A Community-Based Tourism Model: Its Conception and Use

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Community participation in the tourism planning process is advocated as a way of implementing sustainable tourism. There are, however, few studies that detail tangible and practical ways to promote or measure participation. This paper reviews the principal theories used to discuss community participation, including the 'ladder of citizen participation', power redistribution, collaboration processes and social capital creation. These theories form the basis for defining a community-based tourism (CBT) model. The paper shows how this model can be used to assess participation levels in a study site, and suggests further actions required. The model is applied in a case study in Palawan, the Philippines, where an indigenous community previously initiated a community-based ecotourism project. The project resulted in a number of problems, including conflicts with non-indigenous stakeholders. The model identifies the current situation of the project and provides suggestions for improvement.

Introduction

A community participation approach has long been advocated as an integral part of sustainable tourism development. It is envisaged that the approach can increase a community's carrying capacity by reducing tourism's negative impacts while enhancing its positive effects (Haywood, 1988; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Murphy, 1985).

According to Connell (1997: 250), participation is 'not only about achieving the more efficient and more equitable distribution of material resources: it is also about the sharing of knowledge and the transformation of the process of learning itself in the service of people's self-development'. Arnstein (1969) states that the purpose of participation is power redistribution, thereby enabling society to fairly redistribute benefits and costs. In the context of tourism planning, Haywood (1988: 106) defines community participation as 'a process of involving all [stakeholders] (local government officials, local citizens, architects, developers, business people, and planners) in such way that decision-making is shared'.

Many researchers, however, have doubted the possibility of implementing community participation. Taylor (1995) criticises 'communitarianism' as romanticism that is not rooted in reality. In addition, a participatory approach is time-consuming. Other barriers (i.e. lack of education, business inexperience,

insufficient financial assistance and conflicting vested interests) also have to be overcome (Addison, 1996) before public involvement can be embraced. Thus, such an approach is often ineffective because of its high transaction costs not only in terms of getting the programme started but also in its maintenance (Getz & Jamal, 1994).

Jamal and Getz (1999) assert that the capacity to partake cannot be guaranteed merely by the right to do so: the means to get involved is also necessary. Practical participation requires both the right and the means. Even though Gray (1985) emphasises that community residents need adequate resources and skills to acquire the capacity to take part, the power to obtain them is often held by governments or other stakeholders who do not regard local residents as equal partners. The residents themselves often do not even know where to begin when it comes to participation (Joppe, 1996).

The above arguments provided against community participation have neither suggested alternatives for achieving sustainable tourism development, nor taken into account the demand for such programmes. The community-based approach, despite the implementation barriers, is still the best course of action due to the reasons listed below.

First, local issues have a direct influence on the tourist experience: a backlash by the locals results in hostile behaviour towards tourists (Pearce, 1994). Thus, tourist environments should be created in harmony with the social climate, where residents will benefit from tourism and not become the victims (Wahab & Pigram, 1997).

Second, the image of tourism is based on the assets of the local community, including not only the local people but also the natural environment, infrastructure, facilities and special events or festivals; therefore, the cooperation of the host community is essential to access and develop these assets appropriately (Murphy, 1985).

Third, public involvement functions as a driving force to protect the community's natural environment and culture as tourism products, while simultaneously encouraging greater tourism-related income (Felstead, 2000).

Fourth, because the tourism industry is sensitive to both internal and external forces, many tourism development plans are often only partially implemented or not at all (Bovy, 1982). Moreover, even those that are fully implemented are not always sustainable. Thus, to increase the feasibility and longevity of projects, all plans should be linked with the overall socioeconomic development of the community.

Although many studies have suggested the importance of community participation, the practical actions required to promote it have seldom been articulated. One reason for this may be the common failure to identify the existing level of community participation. When that level is not identified, it is impossible to evaluate whether or not the existing programme is successful, and forecasting project feasibility is difficult; therefore, varying degrees of involvement must be assigned to different evaluations and forecasts.

This paper, therefore, reviews the principal theories used to discuss community participation, including the 'ladder of citizen participation', power redistribution, collaboration processes and social capital creation. These theories form the basis for defining a community-based tourism (CBT) model. The author
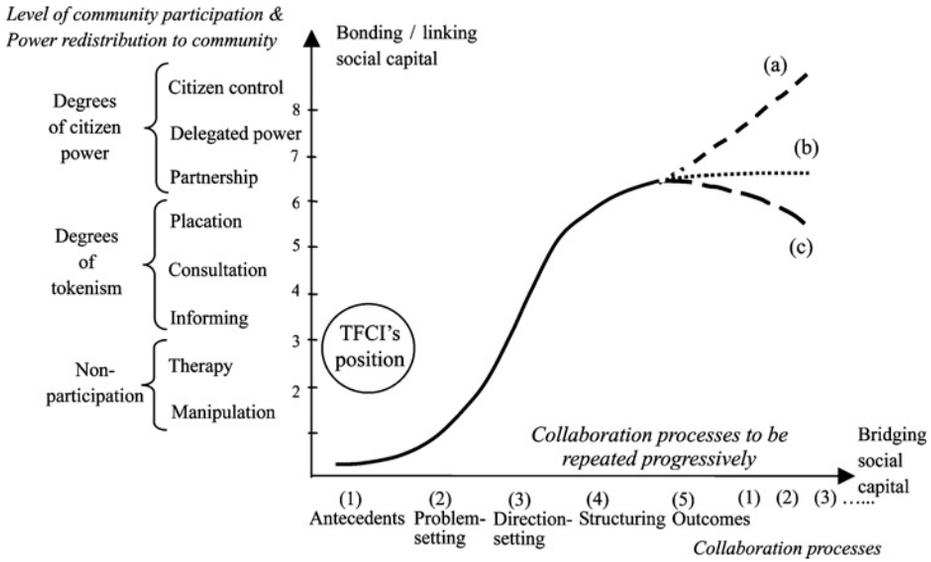
Figure 1 A model of community-based tourism
Facilitating conditions and steps suggested by Arnstein (1969) and Selin & Chavez (1995)

shows how this model can be used to assess the actual participation level in a study site, and concludes by suggesting further actions required.

Participation and power redistribution

Arnstein (1969) emphasised that citizen participation has to be accompanied by power redistribution. She introduced a 'ladder of citizen participation' to explain the necessary steps, categorised into three levels of gradual evolution: 'non-participation', 'degrees of tokenism' and 'degrees of citizen power' (Figure 1).

The ladder has a further eight rungs. The first rung is 'manipulation': power holders utilise participation as a distorted means of public relations. Second, 'therapy': local citizens' values and attitudes are adjusted to those of the larger society with power. Third, 'informing': the locals are informed of their rights, responsibilities and options (the first and most important step towards legitimate public involvement). Fourth, 'consultation': residents are encouraged to express their opinions (a legitimate step towards full participation). Fifth, 'placation': public influence gradually grows, but it is still largely tokenism. Sixth, 'partnership': negotiation is conducted between citizens and power holders, thereby redistributing, in practice, the power and responsibilities for planning and decision-making. Seventh, 'delegated power': the public achieves dominant power over the decision-making. Eighth, 'citizen control': citizens are awarded full control and power for policy and management.

Arnstein's participation ladder is useful not only to identify the current level of community participation, but also to define the steps required to promote greater involvement. Haywood (1988) and Reid (2003) note the applicability

of this concept to tourism development. The ladder helps in understanding the situation of tourist destination communities and the current state of local involvement in tourism development.

Building on Arnstein's ladder, Rocha (1997) expands the 'ladder of empowerment' to include a typology of empowerment theories that emerged in the 1980s. Empowerment is emphasised as a means and a goal to acquire basic human needs, education, skills and the power to achieve a certain quality of life (Parpart *et al.*, 2002). Rowlands (1997: 14) clearly states that 'empowerment is more than participation in decision-making; it must also include the processes that lead people to perceive themselves as able and entitled to make decisions'. Conversely, participation underpins empowerment through an individual's inclusion in an organisation and its organisational decision-making (Rocha, 1997). Real community empowerment should be obtained gradually, via all of the processes of achieving complete power, up to the top end of Arnstein's ladder. In applying this concept to tourism, such empowerment would stipulate that tourist destination communities, rather than governments or the multinational business sector, hold the authority and resources to make decisions, take action and control tourism development (Timothy, 2007). Thus, to realise sustainable tourism, the empowerment of communities affected by tourism development is attached to the importance of political and socioeconomic justice (Sofield, 2003).

As a means to realising public participation and empowerment, Reid (2003) highlights the necessity of communities' awareness raising and transformative learning processes in understanding their situation and the need to confront problems themselves.

Partnerships and collaboration

Since the release of the Brundtland Report in 1987, international development communities, such as the World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg in 2002, acknowledge that partnership building and collaboration are essential for sustainable development. Since tourism is dependent on many external factors, partnerships ought to involve multiple stakeholders (Jamal & Getz, 1995), featuring public–private sector partnerships (Vellas, 2002), community–private sector partnerships (Ashley & Jones, 2001), cross-sectoral planning (Wahab & Pigram, 1997), shared decision-making processes (Williams *et al.*, 1998), and aim to bridge cultural distinctions (Robinson, 1999).

Lack of coordination is a well-known phenomenon in the tourism industry (Jamal & Getz, 1995). Collaboration is crucial in securing benefits and solving problems among stakeholders (Gray, 1985). All stakeholders are interdependent, and an attempt to solve problems alone merely frustrates others pursuing their own goals. Commonly perceived problems and widely accepted solutions are often discovered via collaboration; these are unlikely to have occurred by any single stakeholder acting alone. Furthermore, collaboration is a means to resolve tensions among the various stakeholders, both public and private sectors, and allows all stakeholders to be involved in decision-making (Jamal & Getz, 1999), even in a culturally diversified environment (Robinson, 1999). Accordingly, Getz and Jamal (1994: 155) promote the collaboration theory in community-based tourism (CBT) planning, where collaboration is defined as

'a process of joint decision making among autonomous key stakeholders of an inter-organizational community tourism domain to resolve problems of the domain and/or to manage issues related to the domain'.

Based on the concept of partnerships (Getz & Jamal, 1994; Gray, 1985; Jamal & Getz, 1995), Selin and Chavez (1995) and De Araujo and Bramwell (2002) elucidate collaboration processes in the context of tourism development. They introduce an 'evolutionary model of tourism partnerships', consisting of five processes: first, 'antecedents', such as 'crisis, broker [or facilitator], mandate, common vision, existing networks, leadership, [and] incentives'; second, 'problem-setting' by '[recognizing] interdependence, [building] consensus [among] legitimate stakeholders, and [defining a] common problem, perceived benefit to stakeholders, [and] perceived salience to stakeholders'; third, 'direction-setting' to 'establish goals, set ground rules, [conduct] joint information search, explore options, [and] organize sub-groups'; fourth, 'structuring' by 'formalizing relationship, [assigning] roles, [elaborating] tasks, [and] monitoring and [designing] control systems'; and fifth, 'outcomes' represented by 'programs, impacts, [and that are] benefit derived' (Figure 1) (Selin & Chavez, 1995: 848).

Collaboration, however, can be blocked by an unequal power relationship (Gray, 1985; Hardy & Phillips, 1998). Thus, power relations must be incorporated into CBT planning as an explanatory variable (Reed, 1997, 1999); in particular, a community's conventional power structure may act as a constraint against collaboration, meaning that the identification of stakeholders and their subsequent assessments are crucial at the time of planning (De Araujo & Bramwell, 1999).

Conflict and facilitation in collaboration

In thwarting collaboration, conflict is often seen only as a reason for the break-up of stakeholder relationships. However, conflict is not necessarily bad. Tjosvold (1996) and Hardy and Phillips (1998) suggest that conflict enables an honest exchange of needs and interests among the stakeholders. When people work in cooperation or competition, conflict is expressed in various forms, such as frustration, debate and discussion. Particularly when in competition, people have incompatible goals or engage in duplicate missions, where only one can win. Skills that deal with conflict and that can coordinate efforts are important to reset common goals, increasing the benefits for all (Timothy, 1999; Tjosvold, 1996). In addition, there are two types of conflicts: constructive and destructive. Constructive conflict should be pursued to improve relationships (Jamal & Getz, 1999).

Facilitators play a key role in a conflict setting (Ashley & Jones, 2001; Jamal & Getz, 1995, 1999). They transform destructive conflict into constructive dialogue. Facilitators in a community setting, usually hired consultants, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or government representatives, can promote the building of respectful relationships by empowering the stakeholders, especially the community members and their representatives.

Social capital

Social capital is a relatively new concept in the field of tourism studies. As tourism is a major economic industry in many developing countries in which

social capital plays a crucial role in economic growth, it is a concept that should be adopted in tourism development studies.

The concept of social capital, derived from sociology, has gained an important position in the rhetoric of development assistance since the 1990s, especially after its adoption by the World Bank. Although its definition has yet to be standardised, social capital is generally understood as 'the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively' (Sato, 2001: 12; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000: 226). Social capital has many of the attributes of a public good (Coleman, 1994). Knack and Keefer (1997) found that aggregate economic activity and institutional performance significantly benefit from social capital; i.e. trust and civic cooperation. A study conducted in the USA reported that those states with abundant social capital enjoy greater wealth and a higher degree of equality in terms of income distribution, higher education levels and better security and health conditions (Putnam, 2000). On the other hand, market mechanisms in developing countries that usually possess limited social capital remain underdeveloped, illustrating that trust and networks play crucial roles in economic growth (Knack & Keefer, 1997). Participation in social networks and institutional reforms to promote social capital are the starting point in combating poverty (Woolcock, 2002).

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) categorise social capital in four ways: communitarian, networks, institutional and synergy. Communitarian views that stress 'the centrality of social ties' fail to prove the importance of social capital in economic growth. Poverty analyses show that although many communities in developing countries are rich in social ties, they are still poverty-stricken. On the other hand, the 'networks' view looks at both the benefits and costs of social capital borne by the horizontal connections between communities and informal institutions. It emphasises the importance of both internal associations (i.e. the bonding of internal community ties, such as families, friends and neighbours) and external associations (i.e. bridging groups of greater diversity). The costs of social capital may accrue from the traditional obligations and habitual commitments in bonding relations; therefore, diversifying the external networks that support the bridging social capital can become a turning point in furthering economic achievements. The 'institutional' view explains that political, legal and institutional conditions form community networks and civil society, and determines their vitality; furthermore, it refers to the vertical relations beyond the community by linking social capital from formal institutions (Woolcock, 2002). Lastly, the 'synergy' view is a hybrid of the networks and institutional views. Development outcomes are seen to be dependent on the type and combination of a community's capacity and the state's functions. The 'synergy' view integrates the ideas of bonding and bridging social capital (the networks view) and state–society relations; i.e. linking social capital (the institutional view).

The presence of information (Coleman, 1994), education (Knack & Keefer, 1997) and facilitators (Sato, 2001) are all indispensable in the creation of social capital.

A Model of Community-Based Tourism (CBT)

A model integrating the concepts of the ladder of participation, power redistribution, collaboration processes and social capital (Figure 1), was created as

a way to assess the current status of a community with regard to community participation. The ladder of participation, power redistribution, and bonding and linking social capital focuses on internal and vertical participation levels within the community. Collaboration theory in CBT and bridging social capital explain the external and horizontal relationships with other stakeholders. Importantly, the internal participation level affects the external relationships and vice versa: if there is too much focus in one direction, the other element diminishes to the point of insignificance. Therefore, a synthesis of approaches, encompassing all four conditions on the two-dimensional graph, is advocated to analyse the current position of the community.

As shown in Figure 1, a two-dimensional graph places the collaboration processes and bridging social capital on the horizontal axis, and Arnstein's participation ladder, power redistribution and bonding and linking social capital on the vertical axis. In the collaboration processes, as Selin and Chavez (1995) assume, the *outcomes* of collaboration will be fed back to the stage of *antecedents* due to their cyclical nature. In short, the five stages of the collaboration processes will be repeated progressively after the *outcomes* stage; furthermore, some stages may be skipped while the cycles are renewed, especially when processes evolve to solve the same problem. In this model, to avoid conflicting goals, as defined by Hardy and Phillips (1998), the mutual goal within a community and among the stakeholders is set as *tourism development*. Thus, an upward-sloping curve is drawn on the basis of the five following propositions that underpin the model: (1) when community participation is promoted, power redistribution will be facilitated; (2) if the collaboration process does not forge ahead, neither community participation nor power redistribution will occur; (3) if neither community participation nor power redistribution progresses, collaboration will not be fostered; (4) inequities in power will undermine collaboration; and (5) social capital is established gradually in the processes and contributes to improving the sustainability of the destination by creating synergy both within the community and between the community and other stakeholders. Social capital functions as a lubricant to accelerate participation, power redistribution and collaboration.

The application of the S-shaped curve of the product life cycle in macroeconomics, which is also introduced in the tourism life cycle model established by Butler (1980), acts to consolidate the above explanation. According to the propositions, the graph displays the relationships among the levels of community participation, power redistribution, collaboration processes and social capital. The actual shape of the graph will depend upon both internal and external factors, such as the stage of tourism development; economic, sociocultural, political and environmental conditions in the community; availability of, and access to, resources; the level of the residents' support for tourism development; existing or newly created conflicts over tourism development; and the facilitators' contribution to the community dialogue. At the start of the process, the community has little power and is slow to proceed. At the final stage, when the community is empowered and social capital is high, the rate of change will again be slow. Thus, the slope should be gentle at both the lower left and the upper right of the graph.

Because of the cyclical nature of collaboration processes, the scales on the horizontal axis cannot be fixed but will incrementally evolve; therefore, the

intersections between the vertical and horizontal axes will be determined by the respective conditions. Even when the participation level has already reached 'delegated power', for example, the citizens might still be identifying problems with other stakeholders in their collaboration processes; however, it should be a new and evolved level of 'problem-setting' after going through the collaborative efforts progressively for different levels of problem solutions and goals. Thus, the graph representing the relationships between the two axes shows the gradual incremental slope towards the upper right.

Once the community reaches the stage of *partnership* on the vertical axis, (a) the graph will continue to move upwards if other stakeholders agree with or are forced to agree with further community participation and power redistribution to the community; (b) it will stay constant if the community and other stakeholders are satisfied with the level of participation achieved and do not desire a further power redistribution; or (c) the graph will move downwards if the other stakeholders reject the power shift to the community or if the community is internally divided. In addition, the collaboration process may slow down or even stop in the horizontal direction if the partner-stakeholders lose interest in common issues, if the purpose of collaboration is achieved or if the problem cannot be solved (Selin & Chavez, 1995).

An Application of the Model: A Case Study of Palawan, the Philippines

The author conducted a case study in Palawan, the Philippines, which applied the CBT model shown in Figure 1. Palawan, the westernmost province in the Philippines, is called the last frontier of the country (Figure 2). The entire province was designated a Biosphere Reserve by UNESCO in 1990 and contains two World Heritage Sites (Tubbataha Reef Marine Park and the Puerto-Princesa Subterranean River National Park). The National Ecotourism Strategy then designated Palawan as an ecotourism pilot destination in the Philippines (NESC & ETWG, 2002). Tourists enjoy abundant flora and fauna, including endangered and Palawan-specific species, clean beaches and lakes, eco-resorts on islets, world-famous diving spots and the unique scenery of limestone hills. In 2000, tourist arrivals numbered 128,370 (Province of Palawan, 2003), and the estimated receipts amounted to 592 million pesos (Palawan Provincial Government Office of Tourism, 2000), an almost nine-fold increase from 1992 to 2000. Palawan is also culturally diverse: 38.8% of the total population are indigenous people (NCIP, 2000). Through the use of natural and cultural resources, some of the indigenous communities have either already implemented ecotourism projects or have the potential to develop them as a form of CBT.

This case study focuses on a CBT project conducted by the indigenous people of Tagbanua on Coron Island. Coron Island is 30 minutes by boat from Coron Town, the centre of the Municipality of Coron (Figure 2). The island is one of the major tourist destinations in the Calamian Group of Islands, the northernmost island group of Palawan, and has many ecotourism resources. Two lakes have been awarded titles as the cleanest in the country, and one was enshrined in the National Hall of Fame in 2000. The island was also selected as one of the eight
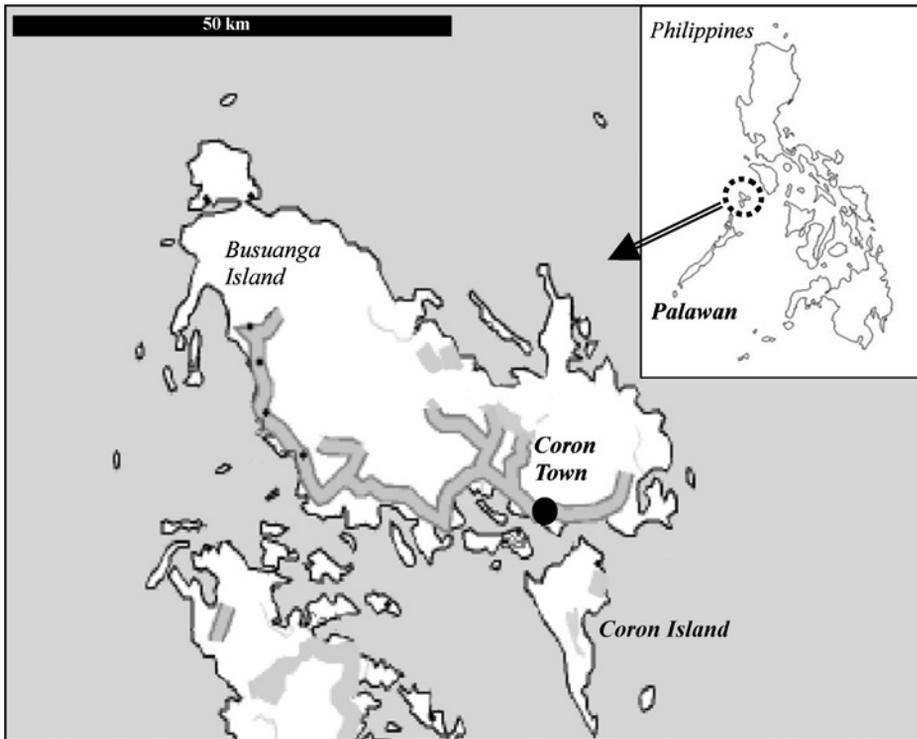
Figure 2 Map of Coron in the Province of Palawan, the Philippines
Source: Collins Batholomew (2003)

areas in the Philippines for the National Integrated Protected Area Programme (NIPAP), funded by the European Union in 1999. In 2000, the population of Coron Island was 2242, 95% of whom were Tagbanua (NSO, 2000), with more than 90% earning their living by fishing (author's survey). In 1998, the Tagbanua became the first indigenous people in the Philippines to be awarded land rights (Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim; CADC), but only after they had endured formidable challenges, especially conflicts over their land stewardship and rights. As a result of CADC, the Tagbanua Foundation of Coron Island (TFCI), a community-based organisation of the indigenous people of Tagbanua, prepared the Ancestral Domain Management Plan (ADMP), which included tourism management on the island. Based on ownership of land rights over the tourist areas on the island, the TFCI began a tourism project. The foundation had little experience in tourism management and faced many challenges, such as being an indigenous minority. Despite the challenges, the project instigated the collection of admission fees at the entrance to its visitation zones, lakes and beaches, and patrols were established to control tourist activities to protect the natural environment and local culture. The project also included a boat tour from Coron Town, although it was often cancelled because of the mechanical failure of the only available boat.

Table 1 Sampling frame

	No. of respondents	*Sampling method*	*Respondents (participation rate %)*
Open-ended interviews	32	Key informants	Chairman of TFCI, TFCI members active in the tourism project, village captains, community citizens of Coron Island and Coron Town, local and national government agencies, tourism business establishments, NGOs, tourists
Closed-ended questionnaires	42	Quota-sampling method	10% of the 420 households on Coron Island (100%)
	241	Quasi-random sampling method	16.8% (247) of the 1473 households in Coron Town (98%)
	10	(100%)	TFCI members active in the tourism project (53%)
	23	(100%)	Tourism business establishments in the Municipality of Coron (77%)
	75	(at hotels, restaurants, sea port)	Tourists in the Municipality of Coron

Study Methods

To identify the current state of the TFCI tourism project using the model (Figure 1), both qualitative and quantitative interviews were conducted in 2002 and 2003. The former included open-ended interviews with 32 key informants, such as the Chairman of the TFCI, TFCI members active in the tourism project, village chiefs, other community residents from both Coron Island and Coron Town, local and national government agencies, tourism businesses, NGOs and tourists (Table 1). The informants were selected either because they had a direct stake in tourism and/or land rights on Coron Island, or because they could offer feedback as community supporters or interested third parties, including NGOs and tourists. The local people were asked about their history of engagement in tourism on Coron Island, their perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of the TFCI tourism project, the changes in partnerships between the TFCI and other local individuals and organisations and problems, as well as appropriate solutions. Tourists were questioned to gauge the demand for the TFCI tourism project.

The closed-ended questionnaires were distributed from the end of May 2003 through to the beginning of June 2003 (Table 1). The questionnaires were given to the community residents of both Coron Island and Coron Town, TFCI members active in the TFCI tourism project, tourism businesses and tourists. On Coron Island, where dwellings are scattered and access is geographically restricted,

a quota-sampling method was used to select 10% of the 420 households. The people of Tagbanua were members of TFCI but non-Tagbanua residents, such as immigrants living in the shore areas, were not. Households consisting of Tagbanua residents who did not work in the TFCI tourism project and non-Tagbanua residents were sampled. In Coron Town, the sample households were chosen by a quasi-random sampling method. In proportion to the population numbers of six villages, the questionnaire sheets were distributed to 247 of the 1473 households and a 98% participation rate was achieved. Of the TFCI members active in the TFCI tourism project (whose total number fluctuated), 5 board members and 5 of the 14 paid staff received and answered the questionnaire. With regard to the tourism businesses in the Municipality of Coron, 23 from 30 (77%) answered the questionnaire. The respondents were questioned about the impact tourism had on the community, their knowledge of tourism plans, participation in tourism-related discussions and training, their familiarity with the TFCI tourism project, their level of support or opposition, including their reasons for their perception of the changes in the partnerships between the TFCI and other locals, problems and possible solutions, and who they deemed to be desirable leaders to implement such solutions.

With regard to tourists, 75 interviews were conducted over a three-week period. Official data for tourist arrivals in the Municipality of Coron were not available; however, the author collected data from accommodation providers that in May 2002, the previous year, (the end of dry season; i.e. the tourist season) there were at least 800 visitors, and in June 2002 (the beginning of rainy season; i.e. low tourist season), there were no fewer than 489. Tourists were asked about their knowledge of the indigenous people of Tagbanua and their impressions of their visit to Coron Island.

The quantitative data collected from the questionnaires were categorical and dichotomous rather than ordinal, with the exception of the questions regarding their level of support for tourism and ecotourism, for which a 10-point interval scale was used. Descriptive analysis was then used to reveal the current situation regarding community participation.

The qualitative and quantitative methods complemented each other. The qualitative interviews facilitated the chronological description of the tourism project with the clear identification of involved stakeholders, the reasons behind outcomes and problems and an insightful variation of viewpoints. Quantitative interviews provided the views of people with less involvement, which sometimes differed from the results of the qualitative interviews. In other words, the generality or specificity of the findings from qualitative interviews could be determined from the quantitative interviews. The quantitative data enabled variables that affected specific perceptions and attitudes to be assessed and, by implication, the reasons for certain outcomes and problems to be identified. Conversely, greater detail on quantitative results was provided via the qualitative interviews. Finally, appropriate next steps and/or solutions were proposed based on both the in-depth insights and general views.

Study Results and Analyses

Based on the model used in this study (Figure 1), the current position of the TFCI tourism project is analysed in five areas: (1) the TFCI members active

in the TFCI tourism project, (2) community residents of Coron Island and (3) those of Coron Town, (4) tourism businesses and (5) tourists. Communities are not homogeneous, and it is possible, even likely, that different groups in the community become involved in different ways, thereby being placed at different positions in the model. As such, the various stakeholders are examined separately.

First, with respect to the TFCI members active in the TFCI tourism project, in the vertical view of the model they reached the rung of *informing* or *consultation*, as theorised in Arnstein's participation ladder. Nine of the 10 members had attended meetings organised by the TFCI to discuss the policies and plans for tourism on Coron Island; moreover, they had all participated on several occasions in tourism-related training organised by NGOs and the TFCI board members. Based on the training they had received, the members were actually carrying out the project in accordance with the tourist management and conservation plans, including the collection of admission fees and patrolling of the tourist areas and territorial waters.

In the horizontal view, the TFCI tourism project was positioned in *antecedents*, as part of the collaboration processes. Conflicts between TFCI and non-TFCI stakeholders over tourism on Coron Island were commonly acknowledged between them. The TFCI members who were active in tourism, with the exception of the board members, perceived negative changes in their partnerships with other locals in Coron before and after the tourism project began. The TFCI rangers, who actually had to handle any problems on site, recognised a degree of deterioration in the relationships, particularly with travel agencies and tour operators, local governments and a local association of tourism businesses. The causes of the conflicts were linked to the style of tourism management that the TFCI had introduced; i.e. the fee and permit requirements to visit Coron Island, tourist guidelines, tourist rules, patrol activities and penalties. The residents of Coron Town, as citizens belonging to the same municipality as Coron Island, previously visited the island lakes and beaches freely, but now they complained about the excessive control and fee collections introduced by the TFCI; however, both TFCI and non-TFCI stakeholders mutually recognised the conflicts as *antecedents.* They were aware of the necessity of building partnerships to receive tourists and to promote the environmental management of the natural heritage and tourist resources. Thus, the two groups were in the process of improving relationships and moving towards *problem-setting* in the collaboration process. In establishing cooperative relationships, the TFCI members expected the TFCI and local NGOs to take a leadership role, which highlights the important role of NGOs as facilitators.

Second, with regard to the residents of Coron Island, they were placed on the *non-participation* rung of Arnstein's ladder. Seventy percent of the resident respondents on Coron Island were aware of their community's tourism project run by the TFCI, but 30% were not familiar with it at all. Very few respondents were informed of any plan or invited to participate in discussions concerning the tourism project. In other words, the TFCI members active in tourism most likely held the power over tourism development, which had not been redistributed to the community residents. As a result, 74% of the respondents did not support tourism development; however, more than half of the resident respondents

still expected a community-based organisation, i.e. the TFCI, to take the lead in tourism development. This means that the residents accepted the TFCI as the power holder. At the same time, 41% of the respondents suggested partnership building within the community as the best way to improve tourism, while addressing its negative impact. Thus, as a first step towards community participation and power redistribution, the TFCI should begin by *informing* the residents of their own island about the project.

Third, with regard to residents of Coron Town, only half of the resident respondents were aware of the TFCI tourism project, even though Coron Island was one of the symbols of the municipality; i.e. Coron Town residents were still on the *non-participation* rung of the ladder on the vertical axis. From the model's horizontal perspective, 14% of the resident respondents in Coron Town recognised the conflicts as *antecedents* in the collaboration processes. Half of the respondents who were aware of the project supported it, but the other half did not. Reasons for support included the excellent environmental management by Tagbanua, agreement over the Tagbanua's land rights and the opportunity to teach tourists about indigenous culture. Reasons for opposition included the lack of benefit from the TFCI tourism project, disagreement over land rights and the restricted access to Coron Island. Pertaining to the change in the partnership with the TFCI, 40% of the informed respondents perceived the change to be positive, and 20% perceived it to be negative. The latter indicated that relationships between the residents of Coron Town, within the Tagbanua community and the Government had worsened. Reasons for this tension were the fee and permit requirements to visit Coron Island, land stewardship and the tourist guidelines and rules.

Fourth, from the perspective of the tourism businesses in Coron, the collaboration processes were still at the *antecedents* stage. The history of tourism development on Coron Island had been accompanied by conflicts over land rights, fee collections and patrols; however, 60% of the businesses supported the TFCI tourism project, because they agreed with land stewardship and felt it to be supportive of the Tagbanua's livelihoods, whose standard of living was below the poverty line. Those who opposed the project did not like the restricted access to Coron Island, disagreed with the fee collections and saw no benefits arising from the project with Coron Town. Nearly half of the respondents perceived the project as improving the partnership between Tagbanua and Coron locals; however, the remainder observed worsening relationships caused by the fee and permit requirements to visit the Island. To re-establish the harmonious partnerships and to move to mutual *problem setting,* the recognition of interdependence and greater consensus building among stakeholders are crucial (Selin & Chavez, 1995).

Finally, the survey results of the tourists who visited Coron Island correspond to the general finding by Mann (2000) that the community's land rights were strengthened and even assured, given that they are becoming more widely recognised through tourism. In fact, 70% of the tourist respondents in Coron Island had heard of the indigenous people of Tagbanua and almost 80% were aware that the island was their ancestral domain. Almost 90% perceived the Tagbanua's tourism project favourably because the environment was well protected. The tourists supported Tagbanua business ownership, as it was supporting

Tagbanua livelihoods. These high approval rates may have been because tourists were unaware of the history of the existing community conflicts; however, tourists were certainly aware of the community's tourism efforts.

Eighty-seven percent of the tourist respondents were willing to pay for environmental conservation, and 80% of those who were aware of ecotourism (73% of the respondents) would be willing to pay more for ecotourism activities; therefore, the existing conflicts over fee collections are inconsistent with market demand. The natural environment on Coron Island was rated highly by tourists, but further efforts should be made to maintain its quality. As the tourists were visiting the island for the first time, they may have rated it relative to their hometown or other places that they had visited; however, they were unable to compare the current environment of Coron Island to how it was previously. To ensure repeat tourists, vigilance is required. If there are no efforts at conservation, the TFCI may lose the tourists who promote the Tagbanua's rights to the land; if tourists stop coming, the indigenous people of Tagbanua may lose their power over the land.

Current Position and Implications

As a result of the above analyses, the current position of the TFCI tourism project is revealed in the model (Figure 1). The level of community participation within the organisation was still at the *informing* rung, with many residents of Coron Island and Coron Town remaining at the *non-participation* stage. The first essential step towards community participation is informing the residents about their tourism project; moreover, in accordance with the Tagbanua's indigenous traditions, power is likely to be held by the leaders of their community or organisation, who are usually more highly educated elders. Thus, power redistribution to community members will take more time.

The collaboration processes were still in *antecedents,* a very early stage of collaboration development, where stakeholders recognised the common problems of the TFCI tourism project. Stakeholders need to understand their interdependence with each other and the importance of working together to reach consensus on common issues. Unless stakeholders can achieve mutual *problem setting*, agreeing upon the problems that need to be addressed, they cannot formulate common goals for sustainable tourism on Coron Island.

Although stakeholders need to promote the collaboration processes, historically, the TFCI has been in conflict with other stakeholders. In terms of the success of the Tagbanua in acquiring indigenous rights, such as CADC, conflicts over those rights may have had constructive outcomes, as the conflict motivated their people to act together to acquire land rights. On the other hand, conflicts over the TFCI tourism project may have been destructive in terms of the project's sustainability. Christ (2003), from Conservation International, projected that the TFCI tourism project would not be financially sustainable. Despite the fact that neither the number of tourist arrivals nor the fees collected covered the project's operational costs, the TFCI still encountered further opposition to raising the fees. The author's survey results, however, describe that tourists were willing to pay fees, which should be financially significant, indicating that the stakeholders should settle on a fee strategy to optimise the welfare of both supply
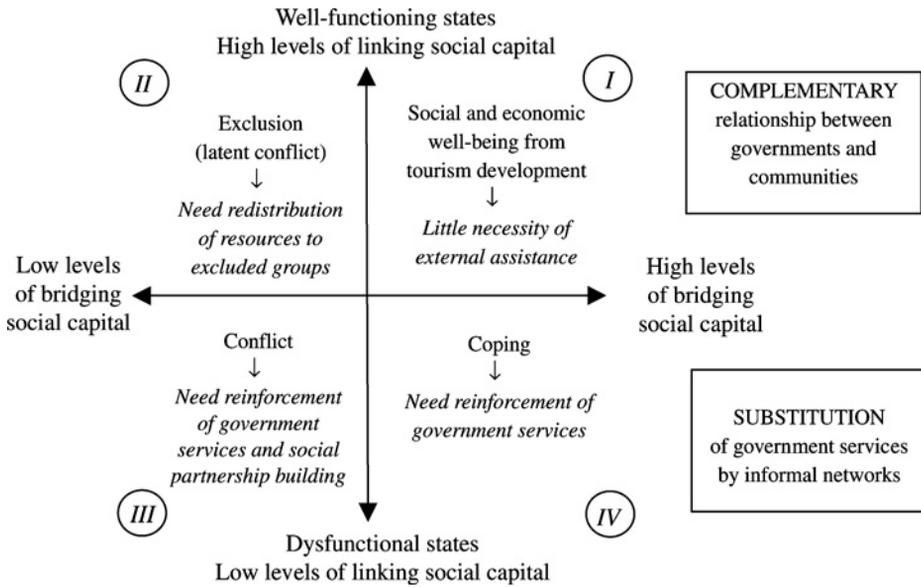
Well-functioning states
High levels of linking social capital

Figure 3 Implications for community-based tourism development
Facilitating the concepts of Woolcock and Narayan (2000) and Sato (2001)

and demand. That outcome would transform the destructive conflict into a constructive force.

The results of the present study indicate that social capital has to be fostered to bond relationships within the Tagbanua's community, bridge partnerships and ensure collaboration with other stakeholders in Coron Town, as well as creating links to government authorities. Otherwise, participation, power re-distribution and collaboration will not be further accelerated. By elaborating upon the synergistic view of social capital designed by Woolcock and Narayan (2000), Sato (2001) introduced implications for development assistance from the perspective of state–society relations (Figure 3). The water and sanitary services in his model can be effectively applied to the CBT project in this case study as a way to explain the TFCI situation and, ultimately, to find a means of nurturing social capital.

As shown in the first quadrant of Figure 3, societies with good governance and high levels of bridging social capital, via external associations, achieve com-plementarity between state and society. The social capital required for tourism development is available, and there is little need for external assistance. In the second quadrant, more powerful groups dominate access to tourism resources. Those resources must be redistributed to the excluded groups; otherwise, they may be disadvantaged by tourism and protest against its development. In this case, individuals or groups who have sufficient power to put pressure on the government need to facilitate improvements in social relations. In the fourth quadrant, in which the residents are deprived of services and benefits because of tourism development, government functions must be enhanced to formulate countermeasures, even where social networks exist. If the government fails to address the situation, informal networks need to be substituted to address those

functions. In the third quadrant, in which neither government nor informal networks function adequately, state–society relations may degenerate into conflict. In this case, reinforcement of government functions and the establishment of partnerships within society are crucial. This approach to state–society relations can be also applied to government–private sector, government–community, community–private sector and community–community relationships.

Applying the analyses to Sato's implications, the TFCI tourism project is currently in a state of conflict; i.e. in the third quadrant of Figure 3. With respect to government–community relations, the municipal government has not yet functioned adequately to facilitate tourism development. The relationship between government agencies and TFCI has not been good either. Accordingly, the implementation of NIPAP on Coron Island was the slowest among eight programme sites throughout the country because of conflicts between the national government agency and the TFCI. Finally, the TFCI withdrew from the NIPAP and the programme was put on hold. In terms of community–private sector relations, the survey results indicate that relationships between the TFCI and local tour operators have not been favourable. Community–community relations, i.e. relationships between the TFCI and other community members, both in Coron Island and Coron Town, have not been sufficiently established for the tourism project. In addition, informal networks for the project have yet to be successfully facilitated by NGOs. To create solutions for such conflicts, the reinforcement of government functions and the building of social partnerships are required; moreover, external assistance would help facilitate government functions and partnership building. The Department of Tourism of the Philippines had already introduced foreign assistance for tourism development in Northern Palawan, opening an office in Coron Town in 2003.

Consequently, in the vertical view of the model (Figure 1), the TFCI requires further information dissemination and community empowerment to climb the participation ladder, with more bonding and linking social capital. In the horizontal view, NGOs, which have gained the Tagbanua's trust, were expected not only to empower Tagbanua, but also to facilitate external collaboration. In other words, expectations are that NGOs would foster informal networks in order to grow bridging social capital. It is now time for all stakeholders to foster social capital, build partnerships and collaborate towards achieving the successful development of tourism on Coron Island.

Conclusion

Planners will be able to use the model presented here to assess the status of communities involved in tourism development and to determine initiatives that will enhance CBT. The case study of the tourism development project in Palawan demonstrated how to ascertain the current situation within the destination community and with regard to relationships with stakeholders and tourists. The model helped identify not only the present position of the principal elements of CBT (i.e. community participation, power redistribution and collaboration processes), but also further steps that the community and stakeholders could embark on. A further analysis of social capital and its status

was also determined, providing clues about how to nurture social capital as a lubricant for the three elements described above.

This paper argued that although community-based tourism has been frequently advocated, there have been few directives on how this might be achieved in practice. It is proposed that, using the model presented here, the first step in practical tourism planning should be to examine the current situation with respect to community participation and then to indicate the initiatives that are required to promote it. Stakeholders can use the model to improve their involvement in tourism development in the community of concern. However, it may not be possible, as some have argued, to standardise community-based approaches to tourism development because processes and results in any particular case are contingent on factors unique to that situation alone: differences in background conditions will result in different outcomes (Reed, 1997). Furthermore, this model was only applied to an early stage of tourism development. The applicability and utility of the model in more advanced stages of tourism development and in different cultural contexts remain to be determined. Nevertheless, the evidence indicates that this model can be used successfully to provide signposts on the road to community-based tourism and to highlight the processes and stages through which this can be achieved.

Acknowledgements

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