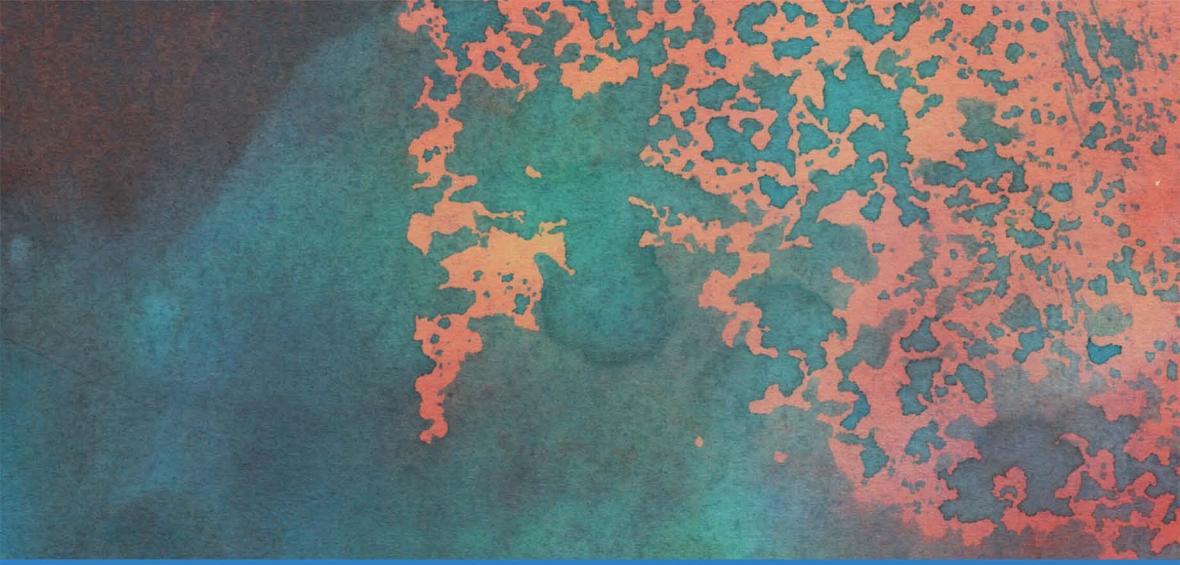
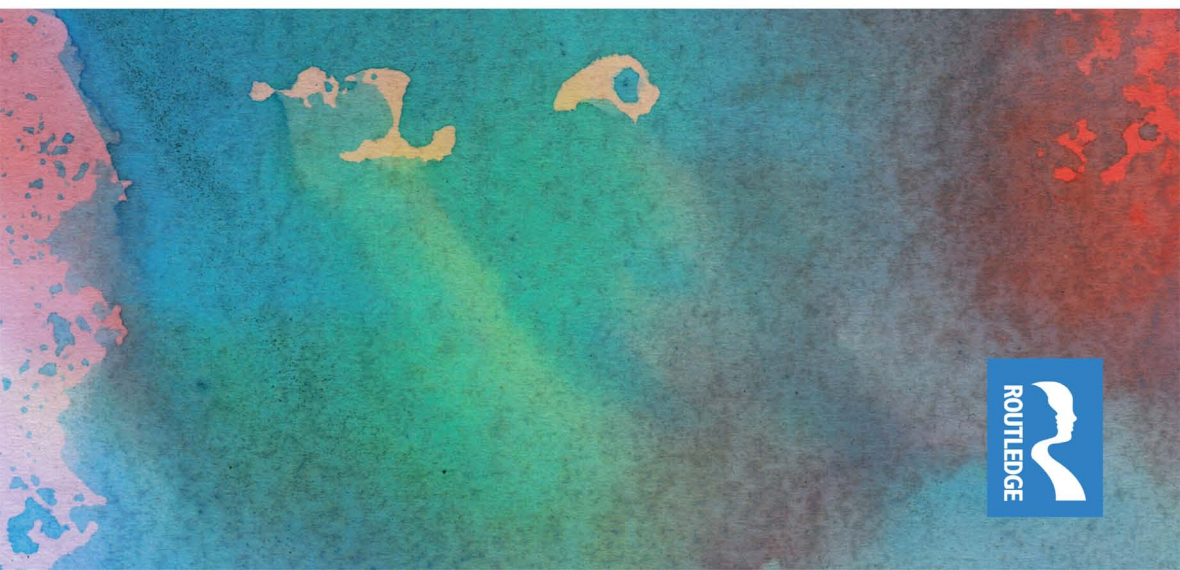


Contemporary Geographies of Leisure, Tourism and Mobility

TOURISM POLICY AND PLANNING IMPLEMENTATION

ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

Edited by
Konstantinos Andriotis, Dimitrios Stylidis and
Adi Weidenfeld



Tourism Policy and Planning Implementation

Policy and planning are particularly important in tourism due to their multi-faceted nature and the complexity of inter-organisational relations and collaboration. This book sheds light onto these interrelations through the critical review of tourism planning policies and their measurable outcomes. Looking at a range of policies in a variety of countries at both micro and macro levels, it considers both the failures and successes of implementing tourism policies and planning initiatives. Policies discussed throughout include: cross-border tourism, planning in post-conflict destinations and sustainable tourism development.

This multidisciplinary volume furthers knowledge of the impacts of planning and policy implementation on tourism development both present and future. Written by an international team of highly esteemed academics from some of the world's leading institutions, this will be a valuable resource for students and researchers in tourism, sociology, geography, development studies, politics, economics, and management.

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Contemporary Geographies of Leisure, Tourism and Mobility

Series editor: C. Michael Hall

Professor at the Department of Management, College of Business and Economics, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand

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Tourism Policy and Planning Implementation

Issues and Challenges

Edited by Konstantinos Andriotis, Dimitrios Stylidis and Adi Weidenfeld

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Contents

Figures

Tables

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Preface

Communities all over the world are often facing unwanted or poorly planned development projects due to inefficient and/or ineffective policy and planning implementation. Tourism has been considered by many national, regional, and local governments a tool for economic development and rejuvenation strategy. Given, however, its adverse impacts on society, culture and the environment, the need for planning and policy-making has been emphasised during the past five decades as prerequisite to preserve the environmental and cultural resources and incorporate the needs and desires of the local population (Dodds, 2016; Henderson, 2009; Kitheka and Backman, 2016; Nowaczek and Smale, 2009).

Policy and planning are particularly important in tourism due to their multifaceted nature and the complexity of inter-organisational relations and collaboration. In recent years, the relevance of academic studies to policy making and their impact on end users have been a pre-condition for securing research funding. This has been particularly the case in the international research agenda, where academics are asked to link the topics of their research proposals to current issues in the industry and to engage end users from the very initial stage of their design. Nevertheless, there is a general lack of a critical approach of how and to what extent academia addresses subjects related to the implementation of tourism planning policies and measures their outcomes. In particular, there is a dearth of knowledge on the failures of current policies, which address problems and challenges in the tourism industry and consider new ways for bringing research, industry, and policy closer together.

This book aims to bestow recognition and honour to those leading academics that have made fundamental contributions to tourism policy and planning research and whose contributions have a lasting impact on tourism policy and planning knowledge. It addresses a wide range of tourism policy and planning aspects by top senior academics from various disciplines including sociology, geography, environmental studies, politics, economics, and management. It further builds on the contribution of tourism research and academics to shaping policies and changing the industry from a historical perspective and contemporary outlook. Lastly, it highlights the potential role of tourism academics in the future of the tourism industry.

Using international case studies authored or co-authored by outstanding scholars who have made a lifelong contribution to advancing research on tourism policy and planning either in their country or from an international spectrum we have attempted to broaden the book's scope, enliven its concept and appeal to an international audience. All the invited authors have conducted research in Europe, Asia, America, Africa, and Australia, and are employed in world leading institutions. In their chapters they use cases in different environments and settings that demonstrate some successful examples of implementing tourism policies and planning initiatives which are believed to make an impact on ameliorating tourism problems, seeking to identify ways of evaluating the results of tourism policy and planning research.

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1 Introduction

Konstantinos Andriotis and Dimitrios Stylidis

Introduction

The constant development of tourism at new or established destinations produces a number of impacts – ranging from economic and sociocultural to environmental – that an increasing number of host communities worldwide are experiencing in their everyday life. After the 1960s, a plethora of studies (e.g. Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Huayhuaca et al., 2010; Gursoy, Chi & Dyer, 2010; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Stylidis & Terzidou, 2014; Stylidis, 2017) measured residents' perceptions of the impacts of tourism as a way to monitor these impacts with results indicating residents' belief that tourism, apart from being seen as a panacea, is often considered responsible for social, cultural, environmental, and even economic 'damage' to the host destination.

Residents' concerns regarding the development of the industry are attributed, according to past research (Andriotis, 2004a; 2010; 2016; Aslam et al., 2014; Gu and Ryan, 2008; Mawby, 2017; Mbaiwa, Kgathi and Motsholapheko, 2017; Mohan, Nabin and Sgro, 2007; Stylidis et al., 2014), to negative impacts such as increased cost of living, inflation, noise and traffic, changes in hosts' way of life, environmental pollution, crowding, and increased crime. Negative impacts especially on the environment, natural or artificial, can have significant and irreversible effects on a destination: if place resources are degraded, then the reasons for visiting a destination will no longer exist and at the same time the quality of life of the host population will be diminished.

On the other hand, among the most frequently reported benefits derived from tourism development (e.g. Akis, Peristianis & Warner, 1996; Andriotis, 2004b; Chen & Var, 2010; Das & Sharma, 2009; McDowall & Choi, 2010; Monterrubio & Andriotis, 2014; Monterrubio, 2010; Terzidou, Stylidis & Szivas, 2008) are increased employment opportunities, investments and income, improvements in the local infrastructure, increase in recreation opportunities, and greater variety of cultural activities.

To minimize or even avoid the negative impacts of tourism and increase its positive ones, planning and policy implementation is required. Through planning and policy under-developed or developing destinations can acquire guidelines for further tourism development, while developed destinations can

revitalise their tourism sector and sustain its viability (Andriotis, 2011; Boukas & Ziakas, 2013; Stylidis, 2017). It is the aim of this introductory chapter to review the various planning and policy approaches and the ways these are implemented. In doing so, this chapter is divided into four sections. Following this introductory part, the second section reviews the various tourism planning and policy approaches; the third section discusses implementation of tourism planning and policy and the fourth section covers the contents of this edited book.

Tourism policy and planning approaches

This section presents the five dominant approaches in tourism planning identified in the literature followed by the three main ones recognized in tourism policy making.

Tourism planning approaches

Tourism planning, defined by Getz (1987) as "a process based on research and evaluation, which seeks to optimise the potential contribution of tourism to human welfare and environmental quality" (p. 3), is about setting and meeting objectives for the future. To achieve the goals of tourism development and the needs of a tourist receiving destination, tourism planning involves a series of actions designed to realise either a single goal or a balance between several interrelated goals (Yan & Morpeth, 2015). As Murphy (1985) suggests "planning is concerned with anticipating and regulating change in a system to promote orderly development" (p. 156). This change has several social, economic, cultural, and environmental implications and planning aims to increase positive effects such as to generate income and employment, improve community welfare, and ensure resource conservation.

The first step in planning typically involves the recognition by government that tourism is a desirable option for development that should be carefully planned. The next step proceeds with an overall plan for the development of a destination's resources considering local conditions and demands (Spanoudis, 1982: 314). To design a successful plan, it is required to start with setting and understanding the development objectives to be achieved at national, regional, or local levels. These objectives are:

> A statement of the desired outcomes of developing tourism in a destination and may include a wide range of aims, such as job creation, economic diversification, the support of public services, the conservation or redevelopment of traditional buildings and, of course, the provision of recreational opportunities for tourists.
>
> (Sharpley & Sharpley, 1997: 116)

Five approaches to tourism planning can be identified in the literature (Getz, 1986; Yan & Morpeth, 2015) which when implemented can result in various

environmental, economic, and socio-cultural impacts (Figure 1.1). Each of these traditions and their implications are analyzed in the next subsections, presented in chronological order, although it is acknowledged that they may occur simultaneously (Table 1.1). This section will briefly outline each of these approaches.

Boosterism

Boosterism assumes that tourism development is a priori beneficial for tourism destinations and host communities. For this reason, there is a need to attract large numbers of tourists without considering the carrying capacity levels of the destination. Under this tradition, environmental and cultural resources are promoted as assets to stimulate market interest and increase economic benefits and barriers to development are reduced (Andriotis, 2000; 2018; Dredge, 1999; Getz, 1987; Hall, 1991). In effect, tourism develops as an unplanned activity

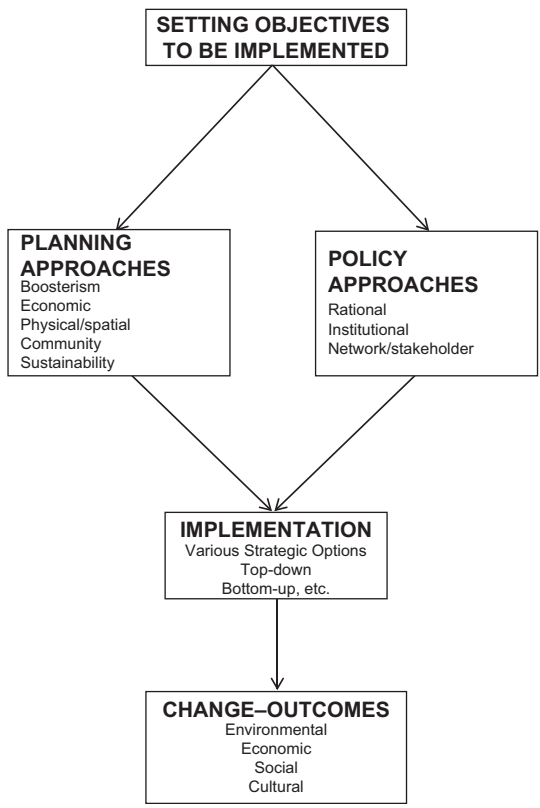

Figure 1.1 Tourism policy and planning process

Table 1.1 Timelines for traditions of tourism planning

Dates	*Boosterism*	*Economic*	*Physical/ spatial*	*Community*	*Sustainable tourism*
1850s	Established by the 1850s with the advent of industrialized mass tourism				
1890s		Established by the late 1890s with respect to discussions of development alternatives of natural area destinations	Antecedents emerge with respect to conservation of natural areas although secondary to economic approaches		Debates over "sustained yield" forestry antecedent for sustainable development
1930s		State's role in managing the economy becomes extremely important	Land-use zoning becomes established in urban and regional planning	Idea of planner as expert well established in urban and regional planning	
1960s		Economic analysis of development decisions becomes more commonplace	Emergence of modern conservation movement with environmental agencies established for the first time	Idea of planner as expert comes to be challenged in the late 1960s and early 1970s	UN Habitat and Man and Biosphere programmes begin to be developed in the late 1960s
1980s	Neoconservative political approaches with respect to role of the state give boosters a stronger role in destination growth coalitions	Economic analysis dominant in public planning and decision-making	Spatial approaches are weakened as public-private approaches become a popular planning strategy	Increased application of community approaches to tourism through public participation exercises	Sustainable development is a key concept in World Conservation Strategy and the Brundtland report

Dates	*Boosterism*	*Economic*	*Physical/ spatial*	*Community*	*Sustainable tourism*
2000	Continued role of growth coalitions reinforced by rise of concept of place wars and destination competition	Economic analysis remains dominant. Tourism satellite accounts become important evaluation tool while idea of competitiveness influences destination planning	Spatial planning tools remain important, especially as a result of new geographic information technologies; spatial planning approached at multiple scales	Participation standard in much destination planning although extent to which it affects planning outcomes is problematic	Sustainable tourism a significant planning concept although application is contested; increased concern over global environmental change

Source: Cooper and Hall (2008: 197–198).

without any concern for environmental and cultural preservation, land planning, awareness of the indigenous population about the tourism industry (Andriotis, 2001a; 2005), and as a consequence it results in many negative effects to the local community (Archer, Cooper & Ruhanen, 2005).

In practice, most tourism problems are attributed to laissez-faire tourism policies and insufficient planning (Andriotis, 2007; 2018; Andriotis & Vaughan, 2009; Edgell, 1990; Edgell & Swanson, 2013), and although some destinations have benefited from tourism development without any "conscious" planning, there are others suffering from the lack of it. As a result of such laissez-faire policies "local residents are not included in the planning process and the carrying capacity of the region is not given adequate consideration" (Page, 1995: 177). Boosterism is a top-down approach to planning that ignores sustainability and is practised entirely by "politicians who philosophically or pragmatically believe that economic growth is always to be promoted, and by others who will gain financially by tourism" (Getz, 1987: 10).

Economic, industry-oriented approach

Tourism is considered as a vehicle for economic development and a leading economic force for many developing countries and regions. For this reason, under the economic, industry-oriented approach, the main aim is to generate jobs and income to improve the balance of payments, to bring hard currency, maximise productivity, and by doing this it is believed to increase prosperity and community welfare (Andriotis, 2001b; 2002b; 2002c). The main priority of this tradition of tourism planning is to achieve economic growth, giving lower priority to the environmental and socio-cultural impacts of increasing tourism activity.

Destinations continuously seek to attract visitors and to develop further tourism for economic reasons (Cooper & Hall, 2008). Bearing this in mind the economic, industry-oriented approach focuses on the competitiveness of the destinations and aims to provide the right product for the consumer (the tourist), and therefore it is "market oriented" (Braddon, 1982: 246). Among the main weaknesses of this approach is that it fails to adequately account for the environmental and socio-cultural impacts brought about by tourism to host communities and destinations, as the next two approaches do. As a consequence, it may result in over-tourism and its associated negative effects as has been reported for several tourism destinations such as Barcelona and Venice.

Physical/spatial approach

The two aforementioned approaches (boosterism and economic, industry-oriented) support planning that provides attractions, facilities, and services that the tourist market demands and results in environmental degradation and loss of socio-cultural integrity of a tourist receiving destination, even though it may bring short-term economic benefits (Inskeep, 1991: 30). Thus, several scholars questioned the net benefits and economic efficiency of tourism development and called for new approaches to tourism planning able to replace the existing models of continuous growth. As a result, traditional forms of environmental protection, based on rational decision making, emerged.

The physical/spatial approach is concerned with the environment and the community itself. It views tourism as a "user" of natural and cultural resources and in the planning of tourism gives high priority to environmental conservation (Yan & Morpeth, 2015: 9). Under this planning approach, tourism aims to sustain and secure land use and physical infrastructure, so that tourism activity will not surpass a destination's carrying capacity levels. This planning approach, which undertakes a geographical perspective, postulates that a destination with structured design and layout would entice tourists' visitation, providing the necessary open space for them.

Community approach

For too long the orientation of tourism planning has been guided by the needs and wants of the tourist (Ritchie, 1993). The gradual recognition of the adverse impacts of tourism development on the local environment and population, as well as the central role hosts play in tourism, since "tourism, like no other industry, relies on the goodwill and cooperation of local people because they are part of its product" (Murphy, 1985: 153), led several researchers (e.g. Cooke, 1982; Hall, 2008; Haywood, 1988; Inskeep, 1999; Murphy, 1985; Ritchie, 1993) to contribute to the development of the so-called "community approach" in tourism planning.

The supporters of the community approach advocate that as residents are influenced by tourism, they have the right to be actively involved in the

decision making that significantly affects their lives. Residents are the most appropriate/relevant population in defining which tourism impacts are acceptable and which are not, and whether tourism development is desirable, because as Richardson and Long (1991) state, residents are there to stay in contrast to tourists who are temporary members of the community. Similarly, Mill and Morrison (2002) argue that, above all, the local people must be protagonists in determining the future of tourism in their community.

Through planning, communities can maintain local control and improve their quality of life (Inskeep, 1999; Loukissas, 1983; Pearce, 1981). However, as Potter et al. (1999) suggest, in practice community participation has little influence in policy making. Similarly, Dowling (1993) asserts that even though "research into community attitudes towards tourism is reasonably well-developed, incorporation of such views into the planning process is far less common" (p. 53).

A community approach, as such, calls for the active participation of the host population in the design and management of tourism (Ritchie, 1993) because socially responsible tourism could be achieved through this process (Jamal & Getz, 1995). In a similar vein, Cooke (1982) argues that "tourism development which is subordinate to local character and identity as well as to local needs, wants and priorities is the best possible guarantee against tourism saturation" (p. 26). Along with Prentice (1993), "community involvement in tourism development has become an ideology of tourism planning, akin to the participatory planning ideologies of the 1970s in urban and regional planning" (p. 218). In support of the community approach, study findings (e.g. Cooke, 1982; Gursoy et al., 2002; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Nunkoo et al., 2018; Teye et al., 2002) suggest that a limited involvement of residents in tourism planning can lead to negative perceptions of tourism. Gursoy et al. (2002), Lankford and Howard (1994), and Madrigal (1993), for instance, found that resident involvement in local decision-making regarding tourism favourably influenced their perceptions of impacts and level of support for the industry.

Sustainable approach

Tourism planning has been highly recognised by several researchers (see for example Getz, 1987; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2009; Hall, 2008; Inskeep, 1999; Murphy, 1985; Pearce, 1981) as the key to a sustainable development of tourism. Thus, after the 1970s a more sustainable approach to tourism planning evolved aiming at developing a place in such a way that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987: 43) and requires the active participation of the local community in the decision making (Stylidis, 2018). In fact, the concept of sustainable tourism emerged largely as a reaction to tourism growth, over-tourism and its associated negative effects (Canavan, 2014: 128) and as a strategy of polluting less,

ensuring long-term viability of resources, creating economic development, and promoting local culture and products (Andriotis, 2018).

Tourism policy approaches

Deriving from the ancient Greek word "polis" (term for city state in Ancient Greece), policy has been defined as "whatever governments choose to do or not to do" (Dye, 1978: 3). From this definition it emerges that governments make choices about what is important and unimportant. Public policy is "the instrument of governance, the decisions that direct public resources in one direction but not another" (Bridgman and Davis, 2004: 3). Following John (1998), Tyler and Dinan (2001), Stevenson, Airey and Miller (2008) and Scott (2011), three main approaches have been identified in the literature for analysing tourism policy. These three approaches are briefly presented below.

Rational approaches

This approach (based on Jessop) emphasises the relational character of governmental institutions, which interact with economic, socio-political, and cultural spheres, including individuals' beliefs and values, that are both internal and external to institutions. It recognises the impact of individuals and their behaviour as well as the social structures associated with the institutions of governance. It assumes that actors in government agencies and those affected by them are reflexive and draw on their personal perceptions, values and beliefs, which determine their strategic view of the structural conditions that they face in various and specific circumstances. This constitutes Jessop's notion of "strategic calculation" (Pastras & Bramwell, 2013). Several researchers, see for example Farrell and Twining-Ward (2004) and Pforr (2005), support that some of the first approaches to analyse policy are based on the rational paradigm. While the rational paradigm has been criticized on many grounds (see for example Christian, Hoffmann and Oberding, 2018), up to now it remains the dominant theoretical paradigm in policy making. In line with Baum (1996) the main reason that planners endorse the spirit of the rational analytic model, is "not only because it supports claims of professional status, but also because it emphasizes the fundamental principle of guiding action by knowledge" (p. 134). Thus rational approaches seek for specific solutions to address well-defined issues using clear methods.

In practice several scholars, like Stevenson, Airey and Miller (2009), argue that an examination of the social context within which such policies take place is necessary for a better understanding of public policy. Such context might include the greater environment, the interactions between stakeholders involved in the policy-making and implementation process and its political nature (Bramwell & Lane, 2006; Dredge, 2006; Tyler & Dinan, 2001). Additionally, less emphasis has been given by the rational approaches

to the tools and methods used in the development of a policy plan (Stevenson et al., 2008).

Institutional approaches

Institutions can be defined as formal and informal organizations which control human interaction and determine the structure of incentives of political, social, and economic plans. Due to their key actions institutions play a significant role in almost every aspect of tourism development. The institutional approaches have heavily focused on the political and public institutions within which public policy is formulated (Dredge & Jenkins, 2003; Tyler & Dinan, 2001). However, they tend "to neglect the political and social context that affects how formal rules and norms operate" (John, 2006: 65). Given its focus, the main elements of institutional approaches analysis include the different procedures, rules, and traditions that are followed. While up to now there is a debate on whether any satisfactory theory of institutions has been articulated (Castellano & García-Quero, 2012) – something that is more evident in the case of tourism policy making – its contribution lies in questioning rationality and deterministic thinking and the fact that it supports the view that institutions develop and implement policies to minimize costs and maximise benefits (Treuren & Lane, 2003). On the other hand, these approaches seem to pay less attention to the political and social processes previously discussed (Scott, 2011).

Stakeholder (or group) and network approaches

Stakeholder and network approaches emerged from the growing realisation that research is often too rational and therefore not always applicable to the real world (Lamont & Ferreira, 2015). Stakeholder approaches, heavily influenced by stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984), emphasize the "plurality of organizational interest groups and the political nature of organizational goal setting and policy implementation" (Treuren & Lane 2003: 4). The support of the various stakeholders is essential for the development, operation, and long-term viability of tourism. However, not all stakeholders have the same level of interest in tourism, and some of them are more critical than others in determining the outcomes of policy making. Somewhat similarly, network policy approaches support competitiveness by focusing on network interactions and complex relationships of the policy communities made up of interested stakeholders who have a key role in the development of issues and policy formulation processes. Networks also feature a range of participants that surpass organizational boundaries and structures (Scott, Cooper & Baggio, 2008).

As John (1998) argues, "policy emerges as a result of informal patterns of association" (p. 91). As such, these approaches assist in explaining the complexity of the policy context and its implementation, but commonly fail to consider the interests that determine how networks function (John, 1998;

Tyler & Dinan, 2001). They have further been criticised for saying little about policy processes (Ham & Hill, 1984), and for omitting in their analysis that the environmental conditions constitute key elements in policy making (Brugha & Varvasovszky, 2000; Stevenson, Airey & Miller, 2008).

Implementation of tourism planning and policy

Most countries in the world have tourism development plans in place at a national, regional or local level, however, many of such plans and tourism related policies are not implemented, while others are only "partially or very partially implemented" (Baud-Bovy, 1982: 308). The fact that tourism plans and regulations are not applied or are only partially applied means that the issue of policy implementation is vitally important for the tourism industry (Krutwaysho & Bramwell, 2010: 670). As various authors report in their studies (see for example Liu, Tzeng & Lee, 2012), research on tourism planning/implementation usually overemphasises the process of developing plans but it has failed to consider the way these plans are actually implemented. Lack of implementation results in ineffectiveness, malfunctioning, failure to achieve goals, and finally brings unintended outcomes as a result of the accomplishment of dysfunctional goals (Cloquet, 2016). This may be due to conventional planning "oriented only to a plan, too vague and all encompassing, reactive, sporadic, divorced from budgets and extraneous data producing" (Gunn, 1994: 24).

Rein and Rabinovitz (1978) defined implementation as "the point at which intent gets translated into action" (p. 308). Implementation involves different types of interactions between various stakeholders, including different public agencies, private entrepreneurs, and community members, who held distinct views about the policies and their application (Byrd et al., 2009). The state usually has much influence over policy implementation, but negotiation with other stakeholders around implementation issues can be problematic, as each stakeholder may pursue its own interests (Krutwaysho & Bramwell, 2010).

The broader literature, see for example Dodds (2007), Krutwaysho and Bramwell (2010), Lai, Li and Feng (2006), Puppim de Oliveira (2008) and Scott (2011), reports several obstacles and barriers in policy implementation in different settings. These include insufficient political will and support, restricted financial resources, limitations of institutional capacity, limited stakeholder enthusiasm, weak cooperation and coordination, lack of stakeholder involvement, lack of detail about implementation measures, and limited practical experience. To overcome the obstacles of implementation a number of administrative and policy coordination activities along with effective legislation and continuous dialogue between communities and decision-makers are needed (Hall, 1999; Ioannides, 1995; Scott, 2011).

Policy implementation has been studied from differing perspectives with the implementation literature (see for example Matland, 1995) denoting the existence of two major schools of thought. First, the top-down approach suggests

that "policies are introduced by decision-makers at the 'top' who are guided by policy objectives, and the policies are then implemented by other actors at the 'bottom' of the hierarchy" (Krutwaysho & Bramwell, 2010: 673). Second, the bottom-up approach focuses on how local communities negotiate with people at the top (national, regional, and local governments) to formulate mutually agreed actions. However, the bottom-up approach supports the view that policies made at the top are often poorly connected with what happens in reality (Krutwaysho & Bramwell, 2010: 673). Vivian (1992) argues that this is reflective of the repressive nature of traditional societies which often exclude various groups of people from the planning process.

Because of the incapability of the aforementioned two approaches in addressing tourism problems, attempts have been made to develop a synthesis integrating the top-down and bottom-up approaches (Andriotis, 2002a; 2002c; Krutwaysho & Bramwell, 2010; Ryan, 1996; Wang & Ap, 2013). Krutwaysho and Bramwell (2010), for example proposed a "society-centred" and "relational" approach to study tourism policy implementation, which highlighted the significance of studying policies in relation to their interactions in the wider societal environment and context.

Whenever local communities are excluded from the policy making process, feelings of lack of control arise with potential negative implications for the implementation of tourism policy (Holland & Crotts, 1992; Thomlinson & Getz, 1996). However, quite often the bottom-up approach ends up being time-consuming and expensive, leading many governments to perceive it as unnecessary and unwieldy. While various authors (see for example Hall, 2009; Krutwaysho & Bramwell, 2010) have long recognised the importance of implementation in tourism planning and policy, only a limited number of studies have actually researched implementation. To overcome past research negligence, this book presents a series of worldwide case studies where policy and planning implementation is discussed at various levels.

Conclusion

This introductory chapter briefly presented the key planning and policy approaches identified in the literature and discussed their implementation in the context of tourism. Such knowledge is prudent for decision-makers who can learn from the international experience and recognize that this process is not static but dynamic and it has to integrate exogenous changes and additional information (Baud-Bovy, 1982; Gunn, 1994; Hall, 2000). Before going further to discuss the implementation of policy and planning, it is imperative to identify similarities and differences between the two aforementioned concepts: planning and policy. A common characteristic is that they are both inextricably interrelated, both aiming through tourism governance and decision making to alter a destination and involve alternative courses of action to address problems (Dredge & Jenkins, 2007: 10). Also, according to Dredge and Jamal (2015), both concepts are dialectical:

> their meanings are socially constructed and depend upon the context in which they are applied; in some instances they remain "fuzzy concepts" that are loosely referred to, while other scholars attempt to nail down several different meanings for each of these terms.
>
> (p. 287)

On the other hand, their main differences include that policy focuses explicitly on the politics of decisions, while planning is not restricted to the adoption of a political position, but addresses the practical side by focusing on implementation and monitoring (Yan & Morpeth, 2015). In other words, policy is highly concerned with the ways to achieve the goals of tourism development, while planning is more concerned to determine the actions that should be taken in the long term for destination development.

To cope with rapidly changing conditions and situations faced nowadays by many tourism destinations at local and international level, such as the economic crisis which results in public debt, unemployment, inequalities and immigration (Andriotis, 2018; Jiang et al., 2012; Stylidis & Terzidou, 2014), flexible and adaptable policy and planning approaches are required (Atach-Rosch, 1984; Choy, 1991). These planning attempts need to be supported by policies that will help their implementation considering also a destination's carrying capacity. Such policies also need to be widely accepted by the local population. For example, several cases have been reported where reactions have taken place against incoming tourists and tourism development by community members; see for example Andriotis (2018) who reports that in Barcelona residents' reactions towards tourism have resulted in a social movement mobilization aiming at controlling tourism expansion.

To enhance tourism policy and planning practices and achieve a sustainable development of tourism, a number of researchers (e.g. Allen et al., 1988; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Stylidis et al., 2018) advocate that hosts' perceptions of tourism impacts and their support for the industry must be frequently monitored, because it is through this process that local authorities and planners can identify residents' concerns with tourism. Information gathered through so-called "tourism impact studies" (studies that measure residents' perceptions of tourism impacts) enable appropriate action to take place and policies to be formulated that will optimise the benefits and minimise the costs related to tourism (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Gu & Wong, 2006; Stylidis & Terzidou, 2014); tourism impact assessment is therefore used as a tool for effective planning. Consequently, the community approach has widely contributed to the existing body of knowledge by actively incorporating residents' perceptions of tourism impacts research in the planning and decision making of tourism (Pearce, 1989), thus elevating the role of the resident in the planning and development process of tourism.

Apart from the local residents, other stakeholders' inputs such as governmental and non-governmental bodies, businesses and tourists should be considered, as it would otherwise be very difficult to implement a plan without

these groups' involvement and consensus; decisions for destination development should not be taken only by professional planners. To achieve this aim, Gunn (1994) and Arts and Gudden (2002) propose interactive planning and policy making; Bramwell and Sharman (1999) and Sharma (2017) collaborative planning; and Timothy (1998; 1999) and Ananda (2007) participatory planning and policy initiatives, all of which incorporate stakeholders' opinions and desires in the planning process. Thus top-down, together with bottom-up input, ensures that decisions have a much better chance of being implemented.

To sum up, planning and policy are mechanisms able to provide a balanced approach in tourism development especially with the active involvement and participation of the host community (Atach-Rosch, 1984; Gunn, 1994). Within this realm, an understanding of the various tourism planning and policy-making approaches along with their successful or unsuccessful implementation is deemed necessary for the theoretical advancement of the topic. This book explores important core themes of tourism planning and policy, each of which will be the focus of one of its eight chapters. The following paragraphs briefly present the content of each chapter of the book.

Wall discusses in his chapter the gap observed between tourism planning in theory as developed by academics and the ways that planning actually occurs in practice. To build his case Wall uses several personal examples from China where he was involved in a variety of policy and planning practical activities. His experience mainly draws from a predominantly top-down approach, where the important role of leaders is emphasized. However, implementation occurs at the local level and the process involved in developing tourism plan for a remote place in western China is analysed.

In her chapter, Moscardo revisits the approaches to community involvement in tourism planning by identifying relevant and emerging themes from the broader planning literature. Moscardo argues that within tourism planning practice, the involvement of the local community remains largely theoretical and community involvement has rarely been heeded. Such a practice presents a serious challenge to improving the relationship between tourism and sustainability. After critically reviewing new approaches from the broader planning literature, Moscardo suggests ways to more effectively engage and empower destination communities in destination planning: building community capacity; the use of the concept of community well-being to drive tourism development; and the use of advocates for marginalized groups, using a metaphor of ancient Greek tragedy. Finally, Moscardo proposes a destination community well-being framework for tourism planning considering community involvement.

Boyd focuses on policy and planning issues in the context of destinations that have experienced long-term violence and instability. His chapter considers how policy and planning can assist the tourism industry to overcome vulnerability caused during a conflict era, using as a case study the contexts of Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka. Boyd's chapter makes clear connections

highlighting the relevance of tourism policy and planning in an early era to the post-conflict era. Boyd also proposes a model of post-conflict development suggesting a possible trajectory of change for destinations that have gone through a long conflict era, but which were once conflict free. His model encompasses four stages termed "early tourism development," "product loss and industry resilience," "recovery" and "growth and development."

In his contribution, Cooper explores the impact of the destination context on policy and planning formulation, with a special interest in the demand and supply side characteristics of a destination. Focusing on a less studied area, that of failing destinations, Cooper discusses planning and policy issues related to the revitalisation of these failing destinations. The chapter stresses the imperative of understanding both the nature of the destinations themselves and their influence upon planning processes of revitalisation. The author identified a range of success factors including the need for a champion, a whole of destination approach, and adequate financing for revitalisation. The roles of stakeholder landscape, network analysis, and communities of practice are also discussed.

Duffy and Dwyer discuss in their chapter the challenges that common pool resources pose to sustainable tourism development using the case of whale shark tourism in Ningaloo Marine Park, Western Australia. The authors begin their chapter with the nature of common pool resources, and move on to identify the threats to whale shark tourism which have the potential to negatively affect its sustainability as an environmental resource and niche tourism market over time. Duffy and Dwyer further examine the management strategies used to meet the challenges of sustainable governance of whale shark tourism and identify an approach that underpins strategy formulation, implementation, and evaluation associated with tourism development in natural and marine parks.

The chapter by Guala-Catalan and Pierce examines Chile's policy-making process over the period 2001–2010 that created a broader institutional framework for tourism. The newly developed framework addressed principles of New Public Management thereby aligning tourism with the general administration of the Chilean State. The authors discuss the complexity of this process and the number of agencies involved. Guala-Catalan and Pierce identified five main themes (institutional structure, policy making, marketing, planning, and quality assurance) and four governance issues (funding, effectiveness, coordination, and transparency/accountability). In the case of Chile, conceptualization of policy making as a process that incorporates a policy window, pre-legislative, and legislative stages appeared to be a valuable alternative to the policy cycle model.

Departing from the majority of studies which explore policy for relatively large areas at the macro level, Butler's work focuses on policy making at the micro level. Using the case of a small island (Fair Isle) in Scotland, Butler discusses and evaluates the policy of a national level organisation, the National Trust for Scotland (NTS), developed over a fifty-year period. In this

process, Butler identifies two major strands, the over-riding one being population stabilisation, a goal which has been achieved to date, while the second strand is that of sustainability, a focus which is much harder to assess in terms of long-term success. Butler's chapter concludes with an assessment of the effectiveness of the policy of the NTS on this island and the challenges impacting on that policy and setting in the future.

Timothy focuses on the context of cross-boundary collaboration and investigates the policy and planning implications of cross-border collaboration in tourism and how these play out on the ground with "end users." In his chapter Timothy discusses the challenges interjurisdictional policies and tourism planning have long faced due to state protective mechanisms, diverging policies on common resources, insurmountable sovereignty laws, sociocultural and economic differences, and a lack of political will. Patterns of supranationalism and cross-border collaboration are believed to elucidate the successes and failures of cross-boundary policy efforts and the reasons for this, particularly in relation to tourism resource protection, infrastructure development, and human mobility.

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2 Tourism planning
Rhetoric and reality

Geoffrey Wall

Introduction

Tourism planning involves the collaboration of many stakeholders who may be actively involved in the process or passive recipients of its outcomes. Often, academics participate as consultants in the creation of tourism plans. The chapter draws upon approximately thirty years of experience of involvement in tourism planning, mostly but not exclusively at provincial and local levels, particularly in Asia, especially in Indonesia and China. It reflects on and provides examples from these experiences to derive lessons for both academic and planning practices.

It will be argued that there is a substantial gap between rhetoric and reality in tourism planning. Rhetoric refers to what is spoken and, especially, written primarily by tourism academics. In contrast, reality refers to what actually occurs in practical planning initiatives. For a variety of reasons, it is not desirable that such a gap should exist. For example, tourism pedagogy will not prepare students for proper engagement in tourism planning if they are not well informed of what to expect. Academics will be less helpful than they might be and their inputs are less likely to be sought if their contributions are thought to be unrealistic. At the same time, other stakeholders, including the planners, may lag in their understanding of key concepts if they do not engage with relevant literature and those who create it. Thus, for example, unrealistic expectations emerge concerning the practical utility of concepts such as carrying capacity and sustainability, decades after those ideas were initiated and in ignorance of the substantial cautionary literatures that have been generated. Thus, it is desirable that the gap between rhetoric and reality should be narrowed.

There are reasons for the existence of the gap. Academics commonly take a normative perspective and write about what should be done, i.e. the planning process and how it should occur. Many authors of papers on planning in the academic literature are actually seldom involved directly in planning themselves. Rather they respond to comments that they read in the literature, suitably referenced, and suggest incremental improvements to planning processes. Thus, they suggest enhancements to processes, such as greater community involvement and wider and more timely availability of pertinent information,

often ignoring that considerable costs in both time and money may be involved in implementing their suggestions. This does not mean that their insights are not valid or useful, rather it means that they should be placed in context.

In contrast, planners and consultants, who may actually do much of the planning, do not have open-ended agendas or purses and must come up with their suggestions as efficiently and cheaply as possible (otherwise the consultants will go out of business). Often working under considerable pressures, they seldom have the time to delve deeply into pertinent literature. While the plans may have long time horizons, the planners often have short-term objectives, desiring to get their work accepted as efficiently as possible so that they can move on to new initiatives. For them, time is money.

It is easy to over-generalise. Tourism planning takes place at many scales, from the national, or even supra-national, to local and even site levels, with somewhat different requirements. Policy making and planning should be closely related, and there are often global dimensions to planning as international agencies make recommendations on what should be done and other global agencies may be providing loans to underpin major initiatives. For example, at the time of writing, the United Nations World Tourism Organization has declared 2017 to be the "International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development" and it has previously issued guidelines, sometimes in conjunction with other international agencies, for many aspects of tourism such as ethical stances recommended for a number of tourism stakeholders and climate change. Also, there are plans that are devoted primarily to tourism and others in which tourism is one concern among many.

Furthermore, the preponderance of writers on tourism planning emanate from western countries, even though some may ply their trade in other parts of the world. Their ideas may be misleading even within their home context. For example, in Canada, where the author is based, although there may be marketing plans, there are surprisingly few tourism plans although there are sometimes plans with substantial tourism content. In fact, when asked to recommend a competent tourism plan as a template, I have struggled to do so. In the so-called developed world, national and state/provincial tourism plans are hard to come by for tourism development initiatives are often handled in a similar fashion to other development initiatives, through zoning system, building permits, public hearings, and sometimes tax incentives. Indeed, I have suggested elsewhere that much western planning consists of managing public participation exercises rather than the crafting of planning documents (Wall, 2007). Even where participation in decision making is encouraged, many choose not to participate, having other interests and other things to do, and the participation processes may vary substantially from those espoused in the literature.

In contrast, in the developing world, the planning processes and products may be very different. For example, both Indonesia and China have developed national and provincial tourism plans (although provinces do not always make good tourism regions for tourism routes traverse their boundaries) with

the aid of international tourism consultants. Indeed, they have requirements to update plans every five years making the preparation of formal tourism plans, often with minimal public inputs, a substantial and recurring exercise. Interestingly, in the developing world, where there is often a stronger expectation that universities will serve government, there is commonly an expectation that senior academics will be directly involved in planning, often with the assistance of teams of graduate students who do most of the work.

With this general discussion as context, the bulk of the chapter will undertake two tasks. With a focus on practices in China, first, a series of tourism initiatives or policy and planning activities with implications for tourism will be introduced and discussed. This is not a complete review of tourism policy and planning in China: such overviews are available elsewhere (Wang and Wall, 2012). Rather, the aim is to introduce a number of important policies, most of which have emanated from central government, including government leaders, in order to provide a flavour of the kinds of policies that have underpinned China's rapid growth in tourism, both domestic and international. Then a report will be made on a tourism planning experience in which the author was involved with the aim of indicating the kinds of things that happen at the local level. The case concerns the development of a county tourism plan in western China in 2016. The author has participated in a wide variety of tourism planning initiatives, at state and local levels, in China and elsewhere, over many years and has selected this case as a recent example. It is not claimed that it is a typical example, but it is not unusual, and it is a convenient example of what often actually happens at the local level as tourism planning takes place. All of the case study information that is provided was gained by the author "in the field" as a participant in the process but the names of places and people are not provided to protect their identities.

Planning and policy initiatives

In this section, a number of policy and planning initiatives that have been undertaken in China will be introduced briefly (Figure 2.1). The list is not exhaustive, even of the involvements of the author. For example, the creation of provincial tourism plans is not addressed, nor is the considerable effort that

- Eco-province (Hainan) 1999
- Golden Weeks (National Holidays) 2000
- Red Tourism 2002
- Scientific and Harmonious Tourism 2004
- International Tourism Island 2009
- Tourism Law 2013
- One Belt, One Road (Western Development) 2013
- National Parks 2017
- Holistic Tourism (Xi Jinping 2016) 2017

Figure 2.1 Selected tourism policy and planning initiatives in China

has been made to acquire World Heritage site designations and to use them as a tourism brand. While not examined here specifically, they do inform some of the interpretations that are made.

Eco-province (Hainan) 1999

Hainan is a tropical island province in the South China Sea. It has important naval and military bases but its economy is dominated by tropical agriculture and tourism. The whole province was declared a special economic zone, with even more special economic zones within it, and in the 1990s it suffered a boom and bust situation as outside investment poured in, much into hotels, which remained unfinished for many years when the bubble burst.

In 1999, Hainan was designated the first eco-province in China. The goal was to attract economically productive and ecologically efficient industries, including tourism, while protecting the culture and physical beauty off the island. At the time, although there was much international evidence to the contrary, tourism was regarded in China as a "smokeless" industry. The approach was also in line with current approaches towards the environment. Environmental efficiency was to be achieved by the adoption of a "circular economy" whereby the wastes from one facility could become the inputs to another. Also, at this time there was an emphasis on the greening of development, which often meant little more than the provision of a green veneer. In the author's experience, there was a tendency to remove all vegetation, flatten the topography, and then to seek inputs on doing something environmentally benign – too little, too late!

The initiative is a good example of a common Chinese strategy of trying to do something in one place to learn from the experience before encouraging widespread adoption.

Golden Weeks (National Holidays) 2000

In 2000, three annual seven-day national holidays were introduced (Wu, Morrison and Leung, 2012). Rapid urbanization had meant that many people had left the rural areas for the cities and the "Golden Weeks" provided them with the opportunity to return home and renew and reinforce their family relationships. This has been a great stimulus to domestic tourism and provides welcome breaks for many workers. However, it has really been too successful because transportation systems have become overwhelmed and, in spite of improvements, such as high-speed trains and new airports, as urbanization continues, the sustainability of this is coming increasingly into question.

Red Tourism 2002

In October 2002, the Law on Protection of Cultural Relics recognized the heritage status of communist historic sites "with a view to … conducting education in patriotism and the revolutionary tradition" through tourism. It

resulted in the preparation of the National Red Tourism Development and Planning Compendium 2004–2010 and a national conference in 2005 (Wall and Zhao, 2017). Numerous sites exist but few are truly successful destinations as indicated by mostly limited local economic impacts and lack of innovative interpretation methods. However, the main aim is to solidify support for the party-state and, as such, the heritage – cultural tourism focus is most pertinent to the domestic market.

Scientific and Harmonious Tourism 2004

In 2004, Hu Jintau, President of China and General Secretary of the Communist Party from 2002 to 2012, stated that development should be "scientific" and "harmonious". As a process of development, tourism planning should ideally meet these criteria. The meaning of such statements may not be clear but, since they emanate from above, they are very important directives and those with responsibility try to work out what they mean and comply with them.

When speaking abroad, I have often found it useful to ground my comments in such statements that are fundamental to the country in which I am speaking. This is a way of indicating that one is not visiting for the first time and has tried to listen before speaking and might have something to say that is relevant. For example, when working in Indonesia, I would point out the national maxim, "growth, equity and security" and challenge the audience to answer for themselves whether or not the tourism plans were moving the country in these directions.

Similarly, when speaking in China, I have sometimes drawn upon the suggestion of Hu Jintao. I do not believe that tourism development is a science. Nevertheless, I interpret the statement as a directive that tourism planning should be developed logically, based on clear concepts and sound data. Harmonious development can be regarded as a synonym for sustainable development, in which case one can infer that as a minimum, adequate attention should be given to economic, environmental and socio-economic matters. It might also mean the adoption of a long time horizon, and social and spatial equity. One can articulate that the challenge is to consider whether or not these criteria are being met and provide evidence with which to support or refute the statement.

International Tourism Island (Hainan) 2009

In 2009, Xi Jinping, President and holder of numerous important posts, suggested that Hainan should be an "international tourism island". Shortly after this statement was made, I became part of a team that was expected to address the prospects for ecotourism in the island. However, as in the preceding case, the statement prompted much thinking about what such a statement might mean. Did it mean that Hainan should focus on international

markets, meet international standards, that the whole island should be devoted to tourism, all of these things, or something else? Once again, the statement from above prompted re-thinking on the part of local officials, while complicating the tasks of the consultants who were now expected to answer questions that were different from those that they had been hired to address.

Tourism Law 2013

On 25 April 2013 a Tourism Law was passed. While a number of concerns were addressed, one of the major items was the relationship between price and quality in Chinese tourism. Competition between tour operators had been mainly through price such that many tours were being sold below cost. This caused operators to cut corners, affecting the quality of tours. For example, many tour guides relied heavily for their income on tips (which are technically illegal) and kick-backs from other operators of tourism businesses such as hotels, restaurants, attractions and souvenir outlets. The result was that inappropriate priority was given to taking tourists to places where they could spend money, rather than to the attractions that they were looking forward to visiting. The law was an attempt to curb such practices, thereby increasing the quality of tours at the cost of higher prices.

One Belt, One Road (Western Development) 2013

The "One Belt, One Road" initiative was proposed officially in 2013 and is best viewed as being a massive programme of infrastructure development that will extend China's influence across much of the world (Bennett, 2016; Liu and Dunford, 2016). Harking back to the time of the Silk Road that linked Europe and China through Central Asia, the new transportation systems and business investments are expected to link almost seventy countries and, at the same time as addressing some of China's western development challenges, extend and solidify China's sphere of influence. The new vision encompasses both land and sea routes that will facilitate business, under Chinese leadership, throughout an enormous area.

The key question that arises then is "What are the implications of the One Belt, One Road strategy for tourism?" The Silk Road was not a single route and the products that traversed it were not confined to silk. In fact, it was a communication system that facilitated cultural transfer and mixing. Westerners may recognize the Silk Road through the exploits and writings of Marco Polo. Although the routes cross relatively natural landscapes and there are splendid natural protected areas that can be reached from the Silk Road, the routes are essentially a cultural resource and many of the features of interest, particularly in western China, reflect cultures that are now under pressure and are located in areas of political tension. Distances are immense, both to reach the area from major markets and between attractions within the area, making visits expensive in terms of both time and money.

The "One Belt, One Road" initiative may eventually improve access and reduce travel costs, thus stimulating tourism, but if the resources are not secured and protected, then industrial developments could undermine both natural and cultural attractions. Sixty plus countries do not make a travel destination and the coordination of international itineraries requires collaboration across countries, which is a difficult task. Thus, while the implications of the "One Belt, One Road" initiative could be far-reaching, much remains to be done to turn resources into competitive travel products.

National Parks 2017

China does not have a national park system comparable to many other countries (Wall, 2016). While it has more than one thousand nature reserves, it is not really a system of reserves for they are managed by a variety of different government departments. While there is some commonality in management plans, which have core areas and buffer zones and which specify the activities than can and cannot be undertaken in such areas, financial support is often insecure: even national nature reserves may have little financial support from the national treasury and, therefore, must rely on admission charges and subventions from local government to defray management costs.

For several years there has been discussion about the establishment of national parks in China. Some places, such as Sanquingshan which is a UNESCO World Heritage site, have used the terminology for some time but this may be little more than an artefact of translation. However, at the time of writing, consultants have been hired and a plan is expected to be released with the goal of establishing a national park system under central administration. The establishment of Sanjiangyuan National Park on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau was announced in April 2017, and a massive panda park, as well as a park in Tibet which it is claimed will be the largest in the world, are supposed to be in place by 2020.

Much remains to be resolved in this initiative. For example, the extent to which new areas will be designated or old areas renamed is not clear. From a tourism perspective, there is fear among operators that the conservation perspective that is being espoused will freeze resources and curtail, rather than enhance, their business.

Holistic Tourism (Xi Jinping 2016) 2017

In July 2016, Xi Jinping promulgated the notion of "holistic tourism" and this was included in the 13th Five-year Plan of Tourism Development which, in the Chinese way, advocated nine transformations, ten breakthroughs and the avoidance of eight misunderstandings. Although further documentation is slowly emerging, the meaning of holistic tourism is unclear, even to tourism specialists. In discussions with the author, some have suggested that it involves giving greater attention to the relationships between core attractions and

subsidiary attractions in their vicinity. Others have suggested that it is directed at fostering synergies between tourism and other sectors. Either, indeed both, of these interpretations would be worthwhile directions to embrace. Initially, however, the outcome has been to promote re-thinking and discussion about the directions that tourism in China is taking and, even if nothing else transpires, this is a positive result.

Summary

The numerous policy and planning initiatives that have been discussed briefly above introduced some of the initiatives that have and are being undertaken in China. They illustrate the importance of pronouncements from political leaders in a top-down decision-making system, as well as the willingness to try out things in particular locations, to learn from the experience, prior to deciding whether or not to implement the measures more widely.

Case study

In the preceding sections, emphasis has been placed upon policies and other actions taken at the national level. However, even in a top-down system, implementation commonly occurs at the local level. This allows for variations to occur from place to place as circumstances and priorities vary. Certainly, it is possible to recognize common features, such as the importance of private companies, often with close connections to government, that play leadership roles in tourism development, often to the disadvantage of local residents. However, in a country as large and diverse as China, exceptions also occur. Thus, it is not suggested that procedures in China are always identical to those that will be presented and discussed. On the other hand, it is believed, on the basis of experience, that the situation is sufficiently common to merit discussion.

The study location

The place for which planning was occurring is a rural County in western China with a substantial ethnic minority population. It has a rugged landscape with many sustaining themselves by cultivating the pockets of agricultural land that are scattered among the hills (Figure 2.2). At the time of involvement, the attractive landscape was made all the more appealing by the patches of yellow rape seed which were in full bloom and would eventually supply oil for cooking.

The County is poor. In fact it had been designated as a county with substantial poverty by the central government in Beijing, drawing attention to the pressing need for enhanced economic opportunities and putting pressure on the local government to give a high priority to economic development.

The County is also fairly remote and distant from large markets. In order to get there, the first step was to fly to a major city in western China. From

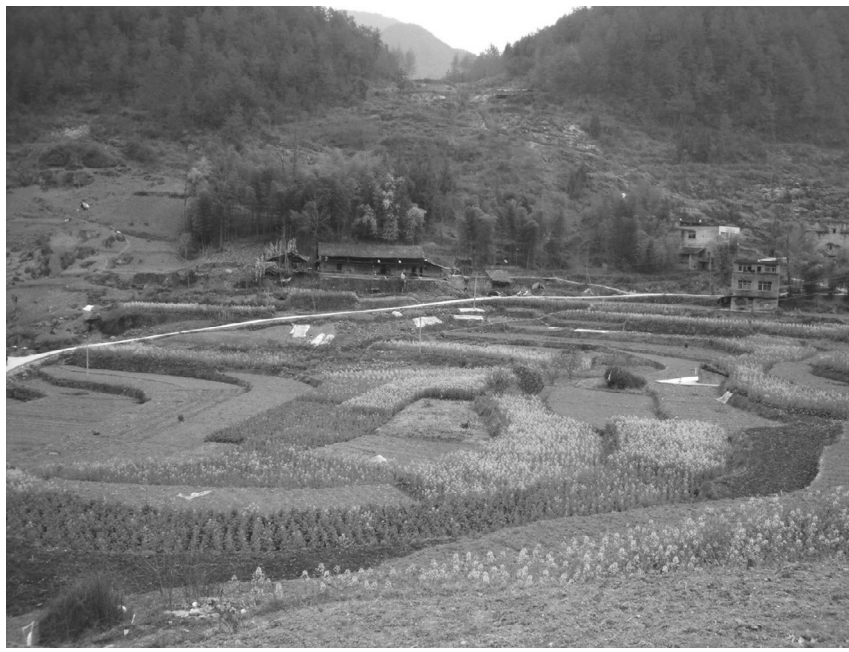

Figure 2.2 The rural landscape of the study area
Source: Photograph by G. Wall, 2016

there, it was necessary to travel by train for several hours before meeting local officials and transferring to vehicles provided by them to travel at least another hour by road to the county town. These vehicles were later used to explore the study area. On departure, it was intended that the same route would be taken in the reverse direction but, unfortunately, an accident resulted in a large truck completely blocking the main two-lane access road in both directions, leaving space only for pedestrians to squeeze by one at a time. Since heavy equipment was not available to address the problem and a solution did not seem imminent, it was decided to take a circuitous route, in the dark, on extremely narrow, undulating and winding roads, only to be halted by another accident, less severe but causing another substantial delay as a driver refused to move his vehicle to let others pass until police and an insurance broker could reach the place from the city. The implications for accessibility, including access to markets, are obvious.

Current tourism

The mountains and valleys are very attractive rural environments and the minority people that live in them and their way of life have yet to become tourist attractions. Indeed, it seemed that while the tourism potential of the

mountains was recognised by many of those in local government, the bucolic rural landscape and other attributes were taken for granted and their potential interest to tourists was seldom appreciated.

The main tourism activity was white-water rafting on a river, with two offerings, one longer than the other. There was also a geopark but the tourism potential of this designation had yet to be fully appreciated or actualised. Small-scale preliminary efforts had been made to provide road access to attractive sites in the mountains. Indeed, as can be seen in Figure 2.2, narrow concrete roads with minimal automobile traffic had potential to become attractive hiking or cycling routes with minimal modification. A deep valley remained in pristine condition, in part because people had been excluded from entering it, and offered considerable potential for ecotourism (although inclement weather made it dangerous to enter the valley when the study team was there).

At the time of investigation, a plan existed to dam the river to provide flood control and energy, and perhaps irrigation water (our informants were unsure). This would certainly inundate part of the longer white-water rafting route and probably cover up some of the interesting geological features that gave rise to the geopark designation. The uncertainty is evidence that little sharing of information or consultation had occurred among government departments.

Only limited and fairly basic accommodation facilities were available in the town, with few overnight options in the rural areas.

Stakeholders

There are commonly many stakeholders who are potentially affected by tourism plans. In the part of the process that is reported here, there were three main stakeholder groups: local government, the consulting firm and international experts.

Local government would be faced with implementing any plan. Faced with directives from central government that steps should be taken to address rural poverty, tourism development had been identified as one of the few options. Furthermore, big problems were perceived to require large solutions, pushing desired options towards mass tourism (in a setting in which other forms of tourism may have been more appropriate) and rapid implementation. The evaluation of the job performance of local government officials is based substantially on the extent to which they have facilitated economic development and this is changing only slowly. Few "brownie points" are gained from protecting environments or preserving options, although some kudos may be gained from acquiring an additional designation, such as a geopark, biosphere reserve or heritage recognition, for this can be used as a brand that promises future development.

The consulting firm is involved in a financial transaction, providing services for a fee. It is desirable to satisfy the requirements of the local government as

efficiently as possible and with a minimum of acrimony, since to do otherwise would slow down the process, create more work and reduce profits. It is desirable to do a good job, within the constraints of time and money, since the firm's reputation and future work depend on this. In the case under consideration, the task of preparing the plan was delegated to a capable, young, employee. He had worked extremely hard, visited the County on many occasions, explored it thoroughly, established a good relationship with the local government and proposed a pro-growth plan, focusing on mass tourism products, nicely presented in a well-illustrated document. Key elements of the plan included the development of a circular sightseeing route, since most visitors were expected to come by car, involving massive amounts of road construction across steep slopes in relatively natural settings. The acquisition of large amounts of public money for the construction of such infrastructure seemed not to be a problem. A five-star hotel was suggested for the top of one mountain, along with a snow park.

International experts. It is common in China to invite international experts to provide input into and comment upon draft tourism plans, supposedly to ensure that what is proposed is appropriate and meets international standards. However, as in this case, the experts may not have visited the area before, will spend only a few days in it, and have no long-term commitment to the plan. Indeed, the outcome of their involvement may not even be known to them since the plans are not public documents and, even if one was acquired, being written in Chinese, it would not be comprehensible if one does not read the language or acquired assistance with translation.

Three international experts were involved in this planning exercise. Expert 1 was teaching at a university in eastern China, spoke Chinese, and came originally from another Asian country. Expert 2 was a consultant who was originally from Europe but based in yet another Asian country. Consultant 3, the author, is an academic, based in Canada, but with considerable prior experience of undertaking research in Asia, particularly in Indonesia, mainland China and Taiwan. All three had worked in similar capacities before, although not together.

The planning process

For the author, who had to travel from central Canada to western China, as much time was spent in getting to and from the study area as exploring within it. The schedule within the County was arranged by local government and the consulting firm and consisted of visiting key sites for three days, eating and drinking together, observing, asking questions and taking notes. It is important to state that, while the preliminary plan was available for review, no data of any kind were provided or had been collected. There were no current tourism statistics, no information on where people came from, what they did, where they stayed, what they liked or disliked and so on. Although there was suggestion of an attraction based on snow, there was no analysis of snow

cover, let alone future cover in an era of climate change. There is seldom any consideration of the competition or assessment of comparative advantage and that was the case here. There was no public consultation in the conventional sense, except for a concluding seminar, in which the experts were expected to speak. This was attended by a few additional officials.

In preparation for the seminar, expert 2 suggested that the three experts should get together to coordinate their ideas and present a common perspective. Expert 1 rejected this idea, demanding to speak first and on his own. He made a long, abstract presentation, full of complex linkage diagrams, with limited references to the local situation. It was a presentation that expert 3 had heard before.

Experts 2 and 3 coordinated their ideas and shared their presentation. They offered a set of simple concepts and tried to use these to assess the local situation. They presented a cautionary perspective and suggested initiatives that might be taken immediately with small capital requirements, albeit on a smaller scale than that desired by local government or proposed by the consultant in the draft plan.

On arriving back at the main city, there was a de-briefing with the head of the consulting firm, who seemed unsurprised by our comments. Expert 1 did not attend. Since that time, although there have been brief discussions about other projects with a company employee, there has been no further discussion about this plan. Therefore, the plan and its outcome are not discussed further here.

It is noteworthy that there was no place for local involvement in the planning process beyond consultation with a limited number of local officials. Local residents had not been consulted and did not know what was going on. For example, the elderly couple (Figure 2.3), who farmed the land and whose house overlooked the view presented in Figure 2.2, were gracious hosts for an hour or so and intrigued by the visit, but nothing is known about their interest in, ability or willingness to engage in tourism. More generally, the future of such rural areas is uncertain as they have an aging population, the young people having left for the city.

Discussion

Although many of the comments, particularly in the case study discussion, have been critical, it should be acknowledged that China has done many things well. In a little more than a quarter of a century, it has gone from being a place with limited conventional tourism to become a leading international tourism destination and a major source of international tourists, with a massive domestic tourism industry. Clearly, the scale and pace of change have been so great that it has been difficult for planners to keep up, particularly if their plans are to be informed by rigorous studies (which has seldom been the case). The Chinese have a saying: "Build the nests and the birds will come!" Build the hotels and the tourists will arrive! However, this is an oversimplification and it is not difficult to find struggling hotels and decaying

Figure 2.3 Farmers who tend the case study landscape
Source: Photograph by G. Wall, 2016

tourist facilities in China. With a large and dense population in much of the country, new facilities will likely be visited. However, just as birds will not remain if the environment cannot sustain them, tourists will not return if they are unable to acquire quality experiences.

Much tourism planning in China to date has focused on product development with an economic focus, with much less attention given to environmental matters, and socio-cultural considerations, particularly as they concern residents, are seldom given much attention. This is changing but only slowly. At the same time, even though there is often considerable academic involvement in planning in China, few plans are rooted adequately in pertinent concepts or a strong data base. In particular, in any planning exercise, it is vital to have clear goals and objectives for these set the directions for the plan and ultimately have a strong influence on its contents. It is also necessary to have realistic expectations regarding implementation of plans and the pertinence of the academic literature.

As an individual who has been involved in a number of planning processes in various parts of the world, I have come to the conclusion that my participation often does little more than facilitate the meeting of a statutory requirement, much as the undertaking of an environmental assessment process and the acceptance of an environmental impact statement may sometimes be regarded as the successful jumping of a hurdle rather than an integral part of the planning process with real implications for environmental quality. However, I am also aware that I am a guest in such situations, that it is a privilege to be involved, and that I probably learn more from the

experiences than I give in the insights that I share. I am also aware that in my own country, when reports are submitted, not all of the recommendations are accepted. Decision makers pick and choose what they will support and what they will do and that is probably how it should be!

Conclusions

In this contribution, it has been argued that there is often a gap between academic writing and the realities of practical tourism planning. Academics often adopt a normative approach, suggesting how things should be done, whereas in practice there are constraints of time and money, as well as cultural conventions about how decisions are made, that drive what is actually done.

The examples that have been presented have been drawn mainly from China, which has its own distinctive system. Tourism in China has been a success story, particularly when viewed narrowly in terms of numbers of tourists. However, it is much less clear if the lives of residents of destinations have been improved or if the environment has been adequately respected. In China, the importance of pronouncements from the top has been emphasized. It has been followed by consideration of a case of tourism planning at the local level. It is implicit in the discussions that both the planning process and the product could be improved if goals and objectives were specified with more care, if the plans had broader content and were based on better information, i.e., more thorough research, and if more stakeholders were involved, especially the residents of destination areas. Finally, the plans themselves should be made more accessible, perhaps by putting them on the internet. Unfortunately, in China, they are seldom public documents so that many people are largely unaware of the decisions that are being made that may have considerable implications for their future.

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3 Rethinking the role and practice of destination community involvement in tourism planning

Gianna Moscardo

Introduction

In 1986 Getz reviewed more than 150 tourism planning processes or models and concluded that the area suffered from many problems. These included limited analysis of all tourism costs and benefits, a lack of attention paid to non-economic factors, poor integration of tourism into other aspects of destination community development, and a narrow focus on specific projects. In 2005 Hall offered an overview of tourism planning based on five traditions: boosterism, economic, physical/spatial, community and sustainability. Hall (2005) argued that most tourism plans were firmly embedded in either the boosterism or economic traditions, meaning they continued to suffer from the same problems identified by Getz (1986) nearly two decades earlier. In 2011 Moscardo (2011a) repeated a version of Getz's review concluding that little had changed in tourism planning since Getz's 1986 paper. Tourism planning appears to be stuck in a 1980s model of strategic business planning which, in turn, is embedded in Anglo-Saxon models of governance (Aras and Crowther, 2009), that generally ignore the well-being of destination communities. While these reviews identify multiple problems with this approach to planning, two specific concerns can be seen as foundation issues that contribute to the others – a focus on outdated business planning models rather than contemporary community development and general planning approaches, and a lack of serious attention given to destination community involvement in tourism planning and management. The former problem of tourism's inward focus has been discussed extensively elsewhere (Moscardo and Murphy, 2014, 2016; Saarinen, 2013; Saarinen and Rogerson, 2014) and this discussion generally calls for tourism academics to look beyond the tourism literature and to stay abreast of developments in relevant fields. This chapter sits within this tradition by looking at the broader community development and planning literature to seek alternative models and innovative approaches. This chapter also focuses its attention on destination community involvement in tourism planning and governance. This is a topic that is often mentioned in academic literature but rarely considered in any depth in tourism planning practice.

The chapter will begin with a brief critical review of the key concepts and trends related to community involvement in planning in general before briefly reviewing major themes related to this topic in recent tourism literature. It will then examine links between the trends and innovations in the general planning literature and three streams of relevant tourism planning research conducted by the author focused on the concept of community capacity building. The chapter will conclude by suggesting ways to integrate these innovations into a framework to guide more sustainable tourism planning processes. It should be noted that the chapter seeks to raise questions, challenge traditional approaches to, and suggest alternative ways to think about, community involvement in tourism planning practice rather than to comprehensively review what has been said about this topic in the academic literature.

Community involvement in planning: the broad picture

One challenge in this field is the number of different terms used to refer to similar phenomena. The process of including community members in planning is variously referred to as public participation, public involvement, community participation, community involvement, and stakeholder participation or stakeholder engagement. Stakeholder participation and engagement are broader terms that include everyone who might have an interest in, or be affected by, a planning decision (Mitchell, Agle and Wood, 1997). Thus it includes people, businesses and other organizations from outside the geographic location of interest. The first four terms are interchangeable and used to refer to those people who live and work in a geographic location (Green and Haines, 2012), and it is these people that are the focus of the present chapter. This chapter will use community involvement for consistency and because it is this particular group of stakeholders that is of interest to the present discussion. Although it can be argued that this definition of community involvement includes all those businesses based within the geographic location, as well as individuals living in the location that work for various organizations, it usually refers to people who live and work in a location, but who do not have a direct link to the planning focus. Thus, in tourism, community involvement would be seen as referring mainly to all the people who live and work in a destination who are not tourism business owners or managers, or who work for organizations directly connected to tourism planning.

Planning and governance are also terms often used interchangeably. Governance can be broadly defined as "the processes by which groups of people make decisions" including "all the ways in which decision making power is organised and used in a group" (Moscardo, 2011b, p. 67). Planning can be seen as a subset of these processes and decisions and is formally defined as a process "that works to improve the welfare of people and their communities by creating more convenient, equitable, healthful, efficient, and attractive places for present and future generations" (Brenman and Sanchez, 2012, p. 3). Given this definition, it is not surprising to find that community involvement is a central concept in most discussions of planning.

Arguments for community involvement in planning usually fall into one of two approaches. The first approach is a pragmatic one in which it is suggested that greater community involvement in planning is associated with less conflict, and subsequently less cost and delay in implementation, better decisions, and early alerts to potential problems (Lovan, Murray and Shaffer, 2004; Marshall, Steinmetz and Zehner, 2012). Within this pragmatic approach are also those who recognize that in many countries some sort of community involvement is a legislative requirement (Creighton, 2005). The second approach is a more philosophical one that argues community involvement is fundamental to democratic processes, and necessary to ensure that planning is conducted with community well-being as its core focus (Boswell, Greve and Seale, 2012; Brenman and Sanchez, 2012). Regardless of which approach is taken there is consensus in the planning literature about the need to move community involvement away from information exchange and towards community empowerment. This is usually presented using either Arnstein's (1969) original ladder of participation or some subsequent variation of this (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Ladder of community involvement in planning

Marzuki and Hay (2013) broad levels	*Arnstein's ladder of participation*
Citizen control and power/empowerment	**Citizen control** Citizens initiate and manage entire process and retain all decision control
	Delegated power Citizens initiate process, delegate activities to others but still retain final decision control
	Partnership Power is negotiated between citizens and other stakeholders so there is joint decision making
Tokenism/consultation	**Placation** Planners seek opinions on their decisions and may make minor changes but still retain decision control
	Consultation Planners ask for information to inform the decision they make
	Informing Planners tell community what they are doing
Non-participation/ information	**Therapy** Planners engage in persuasion to get support for their plans
	Manipulation Planners release limited information to encourage citizen compliance

Associated with discussions of these different levels of community involvement are lists and descriptions of the various different methods available to encourage and support this involvement. Such methods include public meetings, public education campaigns, focus groups, surveys, opportunities for input through formal submission processes, participation in steering committees and planning groups, and websites and public displays of information (see Baker, Hincks and Sherriff, 2010, Brenman and Sanchez, 2012 and Oliver and Pitt, 2013 for more detail on these methods).

Changing approaches to community involvement in planning

An examination of literature (see Green and Haines, 2012 and Lovan et al., 2004 for an overview) focused on community involvement published in the last ten years in the areas of planning and policy in general, urban, rural, and regional planning, and community development planning, revealed four consistent and related trends:

- the rise of citizen power;
- increasing use of internet and mobile technologies and social media;
- a move away from technical rationalist, positivist approaches towards post-positivist, ethical, and values-based approaches that incorporate greater flexibility in techniques and applications; and
- growing awareness of the diversity of cultural approaches to governance (Green and Haines, 2012; Lovan et al., 2004).

The rise of citizen power refers to an increasing focus in planning, on moving towards the higher levels of the ladder of participation presented in Table 3.1. This involves shifting power away from planners and government officials back to citizens (Gaynor, 2013; Groves, Munday and Yakovleva, 2013). This move towards empowering rather than just informing citizens reflects a range of factors including:

- a reaction against neoliberalism in governance and policy (Groves et al., 2013);
- greater diversity amongst populations and concerns about ethical and social dimensions of sustainability (Howard and Wheeler, 2015);
- a move towards less government involvement in many aspects of public life (Lovan et al., 2004); and
- the power of new computer technology and social media in supporting public awareness of, and mobilizing public responses to, many issues (Moscardo, 2013).

The rise of citizen power both reflects and drives the other three trends. In other words, the rise of the internet and social media contributes to

an increased desire for citizen power and the rise in citizen power in turn drives increased use of these new communication platforms in planning practice. This trend has also resulted in greater attention paid to methods and strategies for community involvement in planning, with considerable research focused on evaluating this aspect of planning. Table 3.2 lists some of the consistent conclusions about the factors that contribute to success from this research. These fall into three main categories – the need for planning to build community wellbeing (CW) or quality of life (QoL), capacity building for participation in planning processes, and more innovation in interaction techniques. This evaluation research also provides information on the barriers that communities and citizens face in participating in planning, dispelling a commonly cited view that many citizens choose not to participate because of disinterest and apathy (Baker et al., 2010). According to Boswell, Greve and Seale (2012, p. 66), the public "are not apathetic or unconcerned; they simply want assurance and ongoing reinforcement that their input is meaningful." The evidence consistently supports a view that people do not participate in planning because:

- inappropriate methods are used that people cannot easily access;
- there is limited explanation of the personal relevance of the planning process;
- they do not trust planners based on experience that public input is unlikely to make a difference; and
- planners often use unnecessarily technical and complex expert language (Baker et al., 2010; Swapan, 2016).

One particular area of innovation in community involvement in planning techniques has been the use of internet and mobile technologies and social media (Fregonese and Gabbe, 2011; McGinnis, 2012). The rapid growth in these technologies has resulted in a multitude of possible tools now being adapted to the context of planning with many papers published in this area in the last five years. While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to review this work, it is possible to list the main types of tools identified. These include the use of websites in general (Fuentes-Bautista, 2014), and more specifically crowdsourcing (Seltzer and Mahmoudi, 2012; Taeihagh, 2017), Facebook (Afzalan and Evans-Cowley, 2015; Svensson, 2015), and apps (Ertio, 2015; Wilson, Tewdwr-Jones and Comber, 2017), including games (Poplin, 2012). Preliminary results suggest e-participation has considerable potential to empower citizens in planning (Munster et al., 2017; Price, 2011).

These new information and communication technologies also support the third trend in planning which is a move away from what has been called the rational, technical, scientist, positivist approach to a more

Table 3.2 Consistent conclusions about factors for effectiveness from evaluations of community involvement programs

Main categories	*Specific conclusions*
Focus on CW	Need to pay attention to a range of different capitals that contribute to CW as goals for planners, areas to evaluate success of implementation and (Brenman and Sanchez, 2012; Green and Haines 2012) Need for visioning sessions focused on desirable future scenarios (Glackin and Dionisio, 2016; Green and Haines, 2012; Johnson, Bell and Teisl, 2016)
Capacity building	Need to develop social capital in the target community ahead of the planning process (Glackin and Dionisio, 2016; Oliver and Pitt, 2013) Focus on facilitating the development and effectiveness of social networks, civil associations and community-based organizations (CBOs) through provision of resources and administrative support (Blanchet-Cohen, 2014; Fisher and Shragge, 2017; Han, Chung and Park, 2013) Pay particular attention to CBOs that can act as advocates for marginalized groups and those most likely to be impacted by planning decisions (Fisher and Shragge, 2017) Need to invest in helping CBOs and social networks to develop skills in planning, data collection, negotiation and advocacy (Howard and Wheeler, 2015) Identify and involve informal network brokers as key links (Morgan-Trimmer, 2013; Wang, 2015) Focus on creating realistic expectations amongst all participants about what can be achieved (Boswell et al., 2012) Build institutional trust within planning organizations themselves by providing genuine opportunities for participants to influence decisions (Green and Haines, 2012; Lovan et al., 2004) and improving planners' competencies (Brenman and Sanchez, 2012)
Innovation in techniques	Need to use a wide range of different interaction techniques to match the diversity of different people within a community (Baker et al., 2010; Fregonese and Gabbe, 2011; Glackin and Dionisio, 2016; Howlett, Mukherjee and Woo, 2015) Community involvement needs to be integrated into every aspect of planning and planners need to spend more time immersed in the target community (Glackin and Dionisio, 2016) Use more active techniques that allow community members to engage in data collection and analysis (cf., Gallerani et al., 2017) and generate solutions (cf., Fang et al., 2016) Use more creative approaches (Amy, 2016; Fregonese and Gabbe, 2011)

ethical, flexible, post-positivist, values-based approach to planning models and practice (Baker et al., 2010; Brenman and Sanchez, 2012; Green and Haines, 2012; Thompson and Maginn, 2012). Increasingly diverse communities and more complex, messy problems are challenging the view that

planning "can be a value-free, technical project" (Fischer and Gottweis, 2012, p. 2). This change recognizes the need to use a wider range of techniques to interact with all stakeholders, for planners to be more responsive to the citizenry and reflexive about their actions, and supports empowerment of citizens (Baker et al., 2010; Oliver and Pitt, 2013). As noted earlier, planning is part of governance, and the governance literature recognizes three dominant models:

- a hierarchical one in which decisions are made by appointed or elected officials following standard rules and procedures;
- a market model, where the focus is on cost efficiency in response to competition and market forces; and
- a network model which is based on collaboration amongst all stakeholders (Yoo and Kim, 2012).

The change in paradigm for planning has meant a move away from hierarchical and market models of governance to network governance (Dal Molin and Masella, 2016; Meuleman, 2010) and more flexible use of a wider variety of policy instruments and procedures (Howlett et al., 2015).

This literature on models of governance also notes that there are considerable cultural differences in governance and that all the previous trends support a growing recognition of the value of using different cultural approaches to governance (cf. Crowther and Seifi, 2011). This means not only a move away from attempting to impose western models into other cultural contexts, but also recognition of the cultural diversity within any one physical setting. This cultural diversity results from migration, both forced and voluntary, and is also based on cultural differences beyond ethnicity such as generational, socio-economic and professional cultures. Therefore, planners need to be aware of the ways in which their practices may not connect them to groups outside their own cultural milieu. In turn, this leads to calls for greater use of advocacy in planning processes (Green and Haines, 2012; Narayanan, Sarangan and Bharadwaj, 2015; Oliver and Pitt, 2013). Traditional western models of governance assume individuals represent their own interests, but changing away from these traditional models means recognizing that some people cannot do this effectively within the current power structures. This supports calls for the use of advocates who represent "others' views, wishes and needs to decision makers," and who "act with integrity on their behalf" (Oliver and Pitt, 2013, p. 128), which may be the answer, especially for marginalized groups with little experience of engagement (Boswell et al., 2012). Finally, incorporating cultural diversity into planning practice also means abandoning naive goals of reaching consensus (Holman, 2014; Thompson and Maginn, 2012) and instead working to embrace conflict and argument as key elements of uncovering issues and finding more sustainable solutions (Blanchet-Cohen, 2014; Fischer and Gottweis, 2012; McAndrews and Marcus, 2015).

Approaches to community involvement in tourism planning and governance

As noted in the introductory section of this chapter, while it is common to have people claim that it is important to have community involvement in tourism planning, there is little evidence of it happening in practice (Marzuki, Hay and James, 2012) and there has not been much critical analysis of its use (Bello, Carr and Lovelock, 2016). Papers published in the last decade in this area tend to fall into three categories – those that analyze an existing tourism planning exercise to evaluate the extent of community involvement and/or evaluate the success of different strategies; those that report on case studies of supposed success; and suggestions for new frameworks to guide community involvement. Overall the evaluations of community involvement in tourism planning typically conclude that such involvement is limited at best (Hewlett and Edwards, 2013) and report the same sorts of barriers to involvement that have been identified in the broader planning and development literatures (Bello, Lovelock and Carr, 2017; Mak, Cheung and Hui, 2017; Marzuki et al., 2012; Saufi, O'Brien and Wilkins, 2014). Even those that report on case studies of successful involvement strategies often acknowledge the limitations to this success (Grybovych and Hafermann, 2010; Park and Kim, 2016) and have been criticized for overstating the successes and misrepresenting the extent to which local communities have been empowered (Butcher, 2012). The third category of papers are those that offer new frameworks for organizing community involvement in tourism planning such as Bello et al. (2016) and Marzuki and Hay (2013). While these frameworks do attempt to move towards greater awareness of community involvement in tourism planning, they often lack detail and complexity and tend to present this involvement as additional rather central to the planning process.

Exploring alternative approaches to tourism planning

Overall, the existing literature in tourism on community involvement does not add much to the broader understanding of this phenomenon. This suggests that more progress is likely through adopting ideas and practices from the broader planning literature. The author's own research has focused on three of these ideas – the need to build community capacity to effectively engage in tourism planning, shifting the goal of tourism planning from viable tourism businesses to enhanced destination community well-being (DCW), and the need to incorporate advocacy into the tourism planning process.

Building destination community capacity for more effective tourism planning

Butcher's (2012) critique of the concept of community involvement and empowerment in tourism development suggested that it is often used by external agents to impose their views of appropriate development onto destination communities trading on their claimed expertise and the limited capacity of the communities in

question to make truly independent decisions about tourism. The issue of limited capacity has also been raised as a contributing factor in citizens' apparent lack of interest in planning processes in general and much of the recent wider planning literature, as previously noted, has examined ways to build community capacity to participate in planning. Moscardo (2008, 2011b), Grant (2004), and Aref, Redzuan and Gill (2009) all note that tourism planners have rarely paid much attention to the issue of community capacity building to support better tourism governance. These authors also agree on the areas of capacity building required to enhance community involvement in tourism planning and many overlap with those previously noted in the broader planning literature. The available evidence directs this initial stage of tourism planning to invest resources into:

- education about the planning process itself, including skills in decision-making, negotiation, data collection and analysis (Grant, 2004; Oliver and Pitt, 2013; Thompson and Maginn, 2012);
- education about tourism as a system and its impacts, both positive and negative (Aref et al., 2009; Grant, 2004; Moscardo 2008, 2011b);
- the development of local community based tourism leaders (Aref et al., 2009; Moscardo, 2008, 2011b); and
- the enhancement of a range of different networks and partnerships to both connect sectors and to enhance community-based organizations and social capital in general (Aref et al., 2009; Moscardo et al., 2017).

DCW as the tourism planning goal

The explicit recognition of CW was identified as a major trend in planning in general. This trend reflects a move against a solely economic focus in policy and planning and increasing recognition that the trickle down of economic benefits to a wider community does not often happen, and that if it does, it may come at an unacceptable cost to other aspects of wellbeing (Moscardo, 2009). There has been a move in the tourism academic literature towards considerations of how tourism impacts upon the various dimensions of DCW (McKercher and Ho, 2012; Moscardo et al., 2013; Moscardo et al., 2017; Yang and Li, 2012; Zahra and McGehee, 2013), but this has not yet been picked up and used in models or frameworks to guide tourism planning. The lesson here then for tourism planning is to move away from tourism business as its primary objective and to consider how tourism can work to enhance all aspects of DCW. This is a subtle but important shift in the way planners, developers and governments think about tourism.

The potential role of advocates in tourism planning: lessons from classical Greek Tragedy

Consistent with a general view in the broader planning literature that there is need for more flexible, creative, post-modern approaches to planning

practice and research (Brown, 2012; Euben, 2012) is the use of theatre as a way to engage a diverse range of people in planning processes. Several authors (Boal, 2005; Cowie, 2017; Da Costa, 2013; Kershaw, 2002; Sloman, 2012) provide historical reviews and contemporary examples of how theatrical performance can be used in both public education and as a way to encourage involvement in planning processes and community decisions. Sammy (2008) provides similar examples of the use of theatrical performance and art as tools for understanding community perceptions and needs in relation to tourism development. A common theme in all these discussions is the recognition of the importance of theatre in politics, with Cowie (2017) providing examples of the ways in which different forms of theatre have been used to bring issues into the public domain, support political change, and allow diverse and often neglected voices to be heard. One particular form of theatre, Greek Tragedy, has been noted as offering a particularly useful tool and alternative framework to more rationalist and positive approaches for both planning research and practice (Brown, 2012; Euben, 2012).

Moscardo et al. (2014) used Greek Tragedy as a tool for analyzing the planning processes and problems associated with ten case studies of failed tourism development attempts. While the process of using a Greek Tragedy lens highlighted a number of issues in tourism planning practice, of particular interest to the current discussion, is the role of the chorus in Greek Tragedy. The chorus is a unique and defining feature of Greek tragedy and was a group that sang, spoke and danced between the main scenes to provide a commentary on the action and to judge and evaluate the actions of the characters (Foley, 2003). The choice of chorus members was an important one and it was typical for playwrights to select women, slaves, young people, older citizens and foreigners. These groups were not allowed to vote and were excluded from political processes and public debate (Foley, 2003; Goldhill, 2000). The chorus was therefore, a type of public forum for marginalized groups and playwrights could use them to voice concerns over political decisions (Goldhill, 2000).

The lesson for tourism planners offered by this chorus in Greek Tragedy is the potential to focus community involvement processes on those members of the destination community who have the least political power and who are least likely to participate in traditional community involvement processes. That is, rather than seek to involve as many community members as possible it may be more cost effective to focus attention mostly on those least able to engage in tourism planning and more ethically responsible to especially focus attention on those most likely to suffer the negative consequences of tourism planning decisions. The concept of the chorus in Greek Tragedy also suggests that it may be possible to have more diverse and equitable community involvement in planning through the use of designated advocates for marginalized groups as described by Oliver and Pitt (2013).

Conclusions: rethinking the role and practice of destination community involvement in tourism planning

Combining all the conclusions from each of the previous sections and following the example of Green and Haines (2012) who place community involvement at the centre of development planning, we can suggest a new framework for tourism planning. Figure 3.1 provides an overview of this new DCW framework for tourism planning. Traditional frameworks for tourism planning are usually presented as a linear stepwise process, with the most common first step being the establishment of planning goals and objectives (Moscardo, 2011a). These goals are usually focused on tourism business with occasional inclusions related to destination economic development (Moscardo, 2011a). The DCW framework suggests that tourism planning is a cyclical process and that all aspects focus on the single goal or objective – the improvement of DCW. This focus on DCW means that community involvement becomes critical to every other activity in the planning process.

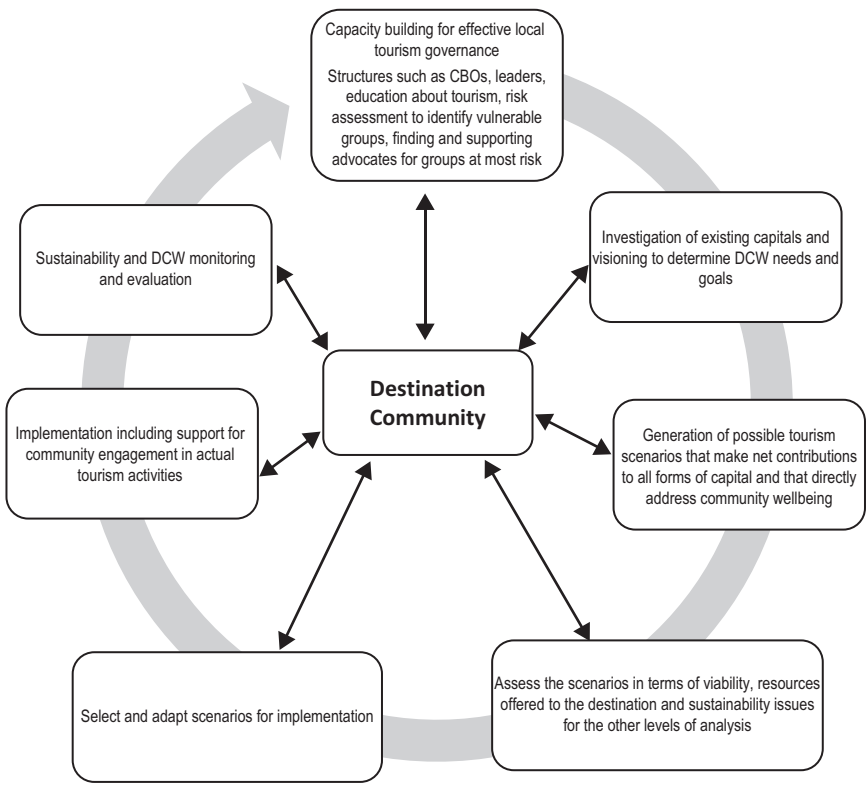

Figure 3.1 A destination community well-being framework for tourism planning
Source: Adapted from Moscardo and Murphy (2014, 2015)

The DCW framework for tourism planning then includes a number of additional activities not included in traditional tourism planning approaches with particular emphasis placed on capacity building within the destination community for tourism governance. Moscardo (2011a) reported that some sort of research is typically one of the early steps in traditional tourism planning models, with the focus on what is available in the destination to use for tourism products and services. The DCW framework also has a step focused on data collection, but in this framework the focus is on analyzing and understanding DCW in terms of multiple forms of capitals, and engaging in visioning processes to identify community aspirations for their future. This then establishes a context for considering what type of tourism might contribute to this desired future with the analysis of what is needed for tourism success coming much later in the process. This moves the whole system away from business planning in which the destination community is seen as resource for tourism towards community development planning where tourism is assessed in terms of its potential as resource for the community.

The year 2017 saw widespread media coverage of resident protests against "over-tourism" leading to growing concern that despite much rhetoric about tourism and sustainability amongst governments, academics and industry lobby groups, very little has changed in tourism practice, particularly in terms of planning and development. It can be argued that tourism is further away from sustainability than it has ever been and this chapter suggests that is partly because tourism planners have not given sufficient attention to the wellbeing of destination communities or to empowering destination communities in tourism governance. Without a significant change in tourism planning practice it is likely that more destination communities in the future may revoke tourism's social license to operate.

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4 Tourism policy and planning in post-conflict destinations

Comparative cases of Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka

Stephen W. Boyd

Introduction

Tourism today is the largest form of temporary mobility, comprising a mix of reasons to travel beyond that of holiday-taking (Hall, 2005). While a myriad of factors, including those that are place-specific, may account for why tourism has developed where it has, or has not, most tourists are attracted to places that are perceived as safe and secure, but also attractive, accessible, and offer value for money. This chapter focuses on the absence of the first of these, where destinations have faced in the past a sustained period of unrest, political instability, and extreme violence, including regional wars (Butler and Suntikul, 2017). The path of tourism development for destinations facing such difficulty has been anything but smooth and the challenge of overcoming negative past images and perceptions over safety and security has implications toward how they develop tourism post-conflict. Tourism policy and planning, if done right, in these contexts, can enable destinations coming out of conflict achieve some degree of normalisation present in conflict-free destinations (Moufakkir and Kelly, 2010).

Discussion, however, must take a wider frame of reference, to include 'conflict-free, conflict, and post-conflict' eras; most destinations coming out of a long era of conflict also enjoyed years prior that were conflict free. Tourism policy and planning within that early era therefore have relevance to the post-conflict era. Key issues explored in the chapter are the extent to which resilience is present in the sector, the capability of the sector to overcome vulnerability, the form post-conflict tourism takes and the extent to which product development coalesces around dark and political attractions. How valuable are labels like 'phoenix tourism' to the product offer in the post-conflict era? A destination change matrix along with a post-conflict tourism development model are introduced and applied to Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka, destinations that suffered in the past from long-term violence in the form of terrorist activity. We start our discussion first by understanding tourism policy and planning in a conflict-free context.

Tourism policy and planning in conflict-free context

Tourism policy and planning are well-established aspects of tourism academe, although the former evokes much less research than the latter. According to Hall and Jenkins (1995), policy is a political activity that cannot be isolated from those influencers within the society in which it is shaped, and which denotes the formal adoption of a position by government or an assigned related body. In contrast, planning, is the process that occurs up to the point of decision-making (Hall, 2008). As with most terms within tourism academe, there are few universally accepted definitions, though most academics often point to the seminal work by Dye (1992) as a useful starting position, who stated that public policy is whatever governments choose or choose not to do. The study of public policy was beneficial from three perspectives; first, scientific in which the causes and consequences of policy decisions can be better understood; second, professional whereby knowledge can be applied to solving practical problems; and third, political whereby the decision-making body adopts policies that enable the right goals to be achieved. Hall and Jenkins (1995) noted that public policy is rarely value free given its association with the political process. From a scholarly point of view, they saw considerable value in the study of tourism policy in a number of areas including the political nature of the tourism policy-making process, the role that public participation may play in policy processes, power relations and sources of power in tourism policy making, and the perceptions as to the effectiveness of tourism policies. Dredge and Jenkins (2007, 7) defined policy in more broad terms as 'a position, strategy, action or product adopted by government and arising from contests between different values, and interests'. They acknowledge many actors are involved beyond those directly associated with government, including those in the private and voluntary sectors as well as members of interest groups and policy is the outcome of such an amalgam. They view defining policy to be akin to trying to hit a moving target as the actors and agencies involved with policy dialogue have broadened over the years beyond government and statutory bodies, and as such, thinking of policy as associated with actions taken by government is no longer relevant or useful.

Early framework thinking by Hall (1994) established a nested hierarchy approach that positioned specific policy issues within the 'policy arena' (those involved) which in turn was part of the wider 'policy environment' (values and power arrangements). Dredge and Jenkins (2007) adopted a similar nested approach where they added 'issue drivers' into the mix that took account of influences both internal and external that can have an impact on the identification of policy issues and priorities; the key one relevant to this chapter being the presence of conflict that creates an external environment less conducive for tourism.

As for tourism planning, early researchers adopted a strong spatial, scalar approach to modelling to tourism planning for certain settings (see seminal works of Gunn, 1972, 2002; Inskeep, 1991). More recently, scholars have

approached tourism planning from a strategic position, placing it within a wider context of policy, actors, institutional arrangements, and sustainability (see Hall, 2008). What are relevant in the context of this chapter are the interrelationships that exist between policy and planning. Policy is the manifestation of a position reached, and planning is the process involved that leads to the development of that position or policy. They rely on each other as good policy, namely decision making relies on rigorous and informed planning (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007).

Tourism policy and planning have changed in line with the evolving nature of the tourism industry (Fayos-Sola, 1996), and have been examined predominantly from a case study perspective (e.g., Cooper and Flehr, 2006; Dodds, 2007; O'Brien, 2010) or focused on a particular issue (e.g., Mair, 2006; Dredge and Jenkins, 2003; Sharpley and Craven, 2001; Pechlaner and Tschurtschenthaler, 2003). The vast majority of case studies that have come to populate the tourism policy and planning literature are predominantly set within conflict-free environments, which have allowed for tourism policy and planning to occur with relatively limited restriction.

Destinations that face long-term crisis, violence or political instability are challenged when it comes to establishment of a tourism industry and opportunity exists to develop a narrative around policy and planning. That does not mean that destinations that have come through a long period of conflict or crises have not been able to develop tourism policy and planning. In many cases, policy and planning existed prior to and post conflict, only to be curtailed during the crisis period. It is to this focus of tourism policy and planning that attention now turns.

Tourism policy and planning in difficult environments

The term 'difficult environments' denotes any context in which the maintenance of positive images aligned with multiple experiences becomes problematic (Mansfeld, 1999). Unexpected events that the tourism industry has no control over have led some scholars to envisage a new relationship between chaos and unpredictability (Faulkner and Russell, 1997; McKercher, 1999; Faulkner, 2001; Ritchie, 2004). Policy and planning in this context require that both shocks (rapid-onset events) and stressors (slow-onset events) are addressed (Sharpley, 2005). According to Wall (2007), vulnerability from a tourism perspective is a measure of the extent to which it is affected, disrupted or displaced as a consequence of both shocks and stressors. To this end, considerable attention in the scholarly literature has been given over to understanding what is meant by crisis, destination vulnerability, and resilience planning.

A crisis is human-induced compared to a disaster which is more often a naturally occurring event (Wall, 2007). Combined they are recognised as influencers of tourism but not controlled by the tourism industry; and have been labelled as 'crises', 'shocks' even 'wildcard events'. According to

Faulkner (2001, 142), 'tourism destinations in every corner of the globe face the virtual certainty of experiencing a disaster of one form or another at some point in their history'. This is nothing new as tourism has always been recognised as an activity and sector that has been responsive to external forces and shocks. Hall (2010) in his review of crises research in tourism pointed out that crises are seen to be more prevalent given the hypermobility of people today and the interconnectedness of systems that facilitate that movement. The duration of any crisis is important. Hall (2010) noted that while crises that affect tourism are crises events that are of a specific duration, their impacts have the potential to last considerably longer. Regions facing political instability, long-term violence such as civil war and terrorism often take longer to recover (Butler and Suntikul, 2013; Boyd, 2013; Buultjens, Ratnayake and Athula Chammika Gnanapala, 2016). Scholarly attention has focused on understanding the anatomy of the crises, crisis management, and concepts such as resilience, vulnerability, and adaptive capacity.

Faulkner (2001) argued there exists no universal formula to dealing with tourism crises and that the tourism industry was best to adopt crisis management thinking that is proactive as opposed to reactive. He argued that it was essential to understand the crisis process, or what he termed the 'anatomy of a crisis': pre-crises, crisis detection, emergency, containment, and post-recovery. Others have noted the synergies between Faulkner's life-cycle of a crisis and strategic management frameworks (Ritchie, 2004). Unfortunately, in many cases, few destinations have crisis management strategies to respond to potential disasters (Sharpley, 2005).

As of late, the term 'resilience' has received lots of attention by tourism scholars (Calgaro, Lloyd and Dominey-Howes, 2014; Lew, 2014; Espiner, Orchiston and Higham, 2017). The term 'resilience' has its origins in ecology, where it was used to describe the ability of a system to respond to and recover from a perturbation (Holling, 1973). It has since evolved as a concept beyond the ecological sciences that looks to address uncertainty within socio-economic systems, including tourism. Tourism scholars have aligned resilience thinking alongside sustainability, viewing both as coexisting in a complementary relationship (Espiner, Orchiston and Higham, 2017). Lew (2014) argues that research on resilience within a tourism context was overly focused on disasters or crises at the expense of understanding resilience within the context of communities. He develops the SCR (scale, change, and resilience) model that shows the degree of response between the private sector (entrepreneurs) and public sector (destination marketing and management organisations, DMOs) to the various degrees of disturbance (from gradual shift to sudden shock) that accommodates planning to address individual business maintenance to wider community response to disaster readiness, response, and recovery. Orchiston, Prayag and Brown (2016) point toward planning and culture, and collaboration and innovation as indicators of resilience within tourism destinations and individual organisations. Writing in the context of nature-based tourism destinations, Espiner, Orchiston and Higham (2017)

argue that most sustainable destinations are those with high levels of resilience, and that without resilience, sustainability cannot be realised. They view the relationship between sustainability and resilience as three potential states: emergent, developing, and mature based on the degree to which resilience measures overlap with sustainability.

While resilience is viewed as a positive and a strength, vulnerability can be seen as an expression of a negative and weakness. The vulnerability of tourism destinations to shocks has been driven by scholarly focus on crisis management and disasters and climate change. Calgaro, Lloyd and Dominey-Howes (2014) note that little is known about the complex drivers of destination vulnerability and they developed a destination sustainability framework model designed to assess destination vulnerability and resilience, and facilitate resilience-building initiatives. According to Espiner, Orchiston and Higham (2017), however, they do not explicitly examine the relationship between resilience and sustainability.

Tourism vulnerability and resilience are interlinked and interdependent concepts. The former implies the degree to which a destination may be affected by shocks and stressors (Wall, 2007), whereas the latter refer to the capacity of the sector, destination, and/or community to deal effectively with the crisis to maintain stability, ensure flexibility, and enable future innovation and development. Resilience can be achieved through good planning and effective governance structures being in place (Hystad and Keller, 2008), but it can equally result as a response to a long-term crisis in which the tourism industry looks to simply survive. Destinations facing long-term crises such as terrorism, civil unrest, and war are often cases to this effect. In a resilient industry, while it enables a return to normality, tourism planning and policy may be closely related to aspects of the crisis and conflict. Post-conflict tourism is a case in point; building on a more peaceful climate the focus can potentially shift from dark and political elements of the past as sold to tourists towards a diversified tourism product development that includes a region's dark past. It is to this that attention now turns.

Post-conflict tourism development

Thinking around post-conflict tourism scenarios requires that the discussion is placed in the widest context possible: that of the relationship between tourism and peace, as well as addressing specific aspects such as types of tourism that can emerge immediately after peace, and if a certain process of change takes place through tourism. In addition, how can this process of tourism development and change over time from pre-conflict days be best conceptualised? That is the focus of this section.

First, what about the relationship between tourism and peace; is tourism an agent of peace, a beneficiary of peace, or both? According to Salazar (2006), peace is the absence of war and it requires the presence of justice. Responsible tourism, it could be argued, would endeavour to create settings for peace as

opposed to conflict and violence, and where every international traveller is potentially an 'ambassador for peace'. Global peace through tourism summits and the activities of not for profit organisations such as the International Institute for Peace through Tourism (IIPT) allude to this fact. But can international travellers really be ambassadors for peace if the interaction between them and who they come into contact with is minimal? Furthermore, are tourists interested in peace, do they seek out peace centres, peace parks, peace museums? For those destination regions that have recently come out of conflict, are visitors interested in seeing sites linked to that peace as opposed to sites and attractions that have a closer association with the region's past war and its related violence? Policy at a global level through the actions of the UNWTO advocates tourism to be a vital force for peace (e.g., the Manila Declaration, 1980; the Tourism Bill of Rights, 1983, and the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, 1999) (Salazar, 2006, 324). Moufakkir and Kelly (2010) illustrate how elements of peacefulness and peace can be linked to specific types of tourism, and in so doing suggest tourism has the potential to contribute to peace in a multiplicity of ways (see Table 4.1). Equally, however, the types of tourism, as shown in Table 4.1 connected to aspects of peacefulness, can be also seen as the type of product development which one may argue results from being the beneficiary of peace. Policy and planning facilitates that development and its mix of tourism products.

Tourism is well recognised as an activity around which economic development occurs (Sharpley and Telfer, 2015). Destinations coming out of a period of conflict and political instability often see it as their economic saviour, but the nature of that development can often be linked closely with elements of the conflict era, manifesting itself through the development of dark and political tourism sites and attractions that have a diverse appeal, including curiosity, reconciliation, remembrance, and fostering of peace. They can also be

Table 4.1 Aspects of peacefulness and peace connected to tourism

Aspect	*Tourism type and focus*
Democracy	Political tourism, boycott/buy
Conflict	Reconciliation tourism, peace parks, places of peace, tourism borders, dark tourism
Prejudice	Cross-cultural understanding, quality encounters
Poverty	Pro-poor tourism, volunteer tourism, community-based tourism
Integration	Social tourism, domestic tourism, heritage tourism, cultural tourism
Inequality	Tourism education, education for peace
Climate change	Sustainable tourism, tourism ethics

Source: Modified after Mouffakir and Kelly (2012)

destinations that are characterised as having 'fragility', particularly across Africa where socio-economic development is low, poverty is high, literacy levels are low, and human rights are still matters of concern (Novelli, Morgan and Nibigira, 2012). In this particular context, the extent of tourism development is affected by these wider development conditions.

Dark tourism has certainly established itself as a growing niche product favoured by destinations that seek to capitalise on some element of darkness associated with its past (Sharpley and Stone, 2009; Lennon and Foley, 2000). In defining dark tourism, Lennon and Foley (2000) make the distinction between sites 'of' and those 'associated with' death, dying, and disaster, implying the degree of darkness is greater for the former as opposed to the latter. The categorisation of dark tourism by scholars creates the opportunity to develop dark products in destinations that have not experienced any major degree of current conflict, unrest, and instability, as seen in destinations that promote ghost tours (Garcia, 2012), and Dracula tourism (Light, 2007). These are in stark contrast to destinations that have faced genocide or ethnic cleansing (Bolin, 2012), long-term terrorism and civil unrest (Boyd, 2013; Buultjens, Ratnayake and Athula Chammika Gnanapala, 2016), wars (of varying duration) (Butler and Suntikul, 2013; Metreveli and Timothy, 2010), or currently face development of tourism alongside threats of war, atrocities, and/or occupation (Krakover, 2013; Issac, 2013).

Interpretation is key to how tourists shape experiences at sites. In the case of dark and political tourism what is often on display are the memorabilia of warfare sites (Causevic and Lynch, 2011). Visiting is often to contested sites and spaces, where the memorabilia aspect can range from specific disaster/atrocity event sites, to memorials and plaques of remembrance of those fallen (Stone, 2006; Lennon and Foley, 2000). Contestation is often present at these sites as what the tourist gazes upon within community interface regions or murals on buildings often reveals wider issues of dissonance of whose heritage is on display and whose is not (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; McDowell, 2008; Simone-Charteris and Boyd, 2010; Boyd, 2016). This type of tourism product development is closely tied to 'toured visitation' through guides and interpreters, which relies upon the messages the narrators choose to get across and those they do not (Boyd, 2016). To what extent can public policy promote the 'heritagization' of a region's dark past? The debate is often framed between 'identity' and 'economics', where the extent of engagement within the affected communities varies between those that see job opportunities within this commercial sector of tourism and those that seek to preserve their identity and are less supportive of a dark past sold as a tourism commodity (Simone-Charteris, Boyd and Burns, 2013).

The above tourism types or focus of development posit the question: is it simply tourism development that occurs post-conflict or is it a specialised form of tourism development, often associated with the label 'phoenix tourism'? The approach taken by public sector agencies and private sector entrepreneurs may suggest both to be true as product development linked to past

conflict receives greater support from the commercial sector, whereas the public sector prefers to develop tourism post-conflict based on the extant heritage capital present in the region (Boyd, 2016). In turn, the emphasis that is given to dark and political tourism and related product development, has bearing on whether it becomes part of policy and therefore features in planning.

Some scholars such as Causevic and Lynch (2011), do not see 'phoenix tourism' as having an assigned economic value. Rather they stress it to be a process of healing, of catharsis, of sharing difficult stories with those who visit conflict-inherited sites transformed into a new cultural heritage of space. It is a form of tourism that has the potential to showcase reconciliation, peace building and community healing, where tourism becomes part of the process of social renewal for affected areas and communities tell their stories not through tour guides but through those affected by the conflict. In this scenario, local communities must have greater say in how heritage in post-conflict environments is presented (Zhang, 2017). Others have argued that 'phoenix tourism' is a form of early tourism development promoted by the commercial sector around key people, sites, and events associated with the conflict era, but that form of development coexists with public sector agencies preference to build on a region's past heritage capital (Boyd, 2016; 2017a). Miller, Gonzalez and Hutter (2017) view phoenix tourism as a niche area of tourism separate from dark tourism but as a process of destination regeneration, rehabilitation, re-imaging, and revitalisation; a distinct stage in the process associated with tourism development in a post-disaster setting. Using the case studies of the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami and hurricane Katrina in 2005 and its impact on New Orleans they see it as the authentic rebirth of a tourist destination.

Phoenix-related thinking, however, does offer scope as a part of a wider process of how regions can be viewed over time, from the pre-conflict era, through conflict and then the post-conflict era. The implications it may offer for tourism planning and policy are next addressed as part of a wider framework approach as well as a post-conflict tourism development model.

A possible sequence is shown in Table 4.2 that positions 'phoenix' thinking as part of a wider process of the post-conflict era. A number of key aspects, recognised as important toward successful destination development, are traced over time, including concern over safety and security, destination perception, attraction mix, entrepreneurial climate, access to the region, market reach, levels of investment, and industry size. The table illustrates the development pathway and the nature of that development in a series of development eras, pre-conflict, during conflict, post-conflict (phoenix) and post-conflict (normalisation). The characteristics of a destination that is free of conflict set the base against which tourism development is possible; of course, this base is dependent on many factors such as how long it existed, the importance of tourism in the region, accessibility, and market reach. The table then demonstrates the extent to which the development process is

Table 4.2 Destination change over time: pre-conflict to post-conflict

Aspect	*Pre-conflict*	*Conflict*	*Post-conflict (Phoenix)*	*Post-conflict (Normalcy)*
Concern over safety and security	Limited	Extensive	Reduced	Limited
Perception of destination	Safe	Dangerous	Changing	Greater feeling of being safe
Attraction mix	Established (small)	Natural and cultural heritage dominant	Emergent dark tourism with existing heritage	Diversifying; event tourism, signature attractions (includes dark tourism)
Entrepreneurial climate	Established (accommodation focused)	Resilience (few attractions and accommodation sector)	Opportunity around dark and political tourism (private sector driven)	Public-private arrangements; signature build (public over private sector)
Access	Driven by domestic and GB market	Limited routes facilitating VFR and regional market	New routes open (regional and international)	Changing pattern of route development (overall one of growth of route network)
Market	Local and national	Local (National –VFR)	Local, national (holiday), growing international	Local, national, and international
Investment	Limited	Little – non-existent	Narrow focus (private sector – dark products, public sector – natural and cultural heritage)	New accommodation stock (private sector), event bidding and showcasing (public sector)
Industry size	Small (stable)	Declining, some resilience, slow growth toward peace	Growing (around selective products and services)	Extensive growth (diversified portfolio of products and services)

affected by and changed because of conflict. Taking priority across all the aspects shown in the table are the return to a positive context regarding safety and security and how the region is perceived. If these two aspects fail to be altered in the mind of consumers, the remaining aspects, while important, will not transform the destination as they are all interlinked. The sequencing, as shown in the table, would suggest that tourism development established pre-conflict may be significantly curtailed during conflict and that at best a limited product and marketplace may be realistic through the resilience of the tourism industry, one that is reliant on the region's heritage capital. In contrast, the 'phoenix era' is shaped by building on the base that was not affected by conflict (often heritage in focus), but where new opportunities especially connected with dark and political tourism often emerge within the private sector as opposed to the public sector, which favours expansion of the extant heritage base. This stage of recovery often sees the return to a dominant 'holiday' market over a Visiting Friends/Visiting Relatives (VF/VR) one, but where the tourism industry remains somewhat selective in its growth decision-taking as it comes out of a conflict. The ultimate end position is for the destination to move beyond phoenix to resemble destinations that are normal, those where tourism development could occur in a conflict-free setting; the extent to which tourism characteristic of the 'phoenix era' is maintained here is dependent on the direction taken both for tourism policy and the wider planning for the region in question. The phoenix type of development can coexist with development that is favoured to reach normalisation.

In light of the above comments, a model of post-conflict tourism development is also suggested (Figure 4.1). Again, a wider spectrum has been adopted here where the full spectrum from the absence of conflict to post-conflict is presented but which is shaped and influenced by the geographic context of the region in question, as well as other external factors that may have a direct impact on any destination's development path. The model implies that the post-conflict eras offer the opportunity to plan and consider policies to develop tourism, but often in the early post-conflict stage unrealistic targets are set by government's renewed interest in the sector. Policy and planning become more realistic the longer the post-conflict era lasts, often building on an extant heritage base, and developing attractions that have international market appeal, and looking to tap into new markets such as niche tourism, especially events. However, the private sector may continue to promote an element of the phoenix era as illustrated by the dotted arrow. Over time it is suggested that a destination may move through a cycle that starts with 'early tourism development', followed by 'development loss and industry resilience' to 'initial recovery' and finally 'growth and new development'.

The extent to which the scenarios presented above have real-life applicability is the focus of the next section of the chapter that examines tourism and its development pathway for both Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka, two

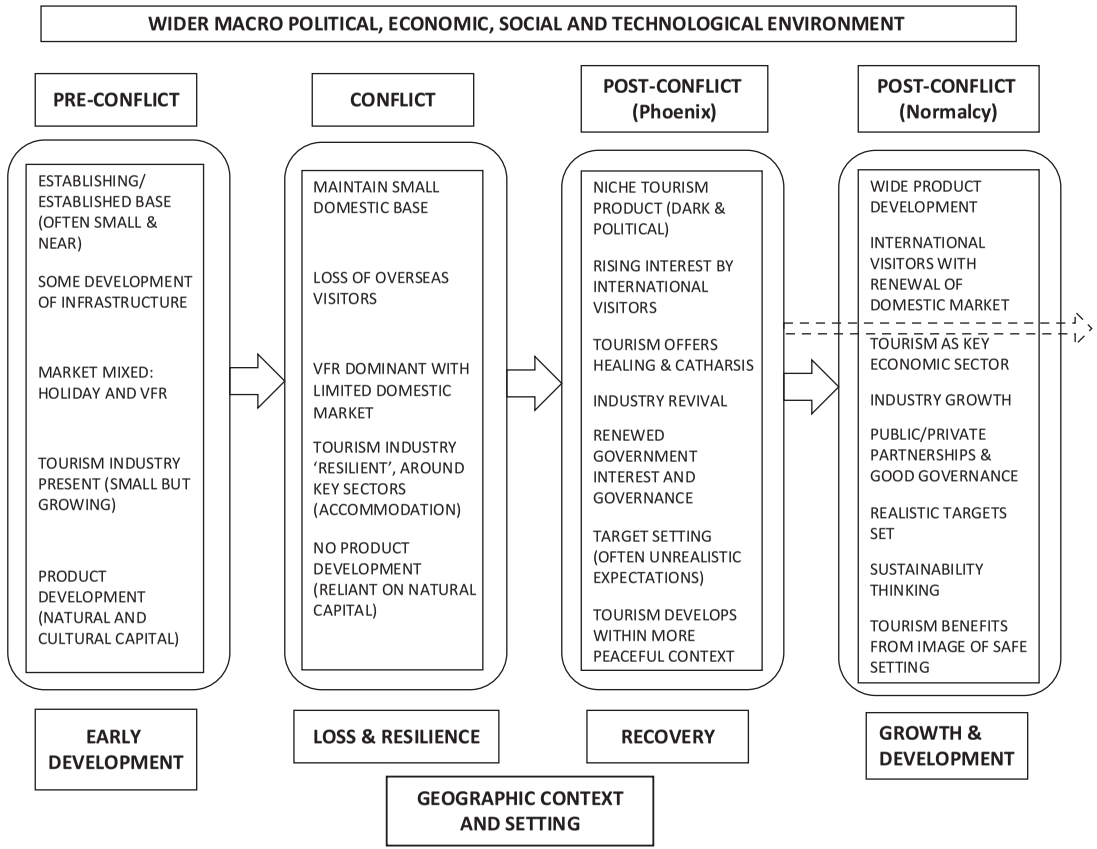

Figure 4.1 Modelling destination change: before, during and after conflict

regions that faced a considerable period of conflict but which have also had early years of no conflict and a sustained period of time post-conflict.

Case studies: post-conflict tourism development in Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka

Pre-conflict era

For a country yet to celebrate its centenary (established in 1922), Northern Ireland prior to the outbreak of civil unrest in 1969 moved quickly to develop a tourism profile. On partition from what became Eire (Republic of Ireland today) in 1923, the Ulster Tourist Development Association was founded the same year to promote tourism for the newly created country. Tourism appeal was dominantly focused on the North Coast with its mix of Victorian and Edwardian seaside resorts with their sandy beaches along with the Giant's Causeway (one of the original seven wonders of the world); other resorts were developed closer to the capital city of Belfast on the east (Bangor) and south east (Newcastle) coastline. These regions that had enjoyed visitation pre-partition remained popular for British and European travellers (Boyd, 2017a). In addition, a domestic/UK tourism base was fashioned around cultural heritage and a narrative of Irish rurality in the setting up of Cultra (in close proximity to Belfast) in 1964, the first open air museum modelled after the original concept in Skansen, Stockholm in 1873. This was quickly followed with a merger in 1976 with Belfast Transport Museum to form the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, which not only offered visitors a step back in time to rural lifestyle, but an opportunity to uncover the stories and personalities behind Irish transport history (Boyd, 2016). So by the end of the 1960s prior to the outbreak of unrest, a tourism product mix fashioned on both natural and cultural heritage capital was in place, alongside what would be viewed as quintessential cold-water bucket and spade seaside resorts.

In terms of industry development, the 1948 Tourist Act established the first tourism body across all of the regions of the UK, namely the Northern Ireland Tourist Board with a clear remit to Britain (Boyd, 2013). Visitor numbers would almost double between 1959 (the first year statistics were collected) and 1969 from 633,000 to 1,066,000, with a similar pattern for visitor spend rising from £7.1 million to £14.5 million over the same period. The opening of Aldergrove (former RAF airbase and Belfast International Airport today) for civilian flights in 1963 played a key role in this early pattern of growth. By 1967, it was reported that the main market segments were 'VFR' and 'Holiday', 38 and 36 percent, respectively. An established serviced accommodation sector comprised 210 hotels with a maximum capacity of 4,368 rooms (NITB, 1980; Boyd, 2013). By the end of the 1960s, Northern Ireland demonstrates a tourism product mix and industry size reflective of the characteristics shown in Tables 4.2 and Figure 4.1.

Sri Lanka, an island nation in South Asia with its diverse landscape (rainforests, arid plains, highlands, and sandy beaches) and culture (Buddhist ruins that can be traced back to the fifth century BCE and an interior 'cultural triangle' consisting of the historic cities of Kandy, Anuradhapura, and Polonnaruwa), situated on the maritime trading routes between East and West with a stopover in the port of Colombo, was always going to be attractive to the early tourists. But before the modern tourism era (post-1950s onwards), visitor numbers were small, with an industry developed primarily on the south coast and the centrally located cultural triangle. The necessary agency and legislation had been established to market to the international visitor; the British colonial rulers (1815–1947) had established the Government Tourist Bureau as early as 1937, only to be interrupted by World War II, but revived in 1948 with a remit to overseas marketing, and the development of tourist accommodation facilities, the latter benefiting from a pre-existing network of establishments constructed during British rule that were used by tea plantation planters, the business community, and government officials. Beyond these, however, no efforts were made to construct new accommodation facilities for overseas visitors, nor did the Sri Lankan authorities capitalise on the emergence in the 1950s of international brand name hotels being developed across East Asian countries (SLTDA, n.d.). The Ceylon Tourist Board (now the Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority) was established in 1966 and after the release of the Tourism Management Plan, 1967 (SLTDA, n.d.), much of the tourism focus was resort development along the south coast to appeal to the mass international sea, sun, sand market. From a low base of 19,000 overseas visitors in 1966, visitor numbers would rise very quickly up to the outbreak of unrest in 1983 (SLTDA, n.d.). Buultjens, Ratnayake and Athula Chammika Gnanapala (2016) state that between 1976 and 1982 tourist arrivals increased 24 percent per annum to 407,230, driven by air-inclusive holidays predominantly by western European tour operators.

A somewhat similar pattern gets played out here as was the case for Northern Ireland where a base for the industry is established around its natural and cultural heritage capital, but an industry which remained considerably smaller but was quickly expanding around a 3s product. One major difference with Northern Ireland was the lack of interest shown toward the domestic market (Buultjens, Ratnayake and Athula Chammika Gnanapala, 2016); apart from that, the broad pattern shown in Tables 4.2 and Figure 4.1 held true. All this would change for both regions with the outbreak of prolonged periods of conflict.

Conflict era

From 1969 to 1994, media labelled Northern Ireland as experiencing 'The Troubles', and they would also be lost years of investment in tourism infrastructure development. It would be a time of political instability and overt violence; particularly terrorist activities by the IRA (Irish Republican Army)

(Boyd, 2013). The context in which this unrest erupted was a perceived inequality between the Protestant and Catholic communities, and a wider campaign over civil rights.

Having enjoyed visitor flows in excess of 1 million trips taken by 1968, Northern Ireland would record its lowest visitor numbers five years later; 1973 saw only 435,000 trips recorded: a 53 percent decline. An almost similar level of decline took place regarding hotel accommodation stock, from a high of 210 in 1968 to 137 by 1972, with a downward trend to 120 establishments by 1989 (NITB, 1990). The onset of terrorism saw the collapse of the British market; people perceived it to be unsafe to travel and in the worst years of violence the tourism industry relied almost exclusively on its domestic and VFR markets for its existence. Recovery of overall visitors remained slow over the 1970s and 1980s, only doubling in size of the flow from 486,800 trips in 1974 to 942,800 in 1987, but still remaining below pre-conflict levels (Boyd, 2013; NITB, 1980, 1990). At no time were tourists viewed as legitimate targets by the IRA; instead the perception of a heavily policed region by the British army was a major detractor to out-of-state visitors.

Commentators have been critical about the lack of investment and initiative taken by the Northern Ireland tourist authorities (Leslie, 1999), but much accommodation stock had been damaged or was closed down due to lack of market demand. What remained intact was a strong heritage base of attractions geographically located away from incidents of violence and terrorism. Over the conflict era, political decision-making had been removed to Westminster (the British government) and there lacked local political governance to promote the development of the tourism industry beyond what already existed from pre-conflict times. By the start of the 1990s, numbers of visitors, while climbing over the period, were still lower than had been enjoyed in the late 1960s, and room capacity in the hotel sector had been reduced by a third (Boyd, 2013). Despite this, the industry demonstrated considerable resilience, driven by the hotel sector, and total visitor spend between 1974 and 1989 would defy expectations and rise tenfold from £13 million to £136 million (NITB, 1990). Toward the end of the conflict era, a return to stronger governance was emerging with clear targets and actions being set out by the national tourism organisation (Northern Ireland Tourist Board) with predicted tourism numbers by 1994 of 1.6 million; 1.3 million would be achieved (Boyd, 2013). That year is however significant as it marked a major ceasefire. The year 1995 would be conflict-free and as a consequence saw a 20 percent rise in visitors to 1.55 million with double digit growth in all market regions, illustrating how quickly tourism benefits when the perception of safety and security changes (Boyd, 2000). However, the next two years saw a return to violence and then a permanent ceasefire in 1997, but this lack of stability resulted in visitor numbers not returning to what they were in 1995, again demonstrating how quickly the market reacts to a perceived lack of safety (Boyd, 2000).

An audit of tourism attractions between 1994 and 1997 revealed a natural and cultural heritage (including historical, industrial, and educational) base (Boyd, 2000) with the development of a new attraction cluster across the capital city of Belfast emerging along with the existing attraction cluster that had been established in pre-conflict times on the north coast. During the conflict era, Belfast was a closed city that lacked visitor appeal, whereas the heritage attractions across the North Coast cluster were little affected and were viewed as being sufficiently far removed from the violence that was taking place elsewhere. Despite a more peaceful environment being established, the border region with Ireland was not viewed as having much tourism appeal (Boyd, 1999). It would not be until 1998 that the official end of the conflict was announced with the signing of the Good Friday Agreement and the initial steps taken to restore local government in Northern Ireland. But the industry was ill-prepared to capitalise on a changing political climate and the opportunity it created for tourism as there were underlying problems of a lack of capacity of accommodation stock, poor service standards, and a small workforce with many lacking professional qualifications (Boyd, 2013).

Similar to Northern Ireland, ethnic divisions existed within Sri Lanka's population between a Sinhalese majority and a Tamil minority (brought in from Southern India to work in the tea plantations). These shaped communal politics over time, which would eventually erupt into a civil war in 1983 between the government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). It was a civil war that would last until 2009 (Buultjens, Ratnayake and Athula Chammika Gnanapala, 2016). The immediate impact was a decline in international tourist arrivals of 17 percent (337,342 in 1983 compared to 407,230 in 1982). By 1986 visitor numbers had further declined to 230,106; a drop of 43 percent since 1982. The civil war rendered much of the north and east of the country off-limits to tourists. Sri Lanka quickly lost favour with western tour operators and the civil unrest soon became a much bigger concern for Sri Lanka's economy beyond that of the tourism sector. Government expenditure was diverted to fighting the war, and across the period of 1983–1995, the loss of spend from direct tourism income to the tourism industry has been estimated to be in the region of US$1,000 million (Gamage, Shaw and Ihalanayake, 1997; Ganegodage and Rambaldi, 2012). At the height of the civil war (1987–89), international visitor numbers were recorded as being under 190,000 (Buultjens, Ratnayake and Athula Chammika Gnanapala, 2016). A similar pattern of recovery of the international tourist market took place for Sri Lanka as the tourists were never specifically targeted by the LTTE; although some isolated acts of terrorism in Colombo, the capital city, did impact on tourists. That recovery was slow, rising to 566,000 in 2004, the year Sri Lanka was impacted by the Indian Ocean tsunami which resulted in a decline of international tourist arrivals in 2005 to 349,308. By the end of the civil war in 2009 visitor numbers had recovered to 447,890 (Buultjens, Ratnayake and Athula Chammika Gnanapala, 2016).

Both destinations during conflict display many of the aspects revealed in Table 4.2 and Figure 4.1. Even though tourists were not the deliberate targets, both regions suffered from a negative image of safety and security that resulted in considerable decline of numbers along with investment not directed into the industry; in the case of Sri Lanka the government had to direct money into fighting the war. A major difference between the two cases is that Sri Lanka held onto an international market as opposed to Northern Ireland, whose market was dominantly UK driven with some international, and VF/VR as the main reason for visiting over holiday-taking.

Post-conflict

To what extent does the pattern of change post-conflict for both regions reflect the aspects illustrated in the latter stages of Table 4.2 and Figure 4.1? The first point to note is that Northern Ireland has experienced a longer post-conflict period, twenty years compared to almost a decade for Sri Lanka. Second, the term 'phoenix' may have more resonance for Northern Ireland than for Sri Lanka.

The ushering in of peace and new governance structures challenged the industry in Northern Ireland to take on a higher level of corporate professionalism. Policy in the form of Corporate Plans prior to 1998 had been unrealistic as there was an assumed expectation that the growth enjoyed in 1995 would be repeated; this clearly was not the case. Boyd (2013) pointed out that with the exception of 1999, the 1995 figures would not be exceeded until 2002; what did improve was overall revenue, rising for out-of-state visitors from £214 to £262 million. This trajectory would continue up to the start of the global recession where over 2 million out-of-state visitors were recorded for both 2007 and 2008, with the highest revenue recorded for 2008 at £396 million, based on policy and planning that had a clear heritage focus (Boyd, 2013). Part of this growth was the result of Ireland, both North and South, being marketed collectively through a new body that was part of the 1998 Agreement.

There was a clear risk after 1998 to position Northern Ireland as a dark tourism destination. Boyd (2000) had cautioned over this as some media commentators in the English broadsheet newspapers were suggesting that Britain's must-see attraction was the open-air spaces in Belfast, and to a lesser extent in its second city of Derry/Londonderry, their alleys and mural-filled streets. Political murals clearly have a presence in tourism (Anson, 1999; McDowell, 2008) but there are also bigger issues over dissonance that can result within resident communities and spaces (Graham and Nash, 2006; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996) and how best to sell or place on display a region's dark past. Murals are part of a region's history, a material remnant of a violent era, and a legacy passed down to remind people of a past that should not be concealed or forgotten (McCormick and Jarman, 2005; Simone-Charteris, Boyd and Burns, 2013). The extent to which they are part

of visitor appeal across Northern Ireland is questionable; they do form part of the wider sightseeing tours of Belfast and Derry/Londonderry, but visitor demand and interest is driven by the mix of natural and cultural heritage attractions beyond those of a dark and political nature.

This 'phoenix tourism' product has been driven by the private sector. It did not feature as either policy or planning by the public sector tourism bodies. They were mindful of the concerns that formal recognition of this type of product development might create; instead they stated formally in Corporate Policy that it was part of the wider cultural heritage attraction base. Discussion did take place at Northern Ireland Government level where politicians representing nationalist and republican interest supported this new tourism opportunity as it would have the potential to create much needed income and jobs in their communities. In contrast, politicians representing Protestant communities were concerned that this product development would glorify elements of the violence that took place during the conflict era. Some Protestant communities saw the painting of murals in their community areas as showcasing their identity and heritage which they felt was under threat of being erased (Simone-Charteris and Boyd, 2010).

Policy and planning toward the end of the first decade of the new millennium focused on new route development connecting to North America and many destinations across continental Europe, facilitated by carriers such as Continental, easyJet and Ryanair, and marketing Northern Ireland in terms of its existing wider heritage attraction mix. The signing of the Good Friday Agreement saw the creation of an All-Ireland marketing body called Tourism Ireland which deliberately marketed the heritage opportunities across the whole of Ireland. The economic opportunity of tourism in Northern Ireland was the focus of the third report of the session 2006–07 of the House of Commons Northern Ireland Affairs Committee (Boyd, 2013). Areas of concern raised included that too many government departments had some responsibility for tourism, resulting in policy fragmentation, poor departmental coordination, and confusion for the tourism industry; a point raised by Devine and Devine (2011) who referred to the mix of government bodies linked to tourism as a 'quagmire'. Other concerns were that Northern Ireland lagged behind other regions of the UK in terms of the GDP contribution provided by tourism (1.8% compared to Scotland at 5% and Wales at 7%; England was viewed as too large for a fair comparison to be made). Other issues raised by the Committee were the lack of serviced accommodation, and poor road and rail infrastructure. Many of these were prioritised in the corporate policy and planning that covered the 2008–2011 years. However, ambitious targets were set to increase out-of-state visitor numbers to 2.5 million with spend from this market to reach £520 million (NITB, 2007).

A decision was also taken to add major new visitor attractions that would be seen as signature, create the wow factor and appeal to the international market. Boyd (2013) discusses these in detail; they included a visitor attraction around the fated RMS *Titanic* called Titanic Belfast, a new visitor centre

at the Giant's Causeway, the development of a coastal route along the north east and north coastline called Causeway Coastal Route, the development of a Christian heritage trail around St Patrick, an improved public realm, refurbishment and redevelopment of a number of key attractions within the walled city of Derry/Londonderry, the only complete walled city in Ireland, and the creation of the first national park for Northern Ireland in the Mournes region. This was policy thinking that was shaped around building on an existing heritage base (Boyd, 2013; 2016). The actual implementation of these plans would only occur, however, with major capital tourism investment within the Programme for Government (PfG) 2008–11, with many of the above projects not being completed until 2012 and 2013.

What the Signature Project programme of planning implied was that the post-conflict era had moved toward normalisation. The year 2012 was viewed as a tipping point year with a strong brand and marketing campaign entitled 'Our Time, Our Place'. With the completion of the Signature Projects, visitor numbers exceeded 2 million for the first time in 2014, increasing to 2.5 million by 2016, with spend of £614 million (NISRA, 2017). Much of this growth may be linked to an events tourism policy and themed years, which added to the long-term appeal of natural and cultural heritage attractions. In 2014 Northern Ireland was home to the Grand Depart of the Giro d'Italia cycling race and 2016 saw a year of celebrating Northern Ireland's food and drink. 2017 saw Northern Ireland hosting the Dubai Duty Free Irish Open. Along with these major tourism events, Northern Ireland has developed policy around niche products such as film and screen tourism, and Game of Thrones tourism has been established since 2014.

The two major signature builds, associated with the Giant's Causeway World Heritage Site, and Titanic Belfast, have established themselves as the top heritage visitor attractions (Boyd, 2016), with the former reporting in 2017 that it had welcomed for the first time 1 million visitors. When combined with other subtypes of heritage attraction, Northern Ireland has after almost twenty years post-conflict achieved normalisation; a state that has moved beyond what was evident in the Phoenix era, where a heritage USP has become dominant (Boyd, 2016). The Phoenix appeal of murals exists alongside the normalisation of tourism in Northern Ireland (2012 to the present day) but deliberate policy action has been taken since 2014 to paint over many political murals and replace them with stories and narratives around Titanic and sporting heroes (Boyd, 2016). Few new dark attractions have emerged across Northern Ireland, in particular the opening of a jail in Belfast (Crumlin Road Gaol) where visitors are both informed and entertained through storytelling of some of its most infamous inmates, positioning it within the lighter side of the dark to light spectrum common within the dark tourism literature (Stone, 2006; Sharpley and Stone, 2009). The Free Museum of Derry saw recent expansion of its site which tells the history of the civil rights struggle alongside the wider conflict through the storytelling of individuals. There has been less appeal in the development of political tourism,

Table 4.3 Tourism statistics for Sri Lanka post-conflict (2010–2015)

International tourist arrivals (1,000)				*International tourism receipts (US$ million)*			
2010	2013	2014	2015	2010	2013	2014	2015
654	1,275	1,527	1,798	576	1,715	2,431	2,981

Source: UNWTO (2016) tourism highlights

other than the walking tours of former prisoners from both sides of the conflict, where the engagement with this product remains at a relatively low level, despite the opportunities that this niche tourism type can offer in terms of building peace and reconciliation between divisive communities, educational tours for international tourists and to a lesser extent as a model of conflict resolution (Simone-Charteris and Boyd, 2010).

The narrative for Sri Lanka post-conflict is less complicated. First, the end of the civil war in 2009 saw Sri Lanka quickly recover its international market (see Table 4.3), attracted by a mix of resorts on the south coast, tea plantations (Jolliffe and Aslam, 2009; Aslam and Jolliffe, 2015), historic cities in the cultural triangle, national parks in the interior of the country, and business and conference centre in the capital city of Colombo.

Sri Lanka since 2010 has recorded growth year-on-year; an impressive 17.8 percent between 2014 and 2015. Over the past five years Sri Lanka has registered an average Compounded Annual Growth rate of 16 percent. A target of 2.2 million tourist arrivals was set for 2016; 2 million was achieved with receipts of US$3,518 million. Further examination of international tourism flows reveals that there is a gradual shift in tourist profile, with the arrivals from the traditional European source markets declining, and Asian countries increasing their market share; Thailand and Malaysia accounted for 24.7 and 27.4 percent of foreign arrivals in 2014, respectively.

Second, recovery has been built on a deliberate policy since the 2004 tsunami which saw the government adopt a proactive post-conflict approach toward disaster management, including changes in tourism policy bodies effected by a new Tourism Act, 2005 that saw the existing Sri Lankan Tourism Board replaced with the Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority (SLTDA), along with new corporate bodies for tourism marketing, and human resources development (Buultjens, Ratnayake and Athula Chammika Gnanapala, 2016). Part of the action taken by the SLTDA was to increase the number of tourism zones that were established in the aftermath of the tsunami to 45 zones; many located in the north east region that had been under LTTE control. The focus was to market to the high end, with resort development linked to golf courses and water parks. Third, the government simplified investment in the tourism industry, offering tax incentives for development projects in the north and eastern provinces. Fourth,

deliberate planning has focused on branding, such as 2011 being declared as the Visit Sri Lanka Year, the year the government ended its travel advisory to travellers. Fifth, like other destinations, Sri Lanka developed policy to promote itself as host of international sporting competitions, co-hosting the Cricket World Cup in 2011 and the T20 Cricket World Cup in 2012. It failed to win the bid to host the Commonwealth Games in 2018 which was won by Gold Coast City, Australia.

It has only been in the post-conflict years that a strategic development plan has been produced for the period of 2011–16. Along with a target of 2.5 million tourists by 2016, the visionary strategy covered all aspects of infrastructure development, standardisation of products and services, improving brand awareness, and aiming to develop the tourism economy as a mainstay for sustainability in the long term. The strategy document with the tagline of 'Refreshingly Sri Lanka' set out the USP of destination Sri Lanka as: (1) authenticity, (2) compactness, and (3) diversity. Eight product categories are set out under the theme of '8 wonderful experiences in 8 wonderful days' to include, beaches (pristine), sports and adventure (thrills), heritage sites (heritage), mind and body wellness (bliss), scenic beauty (scenic), wildlife and nature (wild), people and culture (essence), and year-round festivals (festive) (Ministry of Economic Development, 2010).

There have emerged some criticisms of government action post-conflict. Buultjens, Ratnayake and Athula Chammika Gnanapala (2016) have raised concerns over inequality in terms of who has benefited, that planning has been too centralised with many of the tourism zones being established with limited to no local community involvement, that larger projects are favoured over smaller ones and that there is possible interference by government with military appropriation of land and their diversification into tourism. There needs to be more expansion of the domestic market beyond religious and cultural tourism as observed by Buultjens, Ratnayake and Athula Chammika Gnanapala (2016), to include the opportunities that rural tourism offers to small communities and businesses within the informal tourism sector (Boyd, 2017b).

What emerges from the above is that the pathway taken by Sri Lanka is markedly different to what is shown in the destination schema in Table 4.2 and Figure 4.1; the absence of tourism product in the war-torn regions meant that no possible product development linked to war memorabilia has taken place in Sri Lanka. Instead it has looked to reach normalisation by developing policy and plans that have extended beyond beach tourism to include cultural heritage, wellness, sports, and events.

Conclusion

Post-conflict destinations are unique and throw up major challenges as to what policy direction to adopt and how best to implement this in planning.

They have not enjoyed a history of normalisation where destinations have developed over time and in line with broader trends and demands. What the author has attempted to illustrate in this chapter is that policy and planning post-conflict must be examined in a wider context of actions that were taken both pre-conflict and during conflict. In all destinations opportunity exists to build an attraction base around its natural and cultural heritage capital, and this has proven to be a popular strategy in the majority of regions' early tourism development. In a conflict environment, where tourists and the tourism infrastructure are not deliberately targeted or destroyed, the natural and cultural heritage capital of regions can be maintained by the industry, and on that basis, provides the foundation to develop post-conflict. At best policy and planning should focus on making the industry resilient, focus on the domestic market, and plan for incremental growth, especially if there are signs of a negotiated peace.

As regions move out of conflict, the extent to which that conflict is presented to tourists through dark and political tourism needs to be balanced. It does provide a unique opportunity to encourage inward investment and development of products and service provision. There exists real potential to shift the market toward 'holiday' over VF/VR and see the growth of international visitors alongside domestic visitors. At best it represents a form of rebirth of the destination as it looks to build on a new climate of safety and security, showcasing the memorabilia of conflict. Proactive policy and strategic planning must, however, move beyond the early stages of tourism recovery based around the conflict itself, if applicable, to establish a state of tourism normalcy where post-conflict destinations look to develop into mature destinations that are capable of competing with those that benefited from a development path that was free of conflict.

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5 Challenging tourism contexts for planning and policy

Revitalising failing destinations

Chris Cooper

Introduction

This chapter provides a framework for examining the impact of a particular tourism destination context upon policy and planning. The destination context is that of failing destinations and the planning and policy issues are framed around revitalisation of these failing destinations. The chapter stresses the imperative of understanding both the nature of the destinations themselves and their influence upon planning processes of revitalisation (Agarwal, 2012a). It argues that by viewing the context of failing destinations as knowledge landscapes structured as complex networks, insights can be gained as to the processes of planning and policy. Here the network approach is particularly important given that participatory approaches have moved centre stage in revitalisation, demanding that destination stakeholders are involved and committed to the process (Saxena, 2014).

Failing destinations

In the northern hemisphere, a number of destinations created in the nineteenth century and earlier now find themselves in decline. Many of these are coastal destinations, including in the UK resorts such as Morecambe and Bridlington. The cause of decline lies in falling tourism visitation rooted in a changing consumer market and the lure of competing global alternatives (Cooper, 1997, 2006; Shaw and Williams, 1997). Falling visitation is also linked to generational shifts in travel motivations, the negative image of these destinations and structural changes in tourism distribution channels (Ivars et al., 2012). Falling visitor numbers also trigger a decline in both spend and length of stay of the visitor and profits and prices spiral downwards (Ecorys, 2013). In many destinations visitor decline has triggered both economic and environmental malaise and led to social problems. These destinations are clearly failing and have struggled to respond to their changing conditions; fixed as they are in a built environment time warp. Many of these destinations were once special in their national psyche – extraordinary leisure landscapes contrasting with the

visitor's home environment, but in the post-war period, work and play ceased to be separate and the destinations no longer appeal (Walton, 1983). Yet from a planning and policy perspective these issues must be addressed as the destinations remain as living communities, often regional centres, where tourism is woven into their very fabric to support economic activity, infrastructure and amenities (Leonard, 2016). They deserve attention as they present a significant social, economic and environmental problem for planners and policy makers, albeit a context that throws up many barriers and issues for them (Dodds and Butler, 2010).

The particular context of failing destinations

Failing destinations are little understood and until recently have not been the focus of either research or targeted policy initiatives (Shared Intelligence, n. d.). It was not until the twenty-first century that research began to reveal the severity of the issues. A further point has been the fact that these towns have challenges that are very different from towns experiencing industrial decline. In response, the knowledge base for failing destinations is expanding with major projects calibrating the scale and trends of social and economic dimensions. Contributions here include: two major UK studies which have delivered a comprehensive examination of economic change in seaside destinations (Beatty et al., 2008, 2009); McElduff et al.'s (2013) analysis of the situation in Ireland; and a major European project that has designed early warning indicators to signal the early stages of decline (European Commission, 2002).

More specifically, work on the economic and social landscape of destinations includes:

- Agarwal's (2012b) analysis of economic linkages in destination economies;
- Agarwal's (2012a) examination of the spatial dimensions of destination restructuring;
- Agarwal and Brunt's (2006) detailed analysis of social exclusion;
- Beatty and Fothergill's (2004) examination of destination labour markets;
- Clegg and Essex's (2000) focus on the key role of accommodation restructuring in the revitalisation process;
- Leonard's (2016) analysis of migration; and
- Coles and Shaw's (2006) paper on the role of property as a key medium for economic change in destinations.

Whilst the research cited above argues that each destination is distinctive, such destinations do demonstrate a common set of issues driven by the trigger of declining visitor numbers (Agarwal, 2012a; Agarwal and Brunt, 2006). These issues demonstrate the complexity of the failing destination context for revitalisation strategies.

Firstly, there are the issues relating to the functioning and features of a tourism destination; these include inherent local stakeholder conflict and the entrenched interests of small town politics, where the destination itself is the focus and its relationship with the wider world is missed. In addition, tourism is a fragmented sector and SMEs are focused on their own businesses and are competitive by nature. (See Agarwal, 2012a for examples of fragmentation impacting upon strategy implementation.) Fragmentation implies a lack of ownership for the total visitor experience and hence poor coordination for strategies and plans (European Commission, 2014). This results in destination leadership being dependent upon the public sector, often the local destination management organisation (DMO). The challenge for DMOs is therefore to collaboratively develop revitalisation strategies with all destination stakeholders and to effectively communicate the strategy. However, destinations do not exhibit the lines of responsibility found in say, private sector organizations, which means that DMOs have no authority over destination stakeholders and must operate by persuasion and influence. Public sector leadership is also handicapped by annual budgeting rounds and a general lack of expertise.

Tourism destinations are dominated by SMEs, often single person or family-owned enterprises that lack managerial expertise and/or training. These enterprises take a singularly instrumental view about how their business will be impacted by revitalisation and it must be highly relevant to their operation if they are to buy into it. This means that effective communication of any plans and strategies is vital. In addition, tourism is a sector characterised by low risk takers, a low level of resources for investment, lack of trust and collaboration, and rapid turnover of both businesses and employees leading to lack of a shared vision (Santos et al., 2014; Weidenfeld et al., 2010). We can also add to these characteristics, vocational reinforcers rooted in poor human resource practices which militate against the continuity of strategies and plans. These include the employment of seasonal and part-time workers, high labour turnover and a poorly qualified sector which inhibits the absorptive capability of tourism organisations and destinations (Cohen and Levinthal, 1990).

There are also wider issues that revitalisation must address. Firstly, these destinations have particular social issues. In many countries these destination spaces occupy a particular place in the urban landscape, often with substantial in-migration, not only of retirees but also of older economically active individuals, attracted by the amenity values of a coastal location (Beatty and Fothergill, 2004; Leonard, 2016). There is also migration that is attracted to the ready supply of cheap accommodation, often large, nineteenth-century hotels and boarding houses that are no longer in the tourism market. This leads to a cycle of deprivation, with many such buildings converted into 'houses of multiple occupancy' which in turn attract the vulnerable segments of society often dependent on social benefits. This triggers a decline in the destination's built fabric which becomes increasingly run down and poorly

maintained (Santos et al., 2014). Secondly, these social problems are both caused by and exacerbated by economic problems in the destinations. In addition to the decline of the traditional tourist base, in-migration often exceeds the number of available jobs in economies that are structurally weak and struggling to diversify (Beatty and Fothergill, 2004; European Commission, 2014; Shared Intelligence, n.d.).

Revitalisation strategies

The characteristics of failing destinations identified above have prompted planning and policy intervention to revitalise. The debate on revitalisation began in the mid-1980s and accelerated in the 1990s with a range of destinations committing both politically and financially to the need to manage change. Coles and Shaw (2006) observe that in the UK, the policy environment has been largely supportive towards failing coastal towns with the inherent assumption that they have sustainable futures. The strategic options that emerged were to abandon these destinations to other uses such as residential or healthcare, or to revitalize through innovative solutions and approaches. It is this latter option that this chapter focuses upon.

There are a number of studies and reports that have examined the options for revitalisation (Communities and Local Government, 2010; House of Commons, 2007; Saxena, 2014; Shared Intelligence, n.d.). It is clear from the literature that successful revitalisation strategies demand innovation to deliver new products and seek out new markets. They also recognise the need to constantly review and adjust the destination formula. A range of possible approaches is listed in Table 5.1. Since the debate began, a body of knowledge has emerged from the experience of many destinations worldwide in terms of best practice and success criteria for destination revitalisation. Clearly each destination has its own particular set of issues and considerations but interestingly whilst the focus of these strategies has changed over the years, the basic aims, objectives and tools have remained the same (Beatty and Fothergill, 2004, Coles and Shaw, 2006).

Saxena (2014) observes a shift in policy and governance style to a more local, or destination focus and away from grand regional strategies. This destination focus can be viewed from two perspectives:

1 objective strategies designed to transform places suffering from a particular issue. Here the strategy 'pushes' the destination to potential investors and funders; and
2 subjective strategies which attempt to address negative images through a 'pull' approach "communicating with likely residents, businesses and service providers about the advantages of being in the area through the use of marketing campaigns and profile-building events" (Saxena, 2014, p. 97).

Table 5.1 Examples of strategies used in revitalisation projects

Repositioning products
• Developing innovative diversified products which include gastronomy, maritime heritage, marine archaeology, casinos, events, new and redeveloped attractions
• Refurbishing existing accommodation stock and increasing quality
Market diversification
• Market research to understand demand and seasonality, images, generational shifts in motivation, new consumer markets and behaviour
• Redefining the mass tourism model to higher value needs
Physical revitalisation
• Developing new, sustainable and green infrastructure including cutting-edge design for streetscapes and street furniture, green spaces and core visitor precincts for visitors and residents alike
• Developing creativity hubs as a catalyst for the reuse of assets
• Conserve/re-use iconic buildings
• Enhance security such as CCTV installation
Community engagement
• Capturing value in networks and collaboration and good practice. Stakeholders acting as a cooperative and driving force, strong community vision for tourism
• Communication campaigns to raise profile to reach residents, business and investors
Regional engagement
• Cross sector regional partnerships – develop economy; enhance community capacity by capitalising on local resources, and leveraging prosperous hinterlands
Technology
• Investing in new technology to create technology-driven 'smart' destinations

Source: Ecorys (2013); European Commission (2002); European Commission (2014); Ivars et al. (2012); Morgan (2013); Munoz et al. (2016) and Wilde and Cox (2008).

It is possible to distil a range of key indicators of success for destination revitalisation from international experience. These include finding a local political or business champion, the political will to drive through change, a holistic view of the destination that encompasses all economic, social and environmental factors, and the skills to secure investment and regional aid. The following three success criteria are central to successful strategies:

Vision, planning and leadership

Vision, planning and leadership are critical, particularly in the early stages of revitalisation. A local champion for the process is the single most important success factor for regeneration, identified in a number of reports and in the literature (see for example, Blackpool Challenge Partnership, n.d.; Market and Coastal Towns Association, 2011). The regeneration strategy for Blackpool for example takes the vision statement as the starting point for action. Whilst the champion drives the process and creates a vision, they must also be supported by a strong political will to succeed – as Healy (2006) notes

"strategic spatial planning endeavours are themselves complex governance processes" (p. 527). In other words, the political process of revitalisation must be managed by firstly, engaging with the destination community, involving constituencies who often have no tourism interest – such as those in rural destination hinterlands, and secondly, managing the conflicting stakeholders in the destination. The role of the champion is to gain the attention of stakeholders with allocative and authoritative power to shape transformation (Healy, 2006). Here, success or failure of this process can be influenced by the network configuration of the destination itself as discussed later in this chapter.

A holistic approach

A second imperative is to take a holistic approach to revitalisation, in other words integrating tourism plans with those for other sectors of the economy, including social factors. Here, Amore and Hall (2016) recognise the importance of meta-governance in terms of coordinating planning with these other sectors. This involves cross government coordinated strategies targeting revitalisation. A key factor here is close integration of physical product development (convention centres, new attractions and environmental upgrading) with the promotion of the destination. There is increasing attention being given to the quality of the built environment through the planning process (Shared Intelligence, n.d.; Blackpool Town Council, 2013) which includes:

- landscaping;
- streetscape;
- heritage considerations with design briefs;
- integration of green-spaces in destination business districts;
- plans for iconic buildings;
- leveraging from prosperous hinterland areas; and
- using creative hubs as catalysts to revalue and transform built assets.

In addition, priority is being given to environmental upgrading – in Majorca for example, 30% of the island's area has been set aside as a natural preservation area. This approach also includes development of core visitor precincts that draw upon the local residential market as well as visitors with food and beverage and retail precincts, as in Manly, Australia. This recognises the need to closely link day visitor and staying market facilities with the residential market catchment. In other words, integrated infrastructure and transport planning is needed that 'plans in' the needs of visitors as well as residents. Finally, increasing attention is being given to security issues to manage issues such as visitor safety and alcohol abuse, through the use of say, tourist police or CCTV installation. This clearly plays well with the residential community.

Securing resources

Revitalisation is resource intensive and it is vital to be able to successfully access regional, national and international funding to augment local sources. This is particularly the case in Europe where European monies are available through the structural funds for regional development. In a number of destinations this process is facilitated by development of public/private sector steering committees to ensure that various groups buy into the process. It is also critical to attract inward investment and to find resources to upgrade accommodation and facilities.

Destination contexts for revitalisation and innovation

Whilst it is possible to generalise on the process of revitalisation as above, in reality revitalisation occurs within particular destination contexts. Nonetheless, there is sufficient commonality of the issues to merit this approach. Scott (2011, p. 10) argues that policy is a social process that cannot be separated from, and is influenced by, the institutional context and issues, as well as time and space. In other words, if we are to support destinations in the process of effective planning and policy support for revitalisation, we need to understand the anatomy of these destinations: to measure, calibrate and diagnose. This final section of the chapter dissects the anatomy of these destinations using three specific approaches:

1 destinations as knowledge landscapes comprised of stakeholders who act as barriers, gatekeepers, and receptors of innovation and revitalisation;
2 destinations as networked organisations; and
3 destinations as communities of practice.

Destinations as innovation landscapes

Innovation underpins revitalisation and can be thought of as "the process of turning knowledge and ideas into value" (Dvir and Pasher, 2004, 16). Yet, innovation and its adoption in destinations (and indeed in tourism more generally) has been characterized by few leaders and many laggards, leading to a sector that has been both slow to innovate and to adopt new ideas (Hall and Williams, 2008; Hjalager, 2010; OECD, 2006). In part this can be explained by the fact that innovation for revitalisation tends to rely upon innovations in service delivery rather than manufacturing (see Kanerva et al., 2006 and Nijssen et al., 2006).

Innovation in services demands an understanding of the fact that services depend upon the pre-conditions for service delivery and that much of the innovation will depend upon the existing service. In other words there will be a close relationship between the new service development and the existing destination activity. Innovation in services also needs to incorporate both

the tacit knowledge base of those delivering the service and the knowledge of other stakeholders who can act as boundary spanners allowing access to external knowledge (see Shaw and Williams, 2009 and Yang and Wan, 2004).

This recognises that innovation processes for destinations are increasingly interactive, occurring across landscapes of destination organisations and drawing upon a knowledge base that is both within and across the destination (Alguezaui and Filieri, 2010; Aranda and Molina-Fernandez, 2002; Darroch and McNaughton, 2002; Swan et al., 1999). Here, we can envisage a knowledge landscape of adoption where the destination system is comprised of barriers, gatekeepers and receptors of innovation (see Cooper et al., 2003 and Rowley, 1997). As such, examination of the destination knowledge landscape provides insights for the innovation and revitalisation process:

- Firstly, the sources and legitimacy of the knowledge held by stakeholders are critical in determining whether that knowledge will be transferred and used by others.
- And it is, secondly, the characteristics of these adopters at the destination, and their ability and capacity to adopt knowledge and act upon it, that are critical to the success of revitalisation. Yet, as noted above, the typical stakeholders at a tourism destination are often poorly qualified and can be hostile to forms of explicit knowledge. Here, the concept of absorptive capability is relevant (see Cohen and Levinthal, 1990) as many users of tourism knowledge lack experience and training in the field. Small enterprises for example, will only adopt new ideas if they are highly relevant to their operation. In this respect, Agarwal (2012b) notes the difficulties faced by destination planners and managers in understanding and responding to global forces as they impact upon the local scale destination. This notion of absorptive capability is about filling the 'gap' between intention and outcome.
- Thirdly, the degree of partner similarity across the destination in terms of interests, background, or education is a further issue of how the knowledge base can be effectively utilised. This relates to the idea of 'communities of practice' which is discussed below.
- Fourthly, studies of how new knowledge is sourced and utilized highlight the importance of social relationships, as personal rather than impersonal sources are preferred, confirming the important contribution that relationships make to knowledge flow and implementing strategy and plans (Cross et al., 2001; Xiao and Smith, 2010).
- Finally, the level of organizational self-knowledge held by destination stakeholders is important. Effectively, members of a well-informed, learning destination will be more receptive to innovation and new ideas for revitalisation.

Destinations as networks

A second approach to dissecting the anatomy of failing destinations is to think of them as loosely articulated networks of enterprises, governments and other organizations (Scott et al., 2008). Collectively, the stakeholders in a failing-destination network have the overall goal of ensuring both destination competitiveness and sustainability through the successful implementation of any revitalisation strategy. Rowley (1997) is clear that the "focus of stakeholder analysis is the interdependence of actors and how their positions in a network influence their opportunities, constraints and behaviours" (p. 894). This is definitely the case for tourism where delivery of the product requires multiple actors (Nordin and Svensson, 2005).

There are two advantages of taking a network approach or 'gaze' which are highly relevant for the revitalisation process: firstly, planners and policy makers can leverage from the approach as social networks generate knowledge and consensus, build trust and facilitate exchange of information (Scott, 2015); and secondly, we can identify policy communities which are networks of interested parties involved in policy formulation across the destination (Scott, 2011).

We can take this a step further by thinking of the destination context for revitalisation as a networked learning organisation. Learning organisations adapt to change more quickly and thus can gain competitive advantage (see Cooper et al., 2003). Learning destinations involve complex systems of people, relationships, values, processes, tools and infrastructure (Dvir and Pasher, 2004) and their creation demands managing destination knowledge capital. Destination knowledge capital is created through collaboration and partnerships within inter-organizational destination networks (European Commission, 2006; Hallin and Marnburg 2008; Shaw and Williams, 2009). Here social interaction highlights the influence of organizations, relationships and interactions to revitalise; in other words, how the dynamic of the stakeholders at the destination can facilitate or inhibit the process of revitalisation.

The effectiveness of the learning destination will therefore be strongly influenced by its network structure. Social network analysis allows network structures to be measured, calibrated and classified by analysing relationships – by flows of information and cooperation, and nodes – by competitive position. In other words, configuration of the destination network is critical in the revitalisation process as it inhibits or encourages the building of destination knowledge capital and both the sharing of this knowledge and the communication of the revitalisation strategy to destination stakeholders (Braun, 2004; Reagans and McEvily, 2003). Here, Tsai (2001) argues that destination organizations can be more innovative,

> if they occupy central network positions that provide access to new knowledge developed by other units. This effect, however, depends on

> units' absorptive capacity, or ability to successfully replicate new knowledge
>
> (p. 996)

Reagans and McEvily (2003) agree that network structure impacts fundamentally upon knowledge flow and innovation. They found that over and above the effect of the strength of the tie between nodes, knowledge flow is facilitated by social cohesion amongst network members and network range (the number of network ties that cross institutional, organizational, or social boundaries). Both Rowley (1997) and Braun (2004) also found a strong relationship between knowledge flow and both network and geographic positioning, with successful knowledge transfer strongly influenced by network cohesion and actors' trust in, and engagement, with the network.

Here, the concept of both 'geographic space' and 'network space' is introduced by Huggins et al. (2012). They confirm the idea that networks allow access to new ideas but see this as occurring in two ways: firstly through geographical clustering of organisations in say a destination, and secondly within network space which may be a tourism distribution channel or hotel marketing collective. However, Barthelt et al. (2004) argue that networks based around a geographical cluster such as a destination are based upon locationally-constrained tacit knowledge and that what is needed is boundary-spanning organisations and individuals who can access other networks globally (Tushman and Scanlan, 1981). This is a real issue for destinations where revitalisation strategies can be mired in the locality and fail to encompass competitors and the changing market place. However, the increasing use of social media for networking globally provides an easy boundary-spanning mechanism for organisations and clusters to draw upon a wide range of knowledge sources for revitalisation. Alguezaui and Filieri (2010) support Barthelt et al.'s (2004) view by identifying that dense cohesive networks can deliver benefits to member organizations through close ties, strong communication, conforming behaviour, and cooperation based upon a trusting set of relationships leading to a shared understanding of issues. However, there is a danger of the organizations being overly embedded and 'locked in' to the network, hence Alguezaui and Filieri's (2010) opposite claim that sparse networks with weak ties feature 'structural holes' which allow for information brokerage and access to more novel and new ideas external to the network (Burt, 1992). In fact, organizations should benefit from both approaches as the gains and risks associated with each balance up.

The discussion above implies that for successful revitalisation, destination networks need to be managed if they are to provide an effective framework for policy communication, effective knowledge flows and intervention. Keast and Hampson (2007) argue that governance of networks focuses on relationships and strategic management and that effective governance demands an understanding of network competencies – such as identifying and fixing broken links. Good governance of the destination network will also manage

new entrants and ensure that knowledge is not lost to network members (see Eickelpasch and Fritsch, 2005). This will encourage creation of a true learning destination and encourage the building of destination knowledge capital through interactive sharing and trust.

In other words, if we understand the destination context to be a knowledge landscape that is conceived as a network then a number of insights into the revitalization process are found:

- firstly, stakeholders participating actively in both geographic and network space is the foundation for the creation of destination knowledge capital (Baggio and Cooper, 2010; Presenza and Cipollina, 2010; Scott and Ding, 2008);
- secondly, network structure has a fundamental impact upon the effectiveness of knowledge exchange and thus the success of the revitalization process; and
- finally, that to deliver the benefits of generating knowledge and consensus, building trust, and facilitating exchange of information, destination networks need to be managed and governed and demonstrate 'network competencies'.

Destinations as communities of practice

Networks are essentially a set of relationships between destination actors, but in most cases networks are not purposeful. Here, the idea of communities of practice (COPs) takes the analysis further by explaining the purpose of a destination network. The concept of COPs recognises that the process for destination innovation and strategy takes place within communities and not individuals. A COP can be thought of as a group of individuals who develop a shared way of working together and engaging in common activity to accomplish a common purpose (Schianetz et al., 2007). As such, COPs share a repertoire of history and concepts (Wenger, 1998) where trust and collaboration are important dimensions for effectiveness and for delivering strategic advantage for the destination. It is this dimension of trust and collaboration that sees a possible departure from the way the destinations function, as noted above (Bolisani and Scarso, 2010). Trust, or mistrust, is central to the effective implementation of strategies in tourism destinations.

Nonetheless, the analogy of a COP with the destination is a useful one as a context for revitalisation strategies, as both need a common purpose and united goal. Belonging to a destination or to a COP not only implies commitment to that organisation but also demands management to both instil and maintain drive and communicate a shared vision and leadership to moderate the power structures inherent in all organisations. The idea of the community of practice provides three further insights into the effectiveness of the revitalisation process; firstly, and most important, both networks and COPs increasingly need organizational regulation and management to be

effective; secondly, a COP facilitates identification of a revitalisation 'champion' who is embedded and influential across the network (Coakes and Smith, 2007); and thirdly COPs encourage group learning from collective engagement to deliver the learning destination (Bispo, 2016).

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the imperative of understanding destination contexts within which planning and policy initiatives take place, arguing that destinations can be framed as complex networked systems of people, relationships, values processes, and infrastructure (Dvir and Pasher, 2004). This is especially the case where a strategic transformation is required, developing new spatial imaginations and evolving new governance processes (Healy, 2006). It is clear from the chapter that failing destinations present particular challenges for strategic revitalisation and innovation, and whilst each destination has its own distinctive features there is enough commonality to justify targeted planning and policy responses. Analysis and diagnosis of failing destination contexts aid our understanding of both the successes and challenges of the revitalization process. For example, the chapter has shown that particular network architectures encourage innovation and the adoption of new ideas, leading to the building of learning destinations. Yet it is also clear that these destinations can be hostile environments for learning, comprised as they are of SMEs and a fragmented product. In response, network governance and leadership is the key to successful innovation and revitalization of failing destinations through the management of stakeholder expectations. This encourages capturing value in destination networks and fosters collaboration and good practice. Failing destinations can therefore be managed as learning organizations to better place them to adapt and innovate to deliver competitiveness in an uncertain future.

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6 Tourism in a protected landscape
Challenges to sustainable development

Sarah Duffy and Larry Dwyer

Introduction

The World Tourism Organization defines sustainable tourism as a practise "that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities" (UNEP and WTO, 2005: 11). A particular problem for sustainable tourism development is that many of the resources associated with destinations are 'common pool resources' (CPR). The value of a CPR can be reduced through overuse because the supply of the resource is not unlimited, and using more than can be replenished can result in depleted and degraded numbers (Ostrom, 1990). CPRs have two key characteristics: first, the exclusion of potential users, through physical barriers or legal instruments is difficult or costly; second, their consumption is rivalrous or subtractable (Dietz, Ostrom and Stern, 2003). The subtractability of consumption means that *de facto* open-access arrangements can lead to a tragedy of the commons, whereby no individual bears the full cost of resource degradation (Hardin, 1968). In the absence of effective rules limiting access and defining the rights and duties of the users of a CPR free-riding in two forms is likely: overuse without concern for the negative effects on others, and a lack of contributed funds to maintain and improve the resource itself (Ostrom et al., 1999).

A tourism destination encompassing more than one CPR is the town of Exmouth, offering access to Ningaloo Marine Park (NMP), Western Australia. NMP comprises more than 4,572 km^2, some 1,200 km north of Perth. NMP is home to 200 species of hard coral, 50 soft coral and over 500 species of fish. Within NMP whale sharks, fish stocks, the coral reef itself and surfing breaks are both common pool resources and tourist attractions. Many destinations worldwide involve CPRs that are used by tourists in common with other tourists, and by tourists in common with adjacent industries and locals (Briassoulis, 2002). This is certainly the case at NMP, given significant oil and gas exploration activities that are occurring just outside the reef.

NMP is one of the key locations globally where whale sharks congregate in significant numbers. Varying between 4 and 12 m in length, the whale shark is

the world's largest fish. A filter feeder with no teeth, the whale shark is quite docile allowing divers and snorkelers to interact at close quarters, swimming beside them. Based on this novel marine-based human–animal interaction opportunity, a whale shark tourism industry has developed in NMP. This has become a major attraction of Exmouth and one of the key reasons for the area's World Heritage listing. Whale shark tourism is a unique selling proposition (one of a few locations worldwide) and an important competitive advantage for the region.

In a world experiencing a diminishing supply of pristine environments, the tourism industry must understand the nature of a CPR, their relevance to tourism development, and the management strategies for coping with adverse effects arising from their use. Curiously however, with some exceptions (Briassoulis 2002; Healy 1994; Healy, 2006; Moore and Rodger, 2010), CPR-related issues have received relatively little attention from tourism researchers. Given the importance of natural attractions as drawcards for tourist flows, such as at NMP, this neglect needs to be addressed.

Broadly, this chapter seeks to contribute to our knowledge of the challenges that CPR pose to sustainable tourism development in a remote location. The focus of this study is whale shark tourism as a CPR. The chapter has four specific aims. First, to discuss whale shark tourism in NMP and characterise its CPR features. Second, to identify the threats to whale shark tourism which have the potential to adversely affect its sustainability as an environmental resource and niche tourism market over time. Third, to examine the management strategies that are being employed to meet the challenges of sustainable governance of whale shark tourism. Fourth, to identify a holistic approach to underpin strategy formulation, implementation and evaluation regarding tourism development at NMP.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. The second section provides information on whale shark tourism in NMP, emphasising its status as a common pool resource and identifying the challenges posed to its sustainable development. The third section identifies several sources of potential conflict that may pose challenges to the sustainable development of whale shark tourism into the future. The fourth section discusses how adoption of the 'protected landscape approach' can help to overcome these threats and maintain sustainable development in NMP. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the relevance of the protected landscape approach to tourism development globally.

Whale shark tourism in Ningaloo Marine Park

NMP was declared a marine park in 1987. The park is managed by the Western Australian Department of Parks and Wildlife (DPaW) predominantly for conservation, recreation, science and education. Consistent with these strategic objectives, and recognising the exclusion of commercial extraction of resources, NMP (Commonwealth Waters) is to be managed as

an IUCN Category II – National Park: Protected Area Managed Mainly for Ecosystem Conservation and Recreation. In 2011, NMP was inscribed to the World Heritage List for three unique values: the striking natural landscapes of Cape Range and Ningaloo Reef, high biodiversity of the reef, and the rare and diverse plants and animals of Cape Range (IUCN, 2011).

There are three settlements along the Ningaloo Reef: Carnarvon, Exmouth and Coral Bay. We will refer to this area as the 'Coral Coast'. (See Figure 6.1.) The region is thinly populated, with approximately 8,000 residents concentrated in the towns of Carnarvon (71%), Exmouth (26%) and Coral Bay (2%) (Jones et al., 2011). The area attracts between 170,000 and 200,000 tourists annually (Schianetz et al., 2009). The main activities undertaken by tourists to NMP are snorkelling and diving, recreational fishing, beach recreation and camping, coral and wildlife viewing, and wildlife interaction tours. DPaW has a district office based in Exmouth. Whale shark tourism is conducted from both Exmouth and Coral Bay. Tourists are taken by boat to where the whale sharks congregate outside the reef, entering the water to snorkel for about three to eight minutes with whale sharks, on several occasions over the day.

Swimming with whale sharks differs from snorkelling along the reef or fishing (both activities involve CPRs) in theoretically interesting ways. Swimming with a whale shark is thought of as a 'bucket-list' experience; it is risky, the trip lasts a full day and it is an intimate adventure. The experience takes place in a location (the open sea) that is under minimal control of the provider and involves the largest fish in the oceans. It is an activity that is temporally, spatially and socially bound, which is why it is important to examine the context.

The global, highly mobile behaviour of whale sharks and their continued exploitation in waters outside of Australia makes long-term survival of the species problematic. The conservation status of the whale shark is recognised as 'vulnerable' in the World Conservation Union Red List of Threatened Species. Whale sharks are fully protected under the state of Western Australia's Wildlife Conservation Act 1950 with additional specific regulation under the Fish Resources Management Act 1994. The Ningaloo Whale Shark Experience, as guided by the statutory management programme, provides a flexible and pragmatic model for implementing a conservation programme in collaboration with wildlife tourism operators (Rob and Barnes, 2013). DPaW has statutory responsibility for conservation, and commercial and recreational aspects of the Ningaloo whale shark experience. Unlike fishing or snorkelling, the industry is effectively a 'closed shop'; commercial tours may only be run by providers in possession of one of 15 licenses, which are allocated on a competitive basis. The population of sharks aggregating at NMP is estimated at 300–500 (Meekan et al., 2006). Ideally for the tourism industry, the behaviour of these sharks is predictable – the season usually begins in March running until July.

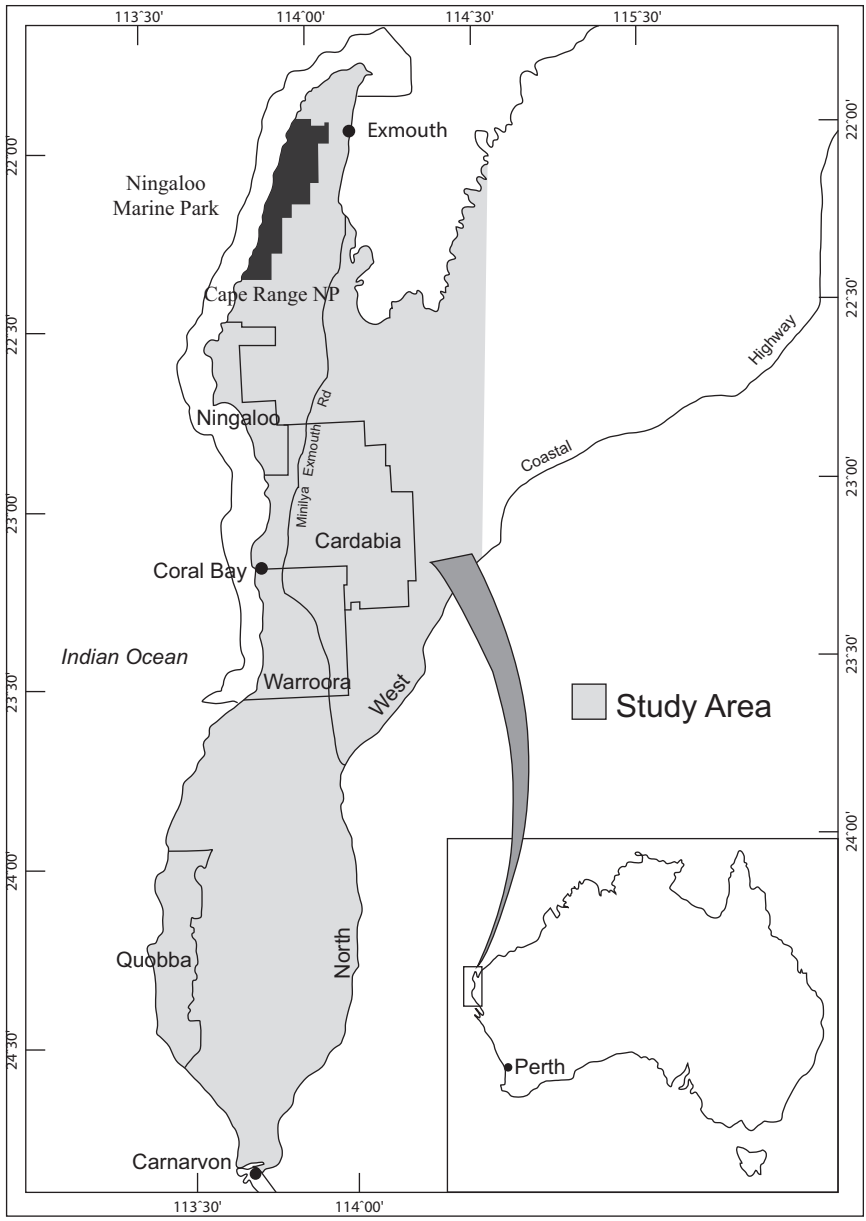

Figure 6.1 The Ningaloo Coastal Region of Western Australia

Three distinct user groups comprise whale shark tourism: the tourism industry itself, DPaW (the regulating body), and tourists. Visitors to the Coral Coast region come from overseas (8%), interstate (6%) and within Western Australia (87%). Of the international visitors the greatest proportion

came from the UK (19%), followed by Germany (16%), New Zealand (8%), USA (7%) and France (6%). Total spend from 1,120,400 visitors was AUD $699 million (Tourism WA, 2016). The total number of whale shark tour passengers to Ningaloo in 2013 was 20,698 (Rob and Barnes, 2013). This expenditure was estimated to be AUD$12 million annually at the last estimate (CALM, 2005; Catlin et al., 2012).

Whale shark tourism as a common pool resource

Both whale sharks and the Ningaloo Reef are CPRs. Ningaloo Reef is an important resource to the tourism industry and locals alike as both the habitat for marine life and the means for both recreation and commercial activity (for tourism and other local industries). The expansion of tourism and commercial activity in the area has increased the risks of disturbance to the whale sharks from increased boat activity. Since exclusion of persons from the reef is costly and nigh impossible, the potential exists for pervasive crowding and resource depletion as too many visitors attempt to enjoy this unique destination experience. Possible negative long-term impacts are identified as: disruption of feeding behaviour; displacement from important feeding areas; disruption of mating, reproductive and other social behaviour; abandonment of preferred breeding sites; changes to regular migratory pathways to avoid human interaction zones; stress; injury; mortality (Mau, 2008). Reduced whale shark numbers or reduced predictability of sightings would have significant consequences for the tourism industry, the overall local economy and the community, not to mention the potential effects on the NMP eco-system.

Additionally, since those who might invest in protecting or improving whale shark tourism are unable to capture the full economic benefit, less investment results than sustainability would require. Underinvestment could involve a lower than optimal quantity and quality physical infrastructure (roads, restrooms, vista points), service infrastructure (public safety, trash removal), or amenities (interpretive signs, cafes, shops) (Healy, 2006; Briassoulis, 2002). The access point to NMP, Tantabiddi Boat Ramp, fails to meet levels of demand, leading to delays and, at times, conflict. This facility was damaged during floods in 2014. A large amount of silt was deposited that now needs to be excavated to allow for full use of this facility. Not surprisingly, there is substantial disagreement between the Shire Council, the State government and local stakeholders as to how this necessary investment is to be funded. Financial responsibility for infrastructure is an ongoing point of contention. In order for the industry to be effective it is important that adequate infrastructure exists to reduce congestion and facilitate growth. Bearing the cost for infrastructure is frequently an issue when it comes to common pool resources, since the group that bears the cost cannot restrict free riders from using the infrastructure (Holden, 2005; Briassoulis, 2002).

Without management systems, overcrowding can affect a CPR in two ways, first it may reduce each person's enjoyment, and second, it has the potential

to inflict temporary or permanent damage to the resource (Healy, 1994). Recent literature on CPR management indicates that sustaining such environmental resources is not resolved by one particular structure of property rights regime. The choice of the most appropriate property regime: public, private, or common, depends on the characteristics of the CPRs and the socioeconomic and political context concerned (Hanna and Munasinghe, 1995). Typically, a common property regime performs three distinct functions: first, to devise and then monitor and enforce rules to limit who can use the CPR and for how long; second, to create and fund monitoring arrangements; and third, to implement sanctions for non-conformance and arbitration arrangements (Dietz et al., 2003; Schlager and Ostrom, 1992). These rules help resolve the problems of CPRs: restricting access and creating incentives for users to invest in the resource.

Conflict in managing whale shark tourism

Management goals for tourism in NMP are to provide for the operation of low impact commercial tourism activities, which add to the recreational and educational experience of Marine Park users and to ensure that tourist operations do not negatively impact on the ecological or cultural heritage values of the Marine Park (Commonwealth of Australia, 2002: 55). The well-defined boundaries of NMP have facilitated the development of a common property regime for the area, a set of social arrangements for regulating the preservation, maintenance, and consumption of its resources.

In general, management of human–whale shark interaction has focused on licensing, education, research and monitoring, executed by DPaW in collaborative consultation with commercial operators (Coleman, 1997; Mau, 2008). There are currently 15 licensees who, in addition to the whale shark tour, may also run other tours such as diving, fishing and snorkeling trips. The statutory Code of Conduct strives to respect the values of the various users of the reef, protect the whale sharks, and enhance operator opportunities to maintain a high-quality whale shark swimming experience.

Under the established system, DPaW attempts to balance conservation, economic and social outcomes in the quest to achieve and maintain an ecologically sustainable wildlife tourism industry. A detailed discussion of the management programme is outside the scope of this chapter due to space restrictions. A robust examination of the programme was completed by Moore and Rodger (2010).

If sustainable governance is to prevail over the longer term, management strategies need to be goal efficient and effective protectors of whale sharks, the associated tourism industry and community values. The question arises however: what challenges to resource management may assume greater importance in the future? Specifically, what issues are likely to adversely impact upon whale shark tourism in the future? There would seem to be several sources of conflict which have the potential to impact on the

sustainable development of NMP and its whale shark tourism industry. These reflect tensions within the local community, between the local community and the state and federal governments, and tensions within the tourism industry itself (Murphy, 2009). A source of many problems is that there are multiple groups and industries using the same resources (land and sea) in potentially conflicting ways. Notably those industries are: recreational fishing, pastoralists, and the oil and gas industry drilling some 50 km from the boundary of the marine park.

NMP has experienced polarising debate over its use in the community over the years. Similar to many communities worldwide, there is ongoing conflict between those who are broadly 'pro-development' and those who emphasise environmental and social values above the potential economic values of development. The region has been dubbed the 'Quarrel Coast' given controversies on issues ranging from World Heritage Listing, proposed tourism resort developments, increasing environmental regulation, uncertainty over Native Title and pastoral leases which expired in 2015, and the extent (if any) of possible co-existence between tourism development and mining, oil, and gas exploration. Even within the tourism industry, recreational fishing poses a substantial risk to the region's ecology. Changes to the regulations regarding recreational fishing, an activity enjoyed by locals and tourists alike, create conflict in the community. To the extent that solutions are formulated by State and Commonwealth government intervention, the greater becomes the sense that political power resides in remote agencies, based in faraway cities that can over-ride local interests regarding how natural and cultural resources should be managed.

In addition to community related tensions, is the potential impact on NMP and its whale shark tourism industry from forces of a more global nature, beyond the direct control of the local stakeholders of NMP. On the demand side, these include the increasing expansion of tourism worldwide, together with a greater revealed preference to experience pristine environments and for participation in markets such as wildlife and adventure tourism. While its remoteness, relatively low profile, and high travel access costs might currently give whale shark tourism a degree of 'protection' from the large visitor numbers experienced at other sites, this may change over time.

On the supply side, risks of depletion of whale shark numbers come from the lack of will of other countries to establish common property resource regimes to protect these fish. Whale sharks are a common pool resource over their entire range, only a small portion of which is in the NMP. It is also likely that coastal zones will face new problems and challenges in the coming decades associated with climate change. Pressure on the resource from human population growth, technological change, or economic change, including more market opportunities from offshore oil and gas drilling, may contribute to the breakdown of communal-property mechanisms for exclusion (Feeny et al., 1990). Ultimately, the social and political characteristics of the users of

the resource and how they relate to the larger political system will affect the ability of local groups to organise and manage communal property (Ostrom, 1986).

Each of these threats represents a challenge in common to protected areas around the world. Resource managers need to ensure that our planning and management systems are flexible enough to meet these new challenges. The best way to approach this question, we believe, is to identify strategies or ways of thinking that will defuse the likely challenges, thus diluting their potential adverse impacts on sustainable governance of whale shark tourism. These strategies need to be based on a clear understanding of the nature of whale shark tourism *as a CPR* as well as an appreciation of the strategies relevant to addressing the challenges that such resources pose to sustainable development.

The protected landscape approach

In recent years, the geographic focus for conservation has shifted from isolated protected areas to networks and interconnected systems of protected areas, inclusive of rural settlements and urban areas. A new strategy, known as the 'protected landscape approach', has been developed (Beresford and Phillips, 2000). While grounded in experience with IUCN's category V protected landscapes/seascapes, this approach is broader than a single protected area category or designation. The protected landscape approach *inter alia*, links people's needs and biodiversity conservation. It typically comprises a mosaic of land ownership patterns, including private and communally owned property. It can accommodate diverse management regimes, including customary laws governing resource management and traditional practices. The approach seeks to bring benefits to local communities and contribute to their well-being, through the provision of environmental goods and services. It has been proven to work well in certain indigenous territories where strict protected areas have failed (Brown, Mitchell and Beresford, 2005). Researchers and resource managers see great potential in the wider adoption of the protected landscape approach, alongside other more strict categories of protected area (Aichison and Beresford, 1998; Espiner and Becken, 2014). Emphasising the importance of an inclusive, participatory, and democratic process for accomplishing conservation, the protected landscape approach acknowledges the critical links between nature, culture, and community for long-term sustainability of conservation.

The landscape of relevance to whale shark tourism would comprise a significant portion of the Coral Coast region including NMP, Cape Range and the urban settlements that dot the area. Rather than perceive each protected area as a unique investment in conservation the approach seeks to develop networks and systems of protected areas so that the conservation of biodiversity and ecosystem functions can be secured at the bioregional scale.

We can identify five key characteristics of the protected landscape approach that enable it to contribute to a sustainable governance of areas that comprise CPR. The protected landscape approach:

- is bioregional in scale and represents a mosaic of designations and land uses;
- embraces the interrelationship of nature, culture, society and the economy;
- recognises the relationship between tangible and intangible values and the value of both;
- is community-based, inclusive and participatory;
- is founded on planning and legal frameworks that foster engagement through equity and governance for stakeholders.

We now address each characteristic in turn, discussing the relevance of each to sustainable governance of whale shark tourism in NMP.

Mosaic of designations and land uses

Ecological problems are rarely confined to a single scale. The protected landscape approach recognises that conservation cannot be achieved sustainably within 'islands' of strong protection surrounded by areas of environmental, cultural, social and economic neglect (Brown et al., 2005). NMP is part of a larger ecological system that has cultural linkages in time and space beyond a particular CPR and protected areas (Stephenson, 2008). The ecological connectivity between a protected area and other parts of the ecosystem or landscape, including lived-in landscapes, cannot be ignored simply because they don't match artificial political or regulatory boundaries. Strategies are needed that can accommodate different land uses, ownership patterns and management objectives. Typically, this involves a variety of conservation tools and designations (Brown et al., 2005). Given recognition that humanised, lived-in landscapes have become an integral part of conservation for their contributions to biodiversity, the community of the Coral Coast, with its diverse values and conflicting community interests, assumes greater relevance and importance in CPR management. The implications of this for the preservation of valued tourism environments need further exploration.

Interrelationship of nature, economy, society and culture

Landscapes constantly evolve through a combination of natural processes and human activities that are inextricably interwoven. Beresford (2003) has described the importance of developing a management approach "based on an understanding of this interrelationship (between nature and culture) … (since) the landscape we see is the tip of the iceberg, underpinned by these unseen complex interactions, based on a series of past and on-going decisions" (1). The interrelationships cannot be addressed effectively without also considering a

whole range of other issues, including the impact of expanding tourism on other industries, land-use, employment, and on existing natural habitats. NMP, and its whale shark tourism industry, is just one example of human activities and natural processes within a larger mosaic of oil and gas exploration, military activity, pastoralism, recreational and commercial fishing on the Coral Coast.

The research undertaken by DPaW has international significance, directly to other whale shark tourism industries as well as local relevance for whale shark operations, management and local planning. One implication is that research on interactions between humans and nature on the Coral Coast needs to comprise a well-structured dialogue involving scientists, resource users, and interested publics. Key information about environmental and human–environment systems emanating from formal and informal exchange of information is critical to developing the level of trust essential for building social capital between the various stakeholders (Ostrom and Nagendra, 2007; Espiner and Becken, 2014). Since the ecological, technological, economic, and social factors affecting the performance of any commons regime change over time, information about the conditions of the resource and its users' needs to be updated regularly.

In the Coral Coast context, information about whale sharks is distributed to key stakeholders and shared with the public regularly (Catlin et al., 2012). However, data concerning the health of the marine park and fish stocks comes from varied sources, is irregular in its timing and detail, does not appear to be shared with the public or businesses operating within the marine park in a systematic way and typically does not address stakeholders' most pressing needs. During fieldwork by the lead author (June, 2014), the stakeholders of the whale shark industry (including adjacent industries) were asked if they received information about the health of the marine park; the unanimous response was 'no'. (Duffy, 2016). DPaW advised that there are "a large number of ongoing studies which contribute to understanding the condition of the marine park". DPaW plays a large role in measuring and reporting on the 'Ecological Values' described in the Marine Park Management Plan and there are a host of other research organisations doing studies at Ningaloo. The disconnect that exists in the communication of this research to the broader stakeholders is troubling. The inconsistency could be due to the designated 'Whale Shark Conservation Officer' whose role it is to communicate with relevant whale shark stakeholders. No such role exists for the marine park or fisheries. Dietz et al. (2003) underscore the importance of knowledge sharing about the resource stocks, management and resource-users interaction for effective management.

Tangible and intangible values

The protected landscape approach recognises multiple values and encompasses the interests of local communities and indigenous peoples (Rössler, 2000; Espiner and Becken, 2014). Four different issues are relevant here: first,

identification of the tangible and intangible values; second, an ethical basis for the values identified; third, methods of evaluating their importance in different contexts; fourth, there is a responsibility under the protected landscape approach, to disseminate knowledge about conservation values and responsible resource management.

Tangible values are usually the primary focus of conservation efforts. These include maintenance of biodiversity and safeguarding vital environmental services. These values are explicit in the Strategic Plan for NMP (Commonwealth of Australia, 2002). *Intangible values* of landscapes include values of the visual landscape, raising awareness of cultural heritage and identity, developing a heightened sense of place, safeguarding places/areas of spiritual significance, promoting greater understanding of the human/nature relationship, and providing opportunities for recreation (Brown et al., 2000). From this foundation, the Strategic Plan crafts collaborative management approaches that involve all key stakeholders (Harmon, 2004; Healy, 1994) highlighting the importance of the intangible aspects of CPRs and calling for further research into this area. To date this challenge has not been taken up.

While there is widespread acceptance of the values driving sustainable governance (Dwyer, 2018), discussion of the ethical basis for espousing these values has been limited (Holden, 2005). Advocates of the protected landscape approach typically uphold some notion of 'Stewardship' whereby access to environmental resources carries attendant responsibilities to use them in an ecologically sustainable, economically efficient, and socially fair manner (Brown and Mitchell, 2000; Brown et al., 2000; Costanza, 2009). Fostering stewardship by those closest to the resource taps their wealth of knowledge, traditional management systems, innovation and love of place, consistent with the research to date by CPR scholars (Holden, 2005; Ostrom, 1990). This can also be difficult when a large proportion of the 'users' are not locals, as is often the case with tourism on both the supply and demand side. As the licensing conditions have placed increasing demands on operators, a shift has occurred from local operators to more sophisticated operators from the state's capital, Perth, who may have less place attachment than the locals. While the majority of researchers appear implicitly to embed the notion of stewardship within some type of anthropocentric ethic there is vigorous debate in the wider ethical literature as to whether this type of ethic is strong enough to support environmental values. Critics argue that it should be replaced by an 'environmental ethic' which denies that human interests are the centre of moral concern (Rolston, 1988; Dwyer, 2018).

Having a responsible attitude is of course not sufficient for good deeds unless users of resources have good information to act upon. Scientific understanding of coupled human–biophysical systems will always be uncertain because of inherent unpredictability in the systems (Espiner and Becken, 2014). Environmental governance depends on good, trustworthy information about stocks, flows, and processes within the resource systems being governed, as well as about the various human–environment interactions (Dietz et al.,

2003). In the face of uncertainty about potentially irreversible environmental impacts, the well-known 'precautionary principle' claims that the burden of proof should shift to those whose activities potentially damage the environment (Nevill, 2010). Use of the precautionary principle is a necessary management approach to protected landscapes in order to balance powerful and pervasive forces which promote over-exploitation, particularly against a background of uncertainty. In this respect the research effort of DPaW plays a valuable role, although as argued above, on the protected landscape view it would embrace a wider set of research topics and be communicated to a wider range of stakeholders.

Several activities associated with whale shark tourism are consistent with the notion of responsibility or stewardship over these animals. The codes of conduct governing user behaviour recognise that government, industry, community and visitors have an important role to play in education to act 'responsibly'. The code encourages operators to be ethical and environmentally sensitive and to refrain from behaviour that negatively affects the CPR. Regulations and economic incentives play an important role in encouraging changes in behaviour. Attracting the right type of tourist, with values aligned to those of the host should become a more pressing concern. On this perspective, tourism stakeholders – employees, suppliers, residents – can combine to 'pull-in' (attract) the kind of guest – the 'ideal tourist' – who most values what the destination has on offer (Dwyer, 2016; 2018).

Consistent with the UNWTO definition stated above, management decisions should be based on an accounting of the various costs and benefits of alternative options, including impacts on future generations. The evaluation issue has bedevilled research on human–environment interactions. Acknowledging the substantial problems of identifying and assessing all of the costs and benefits and determining who gains and who bears the costs, best practice evaluation techniques should be applied as far as is possible to inform management of approaches to evaluating CPR. Currently the whale shark operators bear the full financial cost of the management programme, passing this cost on to their customers.

According to the Responsibility Principle (Costanza, 2009), all stakeholders must work together to inform, educate and inspire appreciation for natural and cultural heritage and its protection through responsible conduct. While consistent behaviour is always difficult to achieve, researchers emphasise the importance of education as a management strategy in nature-based tourism (Dwyer, 2017). Some argue that market-based or command and control strategies are ultimately less effective in influencing visitor behaviour than environmental education (Forsyth, Dwyer and Clarke, 1995). The whale shark experience is one where education and associated codes of conduct are central to the entire approach. Ostrom (1986) has emphasised that educating the appropriators and users of the tourism commons is fundamental to influencing their perception about their integrity, to persuade them that the joint benefits of coordinated management and use outweigh the costs, and to

sensitize them to their 'common' interest in sustainable resource management and use (Ostrom et al., 1999).

Community-based, inclusive and participatory

Local stakeholders must be at the heart of any sustainable governance strategy. It is also important to ensure the involvement of all major stakeholder groups that have an impact on a particular region (Plummer and Fennell, 2009). Often this means coordinating local initiatives with wider national policies in order to minimise unintended conflicts between different levels of government (Ostrom et al., 1999). In the NMP context, there are international, national, and state interests, not just local interests that need to be acknowledged. Threats to protected areas will not be overcome if the local communities are not socio-economically empowered and resource management policies made to include their needs and aspirations. While this is not a significant issue at the present time for NMP, some locals expressed frustration that operators from Perth received whale shark licenses over locals. It could become more of an issue in the future, and it is certainly an issue for natural resource protection in many parts of the world.

Within the protected landscape approach, adaptive management is essentially community based, and inclusive of all major stakeholders, embracing wide participation, indigenous knowledge, continual monitoring, flexible policy design, and frequent review of management practices (Berkes and Folke, 1998). Participation relates to the ways that the general public and interested stakeholders are being involved in sustainable governance of CPR. This includes the sharing of information, transparent communication, consensus building under stakeholders and general public, and informed decision making. Full stakeholder participation, as far as that can be achieved, contributes to credible, accepted rules that identify and assign the corresponding responsibilities appropriately.

Given the limited ecological and biological information available regarding resource use, it remains a challenge to establish the social and ecological carrying capacity for the whale shark experience. The existing arrangements made by DPaW appear to have established the appropriate balance between ecological, social and economic factors based on available information (Mau, 2008). Ongoing generation of baseline scientific information by DPaW researchers assists in the conservation and recreation management of the whale sharks. Thus, for example, information needed to determine appropriate licence numbers depends on a clear understanding of levels of interference associated with different whale shark contact rates, the occurrence of peak and shoulder periods, and the relationship between vessel numbers and whale shark contact rates during both peak and shoulder periods (Davis et al., 1997). Such information can also help to produce consensus on governance rules, as the research effort of DPaW staff provides important input into sound decision making by users of CPR. Although DPaW has limited

resources, a network of knowledge sharing has developed, which is valued by stakeholders. How much involvement stakeholders have in setting the agenda is unclear. A recent attempt by whale shark industry stakeholders to identify priority research projects for DPaW to pursue was met with the response that "industry views are taken into consideration but ultimately the decision rests with DPaW" (DPaW, 2013: 3).

Building respectful collaborations between local users, public officials, and scientific experts is a vital requisite of adaptive management (Plummer and Fennell, 2009). The challenge in using the adaptive management approach lies in finding the correct balance between gaining knowledge to improve management in the future and achieving the best short-term outcome based on current knowledge (Allan and Stankey, 2009). It would appear to be the case that management of human–whale shark interactions conforms to the basic principles of adaptive management: the objectives for the industry are clearly defined; management responses are measured against those objectives; and further management responses are adjusted to incorporate evaluation and feedback. However, given the limited resources of DPaW, it seems fair to say that the adaptive management process in place is more 'passive' than 'active'. Changes to regulations regarding proximity of swimmers to whale sharks, based on enhanced knowledge of impacts, an outcome of collaboration between with stakeholders (Mau, 2008), reveals flexibility of attitude by DpaW, but within the context of a reactive or passive 'risk averse' adaptive management approach. Information relevant to a better understanding of whale sharks flows both ways between operators and DPaW. Stakeholder collaboration, of the type that is ongoing in NMP, helps inform decision making, build support for effective implementation, address disputes and enhances the likelihood of sustainable solutions.

Despite the above examples of inclusive and participatory practices between stakeholders on the Coral Coast there appear to be some impediments to full stakeholder collaboration. Residents have expressed concerns regarding remote governance, while whale shark operators (WSO) emphasise a perceived power differential from allocation of property rights, and issues concerning conflict resolution. We now discuss each in turn.

Several issues associated with perceptions of remote governance are relevant to the Coral Coast. At a regional level, NMP and its whale shark tourism, is subject to a multitude of planning processes that have developed in silos and are potentially disharmonious. Community members share a concern that the remoteness of their location implies that power and authority to make decisions affecting their lives lies with a state and federal government located far away. This type of concern also affects WSOs. Although operators have involvement in the rules, the ultimate decision rests with DPaW, not the local branch, but the main office located 1,200km south in the state's capital city, Perth. While, for example, staff from the DPaW actively communicate with local industry stakeholders, they are responsible for implementing policy from a state and sometimes federal level concerning economic and other

activities within the NMP. In the case of DPaW, the district (Exmouth) branch is upwardly accountable for all decisions, which appears only to lengthen the arm of the state government. This situation seems to support the hypothesis that central governments have a tendency to retain control, even in initiatives that have the guise of decentralisation (Agrawal and Ribot, 1999).

In personal interviews, WSOs have emphasised the disparity in the power structure between themselves and DPaW. There are five different types of rights relevant to CPRs. They are: access, withdrawal, management, exclusion and alienation (Schlager and Ostrom, 1992). At NMP, all of these rights are held by the managing government agency (DPaW) whereas the WSOs only hold access and withdrawal rights. Although the WSO may make suggestions and lobby for rules to be changed (such as distances between boats or restricting license numbers), the ultimate authority rests with DPaW. An operator cannot sell or lease their license, they may sell the business and all associated with it but the new owner will have to apply for a license with DPaW and may be refused if they are not deemed capable of 'best practice'. The literature suggests that users of a natural resource who enjoy a full range of rights will often invest in infrastructure that will maintain or increase the productivity of the resource (Schlager and Ostrom, 1992). In the case of NMP, the seasonality of whale shark tourism, and the fact that licenses need to be renewed every five years (following a review), means that risk-averse industry operators are less inclined to make longer-term investments in the industry other than in marketing efforts. A regime of granting licenses of longer duration has the potential to generate greater investment in the industry.

No independent third party exists for conflict resolution within the industry. The situation is closer to community-based institutions that achieve compliance through use of informal strategies that rely on participants' commitment to rules and social sanctions. A survey by the authors (Duffy, 2016) reveals the concern of local industry stakeholders regarding access to conflict resolution and mediation of disputes between users and between users and the governing body (DPaW). To be effective, mechanisms must be independent of the governing body (Ostrom, 1990), but this is not the case. Ideally, there should be full and transparent exchange of views aimed at negotiating decisions or allowing parties in potential conflict to provide structured input to them through participatory processes. The adjudication options available to community are to lobby the Minister of the Environment directly who has the power to direct the department; the second option is legal action (Personal communication, DPaW, 2014). It is unclear how swift, effective, accessible and cost efficient these two options are.

The problem of remote governance can be addressed within the protected landscape approach and there is an expanding research literature on this (Brown et al., 2005). In particular, there is a need to implement programmes on the ground that achieve conservation objectives *and* visibly improve the social and economic conditions for people living on the Coral Coast.

Engagement through equity and governance

Studies show that the principles for planning and management that create an inclusive, participatory approach need to combine administrative flexibility with a lack of bureaucracy and a process that involves simultaneous and equal participation of governmental institutions (federal, state, and local) and non-governmental participants (including NGOs, and members of the scientific community, the private sector and the local population) (Brown et al., 2005). There is failure of good governance of coastal and maritime tourism regionally, nationally and internationally. Many investments relevant to coastal and maritime tourism occur within relatively loosely structured or ineffective regulatory regimes, through a web of formal and informal relationships between private investors, state agencies, and public officials pursuing private economic interests (Honey and Krantz, 2007). While there is contact between such institutions on the Coral Coast, interaction for the most part is informal. It is widely agreed that IUCN's protected area management category V provides the model for this (Phillips, 2002,2003). Such areas are about achieving conservation objectives in working landscapes, based principally on working agreements with land-owners to secure and manage the land in the best interests of long-term environmental conservation. Researchers increasingly emphasise the potential guidance and governance role of the protected area in building resilience, and equally the threat to the protected area's integrity if tourism is compromised by its vulnerabilities (Espiner and Becken, 2014).Given the importance of good governance in enabling sustainable outcomes in tourism related development (Hall, 2011, 2013), the approach recommended here needs to be explored further to assess its relevance to sustainable governance processes on the Coral Coast.

To prevent capture by vested interests, development of alternative models should, ideally, be a federal initiative involving a critical review of international best practice. Cultivating new leadership among key stakeholders is essential to implementing this approach more broadly (Dietz et al., 2003). Marine protected areas have important differences from terrestrial parks. First, they have a very high number of potential entrances that are expensive to control. Second, they tend not to be funded at level to ensure effective management. There is a need for committed and competent leaders who share a vision of sustainability, are open to learning, and seek cooperation with regional, national and international networks.

The way forward

There remain large gaps in our understanding of the full implications of a protected landscape approach for resource management in regions that include CPR. The thesis herein is that the protected landscape approach be extended beyond national jurisdictions. To address regional whale shark conservation in the Indian Ocean would require a major international convention, but Indian

Ocean rim economies are becoming more collaborative in the attempt to preserve ocean resources (Dwyer, 2017). Space limitations have prevented a more detailed account of the issues that are relevant. The chapter has identified various challenges, but a detailed action agenda is yet to be formulated. We emphasise, however, that the research effort involving protected landscapes has substantial potential to highlight initiatives that can strengthen sustainable governance of NMP.

The discussion of whale sharks and NMP as CPRs has highlighted certain issues that need further exploration. One involves the need to explore how collective choice processes that govern CPRs compare in resolving the conflicts that can emerge among CPR users over time (Schlager and Heikkila, 2009). Our brief discussion of community conflict highlights how attention to power and micro-politics within communities is critical in understanding how resources are used and managed (Gibson, 1999). Explanations of how, why and when people respond in particular and diverse ways to new strategies of institutionalised power require attention to the extent to which they are already privileged or marginalised by new strategies of power.

Additionally, since the equity and distributional aspects of a CPR regime are considered to be one of the major determinants of long-term sustainability of community-based resource management, more research is needed on the under-investigated relationship between the distribution of wealth and political power inherent in different rights structures (Libecap, 1989). Several scholars have begun to examine the extent to which common property institutions are based upon stocks of social capital and whether and how they enhance the networks through which social capital is generated (Greve, Benassi and Sti, 2010). Within the protected landscapes literature, recent research has highlighted the importance of communication between all stakeholders (Laven, Wall-Reinius and Fredman, 2015). There is an urgent need to explore the relevance of such studies to the case of NMP.

A second, but related, research agenda is to explore the management of CPR in the context of the protected landscape approach. Increasingly, the management challenge of these special areas will be focused on the point where conservation requirements and community needs diverge. Two factors are central to the success of a protected landscape: effective conservation of the natural and cultural environment, and continued viability of the local economy. Conservation will only succeed where it is pursued as a partnership involving local people and is seen to be relevant to meeting their social and economic needs. One of the largest challenges of the protected landscape approach is to integrate the conservation objective fully with all aspects of social and economic endeavours. Clearly there is a need for a new image of conservation among diverse constituencies for the protected landscape approach to succeed (Beresford, 2003). Substantial challenges arise for any attempts to create or reinforce a positive social perception of protected areas as positive assets for communities and building a broad constituency which

includes local people, politicians, land owners and the business community. Such research could be undertaken in the context of NMP.

Conclusion

In the substantial literature on sustainable governance in tourism contexts, the challenges posed by CPR have been relatively neglected by researchers. Unless more is understood about the nature of such resources and the types of regimes that can help manage them, tourism stakeholders will receive little guidance on best practice management in the face of conflicting views on resource use. Using whale shark tourism in NMP as the context, the discussion has demonstrated that the adequate management of a CPR requires a deep understanding about the causes of existing and potential conflict in resource use. Arguments presented herein support the idea that the time has come to move the idea of protected areas into a new setting – to places where people live and work, into working landscapes. It is essential to carefully and transparently consider the different stakeholders, their knowledge of the empirical context, their institutions, beliefs, myths and ideas.

Given the types of threats facing NMP and its whale shark tourism industry in the future, we believe that the best coping strategy is to embed the sustainable governance process within the protected landscape approach. Benefits of the approach include ecological services, cultural traditions, civic engagement, community building, and economic improvement – values that go beyond the standard lists of conservation values. Sustainable tourism is best achieved as the product of a community sharing a vision for its economic, physical and social character. There is a need to strike a balance between economic, environmental and social imperatives. This recognises that development is a process that enhances the quality of life, a broader notion than economic prosperity. Most fundamentally, the goals for conservation are dramatically expanded beyond protection of nature and biodiversity to include a broader cultural context and social agenda. For it is within this broader context that a wide diversity of people can find their connection to biological and cultural heritage, and commit to stewardship.

Both the nature of CPR and a potential role for the protected landscape approach in sustainable governance need more attention from tourism researchers and resource managers. Hopefully the ideas proposed in this chapter can help to initiate a dialogue to explore these issues in more detail. Sustainable governance is not a 'one-off' solution but an ongoing dynamic process that is iterative, involves multiple stakeholders and evolves over time. There are numerous destinations worldwide that are based on common pool resources and are subject to multiple layers of governance and different arrangements of property rights. Further research in this area is important to scholars, practitioners and policy makers alike to ensure concepts such as fairness, equitable distribution and sustainability are upheld.

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7 Changes to the national institutional framework for tourism in Chile

The use and impact of evaluation reports in the policy-making process

César Guala Catalan and Douglas G. Pearce

Introduction

Three decades after the establishment of Sernatur, the Chilean National Tourism Administration (NTA), the Chilean Parliament enacted Act 20423 which created a new institutional framework for tourism. Sernatur had been established in 1975 under Act 1224 as the "Servicio Nacional de Turismo" (national tourism service), a public agency in charge of policy-making, planning, quality assurance, coordination and marketing. In 1993 Act 19255 amended Act 1224 in order to create Tourism Chile as a separate NTO (national tourism organization) to market inbound tourism. It was funded jointly by Sernatur and the private sector. The change in 2010 went beyond a simple modification of the structure and roles of the NTA. Rather, Act 20243 created "un nuevo sistema institucional para el turismo" (new institutional framework for tourism) consisting of a new NTA (Sub-secretariat of Tourism), a new NTO (Council of Marketing), a Committee of Ministers for Tourism Coordination, and a restructured Sernatur (Figure 7.1). The new act redistributed the roles of policy formulation, approval and implementation. Now the sub-secretariat formulates and evaluates policies, the Committee of Ministers approves, and Sernatur implements. In terms of marketing, the Council of Marketing provides the guidelines and evaluates while Sernatur implements the marketing strategies.

These changes occurred during a decade in which tourism experienced rapid rates of growth, the government increased its commitment to the sector, and the New Public Management approach (NPM) incorporating the principles of governance, transparency and accountability was adopted by the Chilean public sector. The process was long and complex. It involved multiple government agencies whose views, agendas and proposals often differed or conflicted. Multiple evaluations were undertaken or commissioned in order to assess the existing situation and identify ways forward. In total, 30 evaluation reports were prepared. The aim of this chapter is firstly to show how the analysis of these reports enables a better understanding of what triggered, influenced and shaped the process which led to the changes depicted in Figure 7.1.

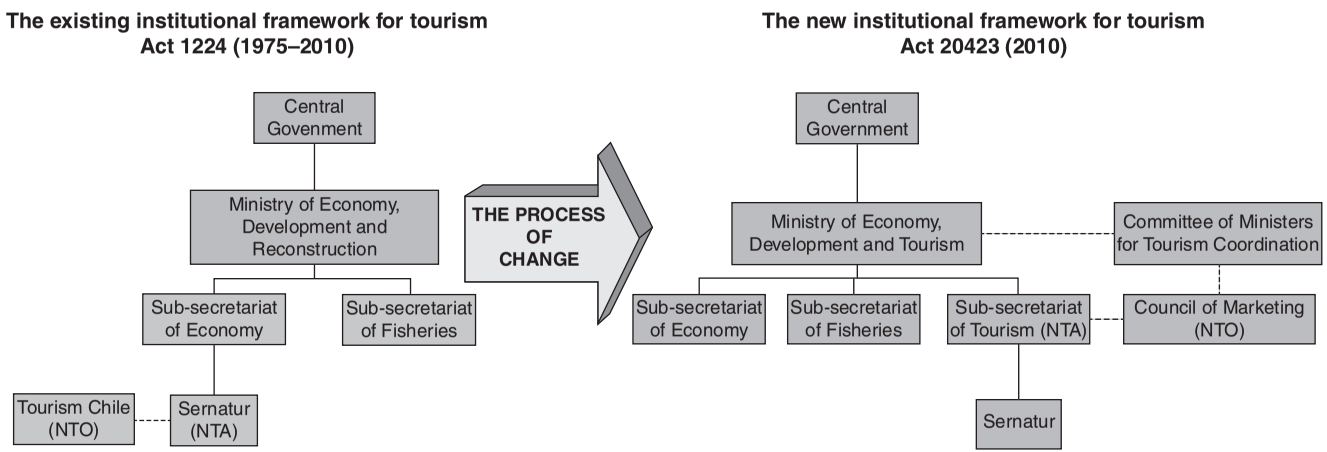

Figure 7.1 Changes to the national institutional framework for tourism in Chile

Chile, of course, is not the only country where changes to NTAs and NTOs have occurred. Indeed, studies on the structure and roles of NTAs and NTOs show such organisations are dynamic and evolve over time (Airey, 1984; Jeffries, 2001; Kerr, 2003; Pearce, 1992, 1996a, 1996b; Zhang, 2010). While the impact of a dynamic political and economic environment on tourism administrations and organizations has been recognized, little detailed research has been carried out regarding the factors influencing policies which have brought about institutional change in tourism. More generally, this chapter also seeks then to demonstrate the significant role of evaluation in tourism policy-making, to illustrate the various forms this may take and to show how evaluation reports may be analysed.

Literature review

NTAs and many NTOs are not only tourism organisations but also public sector entities and thus their structure and roles are determined by government policy. Hall and Jenkins (1995) define tourism policy in general terms as "Whatever governments choose to do or not to do with respect to tourism" (p. 8). Two key points emerge from this. First, governments can either choose to do something to tackle a particular issue or do nothing. Second, if they choose to do something, governments need to identify and formulate alternatives to address the issue, choose one of the alternatives, and implement the one selected. Taking action invariably involves some form of evaluation. According to Wu et al. (2010), policy evaluation involves "the assessment of the extent to which a public policy is achieving its stated objectives and, if not, what can be done to improve it" (p. 9). Furthermore, "Evaluation examines both the means employed and the objectives served by the policy in practice" (p. 83) with the results and recommendation being fed back into the policy-making process. For Wollmann (2007), evaluation is both an analytical tool that involves investigating a policy in order to assess policy performance (its process and results) and a phase of reporting back such information in the policy-making process. Wollmann (2007) defines evaluation reports as the main vehicles of evaluation research. They are commissioned and prepared to tackle specific questions that support the policy-making process.

The identification, formulation, selection and implementation of an alternative suggest the notion of a process that consists of a set of phases. Tourism researchers have applied the policy cycle model from the broader policy literature (Anastasiadou, 2008; Pforr, 2001; Stevenson, Airey & Miller, 2008; Thomas & Thomas, 2006). In this model evaluation and policy is one of five phases, following agenda setting, formulation, decision-making and implementation. However, Pforr (2001) acknowledges "Policy-making takes a continuing course and it is difficult to determine where exactly the old policy process ends and the new policy development starts" (p. 297). Evaluation might thus be seen either as the end point of one policy cycle or the start of a new one. Despite the model's limitations, Pforr (2001) and Stevenson et al.

(2008) argue that it is a useful analytical tool to understand policy processes and an appropriate way to simplify the process for its analysis.

Criticism of the policy cycle model on the grounds that a clear division in phases rarely happens, that the boundaries of the phases are hard to operationalise and that the policy tasks are not strictly linear in nature but discrete and inter-related (Bevir, 2009; Sabatier, 2007; Wu et al., 2010) has led to other approaches in the policy-making literature. Kingdon (1995) proposed the concept of policy windows, defined as "opportunities for advocates of proposals to push their pet solutions, or to push attention to their special problems" (p. 73). They open up at a specific time for a specific policy. According to Birkland (2007), the concept of a policy window suggests that the window triggers the movement from one stage to another. Where legislation is required to implement a policy, decision-making occurs in the context of a legislative process and is known as the legislative stage. Legislative processes are usually preceded by long discussions (the pre-legislative stage) that lead to the establishment of the agenda, formulation and decision-making (Birkland, 2007).

In contrast to the policy cycle model, which identifies evaluation as a single phase, other studies suggest that evaluations occur throughout the entire policy-making process (Jann & Wegrich, 2007; Sabatier, 2007). Moreover, such evaluations may be conducted directly as part of the focal policy process or carried out in a broader context but with implications for the focal policy. Evaluations may fulfil different objectives and play different roles. During agenda setting, evaluations are used to define the size and distribution of a policy problem; during the formulation, evaluations are used to identify alternative means for achieving solutions; during decision-making there are political evaluations to accept a policy; and, finally, during implementation, evaluations are used as an analysis of the extent to which a programme achieves success (Parsons, 1995 after Palumbo, 1987). Evaluations may also be classified as internal and external: the former are conducted by the agency being evaluated; the latter are commissioned and/or conducted by a different agency.

A similar situation occurs with policy agendas, formulation and decision-making. Unlike Pforr (2001), who proposes a single agenda setting phase, other studies show that three different types of policy agendas may be identified: systemic, institutional, and decision. The systemic agenda consists of a general list of issues that are commonly perceived by members of a community as meriting public attention (Birkland, 2007; Clark, 2004; Howlett & Ramesh, 2003; Parsons, 1995; Princen, 2007). Parsons (1995) describes a useful set of steps to examine the creation and expansion of the systemic agenda. First, there is an initiator that triggers the creation of an issue or policy problem. At some point this issue gains media attention. With media interest the issue also gains attention from the public and from decision-makers. According to Parsons, a key aspect in moving the systemic agenda is the way the issues are framed; for example, by redefining the same issue over

and over again among different proposals. Once the decision-makers' attention is gained and the government has accepted that something needs to be done, the issue moves from the systemic to the institutional agenda (Howlett & Ramesh, 2003). The institutional agenda refers to a narrowed list of issues that explicitly receives government consideration (Birkland, 2007; Clark, 2004; Howlett & Ramesh, 2003; Parsons, 1995; Princen, 2007). Finally, the decision agenda relates to the selection of particular issues that the government puts forth for an active decision (Birkland, 2007). This agenda contains a smaller number of issues to be acted upon by a governmental body, for example by passing a bill (Birkland, 2007; Clark, 2004; Howlett & Ramesh, 2003; Parsons, 1995; Princen, 2007). Once the decision agenda is set and the issues to be addressed by a policy are identified, it may be said that formulation starts (Pforr, 2001). Formulation implies a process of crafting policy alternatives to address the issues of the decision agenda (Sidney, 2007). Once these alternatives have been formulated, they are approved or rejected in a process called decision-making (Sidney, 2007). According to Pforr (2001), decision-making relates to the final decision, to the adoption of a particular course of action that signals that the formulation has come to an end

Account also needs to be taken of the context or broader political and economic environment in which policy-making takes place. Environmental conditions may impact on the policy-making process and its outcomes and directly influence the evaluations undertaken throughout. In this regard, Bevir (2009) suggests the adoption of the institutional approach which focuses the analysis on both the institutions and the context within which these exist in order to achieve a better understanding of policy-making processes. Tourism researchers have investigated the influence of environmental conditions on policy processes and tourism organisations (Dredge, 2006; Pearce, 1992, 1996a, 1996b; Thomas & Thomas, 2006), as well as the influence of these conditions on power distribution during a policy process (Anastasiadou, 2008; Bramwell & Meyer, 2007; Thomas & Thomas, 2006).

In summary, policy-making may be a complicated process in which different issues arise at different stages. These issues frequently result from evaluations which are carried out during the course of the policy-making process. Analysis of evaluation reports can therefore provide insights into how policies are formed. At the same time, evaluations and the broader policy-making process will be influenced by dominant environmental conditions. The next section outlines the policy-making process which led to the establishment of the new institutional framework for tourism in Chile before the use and impact of evaluation reports is examined in more detail.

The policy-making process in Chile

The policy-making process which led to the new institutional framework for tourism in Chile is summarised in Figure 7.2 by means of a timeline involving three major stages: pre-legislative, policy window and legislative (Birkland,

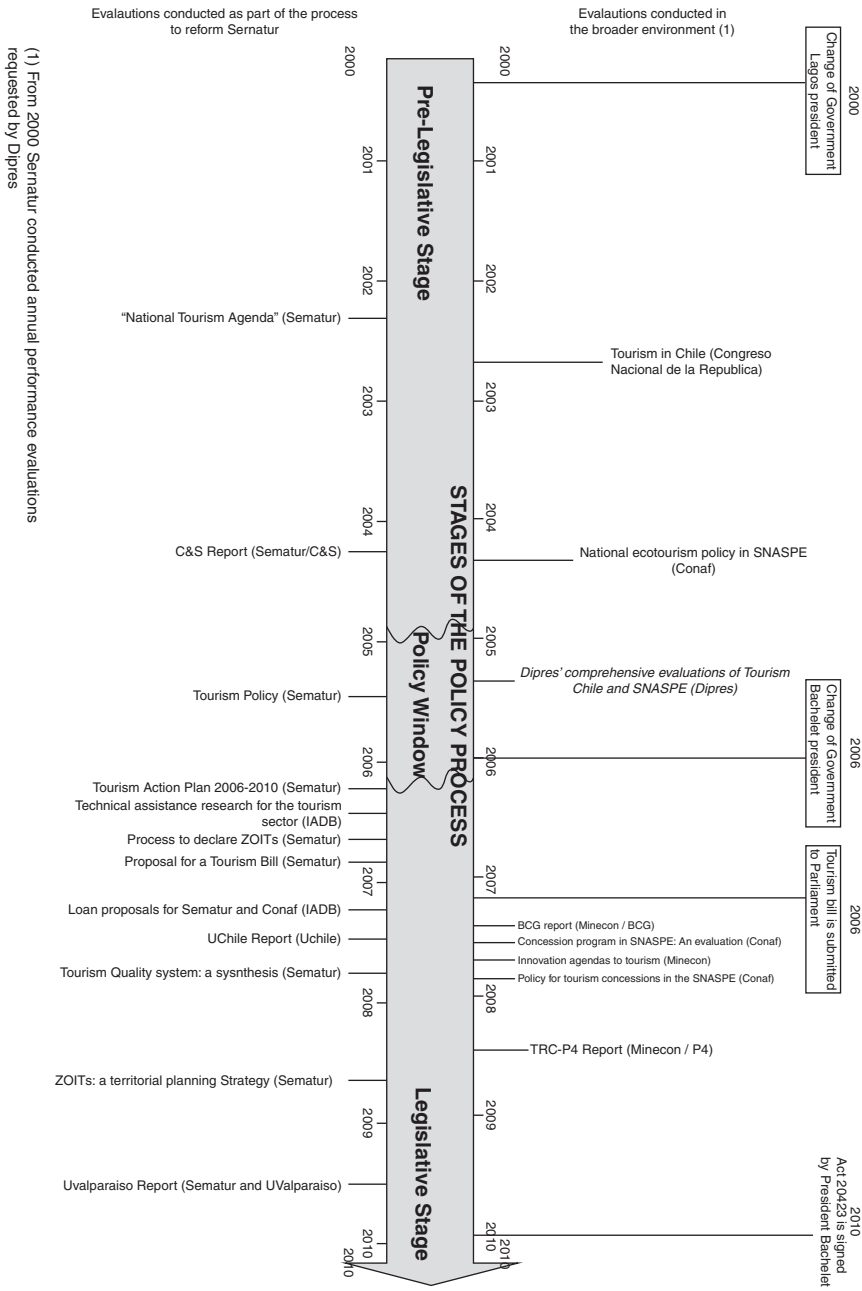

Figure 7.2 Evaluation reports in the policy-making process which changed the national institutional framework for tourism in Chile

2007). The timeline also depicts the numerous evaluations which were carried out during the decade 2000–2010. These are of two types: evaluations directly related to the focal policy of reforming Sernatur (below the line) and evaluations conducted in the broader environment which impacted on restructuring the institutional framework for tourism (above the line). In the latter case, for example, the steady growth of the tourism industry during the decade was strongly related to the appeal of Chile's natural attractions which are mostly located in national parks managed by the Forest Service (Conaf) under the National System of Protected Areas (SNASPE). Although Conaf was not part of the institutional framework for tourism, evaluations of Conaf's performance strongly influenced the tourism bill.

The three stages in Figure 7.2 were identified by a set of milestones. The pre-legislative stage started with a series of workshops conducted by Sernatur in 2001 at the behest of President Lagos to identify problems and limitations of the tourism sector. These workshops triggered the development of the National Tourism Agenda in 2002, which signals the emergence of the systemic agenda (a list of issues identified by the tourism industry to strengthen the tourism sector). The increasing attention gained by the tourism sector (problem stream), a report elaborated by Sernatur to strengthen the organisation (policy stream) and the inclusion of some of the issues of this report in the programme of a presidential candidate (political stream) intersected when Michele Bachelet came into office in 2006. That is, the political circumstances – the election of Bachelet as president – led to the establishment of the institutional agenda and opened the policy window, allowing movement from the pre-legislative to the legislative stage. The need to have a bill to change the institutional framework means that the process of change included a legislative stage. The legislative process officially starts with the inclusion of a bill in the government agenda: the president announces the formulation of a bill; this announcement begins the formulation and then the bill is debated in parliament. In this case the legislative stage started when Bachelet came into office and, against the opposition of the Budget Office (Dipres), announced the formulation of a tourism bill. This announcement, combined with a cabinet reshuffle that changed the Minister of Economy in 2006, prompted the creation of a commission of representatives of Sernatur, the Ministry of Economy (Minecon) and Dipres. The commission identified the contents of the tourism bill (decision agenda) and formulated the bill which was submitted to parliament in 2008. Between 2008 and 2010 the bill was debated and passed in parliament (decision-making), and enacted towards the end of Bachelet's presidential term (February 2010).

This process did not occur in a vacuum and was strongly influenced by dominant environmental conditions during this decade. In addition to the presidential nature of the Chilean political system and the interest of Lagos and Bachelet in tourism, broader administrative reform and economic factors also played important roles. From the mid-1990s the government started a process of administrative reform of the public sector with emphasis on

assessing and measuring performance of public organisations. Following revelations in 2003 of corruption in the government, the focus of administrative reform switched to adopting other principles of the New Public Management (NPM) approach, in particular governance, transparency and accountability (Lahera & Cabezas, 2000; Olavarría, Navarrete & Figueroa, 2011; Waissbluth, 2005; Waissbluth & Inostroza, 2007). Dipres made it compulsory from 2000 that every public organisation had to prepare internal evaluations to assess the fulfilment of these principles. In addition, each year Dipres selected some programmes for a comprehensive performance evaluation. From 2000 onwards Sernatur conducted internal evaluations as part of the annual performance evaluations required by Dipres. Comprehensive evaluations were also carried out of Tourism Chile, some of Sernatur's programmes and the National System of Protected Areas (SNASPE) (Dipres, 2005a; 2005b). These latter evaluations were not commissioned or conducted specifically as part of the process of change to Sernatur but their outcomes directly influenced that process by drawing attention to governance of the existing institutional framework.

The innovation policy launched in 2005 was another key milestone as it triggered the commission of a report by the Boston Consulting Group (2007) which highlighted the tourism sector as a priority economic area resulting in further attention at the highest political level. Following several years of steady growth in arrivals, the government had requested a loan from the IADB in order to strengthen the tourism sector. The loan request prompted a technical aid project (IADB, 2006) which legitimated the idea of formulating a tourism bill.

Evaluation and evaluation reports

Figure 7.2 shows that 30 evaluation reports related to the process of institutional change in tourism were prepared during the decade 2000–2010 (Appendix 1). In order to investigate the role and influence of the evaluations on the policy process, an in-depth analysis of the evaluation reports was conducted as part of a broader piece of research on tourism policy-making in Chile (Guala, 2013). The analysis conducted for this chapter focuses on evaluation reports as a means of understanding the process of change and its outcomes. The analysis and interpretation of these evaluations was validated by cross-checking information from the reports with 37 interviews conducted with key informants involved in the process, media information and other documents and reports.

The large number of reports generated reflects the complex policy environment in which evaluations were conducted by multiple agencies, in different contexts and with different goals. As noted, some of these were directly related to reforming Sernatur (below the line) and while others were carried out in the broader environment but nevertheless impacted on restructuring the institutional framework for tourism (above the line). Internal reports

conducted by Sernatur were complemented by external ones commissioned by Dipres and Minecon.

Figure 7.2 also shows that evaluations were carried out in both the pre-legislative and legislative stages. During the pre-legislative stage several evaluations focused on the structure of the framework and the roles of policy-making, marketing, quality assurance and planning (Chacón, 2002), the National Tourism Agenda (Sernatur, 2002), the C&S report (C&S Soluciona Servicios Profesionales, 2004) and the National Tourism Policy (Sernatur, 2005a). Other evaluations during this stage were conducted in the broader environment. In addition to the evaluation of the SNASPE by Dipres, Conaf (the Forest Service) also evaluated its concession programme for tourism development in these areas.

Evaluations continued to be conducted during the legislative stage (2006–2010). The Universidad de Chile (2007) report examined the structure and roles of the existing institutional framework in order to support the formulation of the bill. The other evaluations were conducted in the broader environment by and for various agencies and organisations. Sernatur (2006a, 2006b, 2007b, 2008b) evaluated the effectiveness of the Zones of Interest for Tourism Development (ZOITs) as a planning tool and the existing quality assurance system. ZOITs are areas designated as having priority for tourism development and funding. The IADB and the BCG reports evaluated the industry and the structure and roles of the institutional framework for tourism (Boston Consulting Group, 2007; IADB, 2006). Conaf evaluated the results of its concession programme to promote tourism development in the SNASPE (Conaf, 2007a). Minecon launched two new studies containing evaluations of the sector: the TRC-P4 report (P4 & Tourism Resource Consultants, 2008) and the Innovation Agendas for Tourism Destinations (InnovaChile Corfo, 2007). Finally, in 2009 Sernatur commissioned the Universidad Católica de Valparaíso (Catholic University of Valparaíso) to conduct an evaluation of the NTA's structure and proposed strategies to tackle the institutional change once the tourism bill was passed in Parliament (Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, 2009). Although evaluations conducted after 2008 were not commissioned directly to support the formulation of the bill, they may have directly influenced the debate of the bill in Parliament.

These evaluations provide different types of information. Some provided background information on the industry and identified problems in the tourism sector (Sernatur, 2002a; Boston Consulting Group, 2007; IADB, 2007); some contained proposals with solutions to address the identified problems (Universidad de Chile, 2007; IADB, 2007); and others provided information related to the assessment of a broader goal such as the assessment of the adoption of NPM (Dipres, 2005a, 2005b). Internal and external evaluations carried out during the pre-legislative stage provided background information on the tourism sector but also identified problems and proposed solutions to address these problems. Those conducted during the legislative stage focused on identifying alternatives to address these problems. Internal evaluations

were conducted by Sernatur (i.e. Sernatur, 2001, 2002b, 2003, 2004, 2005b, 2006a, 2007a, 2008a, 2009), while external evaluations were conducted by other organisations different to the ones forming part of the tourism framework (e.g. Dipres 2005a, 2005b, IADB, 2006, 2007).

Manual data coding was used to identify broad themes and issues in the evaluation reports compiled. Regardless of the type of evaluation, five broad themes were identified in the evaluation reports: the structure of the institutional framework and the roles of policy-making, marketing, planning and quality assurance. Four issues relating to aspects of governance emerged: funding, effectiveness, coordination and transparency/accountability. Table 7.1 was used as an analytical framework to systematically examine these issues. The framework identifies themes (the structure and roles of the existing institutional framework), associated problems, causes of the problems and proposed solutions. Tables 7.2 to 7.5 are structured in this way to summarise the relevant information regarding each issue drawn from the different evaluation reports.

Coordination

Coordination relates to the ability of Sernatur to bring together the different actors constituting the institutional framework for tourism (Table 7.2). Coordination was considered in terms of the structure of the NTA and the roles of policy-making, marketing and planning. Evaluation reports identified uncoordinated tourism policy-making as a core problem, the cause of which was seen to lie in a lack of leadership from Sernatur (C&S Soluziona Servicios Profesionales, 2004; P4 & Tourism Resource Consultants, 2008; Sernatur, 2002a, 2005a, 2006b; Universidad de Chile, 2007; Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, 2009). Although Sernatur, Dipres and Minecon agreed on the problem, different background causes were identified. Sernatur suggested that Act 1224 did not accord the NTA an adequate position in the administrative hierarchy and sufficient power to tackle coordination (Sernatur, 2002a, 2005a, 2006b). This had prompted the creation of the Council of Ministers for Tourism in 2002 (C&S Soluziona Servicios Profesionales, 2004) but the

Table 7.1 Analytical framework for the analysis of evaluation reports

		Problems			
Issue	Theme	Core problem	Causes of the problem	Background causes	Proposed solutions
Issue	Theme A				
	Theme B				
	Theme N				

Table 7.2 The issue of coordination

		Problems			
Issue	*Theme*	*Core problem*	*Causes of the problem*	*Background causes*	*Proposed solutions*
Coordination	Structure and roles of policy-making	Uncoordinated tourism development (Sernatur, Dipres)	Sernatur lacks leadership to coordinate the public sector (Sernatur, Dipres)	Obsolescence of Act 1224. The act does not allocate powers to Sernatur to coordinate the sector (Sernatur)	Create a Committee of Ministers for Tourism and transform Sernatur into a sub-secretariat (Sernatur)
				Centralised and fragmented public sector (Dipres)	Create a technical secretariat (Dipres)
	Role of marketing	Uncoordinated marketing design and implementation (Dipres)	Fragmentation in tourism marketing (domestic and international marketing are conducted by different agencies) (Dipres)	Obsolescence of Act 1224 and failures in the design of Act 19255 (Dipres)	Create a marketing foundation (Sernatur)
			Fragmented international marketing strategies (Dipres)	The fragmented nature of the public sector (Dipres)	Create a council of marketing (Dipres)
	Role of planning	Lack of coordination for declaring and implementing ZOITs (Sernatur)	Sernatur cannot coordinate the planning process (Sernatur)	Obsolescence of Act 1224 in the context of a hierarchical public sector (Sernatur)	Align ZOITs with DFL 485 (Sernatur)

council only met a few times and the problem of coordination persisted (IADB, 2007, Sernatur, 2005a, 2006b, 2006c). Dipres and Minecon argued that the background cause was the centralised and hierarchical nature of the Chilean public sector plus Sernatur's organisational weaknesses (Boston Consulting Group, 2007; P4 & Tourism Resource Consultants, 2008; Universidad de Chile, 2007). Sernatur and Dipres also had different proposals to address the problems. Sernatur proposed the creation of a Committee of Ministers for Tourism to legitimate the council that had been created in 2002 and the transformation of the NTA into a sub-secretariat to give it more administrative and political power (Sernatur, 2006c). Dipres agreed with the creation of a committee but favoured the establishment of a technical secretariat in the Ministry of Economy as a new NTA to replace Sernatur.

A lack of coordination also occurred in marketing design and implementation. The cause of the problem lay with the fragmentation of marketing strategies (BCG, 2007; P4 & Tourism Resource Consultants, 2008; Sernatur, 2002a, Universidad de Chile, 2007). Once again, the background causes were seen to lie with Acts 1224 and 19255. Sernatur argued that Act 1224 did not allocate it enough authority to coordinate marketing. According to Dipres, the allocation of domestic and international marketing to different organisations, respectively Sernatur and Tourism Chile, increased the existing problems of fragmentation (Universidad de Chile, 2007). In order to address these problems during the formulation of the bill Sernatur proposed strengthening Tourism Chile. Dipres, on the other hand, wanted to replace Tourism Chile with a Council of Marketing which would be in charge of both domestic and international marketing and placed at the highest administrative and political level to guarantee coordination.

Planning for tourism was also uncoordinated. Sernatur's lack of power to coordinate the formulation of the ZOIT management plans and the obsolete Act 1224 were identified as the cause of the problem and the background cause respectively (BCG, 2007; C&S Soluziona Servicios Profesionales, 2004; Sernatur, 2006d, 2008b, Universidad de Chile, 2007). The problem was that the ZOIT management plans were not recognised in the country's planning law (DFL 485) and therefore were not legally binding. To address this, Sernatur proposed a new process to declare and implement ZOITs which should be aligned with the planning law. Because Sernatur lacked the ability to influence and coordinate higher level organisations the new process was to be led by the Committee of Ministers for Tourism Development. Dipres, who considered this issue a technical matter, agreed with the idea of aligning the declaration of ZOITs to DFL 485.

Effectiveness

Effectiveness refers to the ability of Sernatur, Tourism Chile and related organisations to achieve results in terms of policy-making, marketing,

Table 7.3 The issue of effectiveness

Problems					
Issue	*Theme*	*Core problem*	*Causes of the problem*	*Background causes*	*Proposed solutions*
Effectiveness	Structure and roles of policy-making	Lack of tourism policies (Sernatur, Dipres)	Sernatur lacks leadership to coordinate the public sector (Sernatur, Dipres)	Obsolescence of Sernatur's internal organisation defined by Act 1224 (Sernatur)	Transform Sernatur into a sub-secretariat and strengthen Sernatur's internal organisation (Sernatur)
			Sernatur has neglected its role of policy formulation (Dipres)	Problem of the institutional framework design contained in Act 1224, i.e. separation of roles (Dipres)	Create a new institutional framework (Dipres)
	Role of marketing	Weak position of the brand Chile (Sernatur)	Fragmented marketing strategies (Sernatur)	Fragmented nature of the Chilean public sector (Sernatur)	Greater involvement of Sernatur with other public organisations implementing marketing campaigns (Sernatur)
		Unknown impact of implemented marketing programmes (Dipres)	Lack of indicators to measure performance (Dipres)	Problems of the institutional framework design in Acts 1224 and 19255. No adoption of principles of NPM (Dipres)	Create a new NTO to replace Tourism Chile (Dipres)

(*Continued*)

(*Table 7.3 Continued*)

Problems

Issue	*Theme*	*Core problem*	*Causes of the problem*	*Background causes*	*Proposed solutions*
	Role of planning	ZOITs are declared but never implemented (Sernatur)	No management plans were formulated (Sernatur) No involvement of municipalities in the process (Sernatur)	Obsolete roles of Sernatur defined by Act 1224 (Sernatur lacks mechanisms to guarantee the formulation of the plan) (Sernatur)DFL 485 does not recognise ZOITs (Sernatur)	Align the process to declare and implement ZOITs to the General Urbanism Act (DFL 485) (Sernatur)
		Lack of tourism facilities in the SNASPE (Sernatur, Dipres)	Low level of investment in the SNASPE (Dipres, Sernatur)	Weak institutional framework for conservation (Dipres) Conaf's concession programme for tourism is ineffective (Sernatur)	Strengthen the existing concession system (Conaf) Create a new concession system (Sernatur)
	Role of quality assurance	Weak public sector competitiveness (Sernatur, Dipres)	Low adoption of the existing quality assurance standards by the private sector (Sernatur, Dipres)	Existing scheme was obsolete	Adopt the recently created quality assurance system (Sernatur)

planning and quality assurance (Table 7.3). Despite the development of the National Tourism Policy in the pre-legislative stage (Sernatur, 2002a; C&S Soluziona Servicios Profesionales, 2004) the issue remained problematic during the legislative stage (BCG, 2007; Universidad de Chile, 2007). Sernatur, Minecon and Dipres agreed that the core problem and its causes lay in Sernatur's lack of human resources and technical capacity to tackle policy formulation (BCG, 2007; IADB, 2007; P4 & Tourism Resource Consultants, 2008; Sernatur, 2006b; Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, 2009; Universidad de Chile, 2007). However, differences occurred with regard to the background causes and therefore to the solutions proposed. Sernatur argued that the obsolescence of its internal organisation – defined by Act 1224 – did not allow the NTA to formulate policy (C&S Soluziona Servicios Profesionales, 2004; Sernatur, 2002a, 2005a, 2006b). Minecon and Dipres asserted the framework created by that act was old and did not embrace the principles of NPM (Universidad de Chile, 2007). Sernatur proposed internal reorganisation and strengthening the agency by transforming it into a sub-secretariat so as to provide the power necessary to tackle policy formulation (Sernatur, 2006c). Dipres suggested the modification of the entire framework in order to address key principles of NPM such as the allocation of policy roles amongst different agencies (Universidad de Chile, 2007). This would require the creation of a new NTA in charge of policy formulation and evaluation and the reorganisation of Sernatur as the implementation agency.

For Sernatur, the core problem with marketing was the weak position of the brand "Chile" (Sernatur, 2002a) due to the fragmentation of marketing strategies noted above (C&S Soluziona Servicios Profesionales, 2004; P4 & Tourism Resource Consultants, 2008). For Dipres the core problem was the unknown impact of the campaigns implemented by Tourism Chile due to a lack of monitoring by Sernatur (BCG, 2007; C&S Soluziona Servicios Profesionales, 2004; Sernatur, 2005a; Universidad de Chile, 2007). There was no clear evidence that the growth in arrivals resulted from the implementation of marketing campaigns; that is, Acts 1224 and 19255 did not address the NPM principle of indicator measures and outcomes evaluation (Universidad de Chile, 2007). Sernatur proposed strengthening the NTA to improve its marketing capacity and creating a fund to coordinate marketing campaigns (Sernatur, 2006c). Because the fund was not accepted by Dipres, Sernatur then proposed to strengthen Tourism Chile whereas Dipres was of the view that a new NTO funded entirely by the government and based on the principles of NPM should be created.

Multiple reports during the pre-legislative and legislative phases also identified planning issues associated with the lack of implementation of the Zones of Tourism Interests (ZOITs) and the lack of tourism development in the SNASPE (BCG, 2007; Conaf, 2004, 2007a, 2007b; Dipres 2005b; P4 & Tourism Resource Consultants, 2008; Sernatur, 2002a, 2005a, 2006b; Universidad de Chile, 2007). There was general agreement that Sernatur was not

mandated to coordinate implementation of the ZOITs; that the municipalities were not formally involved; and that Chile's main planning laws did not recognise these zones. The lack of tourism development in the SNASPE was attributed by Conaf to the weakness of the institutional framework for conservation whereas Sernatur saw it as being due to the weakness of Conaf's concession system (Conaf, 2004, 2007a, 2007b; Dipres, 2005b; P4 & Tourism Resource Consultants, 2008; Sernatur, 2002a, 2005a, 2006b; Universidad de Chile, 2007). Conaf proposed strengthening the existing concession programme and including it in the conservation bill then being formulated. Sernatur agreed with this but also proposed the creation of a different and parallel concession programme administered by the Ministry of Public Lands due to the limited results that had been achieved by Conaf's programme.

Act 1224 was also deemed to be obsolete with regard to the failure to implement a quality assurance system for tourism (BCG, 2007; IADB, 2006; P4 & Tourism Resource Consultants, 2008; Sernatur, 2002a, 2005a, 2007b). A new certification programme was developed in 2002 to advance competitiveness and regulation but could not be legally enforced. Minecon and Dipres supported Sernatur's proposal to include the new programme as part of the tourism bill in order to implement it as the official quality assurance system.

Funding

Table 7.4 shows that a common core problem across the three themes with regard to the issue of funding was the limited allocation of funds by the central government to Sernatur (structure), Tourism Chile (marketing) and the SNASPE (planning) (Dipres, 2005a, 2005b; Sernatur, 2002a, 2005a). Despite the significant increase in the budgets of these organisations during the decade 2000–2010, evaluations produced towards the end of the period continued to identify limited funding as a problem (BCG, 2007; IADB, 2006, 2007; P4 & Tourism Resource Consultants, 2008, Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, 2009).

Although there was general agreement that the lack of funding for the NTA and for marketing was a core problem, differences arose in terms of the causes of the problem, the background causes and the solutions proposed. Drawing on the National Tourism Agenda (Sernatur, 2002a), Sernatur argued that the cause of the problem was the weak government commitment to increase funding, an argument highlighted in several reports throughout the decade (BCG, 2007; Chacón, 2002; C&S Soluziona Servicios Profesionales 2004; P4 & Tourism Resource Consultants, 2008; Sernatur, 2005a, 2005b, 2006b; Universidad Católica de Valparaíso 2009). Dipres and Minecon maintained that the limited funding had nothing to do with political commitment and suggested that the organisational weakness of Sernatur and Tourism Chile limited their ability to increase their budgets (Dipres, 2005a, Universidad de Chile, 2007).

Table 7.4 The issue of funding

			Problems		
Issue	*Theme*	*Core problem*	*Causes of the problem*	*Background causes*	*Proposed solutions*
Funding	Structure	Lack of funds for the operation of Sernatur and implementation of programmes	Weak political commitment from central government to allocate funds (Sernatur)	Sernatur's weak hierarchical position inside central government (Sernatur)	Transform Sernatur into a sub-secretariat and create a marketing fund (Sernatur)
			Sernatur's limited ability to increase budget (Dipres)	Problem of the institutional framework design of Act 1224 (Dipres)	Modify the entire framework, create a new NTA and strengthen Sernatur as the implementation agency (Dipres)
	Role of marketing	Lack of funds for the implementation of marketing strategies by Tourism Chile	Weak political commitment from the central government to allocate funds (Sernatur)	Sernatur's weak hierarchical position inside central government (Sernatur)	Transform Sernatur into a sub-secretariat and create a foundation to guarantee permanent funds (Sernatur)
			Matching fund scheme was limiting the government to increase budget (Sernatur, Dipres)	Problem of the institutional framework because of Act 19255 (Dipres, Sernatur)	Replace the existing NTO by a council of marketing (Dipres)
	Role of planning	Lack of funds for tourism development in the SNASPE	Conaf's limited ability to increase budget (Dipres)	Problem of design in the institutional framework for conservation (Conaf, Dipres)	Improve the concession system (Conaf, Dipres)

Sernatur argued that the background cause to the funding issue with marketing resulted from the weak hierarchical position of the NTA inside the government (Figure 7.1). According to Dipres and Minecon, Act 1224 did not embrace the principles of NPM which affected Sernatur's organisation and ability to capture public funds (Universidad de Chile, 2007). Similarly, Act 19255 created Tourism Chile to operate with matching funds from Sernatur and the private sector but the latter was having problems providing the matching 50% which limited the government's willingness to increase the NTO's budget (BCG, 2007; Dipres, 2005a). As noted in the previous section, Sernatur's solution was to transform the NTA into a sub-secretariat to improve its power to attract public funding and to create a marketing fund to guarantee permanent and increasing funds for Tourism Chile (Sernatur, 2006c). In contrast, Dipres proposed the creation of a new NTA as a technical secretariat and a new NTO (Council of Marketing) fully funded by the government to replace Tourism Chile.

Weak funding was also identified as a core problem for planning, particularly for promoting tourism development in the SNASPE (Dipres, 2005b; IADB, 2006). However, as it was unclear who would be in charge of the SNASPE when the government submitted a bill to create a Ministry of Environment and to transfer the SNASPE from Conaf to the new Ministry of Environment, Sernatur and Minecon opted not to identify which agency would be in charge of the new concession programme which they were proposing.

Accountability and transparency

Sernatur did not agree at all with Minecon and Dipres regarding accountability and transparency (Table 7.5). Dipres (2005a) concluded that Sernatur's criteria to approve funding for Tourism Chile's marketing projects were not sufficiently clear since procedural guidelines to support the approval and transfer of funds were lacking. Although Sernatur did not agree with this evaluation (Dipres, 2005a), in 2006 Sernatur developed these guidelines and gradually implemented them (Sernatur, 2006a, 2007a, 2008a).

Dipres also identified three core problems with transparency in Tourism Chile (Dipres, 2005a; Universidad de Chile, 2007):

- a lack of information about how Tourism Chile's board prioritised markets and decided the allocation of funds to them;
- a lack of clarity by which it commissioned external agencies to design and implement marketing campaigns; and
- difficulties with matching private sector payments in kind without clear criteria to measure non-monetary contributions.

According to Dipres, the now obsolete Acts 1224 and 19255 were the background causes behind all the problems of transparency in Sernatur and

Table 7.5 The issues of accountability and transparency

		Problems			
Issue	*Theme*	*Core problem*	*Causes of the problem*	*Background causes*	*Proposed solutions*
Accountability and transparency	Role of Marketing	In Sernatur: Unclear criteria for approving projects and transferring funds to Tourism Chile (Dipres) In Tourism Chile: Lack of information about how funds are allocated to priority markets (Dipres) Lack of information about expenditures in campaigns (Dipres) No clarity about how payments in kind by the private sector were measured (Dipres)	Sernatur does not have guidelines to approve projects presented by Tourism Chile (Dipres) Lack of annual plans in Tourism Chile (Dipres) Lack of mechanisms in Sernatur for monitoring Tourism Chile expenses (Dipres) Lack of criteria to measure payments in kind (Dipres)	Acts 19255 and 1224 do not address NPM principles (Dipres) Different perspectives to conduct organisational management (Sernatur)	Strengthen Tourism Chile by: • creating mechanisms for transparency and accountability •incorporating new members • increasing control of Tourism Chile (Sernatur) Create a new NTO (Council of Marketing) that guarantees: • mechanisms of transparency and accountability • participation of all relevant private sector organisation (Dipres)

Tourism Chile as Sernatur did not have NPM mechanisms to provide checks and balances to the NTO. Sernatur and Tourism Chile, however, did not see a problem here. Dipres' proposal to create a new NTO to be entirely funded by the government would address the problems of accountability and transparency. Decisions would be made by the public sector in consultation with the private sector and the board would be composed of industry association representatives rather than private companies as occurred with Tourism Chile. Sernatur and Tourism Chile did not see the same problem with accountability and transparency but in the end Dipres imposed its power and during the formulation of the bill pushed forward the creation of a new NTO.

Discussion

The process of change summarised in Figure 7.2 that resulted in the creation of a new institutional framework for tourism in Chile (Figure 7.1) was a long and complex one. Examination of evaluation reports has provided valuable insights into this process as the evaluation of structures and roles was a continuous activity throughout the pre-legislative and legislative phases.

During the decade 2000–2010, 30 reports were prepared by or for multiple agencies with different goals and subsequent proposals. The National Tourism Agenda (Sernatur, 2002a) gave public visibility to failures in the tourism framework and helped identify the pre-legislative stage and the systemic agenda. The National Tourism Policy, the Tourism Action Plan, and the BCG Report (Boston Consulting Group, 2007; Sernatur, 2004, 2006b) supported the discussion inside the government about the need to tackle these failures (institutional agenda). These reports strengthened the idea of formulating a tourism bill and helped identify the opening of the policy window. Evaluations conducted during the pre-legislative stage mainly focused on funding, effectiveness, and coordination, while evaluations carried out during the legislative stage gave more emphasis to transparency/accountability. The focus of the evaluations also varied depending on who commissioned them. Evaluations conducted by Sernatur, for instance, focused on funding while those conducted by Dipres emphasised transparency and accountability in its drive to implement NPM. As shown in Tables 7.2 to 7.5, there was general agreement regarding the issues of coordination, funding, effectiveness and coordination but Sernatur, Dipres and Minecon differed in terms of the causes and solutions proposed. No consensus was reached regarding transparency as Sernatur did not accept that this was a problem.

Specific aspects of Act 20423 and the new framework were influenced and shaped by particular evaluation reports. The report by the Universidad de Chile (2007) directly influenced the role of policy-making and the structure of the NTA submitted to Parliament; the role of marketing was influenced by the BCG study and the Dipres evaluation of Tourism Chile (BCG, 2007; Dipres 2005a); and the roles of planning and quality assurance were shaped by several evaluation reports such as BCG (2007), C&S Soluziona Servicios

Profesionales (2004), Dipres (2005b), IADB (2007) and Sernatur (2002b, 2005b, 2006d, 2007b, 2008b). However, although the evaluation reports strongly influenced the process, the outcome was also determined by the dynamics of power held by the key stakeholders. Changing alliances between Sernatur, Dipres and Minecon enabled them to strengthen their positions at various stages. During the formulation of the bill, Dipres and Minecon agreed on how some roles should be treated and combined to impose their proposals over those of Sernatur. With regards to tourism in the SNASPE, Minecon allied with Sernatur and together they imposed their proposals over those of Conaf. Most significantly, when the bill was being debated in Parliament Sernatur and Dipres opposed the NTA structure proposed by Dipres, advocating instead the creation of a sub-secretariat of tourism. Dipres continued to assert its power, resulting in ongoing disagreement which was finally resolved when President Bachelet intervened in favour of the sub-secretariat shortly before leaving office.

The significance of Act 20423 lies in the elevation of the NTA to the level of sub-secretariat in spite of Dipres' opposition; the renaming of the parent ministry as the Ministry of Economy, Development and Tourism; and the creation of the broader institutional framework for a sector which had previously attracted little political attention and which was still a relatively small part of the Chilean economy despite the growth in arrivals during the previous decade. The new institutional framework also addressed principles of the NPM in terms of distribution of policy roles, thus aligning the framework for tourism with the general administration of the Chilean State.

The full impact of the act on tourism development in Chile is a matter to be evaluated after implementation and exceeds the scope of this chapter. However, in 2013 under Bachelet's successor, Piñeras, a bill was submitted to parliament to amend Act 20423. These amendments included clarification of various legal issues, such as the role of the Ministry of Public Lands in giving concessions in national parks, and a major reversal of policy regarding marketing whereby the sub-secretariat and Sernatur could henceforth create and be part of public-private organisations similar to Tourism Chile. In 2014 Bachelet was re-elected president and the 2013 bill was withdrawn, amended and resubmitted. In the 2014 bill, which was still before parliament at the time of writing (mid-2017), the idea of marketing as a public good was strengthened, the council of marketing was reconfirmed as the NTO, the idea of allowing the sub-secretariat to be part of public-private organisations was eliminated and provision was made for the creation a National Fund for Marketing. The policy-making process continues.

Conclusions

The Chilean experience is a forceful reminder that NTAs are not only tourism organisations but also form part of a broader administrative and political

system. As such, changes in NTAs and other public sector tourism bodies must be seen in terms of the public policy-making processes that establish and/or modify them. In the absence of similar studies elsewhere on the role of evaluation in tourism policy-making it is not yet possible to assess the particularity or generality of the process analysed here. That is, does this process reflect characteristics specific to the political and administrative structure of Chile and the state of its tourism sector or does it embody more general aspects of policy-making associated with changes to NTAs and national institutional frameworks for tourism? What it does show, confirming studies in the broader policy literature (Parsons, 1995; Wollmann, 2007), is that the analysis of evaluation reports provides important insights into policy-making in tourism in terms of the issues which are seen to be important to key stakeholders and how these reports may trigger and shape policy-making. Table 7.1 has proven to be a practical analytical framework to examine such reports. The conceptualisation of policy-making drawn from the broader policy literature (Birkland, 2007; Kingdon, 1995) and operationalised here in Figure 7.2 as a process that incorporates a policy window, pre-legislative and legislative stages has proven to be a valuable alternative to the policy cycle model favoured by tourism researchers (Pforr, 2001; Stevenson et al., 2008). This study has shown that evaluation did not just occur in a single stage but rather evaluations were conducted throughout the entire process of change confirming the views of Parsons (1995), Jann and Wegrich (2007) and Sabatier (2007). In line with earlier studies (Pearce, 1992, 1996a), the Chilean case has also highlighted the impact of environmental conditions on policy-making and the evolution of NTAs. What is needed now is further research in different contexts following the approach adopted here in order to identify the particularities and generalities of processes leading to change in the institutional framework for tourism and to improve our understanding of tourism policy-making in general.

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Appendix 1: List of evaluation reports

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8 Tourism development in the absence of relevant tourism policy

Richard W. Butler

Introduction and context

Tourism policies are most frequently established at national levels, and their success or failure is normally expressed in terms of achieving stated goals such as tourist numbers, income generated, and employment creation. However, it has long been recognised that most problems or conflicts resulting from tourism development are experienced at the regional and local levels, where residents are affected by issues such as crowding, property price increases, and loss of traditional quality of life (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). In some locations in which tourism has developed, there may be no effective tourism policy in force, and in other places the scale of tourism may be such that any existing policy is focused at a much higher, and therefore irrelevant, level of operation. In the example discussed below, tourism has developed on a small remote island in the absence of any effective specific tourism policy, and primarily as a result of externally generated forces of change and policies created to deal with those forces rather than tourism. Tourism development at this micro level, while falling under generic planning and development controls, may be at odds with formal higher level tourism policy. In such cases it is the management of the local area or tourist destination that is much more significant for local residents than policies which may have been formulated and established in other locations for operation at a different scale.

Such is the situation which is discussed here. Fair Isle is a small (4 kilometres by 1 kilometre) island lying between two groups of islands (Orkney and Shetland) located to the north of the Scottish mainland. It is approximately 40 kilometres from the nearest landfall, making it the most remote, by distance, of any of the inhabited islands of the United Kingdom. Despite its physical remoteness and small size, the island is relatively well known for a number of reasons. It has given its name to one of the areas used in the United Kingdom (UK) daily shipping weather forecasts and thus many inhabitants of the United Kingdom and mariners at large are familiar with its name and general location. Second, it is also known for a particular style of knitwear, Fair Isle patterns being found internationally, having been popularised from the 1930s by being worn by the late King Edward VIII and other

celebrities. Finally, Fair Isle is famous within ornithological circles for its bird observatory and record of rare migrants, making it one of the "best" locations for bird watching in western Europe. As will be discussed below, the high profile of the island and the presence of a bird observatory in particular have influenced the development of tourism on the island over the last half century (Butler, 2014). This author made two surveys of the island residents, the first in 1962/3 and the second in 2012/13, using identical survey forms. These surveys involved personal interviews with all households on the island in those two periods, and references in this chapter to responses of residents refer to views expressed in the 2012/13 survey. In addition to the surveys, a large amount of data was collected from local government departments, the National Trust for Scotland, Fair Isle Bird Observatory, and other national and international agencies.

Like many other parts of the world Fair Isle was not envisaged as a tourist destination of any significance, and indeed, based on respondents to the survey of its seventy residents, it is still not seen as dependent on tourism for its economic survival or quality of life. This opinion reflects a general attitude amongst Shetlanders at large about the importance of tourism to their economy; as the *Shetland Tourism Plan* (Budd, 2011) notes, "Convincing an internal audience of the importance of tourism is almost as important as attracting external visitors" (p. 20). However, as will be discussed below, tourism has become of crucial importance to the island and its community, despite the lack of any formal policy relating to tourism or tourism associated development in that location. The policies under which Fair Isle is managed relate to more general issues such as population stabilisation, agriculture, fishing, and transport, and tourism has grown under an attitude best described as benign neglect. Fortunately for both the island community and its tourism industry (such as it is), a combination of unanticipated factors including past military strategy, geographical fortune, and changes in ownership have resulted in what is at present a complementary relationship between traditional island economic activities and the accommodation of an increasing number of visitors.

Policy structure

The policies which govern Fair Isle can be characterised as hierarchical in nature. Fair Isle falls under the influence of four agencies directly, in ascending order of scale; its owners, the National Trust for Scotland (NTS), the Shetland Islands Council (SIC), the Scottish Government at Holyrood (through the dissolved Parliament in Edinburgh), and the United Kingdom government in London. It is also, at present, and until Brexit is completed, influenced by directives of the European Union and other, mostly non-governmental agencies to a lesser degree. As will be discussed below, it is the National Trust for Scotland which has the greatest control over the island and its residents by virtue of that body being the land owner of the island, and its

specific management policy affects many of the day-to-day aspects of life on the island. Like many small islands, Fair Isle has too small a population, too few resources, and too little control over its own destiny to be able to survive in exclusion from the modern internationalised world (Alberts and Baldacchinno, 2017). While control by an absentee landlord may appear to be a relic of a colonial past, in reality the island and its population has gained considerable benefits from this relationship over the last half century, as will be demonstrated below.

Like most Scottish islands, Fair Isle reached its peak population in the mid-nineteenth century (O'Dell and Walton, 1962) and has experienced population decline from over three hundred people then to just over fifty by the 1950s. Total evacuation of the island was being discussed in this period as there appeared little chance of the economy of the island being significantly strengthened and little likelihood of population growth. That the population has grown by over twenty-five per cent and is now relatively stable is in many ways a direct result of the policies of the landowners in the post-World War II period, as well as changes in the economic status of the Shetland Islands in general. In a globalised world there are few, if any, locations which do not find their existence and especially their futures, subject to external influences, which often mean domestic policies, however appropriate and well implemented, have little effect. In the past few decades, events such as the fall of the Communist Union and the rise of fundamentalism in the Middle East in particular have had major effects on all parts of the world at a full range of scales (Butler and Suntikul, 2017). The financial crash of 2008, the rise of terrorism, and the fluctuations in oil prices are other recent factors that have over-ridden national and regional policies, often resulting in knee-jerk reactions and sometimes inappropriate policy responses. Such global disruptions have had effects, very indirect in most cases, even on areas as isolated as Fair Isle, and to put these occurrences into context and understand the current and likely future of the island it is necessary to briefly review the history of the island over the last century.

Historical development of Fair Isle

Early years

For centuries, almost all of the small Scottish islands had economies based on fishing and small-scale farming (crofting) with a few household crafts such as weaving and knitting providing additional sources of income. In many respects the islanders operated on a self-sufficient basis as far as food and energy were concerned. Fishing and farming providing most of their food supplies, augmented with the hunting of small mammals and birds, while peat provided almost all of the fuel, supplemented occasionally by whale oil and paraffin. Most residents were tenant crofters (small-scale farmers), often under the control of an absentee landlord and many of the Scottish island

communities suffered considerable hardships because of unsympathetic landowners. Their plight is well documented in many nineteenth century journals (Boswell, 1872; Groome, 1894; Martin, 1884 (reprint of 1703); Penant, 1772) and resulted in church aid and the passage of the Crofting Bill of 1886 (UK Government 1886) in efforts to relieve their plight. Despite some improvements in terms and conditions, most islands continued to suffer depopulation, as evidenced by the evacuation of Mingulay in 1912 and St Kilda in 1931 (Steel, 2001). It has been a continuous, if irregularly successful, policy of the Scottish Office (the UK government department responsible for Scotland until the devolved Parliament in 1999) to try to stem the depopulation of the islands and parts of the Highland mainland through various subsidies, development schemes, and agencies. This goal has proved common, if somewhat illusive and difficult, to all agencies involved in the governance of the Scottish islands for many decades, and is perhaps the only consistent policy focus of the last hundred years or more.

Fair Isle post-World War II

It was in the aftermath of World War II that the first major change in Fair Isle's governance and subsequent development policy came about. This process is discussed in some detail in two sources; one, *Birds in a Cage* (Niemann, 2012) describes in part the ideas of the late George Waterston, who, while a prisoner of war, developed the intent of acquiring an island on his release to provide an opportunity to study bird migration. A fervent ornithologist, Waterston saw Fair Isle as the perfect place to develop a scientific base for bird study. Having purchased the island in 1947, he established the first bird observatory on the island in 1948. In this he was aided by the existence of former Naval huts left abandoned after the military presence on Fair Isle that had existed during World War II was mostly removed. Waterston's efforts are also discussed in detail in *The Birds of Shetland* (Pennington et al., 2004) and build on a long history of bird observation on the island which had begun in 1905 and continued until the outbreak of war in 1939. The involvement of key island personalities in recording birds provided a body of support for the establishment of the observatory and the subsequent welcomed visitation to the island by bird watchers and ornithologists in much larger numbers from 1948 onwards. The Observatory was, and still is, run by a Board and existed initially on a tiny budget as a charity (Fair Isle Bird Observatory Trust), financially supported by charges on staying visitors, and contributions from well-wishers and related organisations.

Waterston, as the landowner, operated as a benign overseer, a welcome change from the rather harsh governance of the island by his more local predecessors over the past centuries. It became clear from the beginning of his ownership, however, that to maintain the well-being and existence of the population required greater resources than were available from an individual. Talk of evacuation of the island was common in the 1950s despite Waterston's

efforts (Respondent 12), and while individual persuasion deterred mass emigration or evacuation in that period, changes in policy, governance, and operation were clearly necessary. In 1954 Waterston sold the island to the National Trust for Scotland, paid off the debt he had accumulated in buying the island, and remained as a strong supporter of both the Observatory and the island, but no longer in a position of control, until his death in 1980. The responsibility for establishing and implementing local level policies thus passed to the NTS.

Landowner policies in Scotland

Land ownership in Scotland falls under the Scottish legal system, which is similar, but with unique features, to that operating in the rest of the United Kingdom, one difference being the absence of a law of trespass, which means people have a right of access to unenclosed land regardless of ownership. The purchase of the island by the NTS has echoes of a common pattern of land ownership over much of Scotland's rural and insular areas, namely, an absentee landlord operating in a patriarchal or almost feudal manner. All too often, such landowners implemented management and development policies for their own benefit rather than the well-being of the area's population or ecology. While many large estates in Scotland are well managed today, there are still examples in Scotland of less than model practices and this has provided the recently elected Scottish National Party government with the justification to begin discussions on changing the landownership model in Scotland. Previous governments had created the right of community buy out, whereby the government would support a community financially and legally to buy its land from an unwilling landlord (MacLellan, 2010). Such buy outs have taken place with varying degrees of financial success on islands such as Gigha and Eigg in the Hebrides, but none so far in the Northern Isles. Fortunately for Fair Isle, the NTS has proved to be a supportive landowner and while it has come under criticism for its management of another island (Coll) there has been no public criticism of its management or policies in the case of Fair Isle (conclusion based on resident responses to 2013 survey).

External policies

As elsewhere of course, Scottish landowners, whether individual or corporate, are subject to higher level policies and the NTS on Fair Isle is no exception. The major public sector body with responsibility for Fair Isle is the Shetland Island Authority based in Lerwick, the capital of the Shetland Islands. Shetland, until relatively recently (1975), was a county council on a par with the many counties throughout the United Kingdom, with responsibilities for setting policy in areas such as education, local transport, policing, planning and development, and for marrying administration at the county level with central government policies at the national level. The creation of three Island

Councils (Shetland, Orkney, and Western Isles) was a result of a reorganisation of local government in the United Kingdom in 1975. In the cases of Shetland and Orkney in particular, their demand for and achievement of additional policy-making powers (particularly over planning and development) stemmed from the pressure put on the old county councils by development demands following the discovery of oil and gas in the North Sea. The councils argued that existing powers and budgets were inadequate to deal with the resultant massive demands being placed on these authorities, reflecting the fact that in 1971 the then Zetland County Council (until local government reorganisation in the mid-1970s, the island government was Zetland County Council) had no official plan and no planning department (Butler, 1992).

In the case of Shetland (and Orkney) the major changes in fortunes which came about in the 1970s following the discovery and subsequent development of oil and gas reserves beneath the North Sea occurred primarily because Shetland and Orkney were the nearest landfalls to these fields. This meant that they became the pre-eminent choices for sites for oil and gas terminals and bases for servicing the off-shore rigs, in both exploration and development phases of hydrocarbon extraction. This activity brought with it very large financial benefits to the islands as well as employment growth and the opportunity for economic diversification. The key to achieving long-term benefits from oil and gas development were the policies that were subsequently developed. The Zetland County Council adopted a policy of limited development (Shetland Islands Council, 1978; Nelson and Butler, 1992) and was committed enough in its beliefs to gain additional powers from the UK government to allow it to deal effectively with multi-national corporations, no mean feat for a small (then 17,000 strong) population.

The subsequent establishment of the Island Authorities gave additional integrated controls to these bodies and confirmed their ability as well as power to set policy, control development, and gain financial benefits and considerable independence from central government control. While no direct financial benefit from oil and gas developments came to Fair Isle as a result of these changes in policy formulation and implementation, there have been a number of very important developments on the island which are directly due to the strong financial position of the SIC in the period 1975–2005 as shown in *Shetland in Statistics* (Shetland Islands Council, various years) The subsequent decline in North Sea exploration and development and the drop in the price of oil in recent years have weakened the Authority's finances in the last decade but the policy of "Shetland first" has stood the islands in general in a good position. Of particular importance to Fair Isle has been the improvement and expansion of transportation services to the island, both in terms of improvements to the main harbour and the establishment of a subsidised air service (common developments on several of the Shetland Islands). The creation of the extra powers at the council level has left the islands of

northern and western Scotland in a somewhat unique position compared to the rest of the United Kingdom, in that considerable power and control over policy formulation and implementation and subsequently development in particular remains at the local level along with the financial means to create and implement specifically tailored policies to meet the varying needs of the islands involved (Butler, 1994).

There is now no military presence on Fair Isle and national level policies from the London government have been reduced in influence and direction following the establishment of the devolved Scottish Parliament at Holyrood (Day and MacLellan, 2000). National level bodies such as Scottish Natural Heritage are involved with the island in terms of the designation of half of the island as a Site of Special Scientific Interest, with accompanying restrictions on development and cultivation, but in terms of direct impact the effect is minimal as that part of the island has always been used only for rough grazing by sheep and a small amount of peat cutting. The European Union fishing policy has had a somewhat negative impact on the island, in that while there are no offshore fishing boats based on Fair Isle, the activities of such boats, often owned by non-Shetlanders, are felt to be causing declines in sand eel populations, the principal source of food for the indigenous sea birds such as puffins and other auks and gulls (FIMETI, 1997). The EU Common Agricultural Policy provides limited subsidies for sheep farming but is otherwise of little significance. At the Scottish national level, issues such as policing, health (there is no resident police or medical presence on Fair Isle beyond a district nurse), and education are more relevant in Shetland than on Fair Isle specifically and there has been little of direct benefit or disadvantage from the devolution of powers from London to Edinburgh. In the Referendum on Scottish Independence in 2014, Shetland as a whole voted strongly to remain a part of the United Kingdom, an echo perhaps of a comment made in the 1970s by a Shetland representative to the effect that the North Sea oil was "neither Scotland's nor England's oil, but Shetland's oil" (quoted by respondent 19), and such a viewpoint is still being expressed. This is, perhaps, a reflection of the fact that Shetland (and Orkney) were part of Norway until the mid-fifteenth century and still tend to regard themselves as somewhat distinct from mainland Scotland in outlook.

Thus the major influence in terms of governance has been at the county (regional) level through the former Zetland County Council and the present Shetland Islands Council (SIC). The overall SIC policy towards the outer islands of Shetland in particular has been to attempt to maintain the population while operating under an overall policy of sustainability. The "Shetland first" policy was expressed clearly by the statement made SIC in its strategy document *Shetland's Oil Era* that it would:

> give no encouragement to development and (would) oppose proposals where these developments or proposals put Shetland at unnecessary

> risk … and will at no time put commercial or industrial development before those of the Shetland Community.
>
> (SIC, 1978, p. 13)

This policy reflected the strong economic position of the islands' traditional industries (fishing, agriculture, and knitwear) at the time (Nelson and Butler, 1994). In general terms the Council has not deviated significantly from that basic guiding principle, although changing circumstances, particularly in the economic realm, have made some aspects of the policy more difficult to continue to implement. In the case of Fair Isle, because of its isolation, circumstances have never been as economically favourable as those on the Shetland "mainland" but the emphasis on supporting the traditional way of life and local businesses has met with strong support from residents and the NTS landowner. Local authority policies and actions developed from this overall focus that have had direct effects on Fair Isle can be seen by the following developments which have taken place since 1970.

Key developments at the local level

The major improvements have been in transport to and from the island. The traditional ferry boat has been replaced twice in this period with the SIC assuming responsibility for costs of purchase but with the boat being based on Fair Isle and crewed by islanders. This was considered essential to provide the island community with a means of access to the Shetland mainland at any time. Associated with the new boats has been a series of improvements in the harbour used for their anchorage, including a breakwater to reduce exposure to gales, and a cut into the cliff to allow the boat to be taken out of the water during winter gales, as well as major enlargements of the pier and docking area. This latter improvement has also allowed the island to accommodate visiting yachts by providing safe mooring and access to supplies. Of great significance also has been the development of an airstrip on the island (constructed by British military forces) and the subsidisation by SIC of flights from the Shetland mainland. Over the summer there are an average of at least twelve flights a week, weather permitting, with a reduced level of service in the winter. Fares are lower for islanders than visitors and this has enabled islanders to make day visits to Lerwick (the Shetland capital) from Fair Isle for such reasons as dental and medical care, shopping, and student visits (high school students from Fair Isle attend school in Lerwick, and before the air service could experience difficulty in returning home for visits during term time). All of these transport improvements have been (albeit unintentionally) of considerable benefit to the development of tourism (especially bird watching) and micro-entrepreneurial development on the island including knitting (Butler, 2015). The creation of an air service required several other developments (because of air safety regulations) including the provision of fire and rescue services which automatically have improved aspects of life on the

island, as well as providing further part-time employment. The SIC has continued a policy of supporting island primary schools, even when enrolment is low, such that on Fair Isle the primary school operates with as few as six students while having a staff of seven (almost all part-timers). Provision of medical services is undertaken by a resident nurse and medical clinical needs are met in the school hall, although the intent is to establish a clinic on the island to which visiting dental and medical staff will have access in the near future (Bennett, 2013, personal communication). Finally, the SIC has been supportive of communication improvements on the island by approving the establishment of a communications mast which provides mobile telephone and television coverage (although broadband service is still below average) as well as providing a regular rental income to the island community council. In general, therefore, the SIC policies have been supportive of the island's economy and certainly aided in stabilising the population, its overall major policy goal (SIC, 2000).

Island specific policies

Fair Isle is represented at the SIC level by an elected local councillor from the mainland (it falls within the Dunrossness electoral ward). Of much greater concern and relevance is the management policy of the landowner of the island, the NTS. It can be argued that the NTS has followed and greatly expanded in the original direction chosen by George Waterston. As noted earlier, Waterston created the Fair Isle Bird Observatory (FIBO) and saw this as a key element in the survival of the island's economy and community (Waterston, 1963, personal communication), and this has proved to be the case (Butler, 2015). While the NTS is not directly responsible for the operation or direction of the FIBO, it works closely with the board of directors of the Observatory and its policies have complemented the growth in operation of the Observatory. Of key importance to the successful operation of the Observatory is the maintenance of good relations between its staff and visitors with the island resident population (FIBO, various years). The Observatory now can accommodate sixty visitors which is virtually equal to the island population. While this ratio of 1:1 is far below that of many tourist islands, the very small size of Fair Isle and the intrusive nature of bird watching and bird watchers means that every household on the island is likely to experience the presence of visitors and staff from the Observatory every day during the period it is open for guests (from April to October). These non-residents will be walking around the island, through fields, along paths, along the edges of gardens and looking closely into gardens and around houses for birds. The existence of the Observatory is critical for the existence of the community on Fair Isle, although as one resident noted, few residents probably appreciate the full extent of that dependence (Respondent 2, 2014). It provides an economic base for the island shop by operating a policy of purchasing all supplies through the shop without which that enterprise would not be able to

continue operation (Respondent 10, 2014); it has also provided three of the twenty-three households of the island population (ex-wardens and their families from the Observatory who have chosen to remain on Fair Isle); and provides a significant proportion of passengers using the island air service, without which the service would require an even greater subsidy than it receives at present. As well, the visitors, along with several hundred cruise ship passengers each year, provide a major part of the market for the knitwear and other crafts produced on the island (Butler, 2016). Thus although no residents are employed directly in tourism, the whole economy of the island is underwritten by tourism, and the Observatory is a key and major element in this economic driver.

The formal policies of the NTS have been focused on population stability and an overall ethic of sustainability, very similar to the principles behind the policies of the SIC. The "administration" of the island is the responsibility of the NTS island manager, based in Inverness, who is responsible for overseeing the implementation of the Trust's policies on all of the islands owned by the Trust (Bennett, 2012, 2013, personal communication). Each of the islands is unique; some like St Kilda are now uninhabited in terms of permanent population but with military, archaeological, and tourist transient populations at various times, while others like Fair Isle and Coll, have small agriculturally focused communities with tourism assuming ever-increasing importance in their economies. On Fair Isle the Trust has been most active in improving the quality of life for residents as the key element in its policy of maintaining the population. In the 1960s Fair Isle had no electricity except for lighthouse generators which provided limited power to households at specific times (Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses, n.d.), and no running water supply (Butler, 1963). The island now has a small reservoir and running water to all households (and the Observatory), electric power supplied by wind turbines with back up from generators, an improved school property and a soon to be opened medical clinic.

While the Trust has not provided all of these improvements alone, it has been supportive both financially and politically in securing their development. All but two of the houses owned by the Trust have been completely remodelled or rebuilt, generally at the rate of one or two every few years and in most cases enlarged as well as being made much more energy efficient. Of key importance in this regard, and probably the most important factor in population stabilisation, has been the policy of charging only a "peppercorn" rent (i.e. a rent of virtually no cost). This means that the cost of housing (property rent, tax, and energy consumption) is very low and is thus an inducement to residents to remain on the island. As one resident (Respondent 5, 2013) noted, however, renting a property means no accumulation of capital gains from the property by the tenant, thus making it very difficult to move elsewhere and to be able to purchase or even rent an equivalent property. People do leave Fair Isle on a consistent if irregular basis, however. The most common reason for this is that there are few employment or career

opportunities on the island for children when they grow up; they already have to leave the island for high school education on the Shetland mainland (being accommodated in an education hostel) and for further education such as university, most have to go to the Scottish mainland, if not further afield. Thus, a significant proportion of those who come to the island before starting a family or with very young children tend to leave after between five and ten years. It is difficult to see any policy that the NTS could formulate to prevent this occurrence.

Finding replacement families for those leaving has resulted in a specific policy being established by the NTS, which involves the residents to ensure compatibility between incomers and those already living on the island. The Trust advertises widely when a property becomes available, the last such occasion generated over 400 applications from several countries including the United States (Bennett, 2013). Applicants have to supply a considerable amount of information including what talents they possess that would be useful to the island community at large. The emphasis is upon finding families which offer some skill or ability not currently present on the island which would make a useful improvement to the community as a whole. This is important as it is clear from the number of applications that there are many people who would be happy to rent a property at low cost on Fair Isle as a holiday home and visit occasionally over the year, renting the property to others, particularly bird watchers, and contributing but little overall to the island. Such incomers might in fact become a negative presence on the island through their absence by effectively reducing the overall population from which to find sufficient individuals to man the ferry boat; meet employment needs with respect to the air service operations; and provide an income to the shop. Once a short list of applicants has been created the Island Community Council reviews this list and finally a very small number of applicants are invited to visit the island to meet the community representatives and the Trust personnel. During the Trust's time as owners this policy has worked well and no family has arrived and left after only a short period, although one warden at the Bird Observatory (whose staff are non-permanent except for the warden and are employed by FIBO) did so. The turnover of population for the reasons mentioned above does mean, however, that the indigenous population of Fair Isle has mostly disappeared. Whereas in the 1960s three family names were shared by over three-quarters of the families on the island, now those names are only found in four of the twenty-three households. A period in which only girls were born on Fair Isle, almost all of whom left the island to marry "abroad" did not help maintain the traditional community. One former Fair Isle resident noted that "There is no Fair Isle community now, just a group of people getting on fairly well together on the island" (Respondent 6, 2013). There is little the NTS can do in this regard and one could argue that to some degree a continuous influx of newcomers is healthy for a community. One of the critical elements as noted above, is that there are enough people suitably qualified to

operate the ferry boat. While a master's ticket is required for the captain, the other three crewmen need to obtain some qualifications with respect to health and safety and to meet physical requirements, given that the boat carries paying passengers, mail, and freight.

Another area of major support by the Trust has been its ability and willingness to search out external funding for the island. One of the limitations facing George Waterston, as an individual landowner, was his inability to secure funding from many sources, whereas the NTS, as a registered charity, has been able to secure funding from the Island Authority, the Scottish government, the UK government and European Union sources. The Fair Isle community has been successful in gaining recognition and awards for its environmentally sustainable stewardship, funding to assist with minor construction and protection projects, e.g. at its harbour and community hall, and with the establishment and operation of the George Waterston Museum. The NTS also has its own funds which can be allocated to Fair Isle but these are limited because of the numerous other demands on its coffers (Bennett, 2013). The NTS is currently undertaking a review of its operation with a view to reducing central staff in order to focus on the challenges of owning and managing its hundred plus properties, only ten of which make a profit (Wade 2016). One added advantage of Trust ownership is that the Trust can and does promote visitation to Fair Isle at its other properties (and vice versa) and in its general newsletters and publicity. While it does not benefit directly from visitation because it does not charge visitors for landing on Fair Isle, visitors help the general economy of the island through their expenditure on local crafts, at the shop and at the Observatory, and by using the ferry boat and air service. The NTS also runs cruises to Scottish islands and these invariably visit Fair Isle and the hundreds of passengers also provide an economic boost to the island. These cruises began in 1955 and take place annually, along with visits by several other cruise ships which visit the island.

Conclusion

It is interesting and perhaps not without significance that although the economy of the island has been transformed from one primarily based on agriculture and fishing to one now dependent on tourism, there has been no specific policy for tourism development or control applied to Fair Isle. Indeed, British national level tourism policy is relatively unimportant in this context, the Scottish governments' tourism policies have made little mention of remote islands over the years reflecting a traditional central Scotland focus (Kerr and Wood, 2000), while the SIC policy on tourism places its emphasis on marketing Shetland with a "get away to it all" theme with a focus on remoteness, natural and cultural attractions, and the peacefulness of the islands in general, along with making Shetland a year round destination (Budd, 2011). Undoubtedly of key importance in the case of Fair Isle

has been the complementarity of other policies at the different levels that affect the island. The EU and British governments are mostly involved in island life through regulations and controls relating to the operation of equipment, machines, and companies, particularly with regard to environmental quality and health and safety. Enforcement of these policies is rare in the direct sense, as there is no national or EU representation on Fair Isle on anything like a permanent or even long-term basis. SIC and NTS policies and management are much more relevant and impact directly on island life and well-being, but again in the absence of any permanent presence on the island. It is because both SIC and NTS confirm that maintaining the population on the island is a key policy goal that has proved of critical importance in making Fair Isle a successful example of policy implementation in this regard. Underlying those more general policies however, have been specific issues such as transportation improvements and innovations (and subsequent related developments), housing improvements, provision of electricity and water on a reliable island-wide basis, providing indirectly a sufficient consumer market for the island shop and its associated services, and benign support for FIBO which provides not only the economic base for much of the island's livelihood but also a place for social interaction between residents and visitors. The latter point is important as good relations between residents and visitors are vital for the continued success of tourism on Fair Isle, perhaps even more so there than in many other tourist destinations because of the nature of the visitor activities. There are few if any policies which can ensure such a result; this is much more dependent on other factors, including the implementation of appropriate on-the-ground management, and the perhaps fortunate accident of geography that the Bird Observatory is a kilometre distant and out of sight of the nearest residence, providing both a temporal and spatial separation between visitors and residents.

However appropriate and well developed they may be, policies are only as relevant and effective as their implementation. National and even regional goals and objectives often become relatively meaningless at the local level, as is the case in Fair Isle. Much depends on appropriate management at the local level and the integration and complementarity of other factors and elements. External forces such as the discovery and exploitation of oil and gas reserves in the North Sea, the involvement of one individual (Waterston) at a crucial time in the island's economy in establishing the bird observatory, and the rise in popularity and participation in bird watching have all been more important to the development of tourism on Fair Isle than specific policies to that effect. The future well-being of the island and its population will depend as much or more on fortunate external serendipities as on policies relating to tourism or other forms of economic development. In this situation, as elsewhere (Alberts and Baldachinno, 2017), tourism has provided increased resilience to a small island economy and population, albeit in an unplanned manner and relative lack of policy.

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9 Cooperation, border tourism, and policy implications

Dallen J. Timothy

Introduction

Since the beginning of the Anthropocene, humankind's territorial behaviour has delimited spaces into 'theirs' and 'ours'. Early manifestations of territorial statehood can be found throughout the ancient world with the development of organised states such as the Phoenician, Greek, Persian, and Roman empires in Europe, North Africa, and the Levant, the Chinese dynastic states in Asia and the vast kingdoms of Africa. These were among the earliest forerunners of today's states, and many of their territories were delineated and demarcated by physical borders that indicated their lines of sovereign control and functioned as defensive barriers against attacks by foreign legions.

The genesis of the modern state during the European High and Late Middle Ages, saw an evolution from the abstract concept of frontiers and marches, which denoted loosely-defined peripheral zones where one sovereign power source bled into the next (Tilly and Ardant, 1975), to clearer lines of absolute control, known as borders or boundaries (Glassner and Fahrer, 2003). International boundaries today and their associated security, political, and economic mechanisms have significant implications for industrial development, trade, human mobility, social networks, cultural diversity, environmental regulations, and tourism. This chapter reviews some of the traditional relationships between borders and tourism. It then highlights the importance of collaborative tourism development based upon cross-border, public–private, inter-level, inter-agency and intra-private sector cooperation specifically within international border areas.

Borders and tourism

Geopolitical boundaries have long affected the growth of tourism and its functions in their general vicinity. While not synonymous, the parallel notions of sovereignty and political boundaries cannot be separated, for one determines the existence and exercise of the other. The most conspicuous exertion of state sovereignty can be found in borderlands and frontier areas. Trade, taxation, social, and economic inequality, economic development or lack

thereof, demonstrations of military might, migration, and other human mobilities are epitomic issues that highlight state function at borders.

The traditional functions of political boundaries are lines of military defence, economic and social filters, and demarcations of state sovereignty (Johnson et al., 2011; Newman, 2006; Paasi, 2009, 2013). As such, their interactions with tourism are manifold, resulting in a range of expressions that have been well studied (e.g. Prokkola, 2007; Timothy, 2001; Wachowiak, 2006). Several relationships between tourism and political borders have been identified (Timothy, 2001; Timothy, Saarinen and Viken, 2016). Most notable among these are borders as transit spaces, barriers, tourist attractions and destinations, and tourism landscape modifiers.

The majority of international travellers view borders as insignificant passageways—national peripheries that must be crossed in order to access more enjoyable destinations. In this role, borders appear to have little bearing on the overall tourist experience, although they may provide opportunities to exchange currency, fill the car with petrol, acquire tourist information, and pass through customs controls, passport inspections, and other state expressions of power (Timothy, 2001). By crossing an international border, an individual concedes at least some degree of personal autonomy, being subject to the legal and warranted transgression of personal space by the state. In this ephemeral transit time and space, travel documents are inspected, people's eligibility to cross is scrutinised, taxes may be levied on dutiable items, and entrance may even be refused for any number of reasons. While the transit role of borderlines may in fact have the least apparent impact on travel and tourism, it is clearly not without influence at all. This is particularly true when considering that border crossings and international ports-of-entry perform the critical role of national gateway. Tourists' experiences in the liminal spaces of the border may determine, to some degree at least, their first impressions (Hazledine, 2009; Konrad, 2015; McGreevy, 1988) and make or break a holiday experience.

A second relationship is that of borders as barriers to tourism (Timothy and Tosun, 2003). This manifests in two principal ways. First, international boundaries frequently prevent the free flow of ideas and communication as part of official border policies or tacitly as organic cultural, linguistic, nationalistic, and administrative barriers. In this regard, borders ineludibly limit transfrontier collaboration, thereby forming a salient obstacle to open and accessible regional tourism development. Second, as noted earlier, international boundaries may function as barriers to individual travel by way of psychological deterrents or tangible obstructions.

Cultural, economic, and political variances on two sides of a border, as well as the need to acquire passports and visas, sometimes create an added 'functional distance' (Reynolds and McNulty, 1968; Timothy, 2001), which Smith (1984) suggested may make a destination on the other side of a border seem further than it really is, sometimes deterring people more than actual distance does. Inexperience with what lies across the border, how to function 'over

there', or safety concerns are common psychosomatic impediments to cross-boundary travel (Canally and Timothy, 2007; Lepp and Gibson, 2003; Webster and Timothy, 2006). Likewise, tangible barricades also keep people from crossing. Walls, fences, minefields, and guard towers are not only sensually intimidating, they physically prevent cross-border tourist traffic, even when their primary function is to dissuade drug running, illegal immigration or security breaches (Jellissen and Gottheil, 2013). These physical fortifications have the dual function of tangible and psychological barriers.

The third relationship between borders and tourism occurs when borders become a tourist attraction directly because of the boundary line or when borderlands become a destination indirectly because of their adjacency to a frontier. This perspective is multifaceted and has been well examined in the research literature (e.g. Arreola and Curtis, 1993; Arreola and Madsen, 1999; Blasco, Guia and Prats, 2014b; Butler, 1996; Cuevas Contreras, 2016; Gelbman, 2008, 2010; Gelbman and Timothy, 2010, 2011; Gosar, 2005; Honkanen, Pitkänen and Hall, 2016; Mansfeld and Korman, 2015; Timothy, 2001; Timothy and Canally, 2008; Wachowiak, 2006; Zizaldra Hernández, 2010). Often borderlines are curious anomalies in the landscape and therefore exude some sort of appeal as tourists seek the 'otherness' from their mundane lived experiences. The fortifications noted earlier are a good example of this, while gateways, historic border markers, and welcome signs are other elements of the political infrastructure of states that may appeal to some tourists.

In addition to the precise borderline, there are many variants of border-related attractions where the boundary is the thematic focus of the destination. It is not unusual to find buildings, built heritage clusters, or natural attractions divided by an international boundary. There are golf courses, archaeological sites, beaches, small islands, waterfalls, and nature preserves divided by international boundaries, which can intensify the allure of the attraction beyond its natural or cultural characteristics. Borderlines are also suitable linear resources for developing heritage routes or nature trails, such as the Pyrenean Way and multitudes of other mountain ridge trails throughout Europe (Timothy and Boyd, 2015). There are many border-themed attractions throughout the world; most of them exude a local appeal as part of a region's heritage, while some are of international acclaim. A few examples include the Island of Peace at the border of Israel and Jordan, the Berlin Wall Trail, and the *Europadenkmal am Dreiländereck* at the meeting point of Germany, Belgium, and Luxembourg.

Borderlands may also become salient tourist destinations for a variety of related reasons. Borderlands are the regions adjacent to borders that are affected directly by their proximity to an international boundary. Conventional borderland tourism long focused on shopping, alcohol consumption, prostitution, and gambling, which all succeeded because of different prices, taxes or levels of sexual and gaming permissiveness. In recent years we have seen the growth of several additional forms of tourism that are directly connected to their proximity to the international border, the most prominent

being medical tourism and its variants. South of the US boundary, for instance, Mexican border towns thrive on Americans and Canadians crossing over to buy pharmaceuticals and medical services. The most common services include dental work, chiropractic services, eye care, plastic surgery, and non-elective operations. New hospitals are being built near the boundary and older ones are reorienting their market catchment to provide Americans easy access to inexpensive health care nearby but abroad (Cuevas Contreras, 2016).

The final tourism–border nexus is landscape modification, which manifests in two primary ways. First, political boundaries strongly determine the tourism landscapes of border communities. The relationships noted previously—barriers, transit spaces and destinations/attractions—all work together to create unique tourismscapes in border locales. Shops, eateries, information offices, currency exchange services, and petrol stations inevitably flank state limits with their most intense clustering being at or near points of entry. For instance, Arreola and Curtis (1993) examined the spatial development and physical anatomy of Mexican border towns, identifying unique commercial and prostitution-oriented spatial patterns that could only be explained by their proximity to the international frontier. Secondly, tourism is a powerful enough force that it can even determine the geopolitical landscapes of border communities and the border itself, and may in fact even cause borders to be re-drawn and sovereign territory to be exchanged. Timothy, Guia and Berthet (2014) identified several ways in which tourism as a geopolitical force can change borders, border functions, and national sovereignty. Of their five-part typology, the most pertinent are modified infrastructure and territorial exchanges, of which specific examples will be highlighted later in the chapter.

Collaborative tourism development in the Borderlands

The discussion so far shows that borders are not static lines but rather dynamic organisms that are constantly evolving, physically, culturally, legally, and in terms of policy (Bufon, Minghi and Paasi, 2014; Espiritu and Viken, 2012; Parker and Vaughan-Williams, 2012; Perkmann and Sum, 2002; Wastl-Walter, 2011; Wilson and Donnan, 2012), with increasing levels of cross-border knowledge transfer and innovation (Weidenfeld, 2013). This means that the traditional relationships reviewed earlier are inadequate by themselves to address the contemporary changes occurring at state boundaries worldwide.

In an ever-changing tourism environment, cooperative development is crucial in achieving successful tourism and in upholding the principles of sustainable development (Adu-Ampong, 2017; Czernek, 2013; Petrova and Hristov, 2016). Timothy (1998) identified several types of collaborative tourism approaches that are essential for destinations to realise the principles of equity, holism, balance, harmony, efficiency, empowerment, and ecological integrity. These include cross-border collaboration between same-level polities, cooperation

between the public and private sectors, cooperation between different levels of administration, partnerships between different government agencies, and alliances between private-sector organisations. Each of these types of collaborative networks has an important role to play in sustainable tourism development. Nowhere is this more evident than in border regions. Figure 9.1 illustrates these five types of collaboration in borderland contexts. With the obvious exception of cross-border cooperation and to a lesser degree cooperation between administrative levels, in most instances, collaborative tourism remains on one side of the border only.

Cross-border collaboration is a vital element of sustainable tourism development, particularly in places where resources overlap a political divide and in areas where tourism is a primary focus of economic development (Albrecht, 2010; Noe, 2010; Timothy, 1999). Nature does not respect political boundaries, and there are countless examples of ecosystems and natural areas bisected by national frontiers (Bhatasara, Nyamwanza and Kujinga, 2013; Więckowski, 2013). A beach, mountain, archaeological site, or an area rich in fossils may be bisected by a national border. Cultures also lie astride political boundaries, resulting in tangible and intangible expressions of overlapping heritage (Blasco et al., 2014b). To achieve sustainability, in these cases, cross-border partnerships are essential. Only in this way can resources be managed equitably through equalised use, joint policy implementation and co-action to encourage or discourage visitor use. In situations where the border is closed or heavily restricted, equal access may not be a realistic option.

Within the sphere of tourism, much has been said about cross-border cooperation, the need for it, and how it occurs (Blasco, Guia and Prats, 2014a; Ioannides, Nielsen and Billing, 2006; Kim, Lee and Timothy, 2006; Lundén and Zalamans, 2001; Prokkola, 2008, 2013; Tosun et al., 2005; Weidenfeld, 2013; York and Schoon, 2011). The most common focal areas of transfrontier collaboration within the broader context of tourism include regional marketing and place promotion, product development, natural and cultural resource protection, infrastructure expansion, and human mobility.

Cross-boundary collaboration occurs at many different scales. Local-level international partnerships have existed for centuries and deal mostly with product development, place promotion and resource protection. These typically take place between neighbouring regions, towns or villages, and are

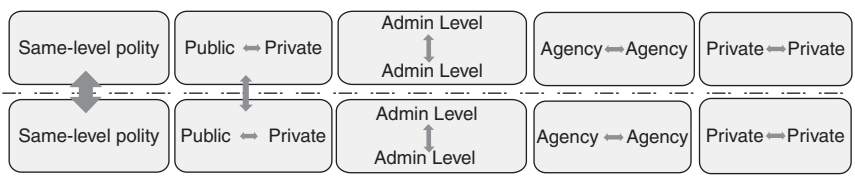

Figure 9.1 Types of cooperative tourism development in border regions cross-border cooperation

inevitably informal arrangements for joint activities and events. These may range from very specific events, such as fence-spanning volleyball contests on the US–Mexico border (facetiously referred to as 'wallyball') (Flanagin, 2015) to corresponding and cooperatively planned Christmas and Easter celebrations on either side (Cuevas Contreras and Zizaldra Hernández, 2015). These sorts of events are commonplace along the US–Mexico border, but given the current intensity of border security, participants are not permitted to cross without proper documentation and only at official ports of entry.

Local-level cooperation can also take the form of jointly planned events or cultural trails that do allow people to cross. Sporting and cultural festivals in Europe, for example, are held regularly and planned between neighbouring communities. These sorts of events and tourist routes in Europe can occur in one of two geographic contexts. The first is when such events take place between Schengen states. In this situation, borders are crossed easily without formalities or state-level intervention. In these cases, true local-level cooperation is easier to achieve. Secondly, events can be planned and developed between non-Schengen countries, which means that people must go through normal border-crossing procedures to access happenings on the other side. This, by nature then, may exclude some people from crossing and participating fully.

The next scale up refers to binational collaboration, which entails two countries working together at the state level for tourism purposes. There are countless examples of neighbouring countries collaborating on bilateral tourism. Because sovereign states are involved, in most cases, cooperation deals primarily with infrastructure development and human mobility at the legal and policy level (Więckowski and Cerić, 2016). The European Union has long encouraged bilateral tourism development through its various structural funds (e.g. Interreg), which has manifested in planning, promoting, and managing transfrontier cultural or natural areas, collaborating on events, and facilitating cross-boundary tourism development (Nilsson, Eskilsson and Ek, 2010; Prokkola and Lois, 2016; Prokkola, Zimmerbauer and Jakola, 2015).

The third scale, multistate regional collaboration, refers to a few or several countries within a specific region working together to develop tourism policies and products, transfrontier human mobility and economic development. Danube Day, for instance, is an annual celebration in all 14 countries connected to the Danube River system. Festivals along the river, meetings, fetes, and educational events are held concurrently in all 14 riparian countries to build awareness and appreciation of the Danube and its ecosystem (Danube Day, 2016). While most events are state-specific, a few are planned between adjoining countries, such as yearly cross-boundary bicycle tours. On June 29, 2016, the Danube Day jamboree was honoured with an open border between Ukraine and Hungary for one day only. On that day only, the cross-river villages of Galabor (Ukraine) and Tiszakóród (Hungary) were connected by an open border with a barge service, which allowed

people to visit a synchronised music festival, play games together, and participate in children's activities without a passport or visa.

At this multinational, or supranational level, tourism development shoulders a heavier policy application but may also involve freedom of movement for tourists and other international travellers, alliance-wide citizenship and right of residence, a common currency, and common tax policies. When a country joins a supranational alliance or free trade area, it necessarily relinquishes some degree of sovereignty for the 'greater good' of the alliance. Its gains often include higher levels of outside investment, reduced trade barriers, and therefore more jobs and incoming revenue, as well as easier cross-frontier mobility for its citizens. There are dozens of supranational alliances in all parts of the world, and nearly every country is a member of at least one.

A recent example of bilateral cross-border collaboration took place in the Pyrenees. With the rapid growth and development of skiing and shopping tourism in Andorra, particularly in the border village of El Pas de la Casa in the period 1970s–2000s, Andorra's single border crossing with France became a position of contention. One small port of entry was hardly large enough to process the thousands of vehicles entering the microstate every day. Waits at the border often took hours and were backlogged into France several kilometres. In El Pas de la Casa, there were few places to park and crowding made it hard to get around. The second problem was that El Pas de la Casa was often cut off from the rest of Andorra owing to its location on a high mountain pass. During the winter, entry to other areas of Andorra was dangerous or impossible, as the winding mountain road could not handle much winter traffic. With these two problematic conditions facing Andorra's tourism sector, the country's government decided to construct a tunnel through Valira Mountain (Comas d'Argemir, 2002). However, because of the mountainous topography at the border and the way the main road in France (highway N22) was set up, a roundabout would need to be built on French soil and a road and viaduct constructed in both countries over the border in the Ariege River valley.

France made clear its unwillingness to bankroll the roundabout, road, or bridge on its sovereign territory, because these would only be satisfying the commercial needs of Andorra. Andorra likewise expressed its aversion to financing new infrastructure on foreign soil. Recognising the need for a compromise, eventually in 2000, both countries agreed by treaty to relocate the international border so that most of the requisite infrastructure would be funded by Andorra and built in Andorra. The treaty required changes in territorial sovereignty and the exchange of 15,595 square meters of equal land between the two states. On July 6, 2001, the border was adjusted so that part of the roundabout, all of the viaduct, and the entire roadway were developed in Andorra. France gained grazing land for local cattle farmers, while Andorra acquired real estate assets that allow a more efficient border-crossing system that has reduced long lines at El Pas de la Casa and provides year-round access to other parts of the country (Timothy, Guia and Berthet, 2014).

The growth of supranationalism and other forms of cross-border cooperation have reduced the barrier effects of borders, changed the role of borders as transit spaces, and improved the borderlands as tourist destinations through cooperation and increased freedom of travel. In some cases, however, such as in the EU, the competitive advantages of some borders have been reduced through de-bordering processes (Wilson and Donnan, 2012), which has effectively altered traditional border landscapes and eliminated several unique types of borderlands tourism. This is reflective of Prokkola's (2007, p. 120) assertion that "the landscape of state control is gradually becoming a landscape of tourism".

Public–private partnerships (PPP)

During budget crises, public agencies sometimes depend on their relationships with the private sector to carry out their administrative responsibilities. By the same token, the private sector relies on government agencies for building permits and to help in developing infrastructure. Most PPPs in borderlands remain on one side of the boundary. However, as Figure 9.1 denotes, some of them may also involve cross-border partnerships with PPPs on the other side, but given that all levels of international negotiations are the rights and responsibilities of national governments, most of these must still go through official bilateral legal channels (Timothy, 2006). One example is the Binational Tourism Alliance at Niagara Falls. This PPP is a cross-border partnership whose primary purpose is marketing Niagara Falls holistically as a transfrontier destination. Its efforts focus on reducing the barriers to cross-border tourism development in this part of Ontario and New York. This organisation tries to develop binational products, but it is severely limited by national interests, policies, and laws regarding the border.

On the other North American border, for decades there has been talk of constructing a direct pedestrian connection between San Diego, California, and Tijuana, Mexico's international airport, which is adjacent to the border. Flying within Mexico on a domestic ticket is less expensive than flying from the United States to Mexico. Tijuana's airport services most of Mexico's largest cities and most important tourist destinations. As well, the airport now offers nonstop flights to Asia, often at lower fares than from San Diego or Los Angeles. As such, Tijuana's international airport has played an important role for residents of southern California, who have for years flown out of Tijuana rather than out of San Diego or Los Angeles. However, with increased security measures since 2001, border queues are much longer, and it can take up to five hours to return to the United States by car at any of the San Diego area ports of entry.

In 1989–1990, negotiations began between private investors, designers and Mexican and US government agencies to develop a cross-border pedestrian bridge from San Diego to the Tijuana International Airport. The need for such a specialised crossing became even more palpable with the new

millennial border security agenda. With these changes in policies and security apparatuses, border congestion became a huge barrier to Americans using the Tijuana airport. Through intervening years, various private–public negotiations have occurred to develop the desired pedestrian tunnel. Finally, in 2010, a permit was issued by the US government to allow construction of the binational airport terminal (US Department of State, 2010). After lengthy negotiations, it was also determined that the US government functions at this pedestrian crossing would be financed by the private owners of the facility.

Construction on the cross-border terminal began in 2013, and the facility opened in December 2015. A 120-meter overpass allows airline passengers to walk into Mexico without having to cross the border by car or find parking in Mexico. The facility is known as Cross Border Xpress (CBX) and contains US customs and immigration services on the US side, a duty-free shop, currency exchange, a café, airline check-in counters, and taxi and Uber services (Benning, 2016). CBX now serves some 2.4 million air passengers who cross the border each year, "helping them avoid unpredictable, often long delays at congested San Ysidro and Otay Mesa land ports of entry" (Cross Border Xpress, 2016: n.p.). This example illustrates a combination of cross-border public and private collaboration.

On the same frontier, 'border tours' are offered by four-wheel-drive owners. Some of these tours occur on only one side of the border and require relationship building between the private operators and border agencies. Traveling along border fences on border patrol roads can be a sensitive issue in this region, and arrangements are required to facilitate these ventures. In most cases, there is little collaboration between tour operators on the two sides. There are a few examples of cross-border itineraries, however, that tour the border and interpret its social and geopolitical situation from both sides. These are offered by various NGOs and community groups on either side of the border and also require special negotiations with Mexican and US federal agencies.

The border in these instances remains a salient barrier to tourism in many respects, but cooperation between private entrepreneurs and public agencies has created a de-bordering effect that allows the boundary to be less of a travel obstacle and more of a tourist destination.

Cooperation between levels of administration

Cooperation between various levels of governance is crucial in assuring that laws and policies are adequately implemented. Nearly always, these relationships remain on one side of the border only (Figure 9.1). While much tourism-related legislation (e.g. environmental controls, labour laws, immigration regulations) is ratified at the national level, most of its enforcement occurs at the subnational level. National governments, therefore, have to work with municipal or regional administrators to ensure that this occurs. Funding for local development projects often comes from the state,

while the state needs municipalities to carry out its responsibilities on the ground.

There are relatively fewer examples of this form of collaboration specifically at national borders, but they do exist. For instance, owing to the importance of medical and health-related tourism in Mexico's northernmost border cities, the border infrastructure on the Mexican side has been changed in several locations in a joint collaborative effort between Mexican federal and municipal governments. In Mexicali, Mexico, special traffic lanes have been created for drivers of US-registered cars who purchase prescription drugs or medical services. US authorities give no priority to these medical day-trippers, but on the Mexican side special lanes allow them to bypass the long queues that normally back up into Mexico. This preferential treatment is designed to encourage Americans to seek health services and purchase pharmaceuticals in Mexicali by minimising their wait times to re-enter the United States. Proof of purchase is required, and municipal government offices issue passes for American shoppers to use the 'Medical Lane'.

This relationship between the Mexican national government and Mexicali's municipal administration illustrates how this type of cooperation can affect the border and tourism landscapes of certain destinations. It also facilitates increased growth in tourism by reducing the barrier effects for American day-trippers and encouraging the growth of medical tourism as a salient tool for economic development.

Inter-agency cooperation

Collaboration between public agencies is very important in tourism development. Because tourism is so pervasive within other elements of place and depends on so many different sub-sectors, ministries of tourism, for instance, must liaise with ministries of public works, transportation, agriculture, and culture to achieve success. These efforts have the potential to create smoother implementation, lessen financial and organisational redundancies, and help achieve harmony and solidarity within destination regions.

Borders are excellent laboratories for understanding inter-agency cooperation. Here, national governments best demonstrate their sovereign control over national territory. Agencies in charge of customs, immigration, agriculture, military, drug enforcement, wildlife protection, transportation, public works, and tourism must work together for borders to function properly. While few border agencies would acknowledge their own important role in tourism, and many in fact ignore tourism altogether, they are indeed facilitators of tourism, and cooperation is therefore crucial. This is particularly so in open and accessible borderlands. In nearly all cases, inter-agency partnerships occur only on one side of the border, except in rare cases of drug smuggling or human trafficking, which again requires bilateral agreements between states.

Many inter-agency collaborations in borderlands today are manifestations of re-bordering (Newman, 2006; Timothy, Saarinen and Viken, 2016; Wilson and Donnan, 2012) in areas where increased transfrontier cooperation had already begun the de-bordering process. Increased border security, particularly in North America and portions of Europe today, are clear expressions of these changes. The re-bordering of international boundaries (passport checks and customs inspections) within Europe's Schengen Zone in 2015–2017 owing to the growing influx of refugees from Asia and the Middle East is directly opposed to the human mobility principles set out in various EU and Schengen policies. Nonetheless, several countries now view this as a necessary action. Increased security measures on the US–Canada and US–Mexico borders are indicative of the same phenomenon and likewise erect new barriers to travel and transfrontier tourism development.

Networks between private-sector organisations

There are many scenarios in tourism that might require service providers to collude with other private-sector providers. Airlines frequently partner with hotels, and destination management organisations work with non-profit agencies for their mutual advantage. Cooperation between industry stakeholders can alleviate budget pressures and can be useful in petitioning public agencies for additional support and legislative action on their behalf. Private-sector partnerships may also strengthen a destination's cause in its efforts to petition national or provincial governments for political favours or to enhance the region's image through destination marketing efforts.

There is relatively little in this collaborative relationship that is borderland specific. Clearly, however, relationships between service providers are as necessary in frontier regions as they are elsewhere, but it is highly likely that these collaborative efforts remain on their own side of the boundary without some degree of intervention by national governments. Efforts between private-sector organisations can help enhance the attractiveness of destinations by providing packaged border products. This is evident on the border of Myanmar and China, where Burmese business people and service providers have developed 'tourisms of vice', including prostitution, gambling, consuming endangered animals, and drugs, on the Myanmar side of the border at Mong La to attract customers from China, where these activities are officially prohibited. In this particular case, there is no cross-border collaboration. In fact, China closed the border here in 2003 to combat these activities, but it has since reopened, allowing these illicit activities to continue on the Burmese side. In this case, the tourism landscapes are clear with the clustering of vices as close to the border as possible.

Constraints on collaborative tourism in the Borderlands

While the examples of collaborative tourism development noted above show promise for traditionally marginal regions, there are significant constraints to

all forms of collaboration in border settings. The majority of these constraints have political undertones. First, many border communities lack political influence (Brunet-Jailly, 2005). Central authorities often treat frontier areas as unimportant or negligible in their development priorities, including tourism. In most cases, the industrial and more heavily populated interior regions are favoured in national narratives, funding, and development efforts (Timothy, 2006). Many of the EU's efforts since the 1990s have tried to rectify this, but in other regions of the world, the marginality and low-priority status of the borderlands remain a salient problem. Lundén and Zalamans (2001) note a related 'conflict of scales' that often occurs in border regions. This often manifests when local governments have a strong desire to work together, across borders or otherwise, to improve the area, but state-level laws and policies make collaboration difficult to achieve. National aspirations almost always override local needs and desires (Ioannides et al., 2006).

Secondly, there is a general lack of political will on the part of state parties to reach out and effectively communicate, let alone be willing to relinquish some degree of autonomy for a greater cause. Nations are very possessive with territory and sovereignty, and rarely are they willing to see beyond their own borders, even when symbiotic relationships may result. Even within supranationalist alliances, such as the EU, state boundaries still function as barriers to communications, collaboration, and integration (Timothy et al., 2016).

Cultural differences across boundaries are another major barrier to collaborative efforts (Brunet-Jailly, 2005). Opposing social values and practices, different languages, and diverging management practices clearly influence the degree of cross-border cooperation and intersectoral cooperation in borderlands in general (Boesen and Schnuer, 2016; Timothy, 2006). Administrative differences between different sides of the border may raise salient challenges to environmental management, tourism development, and all forms of collaboration. Relatedly, misunderstandings about the people and cultures 'over there' may thwart networking efforts when trust is difficult to develop and maintain (Honkanen et al., 2016).

As noted earlier, increased security measures are often most obvious at national borders, as these are treated as the frontlines of defence (Mingus, 2002; Salter, 2004). Security situations and the need for national protection are obvious and necessary situations that prevent many types of collaboration, both across boundaries and parallel to them in the borderlands (Mansfeld and Korman, 2015). As MacPherson et al. (2006) point out, anti-terrorism measures on the US–Canada border have increased the costs of doing business in the borderlands, created major traffic delays, and resulted in lost revenue, making all types of cooperation difficult along this North American border.

Conclusion

There are several relationships between political boundaries and tourism, including barriers, attractions, landscape modifiers, and lines of transit. Each

of these has unique physical, social, and economic expressions in border regions, and they all affect collaborative tourism development efforts. In international borderlands, the most successful and sustainable manifestations of tourism require a variety of cooperative efforts. These include cross-border cooperation between states, public–private partnerships, partnerships between different levels of administration, cooperation between government agencies, and collaboration between private-sector service providers. These actions have the potential to support many of the principles of sustainable tourism and are especially crucial in border regions, given their geographically marginal positions within the state. Each of these five types of collaboration influences the relationships between borders and tourism in unique ways. Cross-border cooperation is the most crucial approach to reducing the barrier consequences of borders, enhancing the transit role of frontiers, creating destinations, and modifying the physical landscapes of border tourism. The remaining four collaborative tactics all contribute to the development of tourism products and the border as a destination, as well as to the physical materialisation of tourism in boundary-dependent communities.

There is a growing trend towards neoliberal trade policies in the form of supranationalism, which also translates into increased human mobility, extraterritorial citizenship and human rights, transfrontier regional development, and the general process of de-bordering. Growing security concerns at national borders, however, have simultaneously caused the re-erection of borders and the re-bordering of state limits that had until recently been almost unseen among casual travellers and tourism administrators. These challenges have affected cross-border development efforts, as well as those that remain only on one side. Given the rapid rate of global socio-economic and geopolitical change, it is certain that borderland tourism policies, practices, and management will continue to evolve for decades to come.

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10 Conclusions

Adi Weidenfeld

Even though tourism is foremost a social and economic phenomenon with impacts whose trajectories need to be measured and monitored, there is no agreement among scholars on the academic importance and societal relevance of development and planning studies in tourism (Saarinen, Rogerson & Hall, 2017). Therefore, it is also not surprising that there is a substantial gap between rhetoric and reality in tourism planning in practice as well as in the academic literature where studies on the actual implementation of policy into practice in relation to destination management plans remain scarce (Hristov & Petrova, 2018). This fact has been identified by Geoffrey Wall in the second chapter and resonates with the overall contribution of this book. Rhetoric refers to what is spoken and written primarily by tourism academics. In contrast, reality refers to what actually occurs in practical planning initiatives. For a variety of reasons, it is not desirable that such a gap should exist. This book is an attempt to address this gap and adds to our knowledge of the differences between what is written about tourism planning by academics and the conditions which dictate how planning occurs. Planning and policy approaches have been explored and discussed in the Introduction (Chapter 1) and their relevance to each chapter is identified in this chapter.

The book continues with the second chapter, which is unique in both its nature and development planning approach compared to the remaining chapters. It is the only one, which entirely focuses on a communist and capitalist country, where a clear top-bottom planning and policy approach is pivotal. The chapter provides a rare opportunity to learn from the personal experiences of a western academic, who has been an observer and an active participant in a variety of practical activities in China. By taking a critical approach, Wall provides examples of policy and planning initiatives in a predominantly top-down system, where statements by leaders receive greater importance and emphasis than other countries where a more participatory approach takes place. However, this does not mean that counter-powers at the local level do not take place and the process involved in developing a county tourism plan for a remote location in western China is discussed. It shows that planning dictated by a higher tier is almost always encountered with bottom-up forces, which manage to modify its priorities and outcomes. This

allows for regional variations while maintaining some common features. However, the importance of private companies, which often play leadership roles in tourism development and represent the interests of the national government at the extent of destination communities, is pivotal. This may override the needs and interests of marginalised local communities.

Given that the main priority of the economic tradition in tourism planning is to achieve specific economic growth giving lower priority to the environmental and socio-cultural effects of increasing tourism activity, tourism planning in China can fall under the Economic, Industry-Oriented Approach and Boosterism. Policy is being driven and affected by key leaders, which can be referred to as a relational approach where individuals have a pivotal effect on the development planning outcomes, which are the result of following strict policies dictated from above. Indeed, tourism planning in China, to date a top-down approach to planning implementation, has focused on product development with an economic focus. As such, it gives much less attention to environmental matters and socio-cultural considerations, particularly to those concerning residents. However, this is slowly changing. By calling for more interactions among stakeholders as well as between individuals both internal and external to institutions and who influence the process and shape its outcomes, Wall implies that a more bottom-up approach such as a community approach to planning and a stakeholder approach along with a relational approach to policy are needed. It is stakeholders' beliefs and values which have the potential to shape planning and policy approaches and processes.

The community is not only a key element in Wall's chapter. The third chapter by Gianna Moscardo revisits the sustainable and community planning approaches in tourism by identifying relevant and emerging themes from the broader planning literature and links them to tourism planning practice, where the involvement of the local community remains largely theoretical and community involvement has rarely been heeded. Such a practice presents a serious challenge to improving the relationship between tourism and sustainability. The chapter is particularly relevant to contemporary neo-liberalism and public policies, which are dominated by corporatist ideologies and have been met by new regionalism and localism, which, in turn, shape the policy landscape (Hristov & Petrova, 2018).

After critically reviewing new approaches from the broader planning literature, Moscardo suggests ways to a more effective engagement and empowering destination communities in destination planning including building community capacity, the use of the concept of community well-being to drive tourism development, and the use of advocates for marginalised groups. Finally, Moscardo proposes a destination community well-being framework for tourism planning where community involvement is crucial. In addition, ways to more effectively engage and empower destination communities in destination planning by connecting these general planning approaches to the following three streams of tourism research provide a fascinating insight into planning practices that the author has been involved in; the first is

about building community capacity to undertake tourism planning, the second is the use of the concept of community well-being to drive tourism development and the third borrows from classical Greek Tragedy to argue for the use of advocates for marginalised groups.

In the context of the stakeholder (or Group) and network policy approach, as already mentioned, Moscardo proposes a destination community well-being framework for tourism planning, built around community involvement. Some of the above suggestions include ways to integrate innovations into a framework to guide more sustainable tourism planning processes. The chapter raises questions, challenges traditional approaches, and suggests alternative ways to think about community involvement in tourism planning practice. It contributes to the overlooked call for more community planning in tourism planning practice, which is a major challenge for advocating sustainable development of tourism.

The Destination Community Well-being framework for tourism planning suggested by Moscardo includes several additional activities not included in traditional tourism planning approaches with an emphasis placed on capacity building and data collection, whereby knowledge on multiple forms of capital is generated by engaging in visioning processes to identify future community aspirations. This knowledge is used to determine what types of tourism should be prioritised for achieving sustainable development outcomes for the long term. Tourism is assessed in terms of its potential as resource for the community. The suggested process is a cyclical one with aspects focusing on the single goal or objective allowing community involvement to be critical to every other activity in the planning process. This chapter is particularly relevant to destination management organisations, which receive a broader mandate in this challenging economic context of reduced public funding and are increasingly used to manage social and environmental concerns of destination communities and less to increase visitor numbers and develop tourism (Hristov & Petrova, 2018).

Nevertheless, community planning and engagement are not the only emphasis when destinations are failing or in a state of revitalisation when they struggle to develop resilience in light of economic downturn, terrorism, war, environmental disasters and/or changing market trends. One dimension is the ability of destinations to develop resilience against external shocks, such as in post-conflict destinations, which were the focus of the following two chapters. Chapter 4 by Stephen W. Boyd reviews the use of existing resources in new tourism offerings, which depends on product development around dark and political attractions, such as in Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka as post-terrorism areas turning into destinations.

Boyd refers to resilience in the context of post-conflict destinations. Policy and planning post-conflict must be examined in a wider context of actions that were taken both pre-conflict and during conflict. In a conflict environment where tourists and the tourism infrastructure are not deliberately targeted or destroyed, the natural and cultural heritage capital of regions can be

maintained by the industry, and on that basis provides the foundation to develop post-conflict. At best policy and planning should focus on making the industry resilient, focus on the domestic market and plan for incremental growth, especially if there are signs of a negotiated peace.

As regions move out of conflict, the extent to which that conflict is presented to tourists through dark and political tourism needs to be balanced. It does provide a unique opportunity to encourage inward investment and development of products and service provision. There exists real potential to shift the market toward "holiday" over visiting friends and family and see the growth of international visitors alongside domestic visitors. At best it represents a form of rebirth of the destination as it looks to build on a new climate of safety and security, showcasing the memorabilia of conflict. It appears that Boyd's approach is closer to Economic, Industry-Oriented and Boosterism in the special context of the post-conflict environment, which is typical of regions, where tourism is built from square one and apart from increasing number of tourists and developing the initial infrastructure or rebuilding the tourism infrastructure which used to exist prior to the crisis (of any kind). Proactive policy and strategic planning must, however, move beyond the early stages of tourism recovery based around the conflict itself, if applicable, to establish a state of tourism normalcy where post-conflict destinations look to develop into mature destinations that are capable of competing with those that benefited from a development path that was free of conflict.

Product development in tourism destinations is often developed from regional knowledge, which is generated through collaboration and hence the importance of participatory approaches. Participation may simply mean meeting and engaging in dialogue and debate at the beginning, but also the expectation that this turns into a real process of decision-making (Salvatore, Chiodo & Fantini, 2018). Such participation and stakeholders' engagement are discussed in the context of failing destinations by Chris Cooper (Chapter 5), who deals with innovation and networks in the context of failing destinations. These can drive revitalisation forwards but collaboration in tourism has always been challenging to all stakeholders. First, most tourism businesses are small and medium size enterprises and tourism entrepreneurs have always been characterised by a lack of trust and competition amongst them. These constitute barriers to negotiations and bargaining, particularly for "interactive" approaches or a "hybrid" of "top-down" and "bottom-up" approaches to developing tourism based on tourism innovation policies (Hall, 2009; Hjalager, 2000; Rodríguez, Williams & Hall, 2014). Second, Cooper indicates that tourism as a fragmented industry suffers from individual businesses challenged by poor coordination and ownership of the regional visitor experience, which can also involve head-to-head competition.

Eventually, both Boyle's and Cooper's chapters aim to address development planning policies and processes, which create socially and economically sustainable destinations. Even though such academic contributions dominate the academic literature, in practice, there is a constant struggle in developing

tourism while adhering to the principle of sustainable development. While Moscardo's chapter (Chapter 3) implies that the key to addressing sustainability is in destination community involvement in tourism, Sarah Duffy and Larry Dwyer (Chapter 6) refer to the environmental context of a world experiencing a diminishing supply of pristine environments. More specifically, they identify the threats to whale shark tourism, which have the potential to negatively affect its sustainability as an environmental resource and niche tourism market over time. Then, they focus on sustainability governance by examining management strategies used to meet the challenges of sustainable governance of whale shark tourism in Australia.

Apart from taking a sustainable approach to planning they also include elements of a community approach by identifying a holistic approach to underpin strategy formulation, implementation and evaluation regarding tourism development. They call for adopting the idea of protected areas from remote regions and applying it to residential and working landscapes without neglecting the nature and role of stakeholders. They advocate community tourism through sharing a common vision for destinations' physical, economic and social characteristics and balancing between them. In this respect, they also include a physical/spatial approach to planning, which supports their overall holistic approach to planning, including conservation, cultural and social agendas and an integration of these by connecting between biological and cultural heritage along with economic prosperity. They see sustainable governance of the development planning process in tourism as an ongoing, dynamic and long-term one with multiple stakeholders. Engagement of various stakeholders is therefore pivotal in advocating sustainable development policies in tourism.

Development planning is evaluated to assess its ongoing relevance throughout the process as well as its outcomes when it is over. Evaluation, which is one of the main elements of Duffy and Dwyer's holistic approach, is key to monitoring its success or failure and whether it is moving towards delivering desirable outcomes. According to César Guala Catalan and Douglas G. Pearce (Chapter 7), evaluations take place as part of the focal policy process or in a broader context. They can be classified as internal, normally conducted within the organisation or planning authority, and/or external, conducted by an outside agency. Evaluations were also the focus of studying Chile's policy-making process principles of New Public Management. They suggest a policy-making process, which incorporates a policy window, prelegislative and legislative stages as an alternative to the policy cycle model, which underlies the establishment of the new institutional framework for tourism in Chile before evaluation reports are examined in detail. To some extent, Guala Catalan and Pearce include a sustainability approach to planning as they emphasise the importance of environmental conditions to the policy-making process and its outcomes and directly influence its evaluations. However, above all, most of their chapter focuses on the institutional approach to policy.

In tourism the analysis of evaluation reports, as mentioned above, provides important insights into the most important policy-making issues as identified by key stakeholders, and such reports may trigger and shape policy-making. A good example is explored well in Richard W. Butler's contribution (Chapter 8). In the case of a specific small island (Fair Isle) in Scotland, Butler discusses and evaluates the policy of a national level organisation, the National Trust for Scotland (NTS), developed over a fifty-year period. This chapter provides a rare insight into the micro level policy landscape of the extreme periphery, which is generally forgotten and overlooked and where tourism has become the main staple. He identifies two major strands, the over-riding one being population stabilisation – a goal which has been achieved to date, while the second strand is that of sustainability – a focus which is much harder to assess in terms of long-term success.

Most agencies and bodies produce policy for relatively large areas such as at the national level, often resulting in undesired or ineffective action at the regional, local and micro level. In these cases, the regional or local levels have more significance for residents than national policies. In few cases, policies are specifically created for implementation at a very local scale, such as small islands, and evaluation over a long time period is even rarer. The success of tourism policies is often evaluated to the extent they meet specific targets in terms of measurable outcomes, such as tourist numbers, income generated and employment creation. When no effective tourism policy is in force or where policies have little relevance to achieving desirable outcomes, a different approach to policy is required to address lack of a community approach. In Butler's chapter a sustainable approach to planning and institutional policy requires a major overhaul. It is clear that micro regions, mostly in terms of population size, require first of all largely stakeholder (or group) and network approaches and second, a different institutional approach. The second should address the interplay between different regional levels and governmental tiers and is therefore more relevant to peripheral areas than core regions.

Before departing from Butler's chapter, which deals with a very remote region, it is pertinent to draw attention to the need to re-conceptualise remoteness and rural peripheries. The two concepts require new approaches aimed at a reorganisation of the tourist supply to become more responsive to the emotional dimension of new tourist practices and the related "sense of place". These should take place by exploring new strategies of territorial planning that are able to overcome single operators' offers and to foster community-based tourism, which is increasingly recognised as important by national governments (Salvatore, Chiodo & Fantini, 2018). It is also noteworthy that the importance of tourism in peripheral and less advanced regions to socio-economic development prospects has been recognised and studied since the rise of systematic studies in tourism geography after World War II. Only since the 1980s have urban tourism related studies emerged but till now the focus on rural and peripheral areas overshadows other spatial settings such as sub-urban areas. Such themes, which remain understudied, may include, for

example, the impact of the sharing economy on development planning processes. Another overwhelming dearth of knowledge in tourism centres on the historical nature and context of tourism development (Saarinen et al., 2017).

In another case study from tourism in peripheral regions, Dallen J. Timothy's chapter (Chapter 9) reflects this dimension in the cross-border regional context. Cross-border tourism includes two main perspectives. The first one is tourism generated from perceiving the border as a tourism resource, which includes the appeal of the elements related to the proximity to the border. The second refers to emerging cross-border activities in response to growing demand emanating from differences between social-political systems, prices, regulations etc. between neighbouring regions. These activities may include shopping, gambling, prostitution, drinking, international parks and international enclaves (Timothy, 2001).

Cross-border tourism is characterised by a growing emphasis on current and potential tourism offerings. This is in line with the new movement towards supranationalism and other forms of cross-boundary cooperation in trade, human mobility, environmental protection, technology, innovation, and tourism, which is common in the age of globalisation (Weidenfeld, 2013). However, more recently, as Timothy recognises, the volatile socio-economic and political climate worldwide has a growing impact on how policy makers and planners consider the role of political boundaries, which will have ramifications for how tourism develops in multinational regions and other transfrontier areas. By highlighting the importance of collaborative tourism development based upon cross-border, public–private, inter-level, inter-agency and intra-private sector cooperation specifically within international border areas, Timothy takes the sustainable approach to planning and an institutional approach to policy and in particular a multi-scalar policy approach. Such an approach to planning and policy making has become increasingly relevant during the past decades as a result of accentuated regionalisation processes and cross-national harmonisation of laws and regulations with the aim to facilitate free movement of capital and labour, particularly in the European context. These processes of institutional change feed into regions while being criticised for lowering the political voice of actors at the regional level.

There is a growing trend towards neo-liberal trade policies in the form of supranationalism, which also translates into increased human mobility, extraterritorial citizenship and human rights, transfrontier regional development and the general process of de-bordering. Growing security concerns at national borders, however, have simultaneously caused the re-erection of borders and the re-bordering of state limits that had until recently been almost unseen among casual travellers and tourism administrators. These challenges have affected cross-border development efforts, as well as those that remain only on one side. Given the rapid rate of global socio-economic and geopolitical change, it is certain that borderland tourism policies, practices and management will continue to evolve for decades to come.

Cross-border regional governance is influenced by all geographic levels, from the regional level to the national and international levels of governance as processes are influenced by multiple actors and engaged in collective activities across different territorial levels (Miörner et al., 2017). Unsurprisingly, Timothy identified longstanding challenges to interjurisdictional policies and tourism planning due to state protective mechanisms, diverging policies on common resources, insurmountable sovereignty laws, socio-culture and economic differences, and a lack of political will. These are influenced by patterns of supranationalism and cross-border collaboration, which determine tourism resource protection, infrastructure development, and human mobility across borders. As already mentioned by Timothy, the very recent events in global politics and security in general, such as terrorism and the influx of refugees, prospects for the future of the EU and rapid changes in immigration policies, have a pivotal impact on how national borders are operated and managed. These have already resulted in the re-erection of, until recently, unseen borders, which have immediate and enormous effects on tourism.

Other recent changes identified in Moscardo's chapter (Chapter 3) such as resident protests against "overtourism" in 2017 can be seen as an encouraging sign of growing concern about sustainability and carrying capacity. Furthermore, despite much rhetoric about tourism and sustainability amongst governments, academics and industry lobby groups, very little has changed in tourism practice, particularly in terms of planning and development. It can be argued that tourism is further away from sustainability than it has ever been and Moscardo's chapter suggests that is partly because tourism planners have not given sufficient attention to the wellbeing of destination communities or to empowering destination communities in tourism governance. Without a significant change in tourism planning practice it is likely that more destination communities in the future may revoke tourism's social license to operate. All the planning and policy approaches explored in the Introduction (Chapter 1) have been identified in the chapters (Table 10.1).

Public tourism planning is perceived as a potential tool for providing guidelines whereby a tourism development path creates prosperity and well-being beyond the tourism industry and its subsectors as well as minimises unwanted and unexpected outcomes. It emerged to address the need for new public management in light of the contemporary prevailing neo-liberal economy by highlighting the need for the growth in public–private partnerships in tourism development and planning as well as corporatised approaches to public planning (Saarinen, Rogerson & Hall, 2017).

In light of relevance of academic studies to policy making and planning in theory and practice and the growing need to demonstrate relevance to practice as a pre-condition for securing research funding across the globe, this book addresses topics of various planning and policy approaches and the ways these have been implemented in different geographic contexts. These include a wide range of aspects by senior academics from various disciplines

Table 10.1 Planning and policy approaches to tourism

Chapter	*Author(s)*	*Country*	*Period*	*Planning approach*	*Policy approach*
2	Geoffrey Wall	China	1999–2017	Economic, industry-oriented approach and boosterism	Relational
3	Gianna Moscardo	Global	Historical and current perspective	Sustainable and community	Stakeholder (or group) and network
4	Stephen W. Boyd	Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka	1960s–2017	Economic, industry-oriented and boosterism but changes with time	Changes according to geopolitical conditions
5	Chris Cooper	Global	Historical perspective	Sustainable	Stakeholder (or group) and network
6	Sarah Duffy and Larry Dwyer	Australia	1987–2018	Sustainable and physical/spatial	Stakeholder (or group) and network
7	César Guala Catalan and Douglas G. Pearce	Chile	2001–2010	Sustainable	Institutional
8	Richard W. Butler	Scotland	1930–2018	Sustainable	Institutional
9	Dallen J. Timothy	Global	Historical and current perspective	Sustainable	Institutional

in tourism including sociology, geography, environmental studies, politics, economics and management. The book provides an invaluable contribution and a rare opportunity to draw from the tourism academic research to shape policies and change the industry from a historical perspective as well as contemporary outlook. It highlights the actual as well as potential role of tourism academics to the tourism industry. Further contributions are required beyond this contribution, which should not only address aspects related to tourism as an industry and a phenomenon but also its impact on development planning policy and beyond.

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Index