Tradable visitation permits as a management tool for tourism in remote areas:

an application to Antarctica

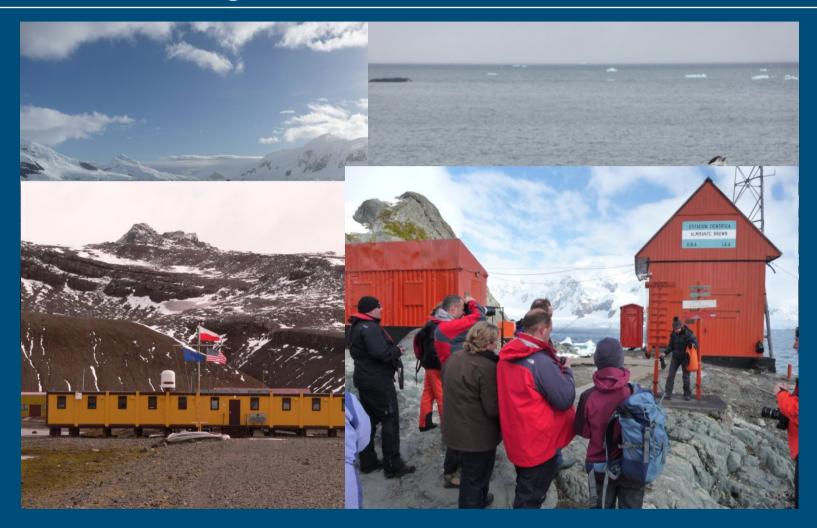
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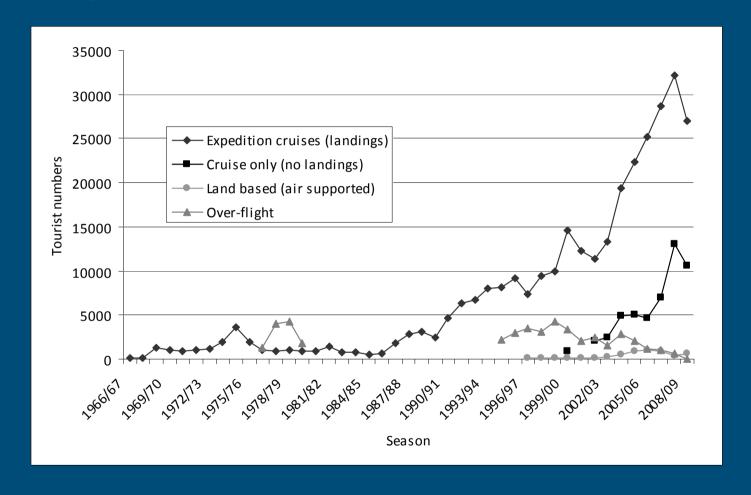
An unusual region...



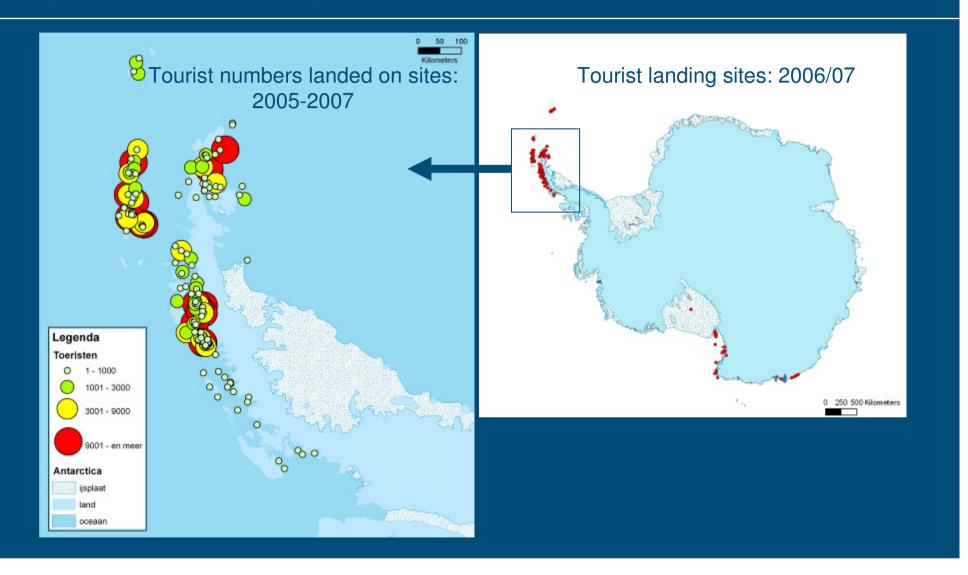
A diversifying scope of activities



Growing numbers



Spatial and temporal concentration





An unusual governance context









- •1959 Antarctic Treaty
- •1991 Protocol for Environmental Protection

Relevant ecosystem services (TEEB study)

- "aesthetic: appreciation of natural scenery (other than through deliberate recreational activities)", including tranquility
- "recreational: opportunities for tourism and recreational activities", linked to e.g. landscape features and attractive wildlife
- "cultural heritage and identity: sense of place and belonging"

Free services from the commons

- Antarctic ecosystem services are very valuable to tourists
- Tour operators capture part of the rent and make a profit
- Nothing in return



Concern: ecological limits

- Pollution
- Disturbance of animals, trampling of plants
- Potential cumulative impacts
- (CO₂ emissions)





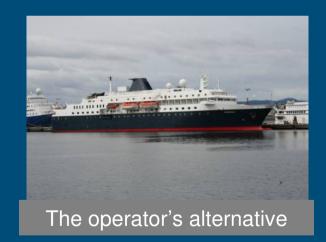


Concern: social & institutional limits

- Congestion
- Claims on search-and-rescue facilities
- Claims on research stations

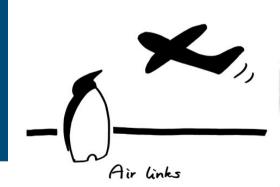


Not "Drake-passage-proof"



Concern: diversification

- Cruise-only: less commitment to Antarctica?
- Activities 'unfitting' in the Antarctic context
- Plans for land-based tourism?







Hotel in Antarctica



Governance

- International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators (IAATO)
- Self-regulation has been effective, but
 - Measures related to quality not scale
 - System of self-regulation may become weaker
- ATS should play a more prominent role?
- But: ATS is underfunded, understaffed

The issue

- Unpaid ecosystem services
- Concerns about scale of tourism
- Lack of funding

Solution

- Cap the total number of visitor days
- Allocate visitor permits to the ATS or an Antarctic Trust
- Auction the permits to the highest-bidding tour operator
- Use the revenues to manage and protect Antarctica as a global commons, and to monitor tourism impacts



Is it feasible? and how might it work?



Property rights: who owns Antarctica

IAATO ATCP's? No ownership in LE 1 Antarctica Bunk OF RIGHTS A. CIATED WITH POSITIONS Authorized Owner Claimant Proprietor User Access and Withdrawal X Х Х Х Management Х Х Х Exclusion Alienation Individual tour operators



Scheme taken from: Schlager, E., & Ostrom, E. (1992). Property-rights regimes and natural resources: a conceptual analysis. *Land Economics*,

Preconditions

- Absence of externalities
- Ability to monitor entry of visitors
- Capability to enforce compliance
- Sufficient information to set an acceptable cap
- Sufficiently knowledgeable permit holders



Tietenberg, T. (2007). Tradable Permits in Principle and Practice. In J. Freeman & C. D. Kolstad (Eds.), *Moving to Markets in Environmental Regulation: Lessons from Twenty Years of Experience* (pp. 63-94). New York: Oxford University Press.

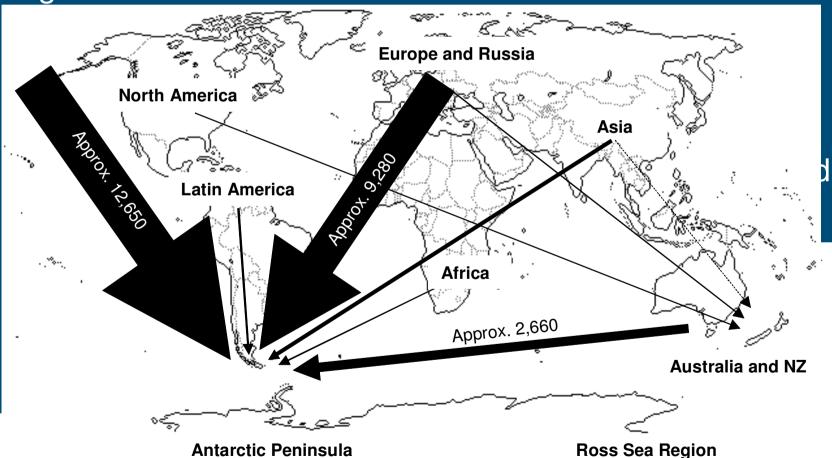
Absence of externalities

- There are few (if any) substitutes for Antarctica
- Some tourists may go elsewhere; unlikely to be an important effect



Ability to monitor entry of visitors

More than 95% of tourists passes through Ushuaia, Argentina





<u>Ushuaia</u>



Capability to enforce compliance

- Enforcement can be paid from revenues
- Risk of getting caught is quite high
- Antarctic tourists tend to value appropriate environmental conduct highly
- The Antarctic community of tour operators is relatively small and well-organised; non-compliance can easily lead to expulsion from IAATO

Sufficient information for an acceptable cap

- The impact of tourists varies widely
- 'Carrying capacity' is very difficult to quantify
- Pragmatic approach: setting the cap at or slightly higher than current visitation levels
- Adaptive management

Sufficiently knowledgeable permit holders

- This rules out individual tourists as permit holders
- Trading amongst tour operators
- Trading system could be added to IAATO's scheduling system

Design issues

- Setting the cap
- Initial distribution
- Auctioning
- Permit trading

Setting the cap

- Bottom-up or top-down?
- Bottom-up: infer from caps for individual (congested) sites
- Top-down: overall cap for Antarctica (or Antarctic region: e.g. Peninsula and Ross Sea region
- Pragmatic approach to setting the first cap; adaptive management later: e.g. annual revision



Initial distribution

- Grandfathering: probably favoured by industry
- But not appropriate for commons nature of Antarctica (and it does not generate revenues)
- Give property rights to ATS or perhaps even better: an Antarctic Trust

<u>Auctioning</u>

- Auction to highest bidder: e.g. annual event
- Avoid issues of market power by limiting share of permits in possession of individual tour operators
- Revenues to be used for monitoring, enforcement, and preservation
- (Dividend to all of the world's inhabitants is not feasible)



Permit trading

- Permits should be tradable to add flexibility
- The trading system could be operated by IAATO to benefit from synergies and to strengthen IAATO's position
- A more neutral solution would be to leave the operation to a new "Antarctic Trust"
- Avoid issues of market power by limiting share of permits in possession of individual tour operators

Discussion

- Little experience with cap-and-trade solutions in tourism
- Other instruments are much more common (e.g. entrance fees), but often insufficient to limit access and finance preservation
- Cap-and-trade could be useful for sufficiently unique and remote destinations, e.g. Galápagos, Svalbard, Uganda
- Moral issue: does cap-and-trade work against the poor?

Conclusions

- Antarctica renders unpaid ecosystem services to tourism
- The growth and scale of tourism causes problems
- Funds for monitoring and preservation are insufficient
- A cap-and-trade approach can address all these issues, and seems feasible
- Worthy of further exploration

