourism not only challenges recognised formulations, categories and boundaries of collective identity, but also relocates the very processes of formulating and constructing identity into the new social spaces created by tourism (Picard 1992).

Based on these different types of observations, tourism has been thought of as a dialectical and dynamic space allowing communities to test different formulations and interpretations of culture. Often communities only become aware of particular cultural elements through the interaction with tourists and various tourism operators. In this context, the mobilisation of such elements – or 'resources' – may only make sense in relation to the touristic other, as a symbolic vehicle to define and distinguish the self from the other, but also as an economic resource to generate income (Picard & Robinson 2005). In this sense, 'culture' gains a different meaning from the original UNESCO definition, less as an analytical category to describe intrinsic values and social patterns of a community, than an extrinsic symbolic category to formulate interpretations of social difference. Much of the contestation linked to and rhetoric against the touristic mobilisation of culture and diverse cultural resources hence seems to be linked to the political and symbolic agendas underlying such formulation and interpretation processes.



## Cultural Tourism as a Form of Economic Development

Tourism is foremost a form of economic development which has cultural resources at its foundations. However, it is also a form of development that although bound to economic realities is nonetheless a means by which individuals and societies can access to and gain insight of one another's places and pasts. Through experience, education and enjoyment, tourism can be a liberating vehicle for gaining and exchanging meaning and understanding in an intellectual, emotional and spiritual sense. It is the very movement and exchange of people which differentiates tourism from more mechanistic forms of global trade and economic development.

Culture, whether in an artistic or 'way of life' sense, is almost constantly 'on view'. Travel and tourism, along with various media forms, have raised widespread awareness of the rich diversity of culture and cultures throughout the world. In line with this has been increasing recognition that engaging with and experiencing culture is no longer a marginal activity to other aspects of social, political and economic life. More than ever we have become aware of the value of culture and it is now taking its place as the very cornerstone of economies and development agendas. Tourism is an important element of emergent transnational 'cultural economies' — or economies of the cultural — in that it provides and connects new audiences, and generates new pressures and new opportunities.

# Cultural Tourism as a Means of Economic Diversification

One of the most remarkable traits of development since the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century has been the mobilisation of tourism as a preferred form of economic development at local, regional and national level (UNESCO

& Government of Italy 1999). Indeed, many multilateral and governmental organisations have integrated tourism firmly into economic development strategies in recognition of its potential and as a response to particular moments of crisis. In both developed and developing world contexts, the rapid restructuring and de-scaling of the manufacturing sector due to technological advances, the combined breakdown of protectionist policies and the opening up of new 'cheap labour' markets in the developing world, has resulted in wide scale plant closures, job losses, changes in social relations, and environmental and landscape change. Similarly, changes in



agricultural and fishing practices resulting from the intensification of farming/fishing, removal of subsidy and market forces have resulted in rural decline, de-population and landscape degradation. Such instances have forced countries to look for alternate sources of revenue and employment.

Tourism is able to generate both income and employment relatively cost effectively by drawing upon the (previously largely untapped) resources of nature and culture. While state subsidy and intervention are required for some provision of tourism infrastructure, for much of the time, there are low barriers to entry into the tourism sector with the private sector, through indigenous firms or via inward investment, able to provide the capital. These low barriers to entry in tourism are important in that potentially they allow many individuals and groups to become involved. Concomitant growth in enabling information technologies and cost effective transport innovations have added to these efficiencies. In parallel to these general improvements, changes in social structure and social life have generated demand for more leisure activity generally and a diverse set of tourism 'products', specifically.

In developing nations specifically, tourism has been prioritised as an important driver for economic development. But here, the drivers for this have different roots. Many countries facing problems of poverty and debt have turned to tourism as a means of generating foreign investment and exchange. In a positive vein, tourism offers more sustainable means of development, but for many countries with limited resources and with a legacy of poor environmental quality and degradation, culture, heritage and nature are arguably all that are left to develop. However, without the means for either public or private sector investment, tourism development is strongly driven from outside investors from the developed world eager to enjoy favourable financial climates and generally weak regulatory frameworks with regard to the environmental and social impacts of tourism. Importantly, and unlike tourism development in the developed world, the markets lie, almost exclusively, outside of the host country.

## Uneven Development and the Exploitation of Culture

While on the whole, international tourism continues to enjoy an on-going period of

expansion and sophistication, spatially and in terms of costs and benefits, the economic, social and environmental impacts remain very uneven between and within countries. For developing countries tourism is an increasingly important export and the year on year growth in tourist arrivals has been higher that the world average. According to UNCTAD (2004c) if the 49 Least Developed Countries (LDCs) are taken together, tourism is the single most important source of foreign exchange earnings (apart from the oil industry which is located in only three of them). However, in 2001 the LDCs accounted for less than 1 % of in terms of international tourist receipts.



For developing countries, mass tourism development is an attractive option precisely because it can generate foreign currency quickly, particularly by relying on international tour operators who can access international markets easily. However, as has been highlighted by numerous studies, there are serious drawbacks to this. First, it tends to shift the power of development away from the host government and communities toward the tour operators and the tourist generating nations. This includes the power to terminate development and switch investment to other destinations. Second, it tends to be limited spatially to particularly attractive development sites and pristine environments and does not seek to engage with problem zones and communities. Third, and related to the above, levels of investment tend to be directed toward surface issues of aesthetic concern and the needs of tourists rather than to deep-seated socioeconomic problems and the needs of host communities. Fourth, economic returns tend to be restricted to short term gains in terms of employment in the tourist sector and in related services. Frequently this results in poorly paid and insecure jobs in the service sector. The majority of revenue generated through large international tour operators tends not to flow into the destination but back to the country of the operator. Fifth, the culture(s) of the host country is only marginally engaged through mass tourism. Because the emphasis of development is upon fixed and limited locations, and upon the provision for predominantly hedonistic activities, culture can often be reduced to brief and selective displays through limited interaction between host and quest.

Despite these drawbacks, a growing number of tour operators are seeking to establish longer term relationships with destinations and are starting to develop ethical practices. In 1999 the World Tourism Organization adopted the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, to encourage good practice and sustainable relationships. Still, there is considerable variation amongst the practices of tour operators in particular with respect to their responsiveness to change. At one level, it would appear that those tour operators involved with mass tourism have little to contribute in terms of protecting cultural heritage and seeking to utilise culture as a development tool. However, in seeking to move toward more sustainable forms of development, founded upon cultural heritage and diversity, it is important that the large international tour operators are brought into the networks of partners that are required to preserve, promote and mobilise culture.

Exploitation of cultural resources for tourism does not only take place by tour operators however. Within host communities some local elites and entrepreneurs can play key roles in the harnessing of cultural resources for both tourists and tour companies without due regard to both ethical and legal frameworks, often in direct response to the demand from agents and markets in the developed world. Examples include trading in antiquities (literally selling the material culture of a destination), poaching rare species in protected areas, and clearing land and communities for sale to unscrupulous tourism developers. In certain cases such practices can be seen to be a response to the pressures of poverty, as individuals attempt to utilise what resources they have to make a living. In other cases, clear crimes are being committed for short-term gains with



disastrous results for the host communities and their environment. To deal with such situations it is important that remedial action is directed to the markets in demand as well as the local suppliers.

Despite the problems faced in developing countries and in the LDCs, with good management and targeted, strategic support, tourism still represents a significant opportunity for development and for reducing balance of payment debts for the following reasons. First, as a labour intensive activity, tourism is able to offer a wide range of employment opportunities - highly skilled and qualified to unskilled - at the small scale including jobs for women, young people, both in urban and rural areas. Second, tourism if managed sensitively can utilise the unique cultural attributes of developing countries to generate foreign currency receipts, without significant environmental disturbance as say accompanies, logging, or heavy industrial activity. Third, developing tourism also allows diversification within economies which avoids dependency on a single export sector. Fourth, the level of investment required in infrastructure is still relatively low compared to some other industrial sectors and what infrastructure is required for tourism is also required for, and can be used by, the local community. Finally, and importantly, tourism, unlike some other industrial sectors, can allow culture to flourish and exhibit itself to a global audience which in turn raises awareness of the true potential of developing nations.

#### The Agenda of Poverty Alleviation

While tourism development is widely recognised for enhancing the quality of life of those societies in the developed world, for many developing nations it has a critical and direct role to play in the alleviation of poverty (Ashley, Roe, Goodwin 2001). This is accepted by all the major international donor agencies such as the World Bank and the IMF, as well as by the World Tourism Organisation (Meyer 2003). According to the United Nations, some 1.2 billion people have no clean water; over 2 billion have no access to a reliable energy supply, and approximately 2.5 billion lack sanitation services. In poor societies lacking in natural resources and devoid of infrastructure and basic access to investment, various aspects of culture and traditions are harnessed and developed for touristic purposes.

The wealth created by tourism depends to a large extent on subjective and intangible values such as the 'beauty' of natural landscapes and the 'authenticity' and symbolic value of different cultural expressions and traditions (MacCannell 1976). Poor nations, while lacking in raw materials, or the opportunities to develop them, can nonetheless be extremely wealthy in cultural terms. While it is recognised that tourism on its own is unable to solve the deep rooted structural and cultural problems of long term poverty, it has a vital role to play, particularly when it is linked to other aspects of development.



Since the 1960s, discourses on tourism development have oscillated between two broadly interpreted models of 'top-down' development characterised by infrastructural provision and inward investment, and 'bottom-up' approaches favouring facilitated integrated local development strategies. In practice, developing countries have in general adopted the tool of national and regional tourism development master plans. These plans were commonly elaborated in cooperation with major international organisations such as the IMF and the World Bank with an emphasis upon economic and spatial dimensions of tourism development and the implementation of large scale and highly standardised production procedures in selected spaces. This type of development model is often criticised for its spatial and social 'segregation' between tourists and local populations, its short term approach which sees most employment generated in the construction stages, and its economic disarticulation with the local economy, relying on the idea of benefits somehow 'trickling down' through communities. This 'trickle-down' idea does not quarantee that the poor in society, either at the destination, or within a wider geographical area, accrue badly needed and sustainable income. Furthermore, lack of community participation/decision-making and engagement is earmarked as a feature of such models. Despite such critiques and in the absence of alternative frameworks, this industry based type of tourism implementation model remains today largely dominant.

One of the most commonly cited alternatives to this model is that adopted under the broad heading of ecotourism (also variously referred to as 'sustainable/green/soft' tourism). This type of tourism development model builds upon environmental and ecological resources and is generally based on a grass-roots approach with the participation of local communities and stakeholders in the planning process. The eco-tourism model does not relate to some destinations, fails on many occasions to integrate with aspects of cultural heritage and local cultural conditions, and is itself a fragile approach open to appropriation by external tour operators, relying on 'high value' tourists and open to considerable competition (Boo 1990).

However, in recent years so called 'pro poor tourism' has emerged as an approach to the development and management of tourism. The overall aim is to streamline the flow of benefits brought by tourism directly to those within the community that need it most (World Tourism Organisation 2004). It enhances the linkages between tourism businesses and poor people so that tourism's contribution to poverty reduction is increased and poor people are able to participate more effectively and directly in product development (Roe & Urquhart 2002). Links with many different types of 'the poor' need to be considered: staff, neighbouring communities, land-holders, producers of food, fuel and other suppliers, operators of micro tourism businesses, craft-makers, other users of tourism infrastructure (roads) and resources (water) etc. There are many types of pro poor tourism strategies, ranging from increasing local employment to building mechanisms for consultation or integrating small businesses to the commercial circuits of the tourism sector. Any type of company can be involved in pro-poor tourism — a small lodge, an urban hotel, a tour opera-



tor, an infrastructure developer. The critical factor is not the type of company or the type of tourism, but that an increase in the net benefits that go to poor people can be demonstrated.

Initiatives that link the goals of poverty reduction with tourism are expanding. The role of the international donor agencies in this area is paramount as the very poorest communities do require external inputs in terms of expertise and initial finances. The International Trade Centre (the technical cooperation agency of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) and the World Trade Organisation have been working on projects which enable poor rural communities to develop international markets and sustainable trade. Community-based tourism projects are eligible for support under this scheme.

In a global sense, it is clear that culture and heritage are major resources which can, through sustainable tourism development, be harnessed to tackle the problems of poverty. UNESCO particularly promotes informal and community-based approaches which – by capitalizing on the skills and capacities of the poor themselves – are aimed at helping them to devise their own strategies to rise out of poverty. This work crosses and links all the key areas of UNESCO's work – Education, Culture, Communication, Social Development and the Environment.

## Developing the Cultural Supply Chain

Present models of tourism development which utilise culture tend to be limited in both time and space; that is they fail to provide sustain-

able pathways directly to the host communities in order that goods and services from a variety of local, regional or national suppliers can flow toward the tourists and the income received can flow back towards the people and communities who provided the goods and services (UNCTAD 2004a, 2004b). Hotels for instance can provide a market for locally produced foods, for local linens, furniture and artwork. Tourists can supply an important market for local crafts and souvenirs, drawing upon local traditions and skills. They can also provide the audience for music, songs and stories. Tour routes, interpretation centres and attractions can provide opportunities for local guides who can supply unrivalled knowledge and insights into local customs and traditions. Moreover, such services and goods can be delivered at highly competitive, but fair, prices based upon their immediacy. There are problems which relate to some owners and developers in tourism who either source their supplies without any knowledge of what is available locally, or have a policy of using 'imported', maybe standardised, goods, services and procedures. However, problems may also occur at the supply end, relating to lack of support and organisation for local cultural producers to access developers, and to lower quality standards which render services and goods uncompetitive.



In the context of pro-poor tourism, and in the wider context of tourism assisting the development of economies and the preservation and development of local culture, sustainable supply chains require researching and developing in order to maximise the flow of benefits from tourism directly to the host communities. A number of tour operators have been swift to integrate concepts of sustainability throughout their supply chains so reaching down to the small local suppliers. The Tour Operators' Initiative for Sustainable Tourism Development, supported by the United Nations Environment Programme, the World Tourism Organisation and UNESCO have produced a handbook for tour operators to act as a guide to improving environmental performance amongst suppliers which includes the socio-cultural dimensions of sustainability such valuing local suppliers and family operated businesses (Tour Operators' Initiative for Sustainable Development 2004).

# Tourism as a Vehicle for Intercultural Dialogue and Cross-Cultural Understanding

Despite great strides in global communication technologies, the need for peoples to talk and understand one another is ever pressing. Although the nature of tourism involves only a transient encounter between peoples, at its most basic level it is a vitally important means by which peoples can interact, exchange stories, ideas and objects, and create a shared feeling of human belonging. As throughout history, travel and human interaction is the way we come to know and understand one another socially and culturally. In a global society which travels more than ever before, tourism represents an important instrument of exchange and dialogue. In the words of the International Cultural Tourism Charter adopted by ICOMOS in 1999: "Domestic and international tourism continues to be among the foremost vehicles for cultural exchange, providing a personal experience, not only of that which has survived from the past, but of the contemporary life and society of others."

Dialogue amongst civilizations is a central pillar of UNESCO's work, enshrined in its constitution as a means to build "peace in the minds of men", and is a key focus for its



cultural programmes. The adage that 'travel broadens the mind' lies closely with the notion of dialogue as a means to gain knowledge of other societies and cultures. While not the sole means to achieving peace and security, dialogue is a key part of the process of creating conditions for mutual understanding and awareness of culture(s) and cultural difference, and of preventing cultural prejudice. In the words of Kofi Annan in announcing the United Nations Year of Dialogue Amongst Civilisations in 2001: "I see dialogue as a chance for people of different cultures and traditions to get to know each other better, whether they live on opposite sides of the world or on the same street."

#### **Tourist - Host Encounters**

In the long term, no one culture can successfully

exist without contact with other cultures and other cultural influences, drawn from diverse histories and the complexities of constant global change. Tourism has a critical role to play in facilitating and shaping intercultural dialogue (Viard 2000). At a basic level it provides for direct encounters between peoples from different cultures. The focus of touristic exchange has been on developed countries which have generally produced sophisticated infrastructures for tourism, and also their own cultures and traditions in leisure and business tourism. In terms of tourist arrivals, Europe is by far the most visited destination with nearly 58 % of all international tourism arrivals. Asia and the Pacific account for 17 %, the Americas 16 %, while Africa and the Middle East have each 4 % of arrivals. On the most basic of levels, a continent such as Africa is not benefiting to the extent it could from international tourism given the rich cultural and heritage resources it possesses. Clearly the reasons for this are complex, but its present level of international tourist share would seem, with the right support and development frameworks, to present considerable opportunity.

It must be remembered that the overall global flow of tourists is decidedly asymmetrical with a significant percentage of tourists travelling from developed to developing or lesser developed countries, reflecting long term historical imbalances in economic and political power, and also in terms of rights and freedoms. In the near future this essentially mono-polar flow of tourists from the world's richest to some of the poorer countries is unlikely to change significantly. Within this context it is important that tourism is not viewed as some form of vector of economic domination, but is very much seen to be an instrument of development; a sustainable economic and social tool for developing nations.

The asymmetry often underlying international tourism is also mirrored at the level of individual encounter. Tourists visiting lesser developed nations frequently assume a conspicuous position of privilege, authority and freedom by default. They are engaged in their leisure while the local population, to varying degrees, are working. Clearly, this does not mean that tourists are consciously seeking to exploit the host community, merely that they are able, through their presence and their actions, to shape the lives of others.



The extent of direct interaction between tourists and the host community can be surprisingly limited. On the one hand this may be a function of a particular type of tourist which does not seek close contact with local populations for legitimate reasons of not carrying the desire to experience cultural difference and diversity, or because they perceive a certain degree of risk to be associated with contact. This may be informed by wider cultural attitudes and/or knowledge provided by the tour operator or tour guide. On the other hand, contact may be constrained by the type of tourism, which limits spontaneous and direct interaction with local communities, in time and space, unless in particular 'staged' and controlled settings.

The interaction between tourists and host communities is commonly founded upon a number of assumptions. Firstly, that tourists represent some homogenous group, united in 'being' tourists and 'doing' of tourism. This is seldom the case as tourists, even within a large tour group, will reflect different attitudes toward, and will have different expectations of, their hosts. Secondly, that host cultures see tourists as representing outsiders or strangers. Given the extent and pervasiveness of global travel this is now rarely the case. All things being equal tourists are welcomed as tourists along with the economic opportunities they bring, but also as people representing different cultures to explore. More often than not there is a genuine desire on the part of both tourist and host to share the common ground of humanity. Thirdly, that the host culture is homogeneous. Clearly, this is rarely the case, but in the limited time of a touristic visit, it is often genuinely difficult to explain the social and cultural diversities and complexities of a community, particularly when these have not been highlighted by the tour organiser/tourism authority.

Tourists can provide an audience for local communities to uphold their heritage and ways of life. Close interaction between tourists and locals creates conditions to dispel myths and stereotypes on both sides. In some instances tour operators have sought to reduce opportunities and contact times in which tourists can interact with their hosts. At the furthest extreme enclave resorts physically restrict cultural interchange, but often tour operators or guides will only spend short periods of time at selected sites in favour of spending more time at locations such as retail sites where commission rates are greatest.

In visiting developing countries tourists experience the variety, beauty and liveliness of local cultures, while at the same time are exposed to some of the problems of poverty and environmental degradation. It can be observed that over the years tourists and the tourism industry have moved from being passive observers of their destinations to becoming more actively involved in improving the social, environmental and economic well-being of their hosts, through raising awareness of child labour, sex tourism and animal cruelty to funding, and actively engaging in, environmental improvement schemes.





#### The Role of Routes

A central part of how nations have come together in history to share knowledge,

beliefs, ideas, skills and goods has been via 'routes' that have developed between peoples and across political and administrative boundaries for trading and religious reasons. It is along such routes that early travellers facilitated interchange and exchange to generate an ever-widening knowledge of the world. Routes are well embedded in contemporary tourism too, given the demand for tourists to experience as much as they can within a finite time frame. Within and across national boundaries, such routes can be formally designed and packaged by the tour operator in order to maximise the cultural highlights of a particular destination.

Commonly tourist routes focus upon the most spectacular natural and cultural sites and the more exotic aspects of local life, which can result in over exposure of, and excessive pressure on such sites. They can also exclude some sectors of the community while privileging others, socially and economically. This usually results in the tourists carrying away an image of the destination which is highly idealised and biased, excluding important elements marking the social spaces of a host country. This brings along the obvious risk that prejudgements and stereotypes are systematically reproduced. Key to the notion of tourist routes as a means of communicating the significance of cultural diversity and heritage is the empowerment of host communities and their involvement in their design, operation and interpretation.

## The Role of Intermediaries

Intermediaries such as tour operators, travel agents and tourist guides are paramount in shaping both access to, and the image of, local peoples. As such they carry significant responsibility as gatekeepers

of information and knowledge that will shape tourist's expectations, attitudes and experiences. Information provided by tour operators can educate the tourist regarding the host culture they are visiting in a factual way, and brochures and guidebooks can be an important source of knowledge. Sometimes however, they can also misrepresent destination communities to the point that tourists have expectations well beyond the realities of a situation. It is important for both the well-being of tourism and the host destination that the various intermediaries are equipped with appropriate local knowledge, are aware of cultural norms and sensitivities, and can communicate these with integrity to the tourist.

In putting together tourist routes and itineraries tour operators have a direct impact upon communities in both the social and economic sense; encouraging tourists to visit some areas while excluding others. They have, for instance, been known to exaggerate risks of local crime and also underestimate potential dangers. In doing so they can exclude sections of the community from having any contact with tourists, take away the ability of local traders to earn much needed income, and perpetuate negative perceptions of the destination. The governments of both tourist and host have



clear responsibilities for tourist well-being and advising on the level of risk involved in travelling to certain areas. Tour operators too have a clear responsibility to uphold the safety and well-being of their customers. It is also important in such circumstances that transactions with local traders are regulated and monitored to ensure good practice and to avoid tourists being unduly exploited. The issue is one of balance based upon having good information, clear guidelines and input from the local population regarding what is accurate and acceptable.

Tour guides can be employed by tour operators and host tourism organisations directly from the host community, or be self-employed local residents, or they can be 'imported' by tour operators from elsewhere. Either way, the tour guides are extremely influential in shaping very directly the places tourists do and do not visit. Through their stories and performances, local tour guides can provide an invaluable means by which the tourist can get close to the culture of host communities and achieve a deeper understanding of their past and present circumstances. They can also privilege some sections of the host community over others and in extreme cases can prejudice the tourist against sections of the community.

In the case of all the intermediaries involved with the touristic process – which includes not only the tour operators and guides but also taxi drivers, hotel reception staff etc. – it is important that they are aware of the importance of their roles in the processes of intra-cultural dialogue and equipped with the skills and knowledge that can not only enhance the experience of the tourist, but also contribute to a positive view on the destination culture.

## The Role of the Media

Tourism begins and ends in the home. Before we even engage in travel and tourism, we encounter the world and its peoples through the normative processes of socialisation and education. From an early stage (and increasingly

an early age), our impressions of other cultures are shaped by various media. Directly we encounter this first through role-play, toys, children's books, school education, and then through the television, literature and newspapers that have a significant role to play in the generation of cultural knowledges. The daily images generated in this way can counter those presented to us by the tourism sector, dramatically.

The media used within the tourism sector is highly instrumental in shaping dialogue between cultures. The process of representation through guidebooks, tour brochures and advertising creates a significant degree of expectation amongst tourists regarding the aspects of culture they will encounter (Urry 1990). In the tourism sector, usually these are idealised images, designed to emphasise the exotic and overlain with the values of the tourist generating nations. From the perspective of the host destination, tourism marketing authority or the tour operator, with the objective of effectively promoting a locale, the production of information and images is necessarily reductionist. Guidebooks,



brochures and the like, effectively communicate selective images of a destination, deliver information, and generate and inform discourse at the immediate, almost instantaneous level amongst prospective tourists. They can act as scripts for tourist space and are followed and learnt. Guidebooks in particular play an important role in this sense. In the process of their consumption however, they have significant influence not only upon tourist and travel decision-making behaviour, but upon the attitudes and expectations that tourists carry with them into other cultural settings. Well researched and quality produced media representations of destinations can excite the imagination of the prospective tourist and open up new worlds of travel, encounter and exchange.

Specifically produced tourist media are not the only sources of information, imagery and knowledge. More indirectly, but nonetheless important, we draw upon centuries of imagining countries, landscapes and peoples through literature, maps and the visual arts which act to represent a destination, its people and culture in both historical and contemporary settings. Cinema, for instance, with its global distribution channels, remains a powerful artistic medium with the potential to endorse or challenge cultural and geographic stereotypes. Though such media lie outside the tourism sector, they continually feed and shape it.

To a large extent the arts and literature conceived of in former times have permeated our view of the world as divided between so-called civilised and primitive cultures, between the east and west, orient and occident, between those that hold power and those that do not. Tourists and the tourism sector work within a context of having already journeyed through ideas, ideals and imaginings laid out in a wide variety of media and which have sculpted our expectations, experiences and meanings of 'other' cultures when we 'become' tourists.

## Resisting a Uniform World?

There are many competing and overlapping discourses surrounding globalisation as both an emerging concept and a reality (Robertson 1990). Broadly these fall into two categories; one which

takes an economic approach and speaks of global markets, and highly mobile, transnational capital and labour; and one which focuses more on cultural exchange (Appadurai 2003). The Swedish sociologist Ulf Hannerz (1996) emphasises that globalisation is about the world as a network of social relationships between which there is "a flow of meanings as of people and goods". The ways in which meanings, people and goods do flow around the world is highly complex and difficult to unravel, as there are many channels of communication. Though tourism is one such channel it is closely bound up with a range of other communicative networks, institutions and flows constructed around historical, political and militaristic relationships, trade routes, language and ethnic linkages; all of which produce their own platforms for dialogue.



There is a powerful perception that the processes of globalisation produce uniformity amongst certain aspects of social life. The tourism industry can be conceived as a globalising force generating venues, attractions, accommodation and standards that are easily replicated and identified no matter where they are located. It is certainly true that throughout developed and developing countries there is a degree of standardisation that is increasingly recognisable; international hotel, restaurant and retail chains appear to dominate over national and local ones and set quality standards in their terms. Globally branded, franchised Irish bars appear in Mumbai, hamburger restaurants in Beirut, and pizza parlours in Beijing. Along with such developments are global quality standards which are seen to be accompanied by attempts to imitate and assimilate uniform patterns of social behaviour, language, dress and cuisine. Whilst there is nothing inherently wrong with such developments there appears to be a widely held perception that they represent a threat to cultural diversity and heritage that not only has intrinsic value, but is part of the very experience which tourists seek.

The issues relate not so much to the aesthetics of uniformity, but more to the economics of such enterprises and the degree to which economic benefits are able to flow through the host destination. There are further issues which relate to the extent to which in certain countries international chains are privileged over local and national providers. Such issues are complex, as local providers may not be in a position to match perceived standards of quality, or even be able to afford to establish themselves in the same way. In some instances, international chains sit easily next to local providers and can be a general catalyst for improving standards of quality and service. In other ways they can dominate local cultural offerings and inadvertently prevent local entrepreneurship.

In counterpoint to the homogenising effects of globalisation and as countries increasingly compete for tourists in both domestic and international contexts, there is also a process of differentiation taking place whereby destinations are finding ways in which they can differentiate themselves through the distinctiveness and diversity of their cultural offerings. This presents opportunities for the variety of local cultures and communities to feed into regional and national tourism strategies. In part this can be conceived of as creative tourism marketing. But it is also a form of cultural resistance to the threat (real or perceived) of globalisation.

The problem is that there is a lack of substantive research around this phenomenon. It would be safe to say however, that a significant proportion of tourists seek out and enjoy familiar global brands. But it would also be wrong to over-estimate the impact of this. The issue would seem to be one extent. Uniformity in cultural terms is remote and reflects interconnectedness of cultures rather than complete domination of a particular one. And while international tourism is implicated in the globalisation thesis it is only part of a much wider process of global cultural change and inter-change.

Balance is the important concept once again. The term 'glocalisation' (Robertson, 1990) has been coined to refer to the way in which global economies and public



culture meet and blend with local culture and values. Global brands become integrated with national, regional and local cultures, and far from emasculating cultural diversity, tourism can be a powerful catalyst for integrating them into local/regional cultures and heritage.

## **Tourism / Tourist Education**

While in theory tourism should have a central role to play in facilitating dialogue between cultures at the most immediate and intimate level, there are also clearly problems involved

in creating the conditions for dialogue that are founded upon equity and inclusion, and which is transformational. The range of problems and issues, as outlined in the paragraphs above, point to the critical need for education amongst all those involved at the tourism and culture interface.

Education is an obvious action needed in many areas of development. The 1987 *Report* by the World Commission on Environment and Development and the 1992 Earth Summit identified education as a major tool for achieving sustainable development. Following this, the 2002 Johannesburg Summit broadened the vision of sustainable development and re-affirmed the educational objectives of the UN Millennium Development Goals and the Education for All Framework for Action (Dakar, 2000). The United Nations General Assembly in its 57th Session in December 2002, proclaimed the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development for the period 2005 – 2014 and designated UNESCO as the lead agency for the promotion of the Decade.

The priority areas for education are geared practically towards the eradication of poverty and the move toward sustainable development. As part of this and as recognised in the Declaration adopted at the International Conference on Dialogue Among Civilisations (2003), education is also "necessary to develop communities and societies rooted in principles of democracy, justice and respect for human rights". The Conference also pointed out the need for governments to develop their educational curricula so as to promote a better understanding of all cultures, their histories and philosophies, together with education regarding human rights and the teaching of languages. Given its cross-cutting nature, tourism as a form of inter-cultural exchange presents a useful focal point for education initiatives.

Education in the context of tourism relates to multiple levels and constituencies and, of course, refers to a broad spectrum of activities by which knowledge and information is circulated through a community. Thus, education covers formal courses and accredited programmes delivered through educational institutions but also a wide range of other more informal mechanisms delivered via various combinations of tour guides, guidebooks, videos, the internet, 'on site' interpretation panels, etc. Issues remain as to whose responsibility should education be in tourism and more pointedly, who should pay for it.



Over the past twenty years or so formal tourism education via designated degree and post-graduate programmes has multiplied in the developed world context. The pace of formal tourism education in lesser developed countries has not been so rapid and as with education generally in these contexts, has been restricted to the more privileged parts of the community. Formal education programmes in tourism are valuable in providing a critical perspective on international tourism as a phenomenon approached through its economic, geographical, sociological and anthropological dimensions. Identifying case studies and best practice are part and parcel of such programmes (the issues involved in utilising culture as a tourist resource, how local communities can maximise revenue from tourism etc.), yet the extent to which graduates filter into the tourism sector and are able to implement the knowledge and theory gained, is still limited. Though changing slowly, there remains a gap between the critical, well educated graduates and the demand of the international tourism sector for more operationally oriented employees with practical experience.

Although extremely valuable, education and training in the field of tourism and culture is required beyond the formal settings of universities and colleges. For those involved in the 'on-the-ground' delivery of tourism there is a need for education which ensures an understanding of different cultures and the varying cultural sensitivities of both tourists and the host communities of the destinations in which they operate. Along with this emerges also a need for employees in the tourism sector to be aware of particular issues and development challenges that local communities may be facing. This is arguably best pursued through the tour and hotel companies as the employers, though this in itself may require some initial education amongst the companies themselves as to the value of such initiatives.

Tour guides, whether independent or working for tour operators, are particularly important in bringing cultural heritage and diversity to life. They can leave a lasting impression on tourists and have the potential to create valuable, honest and holistic images of host destinations and cultures carried back to the tourists' homes. Guides are also in a position to direct groups of tourists to particular sites and locations which require tourist benefits the most. In some states, training is a pre-condition for official registration of guides, though training courses often only amount to a combination of basic inter-personal skills and detailed local history. This would seem to be a missed opportunity in terms of promoting wider messages regarding the importance of tourism to the local community and the values of cultural heritage and diversity in the contemporary context of local development. Furthermore there is a case not only for training and education for the guides themselves, but also for training at national and regional level on the importance of tour guides and their potential role within the development process.

Convention has been that the host community, certainly in terms of the workers directly involved with tourists, should undergo some training and education relating to the practices of servicing all aspects of the tourist's stay. At one level, this seems



to reflect the primacy given to the wants of the leisured tourists rather than the needs of the host community. On another level, general education for the host community as to the value of tourism in economic and socio-cultural terms would appear to be a valuable exercise geared toward the maximisation of benefits and the minimisation of negative 'impacts'.

Arguably, educating tourists is a pressing matter, not only in terms of facts relating to the destination, but also in terms of influencing their behaviour. This extends not only to being respectful towards the customs and traditions of local cultures, but also to the issues and threats such cultures may face. During the course of their stay tourists may not know that a particular language, heritage site or craft skill may be under threat (not necessarily from any form of tourism), unless they are informed about it. Pre-trip education via guidebooks, in-flight videos, and information provided by tour operators working with local cultures, can effectively bring the tourist into the network of partners involved with development and the preservation of cultural heritage and diversity.

### Tourism and Environmental Protection

An important part of tourism is motivated by the experience of, and encounter with, what have broadly been defined as 'natural' spaces. While from a touristic perspective the 'natural' often entails a highly spiritual dimension, from an ecological perspective natural environments are often seen as fragile and vulnerable ecosystems. The mobilisation of nature as a resource for tourism must hence adopt a careful approach allowing the creation of conditions for a sustainable and ecologically sensitive development. Besides ecological considerations, this is also related to the ways in which local communities own and manage this resource, how it interacts with local cultures, and how ecological benefits, in real and symbolic terms, are redistributed throughout the community.

#### Tourism and the Spirit of Nature

Within the wider field of tourism, the meaning of the term 'natural' is usually contested, ranging from highly spiritual understandings to more scientific ones (Posey 1999). In some contexts,

the concept of the natural is employed to define pristine spaces untouched by human action, spaces of authentic being, spaces of procreation, spaces of the spirits and the



gods (Turner & Turner 1978). In this sense, natural spaces are closely related to places of foundation and origin, places that allow cultural reconnection with mythical spaces of a golden age, an original time, and a dream of paradise and innocence (Délumeau 2000). Tourism has been seen as a form of modern pilgrimage or ritual, re-enacting the myth of paradise or other culturally bound foundation myths (Graburn 1989; Cohen 1992). Nature, in this sense, consequently has been seen both as a geographic and a metaphoric space, highly significant to the social existence of individuals, groups and communities, encapsulating the meaning of their being in the world (Amirou 1995).

In scientific vein, the term natural defines the organic and biological, usually in opposition to the artificial or artefactual. Although entailing a similar spiritual dimension, this definition is wider and allows the inclusion of definitions of the natural as something which is capable of being transformed or processed as a result of human action. This is exemplified by the cultural practice of gardening, the humanising of the natural by forcing it into particular aesthetic compositions and formats (Roger 1997). It is equally exemplified by the use of 'natural' or 'organic' material in the building and decoration of houses, the fabrication of body care products or the preparation of food.

This understanding is particularly relevant within the wider field of tourism. Indeed, natural spaces, even the most 'pristine' ones, do not exist per se, but are the result of a human approach in selecting, framing, and transforming the natural and making it accessible. In this sense, organic material, but also whole compositions of landscape travel too. The travellers of the European Renaissance brought home plants from the new worlds, carefully 'acclimatised' in newly founded acclimatisation gardens in the European capitals, contributing to the creation of the later Natural History Museums. In the 17th century, Le Nôtre's gardens in Versailles, today one of France's main tourism attractions, were designed to embody the absolute power of the French king. In addition, the eighteenth century landscape scenes painted in Italy were recreated in the landscaped gardens of England, hence transporting models of natural space from one place to another, creating living tableaux. Similarly, Goethe's nineteenth century gardens in Weimar, Germany, were based on the in situ recreation of highly romanticised images of nature. Also, what are usually defined as 'wilderness' spaces, were set into boundaries of, for instance, national parks, poetically framed by artworks, literature and maps, and symbolically subdued to a metaphoric space to serve the human spirit.

In such examples it can be seen that even the most remote of natural spaces are not only appropriated by local communities and integrated into their own cultural life, but have long been mobilised and transformed in other cultural settings and have been framed by the cultures of tourists and the culture of tourism. Ideas of nature and natural spaces as culturally constructed resources are well established in tourism whose expansion has been accompanied by a redefinition of environment/nature/culture relationships to largely fit the conceptions of the developed world. At the same time, a sense of loss regarding our closeness to nature and natural forms and the overtaking of the rural by the urban continues to fuel touristic searches for the 'natural' or 'authentic' (Urbain 1993).



### Natural Environments as Fragile and Vulnerable Ecosystems

Despite their symbolic appropriation and poetic enchantment, natural spaces also have 'a life of their own'. From a biological perspective, they are highly complex ecosystems which support a vast variety of life. In this context, a series of effects related to the acceleration of globalisation, in particular global warming, industrial and domestic pollution, urbanisation, and the increased mobility of species and seeds, represent serious threats to many natural environments, in particular those that have evolved in isolated areas of the world and have created endemic species and food chains.

Countering the generation of economic and social benefits, through the transformative processes of production and consumption, tourism produces varying degrees of environmental disturbance, degradation, pollution and natural resource pressures. The development and operations of tourism such as travel, resort development, the construction and use of associated infrastructure generate a wide range of environmental and ecological impacts. Anticipated economic benefits from tourism can encourage the building of poorly planned infrastructure, particularly in the context of developing countries with relatively weak legislative and executive powers. Moreover, poorly informed tourists can induce damage of fragile ecosystems by, for instance, trampling the surface of coral reefs, disturbing wildlife, contributing to footpath erosion, overusing local water resources, and removing plants.

A key feature of the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987), along with the World Summits held in Rio (1992) and Johannesburg (2002) was to link the state of the environment to the issues of poverty and under-development. Commitments were made at the Johannesburg Summit to increase access to clean water and proper sanitation, to increase access to energy services, to improve health conditions and agriculture and to better protect the world's biodiversity and ecosystems. Significantly, in recognition of the role of tourism as contributing to environmental degradation, the Johannesburg Summit explicitly makes reference to the positive role that sustainable tourism development can have in contributing to overall development aims while "maintaining the cultural and environmental integrity of the host communities and enhancing the protection of ecologically sensitive areas and natural heritages". (World Summit on Sustainable Development, 2002)

### The Cultural Implications of Mobilising Natural Resources for Tourism

As mentioned earlier, the development of tourism is often undertaken as a response to a particular crisis, where for instance, other economic sectors cannot cope with the effects of increased globalisation, in particular the competition consequent to the liberalisation of markets. Centres of tourism development can become new economic



and social hubs, inducing emigration of the active population from the more rural and peripheral areas. Where natural resources are mobilised for tourism in peripheral locations this can initiate considerable impact upon these sensitive areas. In many cases, development policies aim to sustain formerly unproductive agricultural or fishing activities in order to maintain the 'beauty' and 'character' of particular landscapes with the objective – one among others – to attract tourists. De facto, they transform farmers and fishermen into landscape gardeners hence substituting the agricultural functions of the land by aesthetic ones. In this new context, economic wealth is not generated primarily as a product of agricultural surplus, but through the commoditisation of landscapes and income generated through their touristic utility value.

This new system of production and exchange not only resignifies nature of its resources where land becomes landscape, but also modifies the social and institutional frameworks and conditions within which this production and exchange takes place. The influence of agencies and institutions responsible for agricultural and economic protection often declines and is challenged by emergent organisations responsible for the protection and preservation of natural spaces and heritage resources. Furthermore, the process of economic exchange involved with the new 'fruits' of the land – its aesthetic beauty, symbolic values and the stories these embody or trigger – can become disconnected from the producers. Tourists consume these resources in visu and no, or very little, direct income may flow back to the 'gardeners' of the land.

Within this new context of consumer led economies in which production becomes geared to the symbolic and aesthetic (Lash & Urry 1994), the challenge is to develop ways in which the producers and custodians of the natural resources used for tourism can be remunerated and professionally recognised. In part, the implementation of designated natural 'park' models can assist in this, as can direct taxation of tourism activities. However, these models are problematic, in particular where natural spaces are inhabited by human settlements. In many cases, touristic landscapes have emerged from formerly economically and symbolically marginalised pieces of land. The touristic revalorisation of these traditionally marginal spaces – shores, mountains surrounding cities, harbours, countryside – can often lead to a situation in which the often equally marginalised people living in such spaces risk further exclusion and ultimately the dislocation from 'their' land (Picard 2005). The integration of such populations, in particular young people, hence appears as a fundamental concern and challenge not only for the preservation of natural resources, but also for the creation of conditions for more intra-generational and equitable forms of sustainable development.

## From Eco-tourism to Integrated Tourism

Since the 1970s, a new type of tourism often branded as 'eco-tourism' appeared in the brochures of specialist tour operators. Defending the maxim of ecologi-

cally friendly and ethically correct and fair practice, this new type of tourism aimed





to use as much as possible local resources and create spaces of interaction between tourists and 'indigenous populations'. While representing a new approach of managing tourism resources, this approach has not always achieved its affirmed aims. Targeting primarily high spending middle and upper class segments of the Western populations, eco-tourism has been heavily criticised for making altruism and ecological engagements part of its – then – very much hedonistic product. Furthermore, many studies have illustrated the ecological and economic harm caused to communities and natural environments by the mass organisation of this so-called eco-tourism.

Contemporary models of ecotourism have favoured a far more carefully planned, socially integrated and culturally sensitive approach to tourism development generating equitable forms of community participation. This can involve the training of 'poor' populations in order to integrate them to the economic circuits of tourism, but also increasing the levels of institutional and symbolic empowerment by recognising the efficiency of indigenous cultural knowledge in natural space management systems.







## Section 2

Issues of Governance in Tourism, Culture and Development



### Developing Structures to Manage and Develop Tourism and Culture

Given the ways in which tourism involves building relationships between nations and the peoples and cultures of nations, together with its cross cutting nature linking the fields of culture, heritage, economy and environment, it is clearly important that its development is governed, coordinated and monitored. It is largely recognised that, to achieve its strategic aims of economic development, ecological safeguarding and social inclusion, sustainable tourism development requires some degree of integration within overall development strategies at both national and international/transnational levels. If we accept the fact that there are certain universal values and common/global objectives in cultural heritage and cultural diversity, then we are drawn to an international system of authority, operated through consensus and collaboration, which needs to advise, monitor, facilitate and, where necessary, intervene in order to protect, preserve and promote development which is sustainable.

The term governance as used here refers to the processes, policies, and stake-holders involved with the inter-related areas of tourism, culture and development. In the words of Karim and Wayland (2001): "Governance is concerned with issues as diverse as administration, law enforcement, civic engagement, citizen participation and promotion of equality". It should be clear from the outset that there is no easily identifiable and universally recognised system for the management, control and development of cultural tourism; no formal and dedicated system of governance, but very much the application of a variety of existing frameworks and emergent ideas. This is very much an evolving field and the purpose of this section is to explore some of the issues being faced in attempting to both enhance and centralise the role of tourism and culture in development whilst at the same time regulating its excesses.

## The Complexities and Challenges of Policy Making in Tourism and Culture

The fields of tourism, culture and development, if taken separately, are riven with complexity for policy makers. It is thus not so surprising that the unified idea of tourism also presents states with a series of challenges in the context of development.



Tourism is a problematic field for policy makers in that it cuts across and touches so many sectors of concern (Steck, Strasdas, Gustedt 1999). The key issues relating to tourism policy are those of: coordination between the various sectors and administrative institutions involved (such as transport, planning, health, agriculture, water, heritage, environment, immigration, public security, etc.); cooperation or harmonisation between the sectors and institutions so that common goals can be identified; and implementation, particularly where tourism is driven by a highly fragmented and/or commercially powerful private sector. Tourism policy within a democratic, broadly liberalistic framework, is generally characterised as being a mix of regulatory and market based approaches (as reflected through the GATS as part of the Uruguay Round Agreement – World Trade Organisation 1994). Thus, there is limited intervention (restrictions on visitor access to fragile sites for instance), some self-regulation and market adjustments (through pricing mechanisms for instance), but at the same time tourism development is encouraged within general planning quidelines. Establishing an effective policy framework for tourism at national level is problematic and relies on some mechanism for cooperation, even if it is one particular policy sector that takes a lead in tourism.

In the fields of tourism development and tourism management, culture has been a problematic area to deal with in policy terms. The World Commission for Environment and Development (1987), and the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (1992) were central in first recognising the inter-connectivity of the health of the environment and the wealth of culture, but within policy making relating to sustainable tourism development, the cultural dimension has tended to be secondary to attempts to solving environmental problems, better utilising natural resources and enhancing aesthetics for tourists and host communities. This is partly due to the ways in which culture and heritage have traditionally been viewed by the tourism sector; as a valueneutral (and largely inconsequential) backdrop to development, or as a tradable commodity which can be packaged for tourists, or, as something that needs to be ostensibly preserved and protected as a display of national identity, wealth and power. While the latter is a reality, and not necessarily a problem, it can obscure the wider meanings of culture as something which stands above its role as a mere resource. Relatively little attention in policy terms has been given to the ways in which cultural heritage and diversity through tourism can be used as a means for proactive development and the addressing of key agendas in poverty alleviation.

Related to this is the fact that the cultural dimension of tourism is problematic to measure. In the field of environmental policy generally, and sustainable tourism specifically, much store is now put in being able to measure and monitor degrees of change to the natural environment as indicators for sustainable development. This approach has been adopted by the World Tourism Organisation which has developed 'core indicators of sustainable tourism' designed to aid managers and decision makers involved with tourism development. However, measuring cultural change is far more problematic given the inherent subjectivities involved, the multiple agents of change involved, and the methodological problems of attempting to quantify values and behaviours.



Policies relating to culture per se are also faced with the sort of problems set out above. The World Conference on Cultural Policies held in Mexico City in 1982 set out the inclusive nature of culture as being "the whole complex of distinctive, spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs". At a glance it can be seen that such intangible, and indeed, contested elements, do not lend themselves easily to traditional modes of policy making. The Declaration emerging from the 1982 Mexico City Conference agreed that the following principles should be taken into account when developing cultural policies:

- Cultural Identity
- The Cultural Dimension of Development
- Culture and Democracy
- Cultural Heritage
- Artistic and Intellectual Creation
- The Relationship between Culture, Education, Science and Communication
- Planning, Administration and Financing of Cultural Activities
- International Cultural Cooperation

As recognised in the document in the final report of the World Commission on Culture and Development, *Our Creative Diversity* (1997), cultural policy has in effect operated at the margins of many states, partly as a consequence of measurement/data problems, partly because it deals with highly contested issues of identity, historic 'truth' and ownership, and partly because it is not seen to be about the mobilisation of culture as an economic resource.

The Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development, held in Stockholm (1998) recognised that in order for cultural policy to be brought into the heart of policy making, certain advances needed to be made. These can be broadly identified as follows:

#### A recognition of cultural pluralism

Governments need to be able to recognise the twin agendas of attempting to seek unity through cultural diversity, and moreover, be able to mobilise and manage this creative diversity. In tourism terms, the multiculturalism that is now a feature of many destinations has not yet been harnessed to provide an enriching tourist experience and also a focal point for social cohesion and celebration.

#### **Highlighting cultural rights**

Though the vast majority of states recognise the importance of human rights, cultural rights and how they relate to the well-being of society need to be further explored and recognised. Tourism development agendas are increasingly cognisant of the need to protect the environment, but more effective mechanisms are required to recognise and uphold cultural rights.



#### Mobilising cultural heritage for development

Cultural heritage has long been recognised as something which is fragile and susceptible to the pressures of modernity and globalisation. As such, the field of heritage requires interventionist policies to protect it and ensure that it is managed in a sustainable manner. This regulatory approach is very much a central theme in the policies of the majority of nation states. Less developed are policies which seek to respond to the richness and diversity of heritage, and public demand for heritage, by mobilising it as part of the development process. In the context of industrialised world, heritage has been used very successfully as a focus for economic diversification and regeneration, and tourism has played a central part. In the developing world, mobilising cultural heritage through tourism requires a policy framework which on the one hand protects and preserves the cultural heritage and on the other hand proactively uses it as a mechanism for wider economic and social development.

#### **Identifying funding**

The whole field of cultural policy is fraught with the problem of finding the finances to deal with the protection, preservation and revitalisation of cultural heritage. For many politicians the field of culture is recognised to be unproductive and a drain on resources. As such, culture, as marginal issue, has been one of the first areas to be cut when budgets are tight. Notwithstanding the intrinsic importance of cultural heritage and diversity, when employed creatively and managed effectively, culture can generate revenue and employment opportunities. In this sense tourism has a significant role to play as it directly links public demand for culture to its tangible and intangible forms.

As recognised by the Stockholm Intergovernmental Conference (1998), all of these issues require a significant degree of political will on the part of individual states and the international community. Important in securing political support however, are policy frameworks which work, and examples of best practice which can demonstrate success.

A further issue relates to the extent to which the various areas of policy are integrated with one another. Neither, tourism, nor culture can be dealt with in isolation and need to be fully integrated into wider economic, social and environmental policy frameworks at national level. However, integration itself presents a challenge to highly compartmentalised systems of policy making overlain with equally fragmented planning and legislative frameworks. Moving to an integrated approach that will favour tourism and culture requires a significant shift in the way issues of governance are addressed in both developed and developing countries, and at the transnational level. Support for a new approach to policy development in the relatively nascent field of culture is available through the International Network on Cultural Policy (INCP) which facilitates meetings of government ministers and officials responsible for cultural policy development in order that they can discuss and explore views on emerging issues relating to cultural policy and strategies to promote cultural diversity.



#### Responsibilities, Tensions and Actions

Though not explicitly identified at the Stockholm event, the above issues point to a coming together of the fields of culture and tourism at

policy level, directed to the issues and challenges of development. However, the idea of an integrative approach to development using cultural tourism is still in its infancy. There remain some key tensions relating to policy development in this emergent field.

The first is that which exists between the tourism sector and the cultural sector. The former is broadly characterised as being located chiefly in the private sector and polarised between a relatively small number of large powerful transnational companies and a vast number of highly fragmented small and medium sized enterprises. The overwhelming objectives of both groupings are clearly business oriented to make a profit, and maintain and develop their operations and customer base. The latter, on the other hand, is dominated by a number of public sector and non governmental agencies, and is focused upon the protection, promotion and enhancement of culture for the public good. The tourism sector itself does not formulate policy frameworks but rather works to its own strategies and plans designed to maximise profits. It works within the policy and legislative frameworks set at national and international levels which set the boundaries for its actions. There would seem to be a pressing need for a coming together of both sectors to ensure that regulations are developed and enforced.

A second tension is that which exists between national and international levels of policy development and implementation. Recognition of the centrality of culture, heritage and diversity in the context of tourism development and cooperation policy at international level is not always matched at the sub-regional, national or regional scales. Tourism development policies at national level (also at regional level) have generally been focused toward the maximisation of economic benefits (currency, tax revenues, employment etc.) and prestige. In the context of developed countries, where tourism may be one of a number of routes to development and growth, and cultural and natural heritage resources are generally recognised, well managed and not under threat, the need for checks and balances within the policy and planning process is less than for countries whereby such resources are amongst only a few tradable goods, and perhaps where systems of governance and frameworks of democracy are less well or inadequately developed. This raises issues of different public and administrative cultures reflected, for instance, by often quite differentiated interpretations of international normative frameworks and their implementation in national and regional contexts. Indeed, the global structural realities of tourism are very much framed by the idea of the nation state and have their roots in the modern political geographies and nation-building agendas of the late nineteenth, and the first decades of the twentieth century. Despite growing interest in the notion of regionalism whereby the region acts as the focal point for culture building and identification, it is the idea of the nation that still holds primacy in international tourism. Each nation, no matter what their position in any notional global political league table, promotes tourism as an



actual and potential source of external revenue, a marker of political status that draws upon cultural capital, and as a means to legitimise itself as a territorial entity. Thus, national governments have offices for tourism that quite willingly promote the idea of a national 'brand', to the extent that one can be forgiven for thinking that ideas of mobility, transnational flows and de-territorialisation had no currency whatsoever. International tourist exhibition stands, for instance forcefully exist as microcosms of nations, albeit with regional and sub-regional constituent parts. Tour operators act as buyers of essentially 'national' products. Developers negotiate with national government offices under national legislative frameworks. National airlines retain highly visible and symbolic meaning for both host community and tourists, and despite the presence of multi-national hotel chains, many hotel groups remain firmly structured around particular national characteristics and ideologies. Of course, a 'tourism of nations' perspective is riven with the fault lines of conflict and contestation. Nevertheless, it is a reality that maps onto westernised cognitive frameworks of cultural resemblance which have themselves been shaped by essentialising histories of the nation-state.

A third tension exists between the national level and local level. As states develop better understandings of the ways in which tourism and culture cooperate, so are they in a position to develop the specific policy frameworks required to guide and influence their development and induce benefits from them. However, it is at the local level where development is often needed most and the pressures induced by tourism development are felt most acutely. The key issue is one of implementation – how is a national policy framework, informed by international dialogue and appropriate regulation, translated to, and operationalised at, the local level?

This process of developing local action in the field of tourism and culture is highlighted as being highly desirable and yet at the same time is extremely complex, linking as it does to the specific political systems of each state. National profiles of tourism can mask various regional and local disparities in economic terms and with regard to having the appropriate structures in place for the sustainable development of tourism though the mobilisation of cultural and natural resources. For tourism to be sustainable and to be harnessed as a means of targeted development, local communities need to be closely involved in the planning process. Local communities can be viewed as the keepers and interpreters of cultural heritage, traditions and forms of knowledge, which may be used for tourism purposes. However, this assumes that local communities are empowered to do so within national and regional policy frameworks. In many lesser developed countries without well established systems of democracy and with various levels of institutionalised corruption, this is a major assumption.

Emerging out of various strategies to tackle development issues over recent years is the notion of capacity building at national, and particularly at local level. Capacity building is one of the key principles of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and refers to a number of actions that seek to develop and strengthen human resources and institutional capacities in order to implement sustainable tourism. In the aligned



field of cultural tourism too, capacity building is an important action which can effect an integrative approach and builds upon the key areas of education and inter-cultural dialogue. It is at this level where the basic resources of heritage and diversity can be built into initiatives and programmes for development that involves the local community, not only in the setting-up phase, but in being responsible for their management and development.

The conclusion of a series of briefing papers published under the title *Recognising Culture* (Matarasso, 2001) summarises the structures that are required to better integrate the cultural imperative as follows: "Culture should therefore be repositioned at the core of development strategies: programmes and projects should be defined so as to produce a genuine compatibility between the logic of institutions and that of specific societies and cultures. As such, development strategies must be adapted to the diversity and creativity of cultures, and institutions should adopt a holistic approach as well as a long-term perspective. Moreover, the top-down method of project planning and implementation should be replaced with a bottom-up approach: projects should originate from the field and spread from there towards the decision-making centres."

#### **The Gender Dimension**

Underlying the various policymaking processes relating to the

fields of tourism and culture are a number of historical biases and inequalities which require recognition and action. Whilst certainly not specific to the discourses and practices of tourism, issues such as those relating to difference, exclusion and inequity on the grounds of race, class and gender necessitate careful and reflexive navigation by policy makers so as to avoid reproducing patterns of social and economic relationships which privilege one section of society over another in the course of tourism development.

In the field of tourism, the gender issue is particularly prominent given the realities of existing high levels of female employment (Kinnaird and Hall, 1994). Data from the International Labour Organisation (2001) informs us that worldwide some 46 % of the workforce in the tourism industry are women, though this varies considerably between countries; from 2 % up to over 80 %. The tourism industry is capable of providing significant employment opportunities for women, particularly in a part-time capacity, which although allowing them flexibility, tends to be paid at a lower rate per hour, does not provide much protection from unemployment and provides limited opportunities for advancement.

The UN Environment and Development Forum (UNED Forum) Committee Report on Women's Employment and Participation in Tourism for the UN Commission on Sustainable Development (Hemmati, 1999) pointed out that although information sources are limited, it does seem that the situation in the tourism industry mirrors that of the labour markets in general. Thus there is significant horizontal and vertical gender segregation of the labour market. The report examined a range of occupations particularly



relevant in the tourism sector, and identified, for instance, that more than 90 % of people working in catering and lodging, as waitresses, bartenders, maids, babysitters, cleaners, housekeeping helpers, launderers, dry-cleaners, and the like, are women.

The 'vertical' segregation of gender in tourism also reflects the situation of the labour market as a whole with the occupations with few career development opportunities being dominated by women and key managerial positions being dominated by men. The reasons for this are complex but include the stereotyping of gender roles, the traditionalisation of gender roles linked to cultural factors, and gender identity where women are seen as being suitable for certain occupations and in turn see themselves as suitable. But the issues of tourism and gender equality go beyond mere employment extend into wider aspects such as; the representation and sexual objectification of women in the tourism sector (Morgan and Pritchard, 1988), sex tourism and HIV/AIDS (Ryan and Hall, 2001), and the gendered nature and implications of access to social and economic resources.

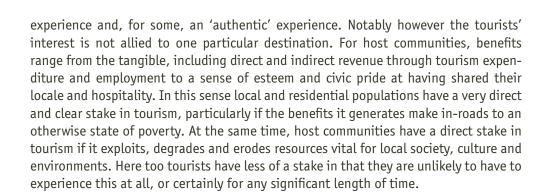
As the UNED Forum Report on Women's Employment and Participation in Tourism (Hemmati, 1999) makes clear, tourism with its flexibility and consistent growth has considerable potential for the advancement of women. This is echoed for example by the IUCN who have been proactive in making the links between the development of sustainable tourism and ecotourism and training and education programmes for women to facilitate women's empowerment (Vargas and Aguilar, 2005).

The UNED Forum Report also emphasizes the need for such issues to become grounded in policy and collaboration: "The tourism sector definitely provides various entry points for women's employment and opportunities for creating self-employment in small and medium sized income generating activities, thus creating paths towards the elimination of poverty of women and local communities in developing countries. However, there are a number of conditions under which this potential can be used more effectively. This requires collaboration of all stakeholders – governments and intergovernmental bodies, local government, industry, trade unions, local communities and their different member groups, NGOs, community based tourism initiatives, etc. Increasing the use of tourism's potential whilst safeguarding the natural environment and cultural heritage and increasing social and economic justice should be the goal of further tourism development."

### Stakeholders and Collaboration

The range of stakeholders involved in the areas of tourism, culture and development is vast, cutting as they do, across various interrelated policy domains. Theoretically each

tourist and each member of the host community has a stake in the type and quality of tourism practiced, its future development and the benefits that accrue from it. For tourists, benefits are largely intangible and linked to having a positive re-creative



At the institutional level stakeholders relating to the fields of tourism and culture can be broadly categorised into four groups. These respectively reflect core interests in the four fields of tourism, development, environment and culture. It is important to acknowledge that while there is increasingly significant overlap of interests between these groupings, there are also clear lines of demarcation of interests which can result in direct conflict. Stakeholders are situated within the private and public sectors though it is also important to consider the role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) at national and international level, as well as various research institutes and university networks. In addition, these four areas are also shaped by a number of intergovernmental organisations (IGOs).

Amongst this grouping of four, tourism stakeholders are predominantly located in the private sector and cover both national and inter/multinational remits ranging from hotel and leisure developers to family run souvenir shops. Within the domain of the public sector in a national context stakeholders would include not only the relevant government departments involved with the development and marketing of tourism, but also those relating to transport, planning and culture, etc. At international level a key IGO stakeholder is the World Tourism Organisation, which as a specialised agency of the United Nations, acts as a global forum for tourism policy issues and seeks to develop tourism as a means of "economic development, international understanding, peace, prosperity and universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms" (WTO, 2005).

Within the other groupings of development, environment and culture, the range of private sector stakeholders is much more limited, though clearly there are private companies and organisations (fishing, agriculture, water supply, construction and mining companies for example) whose interests impinge directly upon these sectors. At the same time NGOs and IGOs have significant roles, particularly the latter given the transboundary nature of, and global interests in, issues such as world poverty, desertification and cultural and linguistic diversity, etc. The United Nations grouping of IGOs are particularly important stakeholders precisely because of their global remit, democratic functioning and independence. In addition to UNESCO, and its advisory bodies the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the International Centre for

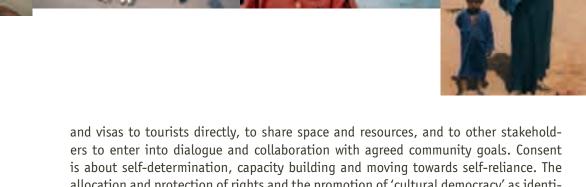


the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, (ICCROM), and the World Conservation Union (IUCN), together with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), and the World Health Organization (WHO).

Given the interconnectivities within and between these fields, and such a diverse and dynamic set of stakeholders involved at different levels, the mechanism of collaboration is widely recognised as being a way of operationalising the principles of sustainability and the imperatives of development. Collaboration as a process of joint decision making between stakeholders is a means not only of achieving consensus for action, but is also a way of amassing intellectual capital and other resources to focus on problems and issues. It is a way of bringing together different but complementary areas of activity and interest in order to generate a more holistic and integrative approach to solving problems. In the context of development generally, and tourism development specifically, collaboration has taken many forms, but has on occasions tended to focus upon gaining community acceptance to decisions already taken and for developers and planners the consultative process becomes an outcome in itself. Furthermore, at the level of rhetoric the idea of collaboration implies a level of equality amongst the stakeholders which in reality seldom exists and is more likely to involve some form of unequal relationship and strategic lobbying reflecting wider political and ideological agendas.

Inequalities between stakeholders in tourism development are often substantial and the interest groups that drive tourism development and its utilisation of cultural and natural capital are largely initiated by powerful and vociferous commercial and geopolitical concerns which have the ability to set the direction and terms of reference of collaboration. The inequalities relating to access to resources and political power are embedded within tourism and tend to exhibit themselves most visibly in instances of extremes; between developed and developing economies, rich and poor, urban and rural settings, and indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, reflecting a general global imbalance observed at different global, sub regional, national, and local levels, and the structural dependency of the developing nations upon the developed. Also important here in the context of collaboration is the notion of cultural rights, their allocation and the subsequent respect for those rights that are necessary for communities to participate in decisions that can have far reaching impacts on the long term future of cultural heritage and diversity. Armed with land, resource and intellectual property rights, communities and cultures are able not only to influence the direction and pace of tourism developments, but they can also provide or withhold consent for tourism development (or at least its most destructive forms) a priori.

The term consent here refers to the legal and moral ownership of resources (cultural, natural, tangible and intangible) that could be used or mobilised for tourism purposes. It refers to the right to determine one's past, present and future and to a willingness to transfer this ownership to others based upon consensus, which may not mean unanimity, but is representative of different values. It relates to the granting of permission



and visas to tourists directly, to share space and resources, and to other stakeholders to enter into dialogue and collaboration with agreed community goals. Consent is about self-determination, capacity building and moving towards self-reliance. The allocation and protection of rights and the promotion of 'cultural democracy' as identified in by the World Commission on Culture and Development (1995) is an important component of collaboration and requires independent IGO stakeholders who are able to give a voice to the best interests of humanity in cultural and environmental ways as well as in economic terms.



## Section 3

Making Links –
Developing Action:
UNESCO's Actions
in the Field of
Tourism, Culture,
and Development



The aim of UNESCO's tourism, culture and development agenda is to contribute to the creation of a discerning type of tourism that recognises the principles of cultural diversity, the preservation of fragile, cultural and natural resources, their mobilisation for sustainable development and poverty alleviation, and the expression of socially differentiated cultural identities. This aim is underscored by the founding principles of UNESCO which highlight that: "the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern" (UNESCO Charter, 1945).

UNESCO promotes the principles enshrined in the Conventions, Declarations, Charters and Codes adopted by agencies of the United Nations that relate to tourism (for example; the principles of the *Global Code of Ethics for Tourism* elaborated by the World Tourism Organisation in 2001). Effectively such texts provide a referential framework for UNESCO's work in the field of tourism and culture, providing a wider policy context and shaping the direction of specific actions. For instance, UNESCO's approach to tourism development is framed by the United Nation's aim to eradicate poverty as defined by in the *Millennium Declaration* (UN 2000).

Tourism in particular is a tangible way to make intercultural dialogue happen; as a way to create spaces in which different people interact, in which they make themselves visible and accessible to the 'other' (van den Berghe 1980). Various forms of tangible and intangible heritage resources are mobilised to facilitate intercultural dialogue and exchange, and to create feelings of belonging to a common humanity. In this sense, tourism is one of the many ways to experience cultural diversity with the potential to create understandings of cultural difference and the unity of the human condition. Furthermore, it allows the preservation of forgotten or threatened heritage resources, and the mobilisation of these can generate economic wealth and feelings of collective identity. At the same time, without good management, poorly planned tourism can lead to environmental degradation, the destruction of heritage resources, social alienation and the naturalisation of cultural stereotypes (UNESCO 2000b). Overcrowded sites, exploitive or arrogant tourism behaviour, hegemonic attitudes of some tour operators, and the poor awareness by local populations of ecosystems and the touristic value of heritage resources, can all have effects contrary to the aims of UNESCO's agendas and principles.

To translate its aims into actions, UNESCO is taking a leading role as coordinator, collaborator and initiator of the policy and planning frameworks needed in order to prepare the ground for progressive international, regional and local strategies. It is UNESCO's intention to assist the 191 Member States in preparing appropriate policies whilst constantly assessing the dynamic relationships between tourism and cultural diversity, tourism and intercultural dialogue, and tourism and development. UNESCO aims to achieve its objectives by working in partnership with other United Nations programmes such as UNDP, UNEP, and the WTO. Furthermore, it closely collaborates with



the public sector, the private sector and non-governmental organisations. In the wider field of tourism, UNESCO's actions are directed towards a set of interconnected themes including normative actions, the preservation and mobilisation of cultural resources, economic empowerment and poverty alleviation, the promotion of intercultural dialogue and peace, and education for sustainable development. The purpose of this third section is to elaborate and illustrate the range and diversity of practical actions being developed to tackle these themes.

#### **Normative Action**

As a United Nations organisation, UNESCO is the only international platform to elaborate normative action in the fields of culture, education and science. Legal instruments have usually enabled States to better protect forms of tangible or intangible cultural resources and UNESCO presents these instruments in the form of declarations, recommendations and conventions adopted by its Member States. The operational principles of these legal instruments define different levels of obligation. A UNESCO declaration is a purely moral or political commitment, linking states on the basis of good faith, whereas a recommendation, addressed to one or more States, is intended to invite them to adopt a particular approach or to act in a given manner in a specific cultural sphere. In principle, a recommendation is not binding on Member States. A UNESCO convention, synonymous with treaty, refers to any accord ratified by at least thirty of its member States. Such an accord implies the joint will of the parties upon whom the convention imposes binding legal commitments.

The aim here is to introduce the contexts and objectives of a series of normative actions relevant to the field of tourism, culture, and development. These include the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (1972), the *Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage* (2001); the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (2001), the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003). Furthermore, UNESCO actively contributed to the working of the World Commission on Environment and Development and the World Commission on Culture and Development. This contribution has had a major impact on a series of ideas, declarations and recommendations synthesised in the *Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development* (2002).

For further information, go to www.unesco.org (follow 'Legal Instruments' link)







## UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972)

The creation of new, independent states during the second half of the twentieth century presented a series of challenges to the ways in which heritage sites, archaeological excavations, museums and natural sites were selected, managed and made accessible. In many cases the usually costly, and technically often difficult, protection of such sites was logistically and financially unfeasible for the new governments, too occupied to manage rapidly changing social and economic conditions within their own societies. In this context UNESCO pushed forward the creation of an international legal framework for the protection of outstanding cultural and natural heritage sites. Following a series of declarations and recommendations elaborated during the 1950s and 1960s<sup>(1)</sup>, the general conference of the UNESCO meeting in Paris, France in 1972 adopted the first legally binding *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*.

The aim of this convention was to encourage the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered to be of 'outstanding' value to humanity. 'Outstanding' was considered here from historical, artistic, aesthetic, scientific, ethnological or anthropological points of view for 'cultural heritage' (Article 1) and from those of aesthetics, science, conservation or natural beauty for 'natural heritage' (Article 2). While initially separating heritage into 'cultural' and 'natural', the World Heritage Committee in 1992 decided to recognise 'cultural landscapes' as a new category of site within the Convention's Operational Guidelines. This was to allow the consideration of the quality of a natural space through the outstanding cultural, historic or artistic value of its human inscription (Fowler, 2003).

The preamble of the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* clarifies: "...that, in view of the magnitude and gravity of the new dangers threatening them, it is incumbent on the international community as a whole to participate in the protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value, by the granting of collective assistance which, although not taking the place of action by the State concerned, will serve as an efficient complement thereto."

By stressing that "it is for each State Party to this Convention to identify and delineate the different properties situated on its territory mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 above", Article 3 of the convention re-emphasises the philosophy of international collaboration and dialogue as a leading principle of this normative action.

<sup>(1)</sup> UNESCO (1956) Recommendation on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavation; UNESCO (1962) Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding of the Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites; UNESCO (1968a) Recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works; UNESCO (1968b) Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage.



In light of this philosophy, as part of this *Convention*, a UNESCO World Heritage Centre (WHC) was created to provide an effective system to put the stipulated principles and aims into action. Based at UNESCO headquarters in Paris, the WHC in collaboration with ICOMOS and ICCROM, manages the World Heritage List of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites and the associated World Heritage Fund. It also manages the List of World Heritage in Danger.

For more information, go to whc.unesco.org or whc.unesco.org/opgutoc.htm (Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention)

#### UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001)

During the 1990s, UNESCO Member States expressed increasing concerns about risks of cultural homogenisation as a consequence of the acceleration of globalisation and the perceived

hegemony of particular cultural models. At the same time, concerns were raised in relation to the stigmatisation of particular 'cultures' or 'civilisations' within the post cold war context and the hypothesis that these 'cultures' or 'civilisations' would ultimately clash (Huntington 1998). To respond to these concerns, UNESCO elaborated the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity in 2001 (Stenou 2000, 2002), very shortly after the events of September 11th. In the words of the Director-General of UNESCO, Koïchiro Matsuura, this was "an opportunity for States to reaffirm their conviction that intercultural dialogue is the best guarantee of peace and to reject outright the theory of the inevitable clash of cultures and civilizations". This declaration is line with a series of previous UNESCO declarations and conventions<sup>(2)</sup> and the conclusions of the World Conference on Cultural Policies (1982), the World Commission on Culture and Development (Our Creative Diversity, 1997), and the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development (Stockholm, 1998). As Director-General of UNESCO, Koïchiro Matsuura puts it: "The Declaration aims both to preserve cultural diversity as a living, and thus renewable treasure that must not be perceived as being unchanging heritage but as a process guaranteeing the survival of humanity: and to prevent segregation and fundamentalism which, in the name of cultural differences, would sanctify those differences and so counter the message of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*."

One of the central ideas of the Declaration on Cultural Diversity is to translate the paradigm of biodiversity into the context of human society. Accordingly, Article 1 stipulates that, "as a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature". Within this framework, the idea of a

<sup>(2)</sup> Among which, in particular, the Florence Agreement (UNESCO 1950) and its Nairobi Protocol (UNESCO 1976a), the Universal Copyright Convention (UNESCO 1952), the Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Cooperation (UNESCO 1966), the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (UNESCO 1970), the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO 1972), the Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas (UNESCO 1976), the Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice (UNESCO 1978), the Recommendation concerning the Status of the Artist (UNESCO 1980), and the Recommendation on Safeguarding Traditional Culture and Folklore (UNESCO 1989).



'clash of cultures', or 'civilisations' (Huntington 1998), is opposed by the concept of intercultural dialogue, which is thought of as the only means to achieve peaceful relationships among the peoples of the world.

With regard to previous UNESCO normative actions concerning culture and cultural resources, in particular the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, the 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity innovates UNESCO's approach to 'culture', 'cultural diversity' and 'cultural creativity'. In this context, culture and cultural diversity are not seen, through historic materialisations and relics, as mere commodities or consumer goods to be exchanged and purchased. To the contrary, cultural diversity is seen as a creative and adaptive process rooted in the plurality of cultural traditions within each society. In this sense, the 2001 declaration aims to create conditions allowing creation to "flourish in contact with other cultures" (Article 7). It stipulates that such conditions are guaranteed through legal frameworks like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and through the implementation of new types of international partnerships. UNESCO plays a lead role in the implementation of the principles of this declaration and the action plan it contained (Winkin 2002). For further information, go to www.unesco.org (follow 'Legal Instruments' link)

## Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development (2002)

While UNESCO has pushed forward a number of multilateral normative actions and instruments relevant to the wider field of tourism, culture and development, it has also contributed to major equally relevant frameworks developed by other United Nations organisations. One important case here is the contribution to the 2002 *Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development* and its attached *Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development (Rio+10)* (UN 2002a, 2002b).

Reaffirming the need to respond to the problem of environmental deterioration agreed during the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (1972) in Stockholm and the principles defined by the *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development* and its attached global programme entitled *Agenda 21* (UN Conference on Environment and Development 1992) in 1992, the *Johannesburg Declaration* re-emphasises sustainable development as a guiding principle for human development and poverty eradication. It focuses in particular on the progress made in rethinking development in terms of the interdependent and mutually reinforcing principles of sustainable development – economic development, social development and environmental protection – at local, national, regional and global levels.



At the same time, it stresses that the implementation of these principles is seriously threatened by the unequal distribution of wealth at the local, national, regional and global level. In line with the Final Report of the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development (1998) held in Stockholm, the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001c), the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage (2001a) and the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), it relates this situation to unequal conditions of accessibility to, and ownership of, tangible and intangible, movable and immovable, natural and cultural resources. To enable and reinforce policy and practice to safeguard and enhance, but also to recreate such resources for future generations and, in line with the Millennium Declaration (UN 2000) by the Secretary General of the United Nations<sup>(3)</sup>, to make poverty eradication a priority, the Johannesburg Declaration re-emphasises the central role of culture and carefully planned cultural policy in development strategy.

For further information, go to www.un.org/esa/sustdev/ and www.johannesburgsummit.org

## UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)

With its new approach considering culture as a dynamic and creative process rather than a solid 'building', expressed in particular by the 2001 *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* and the *Istanbul Declaration* of 2002 adopted by the Third Round Table of Ministers of Culture, concerns were brought forward by Member States regarding the threat not only to tangible cultural and natural heritage, but also to intangible cultural heritage. It was recognised that the processes of globalisation and social transformation, alongside the conditions they create for renewed dialogue amongst communities, also gave rise to grave threats of deterioration, disappearance and destruction of the intangible cultural heritage. These threats were linked in particular to a lack of resources for safeguarding such heritage in many countries, especially those of the developing world.

In order to establish an international framework for the protection and preservation of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity, the General Conference of the UNESCO in 2003 adopted the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Intangible cultural heritage is defined here as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (Article 2). Based on a series of former declarations and human rights instruments<sup>(4)</sup>, and the *UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore* of 1989, this convention is the first

<sup>(3)</sup> Resolution A RES 55/2 adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 8 September 2000.

<sup>(4)</sup> In particular the *Universal Declaration on Human Rights* (UN 1948), the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (UN 1966), and the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (UN 1966).



binding multilateral instrument to recognise and protect forms and expressions of living culture as a resource and to empower communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals to mobilise and recreate these resources, thus helping to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity.

The emphasis on a dynamic approach to culture and the importance of education manifests a shift away from the more static and conservationist approach underpinning the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. This is exemplified in particular to a new approach to 'safequarding', defined here as the "measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and informal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage".

For further information, go to www.unesco.org (follow 'Legal Instruments' link)

### Preservation and Mobilisation of **Cultural Resources**

In line with the principles and the philosophy of normative actions and frameworks elaborated by UNESCO, the organisation takes an increasingly active part in collaborating in, and leading, particular pilot projects and initiatives. Indeed, many of the normative instruments are new and need to be assessed and tested, or need to be adapted to fast moving social and economic realities in order to generate sets of best practice models. Through its institutional and practical expertise, different UNESCO departments contribute to the implementation of these normative actions. To exemplify the aims and procedures of such involvements within the fields of tourism, culture and development, a number of illustrative cases relating to the preservation and mobilisation of cultural resources are presented here.



# "Jesus Christ Route" - A Cultural Tourism Itinerary in the Palestinian Territories

In 2005, UNESCO through its office in Ramallah in the Palestinian Territories, and in close collaboration with relevant Palestinian Ministries, initiated the flagship project 'Cultural Itinerary – Jesus Christ Route'. The aim of this integrated project was to mobilise a selec-

tion of cultural, religious and natural heritage resources (tangible and intangible) in the area to create internationally marketed and high quality tourism products. In line with the United Nations *Millennium Declaration* (2000), this was not only to promote and preserve both tangible and intangible heritage resources along the "Jesus Christ Route", but also to create conditions for the improvement of local capacities and knowledge, local economic contexts and infrastructures, local democratic governance and multi-sector cooperation, and the cultural creativity and self-esteem of the local populations. The project is creating job opportunities and revenue for scientists, technicians and skilled and semi skilled labour in the fields of architecture, archaeology, conservation, transportation, communication, tourist related activities (guides, bed and breakfast and restaurant managers), and in other sectors such as handicrafts, museums and agriculture.

The overarching philosophy underlying this and similar 'routes' projects initiated and implemented by UNESCO, is to use the rich and diverse assets of an area as a matrix for the global development of a wider territory and its diverse economic sectors. While considerations of economic viability and sustainability are clear concerns underlying these projects, UNESCO equally sees here opportunities to create conditions for interreligious and intercultural dialogue and peace. To achieve this, the organisation works closely together with concerned governments, other UN organisations and NGOs, in order to carefully elaborate locally contextualised development strategies which integrate the various needs and aims of different economic and political institutions, communities, groups and actors. This is illustrated in particular by the "Jesus Christ Route" project in which different Palestinian Ministries and the 'AD hoc' working group were collaborating in the different research, planning, training and action phases.

## Developing a Handicraft Route for Central America (Masaya, Nicaragua)

From 2004, UNESCO, through its Central America office in San José, Costa Rica, has been actively involved in the development of a touristic handicraft route in the region of Masaya, Nicaragua. This pilot project came to life in recognition of the potentials of local craft traditions for the development of sustainable tourism economies, in particular for small and medium sized local enterprises, and the alleviation of poverty in



Central America. What is more, and beyond economic considerations, this project was to exemplify how conditions can be created enabling sub-regional collaboration and dialogue, in particular through the combined efforts to preserve a shared natural and cultural heritage, and hence to contribute to peace.

To put this pilot project into action, UNESCO has closely collaborated with the National UNESCO Commission of Nicaragua, the Nicaragua Tourism Institute and the French Cultural and Cooperation Centre in Central America. To allow the integration of cultural preservation interests, community empowerment aims and economic development strategies, other national, regional and local institutions, tourism businesses and NGOs have also been involved. The project was initiated by a series of stakeholder meetings defining objectives, conditions and actions appropriate to the project aims. These included the creation of synergies between private and public sectors, the mapping of the route and principles underlying its sustainability, and the transfer of knowledge between tourism professionals and local communities enabling the latter to access the commercial circuits of the tourism industry.

## Raising Awareness about the Fragility of Heritage Sites

The conservation of heritage sites around the world is often challenged by acts of vandalism and destruction. These may, in certain cases, be politically motivated taking a form of protest directed at

heritage sites which are seen as metaphors for modernity and external control over local resources<sup>(5)</sup>. In other cases, they may include the often innocent collecting or acquiring of souvenirs by tourists. While the singular collecting of stones or plants, or the touching of a statue or removing of a piece of mosaic may not have a significant effect on a site as a whole, it implies often dramatic consequences when done by very large numbers of people.

In order to raise awareness among tourists about the fragility of heritage sites and the enormous costs involved in their preservation and maintenance, UNESCO collaborated in an experimental project lead by the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM). The idea was that if tourists are better informed about the fragility of heritage sites, they will assume more responsibility for their actions. To address this problem, an initial pilot study was carried out in 2002 focusing on the role of tourist guidebooks in raising visitors' awareness and, in particular, the quality of information concerning the cultural heritage they included. The results of the study, based on a sample of popular guidebooks, showed that, while all guidebooks were rich in cultural information and historical/artistic descriptions, no specific message about the fragility of cultural heritage and the need for respect was included.



Bearing in mind the results of this study and the great educational potential of guidebooks, ICCROM, under the auspices of UNESCO invited selected guidebook editors, heritage conservation professionals and representatives of UNESCO, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), and the International Council on Museums (ICOM) to a joint meeting in Rome, Italy in 2003. The aim of this meeting was to examine the possibility of introducing conservation issues into guidebooks. As a result, major guidebook editing houses including Lonely Planet, Touring Club and Michelin accepted to incorporate a message raising awareness about conservation issues in their new guidebook editions. The success of this experimental pilot initiative led to a broader approach of other target groups such as associations of tour operators, national tourism boards, airline companies, and tourism fairs with the objective of spreading the message about the fragility of our heritage to a global audience.

For further information, go to www.iccrom.org, www.icom.museum and www.icomos.org

## Reconnecting to the Spirit of the Islamic Desert City in Mauritania

Ouadane, Chinguetti, Tichitt, and Oualata are four desert cities in Mauritania included on the list of World Heritage Sites since 1996 (Sidorenko-Dulom 2003). Built in rich oasis and constructed around wells, these cities have been important nodes of exchange between nomads and sedentary populations since the middle ages. Situated at the crossroads of the trans-Saharan salt, gold and slave routes, they saw their golden age in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Through the cohabitation of different nomadic and sedentary populations and the symbiosis of moral and material existence which developed in this context, these cities created a particular 'spirit of the place' based on different forms of cooperation. This 'spirit' is embodied, in particular, in the architecture and the quarters of these cities manifesting the presence and interactions of a large variety of tribal groups and communities.

In the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the social and economic conditions underlying life in these cities were challenged by the effects of important structural changes in Mauritania. New economic and social poles appeared along the country's coasts leading to a demographic exodus of the desert cities. This exodus was further amplified by an important phenomenon of sedentarisation of nomadic populations and a series of droughts. In this context, Mauritania's government initiated a programme of reforms including an agenda to alleviate poverty. One of the aims here was to stop the exodus of populations in desert sites by providing new economic and social perspectives.

In 2002, as part of a multilateral programme for the safeguard and development of world heritage cities in Mauritania, UNESCO, the Mauritanian government and the World Bank, signed a convention in order to carry out a pilot project regarding the sustainable redevelopment of the historic centres of Ouadane, Chinguetti, Tichitt, and



Oualata. The aim of this project was to shape a strategy to halt the exodus and the subsequent abandonment of these historic centres. This strategy provided a framework for the rehabilitation of the historic centres of these towns and lead to the sustainable socio-economic development of local communities. In order to allow the renaissance of the spirit of these cities, a series of workshops were organised to familiarise populations and political and technical stakeholders with the values of architectural heritage preservation and to identify financial resources for the architectural rehabilitation of these places. Tourism in a wider sense, as a modern form of 'nomadism' was considered as one of the sources to revitalise traditional crafts and professions, to create new activities, and to improve visitor housing and reception areas.

## **Education for Lasting Tourism: Preserving the Khmer Smile at Angkor**

Today some 36 % of the Cambodian population live below the poverty line. At the same time, the country hosts one of the most visited tourist sites in South-East Asia; the remains

of the different capitals of the Khmer Empire (9th-15th century). Considered as one of the most important archaeological sites in South-East Asia, Angkor was partly made accessible through a UNESCO initiative in 1992 when the Angkor Archaeological Park was put on the World Heritage List. Ten years after the 'Save Angkor' appeal and the setting up of a wide-ranging programme to safeguard this site and its surroundings, a new appeal is now being made to promote the active participation of the populations in the tourism development programme. Under the slogan 'Preserving the Khmer Smile', this appeal aims to integrate the safeguarding of the sites with an efficient management of tourism flows and the facilitation of access for small businesses to commercial tourism networks. It is expected that this appeal will support the alleviation of poverty and improve the nutritional, educational and health condition of the population.

To put this programme into practice, in 2003, UNESCO together with the Cambodian Authority for the Protection and Management of Angkor (APSARA) and the French non-governmental organisation AIDETOUS organised a seminar for the training of educators in order to support sustainable tourism development in Angkor. This seminar resulted in the initiation of a training programme teaching young Cambodians to create awareness about sustainable and ethical tourism among tourist professionals, tourists and villagers. It is expected that this initial project will lead to the training of more educators, with a special focus on the participation of women and the creation of employment and small business opportunities. Furthermore, it is expected that the success of this appeal will raise awareness of sustainable tourism issues among administrators of villages, districts and pagodas and primary school teachers. This ultimately is to allow the population to reconnect to the history of the stones and empower them to tell their own stories.

For further information, go to www.unesco.org, www.aidetous.org or www.autoriteapsara.org



## Tourism, Culture and Development in West Africa

At the turn of the 21st century, Africa drew less than one out of twenty international tourists worldwide (4.5 % in 2005). Furthermore, the structure of the African inbound market is unequally balanced, with a significant concentration of international tour-

ist arrivals in the northern and southern sub-regions. In this context, recognising the potential of tourism to contribute to the principles of sustainable development, UNESCO on the initiative of the Permanent Delegation of Senegal instigated a pilot project to study tourism potentials and obstacles it faces at national and sub-regional level in West-Africa.

In line with the New Partnership for *Africa's Development Strategic Framework* (African Union – NEPAD 2001)<sup>(6)</sup>, the philosophy of this project was that the challenges of development in Africa could only be faced through an integrated approach to the eradication of poverty based both on human capacity-building, the construction and consolidation of peace, access to information and communications technology, and reinforcement of regional cooperation. In a sub-regional context, deeply affected by the acceleration of globalisation processes, resulting in new forms of economic concentration and mobility, and challenges to national and sub-regional cultural identities, the project focused in particular on strategies allowing the preservation and recreation of tangible resources, the equitable and respectful integration of populations in the dynamic processes of tourism and the preservation of community spirits.

The National Commissions of six countries – Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ghana, Mali, Niger, and Senegal – participated in this project. A series of case studies based on the same research design were carried out in each country (cf. Komla & Veirier 2004). The objectives of these studies were (a) to analyse interactions between culture, tourism and development on a sub-regional level; (b) to identify transversal institutional strategies and intersectoral synergies in order to boost the quality and competitiveness of cultural tourism; (c) to raise awareness about cultural tourism among political and technical decision-makers; and (d) to implement new projects in partnership with UN agencies, cooperation agencies, Member States and the public and private sector. This approach produced a set of highly significant outputs, which are to directly inform political decision making processes at the national and sub-regional level of the participating countries. At the same time, this approach represents a model to be adopted by and adapted to other areas in the world.

For further information, go to www.dakar.unesco.org

<sup>(6)</sup> The NEPAD strategic framework document arises from a mandate given to the five initiating Heads of State (Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa) by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to develop an integrated socio-economic development framework for Africa. The 37th Summit of the OAU in July 2001 formally adopted the strategic framework document.



## **Economic Empowerment** and Poverty Alleviation

In order to achieve the aim of poverty alleviation fixed by the *Millennium Declaration* of the United Nations (2000), UNESCO is actively involved in a large number of projects working towards the economic and social empowerment of residential populations. The contexts of these projects vary from case to case, although they often share particular types of crises. These usually are the result of structural changes at national, sub-regional and international levels which appeared in the contexts of decolonisation, the end of the cold war and the recent acceleration of globalisation. In these contexts, important economic and demographic shifts observed almost everywhere in the world induced serious threats to the preservation and recreation of both tangible and intangible natural and cultural heritage resources. These were amplified in many developing countries by situations of extreme poverty; situations in which short-term social and economic survival often took precedent over the protection of heritage resources (International Organisation for Migration 2005). This section illustrates UNESCO's involvement with projects which focus on the economic empowerment of residential populations.

# The Sahara of Cultures and People: Towards a Sustainable Tourism Development Strategy

The intersectoral project "The Sahara of Cultures and People: Towards a Strategy for the Sustainable Development of Tourism in the Sahara, in the Context of Combating Poverty" is part of a UNESCO Action Plan composed of several projects developed in the

context of the cross cutting theme 'Eradication of Poverty' authorised by the General Conference of the UNESCO at its 31<sup>st</sup> session in November 2001. This Action Plan has been set up following the appeal launched by the United Nations *Millennium Declaration* (UN 2000) inviting all specialised agencies to contribute, on a priority basis, to the eradication of poverty. The development of this Action Plan and the choice of the participating projects were based on concerns related to the effects of accelerated globalisation and resulting structural changes at national and sub-regional levels.

In the particular context of the Sahara, these concerns are related to the scarcity and over-exploitation of natural resources (most notably water – see UN 1994), resulting in threats to the fragile oasis ecosystems and the semi-nomadic life of the desert populations. To respond to these concerns, this project aims at helping Member States that







have the Sahara in common and the different tourism actors working in the Sahara, to implement a strategy of cooperation based on the promotion of sustainable tourism (Boumedine & Veirier 2003). Involving the Saharan States of Algeria, Chad, Egypt, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Sudan, and Tunisia, this project elaborates a common strategy addressing issues of tourism related employment, capacity building, products, environmental protection and heritage preservation, with a view to creating conditions for a sustainable development and the alleviation of poverty.

Outputs of these projects include a set of recommendations, principles and actions to be put in practice at the national and sub-regional levels of the participating States. In particular these concern the elaboration of cultural policy instruments and frameworks using tourism as a tool for the economic empowerment of populations, the effective preservation of natural and cultural resources and the promotion of peace and intercultural dialogue.

For more information, go to www.unesco.org (Follow 'Culture' and 'Cultural Tourism' links)

## Forging Innovative and Interdisciplinary Approaches in the Aral Sea Basin

The creation of conditions for sustainable development in the wider field of tourism, culture and development needs

to take into account various related disciplinary approaches. In response UNESCO has been involved in a number of interdisciplinary, practice-led projects addressing issues of poverty within contexts of wider structural change and crisis. This involvement is illustrated, for instance, through the cross-cutting theme project "Forging Innovative and Interdisciplinary Approaches in the Aral Sea Basin Project", in which UNESCO collaborated with the German Centre for Development Research and the governments, regional political stakeholders and academic communities of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan.

The context for this project was the dramatic ecological, economic and social problems of the Aral Sea Basin caused by soil salinisation and chemical pollution by fertilisers and pesticides. These problems were manifested in particular by chronic health problems, high unemployment, and emigration and were a direct consequence of excessive irrigation and over-reliance on cotton monoculture developed during Soviet times which required large amounts of river water to be withdrawn from the main tributaries of the Aral Sea.

The aim of UNESCO's involvement in this project was to collaborate in the conception and implementation of appropriate regional development concepts based on sustainable and efficient land and water use. The project sought to generate employment and local income to help reduce poverty, through the protection, promotion and sustainable and sustainable are concepts in the concepts based on sustainable are concepts.



able development of natural and cultural heritage resources and the development of sustainable economic activities within the tourism sector. As a result of this multilateral collaboration, a number of projects around the discovery of the ancient Khorezmian civilization have been developed. These included the setting up of tourism itineraries, the creation and economic integration of small scale forms of tourism accommodation and 'yurt camps', the production and sale of handicrafts, the development of guide books, and the training of tourism professionals. The interdisciplinary and the integrative approach of this project acted to incorporate the newly created tourism activities in the wider development strategy of the area. The project actively promoted watersaving technologies and alternative cash crops such as natural dyes, medicinal plants and vegetables and fruit which supplies the hotels and restaurants of the area as well as nourish the resident populations.

For more information, go to www.unesco.org (Follow 'Culture' and 'Cultural Tourism' links) or www.zef.de

## **Towards a Baltic Cultural Tourism Policy**

Since independence of the Baltic countries of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania in 1991, the tourism sectors in

these countries have undergone vital structural transformations. These became necessary in face of the economic and political reorganisation in the Baltic sea region and particularly the opening to new tourism markets. In order to make the Baltic tourism industry economically, socially and culturally sustainable and to preserve and enhance cultural heritage resources in the area, UNESCO in collaboration with the national commissions of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania has played a key role in the elaboration and formulation of the *Baltic Cultural Tourism Policy Paper*. In line with the United Nations *Millennium Declaration* (UN 2000), this strategy document aims to create high quality and viable cultural tourism services targeting both domestic and international audiences, in order to support democratisation processes, pluralism, intercultural dialogue, the alleviation of poverty and peaceful relations within the wider sub-region.

The project was underpinned by a series of objectives. These were related in particular to the integration of the aims and interests of the tourism industry, of public policy makers and of heritage preservation institutions within the area. The philosophy of the project reaffirmed UNESCO's approach to situate culture and cultural practices at the heart of economic and social development action. By contributing to the strengthening of the links between culture and development through tourism, this project was also coherent with the Plan of Action adopted at the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development (1998).

The final policy paper was elaborated through processes of public discussion in the three Baltic countries and the establishment of interdisciplinary working groups including representatives from the tourism, culture and policy sectors both at the national and



pan-Baltic level. The work of these groups led to the organisation of a Baltic Cultural Tourism Conference in Tallinn in May 2003, in which a draft policy paper was presented and discussed. Besides the relevant national state authorities, public institutions, NGOs and private sector organisations, all international organisations concerned – UNESCO, Word Tourism Organisation, BTC, European Union, Council of Europe, ICOMOS, ICOM, the Nordic Council of Ministers – were represented.

For further information, download the *Baltic Cultural Tourism Policy Paper* (UNESCO 2003d) at www.unesco.org (follow the 'Culture' link)

# Indigenous Resource Management Systems and Local Effort in Asia and the Pacific (LEAP)

UNESCO has long recognised the need for local community involvement in the conservation of cultural and natural heritage sites. This ethic is central to the LEAP programme, which is a regional initiative to foster local community stew-

ardship over the vast and varied heritage resources of Asia and the Pacific. In line with UNESCO's commitment to promote sustainable development and create conditions for the economic empowerment of populations and the alleviation of poverty, the LEAP programme aims to encourage local community action for heritage conservation within existing legal frameworks and under the supervision of conservation professionals. LEAP project activities aspire to assist people living within or near heritage sites to take a leading role in site management and preventive conservation, as well as site interpretation for visitors, thus providing residential communities the opportunity to benefit both economically and socially from the conservation of heritage resources. The LEAP programme strategy hence aims to promote active community participation in the development and management of local economies, grounded in local culture, history and environment.

The LEAP programme strategy was initially conceptualised in Asia and the Pacific Region, where most heritage sites and cultural landscapes are inhabited by indigenous peoples. In these areas, locally contextualised cultural and environmental resource management systems had often proven more efficient and sustainable than those imported from countries with different management traditions. UNESCO initiated pilot projects to promote development strategies based on, and integrated with, the cultural practices and values underlying these 'local' management systems. The LEAP programme strategy is implemented through in different consecutive phases. The first approach was to organise a series of participatory activities in order to mobilise local interest groups to assess the nature, characteristics and economic potential of cultural and natural resources. The second is to develop these resources in ways that are both profitable and sustainable, hence contributing to the wider aims of poverty alleviation, economic empowerment and capacity building. LEAP activities in pilot demonstration



sites have evolved into a strategic ten-step sequence, which when followed, gradually leads to community participation and competence in the maintenance, management and development of heritage resources. This structural framework of activities provides a model which makes the LEAP experience in demonstration pilot sites replicable and transferable to other communities elsewhere in the region, and indeed, worldwide. For further information, go to www.unescobkk.org/index.php?id=2083

#### Empowering Communities through Tourism in the Mountainous Regions of Central and South Asia

The largest part of tourism expenditure worldwide is allocated to travel, accommodation and subsistence costs, while entrance to the natural and cultural sites themselves is often free of charge or priced at very low levels. As a consequence, the major part of tourism expenditure is not spent locally, but rather flows back to the economies of the developed countries. To address this problem, UNESCO, together with other UN organisations, national governmental organisations and NGOs, has elaborated propoor strategies aiming at the creation of business opportunities for a better economic and social integration of resident populations. One particular objective of this strategy is to build capacity among these populations in order to participate in the commercial circuits of the tourism sector. At the same time, this economic involvement aims to generate greater awareness about the fragility of both natural and cultural resources and the need for them to be protected.

This type of action is exemplified through the interdisciplinary project, "Development of Cultural and Eco-tourism in the Mountainous Regions of Central and South Asia". As part of UNESCO's interdisciplinary strategy for the eradication of poverty, especially extreme poverty, this project aims to promote cooperation between local communities, local and international NGOs, and tour agencies in order to involve local populations fully in the employment opportunities and income-generating activities that tourism can bring. The project promotes sustainable community-based cultural and eco-tourism in these areas, harnessing tourism development to poverty alleviation, reduction of rural-urban migration and conservation of the cultural and natural heritage.

Working in mountain areas in eight countries and at ten project sites in Bhutan, India, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, Pakistan and Tajikistan, the project is promoting the development of local employment and economic initiatives through community-based tourism, notably through training and skills building, the development of family-owned accommodation, and the production and sale of high-quality crafts items, as part of a strategy for the development of sustainable employment and the alleviation of poverty in some of the most economically disadvantaged areas in all of Asia.









With a view to protecting the heritage of the mountainous countries, local communities living in some of the remotest mountain areas of Central and South Asia learn how their cultural and natural resources may be harnessed to the needs of economic development through tourism, ensuring that the benefits are shared as widely as possible and underlining the need to secure and preserve these resources for future generations to benefit from and enjoy.

Outputs are disseminated to development agencies and NGOs, ministers of tourism and tourist operators and the general public at large, through online resources and the creation of an electronic database in order to establish a set of lessons learned and best practices.

Activities carried out under this project received a "Highly Commended" award for the 2005 Responsible Tourism Awards and were awarded the 2005 Global Vision Award for Community Outreach, given by *Travel & Leisure Magazine* in New York, reflecting the interest the project has attracted in the media and development community. The project is also featured in the Tajikistan section of the 2004 edition of the *Lonely Planet Guide to Central Asia*, the 2005 issue of *The Silk Roads Trail Blazer Guide*, and the August 2005 issue of the *National Geographic Adventure* magazine.

For more information, go to www.unesco.org/culture/ecotourism or to project partner websites: www.rspn-bhutan.org, www.mountain.org, www.himalayan-homestays.com, www.snowleopardconservancy.org, www.sikkiminfo.net/ecoss/,

www.kazakhstan-ecotourism.org, www.novinomad.com, www.nepaltrust.org, www.camat.org.pk, www.acted.org

# Promotion of Intercultural Dialogue and Peace

The year 2001 was proclaimed *United Nations Year of Dialogue among Civilizations*. The quest for dialogue among different peoples and what was broadly termed 'civilizations' or 'religions' (UNESCO Centre Catalonia 1994) is underpinned by the idea that peaceful relationships in the world are guaranteed through the reciprocal knowledge and exchange between different people(s) (Annan 1999; UNESCO 2001b). To contribute to the creation of conditions enabling such knowledge and exchange, UNESCO has contributed to, and has been involved with, a number of initiatives and projects around the world. These included the organisation of global as well as regional and sub-regional conferences and the initiation of sub-regional projects and routes. Tourism in its wid-



est sense as the physical movement of people to encounter the social realities of other people has played a central role here. The contexts of these initiatives range from postwar reconciliation to the establishment of trans-national and sub-regional routes, and the promotion of indigenous knowledge within the wider context of globalisation. In this section, a number of cases where UNESCO has played a major role in this particular area are illustrated.

#### Bridges to a Shared Future: Intercultural Mediation in the Balkans

Following the armed conflict in former Yugoslavia, UNESCO, in co-operation with the Italian government and the UNESCO Sarajevo Office has been carrying out a project for intercultural mediation in the Balkans. The aim of the project was to create conditions for a better acknowledgment of the plurality of cultural traditions and for a more peaceful cohabitation of national and ethnic minorities in the Balkans. Pertinent to this project was not only the renovation and reconstruction of tangible heritage resources destroyed or damaged during the war, but also the mobilisation of these often contested resources in order to create new forms of dialogue and to restore the bonds between the populations concerned.

To address these issues and to contribute to the establishment of a framework favourable to the peaceful resolution of conflicts, a number of actions were elaborated and locally implemented. These included introducing both formal and informal education and the facilitation of encounters between local actors, in particular through the organisation of youth exchange programmes. Further actions aimed to mobilise tangible heritage resources to recreate a sense of common ownership and belonging.

This aspect is illustrated, for instance, by a series of renovation and restoration projects of monuments and other buildings of significance for various religious communities executed within the framework of a Cooperation Memorandum signed by the Director-General of UNESCO and the representatives of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Governments in 1995. Among these projects, the rebuilding of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Stari Most – the Old Bridge of Mostar – led by an International Committee of Experts established by UNESCO, was symbolically one of the most important events. Financed by the World Bank through contributions by Member States Turkey, Italy, the Netherlands and France, the reparation and consequent re-opening of the bridge in 2004 allowed the physical reunification of the ethnically divided town of Mostar. In the same context, a joint declaration was signed by the Ministers responsible for culture in South-East Europe and Italy concerning the enhancement of cultural heritage for the stabilisation and the sustainable development of the region (*Mostar Declaration*, UNESCO 2004a). For more information, go to www.unesco.org



#### The Slave Route: Dissemination of Knowledge and Reconciliation with the Past

To a large extent, the social and demographic realities and structures of the present reflect the particular historic conditions and contexts out of which they have developed. Knowledge about these conditions hence constitutes an important element for the understanding of the present world, its conflicts, problems and tensions. To help overcome and demystify such tensions which are often embedded in inaccurate and often polemic, knowledge of the past, UNESCO has actively contributed to a number of projects aiming to reconsider and recognise empirical facts of the past.

This contribution is exemplified, for instance by UNESCO's role in the implementation of the Slave Route Project. Initially proposed by Haiti and some African countries, this project aimed to revisit, both in a symbolic and a literal sense, the slave trade between Africa, Europe and the Americas. The project was officially launched at the First Session of the International Scientific Committee of the Slave Route in 1994 in Ouidah, Benin, one of the crossroads of the slave trade in the Gulf of Guinea. The idea of a 'route' was to give sense to the movement of peoples, civilizations and cultures, while the use of the term 'slave' addressed not only the universal phenomenon of slavery, but also, in a more precise and explicit way, the transatlantic slave trade in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean.

The project involved academics working on the causes, modalities, and the consequences of the transatlantic slave trade and slavery in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, especially for the peoples concerned in Europe, Africa and the Caribbean. It also involved programmes aiming to create conditions for a wider dissemination of knowledge about the empirical history of the slave trade, its consequences and contemporary forms of slavery. The UNESCO programme for cultural tourism was used here as a framework to create a network of Slave Route Sites in Africa, the Americas and the Indian Ocean region. In this context, tourism set the necessary condition for an intercultural dialogue on slavery, but also for the mobilisation of historic heritage resources related to the slave trade to contribute to the objectives of empowerment and poverty alleviation.

For more information, go to www.unesco.org (Follow 'Culture' and 'Intercultural Dialogue' links)

### Local and Indigenous Knowledge Systems in a Global Society (LINKS)

In all forms of society there are complex, sophisticated and usually efficient systems of knowledge which serve to explain and understand cultural and natural resources and environments. Recognising the importance of socially contextualised forms of knowl-



edge, UNESCO, in line with the 1992 *Rio Declaration* and *Agenda 21*, the 2001 *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* and the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, has been involved in a series of programmes for the study and protection of local and indigenous knowledge. The aim of these programmes was to create conditions in which the cumulative body of knowledge, know-how, and practices and representations developed by different communities, could be sustained and mobilised as a key resource for empowering communities to combat marginalization, poverty and impoverishment.

The approach of these programmes is exemplified by "Local and Indigenous Knowledge Systems in a Global Society (LINKS)", a cross-cutting, intersectorial project that brings together all five programme sectors of UNESCO. Launched in 2002, LINKS aims to strengthen local community control over processes of ecological, cultural and social change, revitalize traditional knowledge transmission within local communities, and identify customary rules and processes that govern knowledge access and control. The LINKS initiative includes projects in Asia, South-America, Eastern and Central Europe, and the South Pacific.

The working of LINKS is illustrated by a project in the Marovo, Solomon Islands, which focuses on the indigenous knowledge of the natural environment of Marovo Lagoon (Hviding, 2005). While the people of Marovo traditionally make their living by fishing, collecting shells and doing small-scale agriculture, today they have also become involved in logging and tourism. In this context, it appeared necessary not only to create an inventory of the local knowledge about their immediate natural environment, but also to make this knowledge accessible to English language readers. To address this necessity, the UNESCO LINKS programme enabled research and the writing of an Environmental Encyclopaedia, *Reef and Rainforest* (Hviding, 2005), both in the Marovo and English languages. In order to support the transmission of indigenous knowledge and worldviews from the elders to the youth, and to encourage similar efforts in the Pacific and elsewhere, this book is distributed for free to schools and libraries in Solomon Islands. At the same time, through its translation of cultural practices and knowledge from one cultural universe to another, this project has the potential to contribute to intercultural dialogues between the people of Marovo and the world outside.

For further information, go to www.unesco.org (Follow 'Natural Sciences', 'Special themes')

#### **UNITWIN Networks** and **UNESCO Chairs**

The "UNITWIN / UNESCO Chairs Programme" was launched in 1992, in accordance with a resolution adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its 26<sup>th</sup> session (1991).

UNITWIN is the abbreviation for the UNESCO university twinning and networking scheme. This programme serves as a prime means of capacity-building through the transfer of knowledge and sharing in a spirit of solidarity with and between developing countries, hence directly contributing to the aims of the United Nations Decade of Education for



Sustainable Development (2005-2014) (UN 2003). The main participants are universities and other academic institutions, in partnership with NGOs and other organisations, foundations and companies involved in higher education and capacity building programmes. The principal beneficiaries of this programme are located in developing countries and countries in transition. In June 2005, more than 570 UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs have been established in 118 countries, involving thousands of academics, scholars and graduate students, as well as key partners from civil society and the economic sector.

As part of the UNITWIN/UNESCO programme, the Institute of Advanced Research and Studies on Tourism (IREST), University of Paris I, Pantheon - La Sorbonne, France, in 2002 established an international network focusing on wider issues related to culture, tourism and development. The first meeting of this network was held in Paris, March 2005 under the title Sustainable Development and the Enhancement of Cultural Diversity (UNESCO, 2005). Attended by 100 speakers from 25 countries, the aims of the meeting were to examine the conditions in which the themes of culture and sustainable development could be better integrated into the teaching of tourism for students and tourism actors and to identify opportunities for cooperation and partnerships in the fields of education and applied research. A final recommendation from the meeting proposed the reinforcement of tourism education on three levels: the conceptual level which emphasises a multidisciplinary approach; a methodological level which highlights the need for integration between quantitative and qualitative approaches to tourism and the development of e-learning; and on a practical level to develop case studies and partnerships with the public and private sectors of tourism. The recommendation outlines the decision of the meeting to create a virtual platform to aid the dissemination of work of the UNITWIN Network and to pursue the establishment of an Observatory of Cultural Tourism Policies which would create a virtual forum for discussion and assemblage of best practice and models of sustainable development in sustainable cultural tourism.

For further information, go to www.unesc.org (Follow 'Education' link), or to chaire-unesco.univ-paris1.fr/

#### Theorising Cultural Diversity and Tourism: International Seminar (Havana, Cuba)

The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity adopted by UNSECO Member States in 2001 was directed towards the preservation of cultural diversity as a living and renewable treasure and also a dynamic process which needs to be at the very centre of development policies and intercultural dialogue.

UNESCO has a clear 'intellectual' role through Article 12 of the 2001 Declaration, to act as "a reference and gathering body among the States, international governmental and nongovernmental organizations, civil society and the private sector in order to elaborate concepts, objectives and policies in favour of cultural diversity". With this in mind, UNESCO



through its Regional Office for Culture in Latin America and the Caribbean organised an international seminar in Havana to examine the different aspects of relationships between tourism and cultural diversity in order to develop concepts and principles for action that could assist policy-makers to draft cultural policies for tourism.

This 3 day event brought together government officials and senior academics in four workshop sessions to discuss issues relating to: the inclusion of cultural differences in public policies and tourism; balancing intercultural dialogue between tourists and their hosts; controlling growth in tourism development and; intangible heritage and the concept of authenticity. The seminar provided inspiration for all people working in, and for, tourism, to develop responsible attitudes toward, and participate actively in, the conservation of collective wealth and cultural diversity as the common heritage of humanity.

For more information please visit www.unesco.org.cu/Tourism&Diversity/index.htm

### Mobilising Nature for Sustainable Tourism

Through its 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, UNESCO emphasised the need to preserve 'natural heritage' of outstanding universal value; with the term outstanding being considered from the point of view of aesthetics, science, conservation or natural beauty. Most natural sites consequently inscribed on the World Heritage List during the 1970s were selected for their extraordinary environmental or geological formations, their particular geographic conditions giving birth to, or hosting, endemic flora and fauna, or the 'beauty' of environments that have remained largely untouched by human action. Yet, the narrow definition of the 'natural' as pristine or untouched by human inscription often made it impossible to consider natural spaces through outstanding historic, artistic or spiritual values and qualities which resulted of processes of human appropriation and transformation. In this context, to overcome the ideological divide between the natural and the cultural, the World Heritage Committee in 1992 decided to recognise 'cultural landscapes' as a new category of site within the Convention's Operational Guidelines. As a result, and since the early 1990s, the wider notion of landscaped 'natural' spaces was addressed by UNESCO's normative actions and instruments (Fowler 2003). This has facilitated particular communities hit by forms of structural crisis to redevelop their natural resources and mobilise them for tourism. This section will introduce two cases illustrating UNESCO's role and involvement in this field.



#### Capacity Building in Sao Paulo's Green Belt Biosphere Reserve

Through its "Man and the Biosphere Programme" (MAB) UNESCO, has developed an integrative approach to the protection of biological diversity. This approach not only aims to consider ways of protecting and preserving biological diversity per se, but also of mobilising it for different forms of sustainable use. To put this aim into practice, UNESCO's MAB programme has developed a series of actions including interdisciplinary research, demonstration and training in natural resource management. As a result, MAB not only contributes to better understandings of the environment, including global change, among different communities, but also to a greater involvement of human and natural science and scientists in policy planning and development. Within this context, the MAB programme supports a number of pilot projects within the wider field of tourism, culture and development. A particular focus is on the mobilisation and recreation of natural heritage resources to generate and demonstrate best practice of alternative tourism offers. This involvement further enables projects to test the principles underlying sustainable tourism development and resource management strategies.

As part of the MAB Programme, UNESCO has developed a Biosphere Reserves Directory, which in contrast to the World Heritage Programme, is not governed by an international normative instrument. In line with the MAB philosophy Biosphere Reserves are "areas of terrestrial and coastal ecosystems promoting solutions to reconcile the conservation of biodiversity with its sustainable use. They are internationally recognized, nominated by national governments and remain under sovereign jurisdiction of the states where they are located. Biosphere reserves serve in some ways as 'living laboratories' for testing out and demonstrating integrated management of land, water and biodiversity" (www.unesco.org/mab).

The touristic dimension of, and potentials within the MAB programme can be illustrated by a large number of cases, such as the Mata Atlântica Biosphere Reserve in Brazil, which includes, among others, the São Paulo City Green Belt. Established in 1992, this reserve is one of Brazil's six MAB Biosphere Reserves. To contribute to the preservation and recreation of this vast natural resource, threatened by the fast urban extension of the city of São Paulo, UNESCO initiated an ecotourism training programme for young people aged between fifteen and twenty-one. Often in a situation of social precariousness, these young people were hence given new opportunities for economic and social integration through the tourism sector. At the same time, the project aimed to create a wider ecological consciousness with the idea that this generated social responsibility for, and sustained involvement in, further actions of environmental protection. Six training centres were hence created and more than 700 young people trained in two year courses.

For further information, go to www.unesco.org.uy/mab



#### Youth Poverty Alleviation through Tourism and Heritage (PATH)

In many regions of the world, the acceleration of globalisation processes and new geopolitical contexts have often provoked considerable structural changes in the economic, geographic and demographic landscapes. In the context of the Caribbean, but also in other places that have been dominated by speculative monocultures, this structural crisis is manifested by rapidly shifting values attached to the land. Land has been transformed into landscape and beaches and lagoons, together with other spaces of marginal economic and symbolic value within the plantation economies, have often become highly priced residential areas and touristic places of recreation and escape. This has resulted in an ambivalent situation in which formerly marginalised populations suddenly co-habited with very wealthy ones. At the same time, rapid urbanisation with attendant environmental disturbance, and increasing property prices in many coastal areas, have also contributed to a marginalisation of poorer communities.

In this context, UNESCO recognised that new community based initiatives needed to be undertaken to raise awareness of the environmental problems and to empower communities and local businesses to integrate with the commercial circuits of the tourism industry. Through its Caribbean office, the organisation initiated a Programme for Youth Poverty Alleviation through Tourism and Heritage (PATH) whose aim was to train young people of the poorer communities to identify and mobilise natural and cultural resources and to develop sustainable activities within the international and domestic tourism sectors. At the same time, Youth PATH, together with other UN and UNESCO initiatives enabled the governments of small island developing states to build a global network and to adopt a Programme of Action (Barbados 1994, reviewed in 1999 and 2005. Hadley & Green 2004). Also, it contributed to the global coastal regions and small islands platform for environmentally sound, socially equitable, culturally respectful and economically viable development.

For more information, go to www.unescocaribbean.org or www.unesco.org/csi



## Conclusion



In the ferment of rapid global change, global inter-connectivity and increased mobility, culture as something which defines us and gives meaning to the world, retains its primacy, not as something which is frozen in time and space, but as something which also changes to meet our human needs. Through travel and tourism we encounter the diversity and the dynamics of culture, together with its legacies in material and intangible forms. In tourism, we can recognise the importance of culture as a resource which, with prudent and thoughtful management, can be utilised in strategies to alleviate poverty and prejudice and form the basis of meaningful inter-cultural dialogue.

Over the years, both tourists and hosts have acknowledged the fragility of culture(s) and cultural processes, and UNESCO, together with its wide array of partners in both the public and private sectors, has sought to create and stimulate frameworks for dialogue, research, policy making and planning, and action to preserve and enhance various expressions of culture. Furthermore, UNESCO through the range of actions and instruments, as highlighted in this document, has demonstrated the inter-connectedness of culture with the environment and the economy, and in so doing has helped to generate new opportunities to address the vital targets of sustainable development and the alleviation of poverty.

Tourism, by definition, involves a journey, a passage through time, space and through a diversity of cultures, peoples and pasts. As such tourism has a critical role to play in generating knowledge, dialogue and understanding across and between cultures. It also has a critical role in the development process. At one level, the journeys of tourists may be individual, but at another level the journeys of tourism as forms of exchange and development, and, inextricably linked, the on-going journey of humanity, is common to all peoples and should be made possible to all peoples. This common journey needs research, reflection, mediation, and coordination to ensure that it functions as a creative and positive force that works in harmony and balance with the cultures that shape it.



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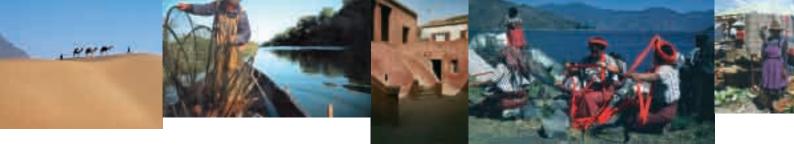
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