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Planning for Sustainable Tourism in Old Havana, Cuba

by

Elizabeth Rohr, B.E.S (Hons. Co-op)

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Norman Paterson School of International Affairs

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The undersigned hereby recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of this thesis submitted by Elizabeth Ann Rohr as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents the results of a study of tourism in Old Havana, Cuba. The purpose was to examine how tourism contributes to the sustainable development of the local community by investigating how the needs of the local community are considered in the tourism planning. Data were collected by means of interviews conducted in Old Havana between January and April of 1997. Respondents included people knowledgeable about Old Havana’s tourism plans such as the tourism planners, local architects and researchers. A review of local planning documents and related literature supplemented the interviews. The interviews and literature review revealed that planners are facing great difficulty balancing the goal to improve Old Havana as a place to live with the goal of improving this area as a place to visit. The contradictory goals of the area’s tourism plans creates a tension in terms of planning and developing tourism in a sustainable form. Although there is evidence that the needs of the community are considered in tourism plans, the pressing need to increase international tourism as a national economic survival strategy for the benefit of all Cubans appears to take precedence over the immediate needs of the residents of Old Havana.
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In keeping with the theme of sustainability, I would like to thank all those who played an important role in sustaining me and my research throughout the entire thesis process. My heart-felt thanks goes out to the special people in Cuba who assisted me during the field research in Havana. I would especially like to thank Martí, Mayra and Mahé for their warmth and hospitality during my stay. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to all the respondents who took part in the study, especially Rita Hernández whose kindness and personal attention were greatly appreciated during the data collection phase. Special mention should also be given to the helpful people at the University of Havana including Dr. Eduardo Salinas, my Cuban advisor and Mioara, my Spanish teacher in the Faculty of Foreign Languages who gave me the confidence as well as the ability to successfully conduct the interviews.

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INTRODUCTION

People say: How can you inflict this kind of thing on our beautiful area? Because you have poor people and you need it. There is nothing contradictory about this, there is nothing hypocritical about it. It is just recognizing the facts. (Kahn, 1980, p.12)

In the above quote, Kahn demonstrates a common view of international tourism promotion in poorer regions of the world. From this perspective, there is no hidden agenda held by governments who encourage tourism in poorer regions; economic development is the goal of increasing tourism. The facts that Kahn refers to are that in many regions tourism is the one of few options available to increase the standard of living. In many cases and in many places, governments at all administrative levels actively promote tourism in underprivileged, or peripheral areas in an attempt to induce what is often referred to as "development". It is hoped that beautiful areas, scenic landscapes, interesting cultural traditions, and archeology may act as lures, drawing in significant numbers of tourists and their dollars. It is also expected that the presence of these tourists will lead to a successful tourism industry capable of providing sufficient economic activity to encourage the area's development.

A key question that causes a great deal of debate within the fields of development and tourism studies is whether the "poor people" referred to in Kahn's statement, benefit at all from the commoditization of their beautiful spaces, or is tourism an empty promise? Perhaps, tourism is even worse than an empty promise, and instead represents a metaphorical Trojan horse, at first thought to be a gift, but then found to conceal an army of adverse effects that will, unwittingly or not, destroy these beautiful areas and any wealth these poor people once possessed.
Past evidence of tourism's ability to destroy beautiful areas with hidden adverse effects and its inability to fulfill its promise to induce development has lead to much skepticism of the use of tourism as an instrument for development. This skepticism is most strongly felt by development theorists who envision development as much more than an increase in material well-being. It is believed by such theorists, that the overemphasis on tourism's positive economic impacts has at times resulted in an econocentric orientation that quietly disregards the real socio-cultural and environment impacts associated with tourism development. This lack of attention to tourism's negative impacts has resulted in pervasive and at times, irreversible changes to the physical and socio-cultural environment of the destination area that directly threaten the area's future development opportunities and the continuation of tourism itself. It is believed, however, that if the planning, development and management of tourism abandons this econocentric orientation in favour of a more sustainable approach, tourism's adverse effects can be minimized while economic activity is sustained into the future.

A key feature of a sustainable approach is that the interdependence of the economy, physical environment and society is acknowledged. Hence, development activity integrates all economic, environmental and socio-cultural outcomes into decision making, making necessary trade-offs and respecting the limits to development. Such integration is expected to promote tourism in a model form that is capable of providing an area with a source of economic activity that is able to increase development opportunities into the future, but does not sacrifice the wealth these “poor people” initially possessed.

The sustainability of international tourism is challenged by a spatial inconsistency that complicates the ability to make appropriate trade-offs among tourism's effects. It is most often the case, that the majority of tourism's positive economic impacts are spread
throughout the entire nation, whereas the negative environmental and socio-cultural impacts are concentrated in the local communities that house tourist attractions. In most developing countries, international tourism is welcomed by national governments because of its economic impact which allows the country to increase the supply of foreign currency needed to buy necessary imports. Yet the majority of environmental and socio-cultural impacts of international tourism directly affect only the residents of areas that tourists come to visit. In order to be considered sustainable, appropriate trade-offs must be made between national benefits and local costs.

The tension between the nation and the host community is a central focus of this thesis in which I expand the discussion of international tourism promotion as an instrument of development in the Third World, by focusing on how the needs of one host community in a country in the midst of severe economic austerity are considered in tourism planning.

The country in the midst of severe economic austerity to be studied is Cuba. From the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 until 1994, Cuba’s national income fell 50 percent (Macaulay, 1994). The island continues to experience extreme shortages of goods previously acquired by trading with the COMECON trading block. Now, thirty-eight years after the triumph of Castro’s Revolution, which shunned international tourism (and the Yankee imperialism, prostitution and gambling it was associated with), the Cuban leadership views tourism as a key sector to promote development and strives to attract over one million visitors a year.

Because of the fact that the promotion of international tourism is a national priority aimed at generating much needed convertible currency, it is necessary to understand how this strong national push to increase tourism affects local communities in areas of high
tourism. Old Havana, the historic heart of the island's capital city, is considered to be the second most important tourist pole in the country after the beach resort town of Varadero. The city's heritage churches, fortifications, museums, plazas and cultural traditions are just some of the attractions that drew in close to 360,000 foreigners in 1996. In response to the current economic crisis, tourism development in Old Havana and throughout the country has increased at an unprecedented rate. Because of this rapid increase in development, it is of concern if tourism development in the study area has become econocentric, solely aiming to generate national revenue without regard for local costs. This thesis investigates how the needs of Old Havana's residents are considered in the area's tourism planning process. Given that tourism's ability to address the needs of the host community is an important component of sustainable tourism, this research provides an indication of the sustainability of tourism in the area.

The primary goal of this research is to determine what evidence exists to demonstrate that the needs of the local community are considered in tourism plans. In order to fulfill this goal, local needs are identified and the area's tourism plans are critically examined for evidence of such needs being considered.

My thesis begins with a discussion of the tourism-development relationship as viewed under four development paradigms, modernization, Marxism, dependency and sustainable development. Each development paradigm discussed in Chapter One has a different perspective of the relationship between tourism and development and provides its own analysis as to how tourism will affect development. For example, under the development paradigm of modernization, tourism has been viewed as a growth pole industry capable of generating foreign exchange, taking advantage of comparative strengths, creating employment and correcting regional disparities. Surprisingly, the debt
crisis in Marxist states has resulted in international tourism being embraced as a growth pole in centrally-planned economies for the same reasons outlined above. However, critics who view the relationship from a dependency perspective see tourism when promoted as a growth pole industry, as further developing more advantaged areas at the expense of the periphery. Finally, proponents of the paradigm of sustainable development criticize the growth pole approach for its overemphasis on economic impacts and failure to integrate all of tourism’s possible effects into decision making. The discussion of these perspectives in Chapter One provides alternative theoretical analyses of the tourism-development relationship and introduces sustainable development as the foundational paradigm for this research.

In Chapter Two, I further discuss the paradigm of sustainable development and develop the conceptual framework that guides the investigation. In this chapter, I illustrate the contentions that continue to exist within the debates on sustainable development and revisit the Brundtland Commission’s (WCED) conceptualization of sustainable development. Three essential components of a sustainable approach are presented: meeting basic human needs and improving the quality of life; distributing the benefits of development equitably; and safeguarding resources. An extensive survey of tourism literature is presented to shape the discussion of how tourism is conceived in the context of sustainable development according to these three components.

Chapter Three presents the historical and political context of this research by providing the historical background and a general analysis of international tourism in Cuba. In this chapter, the character of pre-Revolutionary tourism in Cuba is described as consisting of a high incidence of gambling, prostitution, organized crime and corruption which fostered the resentment of the local population. Post-Revolutionary Cuba, on the
other hand, initially promoted national tourism to increase feelings of civil solidarity, but eventually began to promote international tourism as a means to diversify its economy. The chapter ends with a description of the current situation as well as some of the implications of the current rapid pace of development in relation to the sustainability of the Cuban tourism industry.

Chapter Four begins with a presentation of the research methods used in the study. Interviews with key officials involved in tourism planning and an analysis of tourism planning documents revealed that the most pressing need of the residents of Old Havana is for improved living conditions. Research also found that there is evidence demonstrating that the need to improve local living conditions has been considered to some extent during the tourism planning process.

In Chapter Five, evidence identified throughout the research process is discussed in terms of how it supports the idea that local needs are being overlooked in order to promote tourism development as an economic necessity or how it demonstrates that local needs are being considered. The role of public participation in tourism planning is discussed as well as the effect of the Cuban political context on tourism planning in Old Havana.

The final chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the study and directions for future research as well as a conclusion concerning the challenging work of planning for sustainable tourism in Old Havana.
CHAPTER 1: TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT

In this chapter, I explore various opinions surrounding the use of international tourism as a strategy to induce development in Third World nations by examining how the relationship between tourism and development is viewed from the perspectives of four development paradigms. I begin with a discussion of the arguments given in support of international tourism as an instrument of development or “growth pole” as seen from both a modernization and a Marxist perspective. This is followed by an account of the criticisms given against the growth pole approach from the perspectives of dependency and sustainable development. The information presented in this chapter will set the context for an emerging conceptual framework based on the paradigm of sustainable development that is employed in the analysis of tourism in Old Havana, Cuba.

Before a discussion of the relationship between tourism and development can take place, it is necessary to clarify the key terms “tourism” and “development”. There is no universally accepted definition of tourism. The majority of tourism researchers agree that tourism involves a travel component from home to a destination, and that the duration of the trip must exceed a minimum time limit, usually twenty-four hours, in order to constitute a stay, sojourn or visit. Authors disagree over whether work-related travel should be included in the definition of tourism. Douglas Pearce is one author who excludes business travel and defines tourism as “the relationships and phenomena arising out of the journeys and temporary stays of people traveling primarily for leisure or recreational purposes” (1989, p.1). For the purposes of this work, the definition presented by Pearce will be employed, but business travel will be included.
It is necessary to note that in this thesis I focus exclusively on international tourism and its affect on development. International tourism differs from domestic or internal tourism in that tourists cross international borders. Thus, it involves more than just a spatial movement of people from one place to another, but also involves the symbolic movement of people over political boundaries. Such movements affect the national balance of payments for both the recipient and originating country when tourists spend money on their trip. In this sense, international tourism represents an export industry for the host country, and an import industry for the country from which the visitors originate. However, tourism differs from most exports due to the fact that it is one of few sectors which takes the buyer to the product, as opposed to the product to the buyer. In sum, for the purpose of this thesis, international tourism is defined as: *the relationships and phenomena arising out of the journeys and temporary stays of people traveling to a foreign country (modified from Pearce, 1988)*.

Unlike the term "tourism", the word "development" is more difficult to define due to dramatic variations in semantics which result in the term remaining widely contested. As John Friedmann observed, "*Development is one of the more slippery terms in our tongue. It suggests an evolutionary process, it has positive connotations, in at least some of its meanings it suggests an unfolding from within*" (cited in Hall, 1994, p.4). Many synonyms of development have been suggested such as betterment, progress, improvement, modernization, growth, and well-being in an attempt to clarify this slippery term, yet the concept remains elusive.

The term development has encountered many paradigm shifts in development thinking. The field of development studies has witnessed the evolution of the term from a purely technical definition designed to measure national wealth expressed by per capita
GDP or other growth indices, to definitions that focus on welfare improvements, reductions in poverty, justice, enhanced equity and participation in decision making.

A clear example of the term’s evolution is evident in the annual United Nation’s Human Development Reports. The first report released in 1990 was the initial effort to describe the human dimension of development in an effort to communicate to the world that “while growth in national production (GDP) is absolutely necessary to meet all essential human objectives, what is important is to study how this growth translates - or fails to translate - into human development in various societies” (UNDP, 1990, p. iii). This report presented the first Human Development Index (HDI) which attempts to capture development in a straightforward composite index focusing on life expectancy, educational attainment and income. The evolution of what the UN considers to be important aspects of development continues today as is evident in the most recent Human Development Report which attests that the most important issues determining how growth contributes to human development are: equity; job opportunities; access to productive assets; social spending; gender equality, population policy; good governance and an active civil society (UN, 1996). Furthermore, the HDI has been joined by two other composite measures designed to assist in revealing the progress, or lack of progress, countries are making in terms of aspects of development. These two indices are the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) that adjusts the HDI for gender inequality, and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) which uncovers gender inequity in key areas of economic and political participation and decision-making. Although the UNDP indices are rightly questionable and controversial themselves as indicators of development, they do provide a clear example of the evolving nature of the concept development.
The continual evolution of the term development demonstrates that it is a normative construct with multiple meanings. In his discussion of development, David Telfer (1996) states that the definition of development has broadened over time resulting in the creation of distinct development paradigms. Each development paradigm may have one or several theoretical approaches that indicate how development should be achieved. In this chapter, I discuss the rationale used by governments to promote tourism as a vehicle for development under the development paradigm of modernization which surprisingly reflects the rationale used by Marxist nations. This is then followed by criticisms of such promotion as seen from the development paradigms of dependency and sustainable development. It is important that the relationship between tourism and development, as seen from these development paradigms, is analyzed to demonstrate the contrast and provide insight to form the basis of a theoretical framework grounded in the paradigm of sustainable development. The purpose of the following section is to examine the reasons developing nations promote international tourism. This discussion highlights the many arguments put forth by governments, most often at the national level, to justify their involvement in the promotion of international tourism.

**Arguments in Support of the Promotion of International Tourism**

In his book *Tourism: Blessing or Blight?*, Sir George Young claims that national governments are responsible “for seeing that there is an adequate supply of foreign exchange to purchase essential imports; for ensuring that the level of economic activity is such that there is no widespread and persistent unemployment; for maintaining a rate of economic growth which is not embarrassingly less than that achieved by its neighbours; and for projecting a favourable ‘public image’ of that country abroad” (1973, p.132).
Because of these responsibilities, Young further presents six reasons national governments promote international tourism:

1. Tourism is a source of foreign exchange,
2. Tourism is a growth industry.
3. Tourism may provide a comparative advantage over other countries.
4. Tourism may promote a better image of that country in the eyes of the world.
5. Tourism is a source of employment.
6. Tourism is an instrument for regional development.

All but one of Young's six reasons for promoting international tourism stem from an acceptance of orthodox development thinking expressed by the diffusion approach to modernization as a development paradigm. The author's fourth reason, to promote a better image, does not stem from this approach and is, henceforward, removed from the discussion.

Highly influenced by the development literature of the 1950s and 1960s, the development paradigm of modernization is founded on the belief that a traditional society will eventually become modern once the obstacles to economic growth are removed. From this perspective, it is believed that cultural differences between traditional and modern societies determine development; and that development occurs once a broad set of modern values and institutions are present in a society (Seligson, 1993). Out of this development paradigm, two theoretical approaches have formed: the stages approach and the diffusion approach (Telfer, 1996).

The stages approach originated from the work of economist W. W. Rostow. Rostow described development as a unilinear progression through five stages of economic growth: traditional society; pre-conditions for development; economic "take-off"; the drive
to maturity and finally a stage of high mass consumption (Rostow, 1960). The idea of
stages of development has been applied in the context of tourism by numerous authors:
Schlenke and Stewig (1983); Oppermann (1993); Miossec (1976); Plog (1973); and Butler
(1980), the most widely cited being the latter.

The second theoretical approach to modernization, diffusion, owes its existence to
the work of early regional economic development theorists. The diffusion approach was
based on the belief that the benefits of economic growth will eventually “spread”, “trickle
down” or “filter” from the most developed areas to the least developed. It is assumed that
this will lead to an adjustment of the regional disparities after initial polarization (Alonso,
1968). The general theory of the diffusion approach is that the problem of regional
backwardness and spatial disarticulation can be remedied by planning that would
eliminate the undesirable disequilibria by the power of the positive changes working in
circular causation (Myrdal, 1969). In many cases, the decisions to encourage international
tourism were theoretically based on an acceptance of the diffusion approach to
development or more accurately, modernization.

Working within this theoretical framework, decision-makers began to recognize
the role of “growth poles” in development. François Perroux (1955) was the first to
develop the notion of growth poles which he envisioned as dynamic subsectors of an
economy that have the ability to induce growth in other sectors through linkages and
external economies. Thus, resulting in a “national economy as a combination of relatively
active groups (propellant industries, geographically concentrated poles of industry and
activity) and relatively passive groups (impelled industries, regions dependent on
geographically concentrated poles). The former induce into the other the phenomena of
(1966), and Myrdal (1969) to illustrate the goal of growth poles are "to effectively eradicate backwardness....These [growth poles] can either be whole cities or just an economic sector with a high connectivity with other industries and which is thought to have a high multiplier effect" (1993, p.538). It was believed by many regional development theorists that the concept of growth poles existing in economic space as envisioned by Perroux could be applied in physical space and would result in the development of "backward" regions.

In 1990, Michael Porter presented an updated version of growth poles in his book The Competitive Advantage of Nations. In this book, the author credits the "clustering" of competitive industries as a determinant of national advantage. A cluster is created when a "nation's successful industries are usually linked through vertical (buyer/supplier) or horizontal (common customers, technology channels etc.) relationships" (Porter, 1990, p.149). Porter claims that the principle of clustering is a good model for setting development priorities because "a nation will be most likely to be [sic] successful not in isolated industries but in building of whole clusters" (1990, p.677). Similar to the growth pole approach, Porter envisions that competitive industries will become initial centres of development and import substitution may occur if the conditions are correct, thus stimulating the development of upstream, downstream, or related industries. Geographical proximity is typical of clusters as the industrial agglomeration of producers, customers and competitors results in improved efficiency and increased specialization as well as other positive externalities due to active interaction and technological spillovers (Hernesniemi, Lammi and Ylä-Anttila, 1996).

The diffusion approach to modernization has been applied in the context of tourism because of the belief that tourism is an appropriate economic sector or "growth
pole" because of its high connectivity to other sectors, export-orientation and multiplier effects. The five reasons put forth by Young that justify government decisions to encourage international tourism stem from this faith in tourism as an appropriate growth pole. It was believed that tourism will allow a country to acquire foreign exchange, to promote a growth industry, to capitalize on a comparative advantage, to increase employment and to foster the development of peripheral regions as described by Young. I now expand on each of these five objectives in turn.

Tourism as a source of foreign exchange

For many low-income countries, the fact that international tourism is a source of foreign exchange has great influence on the decision whether or not to encourage the activity. As a result of the debt crisis and the lack of many strong export-oriented sectors, many of these countries find themselves in great need of foreign currency in order to contribute to the balance of payments and purchase needed imports. Tourism's export-orientation and its ability to encourage flows of currency into the host country has led to its enthusiastic support from governments, at the expense of other industries which have a higher import content or which do not export. In many cases, tourism is promoted as a means of acquiring financial resources to support the transformation of the economy from a traditional agricultural economy to an industrial economy required to induce modernization and economic development (Mathieson and Wall, 1982).

Tourism, it is believed, is an industry that has direct, indirect and induced effects on an economy. The tourism multiplier, is a measure based on Keynesian analysis, that attempts to reveal the total economic impact of tourist spending on an economy. Mathieson and Wall (1982) define the tourist multiplier as "the number by which initial
tourist expenditure must be multiplied in order to obtain the total cumulative income effect for a specified time period” (1982, p.64). The tourist multiplier “tracks money spent by tourists as it filters through the economy [and demonstrates that] the revenue decreases in a geometric progression at each round as a result of leakages” (Vellas and Bécherel, 1995, p.229). The leakages referred to by Vellas and Bécherel are caused by savings, taxation, expenditure abroad or imported products, hence resulting in a tourism multiplier that is directly related to the marginal propensity to consume domestic products. A detailed description of tourism multipliers is given by Mathieson and Wall (1982) who also reveal the complexity and confusion that occurs in the calculation of tourist multipliers. Brian Archer (1991), an economist who has published widely on the topic of tourism multipliers, examines the nature of multipliers including their origins and evolution, their misuse, their strengths, weaknesses and limitations as well as their value for tourism planning. His work (1991) as well as that of Mathieson and Wall (1982) provide a more detailed discussion of multipliers than can be provided in this chapter.

Tourism as a growth industry

Many countries have embraced tourism as part of a strategy for development because of the growth it has demonstrated over the past years, its high degree of elasticity in demand, and because of the promise it shows in comparison to other potential growth sectors.

According to the World Travel and Tourism Council, tourism is the world’s largest and fastest growing industry (Angus Reid, 1997). International tourist arrivals in 1996 reached 593 million and receipts (excluding airline revenues) totaled $423 billion US (an increase of 7.6% from 1995) (WTO, 1997a). The World Tourism Organization (WTO)
predicts that international tourist arrivals will grow by 4% annually and will reach 1.6 billion by the year 2020 (WTO, 1997b). Data from the WTO’s 1994 report shows that tourism in the South is growing at a significant rate. In 1992, low-income economies (as determined by World Bank classifications) experienced a 23.2% growth in international arrivals and a 20.97% growth in tourist receipts. Clearly this evidence of the growth of the tourism industry provides a sound foundation for developing nations to justify their choice of tourism as an industry to be encouraged. As the current WTO Secretary-General Francesco Frangialli declares “the sustained growth that we have seen since the beginning of this decade and the acceleration now underway proves that tourism is one of the world’s most durable and dynamic economic sectors” (WTO, 1997).

The reason tourism at a global level has been growing at a constant rate is directly related to the increasing prosperity of citizens in developed nations. Tourism is commonly regarded as consumer good that is highly elastic in demand. Therefore, as personal incomes rise in the developed regions of the world, so too does the demand for tourism increase. The fact that the demand for tourism is in most cases more elastic than the demand for raw materials, or the type of manufactured products likely to be produced by developing nations, makes it logically sound to focus energies on tourism promotion. Yet as Mathieson and Wall (1982) point out, the reliance of tourism demand on foreign sources makes the industry a highly vulnerable and potentially unstable export.

In recognition of tourism as a vulnerable export subject to the health of foreign economies, the question to ask is whether or not the industry is more unstable than the alternative choices such as bananas, sugar or other raw materials. Bond and Ladman (1972) discuss the disadvantages of the exportation of primary produce, which was the common alternative to tourism development in developing nations. The authors state that
developing country governments most often prefer to develop a tourism industry instead of relying on the exportation of primary produce because of the lack of market diversification, the tendency to be subject to price fluctuations associated with world market terms-of-trade, the lack of stability in export markets, and the high propensity to import manufactured products in order to export raw materials. Furthermore, it was believed that tourism required a smaller value of imports for every unit of foreign exchange it generates in comparison to the exportation of raw materials (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). This generalization is questionable due to the fact that the difference between the net value added of tourism and of raw-material production can vary enormously depending on the type of raw material being produced and exported and the type of tourism, as well as the national economic context.

Tourism has also been adopted by many Southern countries because of the value attached to a more diversified economy. In the best of cases, the growth of tourism in an area will foster linkages with other sectors of the economy. These linkages will hopefully induce growth in other sectors as tourism is utilized as a growth pole or propellant industry. A diversified economy is a goal developing nations can easily justify. According to one author, the buoyancy of the Mexican tourist industry has been credited for allowing the country to avoid the industrial stagnation and inflation that affected other Latin American countries in the early 70s (Turner, 1976).

**Tourism’s ability to capitalize on a comparative advantage**

In the previous section, it was revealed that for most developing nations there are a limited number of types of economic activity which can be utilized in an effort to promote development, and more specifically to gain foreign exchange. However, tourism offers
some countries a comparative advantage over other countries due to the presence of “historic monuments, pleasant scenery, good beaches, sun or snow” (Young, 1973, p.135). As Mathieson and Wall point out “developing countries are often richly endowed with outstanding tourist assets” (1982, p. 42). In addition, developing nations are often geographically located in tropical areas which are subject to warmer temperatures while Northern industrial countries enjoy the cold, snow and drizzle of winter. These attributes offer host countries a comparative advantage for tourism over their more developed counterparts. In Michael Porter’s (1990) analysis of “clusters” of economic activities, the author emphasizes the important role of factor conditions such as climate and geography in determining the success of service-oriented industries such as tourism, where the buyer is attracted to a nation. Many developing nations have inherited many positive factor conditions, or natural and cultural assets, that attract tourists to these locations.

Yet, aside from fine weather and nice things to see, developing nations possess a comparative advantage in offering the tourist a taste of the exotic. Walter Christaller (1964), an influential regional scientist, claimed that tourism allows economically underdeveloped regions to develop themselves, because of the fact that these untouched and remote locations interest the tourist. On a world scale, Christaller’s ideas make logical sense of tourism in the Third World; for it is the very undeveloped character of these places, or “tourismagnetic” (Edwards, 1979) qualities, that draw the industrialized tourist away from the developed world. These countries may offer the tourist truly unique experiences in stark contrast to day-to-day living in the North. According to Hyun Kyugn Chung a self-described Asian eco-feminist liberation theologian, the massive scale of modern tourism in the South reflects a lack of sense of self and spiritual crisis in those developed countries from which so many tourists originate (cited in Wall, 1995).
Regardless of the many reasons why the South is an attractive tourism destination, it is reasonable that developing countries would wish to capitalize on its comparative advantages as a travel destination.

Not only is the wish to capitalize on their "tourismagnetic" qualities wise in terms of a market advantage, it is also sensible given the alternative forms of economic activity. Resources such as historic areas, landscape, biodiversity, beaches and unique ecosystems may be more valuable and less exhaustible than other more tangible extractive resources such as oil or minerals. Therefore, capitalizing on tourist resources provides developing nations with a longer lasting form of economic activity.

Tourism's role in increasing employment

Many governments of undeveloped countries embrace tourism as a means to alleviate chronic unemployment or underemployment that persists throughout the economy. Tourism is regarded as an industry capable of increasing employment and thus expanding opportunities for developing nation citizens. Mathieson and Wall (1982) state that one of the first tasks of economic development is to find gainful employment for all people. According to Young, "tourism is a highly labour-intensive industry which can offer employment to the semi-skilled and unskilled. ...where there is high unemployment tourism can provide moderately quick relief" (1973, p.135). De Kadt, aptly describes the impact a growing tourism sector can have on employment:

Employment generated directly in the tourism sector, in hotels and restaurants, is generally shown to yield earnings at least as high as, and often higher than, those available in other sectors, especially agriculture. Tourism also has secondary spillover effects in other sectors. Through increased demand for food products, souvenirs, and other goods, it generates employment in agriculture, food processing, handicrafts, and light manufacturing. Jobs also will be created in construction and capital goods industries when new hotels and resort complexes are built. (1979, p. 11)
In several cases investment in tourism was proven to create more jobs than investments made in other primary product industries. A Mexican study noted that forty-one jobs were created by an investment of $80,000 in tourism, as opposed to the 14 jobs and 13 that would have been created by an equal investment in the petroleum industry or in metal products respectively (Bond and Ladman, 1972). The growth pole, or cluster, around tourism can induce employment in other industries by means of backward and forward linkages with producers of foodstuffs, construction materials, light manufacturing and handicrafts among others.

**Tourism's role in regional development**

Tourism can be an instrument of regional policy aimed at achieving an equitable balance between major industrial areas and the rest of the country (Young, 1973). Not only can tourism be viewed as a tool to promote the overall development of a nation, it can also be employed as a means of encouraging the development of peripheral areas and hence mitigating regional disparities. Christaller, (1964) declares that places on the periphery are attractive tourist destinations and that regions should harness the economic potential of the very characteristics of these areas that otherwise prohibit these areas from being economically useful. Such characteristics include high mountain chains, barren, rocky landscapes, heather and unproductive dunes. The encouragement of tourism may allow countries to make use of national attributes that might otherwise remain unproductive.

**The Marxist approach**

The Marxist development paradigm, in an idealized form, is founded on the premise that state ownership and control of the means of production allow governments to
plan the nation’s development strategy more efficiently for the good of the people. Thus, instead of relying on market forces, decisions are based on collective needs as opposed to individual. In contrast to a free market, the Marxist approach to development seeks to harness all of a nation’s resources to produce wealth which will then be redistributed equally to all citizens instead of relying on the wealth accumulated by a small group of capitalists to trickle down to poorer members of society as envisioned in the diffusion approach to modernization. A centrally-planned economy is thought to avoid the “twin evils of capitalism - inflation and unemployment” and the “vagaries of the business cycle” (Jaffee, 1990, p. 129) that prevent development from proceeding at a smooth rate.

Nonetheless, as international tourism was found to be an appropriate growth pole under the development paradigm of modernization in capitalist nations it was also found have the same appeal to centrally-planned economies operating under a Marxist system. This appeal is attributed to the fact that the debt crisis affected Marxist countries to the same degree as it affected many poorer capitalist countries in the South and international tourism was seen as a possible solution to relieve the debt load. In a special issue of the Annals of Tourism Research on Tourism in Centrally-Planned Economies, Allcock and Przeclawski remark, “one aspect of the economics of tourism which cuts across the divide between types of system is the part which it plays in relation to foreign debt” (1990, p. 4). The pressure of debt resulted in many Marxist nations opening their borders to foreign visitors from non-Marxist countries, despite the ideological inconsistency of catering to capitalists and a traditional focus on heavy industry. Tourism was an attractive sector to economic planners for all the same reasons as outlined earlier; tourism allowed these struggling economies to acquire foreign exchange, to promote a growth industry, to capitalize on a comparative advantage, to increase employment and to foster the
development of peripheral regions, in other words, it was seen as an appropriate growth pole. In most cases, however, tourism in centrally-planned countries founded on a political system of Marxism is noticeably different from tourism in capitalist countries. In addition to all travel companies, hotels, restaurants and airlines being owned and operated by the state, “the desire to preserve ideological discipline, and to minimize the demonstration effect of the presence of numbers of (usually richer) foreigners, have led to a common strategy of segregation” (Allcock and Przeclawski, 1990, p. 5). Yet despite the difference in application of tourism as a growth pole, the decision to promote international tourism in Marxist nations has been criticized for many of the same reasons as it is criticized in capitalist nations.

Arguments Against the Promotion of International Tourism

Tourism: a Growth Pole Industry?

Having considered the arguments used to endorse the promotion of international tourism in developing nations, criticisms of the growth pole approach to tourism development taken under the paradigms of modernization and Marxism are considered. The most common criticism of international tourism promotion at the expense of other activities is that numerous studies have shown that tourism has not always proven to be the growth pole it was expected to be. The industry did not prove to be as highly connected to other industries as expected when promoted in peripheral economies. Significant leakages of foreign exchange occurred due to the importation of goods and services demanded by visitors, the repatriation of profits, advertising overseas, and the demonstration effects of tourist’s luxury consumption on local peoples, leading to increased imports. The extent of such leakages depends upon the resource base of the
economy (EIU, 1989) and the size of the country. In centrally-planned economies, attempts were made to minimize leakages through sound planning but the importation of goods to satisfy Western tourists and compensate for internal shortages resulted in significant leakages.

Furthermore, the multiplier effects of tourism were highly overestimated in most cases, largely attributable to this leakage effect. In their discussion of tourism multipliers, Mathieson and Wall (1982) highlight the misuse of tourism multipliers in the Zinder Report on the Future of Tourism in the Caribbean published in the 1960s. The report concluded that the multiplier coefficient in the region was 2.3. However, a further analysis of Antigua (one of the territories included in the study) conducted by Bryden and Faber stated that “the relevant tourist multiplier is extremely unlikely to be as high as 1.00 in most East Caribbean Islands, and is nowhere near the value of 2.3” (cited in Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Similar to the inability of the diffusion approach to modernization to result in the “trickling down” of wealth or central planning to result in equitable redistribution of wealth to reach the poorer masses, tourism’s role as a growth pole has been an insufficient catalyst for development.

The promotion of tourism as a growth pole industry in both capitalist and Marxist countries did not bring the expected results. Throughout the tourism literature two dominant development paradigms have been employed to demonstrate the problems encountered when international tourism is promoted in developing nations as a growth pole industry. In this section, I will raise the pertinent arguments against international tourism promotion founded on the development paradigms of dependency and
sustainable development. I will begin by discussing the contribution made by dependency theorists to the critique of international tourism as a strategy for development.

**Criticisms made by Dependency Theorists**

Dependency theory arose from an adamant critique of the diffusion approach to development/modernization and other orthodox development theories for their treatment of development as an apolitical and ahistorical process, and their scientific approach to development that fails to recognize "the crucial dialectic of space and the social system" (Husbands, 1981, p. 39). As Britton explains, "Dependency can be conceptualized as a process of historical conditioning which alters the internal functioning of economic and social sub-systems within an underdeveloped country" (1982, p.333). The theory maintains that "as a result of dependency, capitalist development in the core continuously creates and perpetuates underdevelopment in the periphery" (Browett, 1982, p.145).

Dependency theorists draw attention to the fact that "when a Third World country uses tourism as a development strategy, it becomes enmeshed in a global system over which it has little control" (Britton, 1982, p.331). Whether or not tourism is a form of economic dependency is determined by the extent to which the relationship between the metropolitan area and the periphery can be described as hegemonic (Hall, 1994). The very organization of international tourism clearly reveals this hegemony. Michael Erisman (1983) points out that through a process of informal vertical integration, Northern hospitality consortia have gained control of the three most lucrative components of mass tourism: marketing; international transportation; and lodging and food.

The paradox arises therefore, where tourism is being used as a tool for development of the periphery, but the entire organization and control of the industry reside in the core region. This provides an example of 'organizing the dependence on the core' in order to foster the development of the periphery (Husbands, 1981, p.42).
Craik points out that "the endorsement of an industry like tourism implies the acceptance of an agenda beyond the industry itself. Tourism locks economies into an international game of relative advantage..." (1991, p.53).

In his essay on tourism in the West Indies, Louis Pérez Jr. (1973) points out that increased tourism in the region has failed to generate economic development but instead "further institutionalized the sources of underdevelopment: inaccessibility to capital and the concomitant flow of capital abroad and the reinforcement of monoculture economies" (p.250). Evidence from the Fijian and Cook Islands reveals that tourism has brought with it, high degrees of foreign ownership, high levels of leakage, low levels of indigenous employment in skilled positions, a high degree of foreign influence on government and undesirable sociocultural effects (Britton, 1987). John Brohman (1996) expands on this idea by raising the point that essentially tourism reinforces the core-periphery structure of the traditional plantation economy.

One of the great fears of the potential economic dependency of touristic relationships between the developed and developing worlds is that this dependency will enter into the social and cultural spheres (Hall, 1994). Michael Erisman (1983) examines the much ignored aspects of cultural dependency as created by international tourism. Basically the author suggests that economic dependency facilitates a "spillover effect" which leads to dependency in other sectors. He defines the condition of comprehensive dependency as the state in which a nation's three major subsystems - the economic, the political and cultural - are all dominated by a foreign metropole. Erisman concluded that there does appear to be consensus among those who have probed the subject that at least a latent relationship exists between economic dependency and cultural dependency. A study by Ronald Francisco (1983) examined the dependency argument in the political
realm in the Caribbean by focusing on each nation’s voting behaviour in the UN General Assembly and found no confirmation of the argument. Hence, it is possible that economic dependency may eventually lead to political or cultural dependency though the evidence is not strongly supportive.

**Criticisms made by proponents of Sustainable Development**

Sustainable development has been defined in many ways, but the most cited definition comes from the Brundtland report which defines the concept as “meeting the needs of today’s generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987, p.43). A more detailed conceptualization of sustainable development will be given in Chapter Two, but in essence, sustainable development reconceptualizes the term “development” to recognize the interdependence of the environment, the economy and society now - and in the future.

Critics influenced by the development paradigm of sustainable development claim that tourism has not always been a contributor to the development of low-income economies because the majority of policy and decision-makers take an econocentric approach to a phenomenon that has significant social, cultural and environmental impacts in addition to economic effects. In capitalist countries, tourism operators are more concerned about profit margins and have a tendency to ignore possible social, cultural or environmental impacts of tourism development. On the other hand, although central planners in Marxist societies are supposed to act “for the people”, the tendency to ignore environmental impacts was equally relevant in Marxist societies as well as in capitalist nations. As Gundmann observes, “It seems to be commonly accepted that Marxism has little to say about ecological problems, that its implicit positions are far from illuminating
them, and, what is more, that the Marxist position enables, causes, or legitimizes harm to
the environment" (1997, p. 1). Proponents of sustainable development call for the need to
integrate all potential impacts into tourism planning in order to foster well informed
decisions.

The inability of tourism to induce the development of less developed places has
been well documented, as have the industry's adverse effects on destination areas.
Tourism literature contains several detailed analyses of tourism's adverse effects on
destination areas in terms of environmental impact (Budowski, 1976; OECD, 1980;
Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Pearce, 1985 and a special edition of Annals of Tourism
Research, Vol.14, No.1, 1987); political impact (Britton, 1982; Francisco, 1983; and Hall,
1994); and sociocultural impact (De Kadt, 1979; Smith, 1989 and Craik, 1991). The
evidence presented in these studies has proven that tourism has the potential to cause
pervasive and irreversible changes to the host environment.

While acknowledging that tourism is capable of significant environmental, political
and sociocultural disruptions, the proponents of sustainable development differ from
dependency theorists in their response to tourism's inability to induce development as
prescribed in the diffusion approach to modernization. Many theorists of dependency and
other neo-Marxist theories, doubt that tourism is likely to ever contribute to any sort of
improved state of well-being for Third World citizens. On the other hand, advocates of
sustainable development believe that it is possible for tourism to become an instrument of
development if a sustainable approach to tourism is followed. But exactly what is this
sustainable approach to tourism?
The Way Forward

In this chapter I have discussed the tourism-development relationship as conceived through differing development paradigms. I have put forth five significant arguments as to why developing nations would want to encourage international tourism as a strategy for development as prescribed by a growth pole view of tourism that was adopted by both proponents of a diffusion approach to capitalist development/modernization and Marxist thought. In response to these arguments I have also presented several criticisms of tourism as given by proponents of sustainable development and dependency development paradigms. The discussion presented in this chapter has established a theoretical basis for an emerging conceptual framework based on the paradigm of sustainable development that is utilized in the analysis of tourism in Old Havana, Cuba. The question that this chapter leaves unanswered is: what exactly is a sustainable approach to tourism? In Chapter Two, I intend to use this question as the main focus for developing a conceptual framework built on the paradigm of sustainable development.
CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUALIZING SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

In recent years, the vocabulary of sustainable development has worked its way into discussions of tourism, offering an alternative view of the tourism-development relationship than those offered by modernization, Marxist and dependency development paradigms. In this chapter, a conceptual framework founded on the paradigm of sustainable development is presented. This emerging conceptual framework will be used to investigate one aspect of sustainability in Havana’s Historic Centre. In order to develop this conceptual framework, the current debates presented in the literature concerning the parental concept of sustainable development that has given birth to the concept of sustainable tourism is considered. This is followed by a discussion of how tourism is conceived within the context of this development paradigm.

Sustainable Development

A certain degree of frustration is found when attempting to develop a conceptual framework based on such a contested concept as sustainable development. As Braidotti, Charkiewicz, Haüsler and Wieringa (1994) claim, there is consensus on the need for sustainable development but not on the understanding of what it means in theory and practice. This makes a discussion of how tourism is conceived within the context of sustainable development more problematic. How the concept of sustainable development emerged into mainstream development thinking is considered first, followed by a brief account of the contentious issues in the discourse on the development paradigm of sustainable development.
Emergence and Divergence

During the 1980s and early 1990s the term “sustainable development” emerged into mainstream development thinking as a result of the work of the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), [The World Conservation Strategy (1980) and Caring for the Earth (1991)], the release of the World Commission on Environment and Development’s report (the Brundtland Commission, 1987) and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in June of 1992. The most influential of these studies was the Brundtland Commission’s publication Our Common Future. Sustainable development is often considered synonymous with the Brundtland Report definition - “meeting the needs of today’s generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs...” (WCED, 1987, p. 43); equally meaningful is the less cited sentence that follows the standard definition, “Sustainable development requires meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to satisfy their aspirations for a better life” (WCED, 1987, p.44).

Critics have noted that the term sustainable development remains ill-defined in practice. It has become a malleable development concept that can be embraced by opposing interests. The goal of sustainable development has become debatable; is it to sustain development or to sustain those resources on which development depends? As Adams indicates “the very success of sustainable development lies in its flexibility”(1993, p.208). This flexibility give the impression that profit seekers and conservationists are finally in agreement over the form development should take. O’Riordan sees sustainability as a “mediating term designed to bridge the gulf between ‘developers’ and ‘environmentalists’. Its beguiling simplicity and apparently self-evident meaning have
observed its inherent ambiguity" (1989, p.93). According to Colin Hunter, "the more one examines the concept of sustainable development the more illusory its apparent simplicity becomes" (1995a, p.57). Hunter goes on in his analysis to demonstrate that there are two extremes in approaches to environmental management that operate within the framework of sustainable development. The first is the traditional, resource-exploitative, growth-orientated view of resource management that supports the use of resources for human benefit, this view reflects both orthodox capitalist and Marxist approaches. The second, in contrast to the first view, can be described as extreme resource-preservationist, zero-growth world view that seeks to preserve natural assets in their original form for their intrinsic value. It is interesting to think that these two extreme approaches to resource management both operate comfortably within the meaning and language of sustainable development. This is only possible if both camps are utilizing a different meaning of sustainable development.

Within the discourse on sustainable development there is an obvious tension between environmentalists and economists whose thinking can at times, but not without exception, lie at opposite ends of the spectrum between the two extreme approaches to environmental management explained above. Each group believes that the concept of sustainable development is an outgrowth of their discipline that has, by way of a compromise, been influenced by the other. Michael Redclift however, declares that "sustainable development requires a broader view of both economics and ecology than most practitioners in either discipline are prepared to admit" (1987, p.33). The term sustainable development has been used and abused by many so-called advocates of the paradigm, who many environmentalists, or biocentrists, accuse of co-opting the symbolism
of sustainable development to serve their own interests and to defend a form of
development that is anything but sustainable into the future. As Sabine Häusler attests:

’Sustainable’ development has become the latest stage in the development
discourse which has shown once again its incredible capacity to survive
against all odds. We live in a global economic and political order in which
mainstream actors will go on doing business as usual - touched up in ‘green’.
A new eco-cratic rationality is forcefully asserting itself. (1994, p.147)

Voicing similar concerns, Redclift (1987) believes that sustainable development’s
polemical usefulness will outlive its practical utility if the conception of the term does not
reflect the reality that today’s global economic system will not permit accumulation to take
place without unacceptable environmental costs. This statement should be tempered by
recognizing that, in some cases, investment is needed to improve environmental
conditions, as well as to make current levels of economic activity more environmentally
benign. The feminist critique of sustainable development agrees with Redclift’s ideas of
the global economic system’s inhibitory role in sustainable development and further
questions the overreliance on the scientific method. The feminist critique has been aptly
summarized by Braidotti et al. as:

The language of sustainable development and of interdependency has
been widely adopted by mainstream political, economic and development
organizations. But the newly arising eco-cratic rationality as proposed by
mainstream organizations before and after UNCED, is flawed in two ways.
First, its proponents propose to implement sustainable development within
the present political and economic power structures. Secondly, the new
eco-cratic model of the interdependence and interrelatedness of the
biosphere is rooted in systems theory and continues to subscribe to the
notion that it can be understood only by experts/scientists (1994, p.130-1).

**Revisiting Brundtland**

The internal conflicts present in the conceptualization of sustainable development,
make it necessary for researchers to identify their understanding of sustainable
development. According to the Brundtland Report (WCED, 1987), the definition of sustainable development contains within it two key concepts:

The concept of ‘needs’, in particular the essential needs of the world’s poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment’s ability to meet present and future needs. (WCED, 1987,p.43)

In essence, sustainable development conceptualizes the term ‘development’ to involve a “progressive transformation of economy and society” (WCED, 1987, p.43) and to recognize the interdependence of the “World’s economy and the Earth’s ecology” (MacNeil et al., 1991). Furthermore it refers to a form of development that does not degrade or deplete the resources that make development possible, thus compromising future development opportunities. The emphasis on not compromising development opportunities has lead to the recognition of the importance of intergenerational and intragenerational equity in development.

Working within the definitions of sustainable development as presented by the WCED, I have attempted to summarize three salient or essential elements of sustainable development that will be used throughout this thesis. In order to be considered sustainable, development activity must be in a form that:

a) meets basic human needs and improves the quality of life;

b) is equitable in the distribution of benefits; and

c) safeguards resources.

Tourism in the Context of Sustainable Development

The tension between environmentalists and economists and the confusion surrounding the meaning of sustainable development extends into discussions of tourism in the context of sustainable development and makes conceptualizing sustainable tourism
equally difficult. It was inevitable that the tourism industry would gravitate towards the concept of sustainable tourism due to the dependence of tourism on its environmental assets and the increasing numbers of environmentally-enlightened clients. Shortly after the release of the Brundtland Commission’s report and the UNCED conference in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, the language of sustainable development began working its way into discussions on tourism with little agreement between academics or practitioners on how the concept should apply in this new context. This has lead to many conflicting interpretations of tourism’s role in sustainable development.

The major issue in the sustainable tourism debate, that leads to conflicting interpretations, is whether tourism development is viewed as a means or an end. Those who view sustainable tourism development as an end in itself are primarily concerned with sustaining tourist activity and its associated profits. However, advocates of tourism as a means to sustainable development, desire tourism in a form that can contribute to the sustainable development of the area in which it is promoted on a more general basis. When viewed as a end in itself, the discussions of tourism focus on trying to make tourism more sustainable by protecting the aesthetic appeal of the area, minimizing adverse effects, not depleting tourism resources, and ensuring a good quality tourist experience, all so that tourism activity (and hence revenue) will endure. When viewed as a means to sustainable development, the discussions revolve around the ways in which tourism can contribute to the sustainable development of an area, how tourism will provide a long-lasting source of revenue to improve local living standards without added social, environmental and cultural costs, and how tourism is consistent with an overall development strategy. Richard Butler attempts to clarify this distinction by presenting two definitions that reflect different interpretations of the way sustainability is brought into
discussions on tourism. Bulter defines *sustainable tourism*, which I refer to as end-
oriented, as “tourism in a form which can maintain its viability in an area for an indefinite 
period of time” (Bulter, 1992, p.29). This differs from the author’s means-oriented 
definition of *tourism in the context of sustainable development* which he defines as:

Tourism which is developed and maintained in an area in such a manner 
and at such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does 
not degrade or alter the environment (human or physical) in which it exists 
to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and well being 
of other activities and processes. (Bulter, 1992, p.29).

Bulter’s emphasis on “other activities and processes” establishes tourism as a form of 
economic activity that, if successful, is able to contribute to the sustainable development of 
a community in concert with other activities such as agriculture, forestry or industry also 
carried out in a sustainable manner. Bob McKercher (1993) claims that tourism 
researchers need to recognize the role that non-tourism entities play in sustainable 
development to expand the sustainable tourism debate. He goes on to suggest that tourism 
has much to gain by adopting the sustainability ideology on a sector-specific basis, 
however tourism’s vulnerability is exposed when sustainability is assessed in the broader 
context of cross-sectoral integration. These ideas are also emphasized by Colin Hunter 
(1995b), in his article discussing the need to reconceptualize sustainable tourism 
development. Hunter argues that the predominant paradigm of sustainable tourism 
development which appears to be charting a responsible course, is in fact too tourism-
centric, parochial and thus inherently flawed. He points out that:

The extra-parochial paradigm entails a much less ‘precious’ view of the role 
and importance of tourism as an entity, and recognizes that tourism does not 
have an inherent right to grow in an area at the expense of any other sector, 
unless it better meets the requirements of sustainable development 
generally. (Hunter, 1995b, p.162)
The author points out that “an inappropriate ‘tension’ is emerging between the general [sustainable development] and the specific [sustainable tourism development]” (p.156). He calls on the need to re-engage sustainable tourism with its parental concerns in order that tourism will be able to make a contribution to the sustainable development of the community in which it is promoted.

In this next section, I re-engage sustainable tourism with the three essential elements of sustainable development as presented above in order to develop a conceptual framework that revolves around tourism’s ability to contribute to the sustainable development of the community in which it is promoted. The emphasis in this thesis is on what Bulter defines as “tourism in the context of sustainable development”, however for brevity’s sake the terms “sustainable tourism” and “tourism in the context of sustainable development” will be used interchangeably.

Meeting Basic Human Needs and Improving the Quality of Life

The discussion of how tourism in a sustainable form is able to meet basic human needs and improve the quality of life, must first begin by determining whose needs must be met and whose quality of life must be improved. Within the industry/activity of tourism there are four easily identifiable, but by no means homogeneous or undifferentiated stakeholders involved: the local population, the tourists, the tourism providers and the national government which is, in ideal circumstances, representative of all host country residents, the majority of whom are not part of the local population. Each group has different needs and require different means to improve the quality of their lives. Tourism’s role in meeting the needs and improving the quality of life of these four groups is discussed in the next section.
Local Population

Tourism’s ability to meet the basic needs of the local population and to improve their quality of life is often considered a central tenet in discussions on sustainable tourism. Many authors make the distinction between past forms of mass tourism which gave little regard to the host population and sustainable forms of tourism based on meeting local needs. Clearly meeting these needs are critical if the growth of tourism is embraced as a means of achieving sustainable development for the community. According to Colin Hunter (1995b), meeting the needs and wants of the local host community in terms of improved living standards and quality of life is a fundamental feature of sustainable tourism development. Similarly, the World Tourism Organization (WTO) states that sustainable tourism is a “model form of economic development that is designed to improve the quality of life of the host community” (WTO, 1993). Furthermore, Erlet Cater (1993) declares that in order to be truly sustainable, tourism development should meet the needs of the host population in terms of improved living standards both in the short and long term.

Throughout the literature, there is much support for the fact that the needs of the “local host community” (Hunter, 1995b), the “host community” (WTO, 1993), or the “host population” (Cater, 1993) must be met by tourism. It is unclear, however, if these three groups of people are synonymous or if the scale at which these groups of people exist differs among authors. For instance, it seems logical that Hunter’s description of the local host population refers to those people living within, or in very close proximity to, a destination area. On the other hand, Cater and the WTO’s references to host community and host population could be interpreted in the same way or could be widened to include a larger spatial area to the extent that it includes all national citizens. It would be
reasonable to assume that the term host population is limited to include only the population of a destination area in which there is a direct physical presence of tourism activity. Nonetheless, in a Socialist society which believes in the redistribution of benefits by the state and values collective needs over individual, the scale at which host community needs are considered may be larger. In such a society, the needs of the greater host community or nation may take precedence over those people living directly in the destination area. For the purpose of this thesis the term host community and host population are defined as being synonymous with the local population who live in the destination area and usually can be defined by administrative boundaries.

Now that the terms have been clarified, the questions that remain are: What are these basic local needs that must be met? and How should the quality of life be improved? The Brundtland Report considers food, clothing, shelter and jobs as essential needs. In a sustainable form, tourism should provide greater access to food, clothing and shelter due to the direct and indirect benefits of the wealth tourism brings into the area, and tourism should directly and indirectly affect the number of employment opportunities available to the host community. Table 2.1 lists some of the more obvious needs of local residents. However, it is important to note that perceived needs are socially and culturally determined (Hunter, 1995a), and what might be considered basic human needs in one tourism destination may differ from that of another. For this reason, tourism in a sustainable form should “be a reflection of local aspirations and needs” (McNulty, 1993).

The means of ensuring that the needs of the local population are being met and that the quality of life is improving as a result of the promotion of international tourism is to develop a framework for tourism planning that is founded on local involvement in decision making. Local participation in decision making is also a central theme in the
debates on “development” in general as well, with many development theorists believing development is unachievable without participation. Many authors on the topic of sustainable tourism include the participation of the host population as integral to a sustainable approach (e.g.: Eber, 1992; Barke & Newton; 1995; Williams, 1996; Cater & Goodall, 1992; Ioannides, 1995; Jafari, 1996; Owen et al., 1993; Komilis, 1994; Nelson, 1990). It is believed that effective local participation will help determine local needs and will assist in the identification of aspects of tourism which may threaten the quality of local life. An evaluation of the implementation of a sustainable tourism project in Cyprus cited that the primary stumbling block to achieving sustainable tourism at the site was the climate of distrust between the government and the local community; villagers felt they were excluded from all stages of the plan-making process (Ioannides, 1995).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.1: Needs of the local population</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• access to clean water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• safe housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• sewage disposal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• rewarding work for fair pay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• adequate local transportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• education and training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• access to tourism resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• ability to hold certain things sacred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• involvement in decision-making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• economic opportunities now and in the future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• preservation of cultural identity and diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• freedom of expression and association</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tourists

Tourists choose to visit a destination based on a world of possible locations. For this reason, it is important that tourist desires for quality service, food, accommodation and security are met so that the appeal of tourism does not decrease. In comparison to the basic needs required by the host population, tourist needs appear ostentatious yet they require consideration. Tourists bear few loyalties to destinations and must be satisfied in order to ensure the survival of the industry. Several authors recognize the importance of meeting tourist needs to ensure the continuation of tourism as a sustainable economic activity (e.g. Ioannides, 1995; Cater & Goodall, 1992; Hohl & Tisdell, 1995; Owen et al., 1993; Hunter, 1995a & b; Inskeep, 1991 and WTO, 1993). In his discussion of tourist needs, Bulter (1991) includes leisure as a basic need to be included in Brundtland’s definition. He believes leisure should be considered a basic need because most citizens of the developed world have already met their basic needs. He attests that when promoting tourism in the context of sustainable development the full range of needs as perceived by current tourists or people at leisure must be considered. Inskeep (1991) claims that providing a high quality of experience for the visitor is one of the goals of sustainable tourism along with improving the quality of life of the host community. Williams, however, sees tourist and local needs stemming from the same route since both care to receive a “high quality of experience” (1996, p.1). Clearly though, the experiences sought by host and guest are markedly different.

Tourists needs are generally fulfilled when their expectations of a destination are met. These expectations are created by a multitude of influences before and during their travel. Brochures, guide books, films, the media, and stories from other travellers create expectations that visitors brings with them to the destination. Tourist will feel that their
needs are met if the quality of the accommodation, attractions, food, transportation and entertainment reaches or surpasses what they expected. Furthermore, it is of utmost importance that the destination is aesthetically attractive. In their action strategy for sustainable tourism development, Tourism Canada (1990) emphasizes that in order to be sustainable, tourism must fulfill aesthetic needs. The appeal of a destination to tourists can be determined by means of evaluative post-trip feedback. Such evaluations should become part of the planning framework in order to guarantee consumer satisfaction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.2: Needs of Tourists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• good quality experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• value for money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• adequate accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• enjoyable dining experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• safe drinking water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• sense of safety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• access to sites of interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• awareness of local culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• information about potential dangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• adequate local transportation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tourism providers**

The discussion on tourism providers differs according to the political system in which tourism is developed. It is necessary that tourism stimulates profitable industries (accommodation facilities, restaurants, transportation systems, handicrafts, and guide services) to warrant any investment. However, in a centrally-planned system, tourism providers are usually enterprises of the state. Yet, if the government does decide to engage in joint ventures with foreign partners in order to gain expertise in marketing, technology or internationally competitive service-provision, the needs of these partners must be
considered in the same way as the needs of tourism providers in capitalist countries. The World Tourism Organization (1993) recognizes the needs of tourism providers and emphasizes the importance of economic sustainability as one of three principles of sustainable development. The WTO points out that the tourism industry seeks a healthy business environment with financial security, a trained and responsible workforce, and attractions of sufficient quality to ensure a steady flow of visitors - who stay longer and visit more often. Jafar Jafari (1996) also argues that sustainable tourism should provide an acceptable rate of economic return to tourism operators.

Yet, because of all the additional demands placed on operators attempting to promote tourism in a sustainable form it has been suggested by many authors that sustainable tourism by necessity needs to be more expensive than ordinary form of mass tourism. According to Mary Klemm (1992) much of what is promoted as sustainable tourism in the Languedoc-Roussillon area of France is “up market” tourism. Carter and Goodall agree that sustainable tourism “will mean higher prices for consumers and lower profits for commercial interests” (1992, p. 323). Long-term profitability is a fair concern for tourism operators. In the case of Marxist nations where the national government is often the sole tourism provider, the viability of individual tourism enterprises is not as important as their cumulative effect on the national economy.

It is believed that tourism will be more sustainable if tourism providers are members of the community (Cater and Goodall, 1992). This will lead to more of the financial benefits of tourism remaining within the community and may also lead to a reliance on more local inputs. In addition, tourism is more likely to be sustainable if it is conducted on a small scale (Hunter, 1995b and Jager, 1995).
Table 2.3: Needs of Tourism Providers

- adequate profit margins
- financial security
- decent return on investment
- a trained and responsible workforce
- attractions of sufficient quality to bring in tourists
- stable political environment

National Government

National governments have many reasons to promote international tourism. It is important that tourism in a sustainable form is able to meet a most basic need of national governments by earning foreign currency. As a result of the debt crisis and its poverty producing effects, tourism is often endorsed by Third World nations out of necessity. Tourism in a sustainable form should adequately addresses this need by trying to minimize economic leakages. Leakages can be avoided by improving the linkages between tourism and the local agricultural and manufacturing sectors, minimizing the consumption of imported food (perhaps by introducing tourists to local culinary experiences), and discouraging the repatriation of profits. Another governmental need is to address regional disparities and sufficiently diversify the economy. International tourism development in a disadvantaged area can alleviate political pressure on national governments.

Table 2.4: Needs of the National Government

- increase in foreign exchange earnings
- improvement of linkages to other local sectors
- reduction of imported products for tourists
- low amounts of repatriated profits
- regional disparities to be minimized
- diversified economy
Equitable Distribution of Benefits

Ensuring that the benefits of development are equitably distributed is perhaps the most significant challenge of both sustainable development and sustainable tourism because it involves sharing the wealth that was once (and may still remain) tightly held in the hands of powerful interests. In the past, unsustainable forms of tourism paid no attention to the distribution of the benefits that were associated with a growth of tourism. It was often the case that outside interests collected the benefits while the local population was left to live with the costs. As De Kadt (1979) noticed “as the local community is bound into the wider structure of the society at large, many of the benefits - and much new power - flow into the hands of people outside the immediate region or town (1979, p. 12). Similarly Craik (1991) comments that the majority of benefits to the local economy were either short-lived or overestimated, and multinational companies were most often the main beneficiaries.

An equitable distribution of benefits is a necessity as opposed to merely a desirable quality in the discussions of sustainable forms of development, primarily due to premise that inequity cannot be sustainable in the long term. In the context of tourism, it becomes clear that a healthy or sustainable tourism industry will not be able to exist in an environment in which the inequity is obvious. In such an environment, conflicts will often arise between opposing interests and it is unlikely that the tourist environment will remain welcoming to outsiders.

Sustainable tourism renews attention to the equitable distribution of benefits and the theme of equity is reflected in the conceptualization of sustainable tourism by many authors (e.g. De Kadt, 1992; Inskeep, 1991; Wagner, 1995; Nelson, 1990; Eber, 1992; and WTO, 1993). According to Komilis (1994), equity should be a prevailing theme if tourism
is employed as an instrument for sustainable development. The author insists that all actors involved should have equitable access to economic, socio-economic and environmental assets resulting from tourism development. According to Owen et al., sustainable tourism implies that “the goal of optimum [as opposed to maximum] long-term economic benefit to the community as a whole should be pursued, rather than short-term speculative gain for only a few” (1993, p. 464).

However, it is no simple task to translate the goal of equitable distribution into reality. Romeril (1989) remarks that Gro Harlem Brundtland is unequivocal about the need for an international system that is more equitable founded on the paradigm of sustainable development; Romeril is hopeful that the new order of tourism development could parallel this new economic order. But as Zimmer remarks, “living today in a post-industrial society dominated by individualism, competition and non-ecological lifestyles, we may find it difficult to envision a rekindling of the spirit of interconnectedness among the world’s people and their environments” that is envisioned by sustainable development (1991, p. 160). In order to ensure that the benefits of tourism are distributed according to the principles of intragenerational equity it is necessary to promote tourism in a form that is controlled primarily by local residents with the hope that the majority of benefits remain in the community. According to Lawrence (1994) environmental and social changes resulting from tourism must also be determined by those who must live with those changes. In order to ensure that tourism’s benefits are distributed according to the principles of intergenerational equity it is important that the current form of tourism does not adversely affect the abilities of the next generation to benefit from tourism or another economic activity in its stead.
Under a Marxist framework it would be expected that the equitable distribution of benefits would be an unquestionable matter of policy. Yet what may jeopardize the realization of an equitable distribution is the Marxist emphasis on collective needs over individual needs. In a Marxist society, the fact that the local population of a destination area benefit no more from tourism than their national counterparts living in unvisited areas of the country may not be considered an inequitable distribution, in spite of the fact that the local population bear the adverse impacts of tourism development.

**Safeguarding Resources**

In many discussions of sustainable tourism there is a certain degree of emphasis concerning the need to safeguard, protect, be kind to, conserve, respect, avoid permanent alteration, not degrade, and not destroy resources (e.g. WTO, 1993; Drost, 1996; Jafari, 1996; Klemm, 1992; Hohl & Tisdell, 1995; Nelson, 1990; Manning & Dougherty, 1995; Hunter, 1995b; and Eber, 1992). However, there is no unanimous agreement over what is a resource. Webster’s Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary defines a resource as a) a new or a reserve source of supply or support; b) computable wealth; and c) immediate and possible sources of revenue. In other words, a resource is something from which one is able to benefit from now or in the future, and since what is considered beneficial varies with time and place, resources are socially, culturally and temporally defined.

When discussing resource aspects of tourism, it is important to remain aware of the distinction between sustainable tourism and tourism in the context of sustainable development as defined by Bulter (1992). If tourism is employed as an economic activity that is able to contribute to the sustainable development of an area, it is important that all resources available to the community be safeguarded not only those resources that are
instrumental in attracting tourists. This measure would ensure that future development opportunities will not be sacrificed in the name of tourism. Therefore, it is necessary to divide the all encompassing term “resources” into two distinguishable types in order to facilitate a discussion on how resources should be safeguarded. The first type of resources are non-tourism resources that do not play a role in attracting tourists to a destination but make the visit possible. These include all those resources that allow a guest to be transported, housed, fed and entertained. The second type of resources are tourism resources. These resources are instrumental in attracting visitors to a particular destination. Tourism resources cover a huge range of phenomena both tangible and intangible (Barke & Newton, 1995). In this next section I discuss how non-tourism resources as well as both tangible and intangible tourism resources should be safeguarded.

Non-tourism resources

In the past “tourism has not attracted the cries of alarm as other economic activities” (McIntosh et al., 1995, p.375), however tourism does involve the depletion, use and alteration of resources. Non-tourism resources that are used to support tourism activities can be nonrenewable and renewable (Hunter, 1995b). Tourism, due to the mere fact that it owes its existence to the massive global movements of people, relies heavily on nonrenewable resources such as fossil fuels, natural gas and minerals and metals for building materials. In keeping with the Brundtland Report’s recommendations, nonrenewable resources must be safeguarded by minimizing their use until more acceptable substitutes are available. According to Hunter (1995b) this implies that an emphasis should be placed on efficiency of use, reuse and recycling. On the other hand, renewable resources include resources such as fresh water, animal and plant life that
provide basic sustenance, souvenirs, interesting habitats for visitors and act as receptacles for the waste created by tourism (Hunter, 1995b). In order to be sustainable, renewable resources should not be used at a level that exceeds their sustainable yield so that they can continually replace themselves, nor should their ecological integrity be compromised. It is important that tourism operates within the natural capacities for the regeneration and future productivity of natural resources (Eber, 1992). Furthermore, if it is found that a region’s tourism industry is depleting or degrading the area’s stock of nonrenewable or renewable resources to a greater degree than other economic sectors, one must begin to question the very presence of tourism.

Tangible Tourism Resources

Tangible tourism resources are those resources that attract visitors to a particular destination that can be experienced through our senses. What compose a destination’s store of tangible tourism resources varies largely from one location to another and may be in the form of the natural environment (e.g. lakes, beaches, trees, mountains) or the built environment (e.g. buildings, archeological sites, plazas and monuments). As Hunter describes these resources contribute to a “site-specific ‘sense of place’” (1995b, p.157). For the most part, safeguarding a destination’s tangible tourism resources involves ensuring that the aesthetic appeal of the area is not diminished, nor that those ecological attributes that attract tourists (e.g. clean water, wildlife habitat) are adversely affected.

Intangible Tourism Resources

Resources are not always tangible, it is important to recognize the contributions that people and communities, customs and lifestyles make to the tourism experience (Eber, 1992). “In a world that is fast becoming homogenized into a global economy” (Murphy,
1993, p.280), it is important to recognize the role that such intangible tourism resources play in attracting tourists to destinations. It is becoming increasingly acknowledged that cultural identity is a tourism resource in need of safeguarding (WTO, 1993, Klemm, 1992). This identity can be protected by ensuring that development is “in harmony with indigenous social and cultural values” (Barke & Newton, 1995, p. 115), and that tourism is oriented around attractions that residents are willing to share with outsiders (McNulty, 1993). In addition, it is important that cultural diversity be maintained by ensuring that one aspect of a culture or one cultural group is not overemphasized at the expense of others.

Another intangible tourism resource which must be safeguarded is a “welcoming atmosphere”. The most quoted model of resident attitudes towards tourism is Doxey's index of irritation (1976) developed from his research on tourism in Niagara Falls, Ontario. Doxey found that as tourism evolves and intensifies, local residents proceed through stages of euphoria, apathy, irritation and antagonism. Although his interpretation can be criticized for implying a homogeneity of attitudes which is most likely unrealistic, it does provide a clear indication of the importance of maintaining tourism as an activity which is welcomed by the local population.

It is also important that traditional occupations, settlement patterns and ways of life are safeguarded as intangible tourism resources. Such human elements of heritage are instrumental in creating a “site-specific sense of place” (Hunter, 1995b, p. 157) as much as tangible tourism resources. However, these human elements are at greater risk from the changes brought about by the advent of tourism in a community. Within the discipline of anthropology there is a wide body of research into the cultural impacts of tourism (Smith, 1989; Craik, 1991; and De Kadt, 1979). These cultural impacts can be expressed as new
consumptive patterns which have been associated with increases in gambling, prostitution, drunkenness, drug use theft and petty crime (Craik, 1991) or could be expressed more mildly by the abandonment of traditional dress, transportation, or customs. Studies reiterate that the potential source of conflict is greater when the difference between the commodified and the indigenous culture is greater (Craik, 1991). Yet it remains difficult to assert how tourism planners or decision makers should deal with the issue of cultural effects. Should the community be given the freedom to respond to the changes induced by tourism as they see fit, and not view the changes as “impacts”, but rather “responses”, even at the risk of such responses diminishing an important element of the destination’s appeal? or Should decision makers strive to mitigate any acculturation effects in order to ensure the survival of this intangible tourism resource?

**From Theory to Practice**

In this chapter I discussed the frustration found when attempting to base a conceptual framework on a paradigm as contentious as sustainable development. I recalled how the paradigm emerged into mainstream thinking and underlined some of the more salient arguments that continue within the literature. The Brundtland Report was revisited to assist in identifying three essential elements of sustainable development that I then employed to develop a conceptual framework of sustainable tourism. An extensive survey of tourism literature was useful in demonstrating how this new paradigm of sustainable tourism is conceptualized in terms of a) meeting basic needs and improving the quality of life; b) distributing the benefits of tourism equitably; and c) safeguarding resources. This conceptual framework assisted in shaping the research design used to analyze one aspect of sustainable tourism in Old Havana. It is very important to ensure that what is being described as sustainable tourism reflects these three essential elements.
In many cases the language of sustainable development is used to placate the fears of environmentalists or as one author argues, the words of sustainable development are "being used like garlic to ward off the circling vampires" (Ashworth, 1992, p.326).
CHAPTER 3: TOURISM’S ROLE IN CUBAN DEVELOPMENT

In Cuba, tourism’s role in development has changed from being a reason to revolt, an instrument to promote equality, a measure to diversify its economy and is now a strategy for survival. Before the sustainability of tourism in Havana’s Historic Centre can be analyzed this research must be positioned in the historical and political context of tourism’s past and present role in Cuban development. Without doubt, Cuba has experienced a unique and fascinating history. In order to better understand the changes in the Cuban approach to tourism, it is important to remain cognizant of this history, specifically concerning the country’s experience with tourism. In this chapter, I provide the historical background and a general analysis of tourism’s role in Cuban development from a national perspective. In the first section, I describe the character of tourism before the triumph of Castro’s Socialist Revolution, followed by a description of post-Revolutionary tourism which initially emphasized national tourism but began promoting international tourism to improve a declining economy. This section is followed by a brief examination of the major implications of tourism development in Socialist Cuba. The data and analysis presented in this chapter provide the background needed to further analyze tourism’s role in the local development of one community within Cuba, specifically Old Havana.

Pre-Revolutionary Tourism

The first foreigner known to have visited Cuba was Christopher Columbus, who landed on the island on October 27, 1492 assuming it to be part of the Asian coast. It is said that Columbus wrote in his journal that Cuba was “the most beautiful land human eyes have ever seen”, and “where there is such marvelous scenery, there must be much from which profit can be made” (Webster, 1992). Initially however, the island was of little
importance to the Spanish due to its lack of gold. Nevertheless, in 1512 a 300-member expedition led by Diego Velázquez de Cuéllar began the conquest which resulted in the near total genocide of the island’s aboriginal peoples who were thought to number 300,000 before colonization. In the next four hundred years, the majority of foreigners who came to Cuba did so not to be tourists, but to fulfill their role in this island’s colonial history. Table 3.1 describes historical events which brought foreigners to Cuba’s shores.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.1: Historical timeline of foreign arrivals to Cuba (1492-1902)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>early 1500s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1522</td>
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<tr>
<td>1555</td>
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<tr>
<td>1628</td>
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<tr>
<td>1762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>early 1800s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848 &amp; 1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(adapted from Stanley, 1997)

The independence achieved in 1902 was not without strings, and was granted after the signing of the Platt Amendment giving the US the right to intervene militarily in Cuba’s internal affairs whenever it deemed necessary. This began a period of Cuba’s history which has been described as semi-colonialism, Yankee imperialism, or times of the pseudo-republic. The Platt Amendment was eventually repealed in 1934 as part of Roosevelt’s “Good Neighbour Policy”, yet the Americans continue to maintain the Guantánamo naval base.
Despite the number of foreigners who visited Cuba in colonial times, the first leisure-seeking foreigners to arrive were Americans in the mid-1800s. In his book *Cuba y el Turismo*, Evaristo Villalba Garrido (1993), former founder and Promotions Director of the Instituto Nacional de Turismo (INTUR) describes the history of tourism in Cuba during pre-Revolutionary times and the era immediately proceeding the Revolution in great detail. His book is a useful resource on the topic, because it presents archival data which is inaccessible to outside researchers\(^1\). He begins his account more than 50 years before Cuban “independence” by describing the first influx of tourists from the United States who came by steamship from main American cities. It soon became widely publicized that the sea air and tropical climate totally rejuvenated passengers (1993, Villalba); its winter climate was even considered capable of curing consumption (Hall, 1992).

In pre-Revolutionary days, tourism in Cuba was characterized by rum, roulette and races. In 1919, General Mario Garcia Menocal, the President of the day, legalized gambling, yet it was not until the Prohibition years of 1920-1935 when Cuba began to receive significant numbers of American tourists. By the 1930s, tourism was the country’s third most important export after sugar and tobacco, and brought in twelve million dollars annually (Schroeder, 1982). However, the Great Depression in the United States decreased the number of visitors to Cuba in the years from 1934-1936, which were followed by a modest increase up until the outbreak of the Second World War (1939-1945). The war completely interrupted tourist flows to Cuba due to the reassignment of passenger boats for the war effort, and the implied dangers caused by the presence of Nazi submarines in the Atlantic.

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\(^1\) It must be noted that in order to ensure publication, the majority of Cuban authors are encouraged to reflect the views of their government. For this reason, it is necessary to remain mindful of the source of information and the political context from which it arises.
Following the war, tourism increased rapidly with the majority of tourism development concentrated in Havana. At the end of the 1940s, the total number of rooms in Cuba was 5,809, of which 69% were in Havana and 31% in the rest of the country. Varadero, the now popular resort area of Cuba, began being developed for tourism in 1880 by the Dupont family, America’s foremost textile millionaires. Yet it remained an exclusive resort beach due to the fact that there was no highway linking Havana to Varadero.

At that time, tourism development appeared to be haphazard and unmanaged, which lead to a noticeable gap between supply and demand. Although the number of tourist arrivals increased by 64% from 1946 (114,885) to 1951 (188,519), the number of rooms only increased by 12.5% (Villalba, 1993). Then during the period from 1952 to the middle of 1958 there was a registered increase of 2,867 rooms, representing an increase of 43.7%. However the increases in hotel capacity taking place on the island were not significantly large in comparison to other Caribbean countries, notably the Dominican Republic which increased accommodation by 171.7% from 1954 to 1956, while Cuba’s accommodation increased by only 22.7% during the same time period (Area Development Series cited in Villalba, 1993).

Yet in spite of its inefficiencies, tourism in Capitalist Cuba continued to grow until 1957, when it reached a peak with 272,265 tourists, 86.76% of which were American (Dirección General de Inmigración, cited in Villalba, 1993). At this time, Cuba accounted for over 21% of all tourist arrivals in the Caribbean region (Espino, 1993).

In spite of the number of tourists vacationing in Cuba, the economic effect of tourism was not as positive as could be imagined. During the 1940s, many Cubans who

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2 *Area Development Series. No. 6-1956, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of Miami.*
became wealthy from tourism during prohibition years, spent a significant portion of their earnings on vacations in the United States. This resulted in sufficient amounts of foreign currency diverted back into the US to create a deficit in Cuba’s tourism balance as evident in the International Monetary Fund accounts. As Hall (1992) describes, the demonstration effect of tourism in Cuba led to the Cuban elite seeking American lifestyles and hence stimulating the importation of “American” goods and the desire to holiday in the US. American economists recommended that Cuba expand its tourism industry to improve the deficit, without acknowledging that the majority of the island’s tourism enterprises were owned by Americans who repatriated funds (Villalba, 1993). Tourism became known as Cuba’s “second sugar crop”, but it was soon realized that tourism with the United States was benefiting the US more than it was benefiting Cuba. “In reality the tourist balance was not in favor of Cuba. Of the 12 years before the triumph of the Revolution, in only three, was the balance in favor of Cuba. In two out of three years during this period, Cuba lost more than $10 M annually” (Villalba, 1993 p. 106). It is unclear, however, if this loss would have been greater or less if the Cuban tourism industry had expanded as suggested. Figure 3.1 illustrates the actual number of foreign visitors who came to Cuba in contrast to the number of Cubans who traveled off the island.

* Personal Translation
As Hall describes:

Cuba’s pre-Revolutionary political economy contained the essential ingredients of classic dependency: the economy was dependent upon international economic and political circumstances, economic surpluses were largely directed to developed countries, particularly the United States, while an economic and social élite enjoyed most of the domestic benefits of the Cuban dependent economy (1992, p. 197)

During the years prior to the Revolution and especially during the late 1950s, the presence of organized crime in Havana began to increase and was rumoured to have strong links with the Batista government. For historical relevance, it should be mentioned that the Batista government had come to power by means of a military coup in 1952 and appeared to welcome the Mafia to Cuba. According to Villalba, “Havana had become an important stage for the international Mafia that controlled gambling and other activities and became the most prominent source of exploitation for the consortium of vice that operated protected, promoted, and associated with the government of the bourgeoisie class” (1993, p.63)¹. According to Villalba, the hotels Havana Riviera, the Capri and the Nacional were known Mafia establishments. The April 6, 1958 edition of Life Magazine

¹ Personal Translation
was dedicated to gambling in Havana, and describes the links between the Mafia
syndicate and Batista’s dictatorship. In the same year, the Mafia’s Great Council met in
New York to discuss among other things, gambling in Cuba. It has been said that their
discussion revolved around how the Mafia would be able to initiate contact with Castro
and his rebels in order to preserve their empire in Havana (Villalba, 1993).

The Mafia presence and its associated gambling and vice, began to dominate
tourism in Cuba. According to Villalba, the organizations responsible for promoting
tourism in Cuba “did not guide the tourism industry around a base of natural attractions,
historical sites, architecture, folklore, sports, cultural activities or health, rather they
demonstrated to visitors the negative sides of a society dominated by corruption and the
drive for profits... Drugs, gambling and prostitution ended up being the most exploited
combination of tourist motivations presented to the American clientele” (Villalba, 1993, p.
57-8)*. By the late 1950s, Havana had become known as “the Paris of the Americas”,
“America’s Gambling Capital” (Villalba, 1993), “America’s Playground” (Hall, 1992) and

The nature of tourism caused intense resentment among the Cuban population. A
resentment that grew as the effects of uncontrolled tourism began to affect their lives. Most
Cubans were denied access to beaches contained within private property limits, and racial
and class discrimination, prostitution, crime and corruption became commonplace
(Villalba, 1993). One American wrote in 1958:

I was enchanted by Havana and appalled by the way that this lovely city was
debased into a great casino and brothel for American businessmen over for a
big weekend from Miami. My fellow countrymen reeled through the streets,
picking up fourteen-year old Cuban girls and tossing coins to make men
scramble in the gutter. One wondered how any Cuban on the basis on this
evidence could regard the United States with anything but hatred. (cited in
Pérez, 1988 p. 305)

* Personal Translation
Another testimony given by a Cuban Revolutionary to C. Wright Mills in 1960 vividly describes one Cuban’s perception of tourism in the late 1950s:

Some of you [Yankees] came down just to lie in the sun or on the beaches we Cubans were not allowed to use. But some of you came to gamble and to whore...Nobody knows how many of our sister were whores...In Havana, two years before the downfall of the tyranny, there were some 270 overcrowded brothels, there were dozens of hotels and motels renting rooms by the hour, ...Well that’s over...Our sisters are not going to be whores for Yankees anymore. (Wright Mills\(^3\), 1960 cited in Avella and Mills, 1996 p. 56)

To the rebels in the mountains, tourism in Cuba had become a manifestation of the social injustices and corruption that they believed characterized Batista’s dictatorship. The preconditions for a Revolution had been established and the rebel forces led by Castro began to gather support in the final months of 1958.

**Post-Revolutionary Tourism**

**Tourism for the People**

It is often said that one of the first acts of Revolutionaries in Havana after Batista fled the country on New Year’s Day, 1959 was to smash slot machines, roulette and blackjack tables in the casinos. Within weeks Castro had stopped all forms of gambling within the country (Cochran, 1984). Thus ending the $50 million dollar per year foreign tourism industry (P. Di Perna\(^4\) cited in Hinch, 1990). Because it was considered too closely associated with the “capitalist evils” of prostitution, drugs, gambling and organized crime, international tourism was not adopted as a vehicle for economic growth or development in the early years of the Revolution (Espino, 1993). The early goals of the Revolution aimed primarily at addressing the past inequalities of Cuban society by

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improving the conditions of Afro-Cubans and poor white groups through a range of
general social welfare and economic measures (Hall, 1992). According to Villalba, the
Revolutionary government wished to develop tourism in a form that “respected the
cultural, historic and social values of the country” (1993, p. 123)*. This new form of
tourism was to increase the amount of domestic tourism and to welcome foreign tourists
who came to the island with a “sana” (wholesome/healthy/clean) motivation.

In February of 1959, Castro’s government created the Departamento de Playas
para el Pueblo (Department of Beaches for the People) which in April of the same year
passed Law 270 declaring all the coasts and beaches in Cuba open to the public (Villalba,
1993). By November of the same year, this department was combined with other agencies
to form the Instituto Nacional de la Industria Turística (National Tourism Industry Institute or
INIT) with Fidel Castro as its president. INIT had a double function, “to teach Cubans how
to get to know and enjoy better what is theirs and to demonstrate that this is privileged
land and that Cubans are without privileges over other Cubans, in an effort to narrow the
bonds of civil solidarity”(cited in Villalba, 1993, p.125)*. The new tourism authority did
not purposefully dissuade foreign tourism though it specifically stated its desire to “offer the
traveler, foreign or domestic, wholesome facilities, comforts and attractions” (Villalba,
1993, p. 126)*.

In December of 1959 and continuing into 1960, the government passed a number
of resolutions giving the newly-formed Ministry for the Recuperation of Embezzled Wealth
the power to conduct audits of establishments, primarily casinos, suspected of involvement
with ill-gotten gains. INIT regulated the categories of hotels throughout the country and
imposed a reduced tariff for Cubans that was approximately 70% of the winter tariff, an

* Personal Translation
affordable pricing system for Creole meals in tourist establishments and prohibited cover charges (Villalba, 1993). As tourist arrivals decreased, the American hotel owners in an act of what Villalba describes as “Yankee aggression” began to declare bankruptcy, thus forcing the new government to subsidize its operations to prevent the massive unemployment of workers in the tourism sector. On October 24, 1960 the passing of Law 851 gave the Revolutionary Government the authority to establish the “nationalization by means of the unavoidable expropriation and consequential appropriation in favor of the Cuban state all the wealth and enterprises located in national territory that were property of Americans” (cited in Villalba, 1993, p.125). This resolution lead to the nationalization of the Havana Hilton, Nacional, Riviera, Capri, International de Varadero, Presidente, Colony, the Deauville and the race track Oriental Park, and immediately won the battle against high prices. As a result of international tensions, the US broke formal diplomatic relations with Cuba on January 3, 1961.

In the years that followed the Revolution, INIT’s main preoccupation was to increase national tourism around the island. The new government gave all Cubans the right to relax and to recreate. As part of its efforts to demonstrate to the Cuban people that the Revolution had won them the freedom to enjoy the natural beauty of their country, public beaches were constructed along with centres for hunting and fishing, national parks, touristic centres, hotels among others. An enterprise called “Excursiones Nacionales e Internacionales” was created by INIT to organize and facilitate vacations and trips around the country and to other socialist countries. The enterprise began advertising with posters and a catchy jingle “A la Habana me voy que me lleva el INIT” (I’m going to go to Havana because INIT is taking me). A program was developed to allow Cubans to pay for

* Personal Translation
their already subsidized trips over a 12 month period. Yet domestic tourism did not increase significantly despite the payment plan and the fact that the average Cuban had more disposable income due to new measures that provided free education and health care and lowered housing costs. As Villalba describes, most Cubans living in the interior had a reserved shyness towards Havana, and did not feel that it belonged to them. To counteract this hesitation, INIT began publicizing travel through trade unions. Slogans were heard saying “The city is for all Cubans”, “This weekend, come and tour your Havana!” and “Now the hotels are for the working man!” (1993, p. 156). In an effort to reward the young Cubans participating in the famous Literacy Campaign, the famous beach resort of Varadero was chosen as the homebase, and within a period of less than 5 months housed 97,972 brigadistas (Villalba, 1993).

During these times, the foreign tourists who arrived in the country did so at great expense due to the limited options available in transportation due to the embargo. The majority of foreign tourists were young people from Eastern European countries, Canada and the US (at the risk of 3 years imprisonment, and/or a $5,000 US fine). The majority of these tourists came to show solidarity or in the least, to see the changes made by the new regime (Villalba, 1993). Because of the low levels of international tourism in 1962 it was decided to offer foreign tourists the same low prices that until previously were only available to Cuban nationals. However, no major investment was undertaken concerning tourism in the 1960s and 1970s, hotels were closed down and the hotel capacity was reduced by half (Espino, 1993).
Return to International Tourism

In the 1970s and early 1980s, “there was a move to economic rationalization and the need to exploit comparative advantages rather than to pursue too rapid a policy of diversification. Such comparative advantages included tourist attractions: beaches, mountains, and other natural features” (Hall, 1992). Therefore, as a way of diversifying its economy, the Cuban government began promoting itself to foreign tourists in Canada and Eastern Europe, both considered likely markets. In 1969, a collaboration was made with a Canadian tour operator, Unitours, and in 1972 the first group was brought to Cuba. This marked the beginning of Canadian tourism in Cuba given that in the previous year only 10 Canadians visited the island (Villalba, 1993). Yet domestic tourism continued to dominate and it was estimated that three million Cubans used official accommodation units annually compared to only 60,000 foreigners in the mid-1970s (Ward, F.\(^5\) cited in Hinch, 1990). In 1976, the Instituto Nacional del Turismo (INTUR) was created to develop policy for both national and international tourism, and to collect data on tourist arrivals and expenditure (Espino, 1993). The international arm of INTUR was called CUBATUR and quickly opened offices in Toronto, Montreal, Frankfurt and Paris (Hinch, 1990).

Jimmy Carter’s removal of travel restrictions resulted in an increase in charter flights and cruise ships from the US during the years from 1977-1982. In 1980, 35,329 Cuban exiles returned to Cuba as tourists (Webster, 1992). As Hinch describes “the Cuban goal for this new phase of international tourism [was] to internalize the benefits and mitigate tourism’s formerly high social costs” (1990, p. 218).

During the mid 1980s and especially after 1989, the Cuban economy began facing a series of trials that added momentum to Cuba’s promotion of international tourism and

complicated the island's ability to mitigate the adverse effects of rapid tourism growth in an economy of increasing shortage. No longer was tourism a mere strategy for economic diversification, but it quickly became a strategy for survival. Cuba was suffering from a shortage of hard currency and a slow growing economy due to disappointing sugar harvests and low world prices for Cuban exports of sugar, tobacco and nickel (Hall, 1992). During the second half of the 1980s, the Cuban-Soviet relationship began to sour. Trade began to slow, and aid was reduced as Soviet policy became more liberated to the displeasure of Castro. In January, 1989, Castro declared that Gorbachev's *glasnost* and *perestroika* were "capitalist" and "anti-Revolutionary". Castro began speaking about "option zero" a phrase he used to describe the possible eventuality of no Soviet aid, oil or food. (Whitefield\(^6\), cited in Webster, 1992 p. 228). Traditionally, Cuba benefited significantly from trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the COMECON trading block. Cuba sold approximately 60% of its annual sugar crop to the USSR at guaranteed prices, that were often above world market prices and bought sufficient Soviet oil below world market prices that the island country was able to resell oil at market prices to other countries earning approximately $150 million a year (Hall, 1992). In these years, the Cubans were trading 1 ton of Cuban sugar for 8 tons of Soviet oil while the relation on international markets was 1 ton of sugar for 2 tons of oil (Union Bank of Switzerland, 1995). Thus resulting in a trading system that subsidized the Cuban economy and allowed it to capture additional hard currency as it encouraged the government to concentrate on one product, sugar. Duncan estimated in 1986 that Soviet investment (or hidden subsidization) in Cuba was as high as five billion dollars a year (cited in Hall, 1992).

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\(^6\) Whitefield, M. (1991) "Cuba trains for life in lean times" *Miami Herald* May 9, 1A, 13A.
In response to the changes occurring in the Soviet Union, the Cuban leadership decided in 1987 to make international tourism development a national economic priority and aimed to increase hard currency tourism earnings to a billion dollars by 1992. The Government created Cubanacán, the first "autonomous state enterprise," (Simon, 1995) "to seek tourism development with foreign partners willing to provide capital, expertise, experience, computerized technology and management techniques" (Hall, 1992). Another smaller corporation with ties to the Cuban military, Gaviota, was also created to engage in joint venture activity (Espino, 1993). Despite the fact that joint ventures were legalized in Cuba by means of Law Decree No. 50 passed in 1982, none had resulted in the tourism sector until the establishment of Cubanacán. Law Decree No. 50 had allowed foreign ownership of up to 49%, and in some cases joint ventures in tourism were exempt from all taxes and licenses and subject to less regulation (Espino, 1994).

As a result of the change of government policy, tourism revenue more than doubled in the second half of the 1980s (Hall, 1992). By 1987, tourism in Cuba exceeded the pre-Revolutionary tourism peak in 1957 and tourism exports (international tourism receipts) were the third largest earner of convertible currency in Cuba, excluding oil re-exports (Espino, 1993). At the end of 1988, it was reported that 30,697 rooms were available on the island, 43% in Havana and 9.3% in Varadero (Comité Estatal de Estadísticas, 1989 cited in Espino, 1994). This figure however, appears inflated and it is not known how many of these were of international standard. According to Hall, this expansion of tourism development had exposed two major economic problems (1) the size of the black market resulted in the diversion of increasing amounts of potential tourist income to individuals; and (2) the imports needed for tourism resulted in significant economic leakages (Hall, 1992). Yet Hall (1992) does testify that Cuban industries were
benefiting from tourism development, especially those involved with building materials, furniture, linen, ironwork, mattresses and specialized food producers. Thus, tourism was resulting in an improvement in the employment multiplier.

Tourism in the Special Period

In 1990, Socialist Cuba entered its worst economic crisis when Communism collapsed in eastern Europe, forcing Cuba to enter a recessionary period of severe economic austerity that Castro named el Período Especial en el Tiempo de Paz (Special Period in the Time of Peace). As part of an emergency economic plan Castro’s government implemented a strategy that included severe food rationing, and reducing oil consumption by returning to bicycles for transport and oxen for farming. The loss of its main export markets and of a large part of its relatively cheap Soviet oil deliveries resulted in an estimated Gross Social Product (GSP) contraction of 39% in two years (Union Bank of Switzerland, 1995) (Cuban GSP was a growth index formerly used by Cuba in place of the currently employed GDP. GSP excludes services and fails to adequately reflect the value added in an economy).

The drive to increase international tourism gathered momentum, as it was viewed as the only hope of bringing much needed convertible currency into the country. Yet the Cubans were in great need of foreign investment to assist in financing the urgently needed tourism development. Cubanacán began seeking out joint ventures, and in May of 1991, the Sol Palmeras Hotel, the first establishment built by means of a joint venture between a Socialist Cuban firm and a capitalist country (Spain) was inaugurated by Fidel Castro. In his inaugural speech Castro claimed, "We have to develop tourism. It is an important
source of foreign currency. It is not the case that we like it. We do not like tourism. It has become an economic necessity” (Weiner7, 1991 cited in Seekings, 1993).

Cuba’s need for more foreign currency prompted further revisions to the island’s foreign investment law, Law Decree No. 50, in 1992. Most significantly, revisions permitted foreign partners to own more than 49% if an exception is made by the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers (Avella and Mills, 1996). In addition, the revisions allowed the sale of land, (once absolutely unthinkable in Socialist Cuba), the transfer of state property to joint ventures with foreign capital, and provided for unrestricted repatriation in hard currency of dividends and profits, freedom to hire foreign management, and state insurance covering losses from accidents or non-delivery of goods (Simon, 1995). Clearly Castro was anxious to entice foreign investors despite his statements in 1988 when he was quoted as saying “We must guard the ideological purity of our Revolution, we will use nothing of any method that smells of capitalism” (Preston8, 1988 cited in Seekings, 1993).

In an effort to facilitate marketing, the Instituto Nacional del Turismo (INTUR) was transformed into the Ministerio del Turismo (MINTUR) in 1994 during a series of administrative reorganizations. The reorganization created three Cuban hotels groups (Gran Caribe, Horizonte and Islazul) to join the existing tourist groups Cubanacán and Gaviota, and created other tourism specialties Puerto Sol (Marinas), Transtur (transport), Abatur (supplies), Publicitur (publicity) and Caracol (hotel shops). Cubanacán itself had been expanding over the last four years and its profits were ten times what they were in 1988 (Simon, 1995). In the same year, 1994, tourism surpassed sugar as the largest contributor to the Cuban economy in terms of gross revenues, with earnings at $ 850

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million (Bergsman, 1995). These earnings were expected to be $100 million more, but the political unrest resulting from the “raft crisis” during the summer of 1994 kept many tourists away from the island (Union Bank of Switzerland, 1995).

Yet despite these improvements in the tourist industry, Cuba on the whole was still besieged by its economic crisis. Cuba’s GDP declined by 46% from 1990 to 1994 because of reduced international trade, especially concerning sugar exports (Avella and Mills, 1996). In another attempt to attract foreign interest the National Assembly revised Cuba’s foreign investment law on Sept. 5, 1995. The new legislation opened virtually all sectors to foreign investment except defense, national security, public health and education. The legislation further permitted 100% foreign ownership of ventures, however each proposal must be examined individually by officials (Szterenfeld, 1996).

In 1996, Cuba achieved the long-desired goal of one million visitors (1,001,739) according to preliminary numbers supplied by the Ministry of Tourism and published in the Granma Weekly Review. This represented a 30% increase from 1995 when 751,739 visitors came to the island (Gómez Balado, 1997). The contribution tourism made to the country’s balance of payments grew by 50% in gross terms, reaching a peak figure of $1.3 billion, including aviation receipts (Hernández Basso, 1996). The Ministry plans on spending $66 million of this income to finance food production and light industry, and $18 million to develop national tourism (Gómez Balado, 1997). Profits were said to have improved to be 26 cents on the dollar (Gómez Balado, 1997). MINTUR reports that 1996 was an intense year fortifying hotel capacity (national hotel capacity is now 27,000 rooms) infrastructure and the quality of services offered to both international and national tourists.

Overall tourism has had an effect on the Cuban economy. At the end of 1996 José Luis Rodríguez, Minister of Economy and Planning (1997) reported that GDP grew by
7.8%, maintaining a three-year tendency for recovery and exceeding the expected growth of 5% in spite of the Helms-Burton Act and Hurricane Lili. To illustrate the rapid increase of tourism arrivals in direct response to an economic crisis, the following chart constructed from figures presented by several sources shows the growth of tourist arrivals from 1940 to 1996.

Figure 3.2: Growth of Tourist Arrivals 1940-1996

Year


Tourism’s Implications for Cuban Development

Without a doubt, international tourism has made a positive and necessary contribution to the Cuban economy, but has it made a positive contribution to the
country’s “development”, and is this development sustainable? A complete answer to this question is beyond the scope of this chapter but consideration is given to some issues that are central to ensuring that tourism plays a positive role in Cuban development on a national level.

In Chapter Two, I presented three essential elements of sustainable development: (1) meeting basic human needs and improving the quality of life; (2) equitably distributing the benefits of development; and (3) safeguarding resources. It was further suggested that in order for tourism to play a role in sustainable development, it must be able to defend its right to be developed in a cross-sectoral context. In the Cuban context, tourism is viewed as “the principle economic alternative for Cuba in the middle of a severe contraction which has occurred in our country over the last 5 years” (Ministerio del Turismo, 1996, p.1)*. Yet tourism in Cuba faces many challenges in its effort to become a sustainable form of development activity.

Of the challenges facing a sustainable Cuban tourism industry, three factors stand out in terms of their significance in determining sustainability. The three factors are as follows: (1) the speed and manner in which tourism development is proceeding jeopardizes the nation’s ability to meet its most pressing need to raise foreign currency; (2) the current form of tourism development has been described as “tourist apartheid”, and raises questions of equitability in the distribution of benefits; and (3) the adverse impacts associated with tourism threaten to harm Cuba’s tourism resources.

* Personal Translation
The Need for Foreign Currency

In Chapter One, Young’s (1973) six reasons national government’s promote international tourism were presented and are listed here again:

1. Tourism is a source of foreign exchange;
2. Tourism is a growth industry;
3. Tourism may be a country’s comparative advantage over other countries;
4. Tourism may promote a better image of that country in the eyes of the world;
5. Tourism is a source of employment; and
6. Tourism is an instrument of regional development.

Cuba represents a country that is clearly promoting international tourism, despite past reservations, for all six of Young’s reasons. Of utmost importance is the country’s desperate need for foreign exchange. What separates Cuba from other developing countries which have promoted international tourism to secure foreign exchange, is the speed at which tourism development is occurring within the country and the fact that Cuba is Socialist state where the means of production are owned and controlled by the state. For pragmatic reasons as opposed to ideological, Cuba is encouraging tourism development at a rapid pace. Yet Cuba itself is lacking the financial capacity to fund tourism development independently, and has looked towards foreign investment in the form of joint ventures for assistance.

Joint Ventures offer Cuba financing capacity which it otherwise lacks due to a failing sugar industry, collapse of the COMECON trading block, and loss of Socialist support in general. However, increasing the amount of foreign involvement in tourism hinders Cuban development in two significant ways. First, in an effort to attract increasing foreign investment the Cuban government has been known to cut taxes and allow foreign
interests repatriation rights. This in turn increases the economic leakages, and the Cuban economy does not benefit to the same extent from tourism. Second, increasing foreign involvement diminishes the degree of control the Cubans have over the tourism industry and may make it difficult to insulate the Cuban people from the adverse environmental, social and cultural impacts of tourism especially given the speed at which development is taking place. As Hinch describes: “as foreign investment increases, internal control of the industry decreases” (1990, p. 222).

Economic leakage is perhaps the most significant factor in determining tourism’s role in Cuban economic development. The import component of tourism receipts includes the cost of imported goods and services used by tourists; the foreign exchange cost of capital investment; payments that leave Cuba in the form of profits, interest payments, royalties, management fees, payments to foreign travel agents, publicity and promotion costs among others (Espino, 1994). A study conducted at the University of Havana before 1991 estimates that Cuba’s import component is between 30-38% (Ayala Castro, 1991 cited in Espino, 1994). This estimate is comparable to other Caribbean countries, however it is not known if profits, internal payments and management fees repatriated by joint venture partners are included in the estimate. Símon (1995) attests that foreign exchange generation for the region was calculated to be approximately 49% of gross receipts (implying a leakage factor or import component of 51%) in 1988. The lowest leakage ratios in the Caribbean were found in large and well-developed tourist destinations such as Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and to a lesser extent Jamaica (respectively, 40%, 43% and 45%). Espino (1994) further points out that given the concessions the Cuban government appears willing to grant to foreign partners, the import component of tourism receipts could increase. Notably, since these two estimates were
made the Cuban government has amended its foreign investment law twice, each time increasing the concessions for foreign investors, which more than likely augmented the import component or economic leakage factor. Given the fact that Cuba is a country with recurring shortages of supply that already force it to rely on imports, the problem of economic leakages will need to be addressed in the near future.

Espino’s (1994) discussion of tourism’s place in Cuba’s development strategy concludes by stating that so far the economic impact of tourism on the island’s income and employment is still small. According to Simon (1995) the industry directly employed only 62,000 Cubans, or 1.6% of the workforce in 1994 (as compared with 17% in Barbados). Espino (1994) further explains that the impact on income and employment is small because the tourism income multiplier is too low and constraints on supply exist. The multiplier is low because of high economic leakages and a government policy that segregates the tourism sector from the rest of the economy, thus not facilitating the circulation of tourism earnings. She therefore recommends that “for tourism to become a vehicle for economic development in the 1990s Cuba must reduce imports in all sectors and must establish linkages with other sectors of the economy, especially agriculture, services and retailing. This must happen before tourism can become a generator of income and employment” (p. 162). However reducing imports will not be easy in a non-consumer country such as Cuba which needs imported products to remain internationally competitive in the tourism sector (Hinch, 1990).

Tourist Apartheid

In July of 1991, an organization of Miami-based Cuban exiles took advantage of Nelson Mandela’s visit to Cuba to emphasize in the media how the Cuban government’s
desperate attempt to attract dollar-spending foreigners has created a “tourist apartheid” in the country (Chardy, 1991). Before August 1993, Cubans were not permitted to hold American dollars, thus making all dollar-accepting establishments off-limits to Cuban nationals. Cuban reporters from the Cuban youth newspaper Juventud Rebelde attempted to book a room in the Habana Libre one Friday night in May of 1991 and were denied despite the fact that the hotel was only 61% occupied (cited in Webster, 1992). Yet Castro’s response to earlier accusations of tourist apartheid was that “only a petty bourgeois dandy would fail to understand why Cubans can’t use those hotels” (Preston9, 1988 cited in Seekings, 1993). Despite the fact that Cubans are now legally permitted to carry dollars, it is still difficult - if not impossible - for a Cuban to book a hotel room intended for foreign tourists, or eat in a hotel dinning room even if accompanied by foreigners10. Furthermore, in spite of the “Beaches for the people” campaign in the early days of the Revolution, a toll booth has been set up along the bridge to Varadero limiting access to foreigners and residents. The government continues to restrict the domestic consumption of certain food-stuffs, including lobster and other seafood to ensure that foreign tourists and export markets do not go without.

Not only is Cuba’s tourism industry showing signs of inequity between tourists and foreigners, it is also creating inequity among Cubans. Jobs in the tourism industry are known to have greater financial remuneration because they allow employees to gain access to dollars through tips. Whereas the average monthly salary ranges from 300-600 pesos or $15-$30, workers in the tourism industry can easily earn an extra month’s wages in tips. An architect in Havana tried to explain how illogical the current system is by telling me about a friend of his who earns $100 a day in tips as a barman at the five star

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10 Personal Experience, April 1997.
Melía Cohiba hotel in Havana. He said that it would take him 5 years to earn as much as his friend earns in a month. Furthermore, academics, doctors and other professionals are prohibited from leaving their positions and working in tourism, and hence find themselves earning less than a taxi driver, bartender or server.

The ideological inconsistency of promoting international tourism within a socialist system is evident. By opening its doors to foreigners, Cuba is welcoming pleasure-seeking tourists from capitalist countries and assuming that the Cuban people will not feel disgruntled by their preferential treatment. As Webster (1992) describes, tourism is one of the most capitalistic export sectors of any economy. He further states that tourism creates an emphatic division between those being served and those doing the serving, thus creating a relationship that is anything but egalitarian, especially considering the fact that most Cuban servers can never hope to experience the same treatment from servers in the country where these tourists originate. It was only a matter of time before Cubans questioned the apparent inequity of recent tourism development. Seekings (1993) reports that dead cats have turned up in the streets of Havana with signs reading "Where is the lobster?". In addition, Hinch (1990) describes a growing level of resident frustration described in newspaper reports as tourists are becoming the obvious privileged class in this supposedly classless society.

Yet, the Cuban government continues to believe that such measures are understood by the average Cuban as being good for the country. According to Rafael Sed Perez, former president of INTUR, "The majority of the people see tourism as a necessary and decisive factor in the development of the country" (Fletcher, 1991). Perhaps the government is correct, however we are unlikely to see a nationwide survey on the matter. The long-run sustainability of tourism in Cuba is dependent on resident views to the extent
that any expressed resident frustration has the potential to keep foreigners away or prevent them from coming back.

**Adverse Impacts**

Initially it seemed possible that Cuba could welcome foreigners to its island without fear of returning to the vice that characterized pre-Revolutionary tourism. In an article written in 1984, Canadian journalist, Cate Cochran, reports that early Canadian travellers noticed that Havana’s hotels were not “fleshpots” they once were. In addition, she adds that “there is no significant black-market in Cuba” and “few tourists come back with stories about being solicited [by prostitutes]”, furthermore she claims that women were able to walk the streets without fear of harassment (1984, p.19). She concluded her article saying that “the Cuban tourist industry has come a long way from the whorehouse” (1984, p.19).

Unfortunately, times have changed and increasing tourism combined with an economic crisis has augmented prostitution, black market activity and crime. Prostitution, more so a manifestation of economic desperation than tourism alone has definitely increased in heavily touristed areas. According to Julia O’Connell Davidson who conducted field research on sex tourism in Cuba in 1995:

> For large numbers of Cubans, the pursuit of dollars has become a far more meaningful economic activity than that which takes place in formal work settings. In such a context, it is not surprising that many women and girls, as well as some men and boys, are prepared to grant tourists (the most accessible source of hard currency) sexual access in exchange for cash and/or goods, even for drinks or a meal in a restaurant” (1996, p.40).

The Cubans call their prostitutes *jiniteras* or *jiniteros* (literally: female and male jockeys). However, it was described to me that a *jinitera* is more of a companion than a prostitute, and will stay with a foreigner for a week or more. The word, *jinitero*, on the other hand is
used to describe three types of men: a male prostitute; a Cuban who tries to obtain a
foreign girlfriend in hopes of emigrating; and a Cuban who tries to make a profit from
tourists by taking them to *paladar* restaurants, getting them cigars, or just hanging around
them for free drinks or meals. I observed obvious *jiniteras* in tourist areas, especially near
major hotels and along the Malecón in Havana, *jiniteros* of the second and third variety
are also in no short supply, though male prostitution is not prominent.

Whereas the first Canadian tourists did not notice Cuba’s illegal economy or black
market, it did exist in 1984 but has grown considerably since. Now the black market
responds to tourist demands for everything from Cuban cigars to P.P.G (a Cuban
medication unavailable outside of Cuba that is believed to remove excess cholesterol from
arteries and is said to have youth-giving side-effects in older men). Crime has increased to
the point where the Canadian government now warns travellers to Cuba, especially
Havana to take precautions. Many times I was warned not to walk around Old Havana
alone at night. Also unfortunate, is that Cochran’s account of women being able to walk
without fear of harassment in 1984 is no longer true; I experienced much verbal
harassment and worse in Old Havana. In 1991, Rafael Sed Perez, president of INTUR said
that crime related to tourism in Cuba, particularly illegal money-changing and prostitution,
was tiny compared to other countries, in his words, "It’s not a massive problem but its
latent and we’re working on it," (Fletcher, 1991).

Amparo Avella formerly of the University of Havana and Allan Mills criticize the
Cuban government policy to have “tourism development at any cost” (1996, p.59). The
authors believe that “while the Cuban government is benefiting from the success and
growth of the Cuban tourism industry, the Cuban people are seeing the loss of many of the
benefits gained at the beginning of their Revolution” (1996, p.60) and that to Cubans,
tourism is synonymous with economic, social and environmental decline. On the other hand, the Ministry of Tourism does not believe that the massive influx of tourists that has been occurring will not have a negative impact on the country, because the majority of visitors are "positive contributors to Cuban life" (Garrido, 1995, p.39). According to the Ministry, the negative results are minor in comparison with the overall outcome. Cuba, attracts the "healthy-minded tourist" (Garrido, 1995, p.39). In a more official statement of the Ministry taken from a 1996 report, MINTUR specifically states their goal, "to conserve these social and human values, to conserve the environment, to preserve our culture and our history are the fundamental premises in tourism development in Cuba, in the conviction that it will be sustainable" (Ministerio del Turismo, 1996, p.2)*.

Yet it remains to be seen if the Cuban government will be able to insulate the Cuban people from the adverse affects such rapid tourism development may bring. At this point it appears as though the Cuban government may have no other alternative than to increase tourism development at the current pace.

Prospects for the Future

In 1995, the Ministry of Tourism began working on a new Tourism Development Policy in close coordination with national tourism entities. The policy identified 8 priority regions where 85 tourism poles were to be further developed with the potential of more than 150,000 rooms nationwide. At the time of the report Cuba had 23,467 rooms across the country (Ministerio del Turismo, 1995); recent reports claim that in December, 1996 there were 27,000 rooms (Gómez Balado, 1997). As part of the development policy, projections were made on tourist numbers for the year 2000 based on macrostudies

* Personal Translation
conducted by both the Cuban government and Price Waterhouse (MINTUR, 1995). The projections were based on three scenarios presented in Table 3.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenarios</th>
<th>MINTUR</th>
<th>P.W.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) The blockade remains as do restrictions of Americans to visit Cuba including Cuban-Americans;</td>
<td>1,536</td>
<td>1,434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Blockade is maintained as do restrictions on Americans but Cuban-Americans are allowed to visit the island.</td>
<td>2,551</td>
<td>2,236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Blockade is lifted with travel restrictions</td>
<td>3,800</td>
<td>3,471</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In spite of these studies, MINTUR predicted in January, 1997 that they are expecting 1.2 million tourists in 1997 and 2 million in the year 2000 (Gómez Balado, 1997).

Several authors have commented on the prospects of tourism in Cuba. Juliet Barclay and Dienekе Ferguson (1992) recognize the challenges facing Cuba and warn that long-term identity must not be sacrificed to short-term solvency. According to the authors, the inherent difference in sustainable tourism is that tourism should not suit the whimsical tastes of tourist by packaging or eliminating national culture. Optimistically, the authors point out that the Cubans are in an enviable position since they have a clean slate upon which they can write their policies on tourism development and they may also benefit from the experiences of others through the use of partnerships and hence achieve sustainable tourism development. Hinch (1990) also believes that Cuba is in an enviable position since tourism development is still in its infancy throughout the country, and is nearing decline in its neighbouring countries. However Cuba's hiatus from international tourism has resulted in little tourism plant and a loss of skills needed to host visitors. In addition, Hinch states that INTUR (now MINTUR) has more power in relative terms than other national tourism offices in non-centralized countries, and hence is more able "to
consider and act upon its assessment of the costs and benefits which accrue to society at large, as well as those which accrue directly to the project under consideration...the intangible as well as the tangible effects of tourism are more likely to be considered” (1990, p. 220-1).

Clearly challenges do face Cuba in promoting international tourism as a key economic sector and ensuring the industry’s sustainability. However, given the choice of alternatives the Cuban government is in a precarious position. Increasing tourism on the island has improved the overall situation for most Cubans since the beginning of the Special Period, yet it is questionable if tourism can be any more than a “short-term economic palliative” (Hall, 1992, p.105). What is needed is more discussion on the non-economic effects of tourism on the island and more investigation of tourism’s effects on local communities. Tourism should not be regarded as a panacea. As Craik expresses “tourism is not just a subject of economic policy but a decisive form of cultural policy which shapes the economic and social choices of a host community (1991, p.2).

Environmental, social and political sustainability will be jeopardized if the host communities choices are limited by an econocentric approach to tourism. In Chapter Four the methodology and findings of research conducted in one of Cuba’s most important tourism poles are presented in an analysis of one component of sustainable tourism in a local community.
Chapter 4: Research Methods and Findings

Methodological Approach

Forming the Research Question

In Chapter Two a conceptual framework for analyzing the sustainability of tourism was presented. This framework, based on a review of the current literature, revealed that in order to be considered sustainable, tourism must meet needs, distribute benefits equitably and safeguard resources. The first component presented, meeting needs, was further broken down to ensure that the needs of four stakeholders were met by tourism. These stakeholders included the national government; the local community; the tourists; and tourism providers. It is beyond the scope of any one project to determine if all three elements of sustainability have been met or if all four groups’ needs are met by the promotion of tourism. Therefore, I have narrowed this research to the investigation of tourism’s ability to meet the needs of the local population in one host community.

The host community chosen for the purpose of this study is a prominent tourist destination in Cuba. In Chapter Three, I presented the political and historical context of tourism development in Cuba and discussed how tourism has been turned to in recent years as a means of fulfilling the national government’s need for convertible currency. The information presented in this chapter is helpful in understanding the national push for increased tourism that directly affects local communities where tourism is present. The purpose of this study is to determine if tourism is able to play a contributory role in addressing the needs of the host community in Old Havana. This will be done by examining how the needs of the local community are integrated into the current tourism
plans of the Historic Centre to answer the following research question: *Is there evidence to show that the needs of the local community are considered in the tourism planning process of Old Havana?*

It could be expected that because the promotion of tourism is a national economic survival strategy to raise foreign currency (as described in Chapter Three), the needs of a local community may be overlooked for the greater good of the national economy - a "development at any costs" (Avella and Mills, 1996 p.59) perspective. On the other hand, because Cuba is a Socialist country, the needs of the local people might be better integrated into all economic decisions than would be the case if the market were freer - a "tourism for the people" perspective. The purpose of this research is to determine what evidence exists within Old Havana’s tourism plans in support of either of these two perspectives.

**Methods**

It would have been ideal to have conducted a survey of residents to determine the local community’s needs and if tourism is meeting these needs. However, the experience of another Canadian researcher whose research was significantly delayed waiting for official permission to administer a questionnaire, convinced me that I did not have sufficient time or money to risk a delay (Buckler, personal communication, 1997). Consequently, two methods were employed to gather sufficient data to determine how the needs of the local community are considered in tourism planning: interviews with key officials and a review of primary documentation.
The Interviews

In-depth interviews with people knowledgeable about tourism planning in Old Havana were used to gather qualitative data. This allowed me to learn about how local needs were integrated into tourism planning of Old Havana from people with an acquired knowledge base on the subject. The primary respondent was an architect from the National Institute for Physical Planning, Rita Hernández, who was on secondment to the Plan Maestro para el Revitalización Integral de La Habana Vieja (Master Plan for the Integrated Revitalization of Old Havana). Hernández is responsible for the actual tourism planning of the area and was the source of a great quantity of data. Other respondents included architects, planners and researchers from El Grupo para el Desarrollo Integral de la Capital (Group for the Comprehensive Development of the Capital), El Instituto de Geografía Tropical (Institute of Tropical Geography), Habaganex (The commercial arm of the City Historian’s Office), the University of Havana, El Centro Nacional de Conservación, Restauración, y Museología (National Centre for Conservation, Restoration and Museumology), and El Instituto Nacional de Planificación Física (National Institute of Physical Planning). A list of respondents is presented in Appendix A.

In total, twelve people were interviewed over the course of two research trips accumulating to two months in Havana; the majority of respondents were interviewed during the last week of March and the first week of April, 1997. On average, the interviews lasted forty-five minutes with a range of fifteen minutes to three hours. Some respondents were interviewed more than once. All but one interview was conducted in Spanish. During January of 1997, I enrolled in a four week Spanish course offered by the University of Havana to improve my Spanish and become accustomed to the Cuban accent and dialect. Even with this preparation, the interview process was extremely
taxing. An earlier plan to hire an interpreter was dismissed because of advice given to me by my advisor at the University of Havana, Dr. Eduardo Salinas. Dr. Salinas was my advisor as a result of my participation in an academic-exchange between our two universities. Dr. Salinas and others advised me that the data I would collect during interviews might be affected if I had an interpreter present, assuming he or she would be Cuban. It appears that there is still a certain degree of unwillingness to talk to researchers for fear that the information will get into the "wrong hands". I was told that the interpreter may be seen as a government informant checking up on certain departments. I was assured that I would appear less threatening as an independent Canadian investigator.

For the same reasons, I was also recommended not to use a tape recorder during the interviews. Although a recorder would have allowed me to work from typed transcripts of the interviews, I decided to take only notes as I spoke to my respondents to maximize cooperation and rapport.

Several difficulties were encountered trying to contact potential respondents to set up the interviews. Telephone connections are not always easy to secure and it is likely that one or both telephones at either end are not working properly, or the line may not be clear. Once contact is established it was my experience that because of the number of people working at the same phone number, it was common that the receptionist did not immediately recognize the name of the person to whom I wished to speak. Often a few moments would pass until the situation was sorted out, and I was either given another number, told to call back later or transferred to the respondent. I learned too late in the process that I should not assume a message will reach the correct person despite how helpful the receptionist sounds. The best thing I could have done was to have asked for the person's home telephone number. Contacting people at home is a common practice
in Cuba. People often work at home several days of the week because of the difficulties associated with public transportation in Havana.

Once contacted, I was originally hoping that the respondents would be willing to share their thoughts and opinions of tourism’s role in meeting local needs. However, early in the research process I learned that most respondents seemed hesitant to give me their personal opinions. One respondent clearly told me that he did not want to talk about his opinion, or what he believed or what he thought, but would rather just talk about the “facts”. Realizing at this point that doing research in the field, especially in Cuba, is not as easy as it first appeared to be, I began to feel an ethical tension surrounding my research. I kept having to remind myself that I was a development researcher and not an investigative reporter. It was not my intent to get the story at all costs, especially if that meant making my respondents uncomfortable, rather I wanted to gather data that would help in determining how local needs were being addressed by tourism. At this point, I came to the conclusion that I should use interviews as an opportunity to learn as much as I could about tourism planning in the Old City and combine this learning with other evidence to shape my own analysis of how needs were being considered. In the end I was quite pleased with my interviews, and must admit that the fact that I was a young foreign woman on my own and working in a second language may have contributed to the generous amount of help I received in Havana.

Primary Documentation

Within the government offices and libraries of Havana exists a great quantity of documentation that is unavailable outside of Cuba. I relied on sources of primary documentation including: government reports, Cuban tourism journals, bulletins and
magazines from the Escuela de Altos Estudios de Hotelería y Turismo Documentation Centre; Trabajos de Diploma (undergraduate fifth year research projects) at the Faculty of Geography; articles and plans from the archives at the Plan Maestro para el Revitalización Integral de la Habana Vieja; legislation and journals from the Office of the City's Historian Library; and newsletters and reports from the library at El Grupo para el Desarrollo Integral de la Capital.

Despite the apparent availability of documents, limitations were encountered trying to obtain information in Cuba. In this respect, it is similar to Hinch’s experience who writes, “access to pertinent information and relevant databases has also been restricted in Cuba, making research difficult for independent investigators” (1990, p.214). This is particularly true for information related to tourism because tourism policy is such an important issue in Cuba and hence reports are not always made public. Practical limitations such as a lack of printing and photocopying facilities also makes it difficult to obtain copies of any material that is public information. Because I had learned that photocopying documents in Cuba is at best expensive, and at worst impossible, I decided to bring a camera equipped with a macro lens to take photos of maps and documents as I needed. This was a good solution, though I did raise some curiosity from other Cuban researchers and library staff.

I was surprised by the lack of information available at the Faculty of Geography where there is a specialized program of tourism studies. In fact, they were impressed by the articles on Cuban tourism that I had brought with me. An example of how difficult recent times have been in Cuba became clear to me as I spoke to a Cuban academic who completed her Trabajo de Diploma (Undergraduate thesis) on tourism marketing in Old Havana. She had finished her paper in the early 1990s and had only enough paper to
type one copy of the thesis to submit. Unfortunately, her submitted copy is now missing from the University library and all her work is lost.

**Research Findings**

The results are presented in four sections. First, I describe the study area, its historical significance and its current importance. Second, I identify the needs of the local community as they have been revealed by several studies conducted in the host community within the last few years. Third, I discuss tourism’s role in meeting the needs of the residents by describing the tourism planning process and the current tourism plan. Finally, I present the evidence I encountered that demonstrates that the needs of the local community are considered in tourism plans of the Historic Centre.

**Description of the Study Area**

According to Havana’s city Historian, Eusebio Leal Spengler, Old Havana was founded in 1516 out of necessity because of the sea (cited in Sapieha, 1990). Located on important trade routes between the New and Old Worlds, Havana’s port offered a safe harbour for Spain and quickly gained importance as the city quickly responded to the demand for all services associated with the port. In 1624, the Spanish Crown decreed that Havana was the “key to the New World and rampart of the West Indies” because it served as a post and base for operations for all Spain’s explorations and eventual conquests of Mexico, Florida and the Bahamas (Sapieha, 1990, p.15). In 1762, the English seized Havana and made it a free port until it was traded back to the Spanish for Florida. Growth throughout the early 19th century was based on trade in sugar and slaves. Old Havana became the original home to the Saccharocracy (the sugar-slave plantation commercial bourgeoisie) until the wealthier neighbourhoods began to expand westward throughout
Havana (Rodríguez Alomá, 1996). By the beginning of the 20th century, “Old Havana was mainly the centre of business” for Havana (Thomas, 1971, p.497).

Old Havana, which is often referred to as El Centro Historico (Historic Centre), or El Casco Historico (Historic Helmet), contains the area that was once enclosed by fortification walls prior their removal in 1863. It is unique because of the extent of colonial heritage that remains today. If it were not for Cuba’s Socialist Revolution, Old Havana would likely have had the same fate as other Latin American colonial centres, which were reduced and converted into modern areas by real-estate developers. The Revolutionary Government’s policy to correct the disequilibrium between the city and the countryside, resulted in a lack of attention to the Historic Centre which also contributed to its preservation. Now, although very much deteriorated, Old Havana remains almost complete (Rigol, 1990). It has been said that 900 buildings in the Old City are of historical importance including 101 from this century, 463 from the last century, 200 from the 18th century, and 144 from the 16th and 17th centuries (Judge, 1989). The architecture contained in the area is rare and includes baroque, gothic, neoclassical, art nouveau and eclectic (Williams, 1996). The extent of colonial heritage present in Old Havana contributed to its designation in 1982 as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO.

Currently 70,658 people live in Old Havana, in a community composed of approximately 4000 buildings within 242 blocks in 214 hectares of space. Of the 214 hectares, roadways, plazas, parks and nonresidential buildings take up over 100, thus making the population density 621 people per hectare of residential space (Plan Maestro, 1997). Colonial Havana remains the historic nucleus of Cuba’s capital (Rigol, 1994) and in addition to housing the local population, continues to perform many cultural, commercial and administrative functions. Within this area are some of Havana’s most
valued cultural attractions such as the Great Theater of Havana, the Museum of the Revolution, and many other museums, memorials, art galleries, plazas, churches, castles and other historical monuments, all of which continue to play an important part of the lives of Habaneros. In addition, Old Havana performs a number of important commercial functions due to its proximity to the port and central railway station, and the presence of a large number of markets, stores, cafés, restaurants and cinemas. The Historic Centre also is an important administrative centre for Havana due to the fact that the Bank of Cuba as well as several ministerial offices are located in the area.

**Needs of the Local Community**

A recent *Trabajo de Diploma* completed by Marilú Abreu (1996) from the Faculty of Geography at the University of Havana and cosponsored by the Master Plan for the Integrated Revitalization of Old Havana (Master Plan) and the National Centre for Conservation, Restoration and Museumology (CENCREM) presents valuable data that is useful in demonstrating the current needs of the residents of the Historic Centre. The object of Abreu's study was to map out several factors of ecological stress that affect Old Havana in an attempt to assist in setting conservation, protection and environmental improvement priorities. The information presented in these maps combined with data collected from the Master Plan, interviews and personal observations present an accurate description of current living conditions in Old Havana and helps to identify the needs of the local population living within the municipality of Old Havana. In the following section, I will describe the current living conditions in the Historic Centre with respect to the current state of housing, residential densities, potable water, waste water removal, the condition of streets and incidence of disease.
State of Housing

Currently housing in Old Havana is in a deplorable state. A lack of maintenance and the continuation of time has resulted in massive deterioration that now renders housing unsafe. There are 22,516 dwellings in the Historic Centre (Master Plan, 1997). Of the total number of housing units 68% have been classified as uninhabitable, and a further 31% of these units have been considered irreparable (Buajásán, 1996). Yet families continue to live in condemned housing. Surveyors from the Master Plan reported that 43% of the dwellings have structural faults in the ceiling, 42% have cracks or damage to the walls, 24% have cave-ins in the floor, 51% have leaks in the ceiling or between floors and 38% have leaks in the walls (Master Plan, 1997). Buildings are so unsound that vibrations caused by large vehicular traffic exacerbates structural problems. In addition, roofs are known to collapse during heavy rainfall, endangering the lives of families with few other housing options available to them. One woman I spoke to told me of how the house she had lived in with her ex-husband and his family had been declared uninhabitable in 1976, yet the building contained five families. The roof had already collapsed and she would lie awake during rainstorms fearing that the top floor would collapse again with the weight of the rainwater that would collect on it. It has been estimated that over the years from 1977 to 1992 a yearly average of 215 partial cave-ins occurred in the Historic Centre (Peláez Hechavarria, 1996). Figure 4.1 displays the state of construction of buildings by block. The blocks have been categorized according to good, regular, bad, very bad and critical states of construction.

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11 Due to the impossibility of colour photocopying the maps presented in various trabajos de diplomas in Havana, the maps presented in this thesis were photographed using a macro-lens, scanned onto disk and then retouched with a photo-editor. For this reason, some of the quality of the maps has been lost.
Figure 4.1: State of Construction of Buildings by Block
(Source: Abreu, 1996)
Residential densities

High densities of residents contribute to inadequate living conditions. Approximately 50% of the housing units in the Old City are cuarterías also known as colectividades, solares or ciudadelas, (tenement housing), where a number of people, or families share common facilities such as a kitchen and bathroom (Rodríguez Jiménez, 1996). A scarcity of space and overcrowded conditions have encouraged families to divide their rooms with high ceilings with make-shift wooden floors called barbacoas. These added floors effectively double their living space, but these innovations greatly decrease air circulation which is a health hazard in a tropical climate. It is estimated that half the dwellings in the Historic Centre have barbacoas (Rodríguez Alomá, 1996). Figure 4.2 reveals the residential densities within the Historic Centre.
Figure 4.2: Residential Densities
(Source: Abreu, 1996)

- Without population
- 1-400 residents
- 401-800 residents
- 801-1200 residents
- More than 1200 residents
**Potable Water**

A lack of potable water also poses a challenge to those living in the historic heart of the capital. This area is still serviced by the Albear Aqueduct constructed in 1893 (Rodríguez Alomá, 1996). Because of past problems with water from the timeworn aqueduct, most families throughout Havana boil water before drinking it. Unfortunately, the problems of obtaining drinking water in the Historic Centre is a greater problem than that which faces all of Havana due to the large number of homes that do not receive piped water all or part of the day. Miguel Coyula of the Group for the Comprehensive Development of the Capital claims that water is a fundamental problem because there are no reservoirs nor sufficient pressure to pump water up to tenants. As a result, residents are forced to carry water by hand to their houses. According to Enrique Lanza, an architect for the National Institute of Physical Planning, the water situation is very bad in the area, forcing some people to spend hours waiting in line for water to carry home. There are 539 dwellings that never receive water (Abreu, 1996), and a third of the houses in Old Havana have inadequate water service (Plan Maestro, 1997). On average six dwellings per block do not receive any water.

Figure 4.3 is a map taken from Abreu’s study (1996) which shows areas of the Historic Centre where the incidence of the water problem is regularly critical, critical and very critical.
Figure 4.3: Incidence of deficiencies in water provision
(Source: Abreu, 1996)
Waste Water

The problems of providing sufficient drinking water are compounded by an inadequate waste water removal system. Enrique Lanza explained that because the piped drinking water sometimes mixes with the sewer water he does not drink water from the taps at his office in the Old Centre. Sanitation services are critically inadequate, especially in the cuarterías where 36% do not have adequate bathroom facilities (Rodríguez Alomá, 1996). In many cases, the sewer system is often linked to the storm drain system via clandestine bathroom and kitchen connections. These clandestine connections create uncontrollable problems of contamination. Figure 4.4 shows blocks within the study area where residential density puts stress on the sewage system.

Condition of Streets

In addition to deficiencies in water provision and sewer systems, living conditions in the Historic Centre are further complicated by a deteriorated road system. The passage of time has resulted in the majority of the study area’s streets existing in a significant state of disrepair. Figure 4.5 illustrates the varying degrees of pavement deterioration in the Old City.
Figure 4.4: Housing unit density displaying stress on sewer system
(Source: Abreu, 1996)
Figure 4.5: Deterioration of pavement
(Source: Abreu, 1996)
Incidence of Disease

Another Trabajo de Diploma written by Ana Maria Rodríguez Jiménez and cosponsored by the Master Plan, CENCREM and the Municipal Administration of Hygiene and Epidemiology focused on the spatial differentiation of health in Old Havana. The results of her study showed that the high densities of population, inadequate housing conditions, lack of green spaces, contaminated areas, and deficiencies in the aqueduct and sewer systems have had an adverse affect on the health of the community's citizens. Her data showed high rates of water-causing diarrheal and respiratory illnesses as well as hepatitis A and B, syphilis, viral meningitis, pulmonary tuberculosis, optic neuropathy, genital bleeding and low infant weights throughout the study area. Figure 4.6 illustrates the incidence of illnesses for three areas of Old Havana. The area labeled Level I was found to have a smaller incidence of illness as opposed to the area labeled Level III which had the highest incidence of six of the ten medical conditions included in the study.
Figure 4.6: Spatial Distribution of incidence of diseases
(Source: Rodriguez Jimenez, 1996)
In order to present a comprehensive overview of the cumulative stress acting upon areas in Old Havana, Abreu (1996) prepared a composite map accounting for the various factors included in the study. The results of this composite map are presented in Figure 4.7.

The map demonstrates that nearly all of the Historic Centre is in a critical state due to the amount of ecological stress that is being placed on it. It also implies that unless some stress is removed, it is likely that there will be an increase in the number of blocks in a very critical state.

In summary, the current state of living conditions in Old Havana pose a direct threat to the health and well-being of its residents; the improvement of living conditions is the most pressing need of the community. In addition to the information presented above, the need for restoration has been identified in two surveys of the community conducted in recent years. As part of her doctoral research, Diana Williams (1996) conducted random surveys of 110 Cubans living in the Old City in 1994 and 1996. Williams concludes on the basis of these surveys that the residents of Old Havana need comfortable dwellings and good living standards. Also in 1996, a team from the Master Plan conducted a social survey of 847 people in the community to provide an understanding of the characteristics of its population and their social development (Rodríguez Alomá, 1996). The results of the survey revealed that, according to the respondents, the principal problems of Old Havana are: the poor state of housing; the lack of communal hygiene facilities; inadequate provision of water, the state of the streets; the existence of cuarterías (tenements); and increased criminal activity (listed in order of decreasing importance).
Figure 4.7: Composite Map of incidence of ecological stress
(Source: Abreu, 1996)
Tourism's role in Meeting the Needs of the Community

The information presented above underlines that an improvement in living conditions is the most pressing need of the residents living in the Historic Centre. Massive restoration is the only means to meet this need. Unfortunately a lack of financial resources has prevented costly restoration in the past. Recently however, people have begun to consider tourism as a possible avenue to raise funds to meet the need for restoration. Yet, as mentioned in Chapter Three, past experiences during the times of pseudo-republic made Cuba hesitant to open its doors to international tourism, despite the fact that Old Havana was in critical need of funds.

It was only after many attempts to raise funds to restore the Old City, that the City’s Historian began to look to tourism as a source of financial support for restoration efforts. Traditionally, the City’s Historian, Eusebio Leal Spengler, has played an influential role in shaping the future of Old Havana. It was Leal who was instrumental in convincing the Cuban Government in the 1970s that the Historic Centre was an important part of Cuban heritage and culture, and was not merely remnants of past bourgeoisie wealth (Yanes, 1997). His arguments eventually lead to the creation of legal instruments for heritage preservation to protect common cultural property. Leal’s influence in Cuban society is attributed to the fact that he is a long-time friend of Castro. He has been described as a “energizer”, “manipulator”, and “doer of difficult deeds” (Judge, 1989). In comparison to the elected leaders of local Consejo Populares (Public Councils), Leal does have access to financial resources and thus can make things happen. One of Leal’s initial strategies to raise funds for restoration was to appeal to the aid of foreign countries with whom Cuba had historical ties. Funds to support the limited restoration of buildings and areas were
solicited and received from several provinces of Spain, as well as African and Arabic countries (Yanes, 1997). However, these were insufficient given the extent of the historic area.

The potential for tourism to play a role in improving overall living conditions and not merely buildings of historic interest was discussed in a report written in 1992 under the auspices of the National Centre for Conservation, Restoration and Museumology (CENCREM) and the Iberoamerican Organization for Intermunicipal Cooperation. In this report, the author Madeline Menéndez Garcia, pointed out that Cuba is in the midst of an economic crisis and that despite past efforts to restore the Historic Centre, the condition of housing remains the deepest open wound in the urban fabric. She stated that tourism can play an important role in utilizing Old Havana's monuments and historic centres as economic resources for the material benefit of the country. She argued that unless local people see an improvement in the conditions of their lives as a consequence of preservation activities, they will complain that preservation is an élite conception of culture. She called on the need to "establish a relationship between tourism and restoration that does not propose 'a Historic Centre for Tourism' considering tourism as the end, or object of the rehabilitation" (Menéndez Garcia, 1992, p.5)\textsuperscript{*}. Instead, Menéndez envisions tourism as the means to support rehabilitation, thus making it an instrument capable of improving local living conditions. She claims that tourism is a new and important source of resources that will lead to the rehabilitation of Old Havana which may stimulate a solution to the two principal objectives, the safeguarding of cultural heritage and the satisfaction of social needs.

\textsuperscript{* Personal Translation}
Menéndez Garcia’s report presented the Cuban vision for tourism in the Historic Centre, which was shared by the City Historian, who thought that tourism should be used to promote restoration efforts, instead of restoration being used to promote tourism. In Leal’s words, “We are finally abandoning the tempting praises of a purely tourist-oriented scenario. To recreate the city, not only to contemplate it, but also to live it, that is the challenge” (cited in Rodríguez Alomá, 1996). Yet until recent legislative changes in 1993, tourism planning and heritage restoration remained separate pursuits, each activity coordinated by a plethora of agencies and organizations with little coordination between the two.

Prior to 1993, the structure of tourism planning in Old Havana was similar to other tourist areas in Cuba. According to Enrique Lanza of the Department of Tourism Planning in the National Institute of Physical Planning, tourism planning in Cuba is very centralized. Most of the influence lies in the hands of the Ministry of Tourism (MINTUR) instead of the local government. For instance, he informed me that the beach-side Municipality of Varadero, Cuba’s most important tourism pole, has little input in tourism planning. Rather, all decision-making power is in the hands of MINTUR. Today, Old Havana, Cuba’s second most important pole (Turismo al Dia, 1996a) out of a total of 85 MINTUR-designated tourism poles existing on the Island (Olivares, 1997), has a more autonomous role in tourism planning than other areas due to the passing of Law-Decree #143 in 1993.

The Historic Centre’s autonomy was amplified by the administrative changes made by Law-Decree #143 which directly linked the Historic Centre, via the Office of the City’s Historian directly to the State Council (Plan Maestro, 1997). The legislation transferred responsibility for Old Havana’s tourism planning from MINTUR and the associated national, provincial and municipal institutes of physical planning to the Office of City’s
Historian. According to Miguel Coyula of the Group for the Comprehensive Development of the Capital, Old Havana’s special status was created by providing Eusebio Leal with special authority to direct tourism planning as an economic force. The Law-Decree led to the creation of Habaganex on January 6, 1994 (Síbori Morales, 1997).

Habaganex is the commercial arm of the City Historian’s Office that owns and operates more than 50 restaurants and cafeterias, over 20 stores, 3 hotels and one travel agency, with visions for much more (Síbori Morales, 1997). In 1996, it was reported that Habaganex’s revenue was 21 million dollars US, and in 1997 the state enterprise is expected to bring in $30 million with eight additional establishments (Turismo al Dia, 1996b). Other restaurants and hotels located in Old Havana that are not owned and operated by Habaganex are charged institutional taxes which go to the City Historian’s Office (Coyula, 1997).

Hernández, explained to me that all of Habaganex’s profits and the taxes received by the Historian’s office are designated for three purposes: (1) the National Government purse; (2) A collection to be reinvested into other tourism projects in the Old City; and (3) A collection for rehabilitation and social improvements projects for Old Havana which are independent from national guidelines. However, the proportion given to each purpose is not publicized and is determined independently by Leal. What is also uncertain is the actual amount of profits earned by Habaganex after all economic leakages have been accounted for.

The same report providing total annual revenue, claimed that the San Cristóbal travel agency owed by the state enterprise had a cost of 63 cents per peso, or in other words 37% of the revenue was profit (Turismo al Dia, 1996b). One person I interviewed
questioned the cost-effectiveness of the state enterprise's establishments, saying that often restaurants remain empty because the prices are too high.

The transfer of planning control to the City Historian's Office lead to the eventual creation in December of 1994 of the Plan Maestro para la Revitalización Integral de La Habana Vieja (Master Plan for the Integrated Revitalization of Old Havana or Master Plan). The Master Plan is composed of an interdisciplinary team of specialists in the fields of environment, urban planning, architecture, history, sociology, psychology, economics and finance, law, urban management, computer science and more. In addition, the team works with professionals from the agencies previously responsible for the planning of the zone such as the Office of the City Historian, CENCREM, and national, provincial and municipal physical planning institutes (Plan Maestro, 1997). Its three lines of work are:

1. To immediately elaborate action strategies to adequately respond to urgent problems such as housing and tourism;

2. To plan so to harness or resist, according to the case, the multiple factors that influence the development of the Historic Centre in the short term; and

3. To lay out strategies specific to management, based on a detailed study of the territory in the medium term (Buajasán, 1996, p.6)*.

From the beginning, tourism was of special interest to the Master Plan team, and its importance increased in 1995 when Havana was declared a Zone of High Significance for Tourism by the National Government. It has been estimated that 90% of Havana's tourists visit the Historic Centre (Master Plan, 1997). Given estimates that Havana received 400,000 tourists in 1996 (Opciones, 1996), this implies that 360,000 tourists visited Old

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* Personal Translation
Havana in the same year. This figure is even more than the peak pre-Revolutionary number of visitors for the entire country in 1957.

My understanding of the Master Plan's tourism plan for Old Havana was achieved after a series of several interviews with Rita Hernández, a member of the Master Plan team who is responsible for tourism planning of the Historic Centre, a Master Plan report (Plan Maestro, 1997) and an article written by the head of the Planning and Management Department (Rodríguez Alomá, 1996). Foremost in their agenda is the goal to sustain the residential character of this World Heritage Site. Tourism is not intended to transform the Historic Centre into merely an attraction. On the contrary, certain areas will be developed for tourism and others will remain residential. It should be mentioned however, that the group from the Master Plan has included only 4 of the 5 local Consejos Populares (administrative units) that compose the Municipality of Old Havana in the study area; the small Consejo Popular, Jésus María, behind the train station and depicted in Figure 4.8, is not included.

Figure 4.9 taken from a Trabajo de Diploma of a geography student studying zoning in Old Havana illustrates the current functional zoning of the study area. Figure 4.10 on the other hand, illustrates the Master Plan's proposed functional distribution plan which defines areas for tourism.
Figure 4.8: Old Havana's Five Consejos Populares (Administrative Units) (Source: Bonachea Reyes, 1996)
Figure 4.9 Current Functional Zoning
(Source: Bonachea Reyes, 1996)
Figure 4.10: Functional Distribution Plan

PLANO DE DISTRIBUCION FUNCIONAL

T  Tourism Sectors
   T1  Sector with the greatest symbolic and historic potential
   T2  Zone of Transit between T1 and T3
   T3  Sector of greatest tourist potential

R  Strict Housing Sectors
   R1, R2 & R3  Areas restricted for housing

MR  Permissive Housing Sectors
    M  Mixed Sector
As depicted in Figure 4.10, Three sectors have been designated for tourism in this plan. T1 is the sector which contains assets of the most historic and symbolic potential such as historic homes, religious structures, palaces, convents and four of the area’s most important plazas: Plaza de la Catedral; Plaza de Armas; Plaza de San Francisco; and Plaza Vieja. T2 is a transit zone of 13 hectares that links T1 and T3. The transit zone follows along Calle del Obispo and Calle O’Reilly, streets that once specialized in commerce and finance. The Master Plan hopes that this function will be restored. Significant restoration of restaurants, a bakery and the Ambos Mundos hotel where Hemingway stayed, has already been completed along Calle del Obispo which is now a pedestrian thoroughfare. According to tourism plans, sector T3 contains the area of greatest tourist potential framed around El Paso del Prado, the main boulevard. It includes various monumental and cultural attractions such as El Capitolio, the Great Theater of Havana, the Museum of the Revolution, the Palace of Fine Arts and Central Park. In addition, the majority of Old Havana’s heritage hotels are in this sector because 70% of the tourists that visited Cuba in the 1950s were housed in this area (Nuñez, 1993). It is expected that the majority of visitors will stay in sector T3 and do most of their site-seeing in T1 via T2. The other sectors on the functional distribution plan (Figure 4.10) have been designated to be strictly residential (R1, R2 and R3), permissive residential (MR) and mixed-use (M). The authors of the Master Plan have declared that in order to safeguard the residential character of the site no more than 50% of the area will be specialized for tourism.

Yet in order to revitalize Old Havana as a place to visit and a place to live, massive restoration is needed, and the group from the Master Plan faces a formidable challenge. One respondent told me of his opinion that the area is far too large for conservation purposes, and that complete restoration will be prohibitively costly. Originally the Master
Plan estimated that the cost of restoration would be approximately $1 million (US) per city block. However, restorations begun in sector T1 have gone beyond first estimates. This is doubly unfortunate because of all three tourist sectors, T1 was the best maintained. It is hoped that the restoration of buildings in sector T3 will be financed by the private sector.

Several joint venture projects have been proposed which will assist in the costly process of renovating some of Cuba’s oldest hotels located in this sector. In joint ventures the Cuban contribution usually includes the land and building. The foreign partner is expected to rehabilitate/reconstruct and operate the establishment for 25 years paying the appropriate property taxes to the Office of the City Historian. According to Hernández, capital recuperation is estimated at five years, and return on investment at 18-20%. It is hoped that potential investors will also rehabilitate adjoining buildings.

The Master Plan envisions a drastic increase in the current amount of visitor accommodation available within the heritage district. Currently there is very limited capacity as expressed by the tourist function rate, a measure employed by the Master Plan to indicate appropriate levels of tourist capacity and believed to be an international formula, though its origin is undeclared and hence questionable. The formula for the tourist function rate or TFT (*tasa de funcion turistica*) equals the number of tourist beds (L) multiplied by one hundred and divided by the permanent population (P). TFT = (Lx100)/P (Rodríguez Alomá, 1996). According to an inventory conducted by the Master Plan there are approximately 1,800 rooms in Old Havana, which translate to 3,600 beds. Therefore, the TFT is 4.8, which is lower than the acceptable rate of 10 for semi-specialized urban heritage areas according to the international recommendation used by the Master Plan.

The team from the Master Plan has calculated that given the population, the amount of accommodation in Old Havana could be increased to 7,500 beds to reach a
TFT of 10. This calculation however, is problematic because it does not account for the number of tourists who stay in other parts of Havana and visit the Historic Centre in the day. It was estimated that on average 6,300 tourists are in Havana each day (Opciones, 1995), assuming 90% of these are in the Historic Centre then the daily capacity of visitors is 5,570 or about 2,000 more than the current number of beds. Thus, increasing the number of beds by nearly 4,000, may lead to the actual number of visitors in the Old City being as high as 9,600. This rate is further problematic given that the permanent population is already living in inadequate and overcrowded living conditions.

One of the group’s first projects is to revitalize the thirty hectare zone linking the system of principal squares in sector T1. A proposed partial plan has been drawn up for this area that would both restore and refunction many of the 230 buildings contained within it. Over 100 of these buildings are purely residential with another 60 mixed-use buildings. The current population of the area is 4,300, which according to this preliminary plan, will need to be reduced to 3,000. Nine hundred people will be displaced because their current homes will be converted to meet tourism needs, such as accommodation or food services. For example, there are plans to convert an 18th century home, currently inhabited by several families into a bed and breakfast. The remaining 400 residents will be displaced because their cuarterías are overcrowded and cannot safely house the current number of inhabitants.

The displacement of residents clearly will create social tensions within the Old Centre. Miguel Coyula believes that the total number of residents in the Historic Centre must be reduced by 30%. The plan linking the principal plazas described above does, in fact, call for a reduction of the current population by 30% in this sector of Old Havana. It may be difficult to achieve this reduction given that most people believe there are many
advantages to living in Old Havana despite its problems. Enrique Lanza indicated that there are many fringe benefits to living in the Old City; residents enjoy the fact that shopping, entertainment and work is close-by, they feel secure, there are many "extra-legal" opportunities to earn a living including the black-market and prostitution (though I have been told that the majority of jiniteras come from rural areas of Cuba and live in Old Havana in spite of the internal passport system which restricts migration between provinces), and the area has a life that is missing in post-Revolutionary housing projects. In addition, a survey conducted by the Master Plan revealed that 68% of the respondents stated that they would prefer to continue living in Old Havana despite its problems.

Evidence of Community Needs Being Met

The ways in which the needs of the residents of Old Havana have or haven't been considered in tourism planning are discussed in this next section. The very fact that the primary goal of the Master Plan's work is the integrated revitalization of Old Havana in an effort to preserve its residential character demonstrates that the local community is a central focus of tourism planning. Many times Leal has emphasized that tourism is a means to support restoration and that restoration is not a means to support tourism. At first glance however, it appears as though the majority of financial resources are being used to restore museums, hotels, restaurants and other buildings that are instrumental in attracting tourists to the Historic Centre. A map demonstrating the process of rehabilitation of Havana's Historic Centre created in 1996 by the Office of the City Historian and the Master Plan displays the number of works completed during various time periods. The map presents, in different colours, the works completed during the years 1959-1980, 1981-1985, 1986-1990, 1991-1994, 1995-1996 and those works that were in progress
when the map was created. An analysis of this map revealed that from 1959 to 1996 2.5% of the restoration projects involved the restoration of housing; the remaining 97.5% of the projects included plazas, churches, stores, restaurants and other historic non-residential buildings. Of the works in progress at the time of the map’s creation, 23% involved the restoration of housing showing that resources are being directed towards improving housing conditions. More recently, some projects have been implemented to directly benefit the community. Money received by the City Historian’s Office has financed a home for the aged and a maternity hospital within the community (Negocios en Cuba, 1996). According to Hernández, in the future, the Historian’s Office intends to finance, with significant help from UNESCO, the restoration of the San Isidro neighbourhood in the southern edge of the study area where there is less tourist appeal. Various social projects have been established including a society of women who make and sell embroidered handicrafts and an art program for children. To further assist with the local economic situation, residents of the Historic Centre are to be given priority for tourism-related jobs with Habaguanex as well as work available in the restoration efforts. Figures 4.11 and 4.12 present photographs taken of the study area to demonstrate the contrast between tourist areas and residential areas.

Yet in spite of all the considerations given to local needs, the survey conducted by the Master Plan revealed that 47% of the respondents felt that they have not benefited from the changes in the Historic Centre, although 85% consider the improvements to be positive (Rodríguez Alomá, 1996). Many of the respondents I spoke to in Havana were confident that in the future the residents will benefit more from tourism. One such respondent claimed that in the future, the Consejo Popular Jésus María, outside of the study area, will be in stark contrast to the Historic Centre if revitalization plans are fully
carried out. It is important to note however, that in the end it is estimated that only 70% of
the study area’s current inhabitants will remain to enjoy the benefits tourism-financed
restoration has brought to the community.
Figure 4.11 Images of Old Havana depicting the contrast

Above: The Old Havana's Cathedral  
Below: Plaza Vieja

Above: Unsafe electrical wiring  
Below: A street near sector T1
Figure 4.12 Additional Images of Old Havana

Above: Market in the Plaza de Armas
Below: Housing in San Isidro

Above: A complete cave-in
Below: Construction in Sector T1

Below: Buildings surrounding the Plaza Vieja
The impacts associated with an increased tourism in the Historic Centre remain unclear and need to be better integrated into the area’s tourism planning. Many people spoke to me about increasing crime in Old Havana, and some did warn me about walking alone in the study area, especially at night. Prostitution is blatantly obvious, specifically near hotels. Tourists are often approached by *jiniteros* hoping to sell false cigars or earn a commission by taking tourists to *paladares* (restaurants). Yet the role that tourism plays in exacerbating crime, prostitution and black-market activity is difficult to disentangle from the role played by increasing financial hardship. A group from *El Instituto de Geografía Tropical* (Institute of Tropical Geography) a department of the Ministry of Science is in the midst of its first year of a three year study of the impacts of tourism on Old Havana. The head of the project, Ana Maria Luna, was on medical leave when I was in Havana, but I was able to speak to Norma Pérez, a researcher working on the project. Pérez informed me that the group intends to look at all social, economic and cultural aspects of tourism, but at that point there was no concrete information available. She expressed that the group is experiencing difficulties in gathering data from other organizations working in Old Havana who are hesitant to share their work. The methodologies to be employed in this study are unclear. She did tell me that they intend to talk to people in the study area. Once finished, this study should shed greater light on how tourism is affecting the community. Hopefully the results of their study will be incorporated into the area’s tourism plans.

**Summary of Findings**

Clearly tourism is changing the Historic Centre. Tourists bring with them money to finance the restoration of the Old City and hence meet the residents’ most urgent needs,
but tourists also bring with them other side effects that affect the lives of the Old City’s residents. It is difficult to determine definitively if tourism is addressing the needs of the local community. Clearly though, these needs have been given some careful consideration by the people involved in the tourism planning of the area, though much more research is needed. It does appear nonetheless, that buildings of historic or tourist interest have been given priority over residential buildings in the implementation phase of tourism planning. Perhaps this approach is necessary to foster a successful tourism industry that will ensure the availability of sufficient financial resources to fund restoration that will directly improve living conditions. One respondent expressed concern about the Master Plan’s intentions. This respondent felt that housing problems always go behind other more important matters. These issues, among others, will challenge the role of tourism in meeting the host communities needs.

In sum, data collected from interviews with key respondents and a review of local documentation has demonstrated that evidence does exist to prove that the needs of the host community is being considered in tourism plans. However, whether this consideration is adequate to ensure that tourism is able to play a contributory role in meeting local needs has yet to be determined. In Chapter Five tourism’s ability to meet the basic needs of the local community and improve the quality of their lives is discussed specifically as it relates to the study area.
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

It will be recalled that the focus of this investigation is on how international tourism is able to contribute to the sustainable development of host communities. In Chapter Two, I presented three essential elements of tourism that are necessary to ensure that the activity is able to contribute to the community’s sustainable development. To be sustainable, tourism must: (1) meet human needs and improve the quality of life; (2) distribute the benefits of tourism equitably; and (3) safeguard resources. Once these three essential elements have been met, the tourism sector will earn a position in the area’s cross-sectoral strategy for sustainable development and will offer the community an appropriate form of economic activity.

Although all three elements of this model of sustainability are important, it is beyond the scope of any one research project to systematically examine each component. Consequently, my study was limited to the role of tourism in meeting the needs of the host community in Old Havana, Cuba. The area’s local tourism plans were analyzed specifically in terms of how local needs are considered in the tourism planning process.

Two possible perspectives were presented in Chapter Four in anticipation of the research findings. The first perspective, “tourism development at any costs”, is based on Avella and Mill’s (1996) article on the Cuban tourism industry. From this perspective, the rapid growth of tourism development in the Historic Centre is viewed as part of a national economic survival strategy, and the authors argue that the current government policy on tourism is beneficial only to the state and the Cuban people are seeing the loss of many benefits gained by the Revolution. It was expected, therefore, that the needs of the local
community are likely to be overlooked in tourism plans for the greater good of the Cuban economy.

The second perspective, the "tourism for the people" perspective, views tourism in the Historic Centre as an instrument for development in a Socialist country. From this perspective, it is believed that a centrally-planned Socialist political system is more capable of integrating the economic, social and environmental costs and benefits of tourism development into tourism planning than a free market system. It is expected, therefore, that the needs of the local community are likely to be better considered in tourism plans.

The reality of the current situation lies somewhere between these two possible perspectives. The interviews and analysis of planning-related documents revealed that although the needs of the local population are considered to some degree in tourism planning, they appear to lag behind in implementation.

In order to explore the results in relation to the research question which guided this research, the discussion is divided into three sections. In the first section, I explore the evidence that supports the perspectives outlined above, by discussing the main goals of tourism planning in Old Havana and the strategies set out to obtain them. This discussion points to the fact that several contradictions exist between the goals for tourism development as presented in the Master Plan for the Integrated Revitalization of Old Havana (Master Plan)'s literature and what is actually happening.

The discussion in the second section is focused on how the tourism planning process in Old Havana could better consider the needs of the local population. This discussion identifies the use of active and effective public participation in decision making,
and several viewpoints on how tourism planning can be made more participatory are highlighted.

In the final section, I briefly discuss how centrally-planned Socialism affects the way tourism is planned. This discussion explores a few of the ways in which the political context shapes the Cuban approach to tourism planning.

In preface to this discussion, it is necessary to identify one important caveat of this research related to data collection. The data collected during this investigation came from a limited number of respondents and printed materials that I was able to access during the field research. For this reason, my summary and conclusions on how local needs are considered in tourism planning in Old Havana have been shaped by a partial picture of the issue and the degree to which the data collected represents a complete portrayal of the situation is uncertain. Furthermore, during the interview process, I did not attempt to draw out criticism of the strategies pursued by the Master Plan and/or the Office of the City Historian from the respondents. All criticisms or cautions, therefore, are my own, based on my personal perception of this complex issue.

Finally, throughout this chapter, I reveal several contradictions between the stated goals of the Historic Centre’s tourism plan and what is actually occurring. Such contradictions are common to most planning activities, and my focus on these apparent contradictions is not intended to be a direct attack on the ambitious and challenging work of the group from the Master Plan who have accomplished a significant amount of work towards the revitalization of Old Havana in a limited time.

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12 Respondents were not asked to reveal their personal opinions on tourism planning in the Historic Centre, though some respondents did offer them, because of any risk associated with criticism of the state.
Tourism Planning in the Historic Centre: A Balance between Goals

From the research findings it can be seen that the tourism plan for Old Havana has set out goals for the tourism sector as well as several strategies to achieve these goals. The overall goal of the tourism plan is to develop the tourism sector in the Historic Centre as a means to raise sufficient funds to support the revitalization of the area, and hence retain the residential character of Old Havana. In addition to local revitalization, a less explicit goal of the tourism plan is to develop the tourism sector, \textit{vis à vis} the restoration of tourist attractions and facilities, as a means of generating convertible currency to improve the national economy.

Conflict is apparent in the implementation of these goals. Although the balancing of multiple goals is not unique to the situation encountered in Old Havana --- Hall (1970), for example, notes that planning is “an ordered sequence of operations, designed to lead to the achievement of either a single goal or to a balance between several goals” (p.4, emphasis added) --- the multiple goals of the Historic Centre’s tourism development plans create a tension for planners in terms of creating and maintaining tourism activity in a sustainable form. This tension may be conceptualized from the perspective of two different positions: “tourism development at any cost” vs. “tourism for the people”.

An analysis of the tourism plans for the Historic Centre reveals that there is evidence that supports the “tourism development at any cost” perspective. First, as discussed in Chapter Four, the Master Plan’s objective to double the number of tourist beds in the study area, based on an unidentified internationally accepted tourist function rate, may be overzealous. Before such plans are carried out, it is important that site-specific carrying capacity studies be conducted that give consideration to the fact that the study area is a prominent tourist pole for tourists who stay in other parts of Havana, or
even Varadero and visit the Historic Centre during the day. The level of interaction with
the local population and ecological stress on the built environment is only somewhat less
than would be the case if all guests spent the night in the area. Plans to increase tourist
accommodation are also problematic due to the fact that until something is done to solve
the problems associated with water provision in the area, the majority of hotels and
restaurants need to bring in potable water by truck or have some other supplemental water
supply.

Second, to date there has been an obvious tendency to focus restoration efforts on
projects that will improve the area as a tourist destination instead of improving the area as
a place to live. Data presented in a progress map created by the Master Plan and Office of
the City’s Historian revealed that a very small percentage of restoration projects completed
or underway at the time of the map’s creation in 1996, involved the rehabilitation of
housing. Through casual observations made during the field research, I witnessed the stark
contrast between the restored museums, hotels, restaurants and other buildings
instrumental in attracting tourists and the local housing which remains in a state of
disrepair. Despite this contrast, immediate plans for the integrated restoration of sector T1
appear to correct by calling for the restoration of 100 purely residential buildings and 60
mixed-use buildings out of 230 buildings slated for restoration.

Third, the “development at any costs” perspective is also supported by plans to
restore sector T1 which calls for the displacement of 1300 residents, 900 due to the
conversion of their homes for tourist services and 400 due to overcrowding. This measure
may be necessary to ensure that sufficient funds are raised by tourist activity to support the
revitalization of the entire area, but it is a paradox as raising funds to restore the study area
for the benefit of the local residents results in a displacement of approximately one-third
of these residents. Displacing one-third of the current inhabitants of sector T1 is in direct contradiction to the sentiment presented in the Master Plan literature, which claims that:

The will to maintain the residential character of the Historic Centre should be directed by developing housing and social protection programs that guarantee the permanence of the local population as a citizen right, because they add their own value to the territory, without which Old Havana would lose an important part of its precious charm. (Plan Maestro, 1997, p. 8*)

This quotation could be interpreted as acknowledging that the residential character of Old Havana is of value not because it provides the local residents a place to live, but because it is a tourist attraction itself. As one respondent remarked, the Historic Centre’s intangible tourist resources are the main attraction for tourists. He explained that tourists do not come to Old Havana to see the Cathedral or El Capitolio, they come to see the people, to experience the culture and traditions, they come to see what it is like to live in a Socialist country. Hence, the residential character of the area is extremely instrumental in attracting visitors.

Finally, the policy to restore sector T3 by means of joint venture activity with foreign partners reflects another “tourism development at any cost” perspective, because it is an example of how the national government’s desire to increase the pace of tourism development on the island is leading to increased economic leakages and a loss of internal control. As mentioned in Chapter Three’s discussion of tourism’s implications for Cuban development, Cuba’s lack of financial capacity to fund tourism development independently is the main impetus for resorting to joint ventures. It was further discussed that increasing the amount of foreign involvement increases economic leakages due to the concessions (e.g. tax breaks, repatriation rights) the national government is willing to make for foreign partners. In addition, the increase of foreign investment diminishes the degree

* Personal Translation
of internal control Cubans have over the tourism industry. The current economic crisis in Cuba makes such foreign ventures a necessity in order to increase the pace of tourism development. Eber (1992) cautions planners against developing tourism at a rapid pace by stating that the pace of development must be in concert with local situations in order to provide time to properly plan, develop and monitor projects for the long-term benefit of the community. It is of concern that the strong push to initiate joint venture projects may not be in the best interests of the community in the long-term.

Despite these arguments in support of the "development at any cost" perspective, there also exists evidence in support of the "tourism for the people" perspective that demonstrates a concern for local needs in tourism planning. The foremost of this evidence is the clear and consistent acknowledgment of the City Historian that the goal of tourism development in Old Havana is to retain the residential character of the Historic Centre. This focus clearly puts many of the needs of the local community first. In order to retain the residential character of the area and to prevent it from becoming a museum-town a number of specific plans have been proposed. For example, within the tourism plan exists measures to restrict the development of tourism activities to three sectors, sector T1 near the bay, sector T2 along Calle Obispo, and T3 along the Prado. The other areas will remain residential or mixed-use with residential and service-oriented activities. Furthermore, the amount of area to be specialized for tourism will not exceed 50% of the area. Though this may not seem like much of a restriction it does demonstrate that limits have been discussed.

Another example of how tourism planning revolves around the goal of improving the area for its citizens is the fact that a portion of the funds collected by the Office of the City Historian acquired from Habaguanex's profits and institutional taxes has been
designated for social projects within the study area. This fund has already financed the construction of a maternity hospital and a home for the aged. However, it is not known how the proportion of funds from the City Historian’s Office designated for social projects compares to the amounts designated to finance investments in future tourism projects or those which are given to the National Government. The proportions allocated for each cause would provide an interesting perspective on the Cuban government’s priorities for tourism development in Old Havana, and could affirm or refute the tension apparent among the disparate goals of the Master Plan.

Plans to restore the residential area of San Isidro is another excellent example of how the local population’s needs are being considered in tourism planning. This area is one of the more deteriorated residential areas of the study area and contains few tourist attractions able to attract foreign investment. Plans to restore this area, which is not often visited by tourists, demonstrates a commitment to improving the community as a place to live more so than just as a place to visit. It should be noted, however, that the source for such restoration will not totally come from the funds raised by tourism and collected by the Office of the City Historian. Rather, $4.5 million will be given by UNESCO over a period of three years. In addition, the Municipality of Old Havana wishes to use the money to restore a larger area of the municipality in a much less integrated manner than the team from the Master Plan envisions.

Other evidence that supports the “tourism for the people” perspective is the new and modern approach to planning that has been adopted by the multidisciplinary team at the Master Plan for the Integrated Revitalization of Old Havana. Traditionally, planning tends to be driven by experts in a “top down” manner. In these cases, the “master plan” is one of the foremost instruments of land-use planning. Such plans set out development
objectives for a specified period of time (usually five years), as well as strategies to achieve such objectives. Master plans have been described as epitomizing the “once-over” planning method (Murphy, 1985, p. 159) and an “end state” approach (Inskeep, 1991, p. 27). Both Murphy and Inskeep mention that modern planning systems downplay the importance of the master plan in favour of a systems approach to planning. Systems theory is mainly concerned with the “complicated systems where components exhibit a high degree of interdependence. The behaviour of the whole system is then usually something very much more than the sum of the parts” (Wilson, 1981, p.3 cited in Murphy, 1985). This theory, applied in the context of planning, results in planning that is a continual process aimed at partial development, constant monitoring and revisions (Murphy, 1985). It depends on a greater understanding of all environmental, social, cultural and political implications of development and is well suited to the paradigm of sustainable development.

It appears as though the team from the Master Plan have adopted systems theory in their approach to the land-use planning of the Historic Centre in spite of the fact that the words “master plan” are foremost in the organization’s name. In an article written by the head of the planning department, the author states that:

Another novelty [of the approach taken by the Master Plan] is the environmental vision of the territory as a geosystem; that is, a unit where complex interaction processes occur between the physical environment, the population and the economy. The concepts of participative monitoring are also introduced to establish warning systems and impact evaluation, as protection mechanisms. (Rodríguez Alomá, 1996, p.69)

It is believed that this approach is better able to address the high degree of interdependence of economy, community and environment, and is therefore, better suited

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to consider the needs of the local populations as opposed to traditional expert-driven, “top down” planning.

In sum, the tension created by the multiple goals of the tourism plans represent a considerable challenge to all parties involved. The team from the Master Plan is fully aware of the enormous task of balancing increasing tourism development while maintaining the area as residential. Within the literature supplied by the Master Plan there is a clear reference to the double-bind facing the Historic Centre:

To assume the transformation of the area to tertiary services as a source of funds for the partial financing of housing, [and] principal support of heritage conservation, makes it necessary to study the alternatives to achieve a fair equilibrium between these two poles, apparently divergent, but both requiring the other for its development. (Plan Maestro, 1997, p. 8*)

To the extent that the implementation of a geosystems approach is successful, however, optimism is warranted in the successful consideration of the needs of the local population.

**How tourism planning can better consider the needs of the local population**

The main difference between expert-driven “top-down” planning approaches and a systems or geosystem approach discussed in the previous section, is that the involvement of the local community is viewed as instrumental in addressing the large degree of interdependence between the environment, community and economy. In this section, I discuss the involvement of the local population as a method to enable tourism planning to better consider the needs of the local population under a framework of sustainability. Traditional approaches to tourism planning are presented and discussed in relation to how they involve the local population in decision making.

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* Personal Translation
According to Getz (1987 cited in Page, 1995\textsuperscript{14}) tourism planning has witnessed four traditions that are not mutually exclusive nor sequential. The first tradition is boosterism, in which tourism assets are promoted without concern for impacts, residents are not included in the planning process and carrying capacities are not given any consideration. The second tradition is the economic-industry approach, where tourism is viewed as an industry capable of yielding economic benefits which are considered much more important than any associated social and environmental costs. The third approach is the physical-spatial approach which considers the environmental dimension and the issue of carrying capacity but continues to neglect social and cultural impacts, and involves limited public participation. The final tradition described by Getz, is the community approach developed by Murphy (1985). This approach is an alternative to top-down models and attempts to incorporate the needs and wishes of the local community into decision making. This approach is more participatory and seeks to emphasize the importance of social and cultural benefits for locals within a range of economic and environmental considerations.

Aspects of all four approaches are present in the tourism planning for Old Havana. The evidence that supported the “development at any cost” perspective reflects both the boosterism and economic-industry approach to tourism planning because of the unquestioned development of international tourism for its economic benefits. However, this is tempered by the evidence that supported the “tourism for the people” perspective which reflects the physical-spatial and to some degree the community approach. The most significant difference between these approaches is the role given to the local population throughout the tourism planning process.

\textsuperscript{14} Getz, D. (1987) “Tourism Planning and Research: Traditions, models and futures”, paper presented at the Australian Travel Research Workshop, Bunbury, Western Australia, 5-6 November.
The importance of local involvement in tourism planning or planning of any type has changed the entire practice of planning:

The entire philosophy and concept of planning has changed dramatically in recent years...This modern awareness of some of the foibles of earlier planning approaches and processes has led to a much broader and more effective planning philosophy by educators and practitioners. Frequently, terms such as public involvement, participatory planning, grass-roots planning, and integrative planning are being applied to modern planning. All of these reflect a greater sensitivity to the interests of the decisionmakers and those impacted by planning directives. The emphasis is on planning with rather than only for. (Gunn, 1994, p.20)

Improving opportunities for public participation in decision making is a key tenet of a sustainable development approach to tourism planning. According to Cronin (1990), local involvement is essential to sustainable tourism planning, and development should not only meet the approval of the local population, but there should be some element of local control. In order to foster commitment and ensure that the needs of the host community are recognized, community involvement is necessary both prior to and during the development stages of a project (Owen et al., 1993).

In the literature supplied by the Master Plan there are several references to the recognition of the local community as participants to be integrated into the tourism planning process:

- “The local population should be recognized as an active part of the service system that tourism generates, thus propitiating a new dimension of the local economy” (Plan Maestro, 1997, p. 6)

- “As part of the immediate strategy... a workshop in the San Isidro neighbourhood has begun as an experimental project to put in practice that which we have come to find theoretically, as a way to enrich the principles of this type of participatory planning with novel solutions” (Plan Maestro, 1997, p. 5-6)
• The principal premise of the San Isidro rehabilitation project will be “participation, from the first steps, of all the actors implicated” (Plan Maestro, 1997, p. 8). 

• “A centre specializing in information has been created to fulfill the fundamental role of collecting, processing and systematically disseminating results by means of publications, expositions, citizen information and publicity” (Plan Maestro, 1997, p.6). 

• A Census of Population and Housing and a social survey was conducted in 1995 “to provide an understanding of the characteristics of its population and of its social development; [which] is necessary when one aims at an active integration of the population in the rehabilitation process” (Rodríguez Alomá, 1996, p.76).

Public participation can occur at many points in the process of planning for sustainable tourism development (Manning, 1997). Table 5.2 outlines ten stages of the planning process where participation can occur.

*Personal Translation*
Table 5.2 Stages of the planning process where public participation can occur

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Initial concept</td>
<td>To assist in choosing which areas are to receive policy attention and in helping to define which issues are important and deserve attention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Problem definition</td>
<td>To help clarify the elements of issues and to identify the causes and prioritization of problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Identifying options</td>
<td>To help suggest potential solutions and to identify the need to develop better information to aid in solution development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Values and criteria</td>
<td>To identify important values to be respected and define the criteria to be used to review options.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Proposal reviews</td>
<td>To review proposed solutions, particularly relative to their own knowledge, needs and values.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Operational Planning</td>
<td>To identify potential roles and activities needed to fully implement the policy or program (particularly if it will involve their own input and action)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Action</td>
<td>To carry out part of the program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Review</td>
<td>To continually review the impact of the program or policy to provide feedback so that adjustments can be made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Evaluation</td>
<td>To evaluate the program or policy by providing individual or stakeholder group reactions to outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Monitoring</td>
<td>To participate in monitoring ongoing results and effects during and at the end of the program</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Adapted from Manning, 1997)

The extent to which such participation is instrumental in shaping the form of tourism planning is dependent on the stages at which it is brought into the process.

Howard Green comments that “many authors have concluded that the sustainable development of tourism must involve local people in the decision-making process” (Green, 1995, p.111, emphasis added). To fully integrate citizens in decision-making,
participation should occur to some degree throughout the entire process, but specifically during the identification of options, proposal reviews and operational planning. However, it may be the case that public participation is purposefully limited to exclude those stages that offer citizens the opportunity to make decisions. Although this is still an improvement on former planning approaches, it remains “top-down” and expert driven to some extent and public participation may be seen as “tokenism”. There may also be cases when full participation is denied due to political reasons.

According to Manning, (1997) some centrally-planned socialist governments, particularly China, have included participation during the problem definition, values and criteria and proposal reviews stages while retaining decision authority centrally. To date however, the opportunities for public participation in decision making in the tourism planning process in Old Havana remain limited. The social survey did involve residents in the problem identification stage of the process, but there does not appear to be many other opportunities for local involvement at this point. Although copies of the partial plan for sector T1 are available to the public at the Office of the City Historian and the Master Plan archives, it is doubtful that the residents of the 18th century mansion are aware of the proposed plan to convert it to a bed and breakfast. Clearly, plans to displace one-third of the current population in this sector will not be acceptable to the majority of residents.

In sum, it is important that in order to support the sustainability of tourism in Old Havana, the Master Plan fosters public participation throughout the planning process. However, the political context plays an important role in determining the stages at which participation can be integrated into the process and the degree of decision-making power the residents of the Historic Centre will have. The issue of public participation in the
tourism planning of one of the most important pole of a Socialist state does merit further discussion and is continued into the next section.

*Tourism Planning under a centrally-planned Socialist system*

The fact that Old Havana is the historic heart of a Socialist state’s capital city does affect tourism planning as well as my research findings. Although it is difficult to accurately envision how the needs of the local citizens would be considered if the market were freer, it is possible to speculate. Firstly, it may be the case that the Cuban conceptualization of participation is shaped by the political context. During the interviews, I learned that the manner in which the respondents conceptualized participation was different from mine. The responses I received included a description of the opportunities that exist for local people to assist in the action stage of planning, such as the restoration of buildings, working in the tourism industry, and producing embroidery. It appears that the Cubans conceptualize participation generally, as any type of involvement. I was attempting to identify the opportunities for participation in tourism planning, but neglected to clarify that I was conceptualizing participation similarly to Nagel’s (1987, p.1) definition of participation as “actions through which ordinary members of a political system influence or attempt to influence outcomes”. Perhaps I received the responses I did because there are fewer instruments available to “ordinary” people to influence or attempt to influence the outcomes of decision making.

Secondly, as mentioned in Chapter Four, Havana’s Historic Centre exists to the extent that it does today because of the fact that it was not bought up by real estate developers and modernized as was the case with parts of some other colonial centres. It is likely that if the market was freer, tourism development would push up land values in the
Historic Centre forcing the current inhabitants to move to more affordable neighbourhoods, and the resulting development pressure would result in an area predominantly specialized for tourism. This has been the case in Puerto Rico, for example, where the property values of the island’s heritage district in Old San Juan have increased so much that the majority of land owners are either upper-class Puerto Ricans or Americans.

Another consideration is the fact that in a Marxist society, collective needs take precedence over individual needs. This is an important factor in determining tourism planning. An underlying assumption of Socialism is that the state’s responsibility is to plan in a way that will bring the greatest good to the greatest number. In this sense, it is assumed that the state is acting on behalf of the best interests of all citizens, and that all benefits from development activity will be fairly redistributed to all members of the state. In the case of tourism development in Old Havana, it may be that the host community is not synonymous with the local population, but includes the residents of a much larger community perhaps even the entire state. In this case, it may be found that the needs of the host community are being considered to a significant extent.

Finally, this consideration of a centrally-planned Socialist government also helps explain how the tension apparent among the goals of the tourism plans is both created and resolved. As a tool for economic development for all Cubans, tourism in Old Havana must be developed to maximize the benefits that accrue to the state as a whole even if this development is at expense of the local community. It may be the case that the national need for imports such as medicine, foodstuff and replacement parts may be of more importance that living conditions in one community. At the same time, as a socially-driven policy, this accommodation of the local community is constrained by the consideration of local needs as well. Local people should be involved in tourism planning
and development, but due to the national importance of tourism, decisions must be made in consideration of a larger community. In effect, the socialist underpinning of the tourism plans both threatens the local community to enhance national priorities and protects it in a way that a capitalist system may not.
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter, I discuss the limits to the study and directions for future research. Several limitations are explored as well as lessons learned. Based on these limitations, possible directions for further research into other aspects of sustainable tourism development are discussed that may add to our understanding of how tourism may more effectively contribute to sustainable development in Old Havana.

Limitations of the Study and Directions for Future Research

Some of the most promising directions for future research are based on the limitations found in this study. Consequently, various caveats with respect to this research project will be outlined and followed by a discussion of alternative approaches which may provide further insight into how the needs of local population in Havana’s Historic Centre can be considered in tourism planning in an attempt to encourage the sustainability of the tourism industry in this prominent tourism pole in Cuba.

The most obvious limitation in the present investigation is the sample. Sampling is a perennial problem in most social science research. Although every effort was made to gather sufficient data to create a complete picture of the current situation of tourism planning in Old Havana, the final collection of data was not comprehensive. Respondents interviewed were part of a purposive sample of people knowledgeable in the area of tourism planning in Old Havana. Respondents were identified by means of a snowball technique beginning with the advice of my Cuban advisor, Dr. Eduardo Salinas. Time constraints imposed by the length of the field research and difficulties accessing several possible respondents limited the sample of respondents to a small number. Obviously, future research should attempt to recruit a larger sample of respondents.
A second, related limitation in the present study is the focus on people knowledgeable about tourism planning in the study area. This focus resulted in the data collection being very “top down”, an aspect of planning I am critical of throughout the thesis. Yet, this top down or expert-driven approach to data collection was a necessity given the political context of research in Socialist Cuba. Ideally, a stratified random sample of all stakeholders, especially the local residents, would have added a dimension of local involvement that would have strengthened the findings. However, time did not permit me to go through the proper bureaucratic channels required to receive official permission to interview or survey the general public.

Another limitation of this investigation connected to data collection, is the fact that I did not tape record my interviews. As discussed in the methods section, I chose not to tape record the interviews in order to foster cooperation and rapport. The transcription of recorded tapes would have ensured a thorough treatment of data, and would have assisted in the data analysis stage of the project, as well as facilitating research in a second language.

The issue of working in a second language posed the fourth limitation to this research. Although my abilities to communicate in Spanish improved significantly during the field research it was difficult to extract all of the meaning, all of the time. In addition, socio-cultural differences, particularly socio-linguistic features of language, are difficult to acquire in any context and can lead to awkward situations during interviews. Although these first four limitations are significant, they are nonetheless common to social science research conducted in a context that is both foreign in politics and language.

\[15\] During one interview, I became confused when the respondent told me to come with her by saying “ven”, but then motioned to me in a way that made me believe I should stay where I was and wait for her to come back. I stood up and then sat back down twice until she took my arm and led me with her.
A fifth limitation to this study was the treatment of the local community as a homogenous group during the identification of local needs. This was done not as an oversight, but because of a lack of secondary data to provide insight on gender, race, age, occupation and class of community members. It would be of great academic and social value if the needs of the local community could be broken down according to the factors mentioned above. Official permission to survey residents could show how different members of the community perceive their needs and tourism’s role in meeting these various needs. To the extent that these features of the local community are identified and addressed in the tourism plans, the plans themselves will better contribute to sustainable development overall.

Finally, further research could be undertaken to provide a more complete picture of the sustainability of tourism in Old Havana. It would also be useful to investigate how tourism in Old Havana is able to satisfy the other essential elements of sustainable tourism presented in Chapter Two. These include research to determine how the benefits of tourism are distributed, or how resources (non-tourism, tangible and/or intangible tourism resources) are safeguarded. Such investigations would contribute greatly to our understanding of the sustainability of tourism in Old Havana.

Conclusions

In conclusion, evidence does exist that demonstrates a consideration of local needs in tourism planning, however, optimism about the success in meeting these needs is tempered by the fear that the implementation of measures to improve living conditions in the Historic Centre will lag behind measures to improve the area as a tourist attraction. A tension exists between the revitalization of the area as a place to live as opposed to a place
to visit. Sustainable tourism development has always necessitated “difficult political choices based on complex social, economic and environmental trade-offs” (McIntyre, 1993, p.38). The Cubans are aware of these difficult trade-offs, and at this point in time are acting in the best interest of all Cubans as they attempt to promote tourism “with a conviction that it be sustainable” (MINTUR, 1996). It may be the case that decisions concerning tourism planning are made in consideration of the national community. If this is the case, it is questionable if the tourism planning process in Old Havana is capable of adopting a truly participatory orientation given the amount of decision-making authority retained by the Office of the City Historian.

In an article that appeared in Negocios en Cuba (Business in Cuba), George Cazes, the Honorary President of the French Association of Tourism Experts, was quoted as saying that the City Historian’s project to promote tourism in colonial Havana “is a demonstration of sustainable tourism...because it serves to finance heritage preservation and benefits the public” (Negocios en Cuba, 1996)*. He further added that there is perfect compatibility between a plan and economic objectives if the plan is able to identify economic objectives without prejudicing, nor damaging, nor alienating the wealth that one wants to preserve. Clearly this is the enormous challenge facing the team at the Master Plan.

* Personal Translation
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APPENDIX A - LIST OF RESPONDENTS

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Ponce de Leon, Eunide. Dirección Provincial de Planificación Física.

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