

# 台灣推動生態旅遊概念的再建構與省思

## Rethinking the Promotion of Taiwan's Ecotourism

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「生態旅遊」算得上是近一、二十年來，受到全球學界討論最多的觀光議題。打從1980年代中後期開始，生態旅遊一詞在全球明顯崛起後，它被保育界期待能改變過去傳統大眾觀光對旅遊地的各種負面衝擊；社會學界期許更高，希望它在協調各個利害關係者的過程，扮演地方社會轉型的中介角色，並積極與全球聯結，最終能使得全球邁向「生態旅遊的社會」；而觀光業界則多以一種新興的旅遊產品、以拓展旅遊版圖為目的，積極將該新產品行銷上市，以謀利益；對於主導區域發展的公部門，也大多將其視作帶動地方經濟發展的工具。再就生態旅遊的詞義而言，就更顯得雜沓。這一名詞發展迄今，不但有超過上百種的定義，同時又被各界賦予以上不同的任務，它的議題性可見一斑。

生態旅遊有這麼多重的意涵與不同的認知，其實令人一則以喜、一則以憂。因為各界各有不同的想像，在各自表述的結果，對於一些在推動生態旅遊的地區，雖也不乏成功的經驗，但也有些國家或地區，由於各部門，乃至同一部門的決策高層與執行人員的見解不一致，導致在推動上不易貫徹。力量相互抵銷的結果，往往徒勞無功。這在台灣推動生態旅遊的歷程，也曾出現過此種現象。

台灣在90年代初期受到全球生態旅遊思潮的影響，起步與發展速度相較於他國也不遑多讓。隨即在學界及公部門的研討會及文章論述的推波助瀾下，逐漸發展了開來。尤其在邁入21世紀伊始，即由交通部觀光局積極投入。可惜卻也在政經結構的制約下，使得生態旅遊原本的理想色彩，被政府部門納編為「觀光客倍增計畫」的一環，成為政府「拚經濟」的手段之一，使得觀光局在推動生態旅遊上似

Ecotourism has arguably been the most widely discussed issue in tourism for the past two decades. With a marked rise of the term in the mid and late 1980s, ecotourism has been hoped by conservationists to alter the negative effects brought by traditional mass tourism, and even more highly anticipated by sociologists to transform local societies to create a global society of ecotourism. It is seen by the tourism industry as an emerging lucrative product of sightseeing while viewed by the public sector as a means to spur regional and economic development. With over a hundred definitions and various expectations given to it, ecotourism is no doubt a hot topic for debate.

Such multiplicity in its meaning and diversity in its interpretation have brought hopes as well as worries. With different imaginations and respective ways of engagement by various circles, some successes in promoting ecotourism have indeed been achieved in parts of the world, while some failures have also been incurred due to the disparity in the understanding between policy makers and executors, which had once happened in Taiwan's promotion of ecotourism.

Inspired by a global trend of ecotourism in the 90s and fueled by vehement discussions among the academia and public sector, Taiwan's ecotourism had a quick start and had been actively engaged by the Tourism Bureau in the 21st century. Limited by some political and economic factors, an ideal vision of ecotourism had been integrated into part of the "Doubling Tourist Arrivals Plan" to spur the economy



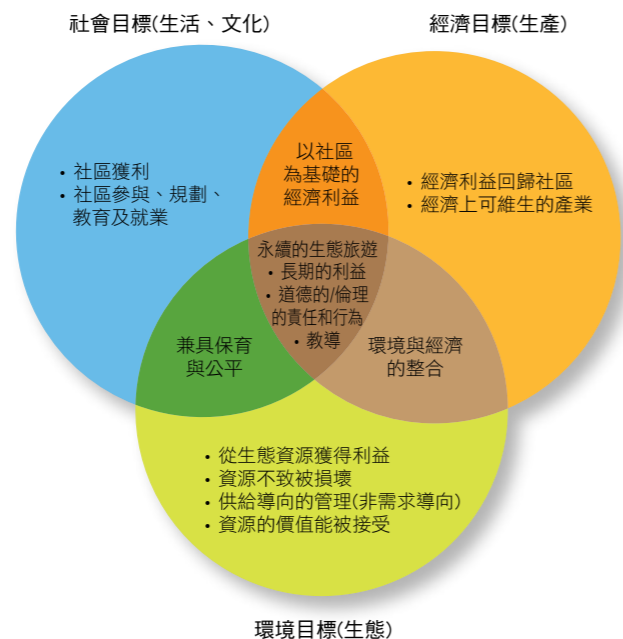
台灣美好的自然景觀適合從事生態旅遊，但前提是需有的妥適合宜的管理。圖為合歡北峰春景。/ 太管處提供，林辰儒攝  
But appropriate management needs to be put in place first. The picture shows a spring view of Mt. Hehuan N. Peak. / Photo Provided by Taroko National Park Headquarters, taken by Chenju Lin

乎比較重視旅行社帶團的功能以及重視觀光行銷的手法等。一時之間，像清境農場的民宿如雨後春筍般快速冒出、內灣也曾發生居民受不了大量賞螢的觀光客，而將螢火蟲以殺蟲劑消滅的憾事等等，再加上觀光局並非土地管理部門，對於一些高舉生態旅遊旗幟卻大肆開發的業者，一直是一籌莫展。這種現象被外界批評為「天堂正在被剝平」(The paving of paradise)。

嗣後在2004年政府部門也注意到該發展失控的問題，轉而交予國家公園當局主政，希望藉由國家公園多年來不錯的保育經驗，扭轉該種偏差現象。國家公園當局固然以國土保育的思惟，希望以遴選少數條件極優之地點予以輔導，將來一旦卓然有成，外界就會起而效尤。假以時日，台灣就有可能成為「生態旅遊的社會」。然國家公園當局的組織結構，迄難擺脫威權菁英決策模式的慣性，最後，地方所提報的地點，卻以有待資源挹注的地方為優先考量，一場遴選會議，幾乎成為地方爭取資源的場域。所呈報地點往往並非最優、最具潛力的生態旅遊地。再加上決策層峰未能洞悉原本制度設計的初衷，認為生態旅遊遴選地點多多益善，再加上委託輔導的時間又很短暫，輔導團也只能蜻蜓點水式的到處「輔導」，成效自然不盡理想。更糟的是，國家公園當局未編列補助經費，也未具職權俾對生態旅遊地加以認證，導致被遴選接受輔導的地點也迭有怨言。

and its focus has been turned to tour arrangement and marketing. A meteoric rise of bed & breakfast inns and the overwhelming amount of tourists had posted grave challenges to the environment and local communities while Tourism Bureau, with little land management expertise, could hardly prevent "the paving of paradise" from happening.

The out-of-control situation was then handed down in 2004 to national park administrations, well-experienced in conservation, to solve. The administrations had hoped to select a few well-qualified sites as examples for promotion, with a vision of creating a society of ecotourism. But the inertia that relies on elite authority to make decisions had made those sites with least resources, rather than those with the greatest potential, become priority choices, and the selection process had been like a tug of war for resources. Besides, as top policy-makers welcomed as many sites as possible, and the given time for assistance and guidance work was short and brief, the result had been much less than satisfactory. Also, lack of subsidies and of authoritative power to certify those selected sites had resulted in constant complaints from local communities selected for promotion.



以上對於台灣兩個部門在推動生態旅遊上所造成的困境，的確有很大的原因是來自各個利害關係者對生態旅遊未有全貌的認知。不只是當地居民，尚且包括決策菁英。因此，筆者認為有必要針對生態旅遊的基本概念，以及概念間的聯結再予釐清。其實台灣從2004年之後國家公園當局所重新制定的生態旅遊白皮書當中的定義：「一種在自然地區所進行的旅遊形式，強調生態保育的觀念，並以永續發展為最終目標」，即與1991年國際生態旅遊學會(TIES)的定義：「生態旅遊是一種到自然地區的責任旅遊，它可以促進環境保育，並對當地人的生活有所貢獻」頗為神似。較大的不同在於台灣2004年版的生態旅遊白皮書，較為缺乏生態旅遊「產業鏈」的概念，尤其對當地經濟盈收，乃至旅行社可能扮演的角色，以及其與大眾觀光不太能相容的知見，是有其迷思！也因而被部份地方社會批評當局有「反商情結」。其實我們如果從國際生態旅遊學會TIES的定義予以解構，再綜合各家的補充，不難發現生態旅遊仍不脫台灣近年來大家頗為熟悉的「三生一體」、「三生三贏」的論述。亦即生態旅遊的發展，務必兼顧到生態(環境)、生活(社會、文化)、生產(經濟)等三個構面的整體考量。不過我個人頗喜歡Wight在1993年所建構的「永續的生態旅遊價值與原則圖」，因為它與台灣目前的思維方式最為貼近，且不致太複雜，應該有助於台灣社會目前在推動生態旅遊的全盤考量，亦可做為日後檢視的參考。

綜合以上TIES、國內生態旅遊白皮書的定義以及Wight的架構圖，大致上可將所謂「生態旅遊」的整體概念整理成以下六點來說明：其一，它必然會安排一趟遊客至自然地區(生態資源豐富地區)的遊程，除了認識當地的生態

The predicaments faced by the two agencies mentioned above in promoting ecotourism resulted largely from lack of a panoramic view shared by all stakeholders, including not just local residents but top elites as well. Thus, reconstruction and rethinking on a unified concept of ecotourism is truly necessary. The Ecotourism White Paper (2004) defines ecotourism as “a form of tourism that occurs in natural areas, with a focus on conservation and an ultimate goal of sustainability,” similar to the definition by The International Ecotourism Society (TIES): “responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people.” But the 2004 White Paper falls short in elaborating on the “industry chain” of ecotourism and in clarifying the myth of the incompatibility between ecotourism and mass tourism. Judging from the definitions provided by TIES and others, the discussions on ecotourism in Taiwan focus mainly on the familiar “ELP” – an integration of all 3 aspects: ecology (environment), life (society and culture), and production (economy). Here I'd like to add to the system Pam Wight's Sustainable Ecotourism Values and Principles Model (1993), which may well fit into Taiwan's current mindset toward ecotourism as a facilitative reference for comprehensively considered ecotourism.

A combination of the TIES's and the definitions by the local Eco-tourism White Book and Wight's framework,, 6 conclusions on the concept of ecotourism can be drawn. First, it sure will contain a tour to natural areas (rich in eco-resources) to help tourists know more about local eco-system and culture. Second,



有別於一般風景區，台灣國家公園肩負了國土復育、生態遊憩保育研究、環境教育等重責大任 / 黃躍雯提供  
Taiwan national parks are not ordinary tourist spots – they are the centers of land restoration, ecological conservation, and environmental education./Photo provided by Yueh-wen Huang

環境，也包括體驗當地的文化；其二，遊客的造訪，除了散客外，並不排除由重視生態的旅行社所安排之小眾旅遊(原則上不超過20位遊客)。該遊程通常會由當地人進行生態導覽，並提醒遊客珍愛環境、對環境負責任，包括自備環保餐具，不留下垃圾等；其三，為彰顯當地的特色及節省能源，當地所提供的住宿、餐飲會儘量使用當地的素材，必要時也會發展生態旅館；其四，社區主人會親切的接待遊客，提供遊客多樣的遊憩體驗，同時也懂得要發展讓遊客留在當地消費的機制。例如建築具有特色的民宿、提供風味餐飲，也懂得發展當地特色的紀念品及農產品(最好是有機產品)。畢竟讓遊客滿足知慾的慾望，以及被歡迎的感受，才能提高其滿意度，也會增加其重遊意願；其五，極為重視社區的參與。除了像極地、荒漠可能沒有社區參與之外，通常生態旅遊都會很尊重社區的自主意識，讓他們也能參與決策、共同規劃。這其中社區賦權，就相對非常重要。亦即務必培養社區具有發展生態旅遊的知識、能力與權力；其六，勿排斥與大眾觀光結合。國外的經驗是，大多數成功的生態旅遊，很有可能是大眾觀光遊程中的一段。何況感人的生態旅遊在潛移默化的生態解說過程，也有可能使得觀光客「轉性」！

## 黃躍雯教授簡介

### Profile of Yueh-wen Huang, Ph.D.

黃躍雯，彰化鹿港人，成長於竹塹。國立台灣大學地理學博士。自然保育景觀規劃高考及格，曾任陽明山國家公園及營建署之技士、專員、技正等職務。目前任教於世新大學觀光系所，擔任國家公園概論、生態旅遊、質性研究、觀光發展與全球在地化、休閒不動產……等課程。主要研究領域暨興趣包括：地方永續觀光發展之研究、國家公園制度暨空間的形塑分析、原住民部落生態旅遊模式的建構、休憩空間與政策的政治經濟分析、旅遊文化區域差異的研究……等。

Huang was born in Lugang, Zhonghua, and grew up in Zhuqian. With a Ph.D. in geography at National Taiwan University, he had passed the higher civil service exam for natural conservation and landscape planning, and had worked as Technician, Specialist, and Technical Specialist at Yangmingshan National Park and Construction and Planning Agency. Currently he is an associate professor at the Department of Tourism in Shih Hsin University, and teaches “Introduction to National Parks,” “Eco-tourism,” “Qualitative Research Method,” “Tourism Development and Global Localization,” “Recreational Real Estate,” etc. His research interest and specialties include research on sustainable development of local tourism, configural analysis of the system and space of national parks, construction of eco-tourism model in aboriginal tribes, political-economic analysis of recreational space and policies, research on regional differences in tourism culture, etc.



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