An Integrative Approach to Tourism: Lessons from the Andes of Peru

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This study compares the Andean communities of Taquile Island and Chiquian, Peru, which differ in their level of integration for their respective tourism sector. Integration was primarily defined by percentage of local people employed, type and degree of participation, decision-making power, and ownership in the local tourism sector. Principally social and economic aspects were measured and evaluated, recognising that considerable local support and participation in tourism decision making are linked to issues of ownership and control. It was found that higher levels of integration would lead to enhanced socioeconomic benefits for the community. A framework for community integration was developed that could help guide research, planning, development and evaluation of community-based tourism projects.

Introduction

The World Tourism Organisation states that Central and South America had a combined average annual growth rate of almost 10% for international tourist arrivals from 1995–98, and South America is expected to overtake the Caribbean between 1995 and 2020 as the second largest subregion (after North America) for international tourist arrivals (WTO, 2000). Since the 1980s, several developing countries such as Costa Rica, Belize and Ecuador have been promoting 'sustainable' or 'nature-based' tourism to take advantage of their unique ecosystems, and to attempt to reduce or avoid negative impacts. Sustainable tourism has been defined as a type of development that 'connects tourists and providers of tourist facilities and services with advocates of environmental protection and community residents and their leaders who desire a better quality of life' (McIntyre, 1993: 16). It is often equated with 'ecotourism', which The Ecotourism Society defines as 'responsible travel to natural areas which conserves the environment and improves the welfare of local people' (Western, 1993: 8).

The problem inherent to such definitions of ecotourism or sustainable tourism is that their respective elements have yet to be considered in an *integrative* fashion. A reasonable assumption for a given tourism project is that maximising local participation is a desirable objective, in conjunction with profitability and protection of natural resources. If so, what is meant exactly by 'maximisation' and 'participation', and how are they interconnected? Is the level of local involvement merely of a consultative nature or does the community significantly influence or even control tourism planning, development and management? How does local participation affect the people's means of livelihood and the

sharing of benefits such as jobs and revenues? Perhaps the only forms of local participation that are likely to break existing patterns of power and unequal development 'are those which originate from within the local communities themselves' (Mowforth & Munt, 1998: 240).

Although relatively few case studies in Latin America have been carried out that have demonstrated meaningful local participation in tourism planning and development, one notable exception is the Cofan of Zobalo, Ecuador. These people appear to have successfully implemented a mixed cooperative approach with community business partnerships (Borman, 1995; Epler Wood, 1998), earning each resident an estimated US$ 500 annually (Wunder, 1996). Other sources on local participation in Latin America tourism include works by Brandon (1993), Lindberg *et al.* (1996), Torres (1996), Drumm (1998) and Honey (1999).

Case study: Community integration and socioeconomic parameters

This paper examines the socioeconomic aspects of tourism in two communities distinguished by their degree of involvement in tourism planning, management, and ownership, hence local control or *community integration*. The hypothesis is that a community characterised as highly integrated in tourism decision making would experience greater socioeconomic benefits over another community distinguished by a low level of integration. In this research, the extent of community integration in tourism management can be distinguished by the following indicators:

(1) the extent of a broad-based, equitable and efficient democratic process;
(2) the number of participating citizens;
(3) the degree of individual participation (i.e. influence) in decision-making;
(4) the amount of local ownership in the community-based tourism sector; and
(5) the degree of long-term involvement in planning and management by local communities (i.e. not a 'one-off' event).

Some of these indicators are described by Sewell and Phillips (1979), who state that a high degree of participation in a given public participation process has a correspondingly low amount of actual numbers of citizens involved (Sewell & Phillips, 1979). In this scenario, the process would likely be of a more personal nature with smaller groups, and individual voices would theoretically have more influence and control; conversely, high numbers of citizens involved would lead to a decrease in the degree of participation, on the sole basis that it becomes increasingly harder to maximise individual participation in larger group settings (Sewell & Phillips, 1979).

Local participation could conceivably be measured by placing a given community on Arnstein's (1969) *Ladder of Citizen Participation* or Pretty's (1995) *Typology of Participation*. For example, Pretty's typology describes the type of involvement in seven levels of participation and offers a critique of each level. These types range from *manipulative participation*, in which virtually all the power and control over the development or proposal lie with groups outside the local community, to *self-mobilisation*, in which power and control over all development aspects rest squarely with the local community. A community consistently oper-

ative somewhere in the top levels of such participation typologies may demonstrate a mature social, psychological, and political integration (Mitchell, 1998).

Although such typologies are useful representations of the mechanisms and effects of citizen involvement in decision-making, it may be difficult to accurately place a community through empirical means. In addition, factors such as property ownership, existence of local elite and power bases, government policies and economic leakages may complicate matters considerably. Rather than attempt to categorise a given community using such techniques, an examination of certain socioeconomic factors may better facilitate portrayal of integration levels in tourism decision-making participation. Such factors may be considered on an individual basis, albeit recognising their interconnectivity and a distinction made between 'perceived' and 'actual' socioeconomic benefits. For example, residents may have a positive perception of benefits accruing from tourism, but 'real' benefits may be lower than perceived when direct monetary comparisons are made and factors such as revenue leakages are considered.

Social benefits in this research concern individual and community wellbeing; specifically, personal satisfaction and democratic, equitable participation in local decision making. Such predominately qualitative benefits were measured by (1) perceptions toward the tourism sector (both individual and community), and (2) equity inherent in local decision-making power and participation. *Economic benefits* are considered as (a) local tourism-generated income, (b) direct employment related to the provision of tourism services, (c) tourism service ownership, (d) gross sales and profits of tourism-related businesses, and (e) revenue leakages related to the local tourism industry.

Community integration in tourism

Mitchell (1998) and Mitchell and Reid (2001) have proposed a framework for community integration in tourism planning and management, which is partially illustrated in Figure 1. The theory is that a tourism integration process for a given community must be linked to three critical parameters: (1) *community awareness*, (2) *community unity*, and (3) *power or control relationships*, both local and external. Awareness, unity, and power for a certain tourism sector comprise an integration triangle and form a necessary part of the community's rise to self-reliance and local control. These variables are principally endogenous (factors internal to the community), but they will also be influenced by the exogenous environment (factors outside the community).

Community awareness is defined as the 'conscientisation' (Freire, 1970) of people concerning the complexities and potential impacts of a proposed development. Freire (1970) describes conscientisation as the transformation towards empowerment. It is likely that a 'catalyst' such as a facilitator, educator, planner or local leader may influence local awareness of tourism potential. In theory, this individual or agency would provide invaluable information about the industry and its possible positive and negative effects. Initially, the catalyst would act as a motivating force that enables the community to reach a level of self-directed organisation and management.

Community unity concerning tourism can be considered as collective support for the local tourism sector and community cohesiveness (Mitchell, 1998). Lack of unity for tourism planning and development may hinder true integration and an
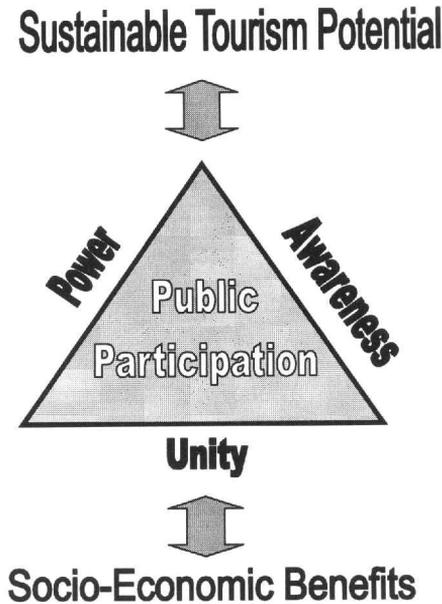
Figure 1 Community integration in tourism

equitable sharing of socioeconomic benefits. However, unity may not be desirable if achieved through coercion or other forms of 'muting'. In actuality, only a few individuals may be supportive of local tourism while the rest of the community remains indifferent or even antagonistic towards the industry. Moreover, the perspectives and interests of the most powerful sections in a community may dominate and gain legitimacy, 'not through overt competition or confrontation, but [ironically] through … consensus' (Mosse, 1994: 509).

Local power in tourism policy and management issues may be highly influenced by the availability of resources and support. Both local and non-local interest groups will likely control varying amounts of power. However, local development is generally determined by the decisions of individual private entrepreneurs in the community who primarily make market driven decisions (Dye, 1986; Douglas, 1989). For small, isolated communities, it is likely that 'true' or effective power will be held by neighbouring cities or even other countries. Nevertheless, a higher degree of community participation in terms of both numbers and influence of local residents should also lead to more equitable sharing of decision-making power within the community.

Tourism in Peru

Peru is the third-largest country in South America and is bordered by five neighbours: Ecuador to the northwest, Colombia to the northeast, Brazil and

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

Bolivia to the east and Chile to the south (see Figure 2). Its total population of 22.6 million people (1993 census) includes over seven million that live in Lima, the capital on the Pacific coast.

The combination of economic and political instability, widespread terrorist activities and a serious cholera outbreak resulted in the virtual destruction of the country's tourism industry during the late 1980s and early 1990s. For example, Peru was one of only three countries in the western hemisphere where tourist arrivals actually declined over the 1980 to 1992 period (Blackstone, 1995). Still, tourism has been the fastest-growing sector in Peru's economy, expanding an average 29% annually from 1993–96 (Boza, 1997). In 1998, international arrivals to Peru increased 11.5%, exceeding by almost five times the world rate of 2.4% estimated by the World Tourism Organisation for the same period (WTO, 1999). Among the principal reasons for this increased tourism demand is Peru's incredible ecological, cultural and historical diversity. For example, it is likely the most globally diverse in terms of bird species (over 1600) and third most diverse in mammals (Blackstone, 1995). Peru also possesses some of the most exciting heritage resources in the world, such as the Inca ruins at Machu Picchu, the Nazca Lines and the Tomb of Sipan.

Study areas

The first community selected for this comparative study is Taquile Island,[1] located on Lake Titicaca in southeastern Peru. The other community is Chiquian,[2] which lies just south of Huaraz in the central part of Peru. Tourism in the Chiquian region is principally nature-based, while it is both culturally and ecologically oriented for Taquile Island. Table 1 indicates some shared characteristics of the study areas that enable general comparisons to be made, especially those based on community participation in tourism planning and potential benefits.

Table 1 Research site comparison

Key characteristics	*Taquile Island*	*Chiquian*
Altitude	3812 m	3374 m
Dominant languages	Primarily Quechua, minor Spanish (especially men)	Spanish; minor Quechua
Location	Lake Titicaca; relatively isolated but accessible by boat from Puno	Central Andes; relatively isolated but accessible by road from Huaraz or Lima
Major economic activities	Subsistence agriculture, tourism services, weaving	Subsistence agriculture, guiding, weaving
Number of visitors	Est. 27,000 in 1996	Est. 1000 in 1996 to Huayhuash
Population	1850 (1997 estimate); 350 households	3801 (1993 census); 1204 households
Production of handicrafts	Very high; tourist-based and functional	Low to moderate; predominantly export-based
Tourism frequency	Year-round; high season from June–August	Mainly dry season from May–September
Tourism economic importance	Very high; high diversity of services	Low to moderate; moderate services available
Tourism type	Cultural/nature	Nature/cultural

Taquile Island

For this research, two rich sources of historical context and tourism data utilised were Healy and Zorn's (1983) 'Lake Titicaca's campesino controlled tourism' and Prochaska's (1990) *Taquile y sus tejidos*. Taquile Island lies on Lake Titicaca in the extreme southeast end of Peru, about 25 km or three to four hours by small motorised boat from Puno (regional capital with approximately 100,000 inhabitants). Total surface area is 754 hectares with 65% of the area being cultivated (Valencia Blanco, 1989). Taquile has an estimated population of 1850 primarily Quechua-speaking people, who are highly industrious in agriculture, fishing, and weaving. The administration of Taquile Island is based on unique sociogeographical divisions that combine traditional with modern political systems (Healy & Zorn, 1983).

Since the time of the pre-Inca Tiahuanaco culture, Taquile Island has undergone radical changes ranging from slavery and feudalism to private ownership under a democratic system. The first mention of Taquile was in 1580 when the Spaniard Pedro Gonzáles de Taquila acquired the islands of Taquile and

Amantaní from Charles V, the king of Spain (Matos Mar, 1957). From that point on until 1930, the islanders, or *Taquileños*, were ruled and forced to pay tribute to *hacendados* or landowners. From 1917–31, the island was a place of exile for political prisoners. One infamous prisoner who stayed on the island from 1921–24 was Luis M. Sánchez Cerro, who later served as president of Peru during 1930–31. Cerro repaid his friendship with the leader of the community, Prudencia Huatta, by setting the process in motion for Taquileños and other Peruvian *campesinos* (peasant farmers) to gain legal title to their lands. After almost four centuries of persecution and a long judicial process, the inhabitants of Taquile finally acquired total ownership of the island in 1960 (Valencia Blanco, 1989: 20).

Foreign tourists began arriving on the dock at Puno in the mid-1970s and Puno-based boat owners soon added the island to their tourist run on the lake. To meet this growing demand, Taquile Island sailboat cooperatives were formed in early 1978 by groups of 30 to 40 families (Healy & Zorn, 1983). By 1982, the number of boat cooperatives had expanded to 13, with 435 Taquile residents (virtually every family represented) sharing boat ownership and management responsibilities (Healy & Zorn, 1983). The islanders proved to be competitive with boat owners from Puno and eventually displaced them by obtaining an officially sanctioned monopoly. Protection of islander-controlled tourist transport ended during the early 1990s with the advent of President Fujimori's privatisation and anti-monopolisation policies.

When tourists arrive on Taquile, a reception committee greets and registers them by age, duration of stay, and nationality. The new arrivals are assigned accommodation with a local family in an adobe hut. There are several committees on the island that help to manage the daily tasks, such as housing, weaving, cooking and transportation. Special tasks such as building construction or public maintenance are handled by volunteer work groups. Each restaurant on the island is owned and managed by groups of families. Tourist income revenues have encouraged household improvements (such as simple bedding gear, extra rooms, and kerosene lanterns), which are inspected and approved by another island committee (Healy & Zorn, 1983). Notably, each household approved by an accommodation committee as suitable for tourists directly receives the lodging fees.

One of Taquile's principal attractions is its extraordinary weavings, skilfully woven from sheep or alpaca wool. During the 1980s, local weavers formed two community-run artisan stores (Manco Capac Cooperative) to sell their diverse, and increasingly numerous, products. Today, the handicraft industry has become a major component of their livelihood and lifestyle; most men, women, teenagers and children over the age of seven now earn money by producing crafts. As of 1997, there were 270 cooperative members or 77% of the population (each member represents at least one family). Prices are set based on the quality of workmanship and the amount of labour (Healy & Zorn, 1983). Prices are also fixed by all members to avoid harmful competition, with a small percentage (5%) retained for cooperative maintenance. Private sales to tourists are prohibited by community law in keeping with islander traditions of equality, although these do occur on a discreet basis. By 1990, Taquile had control over all stages of its

textile manufacture and marketing, and controlled most of the tourism services (Prochaska, 1990).

Chiquian

Chiquian was selected to compare community integration in tourism to Taquile Island. Many trekkers that visit the nearby Cordillera Huayhuash either start or end their treks in Chiquian. Chiquian has an urban population of 3801 inhabitants and 1204 households (1993 census). It is about 110 km southeast of Huaraz (three to four hours by bus), 340 km northeast of Lima, situated at 3374 m in the central Andean region of Peru, and relatively accessible. Still, in many respects Chiquian remains as isolated as Taquile Island; it is surrounded by mountains and is still a relatively arduous journey, even considering the recent road improvements from Huaraz. There is a distinct preference for tourism in the immediate Huaraz area compared to the relatively isolated Cordillera Huayhuash area, largely due to greater accessibility and awareness. An estimated 95% of foreign visitors to the Chavín Region (to which Chiquian belongs) visit cities in the Callejón de Huaylas, a mountain valley north of Huaraz which includes the National Park of Huascarán; only 1% visit Chiquian and the lesser known Cordillera Huayhuash (The Mountain Institute, 1996).

People working in local mountain-based tourism in the Chiquian area may be hired as porters, mule drivers and cooks. In the town of Chiquian, tourism services include restaurants, hostels and bus transportation, as well as alpaca wool clothing production, and cheese-making. In addition to the natural beauty of the Cordillera Huayhuash, Chiquian and its neighbouring towns offer other attractions such as colonial churches, thermal springs and archaeological sites. Still, most foreign tourists that come to Chiquian prefer to trek or climb mountains in the nearby Cordillera Huayhuash, covering an area of 140,000 hectares and 45 km long from north to south. The Huayhuash is 'virtually an undiscovered treasure' with its extensive 'hiking and trekking routes, climbing attractions, archaeological sites, alpine lakes, and cultural uniqueness' (Kolff & Tohan, 1997: 29). It contains 46 alpine lakes and has six peaks greater than 6000 m, including the second highest mountain in Peru, Yerupaja (6634 m).

The flow of visitors to the Huayhuash started in the 1970s, reaching its peak by the mid-1980s. From this point until approximately 1992, tourism virtually ceased in the Huayhuash due to the terrorist activities of the Shining Path. With increased security in the area due to the decline of terrorism, tourism levels may now be superseding those of 10 years ago. One local expert estimated that approximately 1000 visitors came to the Huayhuash during 1996, staying an average of 10 days per person (Kolff & Tohan, 1997).

For this research, The Mountain Institute in Huaraz, Peru was invaluable for historical data and helpful advice. Since 1997, The Mountain Institute has been discussing with communities locally based tourism and the eventual designation of the Huayhuash as a nationally recognised protected area. In their exploratory report *Initial Field Study of the Cordillera Huayhuash, Peru*, local people were found to perceive tourism as only a means of economic benefits (Kolff & Tohan, 1997). In addition, The Mountain Institute has encountered many concerns about the future of the Cordillera Huayhuash with escalating demands by both foreign mining companies and tourists.

Research Methods

Data collection

By concentrating efforts on two communities, an extensive and diverse data collection was possible to allow for detailed analysis and discussion. It was recognised that tourism decision-making may be influenced by other intervening variables, including the degree of economic dependence on the industry and historical–cultural–political considerations. However, given that a certain, and likely different, level of tourism dependence was present for each community, emphasis was placed on 'why' and 'how' individual and community participation may affect socioeconomic benefits.

Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected from December 1996 to September 1997 to obtain both statistical and perceptual or opinion-based findings. Research techniques included household surveys, key-informant interviews and participant observation. In addition, some local businesses were selected for financial comparisons and additional information obtained from census reports, visitor records and previous surveys or studies. It is worth noting that the qualitative data obtained from interviews with selected informants, combined with participant observation techniques, provided considerable introspective insights into perceived levels of revenues, decision-making participation, and other parameters. Conversely, quantitative data from surveys, visitor records, and business comparisons were useful to refute, validate or augment other data obtained.

Surveys

A household survey was applied to adult family members considered as a community resident (defined as 'any household member 16 years or older that lives in the community for at least six months of the year'), and able to effectively answer relevant questions. These concerned tourism history and awareness, community unity, extent and sharing of decision-making power, tourism planning and development and satisfaction levels. The sample frame consisted of all occupied households in both communities. A total of 101 surveys for Taquile and 136 surveys for Chiquian were carried out, usually at the place of residence, with a sample frame that consisted of all occupied households. The minimum confidence interval was established at 90%, with a level of confidence of 10%. The survey objective was to examine household perceptions of socioeconomic benefits from local tourism activities by a combination of closed-ended (i.e. choices provided) and Likert scale questions (i.e. a five-point scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'). Some open-ended questions were also asked such as perceptions of tourism's future for the community. Primarily quantitative analytical methods were used to analyse the data, referring to the descriptive procedures as suggested by Hunter and Brown (1991: 240–241). Data were entered using computer software (SPSS for Windows) and analysed by various statistical tests, which generated frequency tables, bar charts, histograms, chi-square statistics and Pearson's correlations. Some means, modes and standard deviations were produced for relevant interval data.

Key-informant interviews

Qualitative methodology was applied to 'key-informants' to obtain a greater perspective of traditional values, power relationships, tourism sector parameters and other related factors. The cultural significance of the role and effects of tourism on the respective communities was examined through personalised, informal discussions to address two main objectives: (1) to help to focus the problem (research questions) on sociocultural meanings; and (2) to discover, define and test categories. The interviews helped us to examine the decision-making processes in the community, especially attitudes and equitability concerning the distribution of economic benefits from local and non-local 'experts' alike. Table 2 indicates the professions of nine persons for Taquile Island and eight persons for Chiquian that were selected for their extensive knowledge or involvement with the respective local tourism sector. The key-informant interviews were analysed using qualitative techniques, especially based on McCracken's (1988) *stages of analysis*. All interviews were translated into English and double-checked for accuracy by triangulation similar to the questionnaire preparation using an independent translator. Key themes and concepts were first searched within each interview; the interviews were then compared to each other and any themes generated were compared among each community to examine commonalties and differences.

Table 2 Key-informants selected for long interviews

Taquile Island		Chiquian	
Boat cooperative manager	*Varayoc* (elder)	Guide (Huaraz)	Local guide
Hotel owner (Puno)	Weaver	Guide and travel agent (Huaraz)	Mayor
Mayor	Weaver/tourism founder	Hostel owner/manager	Tourism promoter
Priest (Puno)	Weaver/tourism promoter	Local guide	Weaving association director
Travel agent (Puno)			

Participant observation

Participant observation often entails the researcher becoming resident in a community for several months and observing the normal daily lives of its members (Pratt & Loizos, 1992). These techniques help to understand relatively complex situations and to capture data from individuals who could not normally speak, such as women (especially in the case of Taquile), children and distrusting adults. A daily journal was kept to interpret, refute, verify, qualify or add to the other data collected. Principal ways in which the participant observation technique was applied were as follows:

- attending community or tourism committee meetings;
- chatting with children and women about their activities and attitudes towards tourism;

- becoming an active tourist (e.g. staying in local accommodations, going on guided tours, bargaining for handicrafts and trekking); and
- taking part in community festivals.

Other methods

Relatively simple financial analyses were carried out for three typical tourism businesses on Taquile Island (restaurant, tourist boat and handicraft cooperative) and two typical tourism businesses in Chiquian (guiding operation and restaurant). Secondary data were also obtained from visitor and census records, as well as previous research findings, to verify or reject information gathered from the other techniques, and to provide additional information.

Results

The research findings concerning community integration in tourism have been grouped as follows: (1) *tourism awareness and planning*, (2) *community unity and action*, (3) *community power or control*, and (4) *socioeconomic benefits*. Predominant themes from the key-informant interviews have been summarised in Table 3.

Tourism awareness and planning

Community awareness of tourism potential and its subsequent development share similarities with tourism planning. For example, a community may become cognisant of its present situation (e.g. impoverished people) and its possibilities for tourism (e.g. unique natural and culture features such as a rich rainforest). Consequently, interested residents and leaders may prepare for tourism due to this state of awareness. This is assuming, of course, that favourable conditions exist (e.g. accessibility, basic services, competitive prices, marketing strategy, financial resources). More often than not, however, such 'planning' may be of a haphazard nature as funding becomes available and increased demand by tourists occurs.

This research found that individuals in both communities have played important roles in tourism development. However, key-informant interview data clearly demonstrated a much greater level of personal involvement and influence on Taquile Island. These persons were considered by several interviewees to be the principal 'catalysts' or driving forces that helped prepare residents to determine their desired kind and degree of tourism. Shared characteristics of such catalysts included: (1) achieving legitimacy in the community, (2) assuming an activist or advocate role, (3) building on community strengths, and (4) clarifying possibilities.

On Taquile Island, several key-informants felt that initial reluctance changed to outright support when the economic benefits of local tourism became apparent from community-wide participation in handicraft sales and lodging provision. Until the 1970s, 'handicrafts' were mostly clothes to be worn and tourists were considered as unwanted strangers, not as potential clients. Many respondents felt that it was the determination of ex-governor and expert weaver Francisco Huatta Huatta and a Belgian priest, Father Pepe Loits, that persuaded residents of the economic advantages of tourism. Both made it clear from the start that equitable participation could be obtained by providing tourism

Table 3 Major themes from tourism key-informants

Theme	Taquile Island	Chiquian
Catalysts	Several local and non-local figures, including three foreigners and three local residents	Two individuals responsible for increasing national attention with recent adventure tourism events
Types of tourists	Mostly foreigners; mixture of backpackers and conventional tourists	Mostly foreigners to Huayhuash and Peruvian tourists to Chiquian; backpackers and mountain climbers
Tourism changes	Started mid-1970s; highest levels reached in 1990s; tourism has increased to near mass proportions	Started mid-1950s; highest levels reached by mid-1980s; tourism returning after years of terrorism
Tourism plan or strategy	No formal plan but collective and basic strategic decision-making	No formal plan or strategy but starting to organise
Participation in tourism	Diverse, high participation; collective decision-making; equitable participation highly encouraged	Local businesses and special events only, i.e. selective participation
External factors	Puno travel agencies, Fujimori-led development	Huaraz travel agencies, regional government and private organisations
Tourism control	Formerly high control has decreased to moderate level partly due to privatisation and ineffectual leadership	Low control with outside domination of local tourism industry
Community unity	Strong but declining unity linked to diminished control	Divided opinion over unity but marked pattern of disharmony and conflict
Social effects or impacts	Modernisation due to demands of tourism have affected traditional lifestyles; emergence of individualism; some begging by children	Community feelings about tourism often negative; suspicion mixed with adverse inter-community relationships, less openness
Environmental effects or impacts	Increasing litter affecting consumer demand; neglect of agriculture due to handicraft production	Mining exploitation in Cordillera Huayhuash; need to protect natural and cultural environment
Economic changes	Most residents benefiting; opportunism linked to high revenues for shrewdest islanders; Puno agencies blamed	Some revenues and jobs from tourism, but most residents not benefiting; potential for community-wide benefits
Future of local tourism	Highly optimistic, but concern to maintain traditional ways; regaining control, training youth as guides, educating tourists important	Guarded optimism; tourism in early stages of development; community awareness and outside support needed

services locally without drastically changing traditional ways. Many interviewees noted that Taquile was able to accommodate tourism with a degree of success due to these awareness-raising efforts.

In comparison, the research found that tourism workers, residents and local authorities of Chiquian are relative novices in the planning and development of tourism. Starting in the 1950s and 1960s, adventurous mountain climbers began arriving to tackle the many peaks of the beautiful Cordillera Huayhuash. One interviewee suggested that trekking started to take off in the early 1980s, partly due to the availability of improved hiking equipment such as lighter boots and tents. Roberto Aldave, considered by many respondents and interviewees to have put Chiquian on the map for its excellent opportunities in adventure tourism, was personally involved in early documentary film-making of Chiquian and the Huayhuash in the 1970s. Trekkers and mountain climbers came in increasingly greater numbers during 1980–85, but dropped off completely during the nation-wide terrorism period of the late 1980s to early 1990s.

With the decline of terrorism, a new festival called 'Ecoventura' (Eco-Adventure) began in 1994. Its founder also attributed the creation of Ecoventura to the enthusiastic but unorthodox ex-mayor of Chiquian, César Fernandez Callupe. The first Ecoventura ran for a weeklong period in May of 1994 and essentially reopened the Huayhuash to trekkers and climbers. Ecoventura was an ideal venue to promote the area for outdoor activities such as trekking, climbing, horseback riding, and mountain biking. Chiquian and nearby communities were also given the opportunity to show themselves as worthy places to visit for their unique customs, excellent cheese, and other heritage tourism possibilities. In 1996, a dispute between the Ecoventura founder and the new Chiquian Municipal Council resulted in the municipality taking over the festival management, but many residents feared this would lead to poorly organised and marketed events.

Several persons interviewed (both household respondents and key-informants) pointed out that tourism planning by local residents has favoured those already involved in the local tourism industry. Recently, some Chiquian residents working in the nature-adventure industry have attempted to organise themselves. In 1997, local guides, porters and donkey drivers joined together with the Municipality of Chiquian and its newly created Tourism Commission to form the Cordillera Huayhuash Mountain Climbing Provincial Association.

Community unity and action

The research data indicated that both communities differ substantially in their respective level and intensity of community unity and action (participation) in the local tourism industry. On Taquile, community unity and communal action are considered on equal terms by most respondents. One interviewee asserted that the Taquileño nature may be best stated as 'humble but collective assertiveness'. In addition, certain events have demonstrated the high degree of unity amongst Taquile residents. For example, their solidarity was exemplified during a 1990 fight on the Puno docks with travel agencies trying to wrest control over the right to take passengers to the island. Although the tourist agencies sued in

court, Taquile won transport rights to the island through a Ministry of Tourism directive (Stone, 1996). However, this victory for Taquile residents was later thwarted by Fujimori's anti-monopolisation laws of the early 1990s, which effectively prohibited Taquile boat cooperatives from maintaining transport control.

As for Chiquian, the perceived high level of community support for tourism felt by a few key-informants was not matched by the expressed lack of unity and support from household representatives. For example, only 30% of survey respondents in Chiquian compared to 79% in Taquile felt the local (i.e. municipal) government supports tourism. Certain tourism events in Chiquian such as the combined adventure and cultural tourism event Ecoventura (1994–96) have created a perception of high community participation when in reality only a select few have been involved in its management.

Community participation in tourism

Taquile has a very high level of individual involvement in participation in tourism service administration (79%) and community tourism meetings (96%). Most respondents agreed (93%) that local authorities encourage participation in tourism meetings. Likewise, there is a strong tradition of consensual, democratic decision making on Taquile, at least for men. For example, 92% of men participate (or have participated) in two or more tourism meetings compared to only 57% of women. Representatives of the various tourism committees and the local government are annually elected by all residents of legal voting age. Most posts cannot be held for more than a year, creating greater opportunities for participation as community leaders. Authorities are not only expected to lead but to participate in the very decisions they make, and any leader can be dismissed for incompetence or other factors. Tourism on Taquile has become such an important part of daily life that it has become interwoven with local politics, which was verified by attending local meetings. For example, most residents belong to the Manco Capac Cooperative, which requires a minimum three weeks of administrative work from every member (this can be substituted by a close relative of a member). Also, handicraft sales are communally operated with weekly rotation of cooperative members and annual elections held for the cooperative administrative posts.

In contrast, few Chiquian respondents hold any kind of administrative role in the community (15%), few have ever attended tourism meetings (18%), only 8% are involved in some capacity in tourism administration and most of those employed in tourism, apart from local restaurant and hostel owner-operators, work for outside agencies from Huaraz or elsewhere. Moreover, only 15% of men and 5% of women participated somewhat in two or more meetings. Many respondents and interviewees alike felt that the current municipal government is neither supportive of tourism nor the community in general, and that only those already working in tourism are invited to participate in meetings and planning of events (only 65% agreed that local authorities encourage participation in meetings). Furthermore, several respondents commented that most people are either too busy working in agriculture or are simply disinterested. Certain respondents felt that greater community participation in tourism was a distinct yet still distant possibility for Chiquian. One respondent summed up the lack of participation as a consequence of terrorism, but that great potential existed for tourism.

It is obvious, then, that adult Taquile residents participate to a much higher degree in the overall administration of social and political aspects of their community. However, this high participation level does not say much about the intensity of individual involvement or the type of participation. It was noted through participant observation that public meetings on Taquile tend to be mainly information-sharing by local leaders on upcoming projects and recent achievements. Also, simply attending a tourism meeting was felt to be 'participation', regardless of whether a respondent had actively contributed to the discussion.

Local economic benefits of tourism

Distribution of tourism income and employment

On Taquile Island, almost everyone on the island receives some remuneration from occasional handicraft sales or providing lodging. Most adult residents (83%) make less than US$ 400 annually from tourism and the median gross income was US$ 187 for 1996. Although this amount seems low, it has to be considered in the cultural context. There are few money-making alternatives in the area and many residents had to migrate to other parts of Peru in the 1960s and 70s to find temporary, low-paying employment. Now, most residents prefer to stay on the island where they have opportunities to earn cash for housing materials or to purchase 'luxury' foodstuffs such as dried noodles and cooking oil. Handicraft production is gender specific on Taquile Island; men knit wool clothing articles (e.g. hats, gloves, vests) whereas women do most of the weaving (e.g. blankets, bags). Most children seven years of age or over work at least part-time on handicraft production.

A total of 98% of adult residents are employed on a casual or part-time basis in a tourism-related activity on Taquile. Residents that gross more than US $1000 annually from tourism comprise only 10% of the adult population, mainly local restaurant owners (nine family-owned and one community-owned) or private boat owners. Nevertheless, only four of 19 tourist boats in operation are still considered as 'cooperative', or are owned by as many as 50 families. On the plus side, there were a total of 1594 combined direct and indirect[4] jobs related to the local tourism sector (Puno Region) for Taquile Island; 75% of these positions were held by Taquile residents, including provision of lodging and food, tourist transportation, and handicraft sales.

Chiquian, in comparison, has only an estimated 90 direct and mainly part-time or seasonal jobs related to tourism or 10% of all adult residents (about 2% of the total population). There are five basic hostels in Chiquian, although it was observed that most foreign trekkers bypass Chiquian or camp on its outskirts. Of the eight or so restaurants in Chiquian, most foreign tourists use only one. In addition, there are approximately 180 formal retail or service establishments (e.g. clothing, dry goods, restaurants) in town and 20 informal ones (e.g. market vendors). Apart from trekking service provision, government positions, retail sales and agriculture, one local handicraft industry is the San Marcelo Association. This textile business employs over 70 local people and shares some similarities to the Taquile Island handicraft cooperative in its product line, if not in the sharing of revenues (the San Marcelo workers are hourly paid). Alpaca

wool blankets, sweaters, ponchos and other clothing articles have been produced since 1973. The association initially sold its clothing to foreigners who came to trek or climb in the Huayhuash, but now exports mostly to Europe, with only an estimated 5–10% of total sales to Chiquian residents and visitors. Finally, local events that attract principally domestic tourists are very important both economically and culturally for the town and surrounding villages of Chiquian. Ecoventura festivals that ran from 1993 to 1996 brought in an estimated 1000 tourists annually and provided income for several residents in the provision of lodging and food.

The trekking industry for the Cordillera Huayhuash begins in May and runs through the end of September, or the dry season. As of 1997, only four or five formal travel agencies from Huaraz, at least two from Lima, and several from Europe took clients to the Cordillera Huayhuash. Most agencies use their own guides but may hire local porters and donkey drivers from Chiquian, or more frequently from the nearby mountain villages of Llámac or Pacllón. However, one Huaraz agency felt that local guides from Llámac or Chiquian were not reliable, so hiring cooks and guides from Huaraz helped to ensure quality.

Overall, there was a greater perception of direct economic benefits from tourism for Taquile compared to Chiquian. While both communities generally felt tourism to be a beneficial sector of their economy, only 40% of households claimed direct benefits in Chiquian, whereas 89% of adult respondents on Taquile claimed individual benefits. Moreover, a clear majority of Chiquian respondents (65%) believed that only those already providing tourism services should be responsible for its decision-making, whereas only 33% of Taquile respondents felt this way. Perhaps this reveals a greater desire by Taquile respondents to be more directly involved in management decisions pertaining to the local tourism industry.

Still, the free market trend in Peru has deprived some Taquile residents of some income and has reduced local control over how tourists travel to the island, where to eat and where to stay. Even residents offering accommodation have seen their income reduced, especially those living far away from the main plaza. Participant observation noted that certain residents have taken advantage of their ideal location and contacts. In addition, local restaurant and boat owners have captured a disproportionate share of local tourism-related income (74% of total annual revenues, compared to only 16% for lodging and handicraft sales). It appears that over time the distribution of benefits has shifted from very broad-based to an increasingly individualistic, free market approach.

As for Chiquian, the few economic benefits accruing from tourism are not widely distributed within the community. Recent organisational efforts with the town council and some local guides were 'to improve the quality of service to the client', rather than detailing how the entire community could be involved or benefited. Those lacking previous experience in adventure tourism tend to be excluded from membership in such organisations or from receiving specialised training. A few local guides benefit from having established connections with Huaraz or European-based agencies, but are generally dependent on such non-local sources for their clientele and associated revenues.

Leakages

On Taquile, leakages are occurring in many tourism services with the exception of entrance fees (if paid), local accommodation and certain food items served in local restaurants (e.g. fish, potatoes). Taquile's boats are islander-built but needed parts and supplies (e.g. motors, fuel) are purchased off-island. From the questionnaires, 53% of those residents involved in the handicraft industry purchase their wool or synthetic fibre from either a mainland community or visiting vendors. Leakages also transpire from the Puno travel agency control of visitor flows to and from Taquile Island, since they generally hire Puno-owned and -operated boats and guides. In 1996, Taquile boats had a greater share of passengers when compared to private boats from Puno (58% compared to 42%). However, private boats tend to gross more revenue by charging higher fees than the cooperative Taquile boats. For 1996, and by ignoring other possible sources of leakages or revenues such as sundries and locally produced food, leakages from Taquile were estimated at 91% of gross tourism revenues.

In Chiquian, a lack of local travel agencies has created a dependency on outside firms (generally from Huaraz, but also Lima, Europe, and North America). Local residents with trekking experience are bypassed if qualified help is available elsewhere. It was noted through informal conversations with tourists and tourism providers that food and other supplies for trekking and climbing expeditions are rarely purchased in Chiquian due to the convenience and reliability of purchasing beforehand in Huaraz and Lima. Restaurants also purchase most of their food and fuel from outside of the community. By ignoring other possible sources of leakages and revenues from tourists or indirect sales by local business to those selling directly to tourists (such as sundries and locally produced food), a rough estimate of tourism leakages for Chiquian was calculated to be 92% of gross tourism revenues in 1996.

Discussion

Reed (1997) feels that tourism development requires a slow process of community-building, particularly when conventional stakeholders, including residents, entrepreneurs, politicians and tourism advocates, do not view it as a productive activity. The principal stakeholder for Taquile was the entire community, but several years passed until people became convinced of the economic advantages of tourism. Still, the results demonstrate that Taquile has incorporated community tourism awareness and planning in a relatively integrated manner. The community has directed its own tourism development through self-awareness and self-reliance. Several individuals did more than promote the island and its unique culture to the outside world – they employed a deliberate process of awareness-raising or *conscientisation* (Freire, 1970). In contrast, the average resident in Chiquian has minimal awareness of the local tourism industry and few opportunities to participate in its management and potential benefits.

Since its beginnings in the 1970s, tourism planning on Taquile was a participatory, albeit unstructured, process. A tourism 'dialogue' was conceived and established through public discussions and entrenched by community laws, and most residents willingly accepted such laws due to their traditional sense of duty.

Local planning was not confined to operational issues but included normative (value-based) planning as well. The islanders took the initiative and decided for themselves what type of services to offer tourists, who would be involved, how everyone could participate, and to what extent benefits would be shared.

The participatory nature of the Taquileños was described by one key-informant as 'collective consciousness'. This perhaps approximates the 'organic solidarity' described by Galjart (1976), in which gratification is sacrificed to preserve the unity of the group. Until recently, tourism benefits have been shared by most community residents for the 'sake of the community'. This collective action for self-reliance concurs with Galjart's assertion that an obvious common opponent can also underline the identity of interests and lead to increased solidarity. However, tourism employment and control is becoming more selective on Taquile. Community solidarity has deteriorated in the past few years due to a trend towards individualism, consumerism, and globalisation. As Chodak (1972) observes, a growth in individualism is often accompanied by a decline in traditional solidarity or a transition from 'brotherhood to otherhood'.

In this research, it was hypothesised that high integration of a given community in tourism decision making would lead to greater socioeconomic benefits. What was less clear initially, however, was how to explain respective levels of integration. Sewell and Phillips (1979) mention three measures or 'fundamental tensions' of public participation that could lead to community control:

(1) degree of citizen involvement (defined as both numbers of citizens and degree of individual participation);
(2) equity in participation (i.e. equitable decision making), and;
(3) efficiency of participation (i.e. the degree of influence on decision making or planning).

These measures can be applied to Taquile and Chiquian to compare their respective levels of citizen participation in tourism decision making (hence, citizen power).

First of all, the *degree* of citizen involvement in tourism decision making on Taquile Island compared to Chiquian is very high, not only in terms of numbers involved but also in the level of participation in administrative positions. Second, there appears to be greater *equity* in community decision making and sharing of economic benefits on Taquile, including cooperative management of tourism services, profit sharing, and regular public meetings to discuss tourism matters. An example of equity that was mentioned in this paper is the Taquile handicraft cooperative; as of 1997, there were 270 members (77% of the population) with prices fixed by all members. Still, the equitability of public participation in community politics is debatable since few Taquile women have a role in public decision making. It is a male dominated administrative process, although with a strong female component in tourism employment such as weaving and food preparation. If there were true equity in decision making, more women would be encouraged to speak out on issues such as tourism service improvements (although it was noted that women may significantly influence decisions 'behind the scenes').

Third, participation on Taquile appears to be more *efficient* than Chiquian when considering how the public's view of interest may have influenced plan-

ning decisions. Local authorities may be quickly removed from their positions if poor decisions are made, and annual democratic elections on Taquile reduce the possibility of autocratic decision making power. In addition, the Taquile public has been, and continues to be, consulted on issues that may affect their livelihood, traditions or values.

Expanding on this crucial issue of equity in tourism integration, Brandon (1996), de Kadt (1979, 1992) and others suggest that community control may not be an equitable process or lead to widespread distribution of benefits. At first glance, the case of Taquile would appear to reject the notion that benefits from tourism are not equally distributed. Almost everyone on the island receives some remuneration for tourism, albeit relatively low income from occasional handicraft sales or provision of lodging. As Healy (1994) observes, more opportunities for entry by the poor are possible in a local handicraft industry than with capital-intensive tourism such as transport, and lists several advantages:

(1) Artisans obtain cash income while remaining in the rural setting (this has alleviated pressure for permanent migration to Lima and other Peruvian cities as occurred in the 1950s and 1960s).
(2) Handicraft production on the island is episodic, allowing the producer to work during slack periods between other tasks (on Taquile, local residents are often able to knit clothing and tend animals at the same time).
(3) It tends to be equitable by providing a cash return for women, children, the handicapped, and the elderly (all segments of Taquileño society work in handicraft production; there are gender distinctions only in the kind of handicrafts produced).

Interestingly, the tourism industry on Taquile developed as a result of handicraft sales, not the reverse (i.e. the birth of a handicraft industry to meet the demand of tourists for souvenirs). Daily sales in the cooperative stores would justify the argument that even the poorest participant in the local economy has the opportunity to benefit.

In Chiquian, there is a sense of 'collective indifference' rather than the 'increased hostilities' that Theophile (1995) states as a possible outcome if most residents are excluded from tourism revenues. Many Chiquian residents recognised that local and non-local elite have captured most of the benefits, including government officials, former residents, and single families from smaller communities of the Huayhuash zone. Brandon (1996) feels that non-cohesive communities have little decision-making input and decisions made usually favour the needs of the tourist and the operator/owner of the site rather than the needs of the community. The unequal distribution of benefits in Chiquian also support Theophile's (1995) claim that if citizens feel left out of the process they may not contribute to its potential success.

One possible reason for fewer economic earnings in Chiquian compared to Taquile is the lack of tourism opportunities. Visitation is lower compared to other more accessible areas such as the Cordillera Blanca. Therefore, for many local residents and most certainly for investors, there may be little incentive for increased community participation. Additionally, greater integration and sharing of economic benefits may not be desirable from the perspective of the

early tourism pioneers and (now) established guides in the region, clearly reluctant to share their higher levels of economic earnings.

The situation is much more positive for tourism potential and support by local residents on Taquile Island. High public involvement in local decision-making regarding tourism and the combined financial and promotional assistance provided by President Fujimori in recent years have likely contributed to community support. These results concur with the findings of Prentice (1993), who maintains that beneficiaries of tourism revenues are more likely to support its development. If most residents perceive themselves to benefit from tourism, they may feel a greater sense of ownership and need to ensure its continued growth (albeit, on a sustainable basis), particularly if their livelihood depends upon its survival. Still, not all is positive concerning increased earning potential that tourism revenues have brought to Taquile Island. The concept of private ownership is relatively new to a society characterised by traditional sharing of benefits. Although local elite were not overtly obvious, certain individuals were perceived as responsible for causing disharmony through materialistic wants.

Interestingly, there was little evidence to suggest that a highly integrated community would be able to prevent excessive leakages of income. Even considering that Taquile Island is largely in control of transportation, food and accommodation for tourists, they must now largely rely on mainland sources for parts and supplies, food and beverages, and even the tourists themselves. This would support Butler's (1992) assertion that alternative tourism areas are typified by relatively simple economies with high levels of leakages. Obviously, leakages would be reduced if more local products and services were used. In addition, collaborative linkages with outside government and marketing agents could help curtail leakages (Lindberg & Huber, 1993). Another alternative would be to reintroduce local food and other products or services into the Taquile Island economy. For example, imported goods could be replaced with wholesome locally grown products such as potatoes and local corn bread.

Conclusions

A summary of the major findings in this research is presented in Table 4, which consists of a ranking of three main factors: (1) community integration in planning and administration, (2) social benefits and (3) economic benefits. Each of the factors identified has been mentioned in this paper with supportive quantitative and qualitative data.

Major findings from this research are as follows:

(1)   The influence of both local and non-local catalysts in raising awareness about tourism potential has been much stronger on Taquile.
(2)   With the notable exception of women that are officially excluded from local government roles, participation in tourism decision making is a relatively democratic process on Taquile. In contrast, decision-making participation remains highly selective in Chiquian to those already working in the local tourism industry.
(3)   Local ownership and management of the tourism industry is high for Taquile (except for guides and boat transport) and low for Chiquian. Collec-

Table 4 Summary of major findings

Comparison parameter	Taquile Island	Chiquian
(1) Community integration in planning and administration		
(a) Supportive tourism catalysts or facilitators	5	3
(b) Democratic process for tourism administration	4	2
(c) Equitable decision-making	3	2
(d) Number of citizens in tourism decision-making	5	1
(e) Individual influence in tourism decision-making	4	2
(f) High longevity of tourism (perceived)	4	3
(2) Social benefits from tourism		
(a) Individual perceptions	5	2
(b) Community perceptions	3	2
(c) Municipal support	4	2
(3) Economic benefits from tourism		
(a) Direct employment	5	1
(b) Indirect employment	4	-
(c) Balanced distribution of employment	4	1
(d) Household income (real)	5	1
(e) Household income (perceived)	5	2
(f) Balanced distribution of income	3	1
(g) Local ownership	4	1
(h) Revenue leakages	5	5

Key: 5 Very high (81–100%); 4 High (61–80%); 3 Moderate (41–60%); 2 Low (21–40%); 1 Very Low (0–20%); - unknown.

    tive management of local services such as handicrafts and accommodation is also high on Taquile.

(4) Local control in tourism decision making is still relatively high on Taquile compared to Chiquian, although it has diminished lately. Taquile has minimal external interference (i.e. greater independence) in local politics and decision making. Its residents also have greater individual influence and participation in local administration and politics compared to most Chiquian residents.

(5) Nearby tourist centres have had positive and negative effects for both communities. While attracting tourists, creating employment, and supplying needed resources on one hand, the larger centres are partly responsible for high revenue leakages.

(6) There is a more equitable distribution of economic benefits for Taquile residents, partially due to greater community unity and participation in tourism decision making as well as higher employment. The local handicraft industry offers opportunities for *all citizens* to participate, even if only on part-time or occasional basis. Conversely, the trekking industry in Chiquian has developed into a male-dominated industry that favours those with connections to non-local agencies.

(7)   There is a greater perception of economic benefits on Taquile due to tourism, even among those that receive little income from tourism. However, some business owners receive more income than most other residents in both communities. Individualism and consumerism are negatively affecting community unity and equitable distribution of benefits on Taquile.

Tourism linked to community integration

The results indicate that cultural and economic components of tourism will be influenced by the respective degree of community integration. That is, one community characterised as highly integrated in its local tourism industry may experience significant and positive socioeconomic differences when compared to another community with a low degree of integration in tourism. Specifically, greater perceived and actual socioeconomic benefits directly correspond to greater levels of community participation and control in the provision of local tourism services and products.

Participation in the local tourism industry may be defined by numbers of people involved, equitability (i.e. balanced and non-discriminatory), and the general public degree of influence in decision-making processes. In general, the integrated community should also have a significant degree of local control in the provision of tourism services and products. However, this control may be negatively affected by external forces such as regional competition, travel agents and suppliers of materials. Internally, increased individualism and consumerism in previously isolated communities may erode community harmony and be responsible for diminished control of the local tourism scenario.

This study also found that greater community integration in tourism planning and management enhances local socioeconomic benefits. Economic benefits include direct and indirect employment, revenues, ownership and profitability. The kind of employment and degree of influence within the local tourism scenario is as important as the distribution of economic benefits. Social benefits encompass positive perceptions and attitudes towards the local tourism industry, as well as changes in traditional lifestyles. In the latter case, greater integration in tourism may decrease potential impacts since the community would conceivably have direct control in setting the terms and conditions for tourism development.

Nevertheless, it was found that integration elements – awareness raising and equitable sharing of benefits – may be congenitally easier to achieve in communities characterised by a long tradition of solidarity. This research has also demonstrated that influential local (and often non-local) dominant interest groups may circumvent overall community needs or wishes, but at the same time provide the semblance of consensual decision-making. Perceptions and possibly conflicting views of non-dominant members of the community may be largely ignored or sacrificed for the sake of unanimity, whereas overt conflict can bring out legitimate differences and opportunities for resolution. Likewise, facilitating input in public decision-making by marginalised community members such as women may be difficult yet critical to attain, especially if equitable sharing of power and other benefits are desired.

This research has also shown the importance of encouraging community integration at the onset of tourism development, perhaps by the support of local tourism champions working closely with residents in creating a community designed and delivered product. This may avoid an unpopular redistribution of wealth afterwards if a long implementation delay occurs in the integration process, allowing local entrepreneurs and power holders to solidify and augment their personal stakes. It must be recognised that tourism is an industry frequently led by individuals with 'vision', especially at the community level. The downside to encouraging such tourism visionaries or leaders is that a concentration of power could be enhanced. This is why it is so critical that community residents be involved in all tourism development stages, but particularly early in the process, and broad-based participation encouraged whenever possible.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. Pronounced 'Tah-key-lay'.
2. Pronounced 'Chee-key-an'.
3. Percentages related to the survey results are based on $n = 101$ for Taquile Island and $n = 136$ for Chiquian.
4. Direct employment is defined as those who sell to tourists; indirect employment are those that sell to tourism businesses.

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