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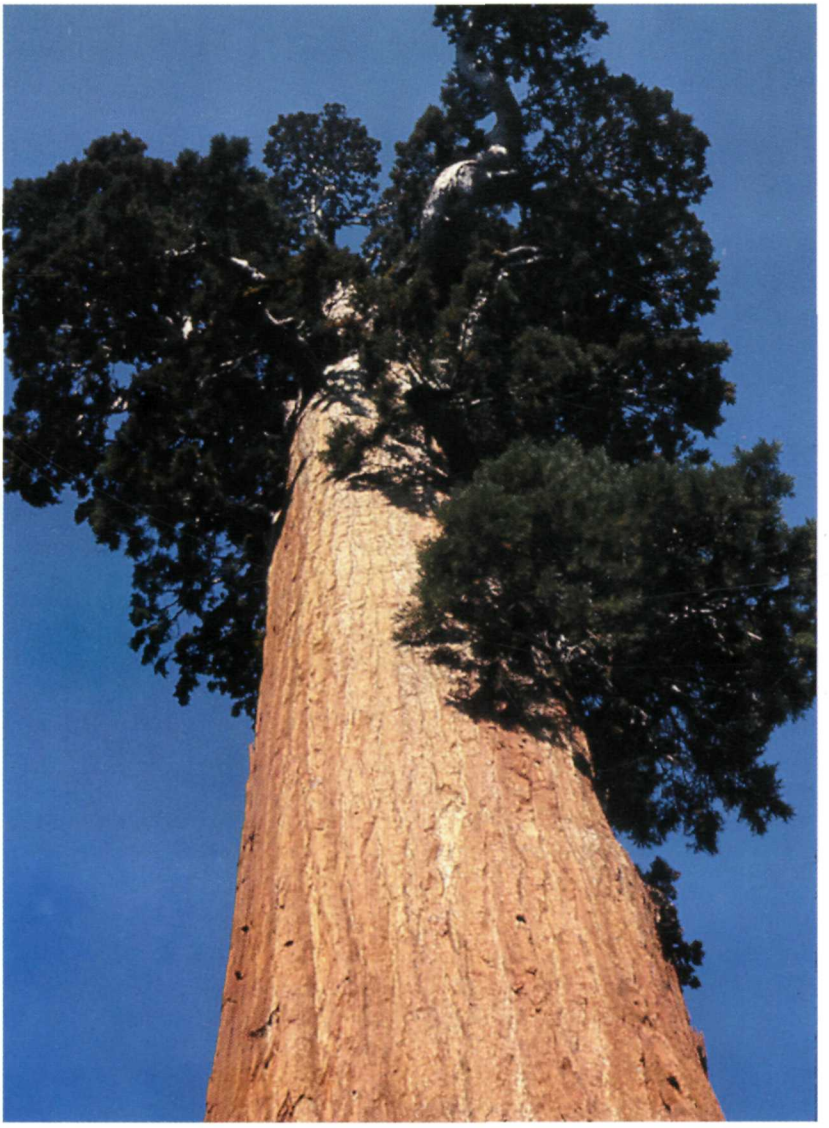

THE JOURNAL OF THE GEORGE WRIGHT SOCIETY

Dedicated to the Protection, Preservation and Management
of Cultural and Natural Parks and Reserves
Through Research and Education

# The George Wright Society

***Origins***

Founded in 1980, The George Wright Society is organized for the purposes of promoting the application of knowledge, fostering communication, improving resource management, and providing information to improve public understanding and appreciation of the basic purposes of natural and cultural parks and equivalent reserves. The Society is dedicated to the protection, preservation, and management of cultural and natural parks and reserves through research and education.

***Mission***

The George Wright Society advances the scientific and heritage values of parks and protected areas. The Society promotes professional research and resource stewardship across natural and cultural disciplines, provides avenues of communication, and encourage public policies that embrace these values.

***Our Goal***

The Society strives to be the premier organization connecting people, places, knowledge, and ideas to foster excellence in natural and cultural resource management, research, protection, and interpretation in parks and equivalent reserves.




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The George Wright Society is a member of
**US/ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites—U.S. Committee), IUCN–The World Conservation Union,** and **The Natural Resources Council of America**



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**On the Cover**: "Nature-based tourism is a large and growing industry..." proclaims author Paul Eagles on page 25. Visitors looking up at this giant sequoia might very well agree.

# Society News, Notes & Mail

## Nominations Open for 2003 Board Election

The 2003 GWS Board election, which will take place this September, is for the seats of two incumbents, David J. Parsons and Dwight T. Pitcaithley. Both Dave and Dwight are eligible to run for a second three-year term, and have indicated that they intend to do so. We are now accepting nominations from others who also wish to be candidates for these seats. The term of office runs from 1 January 2004 through 31 December 2006. Nominations are open through 1 July 2003. To be eligible, both the nominator and the potential candidate must be GWS members in good standing (it's permissible to nominate one's self). The potential candidates must be willing to travel to Board meetings, which usually occur once a year; help prepare for and carry out the biennial conferences; and serve on Board committees and do other work associated with the Society. Travel costs and per diem for the Board meetings are paid for by the Society; otherwise there is no remuneration. Federal government employees who wish to serve on the Board must be prepared to comply with all applicable ethics requirements and laws; this may include, for example, obtaining permission from one's supervisor and/or obtaining a conflict of interest waiver. The Society can provide prospective candidates with a summary of the requirements. The nomination procedure is as follows: members nominate candidates for possible inclusion on the ballot by sending the candidate's name to the Board's nominating committee. The committee then, in its discretion, determines the composition of the ballot from the field of potential candidates. Among the criteria the nominating committee considers when determining which potential candidates to include on the ballot are his/her skills and experience (and how those might complement the skills and experience of current Board members), the goal of adding and/or maintaining diverse viewpoints on the Board, and the goal of maintaining a balance between natural- and cultural-resource perspectives on the Board. (It is possible for members to place candidates directly on the ballot through petition; for details, contact the GWS office.) To propose someone for possible candidacy, send his or her name and complete contact details to: Nominating Committee, The George Wright Society, P.O. Box 65, Hancock, MI 49930-0065 USA. All potential candidates will be contacted by the nominating committee to get background information before the final ballot is determined. Again, the deadline for nominations is 1 July 2003.

## The Canon National Parks Science Scholars Program for the Americas

The Canon National Parks Science Scholars Program is pleased to announce its 2003 competitions. The program is a collaboration among Canon U.S.A.,

Inc., the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the U.S. National Park Service. Thanks to a generous commitment by Canon, the program will be awarding eight US$78,000 scholarships to Ph.D. students throughout the Americas to conduct research critical to conserving the national parks of the region. Research projects in the biological, physical, social and cultural sciences are eligible, as well as projects in a new category — technology innovation in support of conservation science. Applications must be received by 15 May 2003. For information about the Canon National Parks Science Scholars Program and a copy of the application guide, please go to http://www.nature.nps.gov/canonscholarships/.

## The Boyd Evison Graduate Fellowship

The Boyd Evison Graduate Fellowship was created by the Evison family, Grand Teton Natural History Association, and Grand Teton National Park to honor Evison and his dedication to science and conservation research in America's national parks. The fellowship supports study leading to a Master's degree in the biosciences, geosciences, or social sciences, and invites highly motivated graduate students to conduct thesis research within Grand Teton National Park and the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem. The goal of the fellowship is to encourage scientific and conservation-related research in the national parks. Fellowships are awarded for one year, with a second consecutive year offered if scholars maintain satisfactory academic performance. Funding includes tuition assistance and a stipend for travel and research expenses. Housing and office space are provided by Grand Teton National Park during the field season. For more information, or to make a donation toward the fellowship, contact Grand Teton Natural History Association, P.O. Box 170, Moose, Wyoming 83012.

**Ashish Kothari**

# Protected Areas and Social Justice: The View from South Asia

September 2000 was an unusual month in the life of the Sariska Tiger Reserve. Located in the western Indian state of Rajasthan, the reserve witnessed a meeting of several hundred resident villagers, senior wildlife officials of the state and union government, conservation experts and activists, social activists, representatives of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and university academics. A set of interesting factors had conspired to bring them together, at the root of which was the increasingly successful initiative of a community-based organization, Tarun Bharat Sangh, to conserve water, forests, and wildlife around several dozen villages in the area. For years prior to this, the reserve had seen conflicts: between local people intent on eking out a living inside the forests and government officials who believed their mandate was to stop them from doing so; and between commercial forces intent on short-term profits through mining and poaching and the reserve officials who were often helpless against the political and economic clout of these forces. Increasingly, government agencies had realized that laws and policing were simply not adequate to conserve the reserve's biodiversity, and that the cooperation of local people was absolutely necessary. At the meeting, those gathered committed to reducing human pressure on the one hand and enhancing conservation benefits to community members on the other, and pledged to protect the tiger and all creatures that lived with it. A decision was taken to form an overall Sariska Tiger Reserve Management Committee consisting of villagers, officials, and NGOs.

Sariska can well be considered as a microcosm of the larger situation prevailing in protected areas in most countries of the world. For the past century or more, governmental management of wildlife habitats has been centralized in the hands of a small bureaucracy. It has been based on the assumption that local people are, at best, helpful in labor-intensive works, and, at worst, destructive individuals who should be removed from the site as soon as possible. It has also assumed that all human use of natural resources must necessarily be destructive, and therefore that wildlife reserves should be devoid of human presence (except, for some strange reason, tourism!).

For communities in South Asian countries, the most important stake in nature is an assured access to biomass resources: to fuel, fodder, medicinal plants, thatch, honey, grass, fish, and the dozens of other natural products that they depend on for livelihood and cultural sustenance. That is where official wildlife policies and laws have gone wrong in the past: in curtailing not only destructive resources uses

(which was justified) but also sustainable ones; in converting legitimate users into criminals almost overnight; in forcing people to "steal," bribe, collude with poachers, and in other ways undermine conservation efforts; and in alienating people from their own homes. Coupled with the obvious hypocrisy of the elite conservation class, which zoomed about in cars in core zones from where villagers were kicked out, or which did not bat an eyelid in lining their houses with marble and granite possibly mined from a wildlife habitat, it is not surprising that the rural masses have developed a strong antipathy to "government tigers" and "government forests" (for a more detailed exposition of this trend, see various authors in Kothari et al. 1996; and Kothari 1999).

This is changing, though slowly. What happened in Sariska is the cutting edge of a silent revolution that is taking place in the way that conservation is envisioned and practiced across South Asia. From a centralized, elitist strategy, it is becoming decentralized, participatory, mass-based. From a sole focus on wildlife protection, it is moving towards more holistic biodiversity conservation, integrated with livelihood security of communities, and stretching across landscapes. In so doing, of course, it will encounter pitfalls and hurdles. Participatory conservation is by no means a panacea, nor is it smooth sailing…but as a direction, it is inevitable and unmistakable.

This paper attempts to delineate the major new initiatives towards participatory conservation in South Asia. Drawing lessons from the experiences so far from successful, and not so successful, initiatives, it points towards the direction in which changes are, or should be, taking place.

## The South Asian Context

South Asia, consisting of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, contains over one-fourth of the world's population, and some of earth's most diverse ecosystems. Three of the 18 global biodiversity "hotspots" identified by Myers et al. (1988, 1990) occur here.

The region's countries are culturally and politically extremely diverse, with three major world religions holding sway, and political regimes ranging from royal monarchy to democracy to dictatorship. Yet, there are many points of commonality: they have a common colonial past, they share a great deal of biodiversity amongst them, and their current natural resource management regimes are fairly similar (the discussion below is adapted from Kothari et al. 2000, which has a more detailed treatment of countrywide trends; see also essays in Kothari et al. 1998).

Bangladesh is best described as a country of wetlands, though the upland areas are also significant. Fishing occupies 75-85% of all rural households and a new policy — an aquatic version of land reform — aims to negotiate more secure leases and a greater share of income to those most dependent on fishing. Some initiatives have been recently started on community-based fisheries management and involvement in forest and protected area conservation. These are largely under the influence of external

donors, though of course there are a number of local NGOs, academics, and activists who have been advocating such an approach.

Bhutan has 70% of its area covered in forest, a relatively low population, and development strategies that the state claims are closely monitored from the environmental and cultural sustainability point of view. A unique feature of this country is its continuation of a royal monarchy. There may have been a significant conservation tradition, building on Buddhist culture, but not much appears to be documented on its precise nature, and whether it is still in use or being built upon by the state.

Conservation policy and decision-making, following a period of alienation of local communities, is slowly moving back in the direction of local involvement. For example, local communities are managing pastures within the Jigme Dorji National Park through a system of rotational grazing and levying of taxes on the grazing of yak herds. Traditional boundaries between village forests have also been recognized by the park's planning. Recent government forestry programs seek to transfer forest management responsibilities to local management groups, akin to the Nepal example discussed below.

India, a vast country with a multitude of ecosystems and peoples, has many traditions of conservation and restrained resource use (Gadgil, Berkes, and Folke 1993; Deeney and Fernandes 1992; Gokhale et al. 1997). The effectiveness of these measures has changed over the years. For example, sacred sites may have covered about 10% of the land and water in pre-British India, but only about a thousandth of this area may still be protected.

Official wildlife conservation policy has managed to reverse, to some extent, declines in wildlife populations. However, it has until recently retained the exclusivist and alienating tendencies mentioned above. A number of people's agitations have highlighted these issues. The government has responded during the last two decades with programs of joint forest management in degraded forest areas, and ecodevelopment in and around protected areas. These two main programs have a mixed record: in some cases they have helped local people to gain sustainable livelihoods, but both suffer from a lack of actual power-sharing with these people, and from the same exclusionary focus that characterized conventional policies. Several NGOs, community representatives, and some officials are advocating joint management strategies for wildlife reserves, but this has yet to gain formal acceptance. Recent legal measures, especially the devolution of powers to village-level institutions, have boosted such advocacy.

Nepal has become famous, in recent years, amongst advocates of local resource management for handing over rights (though not ownership) to some 400,000 ha of national forest to more than 7,000 community forest user groups. This has been accompanied by progressive changes in forest-related policy. With very little investment by government, community forest management capacity has been enhanced, some of the mid-hills

forests are now richer, and wildlife has significantly increased.

Wildlife conservation policies, however, have not been so community-sensitive until very recently. Issues similar to India's have been raised here too. Some protected areas have in fact been protected by the Royal Nepal Army, whose role has been "effective" from the wildlife point of view, but controversial with regard to local communities. There are signs of change, the strongest being recent measures which assist in devolution of management responsibilities to communities in so-called Conservation Areas (mostly in the mountains; see the case of Annapurna Conservation Area below). In the plains, legal amendments have mandated revenue-sharing with communities surrounding protected areas.

Pakistan, like India, is still pursuing a state-dominated approach to conservation of forests and wildlife that stems from the colonial era. However, compared with India there is less evidence of a history of local resistance to these top-down strategies. Combined with the recent record of more autocratic forms of governance, this may explain why participatory conservation efforts are a recent phenomenon catalyzed by donor-supported projects and national NGOs.

A number of such area-based projects have sought over a period of some twenty years to address conservation objectives, through efforts which prioritize development of village organizations and improvements in local livelihoods. Some recent government initiatives have begun to improve the potential for community-based conservation (see the cases given below). A feature of some of these initiatives is the focus on "sustainable harvest" of wild mammal species as a means of generating benefits for local people; this is extremely rare in the South Asian context, the only other example being from Nepal.

Sri Lanka, it is said by many, has only one truly traditional community (the Veddhas) left, as almost all sections of society are involved in some way with the modern mainstream economy. Yet there are still several million people dependent on natural resources for survival. There is significant human-wildlife conflict, e.g. related to elephants. A dominant historical feature with current bearings is the almost total take-over of lands and waterways by the colonial administration, a move that created strong alienation amongst local communities that earlier had significant traditions of sustainable management.

NGOs and donors are proving catalytic in an increasing number of participatory resource management initiatives. Possibly most far-sighted are the changes in coastal management, with significant community-based projects, which other maritime countries in the region can learn from.

## Some Case Studies

A few case studies would be illustrative of the different approaches used and the different stages reached in these countries, vis-à-vis participatory conservation in protected areas:

**Annapurna Conservation Area, Nepal.** This is a large (over 7,600 sq km), high-altitude area which had once become considerably degraded

due to local over-use and unregulated tourism. Peasant and pastoral communities had a serious lack of livelihood options. Over the last 15 years or so, through significant community involvement in managing tourism, conserving forests, and using other natural resources, the forests and wildlife populations have revived. This is perhaps Asia's first completely NGO-controlled conservation area. Out-migration remains an issue, as does the somewhat unequal distribution of benefits being generated from community-based conservation and ecotourism. (Krishna et al. In press).

**Sariska Tiger Reserve, India.** In the semi-arid zone of western India, agricultural communities have perceived serious problems due to local forest degradation and severe water shortages. With local NGO support, community-initiated water harvesting structures were built over the last decade and a half. This work is spread over several hundred villages, including a few dozen within the Sariska Tiger Reserve. With water harvesting initiatives, catchment forests have been regenerated through customary rules and regulations such as banning the cutting of live trees. *De facto* village control over the regenerated area has been asserted. The return of wildlife is a source of local pride. As noted above, this initiative has directly led to the official (if yet informal) acceptance of a joint management model. Outside the reserve, some villages have declared their own public wildlife sanctuaries (Shresth 2001).

**Hushey Valley, Central Karakoram National Park, Pakistan.** This high-altitude area, spread over 800 sq km, had witnessed considerable declines in wildlife populations until recently, caused by hunting and habitat degradation. Earlier distrust between local people and government officials was slowly broken down by a NGO- and government-initiated project that promised considerable benefits from an integrated conservation and development project. This is one of South Asia's few examples where revenue from mammal hunting (of the ibex) is the major incentive for habitat conservation. There is a small tourism component, and recent attempts have been made to diversify the livelihood options. The specific area of the participatory conservation initiative has been declared the Hushey Community Conservation Area, though with no legal backing (Raja et al. 1999).

**Chakrashila Wildlife Sanctuary, India.** Situated in the tribal region of northeast India, this rich forest area had serious problems of hunting and over-extraction of forest resources by timber merchants and poachers. An NGO, Nature's Beckon, established itself in the area and built up good rapport with local youth, who began confronting poachers and smugglers. Projects on kitchen gardens and non-timber forest products raised villagers' incomes slightly, while illegal activities were brought to an end. The area has regenerated well, and 45 sq km have been declared an official wildlife sanctuary at the instance of the NGO. Informally, local management remains with the villagers and the NGO, though formally the area belongs to the Forest Department (Datta 1998).

**Kalakad-Mundanthurai Tiger Reserve, India.** One of the first major ecodevelopment projects of the government of India and the Tamil Nadu state government, funded by the World Bank, this is reported to have been relatively successful in reducing the excessive pressure of human use on the tiger reserve, and to have generated livelihood benefits from alternative sources for the affected villagers. The residents are now supportive of the reserve, and have helped to oppose a major road that would have cut through it. The approach, however, does not yet include community involvement in decisions regarding the management of the reserve, which would be logical next step (Melkani 1999; Dutt 2001).

**Makalu-Barun National Park, Nepal.** Somewhat akin to the path-breaking Annapurna Conservation Area initiative, this effort is unique in that it is a collaborative effort between the Nepalese Department of National Parks and Wildlife Conservation and a foreign NGO, the Woodland Mountain Institute. Covering 2,330 sq km of valuable mountainous habitat, participatory management of the park has been promoted through empowerment of user groups. These groups function by building on existing customary rules, institutions, and practices. There is a strong focus on livelihoods and community welfare measures. However, gender issues and monitoring have been identified as areas of weakness (DNPWC and WMI 1990; DNPWC and WMI 1993; Rodgers and Uprety 1997).

**Kailadevi Wildlife Sanctuary, India.** A dry forest area of 674 sq km., this sanctuary is part of the Ranthambhor Tiger Reserve. Facing considerable erosion of their fuel/fodder base, resident villagers created institutions to protect forests independent of the government. Initially cold to these efforts, the Forest Department has recently tried to emulate them by establishing ecodevelopment and forest management committees in some villages. Officials and villagers have worked together in the matter of stopping the incursions of massive herds of migratory livestock. There is extensive vegetative regeneration, though changes in wildlife populations are not clear. NGO-initiated dialogues have discussed the issue of joint management of the sanctuary by the villagers and the Forest Department, but there is resistance from the latter. On the contrary, there are indications that the World Bank-funded ecodevelopment project, in which the department has initiated village-level committees, may be undermining the long-term self-sustaining nature of the villager-initiated committees (Das 1997; and Das, pers. comm., 2001).

**Khunjerab National Park, Pakistan.** Conventional conservation strategies had created a situation of hostility and distrust in this 2,270-sq-km mountainous protected area. NGOs and donors got together to plan a new management strategy that focused on alternative sources of livelihood, education, and inter-institutional coordination, backed by solid field research. Implementation of the plan is at a nascent stage, and continued hostility from one section of the area's population remains a constraint

(Ahmed 1996; Jamal 1996; Slavin 1993).

**Ritigala Strict Nature Reserve, Sri Lanka.** Rural populations around one of the country's most strictly protected areas (covering 15 sq km), have serious livelihood problems. Once-high levels of illegal activity by these villagers have declined with the initiation of employment and livelihood opportunities as part of a donor-aided project. The nature reserve being a major botanical store-house, medicinal plants and their processing are a major focus, and have attracted funding from a national Medicinal Plants Conservation Project. Interesting social re-alignment has also taken place, with people of different religions coming together under the initiative (Jayatilake et al. 1998; and personal conversations with participants of the initiative).

**Hikkaduwa Marine Sanctuary, Sri Lanka.** A degraded coral reef and marine area, heavily used by tourists, a tiny part of 48 hectares was declared a sanctuary. But there was not much protection effort until a community-based initiative was sponsored by donor agencies. A bold attempt to bring together disparate groups — local fisherfolk, glass-bottom boat owners, hoteliers, and others — was initially successful, but when donor-funded catalysts were withdrawn, the effort reportedly collapsed. Problems of inter-departmental coordination also remain an issue (HSAM 1996; and personal conversations with participants of the initiative).

**Muthurajawela Marsh, Sri Lanka.** This is coastal lagoon and marsh area of about 62 sq. km. north of Colombo, very rich in aquatic wildlife, but with severe pressure from several human activities. A part of it is declared a wildlife sanctuary. NGO initiatives towards conservation with local fisherfolk have helped to stave off large-scale diversion of the marshes for infrastructure development. Integrated conservation and development planning has been initiated with donor funding, starting with considerable social and ecological research. Community participation is reportedly uneven, being strong among the fisherfolk living near the lagoon, but weak among the communities in the marshes, whose members mostly work outside the area (CEA and Euroconsult 1994; Samarakoon 1995; and personal conversations with participants of the initiative).

**Periyar Tiger Reserve, India.** As part of a Global Environment Facility ecodevelopment project, a community that derived a substantial part of its income through poaching has become engaged in ecotourism and now has a major stake in conservation. The effort is being expanded, and the situation is ripe for a formalized participatory conservation approach for the buffer part of the reserve (Bagla 2000; P. Krishan, ecodevelopment officer, Periyar Tiger Reserve, Kerala Forest Department, pers. comm.).

**Royal Chitwan National Park, Nepal.** As part of the People and Parks Project of Nepal's Department of National Parks and Wildlife Conservation, villagers in the buffer areas of this and other national parks in the plains of Nepal are receiving a substantial share of the tourism and other revenues that the protected areas

make. Participatory institutional structures are attempting to ensure decision-making by the local people in many aspects of the project (DNPWC 2000). However, management role of the villagers in the parks themselves remains limited.

There are other examples of innovative participatory approaches. The World Wide Fund for Nature, for instance, is proposing a series of landscape or ecoregional conservation initiatives, such as the Terai Arc across the Indo-Nepal border, and a similar initiative is being started by state governments and NGOs across the Satpura hill range in central India.

## Community Conservation Areas

An interesting complementary trend to the one described above is that of communities conserving or regenerating natural habitats on their own. To some extent one sees this even in the examples above, as in Sariska and Kailadevi. But since these are within officially declared areas, the scope for community control and management is limited. There are, however, hundreds, perhaps thousands, of areas where village communities have converted degraded forest lands into lush forests, protected landscapes considered traditionally sacred or important, sustainably managed wetlands and grasslands, and in other ways revived or maintained the biodiversity values of natural ecosystems. A more detailed exposition on this by Pathak and Kothari appears separately in this volume. The analysis and conclusions here derive as much from the cases mentioned above as from these community conserved areas.

## Lessons from Ongoing Initiatives

Experience from a range of participatory conservation initiatives is providing crucial insights for the future of protected area management in South Asia (and is perhaps applicable to the rest of the tropics). For instance:

1. Communities need a strong stake in conserving the local ecosystems and species. This is more often than not likely to be economic or livelihood-based, but it could also be social recognition, political empowerment, and cultural sustenance. Tenurial security over natural resources essential for survival and basic livelihoods is most important.
2. This means that in most cases there is a need to integrate conservation values and imperatives with livelihood requirements. This is by no means easy, and may call for some give-and-take, but in the long run such integration is critical for both conservation and for social justice.
3. Conservation can often be approached from the "development" angle. Water security has been the incentive for forest regeneration in many instances; it could as well be rural development aimed at meeting basic needs, from which conservation is launched.
4. The above also means that the sharp and artificial boundaries between different line agencies or departments of government, and between different academic disciplines, need to be broken. An ecosystem or a community does not work in such compartmentalized manner. Nor can the protected area be seen

as a compartment in itself, isolated from its surrounds; hence the increasing thrust towards a "landscape" or "ecoregional" approach.

5. No single formula is going to work across the region, indeed even within the same country. Decisions taken at faraway centers rarely take into account local concerns or local ecological and cultural specificities. There could be a broad framework of conservation, but within that there has to be flexibility to allow for alternative management—and even legal—arrangements.
6. Transparency and openness in decision-making, and full access to information by all relevant stakeholders, is critical.
7. Communities often sustain conservation initiatives through recourse to customary laws and social sanctions. Yet they often require the backing of statutory legal authority, especially in tackling 'outsiders' who are not subject to customary laws.
8. The role of government officials, NGOs, donors, or individual leaders within a local community can be crucial. However, long-term sustainability requires that the characteristics of such leadership or catalysts need to be transferred to larger number of people, and to some extent institutionalized, if the initiative is not to collapse.
9. A strong coalition between wildlife officials, local communities, and NGOs is often able to tackle serious commercial and industrial threats to wildlife habitats, where any one of these actors may have failed on their own. The role of people's mass movements is critical, there being several examples where such movements were able to stop mining or dams or industries when official agencies were unable to do so.
10. Serious inequities within communities can confound participatory initiatives, and need to be tackled from the start. It is critical that the most disadvantaged sections of society, including women and children and the landless, are centrally involved in making decisions and receiving benefits. This requires the identification of "primary" stakeholders, i.e. those most critically dependent on the area's resources, and with the ability and willingness to anchor the conservation initiative.
11. Finally, sustainability of the initiative is dependent on building the capacity of local actors to understand and monitor the ecosystem, manage institutional structures, and become relatively self-sufficient in technical and financial resources. Where successful local institutions and customs already exist, these should be built on rather than replaced by new ones.

## Policy and Legal Measures in the Region

Slowly but surely, initiatives such as those described above are forcing, or being facilitated by, increasingly participatory policies and laws. Until recently these have been mostly non-participatory, with powers and functions for planning and implementing conservation programmes being largely held by centralized bureaucracies.

Local communities have had virtually no legally enforceable means of involvement, and even where they are involved, it is either through self-attained empowerment, or at the discretion of government agencies.

Changes in this situation require that policy and legal measures be taken with at least three basic objectives:

- facilitating the empowerment of local, resource-dependent communities to manage and protect adjoining ecosystems and species, and the participation of all other stakeholders in various capacities;
- ensuring the biomass and other subsistence and livelihood rights of these people, including appropriate tenurial arrangements;
- regulating human activities to ensure their compatibility with conservation and sustainable livelihood values; in particular, prohibiting destructive commercial-industrial activities in areas of conservation or cultural value.

Table 1 summarizes some major new policy and legal initiatives in this direction.

Additionally, government programs and schemes are also moving in this

**Table 1. Policy and legal measures towards participatory conservation and natural resource management in South Asia. For an for annotated list of these and other relevant laws/policies, see Kalpavriksh and IIED 2000.**

| *Facilitating a community-based approach* | *Policy* | *Law* |
|---|---|---|
| **No or minimal recognition** | Past policies, such as Indian Forest Policy (1952) | • Indian Wild Life (Protection) Act (1972)<br>• Bangladesh Wildlife (Preservation) Amendment Act (1974)<br>• Islamabad Wildlife (Protection, Preservation, Conservation, Management) Ordinance (1979)<br>• Sri Lanka Fauna and Flora Protection (Amendment) Act (1993) |
| **Partial recognition** | • National Environmental Management Plan, Bangladesh<br>• New Fisheries Management Policy, Bangladesh (1986)<br>• National Conservation Strategy, Bhutan<br>• National Conservation Strategy and Policy Statement, India (1992)<br>• National Conservation Strategy, Nepal [date?]<br>• National Conservation Strategy, Pakistan (1992); Forest Policy Statement, Pakistan (1991); Proposed Wildlife Policy, Pakistan [date?]<br>• The Sri Lanka Forestry Sector Master Plan (1995); Coastal Zone Management Plan (CZMP), Sri Lanka (1990)<br>• Joint Forest Management and Ecodevelopment guidelines, India [date?] | • Bhutan Forest and Nature Conservation Act (1995)<br>• Indian Forest Act (1927)<br>• Nepal Forest Act (1993)<br>• National Parks and Wildlife Conservation Act, Nepal (1973, amended 1993)<br>• Proposed Indian Wild Life (Protection) Amendment Act<br>• Pakistan Forest Act (1927)<br>• Sri Lanka Coast Conservation Act (1981)<br>• Sri Lanka Forest Ordinance (1907, amended 1995) |
| **Substantial recognition** | • National Forest Policy, India (1988)<br>• National Forest Policy, Nepal (1995)<br>• National Conservation Strategy, Pakistan (1992)<br>• Draft Wildlife Policy, Pakistan [date?]<br>• National Forestry Policy, Sri Lanka (1995)<br>• Forestry Sector Master Plan, Sri Lanka (1995)<br>• Coastal Zone Master Plan, Sri Lanka (1997) | • Sri Lanka Fisheries Act No. 2 of 1996<br>• Indian Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act (1996)<br>• Proposed Biological Diversity Bill 2000, India |

direction. In India, the proposed new National Wildlife Action Plan, and the ongoing process of preparing a National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (NBSAP), promise to facilitate participatory conservation.

## Next Steps

Participatory conservation initiatives point towards the urgent need to carry out the following broad steps (which may be manifested in myriad ways depending on local situations):

1. Reviving biomass resource rights of traditional communities, where this is sustainable, to strengthen the stake in conservation as well as for reasons of social justice. Where unsustainable, participatory development of alternatives is needed.
2. Recognizing and continuing existing positive links between natural habitats and villagers, e.g. in the use of medicinal plants for *bona fide* personal or local consumption, or in the protection of sacred spaces and land/seascapes.
3. Helping enhance livelihoods based on forest or wetland produce, coupled with increasing the sense of responsibility towards conservation.
4. Moving towards an expanded set of protected area (preferably renamed "conservation area") categories, which range from strictly protected ones (where all but the protection staff are barred entry, such as Ritigala in Sri Lanka), to those with minimal traditional use (e.g. current protected areas with tiny human populations, such as Anshi National Park, Karnataka, southern India), to sustainable resource-use ones (such as Annapurna Conservation Area, Nepal, and most of the region's non-protected area forests, grasslands, wetlands, and coasts), to community protected ones (such as sacred groves, community protected village forests and tanks, larger wetlands, and so on). Seen in this way, the conservation area network in countries such as India could expand to over 10% of its territory, double the current extent. And inviolate areas could easily be more than 1% of that territory—provided they are declared in consultation with local people (see Bhatt and Kothari 1997).
5. Creating new institutional structures or strengthening existing ones, from joint management boards at the level of each protected area to participatory advisory bodies at provincial and national levels. Some countries are already experimenting with such structures. One radically new approach being advocated is joint protected area management, but its advocates are careful to point out that this is one of several new possible models, and may not be applicable in every situation (Apte and Kothari 2000).
6. Furthering legal and policy changes of a much bolder nature than generally witnessed so far.

Perhaps most important, a change in attitude at all levels within and outside government is essential. Wildlife officials, NGOs, and community members must be able to sit on an equal plane and chalk out joint strategies. Most important, they must be able to join hands to fight the 'devel-

opmental' juggernaut which otherwise threatens to consume every wildlife habitat as raw material and every local community as cheap labor.

In India, the recently set up Conservation and Livelihoods Network (CLN), aims to build such bridges, synthesize lessons being learnt from field experiences, document positive examples of community-based and collaborative conservation, and in other ways advocate and encourage the shift towards new models of achieving wildlife conservation and livelihood security. The CLN has been born out of a series of national consultations initiated in 1997 called "Building Bridges: Wildlife Conservation and People's Livelihood Rights," and held annually since (see successive issues of *Protected Area Update,* Kalpavriksh, Pune). The Sariska meeting, with which I started this essay, is partly an outcome of these dialogues…a wonderful example of how attitudinal change and practical demonstration can bring erstwhile enemies to sit, eat, and conserve together.

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# Our History's History

Any reconstruction of the past is a cultural artifact, reflecting its own time and intervening in the world in which it is produced. The ideological and social functions of any reconstruction of the past should interest the historian.

*— Edward Countryman, "John Ford's Drums Along the Mohawk"*

## Introduction

My historical research with the National Park Service (NPS) has led me to some pretty interesting places, from Washington family deeds to the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps. As I have studied various reports, historical studies, and site histories, I began to acutely perceive changes evident in historiography today. It is important to periodically stop, look around, and see where we are going. The study and application of history and its applied concepts is constantly changing as society evolves, and recent NPS initiatives reflect these trends. Common themes emerging in historiography and resource preservation include broadening research bases, enlarging our focus to examine large trends and cultural exchange among peoples, as well as a new emphasis on cultural resource management. In some respects, NPS is returning to its roots while at the same time embracing new philosophical changes. I will first cover official policies and regulations that reflect these changes, and follow with specific examples from park sites and research projects.

## Where We've Been

It is important to continually analyze the interpretation that NPS gives to the public, and the facts which we base our understandings on. Anyone studying American history today owes a great debt of gratitude to the historians of the 1960s and 1970s. The patriotic decades of the Civil War Centennial, national Bicentennial, and the Cold War sparked a massive interest in local, regional, and national history. While communities and cities across the nation produced their own historic studies, NPS historians churned out dozens of site histories, historic resource studies, and base histories. The research and interpretations gleaned in this period forms the basis for much of our current understanding at many national parks, as well as the basis for interpretive programming at many sites.

While these are excellent resources, they often have not been updated since publication; many sites in the National Park System are using historic studies that are twenty or thirty years old. Such documents were straightforward studies that often did not probe deeply into the political or social realms of their respective topics. Nor did they explore important themes for interpretation, but instead simply provided factual information. These reports outlined the major

events associated with their sites, provided base maps, and were often the first attempt to assemble a bibliography or highlight the location of primary sources for these resources. These studies are good, solid foundations, now being built upon by new, more in-depth research.

## Thematic Framework for History

Larger trends and themes are the focus of the 1996 NPS thematic framework for history. Developed at the request of Congress, the thematic framework guides historical scholarship and interpretation at park sites as well as the application of historical research throughout the agency. The new framework emphasizes processes of cultural change, landscapes, and people, rather than categorizing and breaking down research into strict areas. This document also recommends that historical scholarship be solidly grounded in new and ongoing research.

Whereas earlier historians categorized and divided events by topic or presented events in a manner that implied progress, we are now encouraged to see a broad view of history and the flow of events and trends. The thematic framework is also receptive to the growing social and cultural focus of history. This way of thinking encourages a holistic approach to historical study that focuses on cultural values and seeks to integrate social, political, economic, and technological factors. The framework seeks to bring NPS historical research into line with current scholarship: emphasizing social and cultural history.

The thematic framework is applicable not only at historical sites in interpretive planning, but also in National Register and National Historic Landmark (NHL) selection. The National Register of Historic Places is an honorary list of significant historic properties, conveying no official protection but making the site eligible for preservation grants. NHLs are a select group of the most significant sites with high integrity; there are over 75,000 sites on the National Register, but only 2,000 NHLs.

The mill complex at Lowell, Massachusetts, for example, was initially placed on the National Register for its architectural features and role in industrial development. Currently, however, the park also emphasizes its social history, primarily the impact of factory work on young women. The recent National Register nomination for Kings Mountain National Military Park in South Carolina focuses not only on the Revolutionary War battle fought there, but also on the monuments and subsequent commemoration of the site.

The new thematic framework also affects Section 106 compliance work under the National Historic Preservation Act. All federally funded projects use the Section 106 process to review proposals to ensure historic resources are not threatened or adversely affected. Numerous highway projects and construction plans have been altered when research showed a negative impact on historic features that might otherwise have been missed. Furthermore, the thematic framework also serves to "guide the NPS, working independently, and with its partners." It sets the standards by which history

will be conducted, historic data collected, and historical information will be interpreted.

Evidence of this new historical research can also be found in recent issues of the magazine *Cultural Resource Management,* a publication of the NPS. Recent articles have focused on ethnographic studies of various ethnic groups, the development of new park areas such as Manzanar National Historic Site (a World War II Japanese-American internment camp), and restoration of traditional cultural landscapes. Other recent articles have focused on aspects of cultural preservation among ethnic groups such as Creole and Alaskan peoples.

As Katherine Stevenson, formerly the NPS associate director for cultural resources, stated, NPS has taken "important steps in protecting vernacular rural and urban resources.... Greater inclusiveness would draw attention to the fuller spectrum of heritage resources that includes natural features as well as the constructed, and places of work as well as birthplaces of the famous."

## Rethinking National Parks for the 21st Century

The National Park System Advisory Board recently stressed many of the same points. The board, a congressionally appointed group of citizens charged with providing advice and direction for the agency, produced a plan outlining goals for NPS for the next twenty-five years. *Rethinking the National Parks for the 21st Century* recommends that NPS redouble its efforts to focus on education, preservation of resources, and building partnerships with outside agencies.

NPS has been directed to examine the effectiveness of its interpretation in light of recent scholarship, and ensure that historical events are presented within "the larger human context." Education is to become a major priority of NPS sites and interpretive efforts, and they must be grounded in current scholarship.

Examples of effective partnerships may be found at Petroglyph National Monument in New Mexico, which preserves an area of prehistoric rock art. The park works with the city of Albuquerque to manage and inventory the fragile petroglyphs. Lowell National Historical Park's Tsongas Industrial History Center is a model partnership between the park and the University of Massachusetts–Lowell Graduate School of Education. The center uses hands-on activities and unique learning programs to explore nineteenth-century industrial history and the lives of workers.

## Strategic Plan

The 1997 *National Park Service Strategic Plan* also focuses on these same issues. It clearly states that "the ultimate success of the National Park Service in protecting and preserving the nation's parks may depend on the availability of credible scientific and scholarly information on which to make informed management decisions." Furthermore, the plan also declares that "the National Park Service must strive to further protect and preserve our nation's natural and cultural resources." Resource protection is a major goal outlined in the plan,

along with educating the public to appreciate these resources.

This document also emphasizes creating partnerships, reaching out to private institutions to increase knowledge of park resources and explore ways of improving their preservation, and focusing more on education and research. Interpretation must be grounded in solid research, and parks must be committed to education.

As with the other documents, the *Strategic Plan* emphasizes the inventory and preservation of structures and resources. NPS is directed to place special emphasis on protecting historic and archeological resources and improving cultural inventories. Cultural landscapes, archeological sites, historic structures, and collections are receiving more appreciation for their values within the thematic framework.

The concepts outlined in the thematic framework for history, the Advisory Board's *Rethinking National Parks in the 21st Century,* and the *Strategic Plan* also lend themselves to the potential creation of new NPS sites. Evaluating a site's significance, its current representation in the National Park System, and its integrity help determine if inclusion is appropriate and feasible. Examples of new NPS sites include Minute Man Missile National Historic Site in South Dakota (a Cold War missile site), First Ladies National Historic Site in Ohio (honoring the often-neglected presidential wives), and Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site in Alabama (commemorating the role of African Americans in World War II). These new sites represent themes in American history currently under-represented within the National Park System.

## Interpretation

Park planning also feels the influence of these trends as historians and planners formulate general management plans (GMPs), which guide park themes, and comprehensive interpretive plans (CIPs), which outline specific interpretive goals and themes within a long-range vision for a park site. CIPs are updated periodically to reflect current scholarship and incorporate emerging sources. Interpretive planning has become a highly developed procedure that includes working with partners to tackle research needs, establishing an interpretive database of sources, laying out objectives, and designing programs. The CIP process reflects the current trends we see elsewhere: working with partners, broadening themes, and updating research databases.

NPS is also frequently called upon to conduct research projects and assist local and state governments with assessing and preserving historic resources. Some recent projects also reflect the new trends in historiography. Examples include the Underground Railroad preservation project and the Rivers of Steel National Heritage Area. These programs focus on local history, ethnic groups, class, race, and religion, examining how local areas were impacted by larger events and trends in American history. More importantly, they are partnerships which connect Park Service historians and planners with outside counterparts to achieve goals.

## Management Policies

The current NPS *Management Policies,* which outlines servicewide standards, clearly articulates these ideas. For example, interpretation and visitor services "will be developed and operated in accordance with the NPS Organic Act," meaning preservation is at the forefront of planning and park activities. The policy document goes on to state that "interpretive and educational programs will be based on current scholarship and research."

Anticipating future changes, NPS planners are directed to "monitor new or changing patterns of use or trends in recreational activities, and assess their potential impacts on park resources." Keeping up with not only historical research, but the use of park resources, is a never-ending part of the game.

Again the issue of partnerships emerges, as the *Management Policies* direct NPS to "establish mutually beneficial agreements with interested groups to facilitate collaborative research, consultation, park planning, training, and cooperative management approaches with respect to park cultural resources and culturally important natural resources."

## Cultural Resource Management

While NPS is forging ahead to update its historical database, freshen its interpretive themes, and improve its collection and archeological information, the agency is also returning to its roots. At the very heart of NPS philosophy is the 1916 Organic Act, which created the National Park Service and instructed it to "conserve the scenery and the natural and historical objects and wild life therein, and to provide for the enjoyment of the same, in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

In areas of park planning, use, and resource management, we are seeing a return to preservation over enjoyment. Not that recreation is discouraged, but planners are now emphasizing the protection of a resource over its use by the public. In recent years, for example, Gettysburg National Military Park has closed off areas of the battlefield damaged by heavy visitation, allowing them to recover. Protection of the resource took priority over visitor access. Valley Forge National Historical Park is developing a new General Management Plan to assess appropriate areas of recreation within the historic encampment site. The trend extends into other areas as well, such as the use of jet skis and snowmobiles in some NPS units.

## Jamestown Archeological Assessment

Launched in the mid-1990s, the Jamestown Archeological Assessment is looking at the site of England's first permanent colony in a new light. Using new technology and recently found sources, historians and archeologists are looking at the island's history to form a more complete picture of the site. Building on fundamental knowledge assembled in the 1930s and 1950s, the assessment is focusing on the town's growth after the demise of the celebrated fort (which was the traditional focus of Jamestown scholarship), assessing the island's climate, and analyzing emerging social trends

through artifacts and archeology. Using state-of-the-art archeological surveys and recently discovered primary sources, the assessment combines the expertise of social historians, curators, military historians, anthropologists, and archeologists. Similar projects are underway nationwide. Not only is new information surfacing, our approach to history today is fundamentally different from what it was thirty years ago.

## Broadening the Focus at Battlefield Sites

This new historical approach is also reflected in a recent congressional mandate for NPS Civil War parks to broaden their interpretive focus beyond specific battles. Presenting the causes of the war, its effect on civilians, and its legacy will put this event into its proper context within nineteenth-century American culture. Visitors to battlefields will still learn about weapons, tactics, and battle movements, but will also be exposed to a broader range of information, which will give the sites more relevance.

## Battlefield Surveys

Finally, we see applied historical thought and new perspectives in preservation in programs such as the 1990 Civil War Sites Survey and the current Revolutionary War/War of 1812 Battlefield Survey. These ambitious projects identified battle sites and worked with landowners to seek ways to preserve them. Rather than focus on just battlefields, planners also identified other places of strategic importance, such as camp sites and river crossings. From the start it was a partnership-based project, with Park Service historians working closely with state historic preservation staff and local historians in identifying and evaluating sites.

NPS planners held training sessions with private researchers to discuss methodology and application of National Register criteria. The Civil War Sites Survey applied a standard format to evaluating the condition and integrity of battlefields and, thus, potential threats and ways to preserve them. The Revolutionary War/War of 1812 Battlefield Survey does not intend to create new parks or even to preserve every site identified, but to create a database of information that local governments can use in future planning and zoning. Here is another example of NPS providing assistance at the state and local levels.

## Conclusion

In our interpretive programs, historical research, park planning and programming, creating new parks, and National Register, NHL, and Section 106 work, these revised historical themes offer new and exciting ways for historians to reach out to other disciplines. The agency is focusing more on education, on interpretation based on sound research, and on establishing partnerships to achieve its goals.

With this current direction in historical thought, NPS is also returning to its roots by re-asserting fundamental values of preservation and resource management. Perhaps the NPS mission statement says it best:

> The National Park Service preserves unimpaired the natural and cultural resources and values of the national park system for the enjoy-

ment, education, and inspiration of this and future generations. The Park Service cooperates with partners to extend the benefits of natural and cultural resource conservation and outdoor recreation throughout this country and the world.

In the future we will see new and more comprehensive interpretive plans in place at historic sites, updated historical reports on which to construct our interpretations, and new parks representative of all aspects of American history.

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# International Trends in Park Tourism: The Emerging Role of Finance

## Introduction

Nature-based tourism is a large and growing global industry (Ceballos-Lascurain 1998). Nature-based tourism is largely dependent upon two fundamental supply-side factors: (1) appropriate levels of environmental quality and (2) suitable levels of consumer service. This paper discusses the nature-based tourism market globally, and, more specifically, the segment of this tourism occurring in parks and protected areas.

Nature-based tourism has become sufficiently large that submarkets are apparent. Eagles (1995a) suggests, using a motive-based methodology for segmentation, that the nature-tourism market contains at least four recognizable niche markets: ecotourism, wilderness use, adventure travel, and car camping.

Ecotourism involves travel for the discovery of and learning about wild, natural environments. Wilderness travel involves personal re-creation through primitive travel in natural environments that are devoid of human disturbance. Adventure travel is personal accomplishment through the thrills of dominating dangerous environments. Car camping is safe, family travel in the interface between the wild and the civilized (Eagles 1995a). This classification utilizes unique sets of social motives to identify the market segments. Each of the niche markets is at a different stage in the typical business cycle using Butler's (1980) tourism life-cycle analysis approach. Ecotourism and adventure tourism have considerable growth potential, according to this analysis. Wilderness travel is reaching capacity in many locales because of the requirement of very low-density use in wilderness destinations. Car camping is probably in decline, or soon will be, largely due to the peak population profile of the developed word passing beyond the ages in which camping is popular. All four of these market segments are visible in park tourism internationally. Given the different travel motivations in each submarket, it is important for planners and managers to be aware of the implications for park visitor management—for example, the levels of social grouping, the level of desired service, the level of environmental quality, and the desired environmental attributes vary amongst the four submarkets. It is important to note that such submarket differences only become visible when the nature-based tourism volume reaches a sufficiently large size.

Nature-based tourism is a large and growing segment of international tourism. In several countries where the most important export industry is

tourism, nature-based tourism is a key component. These countries include Australia, Kenya, Nepal, New Zealand, Tanzania, Costa Rica, and Botswana, to name a few. Each country has global competition in this field. Recognition of such competition, combined with the growing economic importance of the associated tourism industries, leads to more thoughtful policy and institutional development. There is a constructive role played by positive and consultative policy development in nature-based and park tourism. Three examples are worthy of note: Australia, Tanzania, and New Zealand. In these countries, the phrase "ecotourism" is used frequently, with a meaning equivalent to that ascribed to "nature-based tourism" above.

The 1994 national ecotourism strategy for Australia succinctly summarizes the background to the aggressive and successful policy development in that country:

> [E]cotourism offers the potential to generate foreign exchange earnings, employment, and other economic and social benefits, particularly in regional areas. It presents Australia with the opportunity to make the most of its competitive advantage, with its spectacular and diverse natural features, unique flora and fauna and diverse cultural heritage. Ecotourism can also provide resources for environmental conservation and management and an incentive for the conservation and sustainable use of public and private land (Allcock et al. 1994, 5).

To ensure the success of the national policy, the Australian government committed AUS$10,000,000 over four years for the implementation of the strategy. Following the national lead, each state started to develop a similar regional policy, the latest being the one for New South Wales (Worboys 1997). The combination of national and state ecotourism strategies in Australia helped this country become the world's leader in nature-based tourism.

Tanzania, a nature-based tourism leader in Africa, has a draft national tourism policy document, an integrated master plan, and an infrastructure plan. The northern tourism loop from Arusha through Kilimanjaro National Park, Serengeti National Park, and Ngorongoro Conservation Area is one of the most attractive nature tourism routes in the world (Wade 1998). A key part of the national effort is to develop a second loop to national parks and wildlife reserves, such as Ruaha National Park and Selous Game Reserve, in the southern part of the country. However, in recent years Tanzania and the other nature-tourism destinations in eastern Africa are finding increasing competition from a strong, aggressive, and rapidly growing nature-tourism industry in South Africa.

New Zealand has a very successful nature-based tourism policy that involves high levels of public and private cooperation in the protection of landscapes, the management of protected areas, and the delivery of tourism services. Cessford and Thompson (2002) outline the key role that the protected area system plays in this country's tourism industry.

These three countries have government policy as the framework for a whole range of public and private activities. This policy structure fosters a suitable environment for the development of nature-based tourism gen-

erally, and park tourism specifically. Government policy plays a very important role in the development of tourism industries that are financially and ecologically sustainable.

The goal of this paper is to describe trends in international in park tourism globally, with an emphasis on the emerging role of tourism in park finance. Implications for tourism planners and managers are discussed.

## Research Methods

The content of this paper is based upon several research techniques. The existing literature on park tourism provides background. Access to unpublished documents and data sources of the Protected Areas Data Unit of the World Conservation Monitoring Centre in Cambridge, United Kingdom, allowed for the inclusion of up-to-date information on the status of the world's parks and protected areas. Secondary data analysis of a national survey of Canadian park finance (Van Sickle and Eagles 1998) provided information on finance, budget, and operational policies within that country. Access to a database on North American visitor use in parks allowed for presentation of current tourism levels (Eagles, McLean, and Stabler 2000). North American examples are frequently used because of the depth of the information available, and because they illustrate important principles that have a wider utility. Conversations with scholars and managers of park tourism in many countries contributed contextual and trend information. The preparation of this paper involved site visits to observe park tourism in the following countries: Australia, Austria, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Kenya, Indonesia, Lesotho, New Zealand, Mexico, Slovenia, Switzerland, South Africa, Tanzania, United Kingdom, United States of America, and Venezuela.

## Trends in Park Establishment

Globally, the area of land covered by the world's parks and protected areas increased considerably from 1900 to 1996. By 1996 the world's network of 30,361 parks covered an area of 13,245,527 sq km, representing 8.84% of the total land area of the planet. Protected areas have been created in 225 countries and dependent territories (Green and Paine 1997). Figure 1 shows the growth of this network over a 100-year period. The impressive growth of the world's park network is the result of the widespread acceptance of the ecological ethic (Kellert 1979) and aggressive political action. It appears that the tourism activity occurring at these sites created a self-perpetuating phenomenon of visitation, education, and desire for more parks, visitation, and education.

The global network includes a wide variety of types of protected areas, ranging from nature reserves through to protected landscapes and managed resource protection areas, within IUCN's six-category system (Figure 2; IUCN 1994). Within this system, the categories vary according to the level of human development allowed, with Category I allowing the least human impact and Category VI the most. The management categories system classifies the many different types of protected area designations in use around the world by providing a

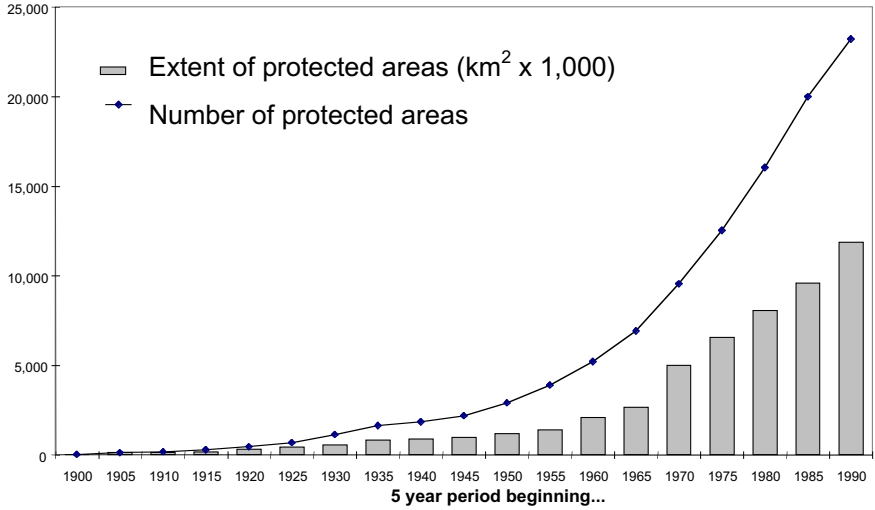


Figure 1. Cumulative growth of protected areas, 1900–1995.

| | |
|---|---|
| CATEGORY I | Strict Nature Reserve/Wilderness Area: protected area managed mainly for science or wilderness protection |
| CATEGORY Ia | Strict Nature Reserve: protected area managed mainly for science |
| *Definition:* | Area of land and/or sea possessing some outstanding or representative ecosystems, geological or physiological features and/or species, available primarily for scientific research and/or environmental monitoring. |
| CATEGORY II | National Park: protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation |
| *Definition:* | Natural area of land and/or sea, designated to a) protect the ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for present and future generations, b) exclude exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of designation of the area, and c) provide a foundation for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities, all of which must be environmentally and culturally compatible. |
| CATEGORY III | Natural Monument: protected area managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features |
| *Definition:* | Area containing one, or more, specific natural or natural/cultural features which is of outstanding or unique value because of its inherent rarity, representative or aesthetic qualities or cultural significance. |
| CATEGORY IV | Habitat/Species Management Area: protected area managed mainly for conservation through management intervention |
| *Definition:* | Area of land and/or sea subject to active intervention for management purposes so as to ensure the maintenance of habitats and/or to meet the requirements of specific species. |
| CATEGORY V | Protected Landscape/Seascape: protected area managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and recreation |
| *Definition:* | Area of land, with coast and sea as appropriate, where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant aesthetic, ecological and/or cultural value, and often with high biological diversity. Safeguarding the integrity of this traditional interaction is vital to the protection, maintenance and evolution of such an area. |
| CATEGORY VI | Managed Resource Protected Area: protected area managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems |
| *Definition:* | Area containing predominantly unmodified natural systems, managed to ensure long- term protection and maintenance of biological diversity, while providing at the same time a sustainable flow of natural products and services to meet community needs. |

Figure 2. IUCN categories of protected areas. Adapted from IUCN 1994; Green and Payne 1997.

common international standard based on each area's stated primary management objective. This facilitates accounting and monitoring at national, regional, and international levels. Figure 3 shows the global network listed by management category. All six categories are well represented in the network, but with national parks and resource management areas being the two categories with highest representation. Category II, national parks, is a prominent and well-known land classification covering 2.67% of the earth's land surface. A very significant portion of the world's most significant biodiversity conservation sites is located in Category I and II sites. However, all sites play some role.

Canadian ecotourism companies frequently used the name "national park" as a brand name to attract potential ecotourists to their offerings. With 30,361 parks in the world, and with 3,386 having the well-known title of a national park, it is clear that any particular political unit, such as one country or one province within a country, has a major task to get its sites recognized globally. There are many sites available for tourists. Some countries, such as Canada, have the disadvantage of having many of their sites known as provincial parks, a name unknown outside Canada, and one which is suggestive of a lower level of importance.

Unfortunately, there is no global tabulation of park usage, as there is for

| IUCN category | Number | Percent | Total area in $km^2$ | Percent | Mean area in $km^2$ | Percent total land area of the world |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ia. Nature Reserve | 4,395 | 14 | 982,487 | 7 | 224 | 0.66 |
| Ib. Wilderness | 806 | 3 | 940,344 | 7 | 1,167 | 0.63 |
| II. National Park | 3,386 | 11 | 4,000,825 | 30 | 1,182 | 2.67 |
| III. Natural Monument | 2,122 | 7 | 193,022 | 1 | 91 | 0.13 |
| IV. Habitat Area | 11,171 | 37 | 2,460,283 | 19 | 220 | 1.64 |
| V. Protected Landscape | 5,584 | 18 | 1,067,118 | 8 | 191 | 0.71 |
| VI. Resource Management Area | 2,897 | 10 | 3,601,447 | 27 | 1,243 | 2.4 |
| *Total* | *30,361* | *100* | *13,245,528* | *99* | *436* | *8.84* |

Figure 3. Global protected areas classified by IUCN category.

The name "national park" is closely associated with nature-based tourism, being a symbol of a high-quality natural environment with a well-designed tourist infrastructure. Eagles and Wind (1994) found that park area. Therefore, it is not possible to comprehensively report on the total volume of recreational use in recent years or its change over time. However, individual country reports and personal communication with many

scholars and park managers suggest that park tourism volume has increased considerably over the last 20 years (Filion, Foley, and Jaquemot 1994; Driml and Common 1995; Wells 1997; Eagles and Higgins 1998). Figure 4 shows the recent trend from Costa Rica's national parks: a curve showing increases over time. The one period of decline was due to a weak economy in the USA, causing lowered travel to Costa Rica, combined with an 800% increase in park entrance fees for foreigners. The visitation growth resumed as the economy improved, a more suitable pricing policy developed, and the market accepted the increased fees (Baez 2001). It is this author's opinion that the growth over 20 years shown in Costa Rica is representative of park-use growth in many countries. Differences in various countries would largely reflect with the speed of the visitor-use growth, not in the overall trend of increases over time.

Eagles, McLean, and Stabler (2000) calculated the total national and provincial/state park usage in the USA and Canada. In 1996 there was an estimated 2,621,777,237 visitor-days of recreation activity in the parks and protected areas in these two countries. Clearly, the outdoor recreation occurring in the parks and protected areas in Canada and the United States is a very large and impressive activity. The 2.6 billion visitor-days of use per year represent major economic, social, and environmental impacts on society.

One of the problems limiting international comparisons is the lack of accepted standards for park tourism statistics. International standards for park tourism data collection and management and global tabulation of these data are essential for comparisons to be made. In work done for IUCN's World Commission on Protected Areas, Hornback and Eagles (1999) outlined a structure and methodology for park visitation-use measurement and reporting. This approach has now been well accepted internationally,

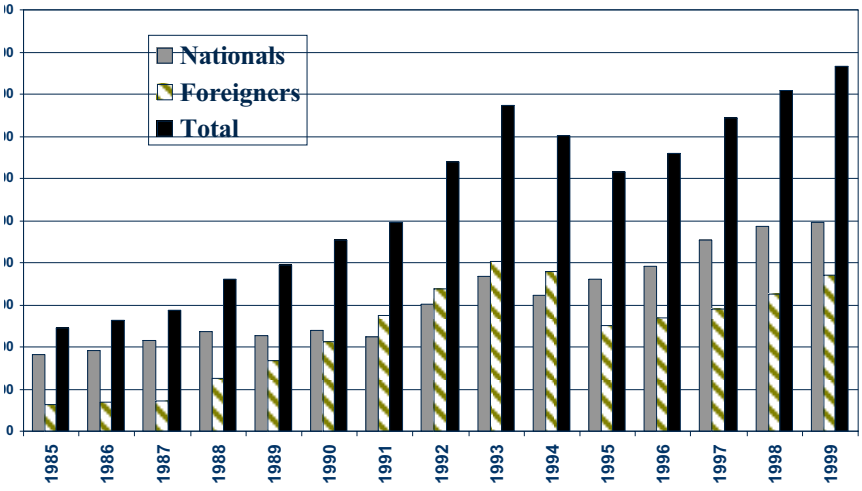


Figure 4. Visitation to national parks in Costa Rica, 1985–1999.

with many countries adopting the recommendations within their programs for measuring park tourism statistics. It is to be hoped that when the next version of the *United Nations List of National Parks and Protected Areas* is compiled, park visitor-use statistics, using the new standards, will be included in the global data collection effort. [Ed. note: The next edition of the *List* is due to be released at the Fifth World Parks Congress in September 2003.]

## Park Economics

Economics is an important component of societal decision-making, but it is often given low priority in the parks world (Wells 1997; Van Sickle and Eagles 1998). In parks the strong emphasis given to ecology is seen by many proponents as sufficient justification for public policy action. However, nature tourism is increasingly becoming important within sustainable development because of the potential of contributing to local and national economic development while also providing incentive for the conservation of biodiversity and nature in general (Wells 1997; Lindberg 1998).

Most of the world's protected areas charge low entry and use fees. These fees typically cover only a portion of the cost of protecting the resource and providing the features on which the park visitation depends (Wells 1997; Van Sickle and Eagles 1998). This pricing policy developed during a period where resource protection, a public objective that benefits all of society, was seen as the overwhelmingly important objective. If a public good benefits all, it is argued, it should be paid for by taxes on society. However, this logic falters when applied to outdoor recreation in parks, as only those who participate in outdoor recreation are beneficiaries. In a time of increasing parkland creation and widespread government financial retrenchment, it is increasingly difficult to justify continued increases in public expenditures to manage the parkland and subsidize the recreation of one segment of the population. Governments around the world are using this logic, in part, for the limiting the grants for park management. A reduction of budgets in the 1990s was documented for Canada and the USA (Eagles 1995b), as was the development of new forms of park administration and new pricing policies (Van Sickle and Eagles 1998). To address this issue, Parks Canada was reorganized in the mid-1990s into an agency with a much stronger tourism focus and new business policy and focus. The business plan summarizes the financial concept underlying the new agency with the statement that "subsidies will be phased out on services of benefit to individuals, by transferring the operation to the nonprofit voluntary or private sectors, or these services will be stabilized on a full cost recovery basis" (Parks Canada 1995, 7).

There are dramatic differences among the world's parks in terms of pricing policy, tourism income, and financial management. A global study of biosphere reserves found that only 32 of 78 responding sites charged admission fees to visitors (Tye and Gordon 1995). The fees ranged from less than US$5 to $110 per person per day, with the vast majority at the lower

range. There was a statistically significant relationship between total direct income and the numbers of visitors for all biosphere reserves. Higher visitor numbers corresponded to higher budgets. The authors concluded that "better financed biosphere reserves are likely to be better managed, thereby attracting more tourists" (Tye and Gordon 1995, 29). Presumably those reserves with more tourists attained a higher political profile. This political strength allowed the sites to argue for more budget allocation from government. Some sites also earned income from user fees. This study is important because it shows a strong and positive relationship between protected areas' budgets and tourism levels. Generally, those parks with high levels of tourism clients attain higher levels of political power. This power is then translated into higher budget allocations. It is important to recognize that substantial management budgets are necessary in areas of high usage to avoid excessive damage to the natural environment of the parks.

Parks often supply the most important part of the nature tourism experience, but typically capture little of the economic value of the stream of economic benefits (Wells 1997). The low entry and use fees in parks are the result of many factors, one being the effort of a centralized budget allocation process in many governments. With this form of government financial management, the park management does not keep earned fees within its internal financial structure, and therefore sees little benefit in comprehensive fee collection. This budget process also contributes to a low emphasis on park visitor management. Such issues as return rates, length of stay, visitor satisfaction, and service quality all suffer when the financial return from the visitors is not tied directly to the financial operation of a park. This lack of emphasis on visitor management results in a dwarfed park tourism industry, and one where the visitors are often seen as being a problem, rather than a valuable asset. Under such a structure each recreational visit is a threat to management structure on a limited budget that cannot respond quickly to increases or changes in park use.

Many governments see nature-based tourism as an important tool for economic development. Unfortunately, many have not invested sufficiently in staff training, infrastructure or park resources, or administrative structures that are needed to support nature tourism. This exposes sensitive sites to tourism-caused degradation (Wells 1997).

Most national tourism agencies do not keep statistics on market sectors, such as those associated with nature-based tourism and park-based tourism. Other management units, such as park agencies, seldom fill this information void. As a result, important sectors, such as nature-based tourism, are not clearly documented for the benefit of policy determination. The Canadian situation reveals this clearly. Nature-based tourism is one of the key elements of Canadian tourism. Filion et al. (1994) estimated that as much as one-quarter of the tourism expenditures in Canada can be attributed to wildlife tourism, one of the elements of nature tourism. Statistics

Canada provides quarterly Canadian tourism figures to governments, business, and the media. These data considerably raise the profile of tourism within the business sector. However, in Canada there is no system for the regular collection and distribution of information on nature-based or park-based tourism. Neither the volumes of park visitation nor its economic impacts are systematically tabulated and made available for government and private consumption. Therefore, the importance of nature tourism in the country is severely under-rated due to lack of adequate information. The parks do not compare well to other economic generators, such as automobile manufacturing or forestry, where the volumes and economic value of the products are carefully documented and reported within a continuous stream of information. This Canadian situation is common throughout the world. The economic impact of park tourism is not well known, not well documented, and, where known, not well communicated. This leads to a severe under-representation of the importance of park tourism within the fiscal sectors of government and business.

Wells (1997) documented, globally, the economic studies available on nature tourism. Most of these studies are of individual parks or wildlife reserves. There are a few regional or national studies of the economic impact of the tourism associated with parks and reserves.

Driml and Common (1995) showed that the economic benefits of nature-based tourism in selected Australian locales far exceed the government expenditures to manage the site. This research estimated the financial value of tourism in five Australian World Heritage Areas (Great Barrier Reef, Wet Tropics, Uluru National Park, Kakadu National Park, and Tasmanian

Wilderness). The five areas studied generated tourism expenditures in 1991–1992 of AUS$1,372,000,000. The total management budgets for the five sites were AUS$48,700,000, and the user-fee income to the management agencies was AUS$4,160,000 (Figure 5). Therefore, the management budgets were only 3.5% of the tourist expenditure created by the World Heritage Areas. The revenue raised through user fees represented only 8.5% of the government expenditures. This study shows the very high financial value of tourism in the five World Heritage Areas. It also reveals the low level of government expenditure for management, and the very low level of government cost recovery. Driml and Common (1995) question the ability of the existing management structure to maintain environmental quality in the face of large increases in tourism use. They point out that tourism research expenditures in Australia are very low compared to other economic generators such as agriculture and mining, both of which have a smaller national economic impact than tourism.

As discussed earlier, Eagles, McLean, and Stabler (2000) found that 2,506,451,728 visitor-days of recreation occurred in the federal and state parks and protected areas of the USA in 1996, and an additional 115,325,509 visitor-days in Canadian

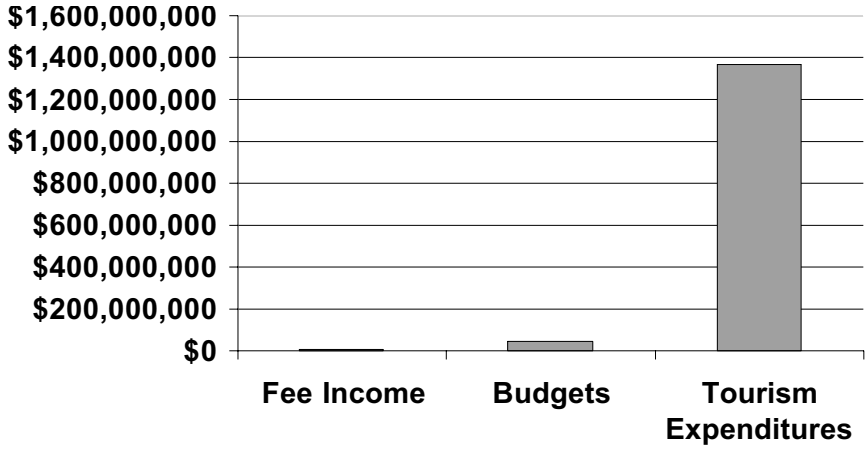


Figure 5. Economics of Australia World Heritage Sites (figures in AUS$).

federal and provincial protected areas. This massive volume of 2,621,777,237 visitor-days, previously undocumented, reveals a high level of tourism use that was not generally known and appreciated. The economic implications of this usage are normally not calculated and therefore are certainly not well known in the fiscal policy arena of North American society. It is useful to look at some of the park tourism economic impact studies that have been done, again using Canada and the USA as case studies.

Ontario has a large and well-used provincial park system consisting of 275 parks. In 1992 the total economic output from park users and by government was CDN$831,200,000 (OMNR and Econometric Research 1993). A total of 12,172 person-years of employment resulted from parks. This benefit was calculated from data on the 109 parks that were staffed to manage visitor use in 1992. More economic benefit would be found if the additional 166 non-staffed provincial parks, the six national parks, and the hundreds of conservation areas in Ontario were added to the calculations.

Recent research documented the expenditure level of park users to Algonquin Provincial Park (Bowman 2001), Ontario's oldest and most visited provincial park. Figure 6 shows that the expenditures per person per day varied dramatically, with day visitors spending the most, at CDN$208.00 and car campers the least, at $27.70. This research showed that park management earned the most income from the groups that spent the least per day: car and interior campers. Conversely, the management earned the least from the people who spent the most, day visitors and lodge visitors. Two important user groups, bus tour visitors and children's camp users, were not studied. This analysis shows the need for a complete re-evaluation of the pricing and income policy of this important park.

| User Type | Expenditure | Percent of Total | Expenditure Per Day |
|---|---|---|---|
| Day Visitors | $7.6 million | 38% | $208.00 |
| Car Campers | $4.8 million | 24% | $27.70 |
| Interior Campers | $4.0 million | 20% | $28.70 |
| Lodge Visitors | $2.8 million | 14% | $117.50 |
| Cottage Leaseholders | $0.7 million | 4% | $4,809 per year ($13.17 per day) |
| Bus Trippers | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown |
| Children's Campers | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown |

Figure 6. Algonquin Provincial Park visitor expenditures (figures in CDN$).

The provincial economic impact was calculated by the Provincial Economic Impact Model of the Department of Canadian Heritage. The impact generated by Algonquin Park and spending by the organization Friends of Algonquin was estimated as CDN$4.9 million in labor income, $6.0 million to the gross domestic product (GDP), and 150 full-time person-years of employment. The provincial economic impact generated by visitor spending was estimated as $8.1 million in labor income, $11.9 million to the GDP, and 301 full-time person-years of employment. Therefore, the provincial economic impact was $13 million in labor, $17.9 in GDP, and 451 person-years of employment. This is a conservative estimate. Such data revealed an impressive economic impact, one that was quickly communicated to local community leaders by park managers. Such data provide a persuasive argument that parks can produce valuable economic as well as ecological benefits.

The most recent economic benefits study for a park system undertaken in Canada was done for British Columbia (Coopers and Lybrand 1995). The study concluded that the B.C. provincial parks system is a major source of economic activity in the province. In 1993 the parks generated 5,300 jobs directly and 4,000 jobs indirectly. The 5,300 jobs created by parks are comparable to other industries such as newsprint production (4,200), metal mining (3,800), and coal mining (3,000). In 1993 the B.C. provincial parks system contributed about CDN$430,000,000 to the provincial GDP. Park visitors reported significant benefits from recreational activities beyond the market transactions. These non-market benefits were estimated at $670,000,000 beyond the cost of operating the system by the province. Clearly, British Columbia's provincial parks are a major economic force in the province. If the contribution of the national parks found in the province were added, then the benefits would be considerably enhanced.

Following the lead of British

Columbia, the province of Alberta undertook an economic impact calculation of tourism in its provincial parks. The results showed an economic impact that was large and similar to that of forestry in the province. The report was never officially released. It is speculated that the potential significance of the information prompted a successful lobbying effort by the forest industry to make sure that the report was not released, in order to avoid the positive political impact that would occur to parks if the report had been disseminated. This is a common problem for park managers: interagency conflicts result in suppression of data and resources with the goal of not allowing park tourism to gain the full public-policy profile that it would otherwise enjoy. This is especially a problem when park management is within a broadly defined resource management agency; least of all when parks are a stand-alone agency or administration.

Parks Canada conservatively estimates the economic impact of national parks, national historic sites and parks, and national canals to Canada's GDP at CDN$1,250,000,000 per year. Around 30,000 person-years of employment occur because of this spending. Non-resident visitors contribute 25% of the visitor spending, or $275,000,000 annually (Parks Canada 1995).

The consulting firm of Coopers and Lybrand (1995) calculated that in 1993 British Columbia provincial parks produced total benefits of CDN $430,000,000. This figure included direct benefits and consumer surplus. In 1993 the parks had 22,300,000 visitor-days of activity. Therefore, each day of recreation produced an economic benefit of $19. In 1992 the total economic output due to Ontario parks was CDN $831,200,000 (OMNR and Econometric Research 1993). This amount included direct, indirect, and induced impacts of parks. In 1992 Ontario provincial parks had 7,000,000 visitor-days of recreation activity. Therefore, each day of recreation produced an economic benefit of $119. The difference in impact per person between British Columbia and Ontario comes from different calculation methods. However, if one takes this range of economic benefits and applies it to the visitation of all Canada's parks, an economic benefit occurs of between CDN $2.2 and $14 billion. Whichever figure is used, the implications of such a large economic impact on public policy making in Canada are immense. Clearly, a standard and consistent method of calculating economic impact is required, and indeed one has been developed for use by all provincial and national park agencies in Canada (Stanley, Perron, and Smeltzer 1999).

If one assumes that the 1996 figure of 2,621,777,237 entrances to Canadian and American parks represent visitor-days of activity, and one accepts an impact range of US$90 (OMNR and Econometric Research 1993) to US$141 (Carlsen 1997) per day, the value for park tourism ranges between US$236 billion and $370 billion in Canada and the USA combined. These figures must be accepted with caution, given the limitations of the data. However, the estimates do show that park-based tourism is a very

important economic activity in North American society. Even these high estimates underestimate value, because they do not include option, bequest, or existence value estimates, nor any data from Mexico.

Impressive as these figures are, they have not convinced American and Canadian governments to maintain and increase the tax-based grant levels upon which most of the park systems depend. Figure 7 shows the impacts of massive budget cuts on the 13 national, territorial, and provincial park systems in Canada during the mid-1990s (Van Sickle and Eagles 1998). All systems lost staff members. Ten closed facilities. Nine operated a smaller program, did less maintenance on facilities, privatized services, and undertook program efficiencies, such as replacement of staff with mechanized processes. The management effectiveness of the park agencies in Canada was impaired by the budget cuts and by the associated reductions in services and programs.

In Canada there are several financial structures within the federal and provincial park agencies. Some are government agencies, while others function like crown corporations. Figure 8 shows the range in cost recovery for the 13 senior government park agencies in Canada in the early 1990s. The recovery of management costs from tourist charges varied from only 1% in British Columbia to slightly more than 50% in Saskatchewan. This variation is largely due to government policy dictating the financial structure of the agencies, not to the volume of tourism nor the amount of area being managed (Van Sickle and Eagles 1998). Those with the lowest level of cost recovery had very weak tourism expertise within the park agencies, with the result that most tourism

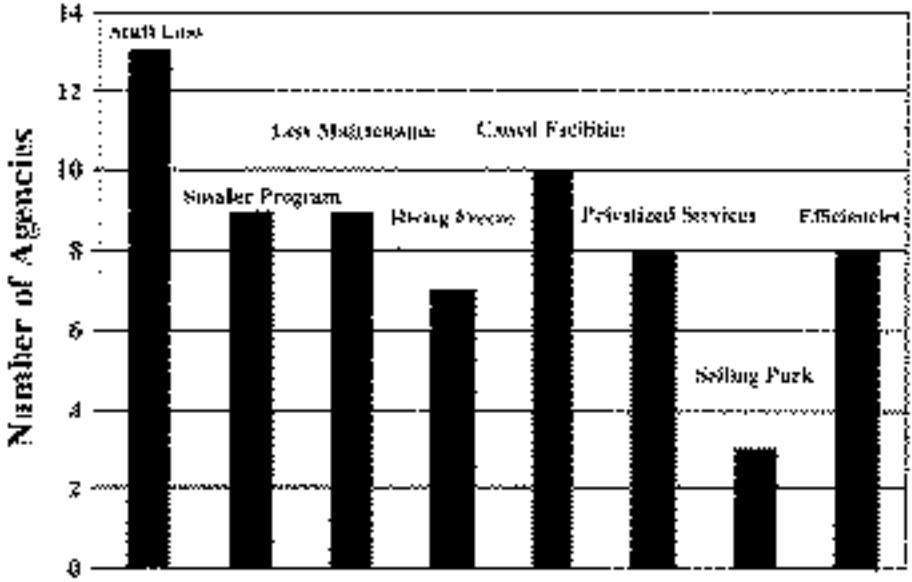


Figure 7. Impacts of budget cuts on park systems in Canada, mid-1990s.

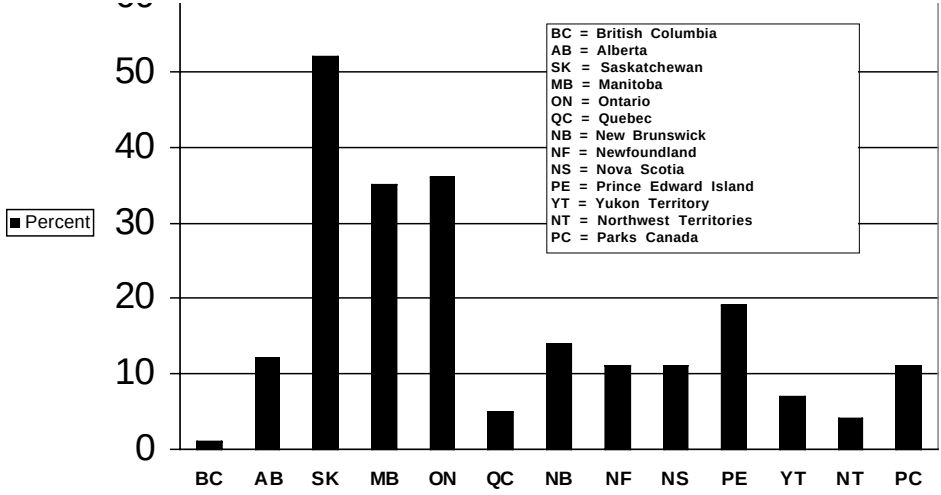


Figure 8. Cost recovery in park systems in Canada, early 1990s (provincial, territorial, and national parks).

income was earned by the private sector. Those with the highest level of cost recovery had revenue retention within the agency, and some form of corporate operations. Goodwin et al. (1995a) found that in three parks in India, Indonesia, and Zimbabwe the income from tourism was 7–24% of total expenditures. Clearly, most parks in this sample have the majority of their budget coming from sources other than tourism income. However, globally the trend is for government to demand that parks earn much higher amounts of their budget from tourism sources. Corresponding to this is the development of forms of management, such as parastatals, that allow for park agencies to function with the efficiencies of a private corporation.

Parks Canada has designed a management structure that encourages increasingly higher levels of cost recovery from tourists. To implement the new business approach, Parks Canada (1995) obtained government permission (a) to retain and reinvest all revenues; (b) plan and operate on a multi-year, non-lapsing basis; (c) increase non-tax revenues from products and services; (d) borrow against future revenue; (e) link revenues to costs; and (f) depreciate assets. The new approach moves this government agency into a management style very similar to that of a corporation, a government-owned corporation, or a parastatal. To implement the plan, new national parks legislation was passed by the Canadian Parliament in 1998.

By fiscal year 2000–2001 Parks Canada had gross revenues of CDN$84.7 million, a 111% increase since 1994–1995 (Figure 9). Three sources of income were prominent revenue sources: entry fees, with $30.1 million in revenues; rentals and concessions, with $14.3 million; and camping fees, with $10.9 million. These figures reveal that increased emphasis on revenue generation, asso-

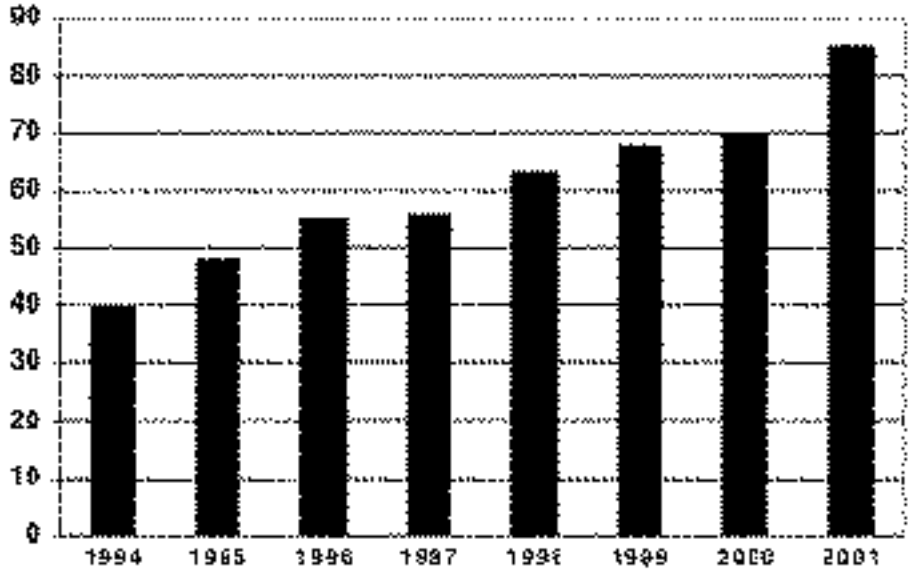

Figure 9. Parks Canada's income, 1994–2001 (figures in millions of CDN$).

ciated with a more business-like management structure, resulted in significant revenue gains.

In 1996 Ontario Parks, Canada's largest and oldest provincial park management agency, was re-organized using a business operating model. Key components of this model included: revenue retention within the agency and multi-year retention of funds, a flattened organizational structure, increased flexibility in pricing policy, increased ability to enter into business partnerships with private corporations and pubic non-governmental organizations, the ability to receive gifts, and a governing board of directors. Moos (2002) documents that this new structure has enabled the cost recovery to increase from 56% in 1996 to 82% in 2001. In addition, the new reactive management structure results in much higher campground utilization as visitors utilize services better linked to their needs. A very popular new service is a telephone and internet campsite booking system for all 19,000 frontcountry and 7,000 backcountry campsites in the system.

These studies show the significance of parks to economic life in Australia, USA, and Canada. The importance of the studies for public policy is obvious. However, generally there is a lack of such economic data on parks. This is a major inhibitor in public policy-making across the world. For park economics to have the policy impact that it warrants, there must be a continuous stream of up-to-date data provided. At the very least, yearly studies are required. However, quarterly figures provided to government, business, and the media would be more useful and beneficial.

## Park Finance and Pricing Policy

In most countries, park pricing pol-

icy involves a flat fee for entrance, typically for a vehicle, or for facility use, such as for one campsite. In many cases no fees are charged, especially in low-use areas, in popular sites in the low season, or in remote areas. The fees are usually modest and not subject to market forces. Recreation allocation is typically done using a first-come, first-served approach. In most parks, fees are also charged for specialized recreation services, equipment rental, accommodation, food services, and souvenir sales. However, most of the income from these sources goes to private enterprise, with little going to park management.

Typically, the income from tourism is well below the park budget, constituting a small percentage of the money used for management. Canadian national and provincial park fee income provided 17% of the budgets (Van Sickle and Eagles 1998), similar to the figure of 18% for the USA (Brademas and Readnor 1987). Saskatchewan, the national leader in Canada, earned 52% of expenditures in 1994–1995. In contrast, the British Columbia provincial parks agency, with a very different administrative structure, recovered only 1% of revenues. More recent figures from 1998 show that state parks in the USA recovered 33.8% of their budgets from tourism income (McLean 1999). Clearly, during the 1990s state parks in the USA earned increasingly higher percentages of their budgets from tourism fees. There is a global trend of governments encouraging and requiring parks to gain higher percentages of their budgets from tourist expenditures.

The generation of small amounts of revenue gives little incentive to government to provide adequate levels of budget for management. Laarman and Gregersen (1994) point out that this situation leads to a vicious cycle of "low fees, inadequate revenue, and deficient public investment — followed by continued low fees, revenue, and investment." The typical budget situation for parks is that of central government setting an annual budget, which in turn depends on the money available in the central treasury as well as on various political and lobbying-group machinations. In their studies of parks in India, Indonesia, and Zimbabwe, Goodwin et al. (1995a) found no direct relationship between park budgets and park tourism revenues. In these three countries the money collected locally was all submitted to central government.

In countries without a large tax-based subsidy for park management, tourism is often the largest source of income for park agencies. Throughout Africa, for example, the parks must earn most, if not all, of their operating budgets from tourism. This has led to a noteworthy level of innovation in park finance and pricing policy.

The booming tourism industry in South Africa expanded dramatically in the past five years and is predicted to grow substantially in the next five. Significantly, 60% of the 5.5 million foreign tourists in 1997 visited a national park or game reserve (Eagles 1999). The government of South Africa has many social objectives calling for budget allocation. As a result, all tax-based grants to the national and provincial park systems were phased

out, leaving the parks with the options of either increasing income from tourism or cutting staff and services.

The South African National Parks (SANP) System was at 80% budget recovery from tourism in 1999, with government policy requiring 100% by 2001 (M. Msimang, personal communication, 21 May 1999). SANP operates an impressive array of tourism businesses in the national parks, providing a range of accommodations ranging from campgrounds to family cabins to hotels. The food and souvenir stores are agency-operated. Many of the tours are park-operated. Therefore, income is earned from entrance fees, lodging, food provision, product sales, and tours. In the future, licensing of intellectual property, such as logos and park names, is a possibility. Special promotional co-operation with associated industries, such as 4x4-vehicle companies, holds promise. This diverse set of income generators must be further utilized if SANP is to gain sufficient income to reach the public-policy goal of financial self-sufficiency. In 2000 and 2001 SANP undertook a comprehensive analysis of the costs and benefits of each of its tourism services, resulting in the launching of concession agreements with private entrepreneurs for some of the tourism services. This realignment is still underway.

Differential fees are increasingly used. Typically, foreign tourists pay more, and sometimes much more, than nationals do. At high-demand times, prices may be higher. Prices are often associated with service level, with higher prices corresponding to more services. Those agencies that have parastatal status and private-sector involvement have a much higher diversity of pricing and servicing standards.

South Africa is also a good example of the development of a wide range of standards and pricing for accommodation in and near the parks. The parks typically provide three levels of basic accommodation services: personal tent camping, recreation vehicle camping, and semi-permanent tent rentals, the latter of which typically are wood-floored, canvas tents. The parks sometimes also have three different levels of roofed accommodation, ranging from rustic cabins to cottages to hotels. Many parks provide several levels of food provision, from restaurants to fast-food outlets to grocery stores. Merchandise sales for typical outdoor gear and souvenirs are common. The private sector is heavily involved in the upper-range market, providing two or three levels of more highly priced accommodations and associated ecotourism services at private game reserves. The private reserves are often located adjacent to the parks, to take advantage of the wildlife and ecosystems of the parks as well as the well-known ecotourism profile of the location.

Table 1 summarizes the range of income generation opportunities in park tourism being utilized by park agencies and their private sector partners in various locales. Most of these are widespread, such as entrance fees and income from concessions. A few are experimental, such as the licensing of intellectual property. The names and images of national parks are very well-known and therefore valuable.

Private corporations will often pay high sums for the use of these names and images. Cross-marketing occurs when one product or organization advertises in concert with another. An example could be a park agency using one type of recreational vehicle, thereby advertising to all the visitors its special qualities in the park environment. In concert, the vehicle manufacturer would publicize the park as the point is made about the special features of a vehicle.

Table 2 shows the revenue sources for Parks Canada for the 2000–2001 fiscal year (Parks Canada 2001). This agency relies heavily on three sources of income: entry fees, rentals and concessions, and camping fees. Clearly, the agency is not taking advantage of the majority of income sources shown in Table 1. For example, lucrative income sources, such as food and merchandise sales, were not utilized directly. However, some such income was earned indirectly through concessionaire fees.

Table 1. Park tourism income sources.

- Park entrance fees
- Recreation service fees, special events and special services
- Concessions
- Accommodation
- Equipment rental
- Food sales (restaurant and store)
- Parking
- Merchandise sales (equipment, clothing, souvenirs)
- Licensing of intellectual property
- Cross-product marketing

Australia is similar, with most park agencies in the country relying on only a few of these sources of income, typically entrance fees, some recreation service fees, and accommodation fees, usually for camping (Queensland Department of the Environment 1996). Australia has a long tradition of free public access to natural and cultural heritage assets, so much so that when the Great Barrier Reef National Marine Park proposed increase the fee for park visitors using commercial tourist operators from AUS$1 to $6, a Senate parliamentary committee inquiry was launched (Allison 1998). This inquiry came to a apparently self-evident conclusion: "It must be accepted that user charges can usually raise no more than a small percentage of total costs" (Allison 1998, 133). As is commonly the case, this inquiry apparently did not recognize that there are many sources of income from tourism, as shown in Table 1.

Table 2. Parks Canada revenue sources, 2000–2001 (figures in CDN$).

| Source | Amount |
|---|---|
| Park entry fees | $30,100,000 |
| Rentals and concessions | $14,300,000 |
| Camping fees | $10,900,000 |
| Other revenue | $6,100,000 |
| Recreation fees | $4,500,000 |
| Staff housing | $2,300,000 |
| Interest and land sales | $1,700,000 |

In several countries, such as Costa

Rica and Zimbabwe, dramatic increases in park use fees were introduced without proper client consultation, resulting in vociferous objection and the subsequent roll-back of some of the increase. A lack of knowledge of pricing policy and the methods of price adjustment is common in parks, and is visibly evident in these two examples. However, Moos (2002) points out that Ontario Parks increased fees by 40%, income by 100%, and visitation substantially (Figure 10), all with virtually unanimous public acceptance. A key to the Ontario success was the fact that the visitors received higher levels of services for the new or increased fees. For example, the centralized telephone and internet booking service was a huge success because the CDN$6 charge per registration was seen as a modest cost for a highly desirable service.

There are implications for management of higher levels of income based on tourism (Table 3). The biggest changes take place within the park agency, where a business approach to management is necessary. This includes the ability to retain and utilize most, if not all, income. Given that park visitors are the source of the income, they become more important. Their opinions on programs, length of stay, return rates, facility and program needs, and overall satisfaction become important management concerns. The managers become more aware of the need to create a product that fits market demands. Once the income becomes substantial, park management has a higher level of independence from government grants, and from government in general. Overall, park visitors attain a higher profile and enjoy more opportunities where fees are charged.

There are many factors that impede the move from a park agency dependent upon government grants to one dependent upon tourism income (Table 4). Nature is typically perceived as being common property and

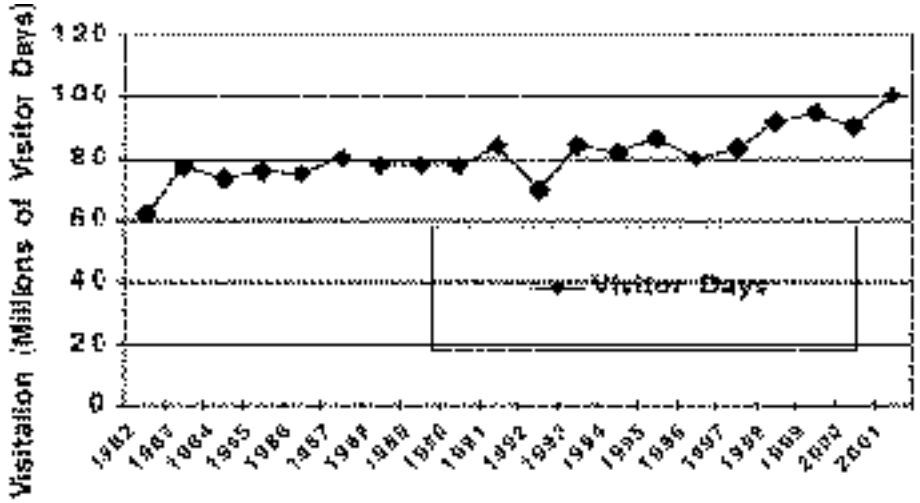


Figure 10. Visitor-use trends in Ontario provincial parks, 1982–2001.

Table 3. Implications of tourism-based park income.

- Business-based management
- Increased profile of visitors in management
- More emphasis on client satisfaction
- Service quality management
- Enhanced marketing
- Independence from government grants
- Higher fees

requiring no human management. Therefore, there should be no cost for access to common property and no need for funds for management. The concept of nature as a free good creates expectations that parks should be free and open. Historically this concept was reinforced by pricing access well below production costs. In the USA, national park use fees were prohibited by law for many years. The private sector in tourism often objects to park use fees, and especially to any increase in fees. It is to the advantage of the private business person to have the management costs covered by public funds, rather than by charges to his clients. In addition, it is obvious to many business people in tourism that substantial income can be earned by providing services to park visitors. These people often act like vultures, swooping into the political arena to seize the most important park assets, such as accommodation and food sales. This denies the park management valuable income sources. Furthermore, park agencies are often not equipped to undertake business management. Their expertise in marketing, pricing policy, economics and finance may be deficient. These and other factors lead many park staff to vigorously object to a their agency operating like a business. It is common for important sectors of the public, such as environmental groups, to object to the business operation. This is often due to fears of over-commercialization. It can also be due to resistance to paying increased fees. These factors can lead to political resistance to new or increased fees. The key to overcoming the resistance is the direct allocation of the fee income to park management and to visitor services. Once people see the utility of their expenditures, the resistance may turn into active support.

Table 4. Imposition of tourism fees: resistance factors

- Public expectation of free nature
- History of pricing below production cost
- Private tourism-sector resistance
- Private-sector vultures
- Lack of business expertise in agency
- Public concern about commercial development
- Staff resistance to business operation

## Tourism Planning and Management Competencies

All national parks and protected areas have some level of visitor use. This can vary from just a few hundred to millions of visitors per year. Much

of the visitor management is reactive rather than proactive. The parks receive whatever visitor use that occurs, and then try to develop mechanisms to define and manage appropriate activities and levels of use. Often visitor management only takes place when some level of a problem is perceived. The parks may provide "take it or leave it" levels of tourism service. In other words, a type of recreation program or facility and a level of service is provided, with the visitor free to accept the service or to not participate. Traditionally visitors are not provided with on-going visitor input mechanisms, such as public surveys. Visitors are expected to make their opinions about activities and services known only during management plan reviews or through complaints. However, increasingly park agencies are consistently and professionally monitoring and evaluating the needs, wants, and levels of satisfaction of their visitors. Parks Canada has even gone to so far as to establish a service quality goal for all units in the system. Each park or reserve is expected to provide services of sufficient quality such that visitors indicate high levels of satisfaction with those services using a standardized visitor monitoring methodology and measurement instrument (Parks Canada 1999).

Many park agencies are weak in tourism competencies. Those that are developed are usually the result of resource managers learning on the job about visitors and tourism management. Increasingly parks are gaining professional expertise in leisure pricing policy, tourism economics, marketing, tourism management, social statistics, service quality, and in leisure studies.

Parks Canada is one of the leaders in the development of high levels of competency in tourism management throughout the agency. This increase is stimulated by the need of the agency to gain operational income from tourism and the political realization of the importance of a satisfied and mobilized constituency. In another example, Finland developed a unique visitor management approach with five components: (1) different protected areas with different roles in relation to their recreational and educational services; (2) a customer service chain model; (3) standardized customer counts, surveys, and monitoring; (4) a customer value creation process; and (5) a customer service concept (Leivo 2002).

The lowest level of tourism competency typically occurs in park agencies where the central emphasis is on resource protection and the budget comes entirely from a central government pot. Whenever a park agency moves to a tourism-based budget where income from visitor services provides the income, there is a much higher emphasis given to tourism management.

Often the private-sector operators in and near parks have higher levels of tourism market expertise than do the parks themselves. In many parts of the world the private sector is the force behind tourism in parks. It is the private sector that attracts the visitors, services their basic needs, and provides all of the tourism services. A pointed example of this comes from Costa Rica, where the government

agency responsible for the national parks and wildlife refuges has low tourism competencies. It is the private sector that is largely responsible for the internationally recognized, park-based ecotourism industry that has developed over the last 20 years. Significantly, the private, non-profit sector plays a major role in both reserve management and in tourism management in Costa Rica.

## The Future of the Park Tourism Market

Is there a market for increased levels of nature-based tourism? The largest market study ever undertaken on this subject was done for British Columbia and Alberta in Canada in 1995 (HLA and ARA 1995). For this study, the term "ecotourism" was used and was defined very broadly as "nature, adventure and cultural experiences in the countryside" (HLA and ARA 1995, p. ES-1). The study found a very large ecotourism market in Canada and the USA. In the seven metropolitan areas studied — Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Dallas, Chicago, Toronto, and Winnipeg — a market of 13.2 million potential ecotourists was found. This was much larger than anticipated, and showed that a large market is now present in North America alone.

The study found that the natural setting is the most critical factor in the determination of a quality product. The tourists showed increasing desire to find experiences in environments that were ecologically well managed. Recreational activities were important and multiple activities were desired. Mid-range accommodation was desired, and the experienced ecotourist placed much higher emphasis on the outdoor experience than on the accommodation. Competent guides and interpretive programs enhanced the quality of the travel experience. The preferred trip was long — seven days or more. Parks and the activities in them were found to be very important components of the ecotourism experience (HLA and ARA 1995).

Clearly, there is a large and growing ecotourism market in North America. Travel trends throughout the world point to growing markets, especially in North America, Europe, and Asia. Given the large potential market size, the key issue becomes one of providing travel products that fit the market, and ensuring that these products have positive economic and environmental benefits.

## Tourism Management Structures

In most cases, parks are managed by government agencies. In this situation, most staffers are government employees operating under a hierarchical form of decision-making. Budgets are provided each year from a central government allocation, with park income being returned to a central government pot. Often, visitor services such as accommodations, tours, and consumer products are provided by concessionaires that are licensed by the agency for a period of time. This model is widespread and reasonably effective as long as the central government provides a sufficient budget. However, it can be ineffective in several respects. The budgets are set well in advance of expenditures and are not closely tied to tourism levels, so park

management is severely limited in its ability to respond to increases or other changes in visitation levels. Also, the park staff recognize that the key people to please are those who provide the budget, such as upper-level bureaucrats and politicians. As a result, the level of understanding and commitment to park visitors is often very low with this model of management. The model can also be problematic when the size and power of private-sector tourism overwhelms a politically weak government agency. In this situation, the selfish individual interests of the tourism operators can lead to overuse. Very severe environmental degradation often occurs with this model, due to the lack of a budget for the agency to handle tourism pressures.

Much experimentation with park management structures is underway. Three new models that are having success are worthy of discussion: the parastatal agency, the non-profit corporation, and the private, for-profit corporation.

**The parastatal agency.** Many government agencies are shifting to a parastatal form of operation, as discussed earlier for Canada. A parastatal is a corporate body within government. The parastatal makes its own policy, maintains internal financial operations, and has control over internal reporting and decision structures. Often, a government-appointed board of directors functions as the overall policy and approving body, sometimes with veto powers held by a government minister. This approach is in place in Kenya, Tanzania, South Africa, and in the Canadian province of Ontario, to name four additional examples. Advantages over the government model are numerous. This structure is much more financially efficient. The agency can more easily and quickly establish pricing and tourism policies that enable it to more effectively tap tourism financial flows. The ability to internally handle budgets means a better understanding of the connection between service and income, between outflows and inflows of money. This structure usually leads to much higher levels of emphasis on park visitors, their needs and their satisfaction.

This parastatal approach typically has a much flatter administrative structure, with the multiple layers of the government agency replaced by only a couple of administrative layers. In the government agency model, power comes through access to the cascading flow of government dollars. People work hard to place themselves into position to influence this flow, thereby creating complex hierarchies with multiple levels of bureaucrats. The parastatal model transfers power to the park visitors, since they are the source of much of the income. People then see the advantage of leaving the central offices and moving into the front line of public service where the financial benefit starts.

The biggest disadvantage of a parastatal, as seen by some, is the loss of central control by government. Others see this as an advantage, as the administration gains increased flexibility and ability to respond to public demands.

Countries with parastatal forms of park agency management are those

most likely to earn the majority of or their entire operational budget from tourism. Examples include Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA), Kenya Wildlife Service, and SANP in South Africa. However, it is important to note that in all three of these African countries various forms of foreign aid are very important for capital development in the parks.

**The non-profit corporation.** Some countries utilize non-profit corporations to provide some tourism services. These can take the form of membership groups that provide specialized services, such as guiding, information, and recreation management. Such groups have the advantages of a parastatal plus the additional ability to mobilize large numbers of volunteers and solicit donations. This approach is only occasionally used for entire parks, probably due to the narrow focus of such groups and their lack of ability to handle the entire range of concerns required in park management. However, in Ontario the operation of entire provincial parks have recently been turned over to a private non-governmental organization (Misery Bay Provincial Nature Reserve) and to a local community cooperative (Aaron Provincial Park). Importantly, in both parks financial income has increased dramatically, as has the local community support.

**The for-profit corporation.** Often, for-profit private corporations provide some tourism products and services to visitors in parks. This is frequently done on a licensed concessionaire basis, in which the company has a monopoly, or on a free-market basis, in which many companies compete for the tourist market. Occasionally, experimentation allows park development or park management by private companies. One such case is now taking place in Lesotho. The Lesotho Highlands Development Authority is constructing a series of massive dams in the country's highlands for the purpose of earning income from the export of water to the large urban areas of nearby South Africa. As a remediation effort the authority hired a consulting firm to select, plan, design, and construct a system of protected areas within the development area. Four parks are under development, with two, the Bokong Nature Reserve and Tse'hylane National Park, at the stage of tourism facility development. At the end of the contract period the private firm will turn over operational parks to the fledgling national parks agency of the country. This is the only example I have ever seen of a private company being given complete authority for the selection, planning, design, and construction of protected areas. Personal observation of the activities suggests that it is a highly effective effort, but the ability of the government park agency to manage the park and the tourism after the hand-over is in doubt.

## Park Tourism Opportunities and Challenges

What does it take to effectively manage international tourism in a national park or other form of protected area? It might be best to discuss the overall trends in park tourism by summarizing within two headings: (1) park tourism opportunities and (2) park tourism challenges.

**Park tourism opportunities**. Within most park agencies the management authorities have familiarity with visitation. Most are capable of handling some international tourism. If the parks work within a competent, co-ordinated system, and have sufficient finances, it is possible to develop a co-ordinated tourism management system.

For the parks to become international destinations, the country involved and its parks must project a global image of being a premier destination for outdoor recreation and nature tourism. Potential tourists require some international profile. Location is important, but poor location can be overcome with inexpensive air travel. Significant natural resources, a high market profile, and a high-quality service industry are three prerequisites for effective utilization of the international market.

The international airports, road, and water transportation system must be capable of handling significant levels of tourism traffic. Information systems need to be able to handle the whole range of needs that occur in tourism. People need lots of information. Those sites that have better information technologies are much more effective in attracting international tourism. Unfortunately, many park agencies do not control the flow of the majority of information that is provided to park visitors. Guide books, feature films, conservation groups, scientific publications, and tour companies often provide more information than does the park agency. This can be an advantage if the information is accurate and appropriate, but it can be very problematic if the park is not prepared or capable of handling the resultant tourism traffic. It can also be a problem if the information is wrong, or purposely misleading.

**Park tourism challenges**. Most parks are not now equipped to handle international tourism. Typically these parks lack tourism management capability, sufficient staff, and infrastructure. Examples to illustrate this lack of expertise are easy to find. Many parks do not have the language ability to handle tourism from foreign countries. Often very little is done to encourage and assist visitation by people from foreign countries.

Most parks have insufficient numbers of people with expertise in tourism, marketing, service quality evaluation, and international ecotourism. The level of expertise in these areas must be considerably upgraded if park agencies want to develop a vibrant, international tourism industry, one that can compete globally. Expertise in service quality management is particularly needed. The North American service industries are the global leaders in the development and application of service quality management principles. As a result, the North American consumer expects high levels of quality from service providers. Government agencies often lag far behind the private sector in applying service quality management principles, and this lack is obvious to their clients. Recent efforts in this area by Parks Canada and the national parks of Finland are laudable and worthy of emulation.

In most countries, the lack of a coordinated and co-operative park and

tourism research arrangement leads to a paucity of professional expertise in the specialized area of park tourism. There is an urgent need for the development of better connections between universities and park management.

Several countries, most specifically the USA, Australia, and the United Kingdom, have aggressive tourism research, education, and development programs aimed at nature-based tourism. For example, the U.S. National Park Service has developed a suite of national cooperative research and training institutes at first-line universities (M. Soukup, personal communication, 24 November 1997). This follows similar initiatives previously undertaken by the U.S. Forest Service and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

Australia leads the way in the development of a national and state research program for sustainable tourism in parks. Parks Victoria in Australia funded a major cooperative research and education unit in at Deakin University (D. Weston, personal communication, 17 November 1997; J. Senior, personal communication, 24 July 1999). The nature tourism strategy for New South Wales proposed a strengthened link between the national park agency and universities in that state of Australia (Worboys 1997). The Australian Cooperative Research Centre for Sustainable Tourism involves university, government department, and private-sector cooperation into cutting-edge and applied tourism research. This approach is functioning very well with impressive levels of useful tourism research being published.

Many parks are unknown outside of the local area, and have weak mechanisms to provide a higher profile. Many parks have natural resources of limited international appeal. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that only some parks can play an international role in park tourism. Within an overall park system tourism strategy, only those with appropriate natural and managerial resources should be chosen for the promotion of international visitation. Only a few parks have an existing international reputation sufficient to attract people to the sites as primary travel destinations. Those that have the names "national park" and "World Heritage Site" have significant brand identity. Names such as "provincial park" and "conservation area" lead to confusion by many potential visitors. These names are often poorly known outside the local area. These designations may also connote low levels of resource significance and tourism infrastructure.

Parks are very important components of the nature-based tourism industry. They occupy some of the most interesting landscapes. They also have information and infrastructure that attract tourists. And they can be used within a system of linked travel routes for long-distance travel. However, the parks are seldom managed within a system of linked travel routes. For example, are the parks part of a clearly identified travel route? Is all information for all destinations on a route available at all stops along the way? Can a visitor book all accommodation and other services for an entire trip at any of the parks along the route? Typically, the answer to these

questions is negative.

An obvious example of the lack of understanding of international tourism is the inadequacy of programs and facilities aimed in this direction. International visitation is not directed through a well-designed system of information for visitors. Multilingual publications are usually scarce. Staff language ability is generally in the local language and often in English, but almost never in other important languages such as German, Spanish, Chinese, or Japanese. Prebooking by international visitors is often difficult. There is often no way for international tourists to work through their travel agents to facilitate visitation to most parks. Usually visitors are expected to bring all the necessary equipment for camping or outdoor recreation, a very difficult and expensive task for trips that involve air travel. Rental or sale of equipment sometimes occurs in parks, but its availability is spotty, and when available, is difficult to access for international visitors. Easy access to guides, specialized information, or ethnic food is often limited. Co-operation with airlines, tour agencies, recreation vehicle rental companies, or hotel chains is rare. Parks usually do little to encourage, or even facilitate, the visitation by people from the country's major foreign tourism markets.

Often the parks' infrastructure is designed for the knowledgeable and experienced local person. It is difficult for foreigners to visit parks. It is very difficult for them to gain the knowledge of a park, to obtain access, to get all the necessary equipment, to learn how to use the equipment, to gain suitable transport, and then to visit most parks. In North America camping is the dominant form of accommodation in parks. The complexity of camping redirects many visitors into other forms of accommodation. However, there is very limited roofed accommodation in the parks to handle the international ecotourism market. There are often suitable accommodations outside the parks, but these are typically small in scale and difficult to access by people in remote locales of the world.

Given these challenges, it is a wonder that as many international travellers find their way to parks as do. It is clear why the Lonely Planet Guides, and other similar guidebooks, have found such a global market. However, if these challenges were tackled effectively by the parks, the numbers of international visitors could increase dramatically. Importantly, only those parks that have qualified staff, sufficient infrastructure, and the finances to handle this increase should be considered as likely candidates.

Park tourism is a global phenomenon and has a global market. Those agencies and those parks that develop suitable expertise and facilities are out-competing others. The phenomenal success of national parks and game reserves in South Africa in the last half-decade shows how a sophisticated tourism approach can successfully out-compete many other similar destinations in Africa that have equally good natural resources, but less effective tourism operations.

Some of the deficiencies outlined are due to low levels of finance. At present, the typical government agency structure results in insufficient finance to hire trained staff, develop

the research base, develop the product line, advertise the product, and handle the visitors when they arrive. The parastatal agency structures developing in many countries help self-finance this endeavor when they become operational, but there are often insufficient start-up funds. Allocations from governments are necessary for the development of nature-based tourism. These allocations are most successful when made within the context of a carefully constructed national, provincial, and agency policy environment. In developing countries this is often occurring through various forms of foreign aid. The Global Environment Facility provides grants and soft loans for biodiversity conservation (GEF 1996) in parks and protected areas, with the long-term operational funds to come from tourism (The World Bank 1998).

The challenges are partly due to a nature-tourism policy void in many countries. In most countries there is an urgent need for co-ordinated national, provincial/state, and regional nature-based tourism strategies. The big exception is in Australia, which has both national and state-level ecotourism strategies that explicitly deal with the parks as international destinations (Allcock et al. 1994; Worboys 1997; Western Australian Tourism Commission 1997; Tourism Queensland 1999). The ecotourism policy and plan for the state of Queensland is one of the most mature policy documents available. These strategies identify key policy priorities, consider which sites have potential for international ecotourism, develop recommendations for market development, provide backing to financial development, encourage advanced levels of research, and schedule a multi-year development plan.

## Conclusions

If park tourism is to be given the level of public policy recognition that it deserves, a more consistent and thorough procedure for the collection of visitation, management, and economic data is required. Carlson (1997) discussed the complexities of evaluating and monitoring recreation and tourism use. In his study of economic evaluation of recreation and tourism in New South Wales he called for "a more consistent approach to data collection." The World Commission on Protected Areas has prepared three guidelines that assist with the development of park tourism and its associated recognition in public policy: measurement of economic impact and the finance of parks (IUCN 2000), measurement and reporting of public use data (Hornback and Eagles 1999), and evaluating management effectiveness (Hockings et al. 2000). With the movement toward documentation of tourism's volume and impact, discussion is needed on the evaluation of the park management's ability to handle it. In particular, the development of management effectiveness guidelines and procedures can assist policy-makers, senior management, and the public in understanding the capability of park managers and their institutions. A framework for evaluating management effectiveness assists in the vital goal of understanding the overall management structure and effectiveness of park agencies (Hock-

ings et al. 2000). These guidelines should be of assistance to parks agencies and all others concerned about tourism in parks.

Many parks are starting to move toward agency management structures that function like corporations within government. This involves (a) agency retention of fee and license revenue; (b) retention of budget surpluses at the end of the fiscal year; (c) pricing policies that better reflect the cost of production; and (d) more flexible arrangements with corporate and nonprofit entities outside government. It is probable that higher use fees will be charged. Over time, a much higher proportion of revenue will come from merchandise and food sales than now occurs. Innovative funding mechanisms, such as licensing of park names or cooperative public–private ventures in selling special-purpose merchandise, are underway.

Park agencies are developing tourism management competencies within their own organizations (Table 5). It is critical that the park visitors' needs and wants be understood. Most park agencies now adopt a take-it-or-leave-it philosophy with respect to visitors. Certain types of facilities and services are provided, and the park client is not even asked if they are desirable or serving their needs. An example is the lack of service quality management in most park agencies. Few agencies have specific service quality goals, with Parks Canada being a notable exception. The private sector in leisure services is rapidly moving towards management by service quality goals. All park agencies require specialists in leisure pricing policy. Pricing policy is a major field in business management, and a critical component of the operation of most corporations. Leisure marketing is the specialized field concerned with developing a solid understanding of the client, the product, and the means to match the two. Park agencies with parastatal forms of management are staffing with specialized expertise in leisure marketing. This paper emphasizes the need for tourism and resource economics expertise within a park agency. Those agencies that function like a corporation need finance expertise. Tourism management is a large and specialized field that is as broad and complex as resource management. All park agencies should develop staff expertise in this area. It may be too obvious a point to make, but it is important to note that people trained in biology, forestry, and resource management typically have no professional training in any of the fields listed in Table 5. Therefore, it is important for park agencies to retrain their existing staff, or hire such expertise.

The negative impact of tourism on park resources is less influenced by

Table 5. Tourism management competencies.

- Understanding visitors' needs and wants
- Service quality management
- Leisure pricing policy
- Leisure marketing
- Tourism and resource economics
- Finance
- Tourism management

absolute numbers of visitors than by weak tourism policy, management, and staffing. Very low levels of finance often cause the management deficiencies. It is clear that in those parks with sufficient expertise and finance, park tourism can be very competently managed, with low levels of negative environmental impact and high levels of positive economic impact. The key issue is developing a management framework that emphasizes staff expertise in tourism and financial competence. Tourism, within most park agencies, can provide significant levels of income, if the income is allowed to by the government legislative and policy framework.

Mulholland and Eagles (2002) recently proposed that the well-known issue of ecological sustainability for parks be joined to their fiscal sustainability (Figure 11). Park resource managers often assess the maximum ecological carrying capacity of reserves in terms of impacts on wildlife and other natural resources. Seldom is this discussion extended to the financial viability of the reserve. These authors propose the addition of a minimum financial carrying capacity, below which the park management is not viable due to insufficient funds. This minimum depends upon the number of tourists and the associated financial benefits they bring. Funds from donors and aid agencies, when available, would supplement the tourism income. The acceptable range of park use level is the difference between the between minimum financial return necessary and maximum negative environmental impact allowable. The authors make the argument that throughout much of the world the present situation sees much too little positive financial impact; therefore much more tourist use and income is needed in those situations. The goal of this model is to merge both fiscal and ecological concerns into one management structure.

As one contribution to the United Nations Year of Ecotourism in 2002, the U.N. Environment Program, in cooperation with the World Tourism Organization and IUCN, commissioned the preparation of guidelines for the planning and management of sustainable tourism in national parks

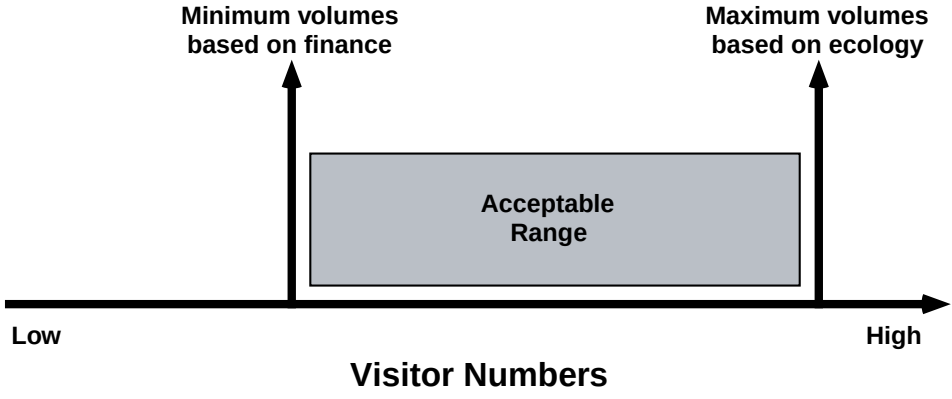


Figure 11. Model of financial and ecological sustainability.

and protected areas (Eagles et al. 2002). This document provides guidelines for the development of park tourism that is financially and ecologically sustainable as well as respecting local conditions and communities.

The next 20 years will see a major shift in park management towards much more sophisticated tourism management. Such a shift will help considerably in developing a financial system that allows for competent and successful park management.

## Acknowledgments

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# Changing Approaches to Management at the Tsankawi Mesa of Bandelier National Monument

As demonstrated by a special section of *The George Wright Forum* titled "Taking Stock: Changing Ideas and Visions for Parks" (Volume 17, Number 2), both the park idea and approaches to managing parks have changed greatly over the past century. Parks have been "managed, exploited, enjoyed, glorified, or left alone, depending on the ideals espoused" during a specific period (Carr 2000, 16). This is particularly true of the national parks, which have been, seemingly contradictorily, developed for mass tourism and preserved in a relatively unaltered state depending upon the management approach taken by the National Park Service (NPS). The Tsankawi unit of Bandelier National Monument in New Mexico can stand as a particularly relevant example of the agency's changing concept of park stewardship. Throughout much of its history as part of a protected national monument, this mesa was to have been developed to accommodate large numbers of visitors, similar to the principal area of Bandelier, Frijoles Canyon. Because NPS never followed through on these plans, Tsankawi was preserved as an intact cultural landscape containing the remains of an unexcavated pueblo, ceremonial kivas, cavates, pictographs, and a prehistoric footpath worn deeply into the rock of the mesa. Recently, it has become a focal point for a new approach to park management: NPS and other land management agencies now recognize such areas as indigenous ancestral sites that are important to contemporary Native American culture, and are engaged in efforts to consult with tribes on their preservation and interpretation. It is remarkable that an area that NPS wanted to intensively develop for much of the last century could now be a model for sensitive management. However, this new approach only came about recently and Tsankawi was preserved more because of a lack of funding for development than as a result of a conscious preservation effort.

## Establishing a National Monument

Efforts to protect Tsankawi and other archeological sites on New Mexico's Pajarito Plateau began as early as 1899, when the archeologist Edgar Lee Hewett recommended that a substantial part of the region become a national park. Working with Representative John E. Lacey, chairman of the House Public Lands Committee, Hewett helped draw up several proposals for a park of between 150,000 and 250,000 acres, called either Pajarito Plateau National Park or the National Park of the Cliff Cities. Hewett and Lacey were joined by those who saw a national park as a

boon to tourism and a means to enhance the image of the territory — and, beginning in 1912, state — of New Mexico. As was often the case with proposals for national parks, opposition came from proponents of development who did not want to see such a large area put off limits to grazing, timber cutting, and homesteading. They had allies in the federal government, particularly the then-young United States Forest Service (USFS), which managed much of the Pajarito Plateau as an area dedicated to the utilitarian use of natural resources. By 1916, USFS had to contend with the new NPS, which joined the movement for a national park. USFS countered the park movement with a proposal for a smaller national monument that would protect some of the archeological resources in the area but avoid putting a large tract of land off limits to development. On February 11, 1916, three discrete areas containing significant archeological sites were proclaimed as Bandelier National Monument by President Woodrow Wilson through executive powers granted by the Antiquities Act. The new monument totaled 22,400 acres and included the major sites at Frijoles Canyon and the separate Otowi and Tsankawi mesas. The new monument came under the management of USFS, displeasing NPS, which continued to advocate the creation of a national park (Rothman 1988).

## NPS Development Plans

During the period that Bandelier was under USFS management, NPS continued its efforts to have the monument included within a larger national park placed under its jurisdiction. In anticipation of a future land transfer, on two separate occasions the agency sent to the region representatives who reported on the resources and made recommendations for their management. These early reports displayed NPS' seemingly contradictory goals of protecting resources while promoting development to accommodate visitors. Following his inspection tour in the summer of 1919, Herbert Gleason wrote that NPS would be a better protector of the archeological sites within the national monument than USFS, but would also make these sites more accessible to visitors. Of the detached Tsankawi and Otowi mesas, Gleason complained that the "Forest Service, apparently, takes no pains to protect these ruins from irresponsible relic-hunters or to maintain in proper shape the roads leading to them" (Gleason 1919, 6). NPS criticism of USFS' failure to provide for visitation to Bandelier was countered by the USFS argument that it was a better steward of the archeological sites because it would not build roads that made them more accessible to looting, nor would it construct a hotel in Frijoles Canyon, as NPS proposed (Rothman 1988, 29-30).

The report on a 1930 inspection carried out by senior NPS officials Jesse Nussbaum, superintendent of Mesa Verde National Park, M.R. Tillotson, superintendent of Grand Canyon National Park, and Roger Toll, superintendent of Rocky Mountain National Park, was even more visitor development-oriented. The superintendents concluded that much of the land around Bandelier

was not of sufficient scenic value to warrant inclusion in a national park and argued that NPS take over only the national monument. Then, it could begin new developments for visitors, most importantly the construction of a road into Frijoles Canyon where the most significant archeological sites were located. They noted that while Frijoles Canyon received 3,000 to 4,000 visitors a year, the detached Otowi and Tsankawi sections of the monument received far fewer people, as there was little at each site to attract the public. However, this could be remedied by their development. Of Otowi, they wrote that there was "little to interest visitors at the site of the main pueblo. It could however be made of interest by re-excavation." The inspection party found the Tsankawi mesa more interesting, both because of the spectacular view from the top and because the "ruins of Tsankawi have been only partly excavated and offer almost their original value for scientific excavation and development for visitors" (Nussbaum, Tillotson, and Toll 1930, 12, 16). Although the superintendents favored the excavation of Tsankawi, they wanted to preserve certain aspects of the site. The road to the mesa ended a half-mile away and the party did not believe it "desirable to build a road all of the way, since visitors should approach the ruins on foot, over the worn trails used by the prehistoric inhabitants." As for the ruins, few people visited them because "they have been but partly excavated, and no effort has been made to bring out the features that would be of interest to visitors." Like the 1919 report on Bandelier, the inspection party offered seemingly contradictory recommendations, stating that it was "of great importance that as many as possible of these prehistoric ruins should be protected and preserved in their present condition, for future generations," but also recommending new excavations "with a view of acquiring all possible information from the ruins, and of protecting the structures from further deterioration and making them available for public inspection and instruction." The party recommended that Otowi and Tsankawi "be developed and made features of interest to visitors," who would be able to "combine a trip to these ruins with a visit to" Frijoles Canyon, "thus making a combination trip, which would present more features of interest than would one area alone." (Nussbaum, Tillotson, and Toll 1930, 29-30 , 67) Clearly, NPS was interested in developing Bandelier National Monument for the sake of visitation.

With Nussbaum, Tillotson, and Toll recommending that NPS take over the management of Bandelier National Monument rather than seek to have a national park established in this region, the agency temporarily abandoned its park proposal. In 1931, USFS agreed to transfer the monument, along with additional land that would allow the Otowi and Tsankawi mesas to be combined into one area, which was then referred to as the Otowi Unit of Bandelier National Monument. The transfer was made on February 25, 1933, but the idea of creating a national park on the Pajarito Plateau remained alive within NPS, which made additional park proposals

later in the 1930s and again in the 1960s.

Despite the recommendations of the 1930 inspection party that Tsankawi be excavated, after NPS took over Bandelier National Monument development was limited to Frijoles Canyon. Here, using Civilian Conservation Corps labor, a road was constructed to ease access to the canyon, and a visitor center, administrative facility, and lodge were constructed on the valley floor near the major archeological ruins. Tsankawi was, however, considered to be among the more important archeological sites in the park and remained in consideration for future development. In the 1940s, when NPS was planning a land exchange with its new neighbor on the Pajarito Plateau, the Los Alamos National Laboratory, it wanted to hold on to Tsankawi even though other parts of the detached Otowi Unit could be exchanged for laboratory land on the rim of Frijoles Canyon. Writing about the possible exchange of land in the Otowi Unit of the monument, Erik Reed, the chief archeologist for the Southwest Region of NPS, reiterated earlier observations, stating that of all the ruins here, Tsankawi was the "most important from the archaeological and interpretive viewpoints" (Reed 1948).

The Tsankawi section of Bandelier was clearly recognized as significant by NPS, but through the 1940s and 1950s park management continued to focus on Frijoles Canyon even though with increased visitation to Bandelier, the outlying unit became a destination for growing numbers of people. It was this change in the habits of visitors to Bandelier that led NPS to consider developing Tsankawi into a major destination in the national monument. In 1956, officials from the NPS regional office in Santa Fe noted that the "trail to Tsankawi is increasingly popular," but a lack of funding prevented the park from providing visitors with anything more than a self-guiding interpretive trail (NPS 1956). At this time, NPS was planning Mission 66, a ten-year effort to make all of the areas in the National Park System capable of handling the huge numbers of people visiting them in the post-war era. In most cases, under Mission 66 the response of NPS to increasing visitation was to build more roads and visitor facilities in the parks. Bandelier was to have been no exception, as here the "problem" was a "dual one involving protection for the detached Otowi section and the lack of space for expansion of existing facilities in the main visitor area" in Frijoles canyon. To remedy this, NPS planned to construct a visitor center along the highway near Tsankawi, as well as for the pueblo to be "excavated and stabilized" and the prehistoric foot-path to the mesa top "reconstructed with appropriate exhibits installed along the trail." The development of Tsankawi, which was called the "most important part of the Mission 66 program for Bandelier," would serve three goals. First, it would "provide the necessary protection of this very important section of the monument." Second, development would "provide the proper kind of interpretation" in order to "make it possible for the visitors to obtain the maximum benefits from the features" found here. Third,

making this area more attractive to visitors would "relieve the overcrowded condition of the Frijoles Canyon by a dispersal of monument visitors" (NPS, undated).

The Mission 66 plan for Tsankawi was not carried out, but support for new development at this part of the monument continued through the 1960s and 1970s. In 1962, the acting superintendent of Bandelier wrote to the director of the NPS Southwest Region about planned excavations and visitor-oriented developments that were a "high priority" for the monument (Widmer 1962). Proposals for the excavation of the pueblo were included in the 1973 and 1977 master plans for Bandelier. Unlike earlier plans, the excavation would not be carried out simply to expose the ruins for interpretive purposes but "allow visitors to observe an excavation in progress and to learn how archaeological materials are used to reconstruct the past." Once excavated, it could be determined "how the ruins can be best used and interpreted" (NPS 1977).

The 1960s and 1970s were periods when NPS was relatively flush with cash as a result of congressional appropriations for park development under the Mission 66 program (in the 1960s), and to prepare for the American Bicentennial (in the 1970s). Why, then, did nothing happen at Tsankawi? No clear answer exists, but it may be the case that despite the development plans that existed for this part of Bandelier, and the numerous examples of managers stating that the area was a priority for the monument, this detached piece of land actually became less important to NPS after a large piece of the Otowi Unit, the Otowi mesa itself, was transferred to Los Alamos National Laboratory in 1963 in exchange for additional land adjacent to Frijoles Canyon. Following the land transfer, the Frijoles Canyon section of the monument grew to 31,911 acres as compared to Tsankawi's mere 826 acres. The fact that the Tsankawi mesa was retained in 1963, despite its being a detached unit of the park with the inherent management difficulties that this represented, reflects the importance of the resources there to NPS. However, as far as the allocation of funds for development, the new land adjacent to Frijoles Canyon became a priority. Here, a new campground and amphitheater were constructed, thereby allowing an overcrowded campground to be removed from Frijoles Canyon itself. In addition, much-needed employee housing was built.

## A New Approach toward Tsankawi

Because NPS failed to carry out its plans to excavate and develop Tsankawi, the mesa remained a relatively pristine area in which visitors could have a different experience than that found in the developed and overcrowded main section of Bandelier. At Tsankawi, visitors could hike along the prehistoric foot-path rather than over the asphalt and pipe-railed pathways installed near the ruins in Frijoles Canyon. Climbing to the top of the mesa, one passed numerous petroglyphs before finding the expansive 360-degree view of the Pajarito Plateau, Rio Grande Valley, and Sangre de Cristo Mountains. There

was the unexcavated pueblo, which allowed visitors the opportunity to gain an appreciation for archeology by seeing what an archeologist has to work with before beginning an excavation. On the far side of the mesa, where visitors began the return hike, cavates and petroglyphs line the mesa wall. All of this provided visitors to Tsankawi with a feeling of discovery, away from the controlled exhibits and crowds that have come to typify a visit to Frijoles Canyon. Granted, the interpretation at Tsankawi could have been improved, but the fact that people came to this area despite the lack of visitor facilities testified to the importance of this type of national park experience.

By the 1990s, NPS recognized that an undeveloped Tsankawi was a valuable resource for Bandelier. The 1992 interpretive plan made this quite clear, stating:

> In contrast to the paved trails, full-service, multi-media facilities of Frijoles Canyon, Tsankawi will not be developed for mass visitation. Instead, it will remain a less developed discovery site where people can have the thrill of walking in paths used by prehistoric people. In this quiet, unexcavated site it is easy to have a personal encounter with the cultural resources, maybe even sense the presence of the former inhabitants. It is an aesthetic and emotional experience rather than an intellectual one, or has been one in the past (NPS 1992).

During the same period that NPS made the conscious decision not to develop Tsankawi, the site experienced an increase in visitation that led to a number of management problems, particularly the rapid erosion of the prehistoric foot-paths to the top of the mesa and the uncontrolled exploration of cavates. In response, the agency explored options for the area but clearly rejected the development plans of previous decades because this would be "detrimental to the site's scenic, natural, and cultural resources." However, the fact that for decades NPS had planned to develop Tsankawi but instead left the area largely alone meant that there was "[n]o guiding management philosophy" for the mesa (NPS 1995). Here was an opportunity for NPS to develop and apply a new management approach.

Rather than see the mesa as containing a collection of archeological features of interest to visitors, in the 1990s Tsankawi was recognized both as an intact cultural landscape that was significant because of its unaltered state and an indigenous ancestral site that remained significant to contemporary Pueblos in the area. This new approach was, in part, the result of an ethnographic study of the traditional use of resources within Bandelier, which developed into active consultation on the management of these resources with Pueblos historically associated with indigenous sites within the monument (Merlan, Panteah, and Gonzales 2000). It was also the result of a new effort to study preservation issues at Tsankawi by Bandelier management, the NPS Santa Fe office, and the Graduate Program in Historic Preservation at the University of Pennsylvania, which had been carrying out technical conservation work for several years at Mesa Verde National Park and other NPS sites in the Southwest. Beginning in 1998, Tsankawi became the focus of an annual program that

brought together park managers, Penn professors and students, and members of the Cochiti and San Ildefonso Pueblos to determine the appropriate management of the mesa and undertake the technical conservation of its features. Over the course of several summer field programs, Penn students joined with Pueblo students to carry out conservation treatments, such as backfilling the historic footpaths that were becoming heavily eroded from the increased visitation to the mesa (Matero 2000). Consultations between public land managers and historically associated indigenous peoples is presently taking place throughout much of North America, but the history of the Tsankawi Mesa stands as an example of how this is only a recent development in the evolution of public lands management.

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