



COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

Island Tourism in Peru

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Abstract: This paper examines tourism planning and management in the Andean community of Taquile Island, Peru. A framework of community integration in tourism was developed and applied to this community in a case study approach. The intention of this framework is to help guide planning, development, management, research, and evaluation of community-based tourism projects. Community integration in tourism was primarily defined in terms of decision-making power structures and processes, local control or ownership, type and distribution of employment, and the number of local people employed in the local tourism sector. It was found that a high level of community integration on Taquile Island led to greater socioeconomic benefits for a majority of residents. **Keywords:** community-based tourism, integration, power, socioeconomic benefits, Peru. © 2000 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

Résumé: L'intégration communautaire: le tourisme insulaire au Pérou. Cet article examine la planification et la gestion du tourisme à l'île de Taquile, au Pérou. On a développé et appliqué un cadre théorique d'intégration communautaire du tourisme à cette île en utilisant une approche d'étude de cas. Le propos de ce cadre est d'appuyer les phases de planification, développement, gestion, recherche et évaluation des projets de tourisme communautaire. On définit l'intégration communautaire dans le tourisme en fonction des facteurs suivants: pouvoir et processus décisionnaires, autorité et droits de propriété locaux, répartition et qualité des emplois et nombre d'habitants employés dans le secteur de tourisme local. On a trouvé qu'un haut niveau d'intégration communautaire a mené à de plus grands bénéfices socioéconomiques pour une majorité d'habitants. **Mots-clés:** tourisme communautaire, intégration, pouvoir, bénéfices socioéconomiques, Pérou. © 2000 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

INTRODUCTION

Tourism around the globe, and particularly in the developing world, suffers from uneven development that often produces disproportionate distribution of returns. Communities, particularly rural ones, are often at the front line in service provision but last to

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receive benefits from that effort. Tourism in the developing world has frequently been a double-edged sword; while it may provide a venue for communities and people to augment their income or livelihood, the majority of benefits tend to flow out of them. Additionally, real power and decision-making regularly resides outside of community control and influence (Reid and Sindiga 1999).

Most decisions affecting tourism communities are driven by the industry in concert with national governments; in other words, local people and their communities have become the objects of development but not the subjects of it. This practice has not been conducive to tourism sustainability but instead has often led to the deterioration and abandonment of many destinations, leaving local people worse off. This situation has motivated the call by many practitioners and scholars (Mitchell 1998; Pinel 1998; Reid, Fuller, Haywood and Bryden 1993) for a rethinking of a development model that would place communities at the center of planning and management. Some developing country governments are creating institutional mechanisms for that purpose. The Kenya Wildlife Service, for example, has created a partnership division with the mandate to engage stakeholders and communities in Kenya's wildlife and tourism product planning and management process (Reid, Sindiga, Evans and Ongaro 1999). Zimbabwe has seen the development of the Campfire Program, which stresses local involvement in the planning and management of the local natural resource base on which these communities depend (Thomas 1995).

While scholars, entrepreneurs, and practitioners are beginning to understand the need for placing greater emphasis on community empowerment in tourism planning and implementation, little work has been done on the details of execution. This paper attempts to develop such a planning tool through its application in a socially integrated tourism community from the developing world. A community's integration may be equated with its empowerment (Friedmann 1987, 1992), or "the ability of a community to 'take charge' of its development goals on an equitable basis" (Mitchell 1998:2), and it implies that locals take an active and significant role in decision-making affecting their socioeconomic situation. Hence, it suggests "real" as opposed to "token" power (Arnstein 1969). A community with a high level of tourism control and management would ideally have, among other characteristics, a broad-based and open democratic structure; an equitable and efficient decision-making process; a high degree of individual participation (including influence) in decision-making; and a high amount of local ownership (Mitchell 1998:2). In practice, however, it is rare that all of these distinctions could exist for a given community. Still, they are useful measures of its attempts for integration in its respective tourism sector.

Healy (1994) observes that there is extensive literature on tourism and employment creation, but relatively few studies have involved rural areas affected by nature tourism in developing nations. The purpose of this paper is to present and apply a plan-

ning and analytical framework to guide or assess the integration of tourism in the overall socioeconomic makeup of small, rural communities. This is achieved through the examination of this aspect of the Andean community of Taquile Island, located on Lake Titicaca in Peru. This community is characterized as being an integrated tourism destination whose residents are directly and highly involved in the tourism planning and management process.

Tourism integration from a community-based perspective takes into consideration social and economic benefits and issues. It was postulated that a community characterized as integrated in tourism decision-making would experience high and relatively dispersed socioeconomic benefits to its population. A distinction was made between actual and perceived benefits. Residents may feel that they are profiting in some way when in actuality they may be earning relatively little or no income from a given economic activity. Three principal assumptions were used for this research. One, community members are willing and able to cooperate with each other to make integration possible. Two, community integration allows for a relatively equitable distribution of local benefits in terms of revenues and employment. Three, this integration leads to a relatively high degree of control by local residents for administering tourism services.

COMMUNITY INTEGRATION IN TOURISM

The framework used to explore the level of community integration in tourism planning is presented in Figure 1. The basic premise of this framework is that this process should lead to positive impacts or outcomes and, hence, satisfaction for the local residents. The main objectives of developing this framework are to explore and describe power relationships, public unity, and collective awareness of tourism opportunities and management in a given community; to examine how public participation and associated internal/external factors may determine or influence planning processes for a given tourism project; and to provide indicators for a rapid assessment of actual or probable outcomes of a tourism project by economic and sociocultural indicators related to community integration and planning.

Tourism Integration Framework Description

A representative framework of the most important concepts explored in this paper is illustrated in Figure 1 with three distinct stages: integration, planning, and impacts.

Integration. An integrated community participation process in tourism is linked to three critical parameters: community awareness, community unity, and power or control relationships (both within and external to the community). In addition to the endogenous factors listed below, there are exogenous factors which moder-

ate these internal considerations, which include product development, whether the natural, built, or cultural environment; supply and demand limitations; and market price.

Community awareness is defined as the “conscientization” (Freire 1970) of people with regard to the complexities and potential impacts of a proposed development; “It is here where the community collectively itemizes what values will not be compromised for the sake of growth. It is here that the ground rules on which the product will be built are established” (Fuller and Reid 1998:271). Freire (1970) describes conscientization as the transformation towards empowerment. He makes the distinction between being “accessible” to consciousness and “entering” it, with the latter condition as a necessary prelude to empowerment of poor people. Freire’s solution is not to “integrate” the marginals or oppressed into the structure of oppression, but “to transform that structure so that they can become beings for themselves” (1970:61). He asserts that the unity of the oppressed requires class consciousness, but

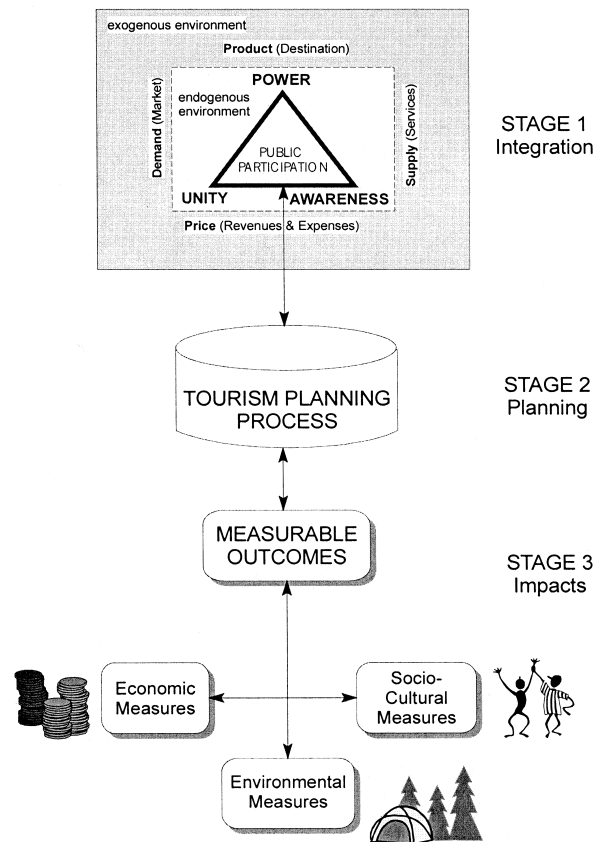


Figure 1. Community Integration in Tourism. Source: Mitchell (1998)

that this must be preceded (or at least accompanied) by achieving consciousness of being oppressed individuals.

Community unity might result from what Durkheim calls "organic society". Durkheim embraced the idea that life is the sum total of all social facts, a social fact in his view being "a collective entity—family, religion, professional organization—characterized by an underlying order, or structure, hidden from ordinary perception" (Swingewood 1991:99). In his study of Chilean and Peruvian peasant farmers, Galjart considers solidarity as "the willingness to sacrifice resources or immediate gratification for the welfare of others, out of a feeling of unity ... [or] doing something for others without the prospect of material reward" (1976:102). He notes that power can be redistributed but not a specialized skill (such as handicraft weaving, mountain guide); therefore, the scarcity of a given service that a person can provide may make it possible to claim a more than equitable share of the proceeds (Galjart 1976).

Arnstein postulates that citizen participation is simply a categorical term for citizen power, or

the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens ... to be deliberately included in the future ... it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society (1969:216).

Perhaps the single most important consideration for how nature-based and other types of tourism may affect rural communities "is the level and type of control which local people have in its development" (Brandon 1996:29). In practice, community power and control over tourism development is generally not subjected to discussion at the beginning phase of the planning process. The lure of development and growth no matter who leads or ultimately benefits is enough to motivate many communities to charge ahead. According to Fuller and Reid,

in a climate of globalization and an impoverished state apparatus, the need for small towns and rural communities to take greater control of their own destinies is pressing. [To link] themselves as tourism destinations to the increasingly global ebb and flow of tourism is only beneficial in the long run if rural communities have primary control over resources and are sufficiently committed to the process of development to capture and sustain long-term benefits (1998:262).

The extent of community solidarity or unity may be positively or adversely affected by power, defined as the "ability to impose one's will or advance one's own interests" (Reed 1997, as adapted from West 1994). Rocha delineates five types of "empowerment" within planning, of which perhaps the most relevant to this article is "sociopolitical empowerment", defined as "the development of a politicized link between individual circumstance and community conditions through collective social action, challenging oppressive institutional arrangements" (Rocha 1997:34). Community power has often been conceived of as either pluralist or elitist over the last

four decades. The elitist view assumes that political power is exercised by relatively few players. The pluralist type considers power as specialized, where individuals that are influential in one public sector tend not to be so in another sector (Waste 1986). Elite realizes that everyone benefits, albeit to varying degrees, if economic growth occurs within the community (Dye 1986). Local development is generally determined by the decisions of individual private entrepreneurs in the community who make primarily market-driven decisions (Douglas 1989; Dye 1986). Freire notes that by means of manipulation, the dominant elite tries to conform the people to their objectives; "the greater the political immaturity of these people ... the more easily the latter can be manipulated by those who do not wish to lose their power" (1970:144). He suggests that only if one considers and treats the community as a whole, rather than as the sum of its parts, can true dialogue and cooperation occur.

Planning. The tourism planning process selected by a given community often depends upon the public participation scenario in relation to its exogenous environment; it may consist of painstaking consensus building inside a complex strategic planning process, or it may be quite unstructured and even radical in its means (Mitchell 1998). The process for planning community tourism destinations tends to be overly simplistic or in many cases non-existent. Frequently, tourism destinations are created through the imagination of an entrepreneur, private firm, or national government, and any planning that occurs is usually from that perspective (Reid and Sindiga 1999). What is critical here is that all those affected by the plan must be systematically brought into the planning process (Fuller and Reid 1998) and not simply in a token way (Arnstein 1969). Many authors (Campfens 1997; McIntyre 1993; Reid and Van Dreunan 1996; Wharf 1992) refer to this issue as community capacity building with a focus on education, or leading the community to self-awareness (Freire 1970), so that the community can undertake further projects with independence and skill.

As Reed (1997) points out, community tourism analysts such as Murphy (1985) tend to assume that the planning and policy process is a pluralistic one in which people have equal access to economic and political resources. Reed counters that tourism development requires a slow process of community-building, particularly when conventional stakeholders do not view it as a productive activity. McIntyre (1993) suggests that local planners should encourage community participation from the early stages of tourism planning to provide residents with realistic expectations. He suggests that a process of consensus building be applied to reach understanding and agreement on the most appropriate form and extent of tourism to be developed, and how the community can accordingly benefit. The consensus building approach, however, is likely much different in developing countries due to the sociocultural and political context affecting a community from within and outside. Moreover, the most

active people in community decision-making and policy formation tend to be “local business people whose fortunes are tied to growth and the vitality of the community” (Reed 1997:371). Dye goes even further, suggesting that “only rarely do lower-income or minority group challenges succeed in modifying development policies” (1986:41).

Impacts. The final stage in the tourism integration framework consists of an evaluation of impacts. These impacts are divided into economic, sociocultural, and environmental measures. It should be mentioned, however, that the impacts and effects of tourism are closely integrated and interrelated. For example, Butler mentions that “it is not possible to separate environmental effects from economic impacts in reality. Each impact, positive or negative, reacts with and affects every other aspect of the destination area” (Butler 1990:16).

It is expected that greater community integration in tourism planning leads to increased economic benefits for all or, at least, for many to share. However, Butler (1992) states that in alternative tourism areas, the economies are normally very simple with high levels of leakages, thus retaining only a smaller amount of tourism expenditures in the area. In contrast, Lindberg and Enriquez (1994) in their Belizean case study describe how tourism can make a significant contribution to communities: low levels of benefits can make an important contribution to local economies; tourism often complements, rather than replaces, historic work activities; and benefits can often be gained with relatively low levels of investment by residents.

Useful economic measures as evidence include direct and indirect employment (and induced employment), revenues, ownership, and profitability, among others. Type of employment carried out by community residents is important, as well as the distribution of tourism-generated employment and income within the community. Basic cost-benefit accounting or a more complex economic analysis with a detailed examination of leakages and economic multipliers could be considered.

As for sociocultural measures, perceptions and attitudes towards the local tourism industry and perceived community or individual participation should be enhanced with community integration. Attitudinal responses of local residents, industry players, and tourists alike for a given destination area can be measured over time. Butler (1990) asserts that tourists are initially lured by an area’s unique natural and cultural features, with larger numbers of them restricted by accessibility, facilities, and local knowledge. As tourism grows, significant changes begin to occur in the physical environment until eventually levels of carrying capacity (environmental, physical, or social) are reached and the number of tourists declines.

Jacobson and Robles (1992) mention several downsides of the nature-based tourism industry, including environmental impacts from pollution and habitat modification. Still, it is probable that a

high degree of community integration in tourism would reduce negative environmental impacts. If residents feel directly responsible for their tourism resource as full players in the industry, they will likely protect the destination from various destructive forces. A community depends on its environment for supplying basic needs to its people (food, water, shelter, and good health), so theoretically it would be more likely to take an active interest in ensuring that impacts are minimized (Mitchell 1998). An impact study could be established, perhaps examining physical carrying capacities based on site-specific ecological standards. Environmental measures should be conducted if a given community-based tourism project is to be considered based on the concept of sustainability.

Finally, it is important to consider the agent who may be the driving force behind implementation of the tourism development process and product. For many rural communities in the developing world, this “catalyst” is generally a local, trustworthy person who has stature in the community. Perhaps in the Freirian tradition, this figure may have the general well being of the population at heart, and not necessarily be someone who is looking to benefit materially from the outcome.

The Island Case Study

Peru is the third-largest country in South America and is bordered by five neighbors: Ecuador to the northwest, Colombia to the northeast, Brazil and Bolivia to the east, and Chile to the south



Figure 2. Map of Peru and Taquile Island. Adapted from http://www.theodora.com/wfb/peru/peru_map.html, July 19, 1998

(Figure 2). Its total population is 22.6 million people (1993 census), of which over seven million live in Lima, the capital on the Pacific coast. From 1985 to 1990, disastrous economic and political policies by then president Alan García and his APRA government led the country to near-bankruptcy. The combination of economic and political instability, widespread terrorist activities, and a serious cholera outbreak resulted in the virtual destruction of the country's tourism industry. For example, Peru was one of only three countries in the Western Hemisphere where tourist arrivals actually declined over the 1980 to 1992 period (Blackstone 1995).

With the increased political and economic stability during the latter half of the 90s, tourism became the fastest-growing sector in Peru's economy (Boza 1997). The Minister of Industry, Tourism, Integration and International Business reported that Peru hosted 600,000 tourists in 1996 (23% more than in 1995) and is expected to host one million tourists by the year 2000 (Anderson and Muroi 1997). In 1998, international arrivals to Peru increased 11.5%, exceeding by 4.7 times the world rate of 2.4% estimated by the World Tourism Organization for the same period (WTO 1999). The government of Peru considers tourism one of the most important sources of hard currency revenues and is actively working with the private sector to ensure the construction of a proper tourism infrastructure. Government incentives are helping private investors in the hotel and restaurant sector to duplicate existing capacity by the end of 2003 (Anderson and Muroi 1997).

Peru has enormous opportunities in so-called sustainable tourism or ecotourism, including nature watching, heritage and archaeology, trekking and mountain climbing, river trips, and other activities. Considering its incredible biological diversity, it is likely the most diverse in terms of bird species (over 1,600) and third most diverse in mammals (Blackstone 1995). Peru possesses some of the most exciting heritage resources in the world, such as the Inca ruins at Machu Picchu, the Nazca Lines, and the Tomb of Sipan. Unfortunately, the full potential of sustainable tourism has yet to be realized since marketing efforts are predominately focused on Cuzco and Machu Picchu.

This paper examines the concepts discussed in Figure 1 by concentrating on Taquile Island, a small island on Lake Titicaca in the extreme southeast end of Peru. At an elevation of 3,812 meters, it lies about 25 kilometers or three to four hours by small motorized boat from Puno (the regional capital with approximately 100,000 inhabitants). Total surface area is 754 hectares with 65% of the land area being cultivated (Valencia Blanco 1989). Taquile has an estimated population of 1,850, primarily Quechua-speaking people who are highly industrious in agriculture, fishing, and weaving.

The administration of Taquile Island is based on a unique combination of traditional and modern political systems. Geographically, Taquile is divided into six distinct *suyos* (Inca term referring to family groupings in specific areas). Each *suyo* is represented by 50 to 105 families and belongs to one of four distinct sociogeographical

areas called an *ayllu*, with each represented by a *varayoc* (traditional and legal male authority figure). A *varayoc* is responsible for “keeping peace” with respect to any land or other disputes and for managing communal work within his respective *ayllu*. An elected Lieutenant Governor, the highest-ranking authority on the island, is responsible for all public issues and meets with local governments of neighboring Amantaní Island and Puno. The next highest-ranking officials are the Mayor and the President of Taquile. Together with the four *varayoc*, these main authorities form the *illicata* (local government). All public positions are held for one year until new elections are held and others are called upon as candidates to replace those finishing their terms. Nobody is a member of a political party on Taquile and “with the help of the authorities or in the assemblies on Sundays in the plaza, they generally resolve their problems and disputes” (Prochaska 1990:28).

In addition to the natural beauty of the island on one of the highest navigable lakes in the world, the main attraction for many tourists to Taquile is its extraordinary weavings. These are skillfully woven from sheep or alpaca wool with unique ecological and traditional motifs. Taquile weavers eventually formed two community-run artisan stores (Manco Capac Cooperative) to sell their diverse and increasingly numerous products. By 1990, Taquile had control over all stages of its textile manufacture and marketing, and at the time controlled most tourism services (Prochaska 1990).

Study Methods

The purpose of this research was to explore community integration in a predominantly tourism-based community using the framework presented in Figure 1. It was decided to focus research efforts on socioeconomic factors of the integration framework, recognizing that an effective environmental analysis would require extensive time and resources. Research data were collected from December 1996 to May 1997 during the Andean wet season. Research techniques included household surveys, key-informant interviews, and participant observation. Various tourism businesses were selected for financial analyses and additional information was obtained from census reports, visitor records, and relevant literature.

A total of 101 household surveys were carried out in person, usually at the place of residence, with a sample frame that consisted of all occupied households. The minimum confidence interval was established at 90% with a level of confidence of 10%. The survey objective was to examine household perceptions of socioeconomic benefits from local tourism activities by a combination of closed-ended (with choices provided) and Likert scale questions (five-point scale ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”). The household survey was applied to adult family members considered as community residents (defined as “any household member 16

years or older that lives in the community for at least six months of the year”), and able to effectively answer relevant questions.

Qualitative methodology by key-informant interviews was applied to obtain a more detailed perspective of traditional values, power relationships, tourism sector parameters, and other pertinent factors. Nine persons both on-island and off-island were selected for their extensive knowledge or involvement with the local tourism sector, including founders of Taquile’s tourism industry, travel agencies and guides, politicians, boat owners, and weavers.

In addition to helping to verify, refute, or qualify the data collected, participant observation was used to capture data from individuals who could not normally speak or those who were purposefully omitted from the surveys and interviews, such as women, children, and distrusting adults. Further, a relatively simple financial analysis was carried out for three typical tourism businesses on Taquile Island: a restaurant, tourist boat, and handicraft cooperative. Secondary data were also obtained to verify or reject information gathered from the other techniques, and to provide additional information.

Study Results

The research results included here were grouped into three sections: historical overview; community participation, unity, and control in tourism; and tourism revenues and employment. Each section and the thematic areas that they include have been linked whenever appropriate to the community integration framework presented in Figure 1.

Historical Overview. Various individuals have played important roles in tourism development on Taquile Island. Some key-informants mentioned that initial reluctance toward tourism development changed to outright support when the economic benefits of local tourism became apparent from community-wide participation in handicraft sales and through the provision of rustic lodging. One interviewee noted that until the 70s, tourism handicrafts were clothes to be worn and tourists themselves were considered as unwanted strangers, not potential clients. Several interviewees suggested it was the determination of ex-governor and expert weaver Francisco Huatta Huatta that persuaded residents of tourism’s economic advantages; others (including literature references) mentioned external catalysts, including a Belgian priest and a former Peace Corps volunteer, as motivating forces that guided the community into a satisfactory level of self-organization and management.

Most interviewees agreed that since its beginnings in the 70s, tourism planning on Taquile has been a participatory, albeit unstructured process. This informal planning was verified through the household surveys that indicated only 44% of respondents believed a tourism plan or strategy of some kind existed. Still, some

key-informants mentioned that a tourism “dialogue” was conceived and established through public discussions and entrenched by community laws, and that residents willingly accepted such laws due to their traditional sense of duty to the community. Through personal observations it was found that there still exists a predisposed adherence to community laws, and regular public forums are held to inform and discuss management problems or opportunities.

When the South American Handbook described Taquile Island in 1976, private boat owners soon added the island to their tourist run on the lake as foreign tourists began arriving in increasing numbers. Sailboat cooperatives were formed in early 1978 with groups of 30–40 families ordering vessels from local boatwrights (Healy and Zorn 1983). The islanders proved to be competitive with Puno boat owners and eventually displaced them by obtaining an officially sanctioned monopoly. By 1982, the number of cooperative boat transport groups had expanded to 13, with 435 residents (virtually every family represented) sharing boat ownership and management responsibilities (Healy and Zorn 1983). Protection of islander-controlled tourist transport ended during the early 90s with the advent of President Fujimori’s privatization and anti-monopolization policies. By 1997, it was found that 19 islander-owned tourism boats shared the highly competitive market with Puno boat owners.

The handicraft industry has become a major component of the islanders’ livelihood and lifestyle; most men, women, teenagers, and children (starting at about age seven) now earn money by producing woven crafts. According to Prochaska (1990), Taquile had control over all stages of its textile manufacture and marketing, and at the time controlled most tourism services. She claims that by 1990 Taquile had succeeded in integrating tourism with its traditional way of life; the community’s position of control and the cooperative organizations allowed for a relatively egalitarian redistribution of benefits (Prochaska 1990). As of 1997, cooperative records showed that there were 270 members or 77% of the population (with each member representative of at least one family). Prices are set based on the quality of workmanship and the amount of labor. Prices are also fixed to avoid harmful competition and a small percentage (5%) is retained for cooperative maintenance. Entrenched in the government records and cooperative regulations of Taquile Island, and in keeping with islander traditions of equality, community law prohibits private sales to tourists although it still occurs on a relatively discreet basis.

Today, tourism has become a mainstay of the Taquile islander’s principal means of livelihood. When tourists arrive on Taquile (and after a strenuous hike up several hundred stone steps), a reception committee greets and registers them by age, duration of stay, and nationality. New arrivals are assigned accommodation with a local family in an adobe hut. Several committees on the island help manage daily tasks, such as housing, weaving, food, and transportation. Most island restaurants are owned and managed by groups of families. Tourism-based revenues have encouraged household

improvements (such as simple bedding gear, extra rooms, and kerosene lanterns) which are inspected and approved by another island committee. Each approved household directly receives the tourist income from lodging, although personal observations demonstrated that only about 30 houses now accommodate most tourists. Both tourists and respondents alike indicated that this may be largely due to changing tourist preferences, with many now preferring to be closer to the main plaza where most shops and restaurants are located.

Community Participation. Community participation, unity, and control (or power) are crucial components in this research. Questions of local involvement in tourism management and ownership, solidarity, and democratic and equitable access to power were incorporated into the household surveys and key-informant guide. Most quantitative data were obtained from the household surveys, whereas much of the qualitative data came from key-informants; personal observations helped validate or refute the data obtained.

According to the household surveys, Taquileños have a very high level of individual involvement in tourism service administration (79% of respondents) and community tourism meetings (96%). However, participation in meetings concerning tourism-related issues was considered as "attendance" by many respondents rather than active involvement. Public meetings on Taquile are generally held to inform residents on upcoming projects and achievements, rather than seek requests for public input on significant issues (although it was noted that those involved in tourism committees can suggest and implement changes). Perceived participation from household residents in tourism management and employment is demonstrated in Table 1. It was also found that, for men at least, there is a strong tradition of consensual, democratic decision-making in the community. Personal observations indicated that women play a less vocal role, at least publicly, but are regarded by their husbands as very influential in both family and community decision-making. In addition, women are almost always present at public meetings.

The results indicated that Taquileños participate to a relatively high degree in tourism management and services. Furthermore, tourism on Taquile has become such an important part of daily life that it is now interwoven with local politics. For example, handicraft sales are communally operated with weekly rotation of cooperative members and annual elections held for the cooperative administrative posts. Given the opportunity, 92% of respondents expressed a preference for greater involvement in tourism management. Likewise, 93% felt that the community should remain relatively independent from outside interference. Only 33% felt that those already working in it should be those who largely manage tourism, revealing a high desire for equitable involvement. When asked if the local authorities are making efforts to encourage community participation in tourism, 93% agreed. Finally, 90% felt they would

Table 1. Perceptions of Tourism Participation on Taquile Island^a

Answer	Want More Involvement in Management (%)	Community Should be Relatively Independent in Management (%)	Tourism Should be Managed by Workers only (%)	Participation is Encouraged by Local Authorities (%)	Participation Would not Increase Personal Earnings (%)
Strongly agree	38	37	8	32	2
Agree	54	56	25	61	5
Neutral	1	4	7	4	3
Disagree	7	2	34	1	54
Strongly disagree	0	1	26	2	36
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

^aBased on 101 Household Surveys (90% C.I.).

increase their earnings if they had greater participation in tourism activities.

Figure 1 suggests the importance of local unity and support to achieve a balanced and integrated community tourism process, which certainly has been and continues to be the case for Taquile residents. The two main sources of data for this section came from the key-informant interviews and the household surveys. As one interviewee put it, the Taquileño nature may be best stated as “humble yet collective assertiveness”, a formula that has aided them in regaining control of their land and resources since the 30s. On Taquile Island, community unity is often demonstrated by communal action, long-rooted in a holistic sharing ethic. One interviewee mentioned that Taquileños must respect traditional rules such as the *ayni*, “[which is] an obligation, an interchange of energy from person to person”. This blending of family and community values has been compared to an Andean version of socialism, although one key-informant felt their sociopolitical system was more complex and unique than such categorizations. For example, all families on Taquile own their land and most grow their own crops; they are also free to pursue business or personal interests on or off the island.

As Figure 1 shows, support for tourism is closely linked to the framework theme of community unity. In the household surveys, 79% expressed their perception of tourism being highly supported by both local and national governments. Assumedly, high public involvement in local decision-making regarding tourism and the combined financial and promotional assistance provided by President Fujimori in recent years have contributed to feelings of support. Moreover, a perception of low support concerning travel agencies may be attributable to the tourism market domination of

Puno; likewise, almost half (45%) of household respondents felt that Puno travel agencies or guides provided no support whatsoever for tourism. This was corroborated by several key-informants that directed their blame at Puno for negative changes to the local tourism industry.

Nevertheless, most key-informants felt there was high solidarity until recently, which interestingly has paralleled a perceived decrease in control over tourism. Diminishing unity was felt as linked to economic interests, such as increasing individualism and leakages to Puno agencies and businesses. According to one non-local respondent, "It's probably true that [unity] has diminished ... With more solidarity, spirituality and sense of community [in the past], there used to be more concern for each other". The connection between islander solidarity and tourism control was exemplified during the 1990 fight on the Puno docks with travel agencies trying to wrest control over the right to take passengers to the island. Until then, and according to several sources, the Taquileños had enjoyed a virtual monopoly over their right to transport tourists. Unfortunately, although their argument was initially accepted, Fujimori's anti-monopolization laws in the early 90s changed the situation and the first privately owned Puno boats started to arrive with tourists. As a result, community control over the transport sector has begun to decline in spite of the high level of unity and participation.

Stage 1 of the integration framework presented in Figure 1 indicates the influence of external and interface factors that are often beyond community control. This is most certainly the case for Taquile Island, which, as the financial and survey analyses showed, has become highly dependent on outside resources such as food imports, boat parts, and weaving materials like natural or synthetic wool. Participant observations indicated that there appears to be very little control of how many passengers may be allowed to arrive or stay on the island. Furthermore, both household respondents and interviewees felt that the anti-monopolization law has had a harmful effect on community self-management, including setting of tourism policy and provision of tourism services. One Puno travel agent said that Taquile prices for services are so low that they have had little effect on tourism demand (although this is not the case in Puno with its many types of tour packages available to all categories of tourists).

Still, the question of who controls the Taquile tourism industry generated mixed results. On the one hand, it is notable that, with the exception of Puno-based guides, boats, and tourist agencies, most tourism services are owned and operated by the Taquileños themselves, including all restaurants, accommodation, handicraft sales, and entrance fee collection. Moreover, key-informants felt they still maintain control of their tourism industry although they acknowledge that this control has deteriorated lately. One non-local interviewee was somewhat more pessimistic; "it's incredible that in only three years [since 1994] everything on Taquile has changed".

Another interviewee felt that Taquile will likely experience diminished tourist numbers, saying “the individualism process is not going to end” and that the only escape is to look for measures to make change happen more slowly. It was added that “this can be done with a little help ... you have to ‘conscientize’ the people”, perhaps an allusion to the community awareness-raising concepts of Paulo Freire.

Tourism Revenues and Employment. Most of the data in this section are quantitative, and were best obtained from the household surveys, financial analyses of local businesses, and secondary sources such as tourism records. An example of revenue leakages was constructed using data obtained from one Puno-based key-informant. Demographically, the number of tourists arriving to Taquile Island has climbed significantly over the past five or six years. Using data obtained from municipal tourism records, Table 2 shows that the number of one-night stayovers jumped from 1,649 tourists in 1992 to 4,316 in 1996 (missing data for October, 1992). Of these 1996 stayovers, 47% were female, 53% were male, and almost three-quarters were less than 35 years of age. In 1996, most of those spending at least one night on Taquile Island were Europeans, with only 5% of Peruvian nationality. In 1994, there was a significant upswing in numbers of visitors. From the 1996 Puno Coast Guard Records, there were 27,685 tourists to Taquile Island.

In terms of seasonal factors of employment, all tourism activities on Taquile Island are year-round. However, certain sectors such as transport and restaurants provide service to fewer tourists during the rainy season from October to May. If anything, handicraft production likely increases during the rainy season and during slack

Table 2. Number of Persons Spending One or More Nights (1992, 1996)

Month	1992			1996		
	Peruvian	Other	Subtotal	Peruvian	Other	Subtotal
January	17	100	117	16	289	305
February	38	73	111	26	178	204
March	7	77	84	20	156	176
April	13	98	111	14	166	180
May	7	104	111	14	223	237
June	3	115	118	9	218	227
July	15	237	252	28	813	841
August	9	234	243	35	823	858
September	7	132	139	18	370	388
October	n/a ^a	n/a ^a	n/a ^a	9	365	374
November	8	183	191	2	251	253
December	8	164	172	22	251	273
Total	132	1517	1,649	213	4103	4,316

^a Data not available.

periods of agricultural activities, a point suggested by many Taquileños in the surveys. Another important consideration is that many Taquile residents hold multiple jobs. This is a reflection of their versatility and desire to be involved in tourism; many respondents indicated their principal motivation was to supplement their incomes.

A total of 98% of adult (household respondents) Taquileños were directly employed in tourism in 1997 based on the survey data. Most children aged seven or more were also employed in handicraft production or some other aspects of tourism. Assuming approximately 20% of the population were less than seven years of age, or 370 children (estimate based on another Andean community), then there would be 1,450 direct jobs ... this estimate does not differentiate between part-time and full-time.... Table 3 illustrates the number of additional jobs based on the tourism trade to Taquile Island; an estimated 212 direct and 186 indirect for a total of 398 (figures obtained from personal observations). Although some of these positions may be considered as part-time (such as Puno taxi drivers who take tourists from hotels to boats), this cannot be assumed without a detailed study on each specific type of employment. Of this total, 375 jobs were off-island positions (primarily Puno). Therefore, the total number of all jobs (Puno Region 1997) related

Table 3. Additional Jobs for Taquile Tourism Industry^a

Tourism Operation or Agency	Direct (D) or Indirect (I) Position	Total Operators	Employee Factor	Number of Persons	Percentage Related to Taquile Market	Total Direct Jobs	Total Indirect Jobs
Independent guides (Puno)	D	20	1	20	75%	15	
Travel agency (Puno)	D	37	5	185	50%	92	
Private boats (Puno)	D	43	5	215	42%	90	
Wool vendors (Puno)	I	200	5	1000	10%		100
Retail stores (Puno)	I	250	5	1250	5%		63
Retail stores (Taquile)	I	6	5	30	50%		15
Boat builders/carpenters (Taquile)	I	10	1	10	80%		8
Other (taxis, tourism officials—Puno)	D	100	3	300	5%	15	
Total						212	186

^a Multiplier estimates in columns 4 and 6 are based on personal observations and/or selected informants.

to the local tourism sector for Taquile Island was 1,594, of which Taquile residents held 75%.

On Taquile Island, almost everyone receives some remuneration from occasional handicraft sales or provision of lodging. Still, the actual amount earned from tourism is relatively low; according to the survey results, most adult residents (or 83% of respondents) make less than \$400 annually from tourism and the median gross income was \$187 for 1996. Still, this amount has to be considered in the sociocultural context. Namely, there are few other moneymaking alternatives due to the unavailability of productive land and lack of employment opportunities on the island. Moreover, many residents had to migrate to other parts of Peru in the 60s and 70s to find temporary, low-paying employment. Now, most of them prefer to stay on the island where they have opportunities to earn cash for housing materials or to purchase “luxury” foodstuffs such as dried noodles and cooking oil, while maintaining their traditions and staying close to their families.

The household survey (verified by personal observations) indicated that only a few residents make substantial returns from tourism, indicating that economic benefits are relatively well distributed. Taquile residents that gross more than \$1,000 annually from tourism comprise only 10% of the adult population, mainly local restaurant owners (there are one community-owned and nine family-owned restaurants) or private boat owners. It was also personally noted that a few artisans earn more than others from having established contacts with foreigners. In terms of equality, both men and women are involved in most aspects of the industry on Taquile Island, although handicraft production is gender specific. For example, men mainly knit wool clothing articles (including hats, gloves, and vests), whereas women do most of the weaving (such as blankets, and bags). Most children aged seven years or more work part-time in the production of handicrafts. Unfortunately, traditional weaving patterns and natural materials are now often modified or substituted to increase individual production, hence income. Additionally, traditional concepts of communal ownership have been experiencing many changes in recent years. For example, only four boats are still considered as “cooperative”, owned by as many as 50 families but typically around 25 families.

Overall, there was a high perception of direct economic benefits from tourism for Taquile respondents; 89% individually claimed benefits. Still, the free market trend has deprived some residents of income and has reduced local control over how tourists travel to the island, where they eat, and where they stay. Even residents offering accommodation have seen their income reduced, especially those living far away from the main plaza. Some residents have taken advantage of their ideal location and contacts. In particular, local restaurant and boat owners have captured a disproportionate share of local tourism-related income (74% of total annual revenues, compared to only 16% for lodging and handicraft sales). Among those key-informants and respondents interviewed, some dissension was

observed regarding recent economic changes: certain families earn more than others; and there is a growing disregard for local customs and reciprocal sharing systems. One respondent noted that material wealth is now accumulating with the spread of television antennas and solar panels.

High revenue leakages are a good indication of negative economic impacts that would, in theory, be reduced in an integrated community according to the Figure 1 framework. On Taquile Island, leakages are occurring in many tourism services with the exception of entrance fees (if paid), local accommodation, and certain food items served in local restaurants (such as fish, and potatoes). As of 1996, there were 37 travel agencies officially operating in Puno, of which at least half took clients to Taquile Island. The majority of these agencies hire non-Taquile owned and operated Puno boats and guides. For example, Peruvian Coast Guard records showed that of the 62 boats that took passengers from Puno to Taquile in 1996, only 19 were Taquile owned and operated. Taquile boats had a greater share of passengers in 1996 when compared to private boats from Puno (58% compared to 42%). However, private boats tend to gross more revenue than the cooperative Taquile ones. According to one Puno-based travel agency interviewed, some passengers will pay up to \$250 for a fast private boat with a bilingual guide on an individual day trip. In contrast, the average passenger pays only \$8 for a round trip on the Taquile cooperative boats.

The loss of income due to non-local travel agencies is provided in the following example. In 1996, the owner of a Puno travel agency took 70 groups averaging 15 persons to Taquile Island (priced at \$45 per person). The gross income from these trips was \$47,250, of which relatively little was captured by Taquileños. Some families with agency contacts benefited from having tourists stay in their homes. The obligatory entrance fee of one Sol (\$0.40) was paid for each tourist, which would have contributed only \$420 to the community. Clients with this particular agency prefer to camp in tents, hence no accommodation fees were charged. In addition, private restaurants were selected over the community restaurant. Multi-lingual guides were hired from Puno and private boats hired rather than the slower and less reliable cooperative boats. This case shows that leakages of potential income from tourism are high. Assuming that at least half of the Puno agencies made at least 10% of the above sales, then an estimated \$850,000 in annual gross revenues would have been obtained solely by taking tourists to Taquile Island (other nearby islands such as the Uros and Amantaní are also visited). This is almost three times the annual gross income that Taquile residents earned in 1996. Moreover, it is likely much higher than estimated since the European and North American travel agencies, airlines, and other businesses also profit from clients traveling to Taquile.

Based on the household surveys and combined with data obtained from the financial analyses and tourism records, gross revenues in 1996 for local and non-local businesses combined were estimated at

\$3,389,579. Of this amount, gross sales from tourism on Taquile Island were estimated to be \$310,497. Therefore, by ignoring other possible sources of leakages or revenues such as sundries and locally produced food purchased by tourists, a rough estimate of leakages was 91% of gross revenues. Tourism-generated revenues are lost in other ways as well. For example, although Taquile's boats are islander-built, needed parts and supplies (like motors, and fuel) are purchased off-island. Local restaurants purchase most of their food and fuel from outside of the community. Handicrafts are often made with non-local wool or synthetic fiber purchased from Puno or other communities. In addition, 53% of those respondents involved in the handicraft business purchase their wool supplies from nearby Puno or one of the non-local vendors that occasionally come to Taquile.

Tourism in Taquile Island

The preceding research results can now be discussed in reference to relevant literature and the tourism integration framework presented in Figure 1. The three stages of community integration, planning, and socioeconomic impacts provide the set of filters with which to examine the results. Several other factors beyond community control such as destination attractiveness and national government policies may be critical to the ultimate success of the project (whether measured by longevity, equitability, or other parameters). The distinct areas of awareness and planning in the integration framework were combined due to their inherent similarities or relationships. For example, a community that becomes aware of its present situation and possibilities for tourism (such as unique natural and culture features) may plan, albeit informally, for tourism as a result of this state of awareness, assuming that favorable conditions exist (including accessibility, basic services, competitive prices, marketing, etc.). In addition, a "unified" community will likely participate to a high degree in a given set of activities or actions if it is in their collective interests to do so, especially in the rural context of Peru.

It was made clear from the start that equitable participation could be obtained by collectively planning and providing tourism services without drastically changing traditional ways. Taquile Island was arguably able to accommodate this industry with a certain degree of success due to these early awareness-raising efforts. In a relatively short period, tourism activities eventually reached the high status bestowed upon traditional agriculture. Local planning has not been confined to operational issues but normative (value-based) planning as well. The islanders took the initiative and with the facilitative efforts of the framework catalysts, decided for themselves what type of services to offer tourists, who would be involved, how everyone could participate, and to what extent benefits would be shared.

In this research, complete (total and equitable) integration of the community in tourism decision-making was considered the ultimate objective to enhance socioeconomic outcomes. What was less clear initially, however, was how to explain respective levels of integration in terms of community power relationships and scope of public participation. Sewell and Phillips (1979) mentioned three measures or “fundamental tensions” of public participation that could lead to community control: degree of citizen involvement (defined as both numbers of citizens and degree of individual participation); equity in participation (or equitable decision-making); and efficiency of participation (or the degree of influence on decision-making or planning). These measures can be applied to Taquile Island to take an introspective look at its respective level of citizen participation in tourism decision-making (hence, citizen power). First of all, the degree of citizen involvement in tourism decision-making on Taquile Island is very high, not only in terms of numbers involved but also in the level of participation in administrative positions. Second, there appears to be a high equity in community decision-making and sharing of economic benefits on Taquile. Still, the equitability of public participation in community politics is questionable since women have a token role in determining policies or any other public decision-making. Third, participation on Taquile appears to be highly efficient when considering how the public’s view of interest may have influenced planning decisions. Local authorities may be quickly removed from their positions if poor decisions are made. Annual democratic elections on Taquile reduce the possibility of autocratic decision-making power. In addition, the public is consulted on all major issues that may affect their livelihood or community and individual traditions or values.

The results indicate that community awareness about tourism opportunities (Stage 1: Integration) is closely linked to local tourism planning and development (Stage 2: Planning). This is not an easy process, however, since it often requires a slow process of community building, particularly when conventional stakeholders do not view it as a productive activity (Reed 1997). The principal stakeholder for Taquile was the entire community, but it took several years to convince people of the economic advantages of tourism. Several individuals did more than promote the island and its unique culture to the outside world; they also employed a deliberate process of awareness raising in the community. These individuals are the principal “catalysts” or driving forces that prepared residents to determine the kind and degree of tourism that the community desired. Among their shared characteristics, they achieved legitimacy in the community; assumed an activist or advocate role; built on community strengths; and clarified possibilities. Their role highlights the importance of incorporating catalysts in community planning efforts for tourism if a fair and effective consensual process is desired.

Community unity as described in Figure 1 is one of the essential reasons that Taquile Island has been able to create and maintain a

community-based perspective in tourism. The participatory nature of the Taquileños was characterized by one key-informant as “collective consciousness”. This perhaps approximates the “organic solidarity” described by Galjart (1976), in which gratification is sacrificed to preserve the unity of the group. Until recently, tourism benefits have been shared by most residents for the “sake of the community”. This collective action for self-reliance concurs with Galjart’s assertion that an obvious common opponent can also underline the identity of interests and lead to increased solidarity. However, community solidarity has deteriorated in the past few years due to a trend towards individualism, consumerism, and globalization. As Chodak (1972) observed, a growth in individualism is often accompanied by a decline in traditional solidarity, or a transition from “brotherhood to otherhood”. Still, several anomalies exist that illustrate Taquile’s resolve to give consideration to both the individual and society in its business, governance, and traditions. The fact that private land ownership is encouraged alongside community work and communal profit-sharing is indicative of a market-oriented, democratic society, but one that is also strongly linked to community goal-setting and communal action.

As Dye (1986) and Reed (1997) have suggested, there is a difference in the types of policies that may or may not involve the community at large. These are *developmental* (policies that directly enhance the economic status of the community), *allocational* (policies that involve public services provided by local government), and *organizational* (policies that deal with issues of who will make decisions in the community and who will take responsibility for them). It is likely that the first type of policy is related to community awareness raising, and is greatly influenced by the conventional elite (Reed 1997). Organizational policies will likely be affected by community cohesiveness (unity or solidarity), as well as the form and extent of democratic structures and processes. From the key informant analysis, it is apparent that Taquile has involved its citizenry in all three types of policy decision-making, not only in terms of tourism development and management, but for all public issues and activities.

The main question is whether the framework stages of community integration and planning may lead to a relatively balanced sharing of economic benefits (Stage 3: Impacts). Brandon (1996), de Kadt (1979, 1992), and others have suggested that community control of tourism may not be an equitable process or lead to widespread distribution of benefits. The case of Taquile would appear to reject the notion that tourism benefits are not equally distributed, since almost everyone on the island receives some remuneration for tourism. Still, some residents have experienced reduced earnings as the community gradually loses control over how tourists travel to the island, where to eat, and where to stay. Even residents offering accommodation have seen their incomes reduced, especially those living far away from the main plaza.

Nevertheless, Healy (1994) observed that more opportunities for entry by the poor in a given economic sector are possible in a local handicraft industry than with capital-intensive tourism. Daily sales in the cooperative stores demonstrate that even the poorest participant in the local economy has the opportunity to benefit. Healy (1994:141) stated that income from handicraft production offers several advantages. First, artisans obtain cash income while remaining in the rural setting. This has alleviated pressure for migration to Lima and other Peruvian cities (as occurred in the 50s and 60s). Second, handicraft production on the island is episodic, allowing the producer to work on the item during slack periods between other tasks. Third, it tends to be equitable, in that it can provide a cash return for women, children, the handicapped, and the elderly.

For this research, impacts as mentioned in Stage 3 of Figure 1 primarily considered attitudinal and economic measures, with an emphasis on local economic benefits. Assumedly, greater community integration in tourism planning leads to increased economic benefits for all or many to share. If this is true, then measurements of local (island and regional) distribution of income and employment should clearly indicate a positive trend for economic impacts at the community level. On the other hand, there was little evidence to suggest that a highly integrated community would be able to prevent excessive leakages of income. This would support Butler's (1992) assertion that alternative tourism areas are typified by relatively simple economies with high levels of leakages. However, this problem is intrinsic in any relatively simple economy such as isolated or rural areas where food and energy need to be imported. Lindberg and Huber (1993) felt that collaborative linkages with outside government and marketing agents would be required to reduce leakages. Leakages would also be reduced if more local products and services were used. One alternative would be to reintroduce local food and other products or services into the island economy. There were several thousand tourists visiting Taquile annually in the early 80s with minimal non-local products or services (Healy and Zorn 1983), so it is conceivable that many tourists would be willing to experience more local food or travel with local guides as they once did.

Sociocultural benefits can be linked to tourism integration on Taquile Island. High public involvement in local decision-making, along with financial and promotional assistance provided by President Fujimori in recent years, have likely contributed to feelings of support for tourism by Taquile residents. These results concur with the findings of Prentice (1993), who suggested that beneficiaries of tourism revenues are more likely to support its development. If more residents perceived themselves to benefit from tourism, they may feel a greater sense of ownership and need to ensure its continued growth (albeit, on a sustainable basis), particularly if their livelihood depends upon its survival.

CONCLUSION

Some key characteristics that emerged from this research support the use of the assessment and planning framework presented in Figure 1. Awareness, unity, and power are three components of a dynamic relationship that comprise a public participation triangle. These elements played a crucial role in the planning and eventual implementation of community tourism policies and associated infrastructure, that for almost three decades has benefited a majority of Taquile Island residents. This research found that community catalysts may be critical to not only create awareness about tourism opportunities, but also to plan, develop, and manage tourism in an integrated manner. The influence of both local and non-local catalysts (or motivators, facilitators) has been relatively strong on Taquile Island. Historically, the strong interaction between community solidarity and communal action allowed various catalysts to help turn tourism awareness into product at a community-wide level.

Traditional power structures and processes on the island are largely responsible for transparent and consensual decision-making. Taquile has directed its own tourism planning and development through self-awareness and self-reliance, and a relatively fair and balanced power structure has facilitated a community-based tourism product. Admittedly, local control in decision-making in Taquile has diminished as Puno travel agencies are increasingly obtaining a large market share. Still, the community is relatively self-reliant with little outside interference in local politics and decision-making. Collective management of local services is also high, especially for handicrafts, accommodation, and entrance fee collection. Participation in decision-making has been a relatively democratic and equitable process, with one major exception being accessibility of power for women. Nevertheless, women are involved in most aspects of service provision and play a major, albeit informal, role in tourism administration and policy setting.

The integration and planning stages as illustrated in Figure 1 have been key components in the economic outcomes or impacts of the local tourism industry. There is a relatively equitable distribution of economic benefits for Taquile residents, partially due to high community unity and participation in decision-making, and high employment. The local handicraft industry offers opportunities for all citizens to participate and reap benefits, even if only part-time or on an occasional basis. Local ownership of the industry is high in this community (except for guides and boat transport, which are non-local or increasingly private). Moreover, there is a greater perception of economic benefits on Taquile Island due to tourism, even among those that receive little income from tourism.

In spite of the generally positive assertions about tourism integration in the community of Taquile, there are some darker clouds on the horizon that could dismantle this healthy balance. Change is

taking place here as elsewhere in the world. The forces of globalization and the move to freer markets are being felt everywhere, even in previously isolated Andean communities. Certain exogenous factors as described in Figure 1 are beginning to weaken community control over tourism demand and management. For example, the influence of the major visitor center of Puno has been both positive and negative. On one hand, Puno attracts tourists, creates employment, and supplies needed resources, but it also reaps a greater share of economic returns with its many guides, boat owners, and agencies. In addition, a current trend of individualism and consumerism is negatively affecting community unity and equitable distribution of benefits on Taquile.

This research has found that integration of tourism into the socioeconomic life of the community has relied on the tender balance between liberal market forces and collective participation, control, and benefit. If this balance is changed, then the integrative nature of community tourism may also diminish. In ethnic communities such as Taquile Island with unique traditional cultures, it is important for the residents to be active participants and beneficiaries of the industry, not simply cultural curiosities put on display by outside agents. Perhaps if residents of destination communities were more thoroughly integrated in tourism planning and management on a relatively equitable basis, they would also be more inclined to protect the natural and cultural resources that sustain their livelihood. ■

Acknowledgments—This paper is based on the first author's Master of Science thesis *Community Integration in Ecotourism: A Comparative Case Study of Two Communities in Peru*, 1998. Special appreciation is extended to the residents of Taquile Island and many others who contributed their time and assistance to this effort. Martha Mitchell and Pablo Huatta Cruz are owed a special debt of gratitude for their assistance with data collection and interpretation. This research was made possible by grants from the International Development Research Center (IDRC) and the Arthur D. Latonell Graduate Scholarship.

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Submitted 10 March 1999. Resubmitted 27 September 1999. Accepted 30 November 1999. Final version 15 January 2000. Refereed anonymously. Coordinating Editor: Regina G. Schlüter