



Tourist Destination Governance

Practice, Theory
and Issues

Edited by
Eric Laws,
Harold Richins,
Jerome Agrusa
and Noel Scott



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Contents

Contributors	vii
Figures	ix
Tables	xi
Foreword	xiii
1 Tourist Destination Governance: Practice, Theory and Issues	1
<i>Eric Laws, Jerome Agrusa, Noel Scott and Harold Richins</i>	
Part I	
2 Tourist Destination Governance Challenges and Concerns: Questions of Development, Community Involvement, Responsiveness and Future Outcomes	17
<i>Harold Richins, Jerome Agrusa, Noel Scott and Eric Laws</i>	
3 Governance Approaches in New Tourist Destination Countries: Introducing Tourism Law in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam	25
<i>Peter Semone, Eric Laws, Lisa Ruhanen, Zhuo Wang and Noel Scott</i>	
4 Tourism in St Andrews: Conflicting Governance in the Mecca of Golf	39
<i>Richard W. Butler</i>	
5 Issues and Pressures on Achieving Effective Community Destination Governance: A Typology	51
<i>Harold Richins</i>	

6	The Role of Knowledge in Good Governance for Tourism	67
	<i>Gianna Moscardo</i>	
Part II		
7	Tourist Destination Governance Decision Making: Complexity, Dynamics and Influences	83
	<i>Harold Richins, Jerome Agrusa, Noel Scott and Eric Laws</i>	
8	Responding to Crises in Thailand: A Governance Analysis	91
	<i>Kom Campiranon, Eric Laws and Noel Scott</i>	
9	Controversial Ecotourism and Stakeholder Roles in Governance: ‘Swim with Humpback Whales’ in Vava’u	103
	<i>Kaye Walker and Gianna Moscardo</i>	
10	Community Empowered Tourism Development: A Case Study	117
	<i>Jerome Agrusa and Guilherme Albieri</i>	
Part III		
11	Tourist Destination Governance Approaches and Solutions: Structural Change, Community Engagement, Networks and Collaborations	137
	<i>Harold Richins, Jerome Agrusa, Noel Scott and Eric Laws</i>	
12	Structural Change and Re-engineering in Tourism: A Chance for Destination Governance in Grisons, Switzerland?	145
	<i>Philipp Boksberger, Roland Anderegg and Markus Schuckert</i>	
13	Design of Tourism Governance Networks	159
	<i>Rodolfo Baggio, Noel Scott and Chris Cooper</i>	
14	A Stakeholder Approach for Sustainable Community-based Rural Tourism Development in Thailand	173
	<i>Therdchai (Ted) Choibamroong</i>	
15	Dynamics of Destination Governance: Governance and Metagovernance in the Composite Industrial Environment of Destinations	187
	<i>Thanasis Spyriadis, Dimitrios Buhalis and Alan Fyall</i>	
16	Tourist Destination Governance: Some Approaches and Suggestions for Future Research	203
	<i>Noel Scott, Eric Laws, Jerome Agrusa and Harold Richins</i>	
	Index	213

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Figures

Fig. 3.1.	Greater Mekong Region (http://www.adb.org/GMS/img/gmsmap_2009.jpg).	27
Fig. 6.1.	Conceptual framework of barriers to sustainable tourism outcomes.	73
Fig. 9.1.	Values-based sustainable tourism framework (adapted from Walker, 2008a,b).	108
Fig. 10.1.	Translation: ‘Get to know our community tourism project – local cuisine, ecological trails, catamaran rides and communitarian guest houses.’	129
Fig. 10.2.	Translation: ‘The Residents Association advises that the process of approval at RESEX (extrativist reserve) is in its final stage. Any person who buys land here may lose it.’	130
Fig. 11.1.	Model of issues, approaches and outcomes of regional destination development and governance.	139
Fig. 12.1.	Map of Grisons (www.graubunden.com).	146
Fig. 12.2.	Balanced scorecard as a management tool for destination governance (authors’ own illustration based on Kaplan and Norton, 1996).	152
Fig. 12.3.	Stakeholder typology for destination governance (authors’ own illustration developed from Mitchell <i>et al.</i> , 1997).	154
Fig. 12.4.	Communication as an integral part of destination governance (authors’ own illustration).	155
Fig. 13.1.	The modular network of a tourist destination obtained by using a stochastic algorithm. One of the modules has been enlarged and shows the various geographic areas (the numbers in the nodes’ circles) to which the different stakeholders belong.	166
Fig. 16.1.	Notional example comparing governance of destinations using selected dimensions.	206

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Tables

Table 3.1.	CLV countries, growth in tourist arrivals.	28
Table 3.2.	Comparison of CLV tourism laws.	35
Table 5.1.	Issues regional areas may face regarding community destination governance.	53
Table 5.2.	Development issues communities have faced regarding community destination governance.	54
Table 5.3.	Structural and management issues regional communities have faced regarding community destination governance.	55
Table 5.4.	Community issues regional asset areas have faced regarding community destination governance.	57
Table 5.5.	Impact issues regional communities have faced regarding community destination governance.	59
Table 6.1.	Summary of process of analysing case studies to build theory.	70
Table 6.2.	Overview of the cases analysed.	71
Table 6.3.	Frequency of occurrence of barriers to effective tourism.	72
Table 6.4.	Summary of strategies for enhancing community understanding of tourism.	76
Table 8.1.	Thai tourism crises: impacts and responses 2001–2009.	93
Table 8.2.	Timeline of key events of anti-Thaksin protests.	97
Table 11.1.	Diverse approaches related to regional tourist destination governance.	138
Table 15.1.	Dimensions of non-profit organization governance structure and destinations.	192

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Foreword

The global business environment has faced many significant hurdles over the past few decades – internal as well as external – and ever since the introduction of the Sarbanes–Oxley Act July 2002,¹ increasing attention has been given to ensuring corporate governance policies and procedures are in place and active in many boardrooms and halls of government around the world.

This issue is of particular relevance for the Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA)² as the Association works with both the private and public sectors in the travel and tourism industry, and the issue of governance is becoming more important, not only within each of these sectors but also in the overlap area where they both meet, the tourist destination areas.

While aimed initially at largely financial dealings, the whole issue of good corporate governance has now expanded to cover a much wider range of industries and sectors, as well as including other parallel elements, particularly those encompassing social and environmental issues; this includes travel and tourism.

It makes good business sense to have a well-developed corporate governance policy. There is evidence that companies that are run well not only generally produce better results but also they quite often outperform those that are less well managed. In addition, it seems that there may be positive linkages between a good corporate governance system and reduced labour turnover, increased labour productivity and reduced financial costs.

Given that we are currently in an environment of relative austerity – at least, compared to the seemingly halcyon years leading up to the financial meltdown and global recession of 2008/09 – any changes in operational style that save money while simultaneously empowering and motivating employees must be worth considering.

While many large corporations have been introducing and modifying such policies for a number of years, it is telling to note that the travel and tourism sector generally has been slower, ‘en-masse’ at least, to pick up this concept. This is not surprising, however, given that our sector is characterized by a significant

number of small and medium-sized businesses – the SMEs of the world, which in combination with destination organizations determine the quality of tourists' experiences.

While many operators might be interested in adopting good corporate governance policies and practices, there has, however, been a shortage of practical advice and examples of what can be applied to the travel and tourism sector at the SME and destination levels and how such practices can work effectively.

This is no longer the case – this gap has largely been filled by the work before you, with Professor Eric Laws, his editorial team and expert contributors bringing an eclectic mix of theory and examples of direct relevance to the travel and tourism sector.

Examples abound from Australia to Brazil and onward to Hawaii, the Greater Mekong Subregion, Thailand and the Mediterranean.

In keeping with PATA's mandate to inform and educate, and to promote and protect our members and our industry, it gives me great pleasure to bring you this valuable and practical work. I am sure that within its pages you will find issues that provoke thought and suggestions that feed ideas.

Hiran Cooray
Chairman
Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA)

Notes

1. Sarbanes–Oxley Act (SOX) 404. In July 2002, the US Congress passed the Sarbanes–Oxley Act into law. This Act was designed primarily to restore investor confidence following well-publicized bankruptcies and internal control breakdowns that brought chief executives, audit committees and the independent auditors under heavy scrutiny.

The Act is applicable to all publicly registered companies under the jurisdiction of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC; <http://www.sec.gov/>).

The Act called for the formation of a Public Company Accounting Oversight Board (PCAOB; <http://pcaobus.org/Pages/default.aspx>) and specified several requirements ('sections') that included management's quarterly certification of their financial results (Section 302) and management's annual assertion that internal controls over financial reporting were effective (Section 404). In the case of Section 404, the independent auditor of the organization was required to opine on the effectiveness of internal control over financial reporting in addition to the auditor's opinion on the fair presentation of the organization's financial statements (also referred to as the 'integrated audit'); http://sas70.com/sas70_SOX404.html (page 1).

2. PATA was founded in 1951 in Honolulu, Hawaii, with the purpose of representing the travel and tourism industry in the Pacific to potential international travellers in North America. It now has around 1000 members spread across the globe and focuses on representing their interests with respect to travel and tourism to, from and within the greater Asia Pacific area. PATA is unique in so far as it gives equal weight to members from both the private and public sectors.

The Association is not-for-profit and is headquartered in Bangkok, Thailand.

1

Tourist Destination Governance: Practice, Theory and Issues

ERIC LAWS, JEROME AGRUSA, NOEL SCOTT
AND HAROLD RICHINS

Introduction

The aims of this book are to contribute to the understanding of best practices in tourist destination governance and to benchmark and advance ways of theorizing on these practices. Tourism is recognized as a complicated, multi-sector activity with numerous stakeholders and with diverse and often divergent goals and objectives. Achieving cooperation, collaboration and integration among the government organizations involved in the various aspects of tourism and between government and private sector enterprises, as well as between tourism policies and community interests, are major concerns for policy makers, managers, community members and academics. Further difficulty is due to the need for a tourist destination to deal with changing tastes, interests and concerns among its visitors, and fluctuations in market conditions due to crises and disasters. It is also widely accepted that tourism has varied and rapidly evolving forms, meaning that each destination system must be understood in its own contexts.

All human (social and economic) systems depend on the performance of generic functions. 'Any system has to cope with external challenges, to prevent conflicts amongst its members ... to procure resources ... and to frame goals and policies to achieve them' (Rosenau and Czempiel, 1992:3). We may consider that governance is the means by which a system seeks to ensure these functions are undertaken. Governance is the set of tasks such as decision making, enforcement of decisions, communication of rules and measurement of performance that allow these functions of a system to proceed.

In this introductory chapter, the editors summarize key aspects of the development of thinking in reference to tourist destination governance. We review the changing contexts of tourist destination governance, identifying and analysing the main sources of its recent transformations. We examine concepts of collaborative contrasted with contested participation and the pluralities of stakeholders and actors with unequal skills, commitment and resources. We then consider the

roles of administrators in the political process by which destination governance is conducted on a day-to-day basis in contrast with the shaping of policy by political leaders. Finally, we review and assess the strengths of network analysis and of complexity theory in helping to understand the reality of tourist destination governance. This summarization establishes a framework to consider how, or indeed whether, the effectiveness of destination governance has a more general meaning than for a specific condition only. This chapter, then, presents an outline of the structure of the book before concluding with an editorial view of future directions for tourist destination governance research. It will become apparent that this book deals with an understanding and transformation of political order and the issues, processes and approaches in applying governance insights to tourist destinations.

Governance of Tourism

The OECD (2006) advocates a ‘whole of government’ approach to tourism policy, moving beyond tourism-specific policies towards recognizing tourism as a sector that concerns a wide range of activities across sectors involving horizontal and vertical linkages at national and regional scales and therefore involving many government departments. Within 3 months of his election as Britain’s coalition Prime Minister in 2010, David Cameron said:

For too long tourism has been looked down on as a second class service sector. That’s just wrong. Tourism is a fiercely competitive market, requiring skills, talent, enterprise and a government that backs Britain. It’s fundamental to the rebuilding and rebalancing of our economy.

It’s one of the best and fastest ways of generating the jobs we need so badly in this country. And it’s absolutely crucial to us making the most of the Olympics ...

I want us to have the strongest possible tourism strategy. I think there are four parts. First – what government does nationally. Second – the role of local government and the support of the local area. Third – how we stimulate the private sector in tourism. And fourth – how we make policy in other areas that will impact the tourism industry. I want to have the strongest possible engagement with the tourism industry in each of these areas.

(Cameron, 2010:1)

The politicians’ view, then, is that government is purposive and provides a framework for industry operations and gives leadership to a network of tourism industry specialist providers. It will become apparent in this and subsequent chapters that the narrow view presented by the British Prime Minister does not reflect fully the complexity and the changing nature of tourism governance. There are several reasons for advancing theory beyond top-down government leadership perspectives. Since the end of World War II, sovereign nation states increasingly have become enmeshed in international bodies operating globally, particularly the United Nations (UN) and its key agencies such as the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Bank and the

World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), and the International Air Transport Association (IATA), as well as regional bodies such as the European Union (EU). Thus, it is no longer adequate for academics to analyse government processes without considering the constraints to policy decisions which have to accede to an increasing number and range of externally stipulated conditions. Jessop (1998) refers to this as meta-governance, within which national governments need to coordinate different forms of governance and ensure a minimal coherence among them.

A second modification to the centralist political perspective on government is that any democratic management system reflects the values of various stakeholders, and its practice is influenced by conflict between the objectives and values of external stakeholders and those of the local or regional destination community. These considerations have led to suggestions that we need new models, structures and frameworks for tourism governance to encompass these levels of complexity (Knecht, 1990; Ryan, 2002).

Thirdly, concepts of governance are themselves evolving. Many fields of academic study are focusing on governance including social science (Foley and Edwards, 1997; Jessop, 1998), political science (Emadi-Coffin, 2002; Ansell and Gash, 2007), psychology (Richins and Pearce, 2000), political economy (Jessop, 1998; Walters, 2004), law (Calliess and Renner, 2009), corporate affairs (Beritelli *et al.*, 2007; Levy, 2008), higher education (Scott, 2010), and of direct relevance to tourism-specific issues such as environmentalism and sustainability (Jordan and Lenshow, 2000; Paavola *et al.*, 2009).

Walters adds:

Theorists of governance argue that the age when the state monopolized and was synonymous with governance is passing, the image of authority flowing from a fixed, institutional centre outmoded. Instead, they insist we inhabit a world characterized by governance. As societies have become more complex, and social demands have proliferated, political authority has become polycentric and multileveled. Rule operates not over but in a complex relationship with a dense field of public and private actors. Lines between public and private have become blurred.

(Walters, 2004:27)

Changing Contexts of Tourist Destination Governance

The industrial revolution changed not only the landscape of western countries, but also affected profoundly the ways in which the economy and society were organized. Industrial and financial corporations rapidly became more powerful, the pace, scale and complexity of everyday living and opportunities for entrepreneurial activity increased. Expertise became more important with the development of specialized professions. In combination with other factors, these circumstances precipitated political change and new ways of organizing society. The historic model of government by an elite, at both central and local levels, was replaced over the 19th and 20th centuries with new, more democratic forms of control allowing both greater participation and more contested decision

making processes, with many more actors taking either overt or more discrete roles. The ways in which governments took and implemented decisions on policy was not the only area of change: a new and influential administrative class arose whose functions were to interpret and implement policy in detail, and to offer expert advice on future policy. Thus, government was evolving into governance, and that emergent pattern continued to embrace increasing complexity and change into the 21st century. As Walters (2004:40) expressed it, governance can be understood 'as the political response to the growth of social complexity'.

Concepts of the nation (or sovereign) state changed too, with new layers of external coordination, expertise and control vested in bodies such as the UN and the World Bank, each operating through many specialized agencies as well as directly, or the emergence of the EU, which itself now serves as a model for regional (international) cooperation. Expertise and guidance for state-level policy is exercised increasingly by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as development agencies and expert or lobbying organizations such as Greenpeace International. The conventional role of the state is being challenged by these processes of globalization (Emadi-Coffin, 2002). However, as Hirst (2000) has argued, the democratic nation state is still the only actor capable of performing simultaneously three key roles necessary to cope with fast change:

1. The state is the source of constitutional ordering, distributing powers and responsibilities between itself, regional and local governments and civil society.
2. Most citizens are willing to accept the state as the main institution of democratic legitimacy.
3. Other states and political entities recognize that national governments are externally legitimate for supranational majorities, quasi-policies and interstate agreements.

Transformation of Political Order

In the growing tourism literature on governance, there is often lack of consensus about the meaning of terms, and this is evident between government and governance. Stoker (1998:17) points out that 'government refers to the formal institutions of the state and their monopoly of legitimate coercive power. Government is characterized by its ability to make decisions and its capacity to enforce them'. Rhodes (1996:652–653) contrasts this with the view that governance is concerned with 'a new process of governing, or a changed condition of ordered rule, or the new method by which society is governed'.

Rather than indicating a lack of clarity or rigour in thinking, this contested terminology may signify an emergent field of study reflecting the complex, dynamic situations with which governance scholars are concerned at a time of changing patterns of social and economic control on both the national and regional scale. Governance concepts have the characteristics of being both fuzzy and evolving. This places governance in the realm of creative ideas, those that change an existing domain or that transform an existing domain into a new one (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996).

Walters further contrasts old and new governance:

Old governance describes a world in which economy, society and even the state itself are governed from fixed centres of authority in a top-down fashion. New governance pertains to a novel form of society in which the traditional goals of governments – welfare, prosperity and security – can no longer be accomplished by the centre acting alone. Increasingly they are sought through processes of concentration, interaction, networking, piloting and steering ... (by) a host of private, para-state, third sector, voluntary and other groups ... 'new' governance literature suggests that the nature of political rule has changed quite fundamentally ... As societies have become more complex and social demands have proliferated, political authority has become more polycentric and multileveled.

(Walters, 2004:27–29)

In discussing the institutional framework for environmental governance, Paavola *et al.* comments that it:

has both thickened and become more complex in Europe in the past several decades ... in the sense that the processes through which policies are designed, delivered and implemented now involve greater interaction between a wider range of actors operating at an increased number of levels.

(Paavola *et al.*, 2009:149)

The challenge of governance is even more complex, as Paavola *et al.* go on to show:

Human behaviour is governed by a much wider range of institutions than those that are embodied in or are enabled by the state. This broader definition highlights the significance of the processes through which individuals and organizations govern their own behaviour and conduct, driven for example by social expectations and cultural norms. This form of governance – which has been termed governance of the self (see, e.g. Rhodes, 1996) – therefore encompasses issues of social psychology and organizational culture.

(Paavola *et al.*, 2009:151)

Participation and Contestation

It is a fundamental precept of tourism research that a wide range of people and organizations are involved in and affected by the processes of governing a tourist destination. A familiar way of theorizing this is found in stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1994), in which the actors and agencies are identified and differentiated both by their significance to the success of the destination and by their varying abilities to influence action and outcomes. Even in democracies, it is often politicians, on various levels, who are the most significant stakeholders, acting as gatekeepers deciding and controlling who participates, or sometimes monopolizing the key role of setting policy objectives, thereby setting frameworks of influence within which other stakeholders negotiate and conduct their own business. This raises the issue of who has the ability to participate in democratic decision-making processes.

Disparity in the participation by various groups (Tosun, 2000) is of major concern in developing countries, where attention has focused increasingly on introducing tourism into remote areas of Third World countries, usually as a stimulus to the economy and as a means of social engagement with modernity. Pro-poor development programmes (Kakwani and Pernia, 2000; Ashley and Roe, 2002) have as an overt objective to strengthen the ability of local communities to participate in decision making, to benefit from tourist visitation and to ensure that tourist activity does not disregard local values or damage the culture.

Rauschmayer *et al.* comment:

The concept of participation is of specific importance. By participation we mean the involvement of individuals or groups – who are not part of the elected or appointed legal decision-making bodies – in preparing, making or implementing collectively binding decisions ... public participation (defined as) forums that are organized for the purpose of facilitating communication among interested and affected citizens and groups, scientists, experts, political officials, and regulators for the purpose of making a specific decision of governance of solving a shared problem. Stakeholders are individuals or groups who have something ‘at stake’, for example by owning land in an area where a Natura 2000 site is located or where a reservoir is planned. Stakeholder participation can be direct or take place through representation by associations or NGOs, for example.

(Rauschmayer *et al.*, 2009:142)

From Europa.eu:

Natura 2000 is an EU-wide network of nature protection areas ... The aim of the network is to assure the long-term survival of Europe’s most valuable and threatened species and habitats. It is comprised of Special Areas of Conservation (SAC) designated by Member States under the Habitats Directive, and also incorporates Special Protection Areas (SPAs) ... Natura 2000 is not a system of strict nature reserves where all human activities are excluded. Whereas the network will certainly include nature reserves, most of the land is likely to continue to be privately owned and the emphasis will be on ensuring that future management is sustainable, both ecologically and economically. The establishment of this network of protected areas also fulfils a community obligation under the UN Convention on Biological Diversity.

(Europa.eu, 2010)

The roles of NGOs, each with particular expertise and objectives, are linked closely to the development of local skills (Fisher, 1998). Often operating in areas of poverty or social deprivation, they bring resources into countries which have little experience of tourism. Individually or in combination, NGOs often act to challenge local values, traditions and social structures. They may also become effective in influencing the governments of their host countries towards policies which previously have not been contemplated by the political leaders or favoured by local administrators. The literature on destination governance is influenced heavily by democratic advocacy (in contrast, see Brooker, 2000, for an analysis of non-democratic regimes); for example, the objectives of USAID include ‘expanding democracy and free markets while improving the lives of the citizens

of the developing world' (USAID, 2010). It regards governance as 'the ability of government to develop an efficient, effective, and accountable public management process that is open to citizen participation and that strengthens rather than weakens a democratic system of government'.

Governance and participation issues come to the forefront in the aftermath of a disaster. Coate *et al.* (2006) note that after the rescue stage of the crisis response to the 2004 Asian Tsunami, attention in Thailand turned to facilitating and directing recovery which included longer-term community development and collaborative work on environmental management plans.

The discussion of participation highlights a major distinguishing characteristic of tourism. In contrast to other industries, its consumers travel to the site of production, with important consequences for the local economy, culture, heritage and ecology of tourist destination areas. Some useful comparisons can be made with global production networks (GPNs). Levy concludes that GPNs:

often become entangled with charged social and political issues. GPNs are thus characterized by contestation as well as collaboration among multiple actors, including firms, state and international agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and industry associations, each with their own interests and agendas. GPNs are therefore not simply arenas for market competition or chains of value-adding activities; rather, they comprise complex political economic systems in which markets – and their associated distribution of resources and authority – are constructed within, as well as actively shape, their sociopolitical context.

(Levy, 2008:943)

Complexity of Tourist Destination Governance

The discussion in this chapter has indicated that tourist destination governance is complex, and approaches that address non-equilibrium states are needed to understand the dynamics of each case. Complexity is a fundamental feature of the governance analysis of destinations, arising from the multitude of stakeholders and actors both within a given destination and external to it. Although operating within a geographically definable area and within a recognizable industry, and therefore seeking to collaborate in at least some aspects, stakeholders differ in objectives, skills, resources and commitment, leading to a lack of cohesion and contested decision making at the scale of the destination. Further complexity arises from the many external agencies and organizations which impact on the functioning of a tourist destination. Note: here we use the term 'tourist destination' to refer to a place in which tourists, residents, stakeholders and enterprises interact and transactions take place, as well as planning, the development of industry and regional infrastructure and other aspects, and where there is an emphasis on tourism within a region. It is effectively a synonym for the term 'tourism destination' used by some authors. Rapid developments in technology, legislation and increasingly competitive offerings available from other destinations also contribute to unpredictability.

Duit and Galaz comment that complexity theory:

starts from the assumption that there are large parts of reality in which changes do not occur in a linear fashion. Small changes do not necessarily produce small effects in other particular aspects of the system, nor in the characteristics of the system as a whole. Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS) are special cases of complex systems and an extension of traditional systems theory (Hartvigsen *et al.*, 1998). Perhaps the most salient difference is that systems theory (within social sciences) assumes that a single-system equilibrium is reached through linear effects and feedback loops between key system variables, whereas CAS contains no *a priori* assumptions about key variables, emphasizes non-linear causal effects between and within systems and views system equilibrium as 'multiple, temporary and moving' (Dooley, 2004:357). Compared to systems theory, a CAS perspective therefore enhances analytical leverage by acknowledging a much greater variety of system behaviour.

(Duit and Galaz, 2008:313)

Rather than a single or unified field of study, complexity theory draws on 'a number of different research traditions (ranging from systems theory to cybernetics) pursuing diverse methodological agendas' (Manson, 2001:312). Governance, then, is complex; it arises from purposeful interactions between groups and individuals with varying stakes in a tourist destination and with differing abilities to affect the outcomes of decision making. A wide range of processes and interactions occur simultaneously within the larger contexts of national and international regulations, and while decisions are being made about other sectors of the economy and other social concerns are also being decided. Much of this is interactive; that is to say, a decision on one aspect of the area will have consequences on the functions of other sectors, perhaps in a future timescale.

Paavola uses the term 'scale' in discussing the complexity arising from coupled social systems:

Single scale analyses omit relevant interactions and outcomes and miss parts of the dynamics of coupled socio-ecological systems. This is because different scales may be and are likely to be coupled through feedback relationships ... The challenge in responding to ecosystem feedbacks does not lie only in developing institutions for multi-scale ecosystem management: there is also a need to examine ways of enhancing adaptive capacity to deal with continual changes, uncertainty and surprise ... there is no simple solution for a complex problem. Proper diagnostic approach requires considering fit, interplay and particularly scale as key factors in multilevel environmental governance.

(Paavola *et al.*, 2009:153)

Governance is therefore a complex, messy problem and, as Rhodes (1997:xv) puts it, 'messy problems demand messy [that is, network-like] solutions'. Networks are often considered to be exemplars of new governance. As Rhodes (2000:54) asserts, 'The networks so central to the analysis of governance are a response to this pluralization of policy making.' According to Jervis (1997:13), networks are 'patterns of long-term relationships between mutually interdependent actors, formed around policy issues or clusters of resources'.

Collaboration is assumed to facilitate effectiveness because networks provide 'valuable resources such as local knowledge and experience, ownership

and commitment. Consequently, networks are often seen as the most appropriate paradigm for the architecture of complexity' (Börzel, 1998:253). Steurer (2007:209–210) comments that while most networks are inter-organizational in character, network theories as well as practices suggest that the scope of most networks is still limited to specific issues within a policy field or a sector; 'The cooperative yet advocacy nature of networks might even institutionalize and legitimize the conflicts among policy domains, and reinforce those natural divisions.'

Tourist Destination Governance Effectiveness

One of the core purposes of governance is the direction and regulation of complex, unpredictable social and economic processes. The importance of effective governance is highlighted by Braithwaite *et al.*:

Bad regulation ... can do terrible damage to people. Good regulation can control problems that might otherwise lead to bankruptcy and war, and can emancipate the lives of ordinary people. Mediocre, unimaginative regulation that occupies the space between good and bad regulation leads to results that are correspondingly between the extremes of good and bad. Regulation matters, and therefore the development and empirical testing of theories about regulation also matter. Because regulation and regulatory studies make a crucial difference in the lives of millions of people, all of us in the intellectual community of regulatory scholars need to become more demanding than we have been about theoretical rigour and empirical evidence.

(Braithwaite *et al.*, 2007:5)

Downer (2010:8), discussing aviation regulation, notes that 'successive studies of complex systems have highlighted deficiencies in the formal descriptions of technical work embodied in policies, regulations, procedures, and automation'. But, another barrier results from the disparate value systems of decision makers and administrators. Steurer comments:

Politicians, on the one hand, approach particular issues case by case and focus on competing interests involved on an ad hoc basis. By utilizing such an 'inductive logic of action', they at times ignore not only existing government strategies but also (personal) commitments and treaties. Administrators, on the other hand, prefer to deal with particular issues deductively by referring to general laws or guidelines that are defined by the legislator, or in planning and strategy documents.

(Steurer, 2007:202)

A major point of studying tourist destination governance is to focus attention on what makes for good governance. Steurer (2007:209) makes the important point that 'the guiding principle of new governance is not efficiency but effectiveness'. However, there are a number of barriers to achieving the goal of effectiveness. These arise from the complex dynamics discussed above and the tendency for contested decision making in the context of plural and unequal stakeholders.

Organization of this Book

Following this editorial chapter, the book is presented in three parts, each also preceded by a short editorial. Part I introduces the reader to the issues and considerations of tourist destination governance. The four chapters in this part address the diversity of questions of relevance around regional destination development, community involvement, responsiveness and future outcomes of governance in the context of tourism. This includes an exploration of a variety of challenges regarding governance in emerging tourist destinations within the Greater Mekong in Asia, the conflicts in governance within a regional community in Scotland which has had a long history of golf tourism, the development of a typology of issues and pressures that affect tourist destination governance and the role of knowledge in good governance for tourist destinations.

Part II explores the complexities and considerations of decision making and the significant role it plays in its specific relevance to tourist destination governance and tourism development within regional communities. In acknowledging that tourist destination development may involve contentious, complicated and arduous processes, this part recognizes that decision making has a prominent role to play in achieving effectiveness in governance. The three chapters in this part examine tourist destination decision making during times of crisis in Thailand, stakeholder roles in governance and decision making for a wildlife tour in Tonga, and the utilization of community involvement and empowerment as keys to success in regional tourist destinations.

Part III provides further understanding regarding the approaches and solutions of tourist destination governance. This includes aspects of structural change, community engagement, networks and collaborations in the context of destinations. The five chapters in this part include the exploration of a process of governance change within a broader mountain tourist destination in Switzerland, utilizing effective networks as assistance to governance in destinations, community-based tourism governance solutions in a case study in Thailand and insights from complexity, network and stakeholder theories as approaches, including an understanding of a micro–macro context of tourist destination governance at its local/regional (micro) and national (macro) level.

In the concluding chapter (Chapter 16), the editors reflect on the theory and methodology of governance studies, provide insights for tourist destination managers and researchers, and identify opportunities for further research into destination governance issues. In this chapter, we discuss the application of governance concepts to other countries' governance and issues of conceptual importance, such as the need for ideology in the discussion of governance. This raises the question: does good governance of a tourist destination have to be based on democratic principles? Finally, the chapter looks at the concept of governance effectiveness.

Conclusion

Governance is more than a synonym for government; indeed, the growing body of governance literature casts doubt on the relevance of the concept of the state,

the various levels of the state and the roles of the state in contemporary affairs. As Paavola *et al.* points out:

Concepts of governance can be interpreted in a range of ways. At their narrowest, debates on governance focus on the ways in which the diverse activities of the state are conducted, and notions of good governance refer to the ability of the state to deliver public policy objectives in an effective, efficient, equitable, transparent and accountable way. Such a definition therefore relates primarily to the governance of the state. The fact that the state is not a homogenous entity, but is instead a complex network of different actors operating at different levels who both govern and are governed, indicates that, even under a narrow definition, governance must be a complex, multi-actor, multi-level process.

(Paavola *et al.*, 2009:149)

While the concept of state normally is discussed in a context of a nation state or large regional area, such as a state or province within a country, governance can also be discussed from the view of a regional destination and also within a further context of the complex and challenging interrelationships and governance structures between various levels of destinations, i.e. local, regional and national (Butler and Waldbrook, 1991; Blackstock, 2005).

Walters comments that:

Governance speaks to important political transformations of our time. As a field that is always in flux, politics threatens to escape the terms we have at hand to comprehend it. Our time is indeed one of great experimentation and pluralization of forms of government. Governance promises us a language that can capture key aspects of these changes.

(Walters, 2004:31)

We have shown in this introduction that broad, creative approaches are needed to describe and theorize the dynamic governance of tourist destinations. To understand the governance of tourist destinations, a kaleidoscopic, changing mosaic of overlaying political, administrative and expert controls needs to be considered, as our contributors demonstrate in the ensuing chapters of this volume.

The research presented by the contributors to this book confirms what is well known among tourism scholars (and managers), that destinations are complex and dynamic and that they differ from one another in many significant ways. While it is important to apply, and develop, theoretical ways to understand tourist destination governance, the editors do not intend to advance a general theory or to recommend a particular methodology for the study of tourist destination governance. Rather, we believe that this book (and the extensive literature cited by the contributing authors) demonstrates a range of issues, approaches and ways of theorizing destination governance which are valid in understanding particular cases. In the concluding chapter, we discuss some promising directions for future research with relevance to tourist destination governance.

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Part I

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2

Tourist Destination Governance Challenges and Concerns: Questions of Development, Community Involvement, Responsiveness and Future Outcomes

HAROLD RICHINS, JEROME AGRUSA, NOEL SCOTT
AND ERIC LAWS

This chapter provides an introduction to Part I and focuses on the challenges and concerns of tourist destination governance. These include addressing the diversity of questions regarding issues such as regional and destination development, community involvement, responsiveness and future outcomes of governance in the context of tourism. Before choosing among the various approaches to destination governance, it is helpful to have an understanding of the underlying issues faced by communities, as well as what influences their directions and solutions. Ewen (1983:257) has discussed the difficulties of governance at the regional government level. Ewen (1983:252–272) also notes that local and regional jurisdictions in particular have traditionally found themselves confronted by difficult choices; on the one hand, the need to implement public goals and, on the other, to respond to the lure of the developer's dollar.

Such pressures on communities have been found to be very complex and political in nature (May, 1989; Milne and Ateljevic, 2001; Tinsley and Lynch, 2001). These pressures include: the influence of international investment prevalent in a number of countries (Britton, 1987; Henderson, 2006); potentially contradictory objectives such as the need to preserve an attractive regional asset (e.g. parkland or a cultural heritage site), while developing infrastructure nearby (Haward and Bergin, 1991; Zhou and Ikeda, 2010); the potential encroachment on rural land for residential and tourist use (Resource Assessment Commission, 1993; George *et al.*, 2009); as well as rapid urbanization and increased domestic visitation to regional areas (Tonts and Greive, 2002; Victorian Government, 2005; Holden, 2008).

Such governance issues become more challenging in regional areas with conflicting uses and a variety of jurisdictions, which is even more pronounced

‘where pre-existing communities are intermingled with lands in public ownership. This may result in a hodgepodge of jurisdictions and potential conflict in public policies and actions’ (Platt, 1987:13). Ad hoc approaches taken to address these issues create many difficulties, and thus more structured governance methods may be advocated, based on fairness, equity, efficiency, order, scientific backup and community involvement, as well as stewardship for future generations (Knecht, 1990; Sharpley and Telfer, 2002; Chon and Edgell, 2006).

However, such governance practices have been criticized as:

- being too difficult and diverse to deal with, too problematic, too risky and/or having the capacity to jeopardize local quality of life (Platt, 1987);
- being too fragmented in nature (Jackson and O’Donnell, 1993);
- overemphasizing the economic aspects at the expense of other issues (Ditton *et al.*, 1977; Krippendorf, 1987; Stabler, 1991);
- being far too ad hoc, laissez-faire and unstructured in nature (Knecht, 1990; Croall, 1995; Priskin, 2003; Prideaux, 2009);
- leading to a ‘tyranny’ of small, yet ongoing local decisions (Ditton *et al.*, 1977);
- attempting to manage natural or cultural tourist attractions as if they were commodities (Figgis, 1984);
- attempting to govern without appropriate consultation and consideration of the conflicting uses and numerous jurisdictions (Platt, 1987; Richins and Mayes, 2009);
- those in governance positions often lacking authority on important decisions (Haward and Bergin, 1991); and
- looking after only human needs (Dix and Doxiadis, 1978:72) in the destination management, decision-making and implementation process.

An extensive study of four communities in the USA examining the diversity of opinion in regional communities on governance and leadership found that community politics were primarily group politics (Agger *et al.*, 1964). These consisted of relatively persistent groups of people who were actively involved in the political governance of and decision making in their respective communities, while politically oriented groups were often found to contain what the community perceived as leaders in their respective communities. Involvement in community issues and political ideology appeared to be motivators for such leaders in society.

Tourist destination governance faces many similar problems to those experienced by the general governance of a local area. Davis (1980) also acknowledged the following difficulties in local and regional governance: a lack of legal and regulatory understanding, inadequate technical information, time constraints, mistrust between key stakeholders and decision makers, and a lack of understanding of issues by outside experts. Ditton *et al.* (1977:35) went further in criticizing a ‘surface level’ governance approach to tourist destinations, particularly within coastal regions: ‘we have a notion of coastal zone, which recognizes the various biological and physical systems involved. But recognition of interdependent systems is not management. Recognition of a zone is not enough to deal with underlying problems.’

Together, governance issues lead to uncertainties in the management of tourist destinations, and three types of uncertainty have been found to relate specifically to regional destination governance (Friend and Jessop, 1971:88). These are: (i) uncertainties in the knowledge of the external structure, context and environment related to process and choice, resulting in a need for more research and information; (ii) the uncertainties of related choices and future outcomes, leading to a need for more coordination between participants and affected constituents; and (iii) uncertainties as to the value others have placed on the potential consequences of a decision, leading to a need for policy guidance.

This introduction and the chapters following in Part I provide a diversity of examples related to these and further issues that have both a direct and indirect influence on achieving effective tourist destination governance. The following includes a summary of the four chapters in this part of the book which address issues of community involvement, responsiveness, leadership and future outcomes.

Summary of Chapters and Relevance to Part I

Chapter 3 – Governance Approaches in New Tourist Destination Countries: Introducing Tourism Law in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam

Chapter 3 focuses on what may be termed ‘new tourist destination countries’: Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, part of the Greater Mekong Subregion, and discusses the numerous challenges these countries face in their governance as emerging tourist destinations. The authors of this chapter (Peter Semone, Eric Laws, Lisa Ruhanen, Zhuo Wang and Noel Scott) explain that these challenges are primarily the result of exceedingly high levels of tourist visitation to a few specific attractive destinations within each country and the corresponding intense pressures of revenue and development infrastructure growth. These pressures are exacerbated by control issues and variability of government structures in the provision and capability of addressing these dynamic challenges.

Since these countries have become more open to development and visitation and have moved further toward a free market economy, increasingly strong governance frameworks have been required to address the numerous challenges brought about by this increase in tourism. The chapter explores the high level of diversity in the methods in which these emerging economies address tourist destination governance, including a discussion of control, degree of accepted input, flexibility and the role of the private sector in decision making and policy making. Chapter 3 also acknowledges the importance of further efforts being placed on responsibilities, frameworks, planning and monitoring, as well as further understanding the complex and unique pressures that tourism places on regional areas that are in various stages of development. Finally, the chapter explores the question of broader integration beyond borders in addressing effectively the challenges that tourist destination development create within the context of tourism governance.

Chapter 4 – Tourism in St Andrews: Conflicting Governance in the Mecca of Golf

Chapter 4 examines closely the conflicts in governance of a destination with a strong history and a primary focus on one type of special interest tourism – golf. The case study presented by Richard Butler explores the diversity of views which are often prevalent in regional communities due to the differing values residents place on local assets and attractions.

An attraction of familiarity and interest to golfing enthusiasts around the world, the Old Course and the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews is the destination's dominant attribute, which has been a driving force in creating its international appeal. The key challenges discussed in this case have relevance to issues (and perceptions) of control (local versus broader control), power (and the feeling of the residents' powerlessness with regard to influencing their future), achieving consensus (and/or acknowledgement of the future direction and population limits, or growth of the community), priority (a focus on golf at the expense of other possibilities for tourist experience and development) and community leadership (dysfunction, contradiction and change in terms of direction, organization and cohesiveness).

This case study provides a history of the development of St Andrews and concludes that a lack of leadership and effective local destination governance, coupled with strongly polarized views on future priorities and direction, has hampered the achievement of effective destination and community outcomes, and will continue to do so. This study of unresolved challenges and ineffective governance approaches could perhaps provide pointers to the development of success factors for effective destination governance.

Chapter 5 – Issues and Pressures on Achieving Effective Community Destination Governance: A Typology

Chapter 5 explores the diversity of issues and pressures that challenge effective destination governance. In reviewing the extensive literature of destination development issues, barriers and impacts, Harold Richins endeavours to achieve a more comprehensive typology of the issues that affect destination governance, decision making and regional tourism development. A number of tourist destination communities have, in more recent times, made attempts at moving toward more sustainable approaches in their governance and resulting management practices, yet have still found themselves facing many constraints, issues and potential barriers. The typology of issues and pressures on achieving effective community destination governance presented here perhaps moves closer to addressing the challenges which regional areas that focus on tourism face in the provision of destination governance.

The four major themes identified and explored through this chapter are issues of development, structure and management, community and impact. Within the three parts of this volume, and in the context of challenges, decision making and governance approaches, the various themes identified in this

chapter are explored further through a number of case studies, as well as through discussions of governance success (or failure). When examining destination governance, it is important to discuss the various issues faced by regional communities that are embracing or are affected by tourism, leisure and other types of development. These issues are likely to relate directly to the way stakeholders make decisions which affect the future of their regional communities. Through structural approaches, regional communities have been acknowledged as having an influence on the community governance process. However, coordination, policy, time frames, funding and management programmes may be lacking or ineffective in regions.

Chapter 6 – The Role of Knowledge in Good Governance for Tourism

Chapter 6 discusses the role of knowledge in good governance for tourist destinations. In this context, Gianna Moscardo identifies the broad processes and institutions involved in governance and decision making regarding tourism. These include levels of government, promotion and marketing organizations, tourism industry sectors, residents groups and community leaders, in addition to development organizations with a focus on tourism. The key focus of this chapter is to explore the importance of knowledge in being responsive and in achieving successful (or unsuccessful) outcomes in destination governance. Numerous challenges and barriers to sustainable tourism development are described through her analysis of 100 case studies of development processes in peripheral regions internationally. By exploring knowledge provision, communication and ownership, the chapter makes a case for its importance in successful tourism governance.

Once these issues and barriers have been identified, principles for the effective use of knowledge in tourist destination governance are discussed. A number of factors, such as the importance of knowledge in reference to destination management systems, participation mechanisms and educational approaches, are developed further in the later section of the chapter. In order to explore the importance of knowledge further, Moscardo develops a concept of ‘good’ governance in the context of tourism development and decision making, primarily moving away from the exercise of power and towards enhanced democratic, community capacity building and participatory approaches to destination management. The importance of sustainability and public involvement in decision making and governance are acknowledged. The chapter concludes in stressing the importance of knowledge provision and the movement away from tourism as primarily an economic resource that has been the focus in regional community development, with a shift toward governance which emphasizes tourism as a community resource and social force.

This chapter has introduced the reader to issues and considerations of destination governance and presents an overview of the following four chapters. Though solutions may be found for dealing with specific governance challenges, understanding the diversity of issues and considerations which impact on destination governance may provide a strong foundation for developing more

integrated, sustainable and comprehensive approaches for governance within tourist destinations.

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3

Governance Approaches in New Tourist Destination Countries: Introducing Tourism Law in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam

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AND NOEL SCOTT

Introduction

The tourism industry in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam (CLV), all but destroyed during the Vietnam War, has benefited recently from a liberal economic development approach resulting in exponential growth in tourist arrivals and revenue. In the past decade, these countries have all developed national tourism laws that now provide each with a governance framework with clearly defined roles for both the public and private sectors.

This contrasts markedly with the situation in traditional tourist destinations such as European countries, Australia and the USA, where a broad, diverse and complicated legislative framework is in place. In such countries, the tourism sector operates within a framework that has evolved within the context of well-established legal systems governing matters such as business–government relationships, business–customer quality matters, economic and social planning and development, working conditions and training, quarantine and aviation, liquor licensing and gambling. This chapter provides readers with an overview of the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS), within which the CLV countries are located and which is itself undergoing rapid development, examines the roles of government in providing the legal frameworks for tourism, introduces the CLV tourism growth story and analyses and compares their respective destination governance frameworks.

The Emergence of the Greater Mekong Subregion as a New Tourist Region

The Mekong is one of the great rivers of the world in terms of its length and the rugged and varied terrain it passes through on its course from the highlands of Tibet to the South China Sea. The rich cultural, heritage and ecological resources

of the region provide great potential for tourism development, and this is being actively encouraged by the region's governments with the expertise and support of the tourism industry, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the Luxembourg Government, among many other organizations. It is therefore fitting that a study of this region is included in the first book to concentrate attention on destination governance.

Since 1992, the countries of the GMS have collaborated on a programme of economic cooperation (the GMS Program) that aims to promote development through closer economic linkages (Fig. 3.1). The GMS Program, with support from the ADB and other donors, helps with the implementation of high priority subregional projects in transport, energy, telecommunications, environment, human resource development, tourism, trade, private sector investment and agriculture (ADB, 2007). The GMS countries envision a Mekong Subregion that is more integrated, prosperous and equitable. The GMS Program will contribute to realizing the potential of the subregion through: an enabling policy environment and effective infrastructure linkages for enhanced economic cooperation; development of human resources; and respect for environment and social interests to ensure sustainable and equitable development.

The Mekong Subregion, united by the Mekong River, has the natural and cultural/heritage attractions necessary for tourism, as well as the economic and social needs for development. The ADB states that:

The GMS countries possess a wide range of highly attractive and relatively undeveloped natural, cultural, and historical heritage tourism resources. In 2003, GMS tourism resources attracted about 17 million international tourists and around \$10 billion in receipts. Estimates based on the WTO 2020 Vision forecasts indicate that if a subregional approach to develop and promote the tourism sector is adopted, the GMS countries could attract about 29.2 million international tourists by 2010 and about 61.3 million by 2020. The contribution to household incomes can be significant, especially in the rural areas with tourism potential and among disadvantaged groups such as the youth, women, and ethnic minorities, who will be able to get better-paying jobs, or new jobs, or create their own small business. The volume of taxes accruing to national and local governments in the GMS will also increase and boost local economies and overall trade activity.

(ADB, 2004:2)

Laws and Semone (2009) have noted that the key elements in marketing tourism to the subregion are its cultural, historical and natural resources. The cultural and natural resources of the GMS countries include prehistoric archaeological sites such as Ban Chiang (Thailand), spectacular historical monuments and temples such as Angkor (Cambodia), Vat Phou (Laos PDR) and Sukhothai (Thailand), and historical towns such as Lijiang (Yunnan), Hoi An (Vietnam) and Luang Prabang (Laos PDR). The GMS has more than 300 protected areas, wildlife sanctuaries and reserves containing a wealth of biodiversity of plants and animals, many found nowhere else in the world and some at risk of extinction.

For the CLV countries, growth in tourist arrivals has been most pronounced, with tourist arrival and revenue numbers shown in Table 3.1.



Fig. 3.1. Greater Mekong Region (<http://www.adb.org/GMS/img/gmsmap2009.jpg>).

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Table 3.1. CLV countries, growth in tourist arrivals.

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Cambodia total	987,359	1,333,000	1,591,350	1,872,567	2,001,434
Laos total	894,806	1,095,315	1,215,107	1,623,943	1,736,787
Vietnam total	2,927,873	3,467,757	3,583,488	4,243,626	4,253,741

Source: *UNWTO Fact Book*, various years.

Governance and Tourism Development

The OECD (2006) has advocated a ‘whole of government’ approach to tourism policy. The strategy involves moving beyond policies that are tourism-specific toward ‘multi-faceted policies [that] incorporate all the horizontal and vertical linkages in national and regional economies... Governments need to regard tourism as a cross-cutting sector that concerns a wide range of activities across economies. Addressing the major challenges faced by the tourism industry and maximizing tourism’s full economic potential require an integrated approach to policy development across many government departments’ (Mukbil, 2010).

Tourism is a complex and rapidly evolving sector which affects, and is impacted by, most other state activities. The report identified key common themes across which a ‘whole of government’ approach could be applied. These are, in order of importance:

- investment in quality and skills;
- marketing and branding;
- environmental sustainability for green growth;
- product development and innovation;
- long-term strategic industry planning;
- reducing barriers to tourism development;
- a culture of evaluation and capacity building; and
- a culture of cooperation and partnerships at various levels – internationally, with neighbouring states, across government departments and between the public and private sectors.

The emergence of comprehensive legal frameworks for their tourism sectors in the CLV countries can also be seen in the context of their recent history, particularly the severity of warfare in the region.

Non-democratic regimes have played a very influential role in the history and development of politics and government. Non-democratic government, whether by elders, chiefs, monarchs, aristocrats, empires, military regimes or one-party states, has been the norm for most of human history. As late as the 1970s, non-democratic government was more common than democracy, and for a large part of the twentieth century first fascism and then communism seemed to have replaced democracy as the ‘wave of the future’. Furthermore, the era of non-democratic rule has had an important influence on the development of

government and politics. In particular, many newly emerged democracies are still experiencing the after-effects of dictatorship.

(Brooker, 2000:1)

Profiles of the CLV Countries

The three countries considered in this chapter are among the poorest in the world: Cambodia and Laos are included in the Index of State Weakness in the Developing World, which rates all developing and transitional countries – 143 in all – according to their performance on four dimensions of state functions: political, security, economic and social welfare (Rice and Patrick, 2007; see also USAID, 2000).

Cambodia

Cambodia is a multi-party democracy under a constitutional monarchy. Although the elections in July 2003 were relatively peaceful, it took 1 year of negotiations between contending political parties before a coalition government was formed.

The civil law is a mixture of French-influenced codes from the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) period, royal decrees and acts of the legislature, with influences from customary law and remnants of communist legal theory and increasing influence of common law.

From 2004 to 2007, the economy grew about 10% per year, driven largely by an expansion in the garment sector, construction, agriculture and tourism. Growth dropped to below 7% in 2008 as a result of the global economic slowdown. The tourism industry has continued to grow rapidly, with foreign arrivals exceeding 2 million/year in 2007–2008; however, economic troubles abroad dampened growth in 2009. The major economic challenge for Cambodia over the next decade will be fashioning an economic environment in which the private sector can create enough jobs to handle Cambodia's demographic imbalance. More than 50% of the population is less than 21 years old. The population lacks education and productive skills, particularly in the poverty-ridden countryside, which suffers from an almost total lack of basic infrastructure.

Laos

In 1975, the Communist Pathet Lao took control of the government, ending a 6-century-old monarchy and instituting a strict socialist regime closely aligned to Vietnam. A gradual return to private enterprise and the liberalization of foreign investment laws began in 1986. Its legal system is based on traditional customs, French legal norms and procedures and socialist practice.

The government of Laos, one of the few remaining one-party communist states, began decentralizing control and encouraging private enterprise in 1986.

Starting from an extremely low base, growth averaged 6% per year from 1988 to 2008, except during the short-lived drop caused by the Asian financial crisis that began in 1997. Despite this high growth rate, Laos remains a country with an underdeveloped infrastructure, particularly in rural areas. Economic growth has reduced official poverty rates from 46% in 1992 to 26% in 2009. The economy has benefited from high foreign investment in hydropower, mining and construction. Laos gained Normal Trade Relations status with the USA in 2004 and is taking the steps required to join the World Trade Organization, such as reforming import licensing. Related trade policy reforms will improve the business environment. Simplified investment procedures and expanded bank credits for small farmers and small entrepreneurs will improve Laos's economic prospects. The government appears committed to raising the country's profile among investors. The World Bank has declared that Laos's goal of graduating from the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) list of least-developed countries by 2020 is achievable.

Vietnam

Since the enactment of Vietnam's '*doi moi*' (renovation) policy in 1986, Vietnamese authorities have committed to increased economic liberalization and enacted the structural reforms needed to modernize the economy and to produce more competitive, export-driven industries. The country's legal system is based on communist legal theory and the French civil law system.

Vietnam is a densely populated developing country that in the past 30 years has had to recover from the ravages of war, the loss of financial support from the old Soviet Bloc and the rigidities of a centrally planned economy. It is implementing the structural reforms needed to modernize the economy and to produce more competitive export-driven industries. Deep poverty has declined significantly and Vietnam is working to create jobs to meet the challenge of a labour force that is growing by more than 1 million people every year (Central Intelligence Agency, 2009).

CLV Tourism Laws

In contrast to the traditional tourist destinations of Europe and Australia where the legislation governing tourism development and operations has evolved within already established legal systems, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam are countries which, until recently, have had neither a significant tourism sector nor a democratic legal system.

It is therefore interesting to observe the introduction of systems by which the emergent tourism sectors in CLV are to be regulated. It is important to do so because tourism in each country is seen as one of the most important sectors in terms of its potential contribution to economic and social modernization which includes the internationalization of their citizens to facilitate the introduction of modern welfare, health and education and work practices.

Since 2005, the governments of the CLV countries have developed independent tourism laws in an effort to create governance platforms for their emerging tourism industries. A review of the three countries highlights a variety of similar yet different approaches. All three include content on: roles and responsibilities highlighting the obligations of public and public sector stakeholders as well as the tourists; planning and development of tourism at the national, provincial and district levels; institutional frameworks, quality assurances and licensing and monitoring. In the following three sections, the tourism law of each country is summarized, drawing on their legislative instruments.

Cambodia's tourism law

Cambodia is a multi-party liberal democracy under a constitutional monarchy. The Cambodian tourism law (Kingdom of Cambodia, 2009) is divided into 12 chapters and 77 articles. The purpose of the law is to govern the development of the tourism sector in a sustainable manner effectively and qualitatively and to reduce poverty; to protect and conserve the natural resources, culture and customs, which serve as the foundation of the tourism sector; to ensure and promote the quality of tourism services in the Kingdom of Cambodia through the introduction of a quality assurance system by providing security, safety and comfort and by increasing tourists' satisfaction; to minimize the negative impacts and maximize the positive impacts of the tourism sector; to seek markets and enhance publicity with the participation of both the public and private sectors; to develop human resources in the tourism sector; and to contribute to the development of international friendship and understanding through the tourism industry.

The jurisdiction of the Ministry of Tourism (MOT) is to lead and govern the tourism sector and to perform all the roles and functions required of a national tourism administration in accordance with international best practice. The MOT has primary responsibility for the regulation of core areas of the tourism industry. On all other issues affecting the tourism industry, those ministries and authorities having primary responsibility are required to consult with the MOT and consider its expert advice.

Additionally, the MOT is mandated to establish a National Tourism Institute, a Tourism Professional School, a University of Tourism and Hospitality and a Cambodian Tourism Marketing and Promotion Board. The ministry is also empowered to assist in the formulation of constitutions and statutes for tourism industry associations.

Issues pertaining to quality assurance, standards and licensing are described in detail. Again, the MOT plays a central role, which is described as the supervision and regulation of tourism businesses and activities by issuing licences, establishing a classification system and setting minimum standards and executive systems to establish, improve and maintain the quality of tourism services in the Kingdom of Cambodia. The MOT is also authorized to monitor, inspect and enforce laws and to dispatch inspectors to conduct inspection at any place of business or premises, or of equipment used or suspected of being used for the purpose of a tourism business or suspected of being used in contravention of the

law. The obligations of the various tourism stakeholders are also described, including the private sector, public sector and tourists to the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Lao PDR's tourism law

The Lao PDR 'Master Plan for Law Development to 2020', drafted by the Ministry of Justice in 2006, lays out a comprehensive sectoral reform agenda to support the country on its way to becoming a state fully governed by the rule of law. The UNDP has provided support for its implementation through an initiation plan that facilitates the formulation of specific sector programmes. As part of this programme, the Lao PDR's tourism law (Lao People's Democratic Republic, 2005) has the purpose of setting the principles, procedures and measures on the establishment, activity and administration of tourism aiming to promote and develop cultural, historical and ecotourism in sustainable ways, transforming to a modern tourism industry and contributing to national protection and development, the promotion of mutual understanding, peace, friendship and to cooperate in international development.

The Lao PDR state policy towards tourism is focused on developing tourism in a sustainable way that is respectful of triple bottom-line sustainability principles through ecotourism. The Lao tourism law states that the duty of stewardship of the unique characteristics of Lao culture, fine traditions, arts, literature, handicraft and its wealth of natural resources must be shared equally by the host community and the visitor. The tourism law defines in detail the various stakeholders associated with tourism and provides general guidelines on their respective roles and responsibilities in fostering successful tourism in Lao PDR. The rights and obligations of the tourist when visiting the country are also stipulated.

Planning for tourism is classified at either a national, regional, provincial, district or tourism site level, allowing the potential for a generous degree of decentralization of tourism planning. National tourism administration is the responsibility of the Lao National Tourism Administration (LNTA). There are tourism divisions or offices charged with tourism administration at the provincial and district levels whose rights and duties involve implementing plans, laws and regulations, and orders on the administration and development of tourism as issued by the LNTA.

The tourism law is explicit about the rights and duties of private sector enterprises. The rights of tourism enterprises include being able to conduct their business freely in accordance with the laws; their legitimate rights and benefits are protected by law; participation in the activities of tourism business associations; and the right to determine the fees for tourist services that correspond with the conditions and standard of their services. The private sector's main duties can be summarized as compliance with the law, in particular the laws and regulations relating to tourism; protection and maintenance of the natural environment, society, national traditions, cleanliness, safety and social order; and strictly performing their obligations to the state, such as the collecting of fees

from tourists for the benefit of the national tourism fund. The national tourism fund has been established for the development and promotion of tourism, in particular: development of human resources, development of facilities for tourism, advertising and promotion of tourism, and performance of obligations to international organizations relating to tourism. It is obtained from the State Budget, contributions from domestic and foreign organizations and revenues from tourism activities. The tourism law also provides for monitoring activities such as regular systematic inspections and emergency inspections.

Vietnam's tourism law

Like the other two CLV countries, Vietnam's tourism law (The Socialist Republic of Vietnam, 2005) is also based on the need for the development of sustainable tourism, hence ensuring alignment with the overall government master plan, and in addition mentions the need for support of its national sovereignty (in the form of maintenance of national defence, security and civil order and safety). The law encourages both domestic and international tourism, with a view to attracting as many international tourists to Vietnam as possible.

The law highlights the importance of creating a tourism-friendly operating environment to support tourism development in which the sector is given priority as a leading industry for national economic development. It provides for incentives for organizations investing in the protection and enhancement of tourism resources and environment; tourism marketing; training and human resources development; research, investment and development of new tourism products; modernization of tourism activities; construction of tourism infrastructure; and development of tourism in remote and isolated areas, which contributes to social development and poverty reduction. The law specifies the roles of the state in administering tourism, defines the state's responsibilities and describes the rights and obligations of tourists and of organizations or individuals conducting tourism businesses.

Interestingly, the role and content of tourism promotions are defined as the creation of *awareness* of Vietnam, its people, landscapes, history, revolutionary and cultural heritage and identity and artistic treasures among both the local and international communities; *support for investment* in infrastructure and tourism services; and increased *awareness of tourism and its benefits*. In order to achieve this, there is explicit recognition of the need for market research and product development. Cooperation with other countries and international organizations is encouraged to develop tourism, as well as create political goodwill.

Theoretical Framework for the Comparison of CLV Tourism Laws

A comprehensive review of the governance literature originating from both the political science and corporate management fields has elicited six key dimensions of governance: accountability, transparency, involvement, structure, effectiveness and power (Ruhanen *et al.*, 2010).

Accountability

Accountability refers to the way in which an organization (whether a business, government agency or other structure) is accountable to its public and/or institutional stakeholders (Siddiqi *et al.*, 2009). Specifically, it is concerned with who is accountable to whom and why. In non-corporate settings, this concept also refers to the need to take ownership and responsibility for tasks and the outcomes of decision making (Rhodes, 1997).

Transparency

Transparency refers to the sharing of information and acting in an open manner. In a corporate setting, transparency includes providing 'sufficient, accurate and timely information regarding the firm's operations and its financial status to enable shareholders to be able to monitor the firm' (Bai *et al.*, 2004:605). Transparency is also a crucial aspect in government settings and non-governmental organizations in limiting corruption and illegal practices.

Involvement

Involvement refers to the myriad of stakeholders that should have a voice in the decision-making process of organizations, both public and private. Involvement also encompasses the systems and mechanisms organizations have in place to solicit the participation of various stakeholder groups and constituents in decision making and planning decisions.

Structure

Structure refers to the examination and regulation of relationships between inter-related components of a system (Palmer, 1998). This dimension determines whether one organization is responsible for all decisions, or whether different organizations or agencies (i.e. local, state or national governments) are involved in decision making and performance. An examination of internal and external bureaucracy is an important component of structure and the ways in which decisions are made and how these are disseminated within the organization (whether public or private).

Effectiveness

Effectiveness is defined as the capacity for an organization to fulfil its objectives (Batterbury and Fernando, 2006). This dimension essentially refers to the performance of an organization and the extent to which it is publically accountable for meeting its objectives. In a public sector context, this can include the need to

ensure that policies are clear and cohesive and will be completed in a timely manner (Batterbury and Fernando, 2006).

Power

The final dimension identified in the review of the governance literature was power. For example, in a destination context, some firms may have more power than others and government bodies have inherent power over decision making within a particular locale. In a corporate context, an example may be a major shareholder who withdraws support or funds if its plans or intentions are not supported (Nordin and Svensson, 2007). In the public sector, a change is noted as, in many countries, governments are attempting to shift power structures and decentralize decision making to local, regional and/or national groups, who are encouraged to form their own coalitions with limited intervention (Rhodes, 1997).

Table 3.2 applies these dimensions to compare the tourism laws of CLV.

Of the three countries, Vietnam’s tourism law is the most detailed and provides for the greatest level of involvement of all sector stakeholders. Although the Vietnamese tourism law is centralized in nature with a clearly stated role and function at the central state level, it provides for a large degree of flexibility at the local government level and within the private sector. At the other extreme is

Table 3.2. Comparison of CLV tourism laws.

Dimension	Cambodia	Lao PDR	Vietnam
Accountability	Centralized at the national government level through the Ministry of Tourism. Little accountability at the provincial and municipal level or among private sector stakeholders.	Shared responsibility between the national, provincial and district levels. Clearly stated role for the private sector.	The Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Sport, through its agency, the Vietnam National Administration of Tourism, is firmly in control of tourism in the country. Some shared responsibility at the provincial level and among private sector stakeholders.
Transparency	Very low levels of transparency between the public and private sectors. However, the law on tourism sets standards for both illegal practices and corruption.	Tourism rules and regulations are clearly stated, but monitoring may be difficult to carry out.	The ministry sets policy, but there appears to be flexibility at the local level to develop and administer tourism activities.

(Continued)

Table 3.2. *Continued*

Dimension	Cambodia	Lao PDR	Vietnam
Involvement	Decision making is controlled totally by the central government, with little participation by the private sector.	Decision making appears to be open, with a mix of both public and private sector institution involvement.	Decision making and planning is controlled at the ministry level, but local authorities have reasonable autonomy in carrying out their tourism development plans.
Structure	Total control at the central government level.	Decision making is shared and very open between all public and private sector stakeholders.	The ministry is responsible for all decisions related to tourism; however, the provinces are empowered to make local-level decisions on tourism development and administration.
Effectiveness	Law on tourism is clear and cohesive and covers every aspect of tourism. How well rules and regulations are actually enforced cannot be determined.	The monitoring of tourism business activities may be too weak and a more centralized control mechanism may be required.	The law on tourism is extremely detailed and covers all sectors of the tourism industry clearly and concisely.
Power	Overwhelming direction and power at the central government level. Little to no input from the private sector or at the provincial government level.	Questionable how effective the LNTA is in controlling tourism policies. Stronger control and enforcement at the national level may be required.	The ministry exercises strong control, but the local authorities seem to have flexibility in carrying out their tourism development plans.

Cambodia's tourism law, which emphasize strong central control with little to no input at the local level or from the private sector. Lao PDR's tourism law provides a strong policy framework but, from the analysis above, it seems unlikely that these policies can be enforced at the local level. The role of the private sector, to a large degree, remains unclear and lacking in direction.

Governance Frameworks for Tourism

The development of specific legal frameworks for tourism as discussed in this chapter is unusual. For example, in Australia, the Commonwealth was

established on the basis of eight states (territories). The laws of these states have effect within their boundaries when there are no provisions contradictory with the federal laws (Office of Legislative Drafting, 2003). The fact that each of these components had established legislation in place prior to the development of the tourism sector has meant that specific tourism laws have not been developed. However, some specific legislation does apply and this can be categorized into three parts: tourism administration acts at the national and state levels; acts and regulations for specific tourism sectors such as hotels or transportation; and general laws and acts that can be applied to tourism as a business activity.

Australian administrative acts at the federal and state or territory levels are the basis for the establishment of a statutory authority and guide the governance, operation and other functions of that authority. Such acts focus on: (i) the establishment, objects, functions, (and) powers of the authority; (ii) the board, its procedures and the advisory panels; (iii) finance, funds and inspections; and (iv) legal acts of a statutory authority such as land acquisition, and other provisions. The Tourism Queensland Act, for example, was proclaimed in 1979. In comparison, the CLV countries have only recently developed legal frameworks.

Conclusion and Further Research

As noted previously in this chapter, the governance literature originating from both the political science and corporate management fields focuses on six key dimensions of governance. However, a review of the CLV tourism laws suggests that while accountability, transparency, involvement, structure, effectiveness and power are cross-cutting issues interwoven in the respective tourism laws, issues pertaining to roles and responsibilities, planning and development policies, institutional frameworks, quality assurances and licensing and monitoring seem to be at the core of all three of the CLV tourism laws. In particular, it appears that sustainable approaches to tourism development are at the centre of all three tourism laws and, to varying degrees, centralization versus decentralization of administrative powers is a core issue.

It is possible that the recent interventions by organizations such as the ADB (through its Mekong Tourism Development Project [MTDP] and Sustainable Tourism Development Project [STDP]) have driven the CLV countries to develop governance measures for their respective tourism industries. The present review of the three tourism laws reveals some similarities in their content.

Further research could focus on exploring tourism laws beyond the CLV countries to see if issues pertaining to roles and responsibilities, institutional frameworks, planning and development, quality assurances and licensing and monitoring also feature prominently in these other tourism laws. If so, it may suggest that tourism's governance structures vary in significant ways from general political science and corporate approaches, and may benefit from revision towards the more integrated approaches suggested by UNESCO.

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4

Tourism in St Andrews: Conflicting Governance in the Mecca of Golf

RICHARD W. BUTLER

Introduction

The governance of tourism depends greatly on the nature of the community involved and the views and attitudes which the residents of that community hold towards tourism and the community itself. In the case of the specific community examined here, St Andrews, Scotland, the residents have often expressed divided and different views about the role and nature of tourism in the town, and this has resulted in a confused and to some extent contradictory image of tourism in the town being projected to different markets. The community discussed here is an ancient burgh located in eastern Scotland at the eastern end of the Fife peninsula, approximately 55 miles by road from Edinburgh, the Scottish capital. It has no airport (the nearest, with very limited connections, is Dundee, 11 miles distant), no station (the nearest is Leuchars, 6 miles away) and is connected to the main Scottish road network by a series of slow minor roads. Despite these transportation limitations, the town has an international image and reputation in both tourism and sport, based on the fact that St Andrews is the site of the oldest and most famous golf course in the world, the Old Course, as well as being the site of the ruling body for golf (for everywhere except the USA and Mexico), the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews (perhaps better known to many golfers as the 'R and A'). St Andrews has a range of other tourist attributes and attractions in addition to these two features, as will be described below, but it is the presence of these two features which draws the majority of tourists to the town today (Butler, 2005). Despite its international appeal, which is reinforced periodically when St Andrews hosts the Open Golf Tournament (1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010 in recent years), there is no consensus in resident opinion about either tourism in general or tourism based on golf, nor is there universal agreement about the future shape and size of the town itself. This may be due in part to the fact that many residents feel that control of the town's destiny is not within their hands, and it is

true that for many centuries external forces have shaped the attractions of the town, and thus its image. Governance of both tourism and the town itself has not been controlled by local elected representatives. This chapter reviews the origins and development of tourism in the town in order to explain the difficulty in managing and promoting St Andrews as a tourist destination in the 21st century, describes the present nature of tourism in the town and discusses the likely future of tourism and how this reflects the governance, or lack thereof, of tourism in this destination.

Setting

St Andrews is an ancient settlement, taking its name and owing its status to the supposed movement to the town of the remains of Scotland's patron saint, St Andrew, from Greece to St Andrews in the 8th century. The deposition of the relics of the saint resulted in the settlement becoming a centre of pilgrimage throughout the Middle Ages, and it was so popular as a site for pilgrims that over 30,000 were recorded visiting the town in the late 14th century (Willshire, 2003). This popularity resulted in first a church and then a large cathedral being built in the town, the latter taking 150 years to complete, being dedicated in 1318 (Putter and MacLean, 1995). St Andrews remained the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland until the Reformation in the mid-16th century, at which time the cathedral was attacked and subsequently fell into ruin, along with the bishop's castle (Scottish bishops often had castles rather than palaces, reflecting the violent nature of the times), with the incumbent being murdered in retaliation for earlier burning several Protestant martyrs at the stake in the town. The ruins of the cathedral and castle and the original medieval street pattern, along with the 15th century West Port (gate), provide a major heritage attraction, which continues to attract tourists to the town in the present day. While the presence of these ruins and street pattern pose some limitations on the current morphology and potential growth of the town, there is little or no complaint from residents about their existence and there is, perhaps inevitably, a strong lobby in support of preserving the historical heritage and nature of the town, the St Andrews Conservation Trust.

The town today has some 18,000 permanent residents, a figure bolstered by another almost 8000 students attending St Andrews University (St Andrews Facts and Figures, 2010). The town functions as a retail centre for rural east Fife, although it has lost its traditional market function over the centuries. It still has a small functioning harbour for a greatly diminished inshore fishing fleet catching shellfish, but like many coastal communities in Scotland, has lost its traditional offshore fishing fleet over the past century. It serves as the *de facto* 'capital' of east Fife, standing in sharp contrast to the declining urban industrial centres in the west of the county, Kirkcaldy (formerly the linoleum capital of the world), Glenrothes (the seat of local government) and other smaller, now defunct, coal-mining communities. This difference in function also translates into sharp differences in political outlook and has provided a major influencing factor in the pattern of tourism and related development of St Andrews and its vicinity in the

past few decades, which helps explain the attitudes of residents towards local and regional governance.

Of major historical and contemporary importance in the town is the existence of St Andrews University, the third oldest in the English speaking world, established in 1413 and currently one of the highest rated universities in Scotland and extremely popular with overseas students, who make up one-third of its student body (St Andrews Facts and Figures, 2010). The university is the major employer in the town, with a workforce of over 2000, and has considerable influence over development in the town, as well as being a tourist attraction in its own right because of its historical associations and buildings and the fact that its students and their visiting families and friends can be considered as tourists under most definitions of the term.

Finally, the town has two extremely attractive beaches, the East and West Sands, the former alongside the old harbour, the latter alongside the golf courses. It is the West Sands beach that is the major tourist attraction of the two, having been featured in the Oscar-winning movie, *Chariots of Fire*, as well in Polanski's *Macbeth*, and which regularly features as the backdrop to media coverage of golf tournaments in St Andrews. Beach tourism has a long history at St Andrews (it was described as 'the Brighton of the north' in the 19th century; Young, 1969), with large numbers of tourists visiting and staying in the town in the first half of the 20th century, but numbers declined markedly in the second half of that century in the face of competition from European destinations, then easily accessible by plane. Today, tourists still come to use the beaches, despite the low temperature of the North Sea, but they visit primarily at weekends and on day trips in the summer months only.

Thus, St Andrews today is a small rural town, converted from a market and ecclesiastical centre of great national importance to a present-day international tourist destination, regularly listed among the top ten most visited locations in Scotland and ranked highly as the 'Mecca' of golf among enthusiasts of that sport (Butler, 2004). The varying fortunes of the different attributes which have attracted tourists, combined with the rather unusual mix of interests in the permanent population of the town, help explain the difficulty in managing its image, promotion and function as a tourist destination today.

Issues Relating to Governance

In many ways, the residents of St Andrews might be expected to see themselves as being fortunate in having a multiplicity of tourism products attracting visitors to the town. There is a worldwide iconic feature in the Old Course, which, given the continually increasing popularity of golf, is likely to increase in importance and which receives vast amounts of 'free' publicity through mention in magazines, newspapers, television and sports programmes worldwide. St Andrews has little to do in order to continue to remain front and centre in the perceptions of those involved in golf, and the nature of the media coverage of sport ensures that even those not interested specifically in golf are likely to see attractive images of the town every few years when it hosts the Open Tournament (Burnet, 1990;

Joy, 1999). This situation is not viewed with support, or even equanimity, by all sections of the community, however, related in part to the nature of St Andrews and its population and in part to external influences. St Andrews in this respect is not unlike many other tourist destinations, which although involved heavily in tourism, often lack homogeneity and consistency when it comes to resident attitudes about their community and its relationship with tourism (Johnson and Snepenger, 2006; Martin, 2006). Tourism and its development in the town suffers from this lack of agreement over its nature, scale and future direction, and it is probably true to say that when tourism began 1000 years ago, the town became a tourist destination in spite of, rather than because of, any deliberate intent. The decision to become a pilgrim destination was made by the church (of Rome at that time) and not the local citizens, the establishment of the university was by Papal bull (Cant, 1992), not local pressure, and the popularity and promotion of golf was primarily for residents rather than visitors, certainly in the first few hundred years of its existence in the town. Only with respect to beach tourism has the town been fairly unanimous in its support and promotion.

Elements in the town

The existence of the university has had a major influence on the town and its residents. It would be hard to argue that university academics are representative of any population at large other than themselves. They tend to be better educated and informed, more articulate and confident, more liberal and extrovert in their beliefs and more inclined to be active and vocal than most residents of many communities. St Andrews is a very attractive town of high amenity in a beautiful landscape setting and, as such, it attracts many incomers, as well as those working for the university. Combined with many of the university's employees, this group is strongly protective of the heritage of the town, which is often the reason for their settlement in the community. They are prepared to oppose any developments which they view as threatening that amenity and the quality of life which they have come to enjoy (Willshire, 2003). The number of university employees and students represents a sizeable group (around 10,000) compared to the remainder of the population of the town (around 18,000), and many are politically active in a variety of ways and at differing levels of involvement. As well, close to St Andrews is the Royal Air Force base at Leuchars, a major active military operation, and some personnel live off base in St Andrews, providing another segment of the town's population whose native origins are almost all from out of the local region, and often out of Scotland. Thus, the town has a disproportional number of its population who have originated elsewhere and might be expected to have rather different views and beliefs from the 'native' or indigenous population. In addition to the above segments of the population are a number of formerly rural-based people to whom St Andrews represents a local retirement centre, as well as the town's long-term residents.

One effect of the high amenity of the town is that the cost of accommodation in St Andrews is significantly higher than that in similarly sized communities in the country as a whole, and house prices are perhaps 30% higher than those

in neighbouring communities in Fife (E. Brown, estate agent, personal communication, June 2006). This situation is aggravated by the limited physical space within the town, which restricts further new residential development and has the effect that a high proportion of people employed in lower paid occupations cannot afford to live in St Andrews and have to commute each day from outlying communities. These varying population segments and the reasons behind their existence help to explain why there are often widely different views expressed about tourism and many other aspects of the nature and development of the town. The local newspaper, *St Andrews Citizen*, contains innumerable expressions of these varying opinions, particularly in the 'letters to the editor' section of the paper, reflecting both the variation in outlook and the willingness of many residents to express those opinions (see discussion below).

Local government

This somewhat complex internal situation has been aggravated over time by other developments, including tourism, that have affected the town. For many centuries, St Andrews essentially governed itself as a burgh and its Town Council made most local decisions, such as those on land use, planning and development within the town. This situation changed in the 20th century and a series of political changes over the decades following the end of the Second World War saw radical differences made to local government operations and levels of control. One of the major recent influences on the way tourism in St Andrews has been controlled and developed was brought about by major local government reorganization that took place in the 1970s. In most parts of Britain, this could have been expected to be of little relevance to tourism, as tourism has never been given great political importance in the UK at either national or subnational level. In St Andrews, however, it was an important issue for tourism because it had the potential to have a major effect on the leading tourist attraction, the golf courses. Until 1975, planning and development issues had been handled by the then Fife County Council, with the local level of government being St Andrews Burgh Council. During discussions on forthcoming changes in the 1970s, before the details had been settled, it appeared likely that the old county of Fife would disappear as an entity and that the area would be subdivided into West and East Fife; the latter, including St Andrews, was expected to come under the control of Tayside District Council, dominated by the large city of Dundee. This caused great concern in St Andrews as residents viewed loss of local control to be a serious problem under any circumstances, and viewed coming under the control of Dundee an even worse development.

Scottish local politics can be a complex and heated, almost tribal, affair, with marked political divisions along major national party lines even at the local level. Dundee was perceived as industrial and Labour (left wing) dominated, compared to the middle-of-the-road or slightly right-of-centre rural interests which characterized St Andrews. Of greater concern to St Andrews's residents, however, and of particular relevance for tourism, was the fact that the golf courses, owned by the local authority, would, after local government reorganization, fall under the

control of bodies outside St. Andrews, along with the fear that local residents' playing privileges (defined several centuries earlier) might be lost (Jarrett, 1995). 'The idea of booking a round on the *Old Course* through a Parks Superintendent in City Square Dundee was preposterous' (Provost Gilchrist, cited in *St Andrews Citizen*, 25 May 1971). Even when the decision was made to maintain Fife as an entity at the regional level, local feeling was (and still is, based on opinions expressed in the local newspaper, *St Andrews Citizen*) that coming under the control of West Fife (the industrial towns there having the majority of Fife's population and hence exercising dominant voting power) would be as bad as being under the control of Dundee. Discussions began with the Royal and Ancient Golf Club (which managed the golf courses) in 1971, with the 'declared intention of the Town Council ... to secure the rights and privileges of the *municipal* (emphasis added) voters' (*St Andrews Citizen*, 1975).

The result was that the St Andrews Town Council obtained an Act of Parliament (1974) establishing the St Andrews Links Trust, ensuring that the control and management, if not the ownership, of the golf courses remained in the town. The composition of the St Andrews Links Trust, a non-profit-making body, was to include four members chosen by the R and A and four nominated by the local authorities. Despite this arrangement, some residents appear to feel they have suffered from the process, with the R and A members and visiting golfers benefiting from the changes, to the detriment of local residents. The reasons behind these feelings go back to the original terms of ownership and management of the Old Course and the golf links in general, starting in the 15th century and gradually being formalized with agreements between the town and the R and A from the late 19th century onwards (Lewis *et al.*, 1998). St Andrews citizens' distrust of the political powers outside the town is not confined to golf; complaints and criticisms are published frequently in the *St Andrews Citizen* about a perceived lack of concern by Fife District Council with respect to issues such as road maintenance, flood prevention, traffic and parking schemes, planning decisions, especially related to the approval of development proposals and provision of general local services. For example, in 1974 when the local government reorganization had just been settled, the Chair of the St Andrews Community Council was quoted as saying 'it was frustrating that Fife Council was "taking so little notice of local opinion"' (cited in Dewar, 2004:1). The overwhelming attitude can be summarized as follows: that local residents, at least those who express public opinions, feel that St Andrews generates large amounts of money for Fife Council, based heavily on tourism (*St Andrews Citizen*, 2009a) and the university, but receives little attention or funding in return.

Image and popularity

The rather fortunate clustering of attractions in St Andrews has meant that the town is listed regularly as being among the most visited communities in Scotland in terms of tourist numbers (F.M. Bennett, unpublished report 'Does tourism based on golf represent a sustainable future for St Andrews?', Strathclyde University, Glasgow, 2008), just behind Edinburgh and Glasgow in popularity, especially in

years when the Open Golf Tournament is held there (1995, 2000, 2005, 2010), and it is rarely out of the top ten of Scottish tourist attractions. Despite this, the marketing and promotion of the town has not been as successful as its potential would suggest, if success is measured in terms of visitor spend and tourist numbers. This is due primarily to the numbers of differing viewpoints about the role and importance of tourism to the town and the image of the town that should be marketed, and the considerable variation in opinions about the part that golf should play in such promotion and visitor attraction. There is no destination management (or marketing) organization (DMO) in the town; the general promotion of tourism in Fife is undertaken by the Fife District Tourist Board (based in Glenrothes). Organization of the Open Golf Tournament is controlled by the R and A, but the R and A handles all of the Open Golf Tournaments wherever they are held in the UK through its Open Championship office, and although this is located in St Andrews, the arrangements for the tournament are treated no differently when it is held in St Andrews to when it is held elsewhere. Attempts to promote the town more aggressively have met with opposition (F.M. Bennett, unpublished report 'Does tourism based on golf represent a sustainable future for St Andrews?', Strathclyde University, Glasgow, 2008), partly because of poor communication by those involved and partly because promotion of tourism, especially golf, is seen as threatening local privileges (Jarrett, 1995) and likely to result in further physical development in an already congested and expensive small town (Willshire, 2003).

The conflicts over the golf courses, as noted, go back centuries. The R and A (founded 1834) and its predecessor, The Society of St Andrews Golfers (founded in 1754), have controlled the Old Course and the other courses since their establishment until 1974, when the St Andrews Links Trust was formed (noted above). One point frequently at issue has been who is to have priority in terms of playing on the courses, particularly the Old Course, which for several years has operated at capacity throughout the summer (St Andrews Links Trust, 2009). Various arrangements have been implemented and it is clear that local residents, once promised free access to 'their' links, have lost privileges gradually to both members of the R and A and to visiting golfers. In the discussions over local government reorganization and the future of the golf courses, the arguments became protracted and heated:

(it was) a year which, unfortunately, has been marred by factional strife among the councilors that has slowed down the business to the detriment of the community. ... Many differences of opinion between the Council and the R and A had to be smoothed over at the 11th hour to get a drafted amendment of the proposed Links Trust placed before Parliament before Regionalisation became effective.

(*St Andrews Citizen*, 19 January 1974)

Ironically, for several decades at the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries, the R and A did not welcome visiting golfers at St Andrews as these reduced the playing opportunities for members, while the Town Council saw visiting golfers as a significant welcome source of income for the town (Jarrett, 1995). Since before 1691, when the town was described as a 'metropolis of golf' (Munro, cited in Young, 1969:207), it has attracted visitors to play the course and

later courses (the New Course was added in 1895 and others subsequently, to total the present seven courses managed by the Links Trust) (Lewis *et al.*, 1998). Locals now pay for their golf (although very little in relative terms, it must be said) and have priority only in terms of starting times on the Old Course for parts of 2 days of the 6 days a week that the Old Course is open for play. Almost any proposed changes to the links cause controversy, with differing viewpoints being expressed by various interests in the town, some from those committed to the old ideals of the early arrangements for golf in the town, some from those not interested in golf. When changes to the Eden course were proposed in the 1970s, the town provost stated, 'I have spoken to non-golfers about this and they tell me they could not care less so long as people continue to come to St Andrews to play golf' (Gilchrist, cited in *St Andrews Citizen*, 31 August 1974). Another local representative argued that, 'This town council inherited the Links (but) has done precious little to bring them up to the standards of modern requirements ... disregarding the interests of the countless thousands who have come to the home of golf' (Rutherford, cited in *St Andrews Citizen*, 31 August 1974).

Such differing viewpoints are still voiced regularly in the local newspaper with each proposed development relating to golf and other aspects of the town. The university also has often been a source of controversy, particularly over its expansion and development plans. Its primarily science-focused development on the North Haugh on the main road to the town presents a group of extremely modern buildings in sharp contrast to the town lying immediately behind them and a rather unattractive and unsympathetic entrance to the town. The university does not have a good record in terms of its architectural contribution to the town, but because it is such a major stakeholder in the town, has received somewhat favourable treatment by district planners when it has put forward development proposals, often despite opposition from bodies such as the St Andrews Preservation Trust (Willshire, 2003). It was stated that, 'The University, whose expansion plans are somewhat nebulous, must ... include an assurance that the expansion does not involve any further substantial purchases by the university of land or property in the conservation area of the burgh' (*St Andrews Citizen*, 19 January 1974:15).

At the present time, St Andrews has a multifaceted image that is appreciated at different scales by different elements. It is a traditional market town serving its rural hinterland. It is close to and influenced by a major military establishment, with some minor issues of noise pollution. It is a major academic centre with one of the most successful and respected, albeit small, universities in Britain. It is a site of significant cultural and historic built heritage. It possesses two magnificent beaches and a picturesque harbour. Finally, and of global significance, it is 'The Home of Golf', possessor of the most iconic golf course in the world (Staachura, 2000), host of the ruling body for golf in most of the world and equipped with golf courses and related facilities more extensive than anywhere else in Europe, if not globally (St Andrews Links Trust, 2008). Not surprisingly, therefore, because these different images receive approval and disapproval from various segments of the town's residents, and partly because there is no clear DMO presenting an overall plan for the development of tourism in the town and how such development would relate in particular to the golf courses and the general nature of the town,

its role as a tourist attraction is somewhat divisive within the community. Tourism is not the only element of change that creates controversy; it is recorded in the Council minutes that, 'Councillor Shields said there were people in St Andrews who would say "No" to any positive ideas if they meant change and this applied not only to golf' (Council Minutes, 7 December 1974).

Conclusions

It is likely that a part of the unease in the relationship between golf, tourism and the town's *raison d'être* stems from the fact that these elements rarely have been under the direct and sole control of the town residents and their elected representatives. The introduction of tourism to the town in the form of pilgrims resulted from the location of saintly relics being brought to the town and the subsequent establishment of the cathedral by the then Church of Rome. The development of golf on the links appears to have developed in an unplanned and uncontrolled manner (Mackie, 1995), was banned by three successive Scottish kings, with arrangements eventually being formalized by the bishop of the time. The rights of the residents in playing golf on their links continued from the 16th century, but management and control of the only existing formal course (the precursor of the present Old Course) was taken over by the newly established Society of St Andrews Golfers (to become the Royal and Ancient Golf Club) in the middle of the 18th century. Since then, there have been many disagreements over issues such as the construction of additional courses, priorities over starting times, particularly on the Old Course, the payment of fees and management charges and the acquisition of additional land and subsequent modification of the courses, as noted above. As well, the Open Tournament is controlled by the R and A; thus, the town is subjected (generally with goodwill) to visitation by up to 200,000 visitors roughly every 5 years, with subsequent restrictions on the other courses, including the closure of some, as well as parking and access limitations throughout much of the town.

From time to time, there are opinions expressed in the local paper as to whether or not St Andrews should continue to host the Open, because of the disruption to the town and because it furthers the image that the town is only about golf. Similar opinions are also expressed about the various development and expansion plans of the university. Tourism is clearly in the middle of this situation. Most of the tourists who come to the town are either golfers (MW Associates, 2006) or related in some way to the university (students, friends, families) and, combined with those visitors who come in coaches (which in summer can be found throughout the old part of the town), they represent an imposition on the town and its residents in the eyes of an apparently small but vocal segment of the population.

This situation has been compounded in recent years by the appearance and subsequent replacement of a group of business operators and others, including university representatives, entitled St Andrews World Class. This group came to the attention of residents in the early years of the current century with an avowed aim to raise St Andrews to world-class level, whatever that might be. They were

viewed as an unrepresentative and unelected body which probably would not have mattered much except for the fact that the group succeeded in securing public funding for surveys (Jura Consultants, 2006) and possible developments in the town, some of which were unknown to even elected local representatives. An item in *TIME* did not help matters,

Local business owners understand the potential benefits of upmarket foreign investment in St Andrews, a town of 17,000 where tourism accounts for roughly 1,700 jobs and \$120 million in income annually. An organization called St Andrews World Class has dedicated \$22 million in taxpayer money to sprucing up the infrastructure in the hope of attracting wealthier visitors.

(Harrell, 2007)

The reaction was one of confusion and hostility to the group, which, it must be said, did not do a good job of explaining its motivations, goals or membership. The group disbanded in 2009 and was replaced subsequently by The St Andrews Partnership (*St Andrews Citizen*, 2009b). To date, this new group has made considerable efforts to attract a wider range of viewpoints than did its predecessor, claiming that its guiding principles would be ‘inclusivity, open-ness, sustainability and non-duplication of others’ efforts’ (*St Andrews Citizen*, 2009b:10). The group also created the ‘St Andrews Standard’ (of operation), aimed at front-line staff in establishments dealing with tourists, and endeavoured to create a wide advisory forum before its first meeting in 2010. Whether this latest organizational initiative will succeed where other attempts and bodies have failed, namely to establish a unified and well-supported voice for the organization, promotion and development of tourism in St Andrews, remains to be seen. The lack to date of local governance in tourism undoubtedly has been a significant factor in the survival of so many contradictory viewpoints about tourism in the town, and this situation certainly has made it difficult for those involved in tourism to be able to formulate coherent and cohesive images for promotion of the town to potential visitors. Despite this, the appeal of the attractions that the town possesses to varying visitor markets has been sufficient to attract tourists for over 1000 years and shows little sign of declining.

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5

Issues and Pressures on Achieving Effective Community Destination Governance: A Typology

HAROLD RICHINS

Introduction

Tourism and its effect on destination development in many localities has been promoted as the 'saviour' of a community, while in others it is seen as the catalyst to economic and social prosperity. Over the past two decades, however, there has been an increased awareness that tourism and the resulting destination development brings with it potential costs, and researchers have been criticizing governments and other organizations for being far too simplistic in their approaches to the 'selling of tourism'.

The assets of tourist destinations have long been a major attraction to visitors, both regional and from a greater distance. Physical land-based, geomorphological features or areas where water and land activities merge have frequently been a source of attraction to holidaymakers (May, 1993), often having historical, cultural and physical significance.

Tourist destinations have long utilized and benefited from these features in attracting people to visit; however, with increased utilization has come exploitation, overusage, increased development near these sites and numerous other pressures in maintaining the assets that attracted people in the first place. The divergent priorities of numerous groups (e.g. tourists, residents, investors, providers of destination experiences and non-government and government organizations), as well as the complex relationships between them, have created great challenges in meeting the needs of all users, especially in attractive regional areas affected by tourism development. These diverse pressures on regional destination governance are arduous, potentially formidable and have broad ramifications for regional communities which have embraced tourism as a means of development (Russo, 2002; Harrill, 2004; Ko, 2005).

The complex relationships between different levels of government have been acknowledged. Concerns have been raised regarding the potential for concentrated power away from regional control, with little coordination between

governments, promoting unnecessary competition, duplication of efforts, lack of consultation and a lack of independence (Black *et al.*, 1993; Jones, 1993).

In an extensive study of regional government and tourism which identified more than 70 issues (e.g. business performance, communication and education, environmental, social, cultural, investment, labour market, marketing and promotion, research and information and transport), Black *et al.* (1993) found that one of the important issues for effective destination governance was the lack of consultation between federal, state and local government on major issues and policy which affected them directly or indirectly.

There are numerous types of interactions which may relate to issues in which destination governance may be impacted (Libby, 1989). This is based on a sense of consensus (Jones, 1993), the extent of sentiment as emphasized in the regional destination (Power *et al.*, 1981) and interactions with long-term residents and indigenous groups within the region (Office of Local Government, 1989). Strength in governance and decision making is made problematic by such issues as lack of consensus in the regional community, a domination by process and diffuse decision making (Jones, 1993). This chapter explores the diversity of issues and pressures that regional communities face in attempting to manage their future development.

Common Themes Regarding Issues of Destination Governance in Regional Destination Areas

A number of common themes emerge when reviewing issues in regional areas affected by destination development. The conflicts of land use zone areas are often based on long-standing issues such as: a lack of agreement or understanding of open space requirements in regional areas; a perception that most regional areas are held in public trust; the recognition and acceptance of multiple uses; and, often, the tendency of the community to favour present usage rather than embrace a potential new use (Apostolopoulos and Gayle, 2002; Loukissas and Triantafyllopoulos, 2002; McMahon, 2004).

In reviewing the substantial literature on regional communities for this chapter, a list of 17 issues that might affect regional destination governance was developed and organized as a typology into four general themes. The analysis of these themes and their corresponding issues broadens the scope of understanding of the challenges regional areas may face regarding destination governance. This includes an interdisciplinary review of governance-related issues of relevance to tourism, but also related to development, policy, coordination, management, conflict, regional impacts, community, access and lifestyle. The typology of four major destination governance issues is explored in Table 5.1, having been grouped into the themes of: development, structural and management, community and impact, with specific issues detailed further.

The following discussion explores further the four themes of governance issues that regional communities face regarding community destination governance.

Table 5.1. Issues regional areas may face regarding community destination governance.

Major regional development governance themes	Specific regional development governance issues
Development issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Haphazard development • Style of development • Opportunity cost
Structural and management issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of policy • Lack of coordination • Ineffective management programmes • Long time frames for change • Funding
Community issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community conflict • Lack of local commitment • Regional asset access • Population and development pace • Loss of traditional lifestyle
Impact issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of parity in community • Difficulty in researching impacts • Dependency of physical environment • Impacts of regional tourism and development

Theme 1: Development issues

Development issues in regional communities relate to the way in which development occurs, the alternatives that exist for development and the nature of the development. Three primary areas of development issues are described further in Table 5.2, with a description of each also provided. The literature related to each issue is then discussed further.

Haphazard development

The ad hoc, laissez-faire and substantially uncontrolled nature of destination development has transformed certain regions completely, especially those which have had a concentration on tourism. In research conducted as early as 1975, indications were given that uncontrolled tourism oriented developments along the Australian coastline; specifically, tourist roads, holiday home development and the accompanying infrastructure had encouraged strip developments in these regions (Walter, 1975). In the 30 plus years since this finding was put forward, these developments have resulted in extensive degradation to natural land use zones in notable areas of strip development.

Similarly, for many years, America has been concerned about its loss of regional asset areas for general use. Close to 40 years ago, an article in the *New York Times* showed consistency with the Australian example:

Table 5.2. Development issues communities have faced regarding community destination governance.

Development issues	Description
Haphazard development	Ad hoc, laissez-faire and substantially uncontrolled nature of development
Style of development	The style or nature of development in a local community which may have an effect on the attractiveness of the destination or access to amenities
Opportunity costs	Advocating tourism or leisure at the expense of alternatives or injections of industrial segments

The shoreline of the United States has been so built up, industrialized and polluted during the last decade that there are relatively few beaches left for the family in search of a free, solitary hour at the sea. ... seashores have become cluttered with hotels, motels, sprawling developments, military complexes and industries of every kind.

(as cited in Ducsik, 1971:94)

Style of development

The style of development may have major effects on the future nature of an attractive community. Evidence of this can be seen in residential-resort canal developments (e.g. Noosa and Gold Coast in Queensland), which have been found to have negative impacts on fish breeding grounds in wetland areas through dredge and fill operations (Ditton *et al.*, 1977), in strip developments (e.g. Outer Banks in North Carolina), which have resulted in uncontrolled and ad hoc development (Bodlender *et al.*, 1991; Priskin, 2003; Prideaux, 2009), and in ribbon-style coastal, mountain or lake housing development. These pressures have been seen to increase throughout Australia and 'essential coastal landscape values are in jeopardy' (Goldin, 1993:203).

Opportunity costs

Advocating tourism at the expense of alternatives or injections of other industrial segments has also been an issue in regional communities. By advocating tourism and leisure development over other alternative industry sectors or development options, communities may be disadvantaged through lower salaries, fewer opportunities and ineffective infrastructure (Canan and Hennessy, as cited in Madrigal, 1995; Tremblay, 2001).

Theme 2: Structural and management issues

The way and extent to which regional communities are managed and the structural influences within local regions may have major implications for the future of these communities. Five issues grouped under the theme of structural and management are described further in Table 5.3, with examples following.

Table 5.3. Structural and management issues regional communities have faced regarding community destination governance.

Structural and management issues	Description
Lack of policy	Lack of federal government policies in dealing with and understanding various pressures or values on regional communities
Lack of coordination	Lack of coordination of planning and management efforts (between responsible organizations or regions, or even within organizations) as a major constraint to regions of destination development
Ineffective management programmes	Lack of management, coordination and responsibility to implement destination management which may be due to issues regarding skills, resources or decision making mechanisms
Long time frames for change	The long time frames of destination governance decision processes and the length of time it takes to understand the true long-term effects of tourism development
Funding	Funding of public tourism and leisure services which may not be available for communities with low development growth

Lack of policy

Governments have been criticized regarding the lack of effective policies in dealing with, and understanding, the various pressures or values on regional areas (Goldin, 1993). A lack of policy regarding these values may each have major implications toward the effective governance of regional destinations.

Lack of coordination

Lack of coordination of destination planning and management efforts has been identified as a major constraint to regions of development (Haward and Bergin, 1991; Aas *et al.*, 2005; Jamieson, 2006). This lack of coordination may result in problems of planning, control and long-term viability of the community:

A major problem lies with attempts to ‘control tourism development’ and identifying responsibility for this control. ... In the absence of a formal plan or concept to shape tourism development, short-sighted development may limit or destroy the long-term appeal and viability of a destination. ... Control and management of use and development in many tourist areas is often uncoordinated and frequently divided between several agencies, different levels of government and privately owned interests, all with widely potentially differing goals and objectives.

(Butler and Waldbrook, 1991:11)

Ineffective management programmes

The lack of coordination and responsibility may also result in ineffective programmes. This can be related to the ‘tragedy of the commons’ (Hardin, 1968;

Briassoulis, 2002; Hardy *et al.*, 2002), where, due to a lack of full responsibility or ownership of a natural resource or other important asset, the users of the resource are likely to overexploit it. It may be that the resources tourism and leisure developments are dependent on are not managed effectively with the assistance of those dependent on these resources. In addition, numerous users of a resource may take more than they contribute to the resource, and this may result in a degrading of the resource for future use (Blank, 1989; Kline, 2001).

An example of ineffective management programmes can be seen in the Spanish coastal zone. In one of the most frequently visited countries in the world, over 50% of this region has been developed as a result of tourism (Carter *et al.*, 1993; Garca *et al.*, 2003). Locations along the coast such as the Costa del Sol have suffered from a lack of planning and the spontaneous nature in which development has occurred. Major political instability has also been a hindrance to responsible development approaches along this coast. An attempt was made in 1988 to legislate for strong development controls in order to minimize development excesses. Such action may be too late in many regions, where ineffective management programmes have been in place long term.

Even with strict controls and regulations, successful outcomes are not certain. The numerous US laws and regulations from the 1920s through to the 1980s have been acknowledged to have had relatively minimal effect on preserving and conserving the environmental resources along its coastal regions (Meyer-Arendt, 1993; Hershman and Russell, 2006).

Long time frames for change

The complexities and long time frames of destination governance decision processes (Richins, 2000; Ruhanen, 2004) and the length of time it takes to understand the true long-term effects of destination development are two additional issues regional communities have faced regarding tourism and development. In Ireland, for example, where regional areas with tourism assets have suffered from increased usage for recreation and tourism, the degree of impact is acknowledged as requiring a period of years to understand more completely (Carter *et al.*, 1993; Mason, 2008).

Funding

Funding of public tourism and leisure services can often be less available for communities with low development growth. Planning legislation in Australian states allows for levies to be imposed on new developments at the regional council or county level. This can be a major way in which tourism and leisure facilities are developed by regional government areas. However, these funds are not always forthcoming and they must instead risk borrowed funds or regional rates/taxes as a catalyst to development (Lynch and Veal, 1996; Wilson *et al.*, 2001).

Theme 3: Community issues

Communities have significant pressures placed on them by development, especially in coastal, lake and mountain regions affected by tourism. Seven issues

grouped under the theme of community-related issues in regional communities are described in Table 5.4, with examples following.

Community conflict

A number of regional communities faced with development in their local areas have become substantially divided. Conflict over regional asset developments primarily has been between pro-development factions and more environmentally oriented factions (Kennedy, 1996; Richins and Mayes, 2009). Examples of developments and communities which have previously had conflicts of future developments include: Club Med at Byron Bay, New South Wales, Australia (Ludwig Rieder and Associates, 1988; Westerhausen and Macbeth, 2003), Oyster Point at Cardwell-Hinchinbrook, Queensland (Lunn and Kennedy, 1996; Andersson, 2008) and the Caves Beach development at Lake Macquarie, New South Wales (Koloff, 1994). In each of these cases, communities became polarized with heated debate and extensive community conflict.

Conflicts within communities may be based on a diversity of reasons, either community based or industry based (Richins and Mayes, 2009). Friction which exists between developers and residents generally has been found to be a result of the lack of resolution of major issues and the lack of dialogue with the community, or lack of focus on important community needs during the planning and decision process (Richter, 1990; George *et al.*, 2009). Conflicts also present themselves when non-residents and tourists come into contact with the community and use the same natural settings (McCool, 1990; Ommer, 2007). Local residents may have an emotional attachment to certain sites and feel imposed

Table 5.4. Community issues regional asset areas have faced regarding community destination governance.

Community issues	Description
Community conflict	Regional asset areas faced with development in their local areas have become substantially divided
Lack of local control	A lack of local control in the determination of a community's present and future condition
Lack of local commitment	A lack of local commitment to the community has caused implementation of various actions to be problematic or ineffective
Regional access	Access to the use of regional asset areas, especially along shorelines and sensitive mountain regions, has involved substantial conflict
Land use	Land use issues may be more of a concern to local residents than to external investors or visitors
Population and development pace	The pace of population change in a local community may put great pressure on tourism-oriented community development
Loss of traditional lifestyle	Maintaining cultures and lifestyles has been an important issue to communities

upon by negatively stereotyped 'outsiders' if they visit in large numbers (Sheldon and Var, 1984).

Lack of local control

A lack of local control in the determination of a community's present and future condition has also been found to be an issue (de Kadt, 1979; Craik, 1991; Simmons, 1994; Blackstock, 2005). The local ability to control tourism and destination development, especially in developing countries, may often be minimal, particularly in times of fast-paced development (de Kadt, 1979). This may result in potential loss, or at least perceptual loss, of residents' visual, environmental and community-rural way of life (Simmons, 1994). Governments have been found to disregard the interests and needs of the community as a whole in favour of business needs, with little or no attention paid to the public good or the public's needs (Craik, 1991).

Lack of local commitment

In various regional communities, a lack of commitment locally has caused the implementation of various actions to be problematic or ineffective. Community support for tourism and destination development in some countries may not be sustained in the long run (Ross, 1994; Kay and Alder, 2005). If residents begin to believe that future development is eroding their social or physical environment, this may have major ramifications for planning, development and host-guest relationships.

Even where there is an appearance of local commitment, problems may exist. In Hawaii, the Coastal Zone Management Act 1977 allowed for public participation, although primarily at public hearings and advisory committee meetings, while little emphasis was placed on direct involvement in decision making. This resulted in a number of community groups and private residents in the community feeling a sense of powerlessness (as cited in Nitz, 1989).

Regional asset access

Access for the use of regional asset areas, especially along shorelines and in sensitive river, lake and mountain environments, has long led to substantial conflict (Cook, 1983; Thompson, 2006; Ommer, 2007). There have been numerous studies examining disagreements over access in Australia, the UK and the USA.

In the USA, the rights of the residents have been paramount over the rights of individual owners (Theberge, 1983). After a number of US states, such as Texas, Oregon and Washington, developed open access coastal policies, the passage of the Coastal Zone Management Act in 1972 provided for '... full consideration to ecological, cultural, historic, and aesthetic values as well as to needs for economic development ... to provide for public access to the coasts for recreational purposes' (USC as cited in Wypyszinski, 1983:443).

Land use

Land use issues have been acknowledged as being more of a concern (in terms of immediacy and intensity) to local residents than to external investors or visitors to a destination (Knopp, 1981; Ommer, 2007; Wray, 2009). An example can

be shown in Hawaii, which has seen conflict in the area of coastal/mountain management and land use, with disputes over diverse regional interests including conservation community groups, government agencies, private landowners and private residents (Nitz, 1989; McLaren, 2003).

Population and pace of development

Population growth also puts great pressures (e.g. due to overpopulation, crowding and other social problems) on tourism- and leisure-oriented community development (Edmunds, 1981; Richins, 2009). In US cities such as Monterey, California and Charleston, South Carolina, there have been large increases in visitation as well as residential development. In the USA, South Africa and Mexico, accelerated growth in coastal, lake and mountain populations and the resulting pressures of urbanization and developments have resulted in losses in marine and other ecological systems, dislocation of residents, losses of open space for use by the public and/or further losses in living and quality-of-life factors (Burns *et al.*, 1993; Ommmer, 2007).

Loss of traditional lifestyle

Traditional cultures and lifestyles have also been an important issue to some communities (Smith, 1989; Uniyal *et al.*, 2003). An Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (1975:27) paper on government policy in the development of tourism over 30 years ago acknowledged the need to safeguard ‘... traditional cultures and ways of life ...’ in local communities which were becoming involved in tourism.

Theme 4: Impact issues

In evaluating the study of impacts from tourism and other forms of development on communities, four major issues within this theme are described in Table 5.5, with examples following.

Table 5.5. Impact issues regional communities have faced regarding community destination governance.

Impact issues	Description
Lack of balance or parity within the community	A lack of emphasis by policy makers regarding the environmental, economic, social and cultural needs
Difficulty in researching impacts	Assessing the breadth and depth of issues concerning the impacts of destination development is problematic
Dependency of physical environment	The physical environment of a destination affects the types and extent of development
Unrealistic views on impacts	Critical analysis of destination development has been advocated in response to unrealistic views

Lack of balance in the community

There has been a lack of emphasis by policy makers regarding the environmental, economic, social and cultural needs (especially social needs) of communities with, instead, attention given primarily to purported economic benefits (Craik, 1991; Richins, 2009). More recently, this perceived balance has begun to change, with a greater emphasis on more harmonious relationships between the environment and the sociocultural as well as economic factors (Murphy and Price, 2005; Mowforth and Munt, 2008).

Difficulty in researching impacts of development

A number of circumstances have created great challenges for the management of regional communities, but assessing the breadth and depth of these issues concerning the impacts of development is fraught with difficulty. An emphasis on only easily quantifiable economic factors is in contrast with the view that 'many of the impacts that concern communities are qualitative, ideological and ethical issues, which do not conform to the assumptions about "knowledge" that underpin techniques of "scientific" measurement' (Craik, 1991:82).

The deficiencies of subjective measurement in tourism regarding environmental and social effects (primarily) have been acknowledged (Thompson and Thompson, 1994; Gerberich, 2005). The difficulties in quantifying the costs of tourism development have been due primarily to the intangible nature of these costs (Goldin, 1993; Briassoulis, 2002).

Dependency of physical environment

The physical environment of a tourism- or leisure-oriented destination both affects and puts constraints on the types and extent of development in a region (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Ommer, 2007), and ultimately the degree of tolerance tourists or residents have to perceived overbuilt environments (Butler and Waldbrook, 1991; Green, 2005). Indeed, developments are often seen as significantly dependent on the physical environment, both in terms of attraction as well as impact.

Unrealistic views on impacts of tourism and development

Two primary views have been put forward regarding tourism impacts. Critical analysis of tourism industry and destination development has been advocated in response to a type of 'triumphalism' of the tourism industry, and the sometimes, unquestioned acceptance of development by governments and the general public (Pattullo, 1996; Harrill and Potts, 2003). A strong criticism can be put forward, however, for an emphasis on tourism success in communities based on the concept of 'more' (i.e. more tourists, more development, more jobs, more growth, more settlers). This 'boosterism' platform may lead instead to social, ecological and political decisions which have a negative rather than a positive impact on quality of life (Richter, 1990; Wahab and Pigram, 1997).

Instead, the impact of destination development on communities from the perspective of the cautionary platform indicates that:

Tourism is, to a large degree, a resource-based activity, with a capacity to initiate far-reaching changes to the physical and human environment. Many forms of tourism are seen as contributing to environmental degradation, and

tending to be self-destructive. Erosion of the resource base, impairment of the built environment, and disruption of the social fabric of host communities are common indicators of the undesirable impacts which can ensue from the predatory effects of a mass influx of tourists.

(Ding and Pigram, 1995:2)

Conclusion

The above typology has explored various issues and pressures communities have faced regarding community destination governance. The four major themes are *development issues*, *structural and management issues*, *community issues* and *impact issues*. Destination communities may be affected substantially by any of these issues. This chapter has acknowledged the great challenges in understanding and addressing issues and pressures which affect the characteristics, circumstances, management and governance of the future environment in which regional destinations exist.

As has been illustrated through the exploration of this typology, community destination issues which regions have faced are widespread and provide significant governance challenges. The numerous conflicts, lack of control and commitment, issues of coastal, lake and mountain access and land use and the pace of population increase and development, as well as the numerous other issues indicated, may all play a part in the concerns tourism-oriented communities face when creating a progressive or sustainable process for their future.

It is anticipated that this typology of the issues and pressures which communities may have to address may provide a positive basis or set of tools for the development and implementation of more integrated solutions to complex coastal, lake and mountain management and tourism development related problems. By reviewing these pressures and issues for each community, the approaches for dealing with these questions may be understood more clearly and be more effectual, both in development and implementation and in the outcomes which result.

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6

The Role of Knowledge in Good Governance for Tourism

GIANNA MOSCARDO

Introduction

In its broadest sense, governance refers to the processes by which groups of people make decisions, and it covers all the ways in which decision-making power is organized and used in a group (Graham *et al.*, 2003). In the context of the development and management of tourist destinations, governance can be seen as encompassing the processes and institutions responsible for decision making about tourism, and these can include various levels of government, as well as tourism promotion organizations, chambers of commerce, development bureaus, private sector enterprises and community or resident groups (Hall, 2005). This chapter will argue that knowledge is a central concept in understanding patterns of governance for tourist destinations and that better knowledge and more widespread ownership and creation of knowledge is essential for improving the governance of tourist destinations.

The first part of the chapter will report on an analysis of 100 case studies of tourism development processes in peripheral regions around the world that examined the barriers and challenges to sustainable tourism development. The sample of case studies included destinations from Africa, Europe, Asia, Australia, the South Pacific and the Americas and included a range of tourism styles including eco and wildlife-based tourism, farm tourism, cultural tourism and resort developments. The present chapter will concentrate its reporting of this study on these barriers and how they relate to the distribution and use of knowledge and decision-making power in these tourist destinations. The results of this analysis support an argument that many of the barriers to sustainable tourism development can be understood by exploring what kinds of knowledge of tourism exist within the destination region, who claims ownership of this knowledge and how this influences decision-making power. The second part of the chapter will use the results of the case study analysis to propose a series of principles for using knowledge to improve the governance of tourist destinations. It will argue that

governance for sustainability in tourist destinations requires a better understanding of tourism and its impacts, an improved understanding of tourist destination systems, and educational and public participation mechanisms for ensuring that all key stakeholders have access to, and ownership of, tourism knowledge.

Like many other concepts associated with politics, power and communities, the term 'governance' is the subject of substantial debate (Hezri and Dovers, 2005). According to Hezri and Dovers (2005), in the past 'governance' was often used interchangeably with 'government', meaning essentially the exercise of power. Increasingly, though, it is associated with principles of democracy and participation in decision making and efficiency in terms of service delivery (Hezri and Dovers, 2005). In the tourism context, Palmer (1998:187) defines governance as 'the means by which relationships between interrelated components of a system are regulated'. By combining this pragmatic definition with the principles outlined by Hezri and Dover (2005), governance can be conceptualized as an approach to decision making and regulation in tourism which is based on democratic principles and seeks to maximize efficiency in decisions made in the public arena.

There are strong links between a rising interest in governance in general and increasing concerns about the sustainability of tourism development as a social and economic phenomenon (Trousdale, 1999). For example, Tosun (1998) provides a summary of the principles associated with sustainable tourism. The principles listed by Tosun (1998) suggest that sustainable tourism is more than simply tourism that does not damage the biophysical environment or deplete resources. It is also tourism that improves the quality of life and standards of living for all destination residents. It is often argued that the critical component of sustainable tourism development is that it is based on community participation in tourism planning and decision making (Gunn, 2002; Hall, 2005). But, despite this recognition that sustainable tourism is dependent on systems of governance that actively seek and support destination community input, the reality is that in many destinations residents have little or no say in the decisions made about tourism (Tosun, 2000). This can be seen as resulting from two related forces – a lack of awareness of, and willingness to use, effective mechanisms for public participation and a dominant social representation of tourism development which incorporates beliefs and directives about what kind of tourism knowledge is held by which stakeholders.

Although many authors have outlined the various benefits of mechanisms for encouraging public participation in tourism development, only a few have conducted critical analyses on the effectiveness of these strategies (Simmons, 1994; Timothy, 1999; Scheyvens, 2003). These critical analyses have identified several barriers to the effectiveness of mechanisms and strategies for community involvement in tourism development. These include increased costs in terms of time and money, prolonged and/or inefficient decision making, difficulties in ensuring widespread representativeness of input, cultural and political restrictions on public expression, and limitations in community awareness and understanding of tourism and its consequences (Hall, 2000; Timothy and Tosun, 2003). This last barrier has been given very little attention by tourism researchers but has been identified consistently as a problem in case studies of development

in rural and remote regions (Timothy, 1999; Upchurch and Teivane, 2000; Chakravarty, 2003; Reid *et al.*, 2004).

It could be argued that this lack of research attention to problems of tourism awareness and knowledge among community stakeholders is partly the result of it being consistent with a prevailing or dominant social representation of tourism planning processes in which many communities, but particularly those in peripheral regions, are seen as having little or no experience of tourism and are thus incapable of making an effective contribution to tourism development plans or processes. This then supports intervention or assistance from external agents such as national tourism authorities, consultants or foreign tour operators. In particular, these external agents are seen as having the knowledge of tourists that is necessary for effective marketing and local residents are seen as being able only to offer knowledge of local cultural and natural heritage resources that could be used for tourism (Moscardo, 2008). In this social representation of tourism development, public participation need only focus on ways to gather information on resources for tourism or on winning supporters for any proposed development.

Analysing Tourism Development Processes

The aim of the study reported in this chapter was to explore the relationships between destination community awareness and understanding of tourism, community participation in tourism decision making and barriers to effective tourism development in peripheral regions. In this chapter, peripheral regions are defined as those that are geographically remote or difficult to access from established tourist centres or urban populations, that are removed from decision-making institutions and that have low levels of economic vitality (Botterill *et al.*, 2002). These include regions in both developing and developed nations and typically these peripheral regions are rural areas. This focus on peripheral regions is important because it is in these regions that tourism is often used as a tool for regional development (Moscardo, 2005a) and where there is often poor governance in relation to tourism decision making (Tosun, 2005). Tosun (2005) provides an example of these issues in several regions in Turkey and Akama (1996) discusses them in the context of tourism in Kenya.

The results presented in this chapter were generated from a database of more than 300 case studies describing tourism development processes and outcomes in peripheral and rural regions. The main focus of this analysis was on identifying the factors associated with negative and positive outcomes and impacts associated with tourism in these regions. The overall approach taken in developing the database was an inductive one based on the general guidelines for developing grounded theory set out by Glaser and Strauss (1967), and updated by Douglas (2003), and the more specific framework provided by Eisenhardt (1989) for use with case study research. The present study uses Eisenhardt's (1989) framework to guide the conduct of the research because of its detail and its continued use by others (Voss *et al.*, 2002; Patton and Appelbaum, 2003; Riege, 2003).

Table 6.1 summarizes each of the stages and procedures described by Eisenhardt (1989) and their application to the present study. In summary, the method involved finding the cases through literature reviews and searches of the Internet, reading the descriptions provided and content analysing these descriptions to identify factors associated with positive and negative outcomes of tourism development. This method was tested on a preliminary sample of 40 case studies and full details are available in a paper presenting the results of this test (Moscardo, 2005a). This first test identified the following 12 barriers to effective tourism development:

- dominance of external agents in the development process;
- limited or no formal planning;
- limited market analysis or a reliance on external agents for limited market information;

Table 6.1. Summary of process of analysing case studies to build theory.

Step	Main activity	The present study
Getting started	Define research question	Identify barriers to tourism development in peripheral regions Identify effective processes for such development
	Identify useful a priori constructs	Themes from previous studies on this topic are identified
Selecting cases	Specify population	Case studies of tourism development in peripheral regions (a total of 289 have been identified)
	Theoretical sampling	Select a random sample of 100 cases available in the database
Crafting protocols	Multiple data collection methods Combine qualitative and quantitative methods Multiple investigators	The use of existing cases meets all these criteria
Analysing data	Within-case analysis	Already provided in existing cases
	Cross-case patterns identified	Coding for themes and contrasts between pairs of cases used to identify main themes
Shaping hypotheses	Iterative tabulation of evidence for each concept across cases	As themes emerge, the list is used to examine new cases and to re-examine earlier cases Used to develop a preliminary conceptual scheme

- limited community awareness of potential negative impacts;
- false expectations about potential benefits from tourism;
- conflict over tourism development within communities;
- lack of tourism leadership from within the community;
- lack of coordination of community stakeholders;
- limited control over, and involvement or participation in, tourism planning by community members;
- limited connections to tourism distribution systems;
- poor infrastructure development; and
- lack of skills and capital within destination communities.

For the present chapter, a random sample of 100 cases was selected. The content analysis of these cases focused specifically on the occurrence of the 12 barriers identified in the test stage of the research, any additional barriers, the relationships between these barriers and the conditions that contributed to situations where these barriers arose. Table 6.2 provides a basic profile of the 100 cases analysed. As can be seen, the sample included cases from most regions of the world, although European cases were the most common. The majority of cases described the early stages of tourism development, with only eight cases discussing established tourist destinations. Given the large number of emerging destinations, it is not surprising that few specific forms of tourism were discussed.

The first step in the analysis was to examine the 100 cases for discussion of barriers to effective tourism development outcomes for the destination community. This content analysis was guided by the 12 barriers identified previously,

Table 6.2. Overview of the cases analysed.

Profile variable	Cases (%)
Region	
Africa	12
Europe	44
Asia	8
Australia	18
South Pacific	7
North America	7
Central/South America	4
Type of tourism	
Ecotourism	8
Wildlife-based tourism	1
Rural/farm tourism	24
Cultural tourism	5
Community-based tourism	1
Resort	1
Not specified	60
Stage of development	
Developing/emerging	92
Developed/established	8

but also sought to identify any further barriers. The results of this step are presented in Table 6.3. Two coders worked independently on the content analysis, with an intercoder reliability of 0.67, following the practice advocated by Bryman and Bell (2003). No new barriers were identified by either coder. As can be seen in the table, the three most commonly reported barriers were problems with market analysis or a reliance on external agents for market information, limited control over or involvement by community members in the tourism planning process and a lack of coordination of community stakeholders.

The second step in the analysis looked at the co-occurrence of these barriers and used a hierarchical cluster analysis program to identify how these different barriers were related to each other. Figure 6.1 provides a conceptual framework for understanding the underlying connections between these barriers based on the results of the cluster analysis. The first group of barriers that are commonly combined are limited local leadership, lack of coordination of community stakeholders and the dominance of external agents. Case studies that described these barriers typically reported that where there was no tourism leadership from within the community and/or poor coordination between community stakeholders, then external agents tended to dominate tourism governance processes. These external agents included international tour operators, non-government agencies, consultants and national government departments.

The second group combines limited resident awareness of tourism and its potential negative impacts, limited skills and capital within destination communities and limited market analysis with problems with infrastructure, and false expectations about tourism. This was a commonly occurring cluster of barriers that contributed to poor outcomes in the case studies examined.

The second level of the conceptual framework then links limited planning and conflict within communities to the false expectations and limited market

Table 6.3. Frequency of occurrence of barriers to effective tourism.

Barriers	Cases (%)
Existing barriers:	
Limited market analysis or a reliance on external agents for limited market information	36
Limited control over, and involvement or participation in, tourism planning by community members	26
Lack of coordination of community stakeholders	25
Poor infrastructure development	19
Dominance of external agents in the development process	18
Limited or no formal planning	15
Conflict over tourism development within communities	4
Limited community awareness of potential negative impacts	13
False expectations about potential benefits from tourism	5
Limited connections to tourism distribution systems	5
Lack of tourism leadership from within the community	4
Lack of skills and capital within destination communities	3

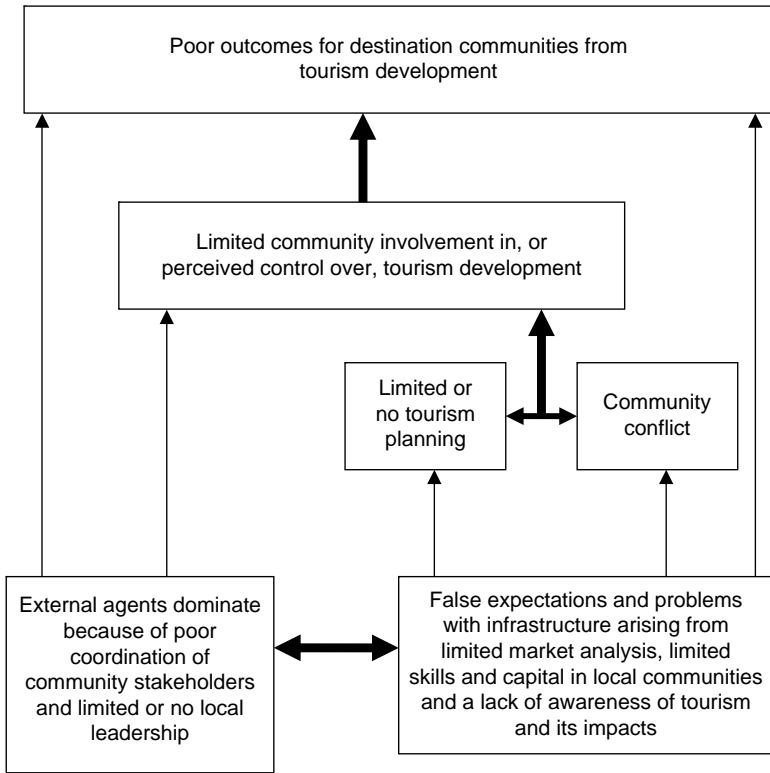


Fig. 6.1. Conceptual framework of barriers to sustainable tourism outcomes.

analysis, skills and capital cluster. Together, these problems collectively limit local resident involvement in the tourism development process. This in turn means that tourism development is unlikely to be well connected to local businesses; it may mean that the type of tourism developed offers few employment or business opportunities for locals and it typically results in limited attention paid to minimizing the negative impacts of tourism.

The Role of Knowledge and Power in Tourism Development

The final step of the case study analysis examines in detail the conditions that contributed to the clusters of barriers described in the previous section. Two key concepts emerged across a range of cases in different settings – the relationship between knowledge and power. Power in the tourism development context has been defined as ‘the capacity of individuals to make decisions that affect their lives’ (Johnson and Wilson 2000:1892). The analyses of the 100 cases in this study consistently identified the issue of who had the power to make decisions about the nature of the tourism development as a key factor influencing the impacts of that development on the destination.

While it has been recognized increasingly that when external agents hold the most power over tourism decision making, tourism development is unlikely to be sustainable (Hall, 2003), there has been little analysis of the factors that contribute to these situations. The results of the present case study analysis suggest that knowledge of tourism and who claims to have that knowledge are major factors that contribute to the nature of power in peripheral regions and to the presence of a range of barriers to sustainable tourism outcomes.

In the first instance, differences in purported knowledge of tourism and tourists were often used to justify power imbalances between destination communities and external agents that favoured the external agents. Typically, it was argued that because the residents of a destination community had little or no experience of tourism or tourists, effective tourism development needed to be directed by an external agent such as a foreign tour operator, national government tourism agency, consultant or non-government organization. Even when there were attempts at public participation in tourism planning, the use of external consultants or experts limited the ability of residents to participate fully. The act of simply using an expert creates a power imbalance, regardless of the intentions of the expert or those who employ him or her. This problem of the use of external experts or consultants to run participation processes has also been noted in other forms of development in peripheral regions (Johnson and Wilson, 2000; Herbert-Cheshire and Higgins, 2004).

This problem of a lack of local knowledge of tourism being used to justify a shift in power from destination communities to external agents was especially relevant to decisions about markets. In some of the African cases, for example, it was noted that external agents, especially wildlife conservation agencies and international tour operators, typically gained substantial power over tourism development decisions because of their claimed expertise in understanding what international tourist markets wanted from an African experience. But, these types of external agents often have experience of only one particular type of market – in this case, luxury-seeking wildlife tourists. Thus, the external agents argue for the establishment of conservation areas that exclude local residents and expensive safari lodges that provide few opportunities for employment or economic gain for these displaced residents. This is a pattern that has been described by others (Akama, 1996; Brooks, 2005; McGregor, 2005).

If local residents lack awareness and understanding of tourism, then it is unlikely that tourism leaders will come from within these resident communities. A lack of local tourism leadership further undermines the ability of destination residents to participate in tourism planning and development. A third way in which knowledge is linked to power over tourism decisions is through the problem of false optimism for tourism benefits. The case studies analysed for this present chapter included several examples where a lack of knowledge of tourism contributed to unrealistic expectations with regard to employment and economic opportunities. The resulting disillusionment can lead to locals disengaging from tourism, further tipping the balance of power in favour of external agents and limiting the possibilities for tourism to contribute to the quality of life of local residents. Finally, a lack of awareness of tourism impacts, especially potential negative impacts, means that there is little motivation to develop plans to

anticipate or mitigate any negative consequences of tourism developments. It is important to note that this lack of tourism knowledge applied to local residents, local, and often national, government officials and many decision makers in non-government aid agencies.

Building Community Capacity for Governance in Tourism

In summary, the findings of this analysis indicated that a fundamental barrier to sustainable tourism and good governance for tourism was a lack of knowledge about tourism. This lack of tourism knowledge was a key element contributing to problems with tourism leadership and effective tourism planning. These issues are fundamental to community readiness or capacity to participate in tourism development, a concept that has been given little attention in the tourism literature. In general, tourism planners have concentrated on product rather than community development (Burns and Sancho, 2003). Although only a handful of tourism researchers (Bourke and Luloff, 1996; Reid *et al.*, 2004) have discussed the concept of assessing community readiness for tourism development, the conclusions offered are consistent with those derived from studies of community readiness for participation in other areas of development such as health (Slater *et al.*, 2005) and agriculture (Bokor, 2001). According to Bourke and Luloff (1996), overall attitudes towards tourism and knowledge of tourism and resources are critical features of community tourism participation readiness; while for Reid and colleagues (2004), key community tourism participation readiness indicators are leadership, the existence of an organization to coordinate tourism development and community understanding of tourism.

Strategies for Enhancing Community Understanding of Tourism

Given that effective participation in tourism planning, support for tourism initiatives and preparedness for change associated with tourism all depend on the levels of understanding of tourism and its consequences, it is important that strategies for enhancing tourism knowledge be developed for regional communities. It is also important to note that any suggested strategies are currently limited by:

- the existence of very few examples of general tourism education or awareness campaigns (Timothy, 1999); and
- limited research into what residents actually do know about tourism and how they acquire this information (Pearce *et al.*, 1996).

Despite these limitations, there are a growing number of studies being published that evaluate specific campaigns designed to involve local residents in tourism planning, and there are lessons that can be learned from these analyses. Sammy's (2008) review of several activities conducted as part of community-based tourism programmes in Botswana and Ghana in Africa highlights the importance of beginning any public participation programme with a shared understanding of

what a tourist is and what he or she seeks from his or her travel experiences. Sammy (2008) concludes that the use of drama and drawing exercises to establish a common ground of assumptions can be a useful starting point for communities seeking to make decisions about whether and what style of tourism development to pursue. Both Sammy (2008) and Stronza (2008) argue for the use of field trips where community leaders and representatives travel to and meet with representatives of communities who have tried various forms of tourism development. Stronza's (2008) work on partnerships between communities in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia highlights the value of knowledge sharing between communities and the establishment of networks.

It is worth noting that there have been many educational initiatives aimed at training regional residents to work in tourism (Timothy, 1999; Arell, 2000), and there is a long history of consultants and planners gathering information about regions from residents to use in the development of tourism products (Hall, 2005). Although these examples are of education to support tourism rather than about tourism, they can also provide some insights into effective information exchange tools. Table 6.4 provides a summary of some the strategies that can be employed to improve community understanding of tourism.

It is also important to consider the content to be included in these educational strategies. The existing research into community understanding of tourism suggests some core content areas that should be considered in all of these strategies. These are:

- systems models of tourism (Dredge and Moore, 1992; Gartner, 1996; Pearce *et al.*, 1996);
- detailed descriptions of both the positive and potentially negative impacts of tourism, preferably illustrated with cases studies and examples from

Table 6.4. Summary of strategies for enhancing community understanding of tourism.

Target audience	Strategies
General public	Media campaigns including public service announcements on radio and television, websites, brochures, regular newspaper columns and posters
Specific groups/types of individuals – local government officials, planners, business owners, interest groups, service organizations and community opinion leaders	Public meetings Workshops Focus groups Seminars Field trips to other communities with similar interests in tourism development
General public (indirectly)	Tourism as a subject in primary and secondary schools
Future government officials, planners and business owners and managers	Subjects and courses in tourism systems and planning in tertiary colleges and universities

- communities similar to those being targeted in the educational campaign (Keogh, 1990; Pearce *et al.*, 1996; Upchurch and Teivane, 2000; Chakravarty, 2003);
- information on the opportunities for local businesses and residents to benefit from tourism and how they can make the most of these opportunities (Keogh, 1990; Chakravarty, 2003);
 - feasibility assessments for different types of tourism development with realistic estimates of likely visitor numbers and returns on investment (Keogh, 1990; Chakravarty, 2003); and
 - the financial risks for local governments and residents associated with investments in different types of tourism development (Keogh, 1990; Chakravarty, 2003).

In addition to incorporating these core elements into any community awareness campaigns, it is also important that these campaigns be adjusted based on assessments of the levels of existing knowledge and information needs in the region of concern (Keogh, 1990; Pearce *et al.*, 1996; Reid *et al.*, 2004).

Conclusion: The Role of Knowledge in Good Governance for Tourism

Bingen and colleagues (2003) suggest that there are three main types of approach to community capacity building in the development of rural and peripheral regions. The first type includes contract or business programmes where aid is given to facilitate community access to goods and services required for production. In the case of tourism, this would include grants to build tourist facilities and tourism infrastructure and to seek the advice of external experts on issues such as marketing. The second type of approach to community capacity building is called project or technology programmes. In this category, funding and support is provided for the acquisition and use of new technologies for production. In tourism, an example would be the building of websites to provide tourist information. The final approach is called process or human capacity investment. In this approach, the focus is on the development of foundation skills, social capital, collective action groups and the building of networks within and outside the community to allow residents direct access to the market and other knowledge they need. The primary aim of process and human capacity approaches is to 'develop organizational and individual capacity as a foundation for all other activities' (Bingen *et al.*, 2003:414). Bingen *et al.* (2003:405) reviewed a number of development programmes in agriculture and concluded that while process/human capacity programmes 'tend to be slower in producing tangible results, the skills emphasized often determine the ability of a community to access inputs and market production beyond the life of a project'. The results of the present study support this conclusion.

Sustainable tourism development requires greater attention be paid to the development of resident community knowledge and awareness of tourism. The primary goal for tourism educators in the area of development in peripheral regions is to educate destination community stakeholders about, not simply for,

tourism. This requires a change away from seeing communities as resources for tourism towards tourism as a resource for communities. To support this, tourism researchers need to continue to examine critically the nature of tourism impacts, both positive and negative. Tourism research also needs to be conducted into how to enhance destination community knowledge of tourism effectively. Higgins-Desbiolles (2006) has recently suggested that tourism researchers and educators have forgotten the power of tourism as a social force. She argues that in recent times the pressure on destinations to be competitive has encouraged many to see tourism only as an industry. In such a perspective, it becomes easy to see destination communities only as resources for this industry. The key to enhancing tourism as part of sustainable regional development is to enhance the knowledge of destination communities so that they can harness this power of tourism.

Note

Parts of this chapter have been presented at two conferences (Moscardo, 2005b,c).

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Part II

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7

Tourist Destination Governance Decision Making: Complexity, Dynamics and Influences

HAROLD RICHINS, JEROME AGRUSA, NOEL SCOTT
AND ERIC LAWS

This chapter provides an introduction to Part II, with a focus on the complexity, dynamics and influences of decision making in the context of tourist destination governance. As with most organizations, public or private, decision making holds the key to effectiveness in governance. Developments related to tourist destinations may be distinctive and contentious in nature and may involve complicated and arduous processes in reaching a decision.

The study of decision making has also been pursued over many years (Allport, 1956, as cited in Elbing, 1972; Tannenbaum, 1971; Polya, 1945, as cited in Baron, 1994) and within various disciplines, including psychology, social psychology, economics, mathematical statistics, operations research, planning, political science, management, organizational behaviour, artificial intelligence and cognitive science (Jabes, 1982; Wexley and Yuki, 1984; Simon, 1992; Moorhead and Griffin, 1995). Edwards and Newmand (1986) indicate that articles about either the study of judgement or decision making have appeared in more than 500 journals.

A number of authors have looked at decision making and the decision-making process with relevance to governance (Friend and Jessop, 1971; Butler and Waldbrook, 1991; Jackson and O'Donnell, 1993). Aspects of decision making receiving attention relative to governance have included: the informal versus formal nature of decision making (Resource Assessment Commission, 1993); those who participate in decision making (Davis and Weinbaum, 1969); influence and behaviour in decision making (Wild, 1983); the variability and dynamic nature of regional destination decision making (Healy and Zinn, 1985); the major factors in understanding how individuals interact and relate during the decision-making processes (Davis, 1980); inclusion (Wheeler and Sillanpää, 1998) and the degree of openness in the decision-making process (Bains, as cited in Haynes, 1980; Shroff, 1993).

There are also a number of personal and external factors involved in decision making. Hunt *et al.* (1989) acknowledge the importance of beliefs,

predispositions, skills, experiences and a distinctive style and process in decision making. Aspects such as parochial self-defined interests, individual and divergent agendas and unlimited stakeholders, all vying for attention, also impact the effectiveness of the political decision maker (McGrew and Wilson, 1982).

Researchers in social psychology studying tourism and the broader area of leisure have concentrated primarily on interactions between the tourist and the resident (Smith, 1989). Psychological studies of group travel interactions have often concentrated on intrapersonal factors (i.e. those inherent in the individual), tending to ignore the social context and various situational factors that could have an effect on individual behaviour (Stringer and Pearce, 1984).

Few explorations of governance and decision makers in tourist destinations have been conducted (Richins and Pearce, 2000). Numerous decision-making theories have been explored which lie broadly on a suggested continuum between highly structured, moderately structured and unstructured (Richins, 1997). The method and scope of decision making in complex destination governance decisions relate to Elbing's (1978) environment of decision making, where this includes some consideration of the economic, social, physical, political and technical impacts on the decision makers, and Richins's (2000) typology of influences on regional destination decision making, including influences of interpersonal, structural, intrapersonal and community needs.

A number of issues relate to a discussion of decision-making theory. These include: conflict during the process of decision making (Janis and Mann, 1977; Thomas, 1977, as cited in Darley *et al.*, 1984); consistency (or lack of) in the way people make complex decisions (Edwards and Newmand, 1986); the fragmented nature of considerations and constituents in the decision process (Roberts and Hunt, 1991); uncertainty and risk with the effects of decisions (Archer, 1964; Friend and Jessop, 1971; Aschenbrenner *et al.*, 1982; Sniezek and Buckley, 1993); bias which may exist from initial impressions, omissions, the information provided or other attitude-forming circumstances (Audley, 1971; Ritov and Baron, 1995); the unique frame of reference for each complex decision process (Kahneman and Miller, as cited in Boles and Messick, 1995); and the ways or norms in how people interact during the decision process (Argyris, 1978).

With direct relevance to governance in regional destination areas, previous research has identified eight major areas of concern for regional destination governance and decision making (Richins, 1999). These are:

- 1.** *Image and perception of interests*, that is, the perceived poor image and lack of trust in the mind of locals, the perception of corruption, resentment, vested interests and suspicion, and the potential that the public has limited understanding of local government.
- 2.** *Remoteness and geography*, that is, the large number of regional governments which are dispersed geographically, including the often sparse population of the regions in which governance presides.
- 3.** *The lack of responsiveness* and disjointed nature of services and responsibilities in destination governance.
- 4.** *Challenges in the relationships* with other governments, including power concentrated away from regional control, little coordination between regional

governments, duplication, competition and lack of consultation between levels of government.

5. *Procedural and structural concerns*, that is, lack of accountability, the hindrances of regulatory aspects and lack of adequate information.

6. *Concerns involving community interactions*, that is, changing sentiment, conflict and lack of consensus in the community, influence of outside pressure from constituents, apathy, lack of concern or lack of consultation with all affected parties.

7. *Responsibilities and functions* of those involved in governance, including the perceived minor role of regional government and unclearly defined roles of government decision makers.

8. *Focus and complexity in decision making*, that is, the difficulty in making complex decisions at regional levels, lack of training and skills, and vision.

Decision-making processes are often very complex and difficult to understand (Friend and Jessop, 1971; Butler and Waldbrook, 1991; Stanton and Aislabie, 1992) when those with governance responsibilities have tended to become reactive rather than proactive to proposals and development issues (Jones, 1993), when there is fragmentation in both approach and understanding (Dredge and Moore, 1992), when there is uncertainty as to outcomes, choices and implications (Friend and Jessop, 1971) and when there is a lack of appropriate skills and expertise (Jackson and O'Donnell, 1993) in thoroughly comprehending or dealing with the governance process and its consequences. The following indicates a listing of 16 distinct aspects previously identified as representing complexity in destination decision making (Richins, 1997):

- Conflicting attitudes and opinions;
- Lack of understanding or skills regarding the complexities of decision making;
- Diversity of influences on decision behaviour;
- Reactive versus proactive approaches to decision making;
- Uncertainty as to decision outcomes and choices;
- Fragmented nature of development applications;
- Inconsistency in the ways in which people make decisions;
- Bias in type and ways in which information is presented;
- Unique frames of reference or social representations regarding decision makers;
- Ways or norms in how people interact during the decision process;
- Variety in levels or phases of the decision process;
- The numerous organizations involved in the process;
- Dependencies in some development decisions;
- Diversity of stakeholders;
- Structured and unstructured stimuli; and
- Fear of change in the community.

Local government decision makers may also be faced with additional dilemmas, barriers and divergence of opinions concerning the future of their community. Clark (1988:87) alluded to the dilemma that many of those in governance roles faced, stating 'from a practical perspective, I suspect that it is going to be

difficult to arrive at decisions which are socially and environmentally acceptable to the community and, at the same time, economically feasible'. Owens (1985:324) suggested that poorly thought out governance practices should be replaced, stating 'Local elected officials' traditional reliance on ad hoc decision-making – where decisions are based on who is involved and the circumstances at the time of the decision – must be overcome'. The Resource Assessment Commission's (1993) review of decision-making processes in the Huon-Channel case study area in Tasmania identified various 'road blocks' to future tourism development, especially in the absence of proactive governance practices and cohesive and integrated assessments of development proposals.

The chapters in this part of the book provide for an understanding of decision making related to governance in regional areas with prominent influences and effects of tourism development. This includes aspects of the complexities, dynamics, processes and challenges of decision making and the degree to which this provides a context in the governance of tourism, particularly in relation to tourist destination governance.

Summary of Chapters and Relevance to Part II

Chapter 8 – Responding to Crises in Thailand: A governance Analysis

Chapter 8 has a focus on governance decision making during a number of major crises that Thailand has faced over the past decade which have had significant impacts on tourism. The authors of this chapter, Kom Campiranon, Eric Laws and Noel Scott, show, through an exploratory analysis, the way in which a national government reacted and the decisions made with relevance to destination governance during a time of crisis. The chapter also describes a very useful concept for governance, particularly with relevance to tourist destination decision making. The definition refers to governance in terms of dealing with 'the ways in which decision-making power is organized and used' and 'understood to include the processes and institutions responsible for decision making about tourism, notably various levels of government, as well as tourism promotion organizations, development bureaus, private sector enterprises and local community or resident groups'.

The authors develop further in this chapter the concept of governance to include both exercises in power as well as workings of democracy and participation in decision making. Of particular interest, Chapter 8 includes the effects of governance decisions relating to tourist destinations during a period of crisis. Two particular crisis situations are explored – major democratic protests in Bangkok, as well as the response and reactions to the Boxing Day 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami. Through this review, the authors indicate the importance of strong proactive, strategic and structured approaches to future potential crises. In addition, the chapter discusses the challenges and potential ineffectiveness of tourism industry responses to major crises and the importance of governance approaches (with the possibility of collaboration with industry) in dealing more effectively with large, potentially negative events.

Chapter 9 – Controversial Ecotourism and Stakeholder Roles in Governance: ‘Swim with Humpback Whales’ in Vava’u

Chapter 9 looks closely at stakeholder roles in the governance of a wildlife tourist activity in Vava’u, Tonga. The case study presented by Kaye Walker and Gianna Moscardo acknowledges the international attention (and pressure) a controversial ‘swim with whales’ tourist activity has received. The chapter explores the conflict of values between and within a number of the stakeholders impacted by the activity in the South Pacific kingdom.

The chapter describes the controversial activity and setting and then explores the challenges of effective governance regarding an activity that effectively pits conservation and wildlife preservation principles against tourism development in an island destination. The findings of the study on the whale tourist activity are discussed, describing the serious issues, and a framework for values-based sustainable tourism is considered.

Perhaps, due to the international concern of individuals and, more specifically, of international non-government organizations concerned for animal welfare, this case provides an interesting illustration in understanding governance issues on both a national and international level. An important finding relates to the challenge of conflicting cultural, environmental and economic values and how these may differ significantly between more localized and international stakeholders.

A secondary aspect of this case is a realization of the potential broader external scrutiny of an industry when international values are challenged. Further challenges exist, as indicated in Chapter 9, in influencing destination governance without undue external interference and control. This supports the view that decision making is a major facet of effective governance, and a focus on the importance of determining ways to address cultural and environmental value differences and challenges is needed. The chapter finishes by discussing potential solutions to local–international collaboration and engagement in areas of potential conflict and difference with relevance to destination governance.

Chapter 10 – Community Empowered Tourism Development: A Case Study

Chapter 10 explores the area of destination governance that focuses on community involvement and empowerment as a key to success in regional communities. Jerome Agrusa and Guilherme Albieri endeavour to explore the global–traditional nexus which regional communities continue to face. They acknowledge what is referred to as ‘a dangerous governance gap’ and the need for new ways of governance to address highly complex destination challenges. Also discussed is the importance of merging more traditional and separate sectors of society in dealing with and making decisions regarding complex governance problems. This includes the movement away from quick-fix or government-fix approaches to issues and toward a more integrated and comprehensive approach to governance and decision making.

The chapter proposes a new paradigm in working toward partnerships of decision-making resources with locally adaptable solutions and involving public,

private and community involvement and responsibility. The chapter discusses a case study of Prainha do Canto Verde, Brazil, and a number of principles which are implemented in achieving the potential success of this partnership-involvement approach to governance.

As part of Chapter 10, six important points are presented representing the aspects of best practice in governance within a developing destination. These relate to local income generation and entrepreneurial activities, local participation in decision making and governance, reinforcement of local culture, environmental practices, local knowledge transfer and a focus on economic outcomes. The chapter concludes by demonstrating results of success and expressing the importance of empowerment and a collaborative, localized approach within isolated villages that are potential tourist destinations.

Chapter 7 has attempted to shed some light on the complexities of decision making relating specifically to regional governance and tourism development within communities. This chapter and the three chapters in this part of the book cover tourism-oriented decision making in relation to community governance and they explore various complexities and considerations key destination decision makers face in making demanding decisions.

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8

Responding to Crises in Thailand: A Governance Analysis

KOM CAMPIRANON, ERIC LAWS AND NOEL SCOTT

Introduction

Tourism is the major export service of Thailand (Vogt and Wittayakorn, 1998), accounting for around 6–7% of the country's gross domestic product (EIU ViewsWire, 2003). Thailand has, however, suffered a series of crises during the opening decade of the 21st century which have had serious consequences for many individuals and businesses. Each of these crises has had a significant effect on the tourism industry in Thailand, but the closure of the new Bangkok Suvarnabhumi International Airport for more than a week in 2008 as a result of protests against the government was particularly damaging.

This chapter presents an exploratory analysis of Thai government responses to the airport closure and, in order to understand its role in resolving such a crisis, it contrasts the priorities and constraints in its responses with the measures taken to deal with the Boxing Day 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami to examine how it coordinated its involvement with key tourism stakeholders. Subsequent to the airport closure event, there have been further political protests, including the 'Red Shirt' protest during March–May 2010. Although the authors acknowledge the significant damage of these more recent protests, they are not discussed in this chapter as they remain unresolved at the time of writing.

Governance refers to the processes by which decisions are made; it therefore deals with the ways in which decision-making power is organized and used (Graham *et al.*, 2003). In relation to the management of tourist destinations, governance is normally understood to include the processes and institutions responsible for decision making about tourism, notably various levels of government, as well as tourism promotion organizations, development bureaus, private sector enterprises and local community or resident groups (Hall, 2003). However, this chapter will demonstrate that a range of decisions (or responses) by government and by key actors in dealing with critical and urgent social or political problems also impact directly on the tourism sector.

The term 'governance' is the subject of ongoing debate and has often been used interchangeably with 'government'. These terms both relate to the exercise of power within a system, with governance defined as 'the means by which relationships between interrelated components of a system are regulated' (Palmer, 1998:187). Governance is also associated with principles of democracy and participation in decision making (Plummer and Fennell, 2009; Erkus-Ozturk and Eraydin, 2010) and is often considered to involve networks of participants.

Democratic governments have wide-ranging responsibilities to their populations and implement decisions based on their authority to do so through legitimacy gained at elections, the expertise of their civil servants and the political judgements of their leaders. Inevitably, any decision regarding an issue in one sector of the economy which a government may make in exercising this responsibility will have consequences for other sectors. Thus, government decision making requires trade-offs between stakeholder groups and will be more or less popular with particular actors, depending on their activities, investments, skills and their own best interests, which they present to government formally through lobbying processes and also by their actions or inaction.

The democratic monarchy of Thailand faced these issues in dealing with the tsunami and the airport closure. The nature of 'governance', how certain stakeholders may benefit from government policy and how the Thai government has implemented policies to mitigate negative impacts on tourism from crises are analysed in this chapter.

Thai Tourism Crises

Muqbal (2010:1), a tourism journalist, states that, 'In the last 50 years, Thailand has been hit by more than 30 military coups and assorted other changes in governments, a communist insurgency, image problems, the 1997 economic crash, environmental issues, a near-explosion of the AIDS pandemic, an airport closure, a tsunami, SARS, and numerous other problems that would have long killed off any ordinary country.'

Perhaps because of this long experience, interestingly, the Thai government has responded to crises in an increasingly structured way, particularly in the past decade, as shown in Table 8.1. Some crises, such as the Asian economic meltdown, are external to Thailand, but in response to them, and to strengthen the country's competitiveness and compete with rival destinations, Thailand has reintroduced the 'Amazing Thailand' campaign in order to illustrate the best of Thailand's tourism products and services (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1999). Other problems are more localized; violence due to Muslim separatists in the south affects mainly Malaysian tourists crossing the border to Thailand, and hence the Tourism Authority of Thailand has responded by briefings for the media and tour operators in Malaysia (Tourism Authority of Thailand, 2009). Similarly, in the case of SARS and the 2004 tsunami, Thai officials communicated with stakeholders, both in Thailand and overseas, in order to restore tourists' confidence in the safety and security of the country (Tourism Authority of Thailand, 2005). A key role for any

Table 8.1. Thai tourism crises: impacts and responses 2001–2009.

Period	Nature of crisis	Impacts	Government response
2001–present	Economic crises	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Asia Pacific more expensive for US visitors ● Fuel surcharges ● Increasing inflation ● Global economic slowdown 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Financial support and stimulation ● Tax credits ● Reduced fees and deposits (http://www.tatnews.org/Press_kits/Roadshow_SG_Presentation_Final.ppt)
2001–present	Violence in southern provinces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Some countries issue travel advisories warning that Thailand may be an 'unsafe' destination (http://www.bangkokpost.com/tourismreview2007/27.html) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Alleviate rural poverty ● Develop tourism potential ● Local TAT office risk assessments ● TAT visitor and tourism industry advice and liaison (http://www.tatnews.org/cc/2483.asp)
2003	SARS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● MICE visitors fell 8.3% ● Decrease of 7.36% in arrivals and 4.39% drop in revenue from the previous year (http://www2.tat.or.th/stat/web/static_tsi_detail.php?L=&TsilD=9) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Public–private partnership in marketing promotion ● Pricing measures to attract international visitors ● Travel security presented by the Royal Thai Government through the hosting of the APEC Conference in October (http://www2.tat.or.th/stat/web/static_tsi_detail.php?L=&TsilD=9)
2004	Tsunami	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● First quarter tourism 2005 –10% ● Many Chinese and Japanese travellers refused to go to Phuket for cultural reasons (http://www.bangkokpost.com/tourismreview2007/27.html) ● International passenger movements at Phuket Airport fell by 88% in January 2005 and domestic passenger movements fell by 44%. For the first 6 months of 2005, the figures were down 65% and 14%, respectively (http://www.bangkokpost.com/tourismreview2005/07.html) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Prime Minister Thaksin visited Phuket next day to announce relief to those affected and to help those seeking to make contact with friends and relatives in cooperation with local embassies ● 24-h Crisis Communication Centre (CMC) set up to disseminate updated information to all relevant organizations ● Government agencies began to restore and rehabilitate all the affected areas, including roads, telephone, water, electricity and waste management facilities ● Extensive surveys of the affected areas to assess damage to the tourism infrastructure ● TAT began to lay plans to restore the confidence of domestic and international travellers

(Continued)

Table 8.1. *Continued*

Period	Nature of crisis	Impacts	Government response
2008	Airport closure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Survey: 81% consider political crisis the key factor in decision not to travel to Thailand • Airports of Thailand 'week-long closure cost 540 million baht' • Thai Airways lost 500 million baht daily • Adverse international publicity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tsunami warning systems and drills set up • Evacuation sites and routes set up • Department of Disaster Prevention and Mitigation established (http://www.bangkokpost.com/tourismreview2005/07.html) • New Airport Security Bill • Internal Security Act imposed 29 August to 1 September

Note: Sources for 2008 are provided in the text.

government is to anticipate and respond to crises. By definition, a crisis is unpredictable and therefore the immediate responses to it are taken urgently and with limited information and resources. A natural disaster such as the 2004 tsunami requires immediate and large-scale rescue efforts, with subsequent repair to the infrastructure and the restoration of services and economic activity extending over several years. Most concern must focus on the needs of local residents, but visitors are also caught up and require special attention such as repatriation to their home countries. Crisis events attract ongoing media attention, with images of suffering and destruction being broadcast around the world. Immediately after the 2004 tsunami, governments of the main tourist-generating countries issued advisory notices warning their residents against travel to Thailand. This further damaged the incoming tourist industry and special efforts were required to restore market confidence. Specific programmes were introduced to inform and reassure travel industry partners and the travelling public.

Thailand experienced a different type of crisis in 2008 when tensions between the main political parties erupted into street violence and the occupation of a major regional international airport for a week. The decisions and actions taken by the Thai government included the introduction of martial laws and violent police action against the protestors. Regulations included a new

airport security bill and an internal security act (TNA, 2009). This crisis also received widespread international media coverage and source market governments again issued advisory notices warning their residents against travel to Thailand (Tourism Authority of Thailand, 2009).

Media reports of risk and the resultant perceptions of political instability at a tourist destination are key factors influencing decisions made by travellers, the industry and investors, who all generally show an aversion to risk (Henderson, 2006). Natural disasters initially attract substantial media attention, often lasting for a relatively short but intensive period of time. In contrast, the effects of a continued and sustained political crisis can attract media coverage for a much longer period (Beirman, 2002; Baral *et al.*, 2004).

Increasingly, events are filmed informally on individual travellers' mobile phones and forwarded instantly to major media such as the BBC and CNN, thereby effectively negating any efforts by the host government to limit media access to incidents or to control the way in which the events are portrayed. In turn, localized political incidents may result in serious damage to the country as a whole, the wider region and even the world through what has been termed the 'generalization effect' (Lepp and Gibson, 2003).

Furthermore, international tourists also tend to be more vulnerable to a political crisis than domestic tourists. Due to distance and unfamiliarity, international tourists are likely to have distorted perceptions of risk caused by inaccurate and incomplete circulated information (Henderson, 2006). Another factor which influences consumer decisions to visit a destination is the availability of travel insurance coverage. Many travel insurance policies have an exemption clause which denies coverage to travellers who suffer death, injury or property loss resulting from political violence or civil disorder, typically defined as areas under travel advisories (Beirman, 2002).

Origins of the Thai Political Crisis – Airport Closure

It is often asserted that international tourism is dependent on political stability and that areas experiencing political or other troubles will not attract international tourists, who can opt for alternative destinations (Henderson, 2006). Arguably, tourism can only thrive under peaceful conditions (Hitchcock, 2001). This suggests that a government has a direct role to play in the success or failure of its inbound (and domestic) tourism beyond any resources it invests in tourism promotion, training and infrastructure.

In the January 2001 elections, telecom tycoon, Thaksin Shinawatra, and his Thai Rak Thai Party won an overwhelming victory on a populist platform of economic growth and development. The next general election on 6 February 2005 resulted in another landslide victory for Thaksin, due mainly to his populist policies in rural areas and the publicity gained from his swift recovery actions following the tsunami crisis in December 2004 (*The Nation*, 2008a).

However, Thaksin became the target of public protests that led to widespread calls for his resignation or impeachment. The discontent was caused by his family's tax-free sale of shares in the telecom giant, Shin Corp, to the

Singaporean government's investment arm, Temasek Holding. Thaksin dissolved Parliament on 24 February 2006 and called a snap election for 2 April 2006. The election was widely boycotted by the opposition party and the Supreme Court declared the election invalid, with new elections set for 15 October 2006. On 4 April 2006, Thaksin announced that he would step down as prime minister as soon as Parliament had selected a successor (*The Nation*, 2008a). As a result, throughout the summer of 2006 hundreds of thousands of the anti-government People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) took to the streets to demand Thaksin's resignation, prompting the army to oust him in a bloodless coup (CNN, 2008).

New elections were held approximately 1 year after the coup, although subsequent governments have been seen as Thaksin's nominees. Samak Sundaravej, Thaksin's successor, was an avowed Thaksin ally, but was forced to step down in August 2008 after Thailand's Supreme Court ruled he had violated the constitution (by appearing on a TV cookery show). Somchai Wongsawat (Thaksin's brother-in-law), then became prime minister in September 2008 (CNN, 2008).

PAD organized rallies to pressurize Prime Minister Somchai Wongsawat to resign, attracting massive support. Crowds occupied Government House (the Thai prime minister's main offices) in what they have called their 'final battle' against the government (CNN, 2008). On 25 November 2008, PAD members stormed police lines at the new Suvarnabhumi Airport, Thailand's main airport, a crucial South-east Asian hub, and occupied the departure hall. This move forced officials to suspend outbound flights temporarily and some arriving flights were re-routed to the northern city of Chiang Mai or the southern resort island of Phuket (Wire News, 2008).

Moreover, PAD demonstrators started massing at the old Don Mueang Airport on 26 November 2008, aiming to prevent government ministers from flying to Chiang Mai to meet Prime Minister Somchai Wongsawat. As a result of closing both Suvarnabhumi and Don Mueang Airports, all international flights to and from Bangkok were cancelled (*Bangkok Post*, 2008). The closure of both airports had an immediate and direct impact on airports, airlines and the wider tourism industry. Airports of Thailand (AoT) have estimated initial damage to its operations from the week-long closure of Don Mueang and Suvarnabhumi Airports at 540 million baht, excluding lost business opportunities (*Travel Blackboard*, 2008). Thai Airways, Thailand's major carrier, estimated its daily loss at 500 million baht (*The Nation*, 2008b).

The protesters ended their siege on 3 December 2008 after the Constitutional Court dissolved Somchai's ruling party, effectively ousting his government from office. The court ruled that the People Power Party had committed electoral fraud and it barred Somchai and other top party officials from holding public office for 5 years (CNN, 2008). Subsequently, Bangkok's international airport reopened on 5 December 2008. Although Thailand's airports were back in operation, business experts forecast that the economic damage caused by the country's political crisis would persist for some time as the country's image had been affected negatively by the political crisis (Dawson, 2008). Table 8.2 presents a timeline of the political events described above.

Table 8.2. Timeline of key events of anti-Thaksin protests.

29 January 2008	Samak Sundaravej, seen by anti-Thaksin protestors as Thaksin's nominee, forms a coalition government and becomes prime minister after winning the majority of seats in the 2007 general elections.
28 February 2008	Former prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra returns to Thailand. He and his wife face charges of corruption.
28 March 2008	The PAD regroup, threatening to resume protests against Thaksin.
25 May 2008	The PAD begins demonstrations at Democracy Monument, demanding Samak's resignation, and later settles at Makkhawan Rangsan Bridge.
27 June 2008	Samak's government survives no-confidence motion in parliament.
11 August 2008	Thaksin and his wife travel to the UK, violating bail.
26 August 2008	PAD protesters invade Government House, three ministries and the headquarters of the NBT (National Broadcasting Television). Little effort is made to remove the protesters from Government House, although minor clashes between police and protesters are seen.
29 August 2008	Rail and air transport are disrupted by PAD supporters, although services resumed a few days later.
2 September 2008	Anti-PAD protesters clash with the PAD, leaving 1 dead and 43 injured. A state of emergency is declared in Bangkok, lasting until 14 September.
9 September 2008	The Constitutional Court finds Samak guilty of conflict of interest, terminating his premiership.
17 September 2008	Somchai Wongsawat is ratified by the National Assembly and becomes prime minister. He is rejected by the PAD for being Thaksin's brother-in-law.
29 September 2008	Deputy Prime Minister Chavalit Yongchaiyudh begins negotiations with PAD leaders.
4–5 October 2008	PAD leaders, Chaiwat Sinsuwongse and Chamlong Srimuang, are arrested by police on insurrection charges filed shortly after the invasion of Government House in August.
6 October 2008	PAD protesters attempt to block a parliament session in which Prime Minister Somchai seeks approval of his policies. Police attempt to disperse protesters using tear gas. Somchai is forced to cross a fence to exit, while members of parliament are stranded in the building for many hours. Intermittent clashes leave 2 dead and over 300 injured, including 20 policemen. Troops are deployed to help control the situation.
9 October 2008	An appeals court withdraws insurrection charges against PAD leaders and releases Chamlong and Chaiwat on bail. The following day, the remaining PAD leaders turn themselves in to police and are released on bail.
21 October 2008	The constitutional court finds Thaksin guilty in a land purchase conflict of interest case and sentences him to 2 years in prison.
8 November 2008	The government of the UK, where Thaksin had been residing primarily, revokes the visas of Thaksin and his wife Pojaman.

(Continued)

Table 8.2. *Continued*

25 November 2008	The PAD blockades Don Mueang, where the government relocated its temporary offices, and Suvarnabhumi International Airports, leaving thousands of tourists stranded and cutting off most of Thailand's international air connections. Several explosions and clashes occur in the following days.
2 December 2008	After weeks of opposition-led protests, the Constitutional Court of Thailand dissolved the governing People's Power Party and two coalition member parties and banned leaders of the parties, including Prime Minister Somchai Wongsawat, from politics for 5 years. Wongsawat promptly resigned.
5 December 2008	Suvarnabhumi and Don Mueang Airports reopened.
15 December 2008	Thailand's parliament chose opposition leader, Abhisit Vejjajiva, as the country's new prime minister, drawing angry protests from supporters of the recently dissolved Somchai ruling party outside.

Sources: various articles cited in the text.

Discussion of airport closure

The closure of Bangkok's airports was a disaster for Thai tourism and indicated that the political conflict was rising to a new level, placing Thailand's tourism industry in jeopardy at the onset of the high season and increasing the probability of a change in government at a time when the country was struggling to deal with a major global economic crisis (Barta, 2008). The Tourism and Sports Minister also stated that the closure of Suvarnabhumi Airport caused severe damage to the tourism, hotel, airline, travel agency and related industries, as the airport was the country's main gateway to Thailand (*The Nation*, 2008b). Kaur (2008) predicted that the tourism sector could lose up to US\$6 billion in revenue – a sum equivalent to 1.5% of Thailand's gross domestic product. International media coverage of the PAD protests, and in particular their occupation of the airport, and travel advisories issued by the governments of significant source countries such as the USA, Australia and the UK, compounded the challenges to Thailand's tourism industry. For example, the Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Website, providing travel advice for Thailand on 29 March 2010 (Australian Government, 2010), indicated 'exercise a high degree of caution because of the high threat of terrorist attack and because of political instability in Thailand' and 'there is a strong possibility of violence and civil unrest in Thailand, particularly in Bangkok. Anti-government protesters have been demonstrating in Bangkok since 12 March.'

The Tourism Authority of Thailand's (TAT) Tourism Intelligence Unit monitors ongoing developments and trends domestically, as well as in each of its international markets. The latest situation updates from TAT's international

network of offices are available online on a real-time basis, serving as an early detection and early warning mechanism that alerts TAT to potential problems which TAT and the Thai tourism industry need to address jointly and resolve. In the turbulent conditions of 2008–2009, TAT's network of offices worldwide conducted surveys which revealed that the downturn in tourism resulted from a number of factors: the impact of the global economic slowdown, the political instability leading up to the airport closure and the subsequent protests in April 2009, and H1N1 A. TAT noted that:

The sensitivity varies from market to market. The survey findings revealed that 6 out of 21 key source markets for visitor arrivals to Thailand – or 28 per cent – considered Influenza A (H1N1) to be the key factor in the decision not to travel to Thailand. While 17 out of the 21 markets – or 81 per cent – indicated that the political unrest and political instability that subsequently led to the airport closure and Songkran protest in April 2009 was the most important contributor to the decline in outbound travel to Thailand.

(Svetasreni, 2009)

Comparison of Responses to the Tsunami and the Airport Closure

During the airport closure, there were a number of actors, each with their own objectives but without the power to enable those objectives to be achieved. These included the prime minister, opposition party members, the army and police, AoT, Thai Airways, the TAT, the tourism industry and local government. In the airport case, the government was not able to lead the situation because the actors were too conflicted and relatively powerful.

Due to limitations of space, this chapter does not discuss the tsunami of 2004; detailed studies can be found in Campiranon and Arcodia (2007), Ritchie (2008) and Lopez and Larkin (2004). What was interesting from a governance perspective in the tsunami case was that, despite the huge scale of suffering and damage, it was easy to organize and achieve effective outcomes to that crisis, and it appeared that Thaksin Shinawatra – the former prime minister – was in personal control, whereas the government led by Somchai Wongsawat, Thaksin's successor, did not exercise power sufficiently until the airport had been closed, even though it could have been prevented.

While a number of authors (for example, Tourism Authority of Thailand, 2005, and Pandey, 2008) stated that Thailand's government body played a significant role during both the tsunami and airport closure crises, other studies (for example, Campiranon, 2009) reported otherwise, that the Thai government had not done enough to coordinate with the tourism industry, which was fragmented by nature. Clearly, effective coordination among stakeholders, as part of the government's responsibilities during crises, was highly needed in both the tsunami and airport closure cases. Most importantly, the government should have taken the lead in the crises management, as the impacts from both crises were too wide and complicated for the tourism industry alone to have managed.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of several crises which have impacted severely on Thailand's tourism sector and has analysed the Thai government's responses to two of them, the tsunami and the airport closure. The analysis has demonstrated the need for governments to take an increasingly proactive and structured stance towards any future crisis events. Safety in a destination, and the perception that the destination is safe to visit, is a prerequisite for a successful tourism industry. But, this chapter has also shown that the problems resulting from the scale, intensity and rapidity of events such as the tsunami and the airport closure are too severe and widespread for the tourism industry to resolve on its own. Instead, it must rely on the resources and skill of the government and its various agencies, for which tourism is seldom a priority during a crisis. This indicates that only a government has the power resources, skill and command ability to deal effectively with the immediate problems and to restructure devastated areas and infrastructure following a major crisis such as the tsunami.

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, governance refers to the processes by which decisions are made (Graham *et al.*, 2003) and, therefore, the ways in which decision-making power is organized and used in crises such as those discussed here. What emerges from this discussion of the differences between the tsunami and the airport closure cases is a clear difference in stakeholder cohesion due to political conflict, with consequent impacts. In the airport crisis, the tourism sector became a point of leverage 'used' to further the ends of political opponents. The approach of targeting tourism directly to achieve political ambitions (as distinct from political crises having an indirect effect) has been seen in other countries (Richter and Waugh, 1986; Aziz, 1995).

Thus, while in the tsunami crisis there was exercise of power by key non-tourism actors for the benefit of the tourism sector, in the airport case, the non-tourism actors were exercising their power to the detriment of tourism. Crucially, tourism stakeholders were able to exercise little power, as the scale of both crises was too large and complex for the tourism industry to resolve.

Further research is required to understand the ways in which government policy and action by key actors can determine the success or even the survival of a tourism sector following the disruption resulting from a major crisis. In particular, the linkages between political organizations, government agencies and central and regional or sector organizations merit more study. Irrespective of the reasons for civil unrest, potential tourists and tourism industry investors seek a stable political environment and this is beyond the capability of the tourism sector to guarantee.

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9

Controversial Ecotourism and Stakeholder Roles in Governance: ‘Swim with Humpback Whales’ in Vava’u

KAYE WALKER AND GIANNA MOSCARDO

Introduction

The destination of concern in this chapter is Vava’u, Tonga (South Pacific), and it is its controversial ‘swim with humpback whale’ tourism industry which has attracted international attention from conservation and management agencies. Tonga is a recognized breeding and birthing location for these whales. It is also the only destination in the world that officially allows tourists to actually swim in the wild with humpback whales and their newborn young, and consequently tourists specifically seek it as a holiday destination (IFAW, 2009). In other tourist destinations, the focus is on whale watching and the practice is governed typically by stringent no-swimming and no-interference regulations in order to protect the replenishing population. Significantly, the Tongan activities involve tourist interaction in-water (i.e. swimming) with these whales and, most importantly, with their newborn young during a critical period in their lives when adequate suckling is essential if they are to survive the long migration south to Antarctic waters, their summer feeding grounds. Thus, international wildlife conservation agencies have concerns about the conduct of the practice and support various guidelines for the practice. The challenge for the sustainability of tourist activities in this setting is the conflict of values with regard to whale conservation and tourism governance that exists between the various stakeholders, including the local residents, who typically make up the bulk of the guides, the tour operation owners, who typically are expatriates, the conservation agencies and the international aid donors to the country as a whole. This destination offers an opportunity to explore issues of the implementation of tourism governance systems in contested cross-cultural settings.

The chapter firstly will describe the controversial nature of the setting and then review briefly the issues that have been identified with governance and tourism development in cross-cultural settings, before describing a values-based sustainable tourism framework which offers a mechanism for responding to these

issues. The chapter then will describe the results of a study into the 'swim with humpback whales' activity which both highlights the issues and provides support for the proposed framework as a way of making the different values embedded in this activity explicit.

The Context

Tonga is the recipient of substantial international monetary aid, particularly from Australia and Japan. Each of these countries' foreign affairs websites claims that they are the greatest providers of aid to Tonga, and each claims strong political relationships with Tonga. The significance of this is relevant to activities occurring both within and without the International Whaling Commission (IWC) over the past two decades regarding the whaling or anti-whaling stances, behaviour and influence of these two countries in the South Pacific region and the Southern Ocean. Tonga officially banned whaling by royal decree in 1978, and since the late 1990s has witnessed a significant increase in its tourist attraction via the 'swim with humpback whale' tourism industry (IFAW, 2009). During this time, Japan has sought continually to increase its whale harvest in the Southern Ocean, with supportive votes in the IWC meetings from South Pacific nations and other smaller nations to whom they provide aid and/or lobby. Alternatively, Australia lobbies for anti-whaling and has supported the designation of whale protection zones and recovery plans in the Pacific region (SPREP, 2009) to allow endangered and threatened whale species to rebuild their populations. While it is not the intention of this chapter to enter a 'whaling versus anti-whaling' debate, this information indicates the political undercurrent and controversy with regard to Tonga's ecotourism activities. As stated, Tonga is the only place in the world that officially permits tourism operations which allow tourists to swim in the wild with humpback mothers and calves. Consequently, the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), in association with the NGO, International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW), identified Vava'u as a priority location for observation, involvement and development of regional policy with regard to the growing potential and attraction of the humpback 'whale swim' industry in the South Pacific region. Observations of the outcomes and recommendations regarding industry practices in Vava'u were considered to provide the basis for a management model for these type of activities in the sustainable development of 'whale watch tourism' for the entire region, with SPREP establishing a significant relationship with IFAW for this purpose and providing a place in their South Pacific Office for an IFAW representative (IFAW South Pacific representative, 2008, personal communication). Thus, the political platform was established for concerned conservation and regional management organizations and national governments seeking to influence the conduct and outcomes of not only this ecotourism industry in Tonga, but also the broader international management of whale populations and associated interactive tourist activities.

The Vava'u industry was initiated by one expatriate operator in 1993 and currently is experiencing increasing international attention with regard to international policy development for this type of ecotourism, whale conservation and

marine tourist attraction (IFAW, 2008). Through the collaborative efforts of the initial operator and other subsequent operators, the Tonga Whale Watch Operators Association was established. Through their affiliation and collaboration with IFAW and national government representatives, a set of initial industry guidelines was established and incorporated into the Tonga Government Regulations in 1998. The local industry also has a set of 'unregulated' guidelines for specific conduct around the Vava'u whale population to limit repeated boat and swimmer interactions with any one mother and calf in any one day, in order to minimize possible disruption to suckling. These specific guidelines, which designate maximum time limits for each boat and the number of repeated swims by other vessels with one group of whales, do not appear in the government regulations and are subject to quite disparate interpretation by vessel skippers. IFAW also established and funded a marine information and education centre in Vava'u, appointing a local Vava'u man as manager. IFAW, with the help of their local manager, also provide annual guide training programmes for all local industry participants. Along with the nationally authorized regulations and self-regulatory guidelines for the conduct of these tourist activities, there was also a government controlled permit system which was supposedly at its maximum number in 2008 (Tonga Whale Watch Operators Association, 2008, personal communication).

In 2008, a local government representative initiated discussion with a proposal to reinstate whaling (whale hunting) in Vava'u. This proposal drew attention to the revenue generation of the local industry, which was nearly 100% owned and managed by expatriates, bringing pressure on the industry to justify its benefit to Tonga and the local community. Of the 11 operations permitted and running in 2008, only one was part owned and managed by a Tongan national who was a Vava'u local. However, all operators employ and train Vava'u locals as guides, deckhands, boat skippers and assistants, and in other operational roles. One of the initial employees in the industry was the Tongan national in the owner/management role discussed above and was also the President of the Vava'u Tourism Association (VTA) in 2008. Associated concerns identified by the VTA in relation to the whaling proposal included levels of local satisfaction and understanding in relation to the industry, and in particular the motivation (or lack thereof) of local employees to adhere to the operational regulations and guidelines. Operation managers experience seasonality in their workforce, having to find new employees and initiate their training each year, thus losing the advantage of ongoing training, knowledge and personnel skill development. This case has universal interest, particularly in situations where official regulatory or governing agency guidelines or accreditation processes are lacking or in development, where the nation has little experience of international tourism and, in this case, where the process is being developed in an arena of internal and external political manoeuvrings, which is often the case in more remote locations of the South Pacific (Walker, 2008a).

The focus of this discussion with regard to maximizing efforts to manage the 'swim with humpback whales' programme exists in the context of a contemporary interpretation of ecotourism. In this view, it has been established that ecotourism can contribute to environmental management and the enforcement of regulations via the provision of guides and environmental education (or interpretation, as it is

referred to in the ecotourism industry) to encourage the appropriate behaviour of tourists (Wearing and Neil, 1999; Ham and Weiler, 2002). The literature also supports the notion of these activities contributing to the development of local community capacity building, which enhances the value of the environment and its sustainability through residents' support for its conservation (Moscardo and Woods, 1998; Moscardo, 2000; Smith, 2001; Walker and Moscardo, 2006). However, more recently, Ross and Wall (2001) and Jamal *et al.* (2006) have argued that discussions on ecotourism need to consider more explicitly the benefits to local destination communities. Whereupon ecotourism may be considered to contribute to sustainability when it builds local capacity in aspects of self-sufficiency, decentralization and local empowerment, the involvement and participation of local communities, and the achievement of equity, social justice and social self-determination. These arguments have a strong resonance with broader discussions of governance and sustainability (Kemp *et al.*, 2005).

Governance and Sustainable Tourism Development in Cross-cultural Settings

Aras and Crowther (2009:1) define governance as 'the process by which any group of people decide to manage their affairs and relate to each other'. Governance in tourism development then refers to the processes and system involved in making decisions about whether, what type of and how tourism development proceeds in a destination. It is widely recognized that good governance is a necessary requirement for sustainable development (Kemp *et al.*, 2005). This growing attention to the link between good governance and sustainable development has prompted a growth in academic discussion of governance for tourism; hence, the present volume. But, a critical question that generally has been neglected is – what is good governance? The World Bank (1991:1) defines it as 'the exercise of political authority and the use of institutional resources to manage society's problems and affairs'. This is a national top-down approach that has been emulated by many of the tourism organizations concerned with development (Dinica, 2009).

This national top-down version of good governance is the one often accepted and promoted as the most appropriate for sustainable development, with little explicit recognition of its origins and little critical evaluation of its success (Aras and Crowther, 2009), but it is a recent example of what Aras and Crowther (2009) describe as an Anglo-Saxon system of governance. As such, it is characterized by codified rules with standard interpretations, a hierarchical structure for organizations and typically is designed and provided by those in power at the top of the hierarchy and imposed on those at the bottom of the hierarchy (Aras and Crowther, 2009). It is also particularly prone to corruption and related problems because it is a system in which it is difficult to separate politics from governance, and often the processes used reflect the concerns of those with political power rather than the needs of those on whom the system is imposed (Aras and Crowther, 2009). Kemp and colleagues (2005) describe a similar issue in that governance systems in sustainable development are often driven by the desire to

address wider regional or even global problems, but are imposed in a local context which may have a different set of problems and needs.

The relevance for the Vava'u case is immediately apparent – the 'swim with whales' programme and its governance is driven in part by the need to balance the agendas of several different powerful external agents – the government and international agencies that provide significant economic inputs in the country as a whole. Some of these agents support the use of an Anglo-Saxon governance system with regulations uniformly applied and supplied by external agents who exert power through the provision of development money. But, the situation is complicated further by an additional set of issues related more specifically to tourism governance. Moscardo (2008) provides a critical review of the literature on tourism development processes in peripheral destinations which highlights the way in which local communities are often excluded from the decision-making processes because they are seen as lacking the experience and knowledge of tourists and tourism marketing. Typically, external agents who supposedly have this experience and knowledge come to dominate both the decision making as consultants and the practice of tourism as business owners. Thus, in the Vava'u case, the 'swim with whales' ecotourist activity is dominated by a management system consistent with an externally imposed Anglo-Saxon governance approach and external agents in several roles. This management system essentially reflects the values of various external stakeholders and its practice is influenced by the conflict between the values of the external stakeholders and those of the local or destination community. Ryan (2002) suggests that we need some new models and frameworks for tourism governance and development which address this issue. One possible new framework is one that has been described previously by the authors and referred to as the values-based sustainable tourism framework (Walker and Moscardo, 2006; Walker, 2008b).

The Values-based Sustainable Tourism Framework

Figure 9.1 presents the values-based sustainable tourism framework adapted for the present case study. This framework is based on the proposal that sustainable tourism development is more likely to occur when there is alignment or consistency between the social, cultural and environmental values of all stakeholders. In particular, the framework makes explicit a number of points in the tourism system where stakeholder values often implicitly drive behaviour, industry practice and decision making.

Use of the framework requires, firstly, that the values of stakeholder groups are identified and made explicit and, secondly, that there are mechanisms or processes put in place that allow stakeholders to acknowledge and resolve value conflicts. At the top of the framework or start of the tourism development process, there are the values of the community, including those who act as tourist guides, and the values of the tourism operators and external stakeholders seeking to impose the management system. The values of the different local stakeholders can be made explicit through what is called the personal insight interpretive approach (PIIA), whereby a cognitive laddering technique is used to

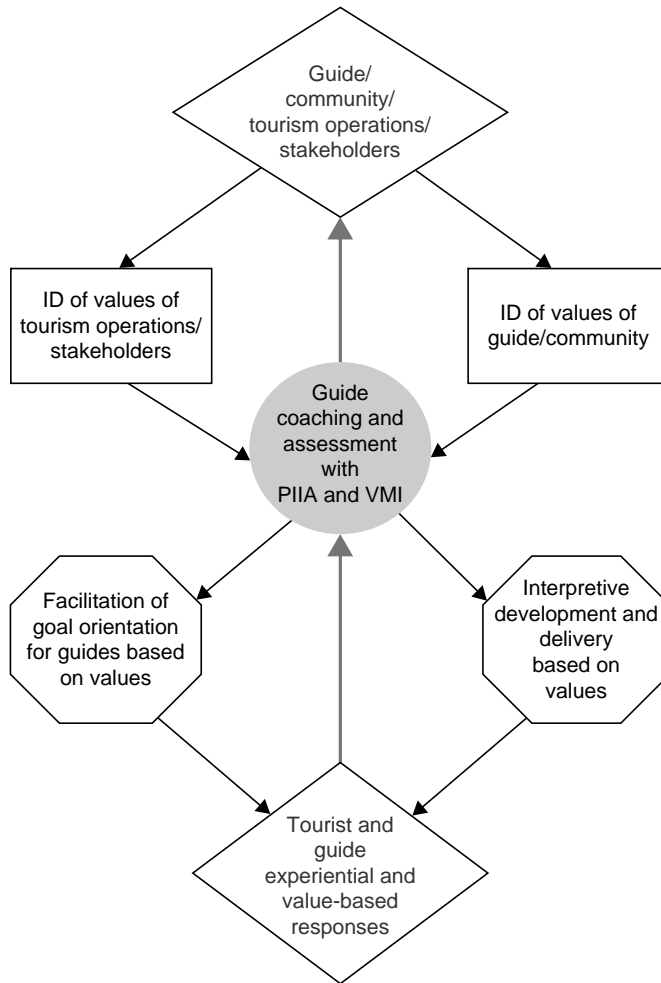


Fig. 9.1. Values-based sustainable tourism framework (adapted from Walker, 2008a,b). PIIA, personal insight interpretive approach; VMI, value model of interpretation.

facilitate participants' contemplation and identification of their values (see Walker and Blackman, 2009, for more details). The values of external stakeholders such as wildlife conservation agencies, for example, are often already explicit. These values are then explored utilizing the PIIA and through a guide coaching process which seeks to facilitate linkages between values and vocational function (described further in the final section of this chapter). When the guides have identified an explicit set of values that are seen as important for visitors to understand and which pertain to the guides sociocultural and/or socio-environmental orientation, these can then be used to develop the interpretive programme and its goals as provided to the tourists and, importantly, allow the tour operators to support better the personal goals of their guides. The experiential outcomes are

assessed via the value model of interpretation (VMI), which is a model describing the implicit interpretive pathways leading from the functional (action) elements of a guiding programme through to participants' recognition of personally significant benefits and values facilitated by the experience (see Walker, 2008b, for more details). If this system works effectively, then both the tourist and guide experience will be a more positive and fulfilling one, which in turn should support a more sustainable outcome by providing continual feedback and reappraisal of the value-based foundations and motivations involved in this ecotourism industry.

The Vava'u Case Study

The Vava'u case study was initiated when Walker (one of the authors) was invited to visit Vava'u in the latter part of the 'swim with humpback whale' season in 2008 to consult with interested industry members regarding guide conduct (adherence to guidelines), performance and satisfaction, with a view for improvement if necessary in line with perceived international standards of guiding and guide retention. The industry representative organization which extended the invitation (the Vava'u Tourism Association) was also interested in enhancing community capacity outcomes in association with the industry with regard to the local workforce, its professional development and maintenance and improving the flow-on effect of the industry to other income-generation aspects for the local community.

Over the course of 3 weeks in Vava'u, and in association with the representative organizations (the Tonga Visitors Bureau, Vava'u Tourism Association, Tonga Whale Watch Operators Association and the International Fund for Animal Welfare), the researcher conducted a triangulated collection process of qualitative data which included:

1. Participant observation on board five of the eight VTA member whale-swim operations;
2. Distribution and collection of guide, tourist and stakeholder questionnaires; and
3. In-depth, semi-structured industry and stakeholder interviews.

The interviews were conducted with a range of local and expatriate community members involved in the industry, including: guides and owner/operators of all the operations involved in the participant observation component; the presidents and vice-presidents of both the Vava'u Tourism Association and the Tonga Whale Watch Operators Association (which included the one local Vava'u owner/operator and two expatriate owner/operators); the South Pacific representative of IFAW and the local Vava'u guide trainer and manager of the IFAW Marine Awareness Centre in Vava'u; the Vava'u manager of the Tonga Visitors Bureau; a local Vava'u hotel manager with a 20-year involvement in tourism in Vava'u; and a local hotel owner. The discussion focused on participants' personal expression of the values and goals associated with the whale swim industry in Vava'u, which were identified via a ladder of abstraction (or 'laddering') approach using a means-end analysis technique (Klenosky *et al.*, 1998).

Participant observation of the guides' conduct and behaviour with regard to operational regulations and their interpretive provision provided complementary and supplementary information to consider with their own and other participants' responses. The guides were asked about their guiding role and the service they provided. They were asked to: identify the 'best' and 'worst' aspects of their job (attributes); why these were important to them (benefits) and what they perceived to be the most important elements of their job; how they perceived or saw themselves in the role and why this image was important; the personal significance of these aspects to themselves, their family, their community, the whales or anything else (values); and in what ways their job or perceived role contributed to their goals in life.

Swimming with Whales, Guide Practices and Relationships in Vava'u

It is important to note that, in this case, the governance systems and development processes used to date have not been based on an explicit recognition of the different values of the various stakeholders. The outcomes of the participant observation revealed that when local guides and skippers conducted tourist interactions with the whales without the presence of the operation's owner or manager on board, there was an inclination to disregard the industry regulations and the well-being of the whales. One of the possible reasons for this disregard could be due to differences in interpretation of the 'regulations', particularly involving the situation of the successive number of vessels interacting with the same mother and calf and the limits to interaction time. However, one experienced skipper's response to a query regarding the lack of commitment to the 'rest' time required for the mother and calf was a shrug of the shoulders and comment that 'everyone breaks the rules'. This response and disregard for the regulations in the author's presence (whose role was made known as per ethical requirements) was somewhat surprising. Previous experience with tourism operators and guides is that observer presence generally inspires adherence to regulations with the motivation 'to be seen doing it right'. This response and behaviour not only demonstrated a gap in values related to the whales' welfare, but also a disregard, or at least a lack of understanding or awareness, of the international status of their guiding role and expertise in relation to a global perspective of this type of tourism and its conduct, and subsequently the reputation of the operation and Vava'u tourism. These local skippers expressed the opinion that 'this is Tonga', with little need to consider international practices or ideas; nor the tourists, it seemed, many of whom sought this particular experience explicitly, along with numerous other whale and dolphin tourism experiences around the world. The expressed motivation of these guides and skippers was to get the tourists into the water for their 'swim' with the whales, no matter what the quality of experience, the regulations or the whales' well-being. This even meant launching participants into the water in the path of oncoming, fast-moving whales to have the briefest observation of whales moving rapidly past them, which is not the experience promoted by the industry nor supported by the industry guidelines

or regulations. There was a general lack of understanding of the international interest, and specifically the interest of the SPREP, in the conduct of these operations. It was also found that some of the owner/managers of these operations were also not aware of the SPREP's interest and influence in the conduct of this tourism activity in the South Pacific region, nor the propositions of other Pacific nations to initiate this type of whale tourism industry.

It is significant that this conduct was not observed on the vessels where the owner/manager was on board managing the day's operations and mentoring the local guides. The guides' perspectives of their role, their motivations and interpretive behaviours were also markedly different in these two situations. Interviews with the guides on board vessels where the owner/managers were not present revealed little or no local or global perspective regarding this population of whales, little or no knowledge or interest in local whale heritage and limited personal or community-linked values or goals related to their guiding role. It was indicated to the researcher in these cases that it was a fun job which paid some money for the season. It is pertinent to note here that the greatest income for the Vava'u local population comes from overseas remittance. Although tourism is the second-largest source of hard currency earnings following remittances and is considered to be the most important growth industry (Orams, 2004; and Vava'u Manager of the Tonga Visitor's Bureau, 2008, personal communication), employment in such did not appear to link significantly with the values of these employees with respect to their personal development, aspirations, beliefs or community welfare. For example, one guide was intent to travel and work in other parts of the world, but had made no connection to his guiding experience when asked by the researcher how he intended to facilitate such. The researcher's observation that she had, in fact, experienced the world as a professional guide was responded to with astonishment. He had no idea that he could use his guiding experience and training to achieve other employment or travel opportunities. It would seem that no such connections between this employee's personal values or goals and his employment in the industry had been encouraged, at least not within his judgement, and thus with such a limited appreciation of his guiding role there was limited inclination to adhere to a set of regulations that appeared largely to serve an expatriate population. The presidents of the local tourism and whale watch associations had noted the disinclination of local industry employees to regard the regulations, but were at a loss as to how to facilitate a greater adherence. This situation appeared to be particularly confounding, since all local guides, skippers and industry workers were involved in the same 2-week whale tourism training programme conducted by IFAW. A lack of 'passion' regarding their roles, the whales and the tourists was discussed by organization representatives. This was perhaps demonstrated by the unmentored guides' lack of awareness of the international perspective with regard to the attraction of the Vava'u whale swim industry, despite their training and interaction with the tourists.

As noted, the situation was quite different in operations where the expatriate owner/manager was present on board and provided daily management, leadership and mentorship. The well-being of the whales was considered a priority (along with that of the tourist participants), with the guides being aware of the potential negative impacts on the sustainability of the whale population, and

their industry, if the regulations were ignored. These 'mentored' guides also spoke of the personal development opportunities and family-oriented benefits of their employment, and expressed values related to their role in supporting community sustainability and whale conservation and awareness. This was facilitated through not only provision of information regarding the whales, but also discussion of other aspects of Vava'u and its culture. An example of development within the industry of a local guide who had received mentoring was the one Tongan national at the time who was an owner/operator. This person had begun in the industry as a guide, working initially with the first expatriate owner/operator to conduct whale watching and swimming in Vava'u. This example is indicative of the Tonga Visitor's Bureau (TVB) representative's identification of their perceived value of the guide's role and goals regarding the industry. These were related particularly to local representation in an international arena, contribution to local tourism development and management, and community sustainability. This representative saw the community capacity benefit with regard to the development of the guides' skills and capabilities within the industry, their subsequent representation of the local community with respect to industry direction and leadership and application to work in other types of tourism operations and businesses. Importantly, they were considered representatives of the Vava'u community. This was perceived largely through the appreciation and development of their communication, presentation and management skills with regard to business operations and foreigners, and the understanding, interpretation and communication of cultural values.

It is particularly pertinent that the industry also provides career opportunities for young Vava'u females through their experience as guides, skippers, shop managers and operational assistants. At the time of this project, there was only one female working on the water as a guide, but there were others who were working in other operational roles in the industry and who had received the guide training. They were valued as good communicators in the industry in reference to tourists and looked forward to their continuing prospects in the industry. The TVB representative felt that tourism in particular offered women employment opportunities due to their communicative skills and aptitude for speaking English. Of the 200 plus local people employed in tourism in Vava'u at the time, the majority were female (Tonga Visitors Bureau, Vava'u, 2008, personal communication). The female guide expressed pride in her perceived role in the community. Her employment allowed her to look after her mother and facilitated a position of relative autonomy and self-determination, which she felt was limited for women who chose to stay in Vava'u, as opposed to moving to the Tongan capital or elsewhere, by providing long-term career prospects. It also provided her with an opportunity to experience 'the sea', which was usually restricted to the activity of fishing, conducted primarily by the men of the community. Significantly, this guide supported the observations of other study participants that her family and the community generally had little or no comprehension why foreigners would visit Vava'u to see the whales. Accordingly, the local community had problems perceiving her role in the industry, and those of other local employees, or understanding what she actually did in the industry and how, therefore, the industry related or contributed to the local community's

welfare or long-term sustainability. These sentiments were echoed by the representatives of the local NGOs (IFAW and VTA) and industry members who were attempting to coordinate an annual 'whale awareness' week for the local community. This situation was reinforced indisputably when the community interview participants involved in the local tourist accommodation sector asked the researcher: 'why do tourists come to see the whales?'. It is one of these local participants who, since the running of this study, has applied successfully for his own whale swim operation permit.

Implications for Governance and Sustainable Tourism Development

The outcomes of this study highlighted the ineffectiveness of imposing an external Anglo-Saxon model of governance without due consideration to the differing and often conflicting values held by the various stakeholders. In particular, there was a lack of consideration of the existing understanding and values the local community held about the whales, the industry and the tourists. This was evident in the disparate industry conduct observed and the personally significant reasons or understanding expressed by locals regarding the industry and its employment opportunities. While the controversial nature of the activity ensures the establishment of global political relationships and NGO support, it also makes the industry susceptible to international observation and criticism when perceived international standards of conduct are not adhered to and involve a vulnerable population of whales for which so many countries proclaim intense interest. With the SPREP's attention on Vava'u in the preparation of a regional whale tourism management plan, the industry's perceived conduct of best practice is critical to many of the politically motivated relationships, the region's governance decisions regarding whale tourism and individual Pacific nations' international appeal and long-term tourism opportunities and sustainability. Accordingly, it is apparent that small nations initiating ecotourism activities cannot afford to ignore potential positive and negative international interest and, in the case of the Vava'u local community, their opportunity to influence destination governance outcomes accordingly. But, even if many stakeholders are aware of the implications and opportunities, and consequently the need to implement complementary government and industry regulations, this case study demonstrates that the local community may not perceive the importance of such, as the activities do not resonate with their local values. It was also very apparent in this case study that when local employees linked their industry roles with values and goals of personal significance, a greater motivation to adhere to the industry regulations was demonstrated. When local community members and employees made these connections between values, there was evidence that this activity could contribute both to the management of human impacts on the whale population and the other sustainability aspects proposed in a contemporary context of ecotourism and its roles (Fennell, 2001; Ross and Wall, 2001; Donohue and Needham, 2006; Jamal *et al.*, 2006). Accordingly, the local benefits as indicated in this study could be considered to help build community capacity through local empowerment,

equity and social self-determination with examples demonstrating: enhanced opportunity for local ownership and management of industry operations and associated businesses; leading local representation in industry organizations; local employment and professional development opportunities for males and females; and facilitation of sociocultural aims and options to remain in the community and support extended family responsibilities.

The challenge that exists in this case is to stimulate the consistent conduct of best practice throughout the industry in Vava'u, and potentially in other comparable destinations that may lack international tourism experience, awareness or management processes. In these cases, the community has to be self-motivated regarding appropriate conduct, with their only measure for judgement being their fellow industry members. Vava'u tourism industry representatives and mentored guides suggested having an internationally comparative standard of guiding in the industry or a certification approach. However, a certification scheme alone does not ensure compliance. This study found there was greater motivation to appreciate and adhere to best practice when expatriate owner/operators were present on the vessels and either took on, or provided, a mentoring role to local employees. In many of these cases, the local employees expressed a greater awareness and perceived importance of their role and linkage to personally significant values. These results support the values-based sustainable tourism framework, and in particular support the use of training programmes that include an independent coaching process utilizing the personal insight interpretive approach (Walker, 2008b; Walker and Blackman, 2009). The PIIA facilitates the identification of linkages between the interpretive experience involved in an ecotourism activity and the participants' perceived benefits and personally significant values. This approach aligns with a coaching process, as opposed to a training programme where 'training' is defined as being task or job specific and focuses on the 'techniques' of managing tourists and the provision of relevant educational information associated with the activity (Black and King, 2002), whereas coaching is about creating sustained shifts in behaviour, feelings and thinking (Grant, 2005). Coaching achieves this by providing a coach who helps the employee link their own personally significant goals and values with their employment role, learning skills of self-assessment and self-development that become a continuous process of application throughout their career. The coach is generally not their employer, who predominantly may have the interests of their business at heart, but instead an independent, experienced person in the field who holds the interests of the employee as paramount and who the employee accesses at junctures in their job training and/or career development, or on an employee need basis (see Walker and Blackman, 2009, for further detail). To be most effective though, it is suggested this approach exists in an operational agenda that is internationally accredited and applied, and thus recognized as best practice.

Previous examination of this approach by Walker (2008a) in association with achieving the sustainable goals of contemporary ecotourism, identified classifications within the Green Globe 21 accreditation programme as an appropriate place for incorporation of this approach to ensure community value recognition, identification and interpretive provision (which was seen as an existing weakness in this accreditation programme). Green Globe 21 has the exclusive licence for

the distribution and management of the International Ecotourism Standard and is considered the global affiliation, benchmarking and certification programme for sustainable travel and tourism (Green Globe, 2006; Tourism Australia, 2007).

The recommendations above represent an avenue for locations such as Vava'u to influence destination governance. That is, destinations which are striving to develop an ecotourism industry but which may experience the potentially complicated processes and inconsistent relationships of multifaceted international attention and agencies that aim to influence tourism conduct and governance. Instead, the community, its representative agencies and industry stakeholders can influence these external processes effectively by initially adopting and implementing an international standard of best practice which encourages consistent industry performance and sustainable tourism objectives. The standard will achieve this only via the recognition and incorporation of local community values and goals. These in turn can be facilitated through local employment and appropriate training and coaching, the integration of which has been presented in the values-based sustainable tourism framework (Fig. 9.1). This offers the destination stakeholders a framework and tools to lead the pursuit of industry best practice effectively, identifying and recommending locally orientated performance criteria and benchmarks in the best interests of all to achieve. In this way, the local stakeholders have some influence on the destination governance outcomes rather than being dictated to completely by potentially conflicting and inconsistent politically driven external agencies.

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10 Community Empowered Tourism Development: A Case Study

JEROME AGRUSA AND GUILHERME ALBIERI

Introduction

This case study will demonstrate a shift in the normal paradigm of how government, society and the private sector work together, resulting in a village being able to keep its culture while allowing sustainable tourism to develop. The success of this model can be replicated and implemented in other tourism locations to produce additional significant positive results.

According to J.F. Rischard, the World Bank's Vice President for Europe, the 21st century is posing unprecedented challenges to our society, driven by an intensively different new world economy and rapid demographic expansion on an 'already overstretched planet' (Rischard, 2002). The new challenges faced in this new world order cannot be solved using the ideas, beliefs, norms and underlying assumptions created in the old paradigm. A dangerous 'governance gap' is being created between global issues and the capacity of traditional institutions to solve them (Rischard, 2001). New models for problem solving, new hierarchical models and new organizational structures need to emerge.

Now, as the new economy and booming demographics add new levels of complexity to contemporary societies, the usual distinctive separate sectors of society – public, business and civil – need to join efforts to guide communities towards a more sustainable future. According to Rischard:

An important new reality emerges: it will take partnerships among government, business, and civil society to solve intractable problems. Odd as they may feel at first – they require an entirely different attitude from what we are used to – expect such tri-sector partnerships to bloom in the next twenty years at every level: global, regional, local.

(Rischard, 2002:51)

Tourism, one of the fastest growing industries in the world, is affected considerably by the changes proposed by Rischard. The World Tourism Organization forecasts more than a 100% increase in the total number of international travellers in

the next 13 years (WTO, 2007). According to a Hogg Robinson Group hotel survey, due to the increase in demand by tourism, hotel prices in Asia soared an unprecedented 20% in 2006 (Ancell, 2006). Historical, ecological, literary, sports, adventure, gastronomic, cultural, exotic and many other types of tourism report a considerable increase around the world. In an interconnected world where information is spread at the push of a button, there are no communities, no matter how small, that can remain anonymous. Sooner or later, tourists, with their intrinsic contributions and potential harm to local communities, will have access to isolated communities, leaving an impact – which can be positive if the site is managed properly, or unfavourable if managed poorly.

Following Rischard's theory in this new scenario, a new model of organization and decision making will be necessary. 'We are used to a mode of interaction where each party stays in its respective corner and there is little collaboration among them. In this mode, business does its own thing and concentrates only on the bottom-line. Civil society keeps to its role of criticizing from the outside, rarely doing the more courageous bit of offering practical solutions to public scrutiny. And government arrogantly believes in its ability to know what needs fixing, what's good for you, and how things should be handled' (Rischard, 2002:47).

Government represents an important force capable of reducing the increasing dominance of global capitalism. The 'local state', together with organized social movements, can ensure investments in tourism in the correct proportions. Recognizing local idiosyncrasies requires the delegation of decision making, resources and priorities to the community level, which can lead to solutions that are locally adaptable (Azevedo, 2003). A new kind of partnership is proposed in which the public sector, business and civil society interact.

Emergence of Cultural Tourism

It is expected that remote and isolated communities eventually will be visited by tourists looking for new and exotic places to explore, as the tourism industry continues to grow at an unbelievable pace. The uniqueness of cultures (including artefacts, monuments, historical sites, archaeology, values and beliefs, community organization and 'way of life' in general) may be as appealing to tourists as an unspoiled beach or a breathtaking landscape. In fact, tourists are now more than ever looking for experiences in which they are exposed to all the different resources offered at a travel destination, including cultural resources. The tourists of today do not want just to see new places, but they want to learn the different ways of life and experience those new cultures first-hand.

The expectations of today's tourists are higher. They want to experience unique, unspoiled, unvisited destinations and cultures that they can share with friends back home and brag about the unique experience they have lived, including new values and beliefs they have learned, exotic rituals and ways of life they have viewed or maybe even participated in from the unique creative minds of the indigenous population. As the tourism market grows, a consumer's (the tourist) learning curve becomes steeper and he or she is no longer willing to be part of the mass tourism market.

Tourists want to experience and learn different ways of life and become more understanding of cultural differences, creating an enriched vision of themselves and the world. Contact between tourists who want to experiment with a different cultural experience and the indigenous population can be very beneficial to both parties, creating opportunities for the local population to diversify their economic base and generate income, eliminating poverty, raising their standard of living, investing the profit in conservational projects and activities and providing incentives to preserve the local culture (Agrusa, 1996). However, overdevelopment in remote areas can destroy the local culture and environment, which is the very thing that brought the tourists to a particular area in the first place (Feilden, 2003).

The Bottom-Up Approach

When the needs of the community portraying its own cultural heritage and history come first, cultural tourism management is more effective than when it is imposed on a community by outsiders. This model, called the bottom-up approach, occurs when the local population of an area is involved actively in the decision-making process and planning of tourism activities, providing them with a sense of ownership of their own future and development, as well as encouraging and empowering them to be more engaged in tourism activities (Agrusa *et al.*, 2003).

The bottom-up approach allows the local population to be heard, giving them the opportunity to decide what, where, when, how and to whom their culture will be exposed. The local population become active players in deciding their future, and not mere spectators of external abuse and opportunism.

Prainha's Background

The unique struggle of Prainha (Brazil) against external development is crucial in understanding the decisions the villagers have made when it comes to tourism development. This section provides information to explain better how Prainha's past is shaping its future.

With seemingly endless sandy beaches, a dune-covered landscape and pristine lagoons, Prainha do Canto Verde is one of those places one could call 'paradise'. This village is home to 200 families, totalling 1200 inhabitants. Prainha is located 125 km south-east of Fortaleza, the capital city of the Brazilian federal state of Ceara (Studienkreis, 2003). The residents of this paradise-like village that live close to the coast make a subsistence living from craft-type fishing carried out in their traditional rafts, named 'jangadas'. Fishing is the main source of income, and a large portion of the food that the villagers consume comes from the ocean. The inland population makes a living from commercializing cashew products such as nuts and juices, palm wax and subsistence farming.

This paradise village became threatened by land speculators in 1976. Antonio Salles Magalhaes, a land speculator, realized Prainha's immense market value

and development potential for tourism after visiting the village. After Magalhaes visited the Prainha area, this once calm and peaceful village and the lives of the people in the community were changed forever. Magalhaes, with the assistance of some friends at the Land Registry Office, illegally registered 749 ha of Prainha do Canto Verde under his name and became the 'rightful' owner of the land. The land, after being laundered properly, was purchased by real estate speculator and investor, Henrique Jorge.

With the encouragement and support of the Cardinal and Archbishop of Fortaleza, D. Aloisio Lohscheider, the local residents created the *Associação de Moradores da Prainha do Canto Verde* (Village Residents Association) as a means to protect the village from real estate speculators and to strive for a better quality of life. D. Aloisio was also instrumental in helping the association bring a legal case against the speculators to the State's Supreme Court. This case was sent back to the local court, back to the Supreme Court and finally, after 11 years, the decision of the Superior Court of Ceara State followed the recommendation of the state attorney, who called the purchase of the land an 'immoral fraud' and ordered that the land should be returned to its rightful owners, the people of Prainha do Canto Verde.

The plan by Henrique Jorge was to expel the residents from their land in order to develop the region. However, these plans were set back, except Henrique Jorge would not give up, dividing the community by terrorizing some residents with armed gangs and rewarding others with money payments and bribes. Henrique Jorge took advantage of the vacation recess of the judicial system and fenced parts of the beach, attempting to intimidate the population of Prainha do Canto Verde. Later, the population destroyed the fence in retaliation. Jorge's attempt was solely to split the community, forcing them to renegotiate land ownership. However, Prainha's inhabitants were known for their bravery and did not succumb to this intimidation. Every time Jorge built a fence on their land, the people of Prainha do Canto Verde pulled the fence down to show that they would no longer be intimidated by his gangs of thugs (Studienkreis, 2003).

Organizing Against External Development

Tired of fighting, the villagers of Prainha do Canto Verde decided in 1993 to organize themselves to defend against external development, initiating a number of moves leading to a self-organized structure rarely found in Brazil. The most important move, led by the local villagers, was unquestionably the 1993 SOS Sobrevivencia (Survival) Jangada (sailraft) trip. This trip was a 2-month voyage of four fishermen on a jangada and two young women who travelled by car from Prainha all the way to Rio de Janeiro to protest against predatory fishing, real estate speculation, mass tourism development and the lack of government support for artisan fishermen. This event brought awareness across Brazil and internationally of the struggles that the village of Prainha do Canto Verde faced, attracting the attention of media, artists, politicians, federal government and NGOs.

The first measure taken to streamline the villagers' independence was the adoption of zoning and building regulations by the village's general assembly,

determining what could be built and where and under what standards this development could occur.

Another measure was the formation of an umbrella organization, the Village Residents Association in Prainha do Canto Verde. It included different community councils that were created to be better able to face the multiple challenges of community development. These include: the fisheries council, which organizes fishermen and administrates the fishing cooperative; the health council, which looks after infant mortality and preventive actions for health; the education council, which is responsible for running the local municipal school; the tourism council, which has emerged into a Tourism and Handicraft Cooperative (COOPECANTUR) with 70 members and which is responsible for the management of the community tourism project; and the land council, which is in charge of the land conflict and building regulations. There are several other groups, such as youth groups and church groups, which are also included under the Village Residents Association.

During the structuring process of the Village Residents Association and the different councils, it is crucial to mention the assistance the villagers received from Mr René Schärer, a former Swissair executive, who has been living in the village since 1991. Mr. Schärer has been instrumental in neutrally moderating discussions among the villagers and counselling them by asking pertinent and difficult questions, as well as establishing contacts for the village with the outside world. Mr Schärer challenged the community to reflect about their past and to think about the kind of future they wanted for themselves and their future generations. One example of Mr Schärer's assistance was when the village of Prainha entered and won an international contest, titled TO DO! 99, for the best ecotourism case of the year and, in 1999, the village was chosen to undergo the certification process with the London-based Marine Stewardship Council for promoting sustainable fisheries. Mr Schärer is also in charge of international contacts and fundraising from different sources, like the Swiss Embassy and other Swiss-based foundations, such as the philanthropic Association Friends of Prainha do Canto Verde, which he founded in Switzerland in 2000.

Concern with the Future

After their long struggle to preserve their lands, Prainha's inhabitants knew that tourist development would arrive eventually. In a global community, in which information travels in seconds to reach millions of people, being anonymous is nearly impossible. It was inevitable that tourists would one day arrive in Prainha do Canto Verde, exposing the village's environment and culture to other tourists. Sooner or later, a real estate company would propose the construction of a hotel or summer houses. In addition, low-end tourists were arriving in large numbers for a picnic on the beach, leaving rubbish behind and putting stress on the local people (SOSZonaCosteira, 2003).

The residents of Prainha do Canto Verde took the proactive approach and instead of refuting change, discussed openly the possibility of development through tourism. They posed simple but deep questions. What kind of tourism

do we want in our village? What do we not want in our village? If tourists are going to come, what kind of outcome do we want from this tourism? These questions were discussed in village assemblies and working groups, and in 1993, a group of young people from the village, who were receiving a small scholarship to finish their Senior High School education in Fortaleza, carried out a survey among the villagers in Prainha, as well as among residents of three other villages where tourism development was already having an impact (Canoa Quebrada, Parajuru and Praia das Fontes). Through this survey, the tourism working group wanted to find out how the local residents in Prainha felt about tourism and how residents in other villages perceived tourism.

Results of the Survey

The results of the survey in the surrounding villages revealed meaningful socio-economic structural changes in those communities. In all the villages surveyed, an increase in drug use, prostitution and crime was significant.

When reviewing the results of the surrounding villages where the survey was applied, these villages experienced an increase in income for some villagers and the creation of a few jobs. However, it was identified that most of the small businesses such as restaurants and hotels were run and operated by outsiders, causing economic leakage, and only a small percentage of the profits stayed inside the villages. Interestingly, in one five-star hotel built in one of the villages, only two locals were hired. Gradually, locals were substituting their main economic activity, fishing, to live off tourism, causing a decrease in the number of boats fishing, and subsequently a decrease in the amount of fish being caught, thus causing an increase in the price of the fish. The rapid emergence of hotels and summer houses built by outsiders brought a considerable change in the architecture and the general look of the village, with very few fishermen retaining land titles (SOSZonaCosteira, 2003; Studienkreis, 2003).

Prainha's inhabitants had mixed feelings when presented with the results of the survey, as they became acquainted with the risks and opportunities involved in their everyday economic, social and cultural lives. After evaluating the study with long discussions, the villagers' verdict was: tourism would be implemented as a means of economic development, creating opportunities for additional income and new jobs, but it would be a self-administered model, managed by the local villagers, guaranteeing that the income and profit would stay in the village to benefit the local economy, preserving their land and premises as well as their social, cultural and environmental assets.

Bottom-Up Cultural Tourism in Practice

The Tourism Council of Prainha do Canto Verde organized a 3-day Conference for Sustainable Tourism, with the participation of different interest groups within the village, such as fishermen, women, men, youngsters, teachers and craft-workers, in order to draw up a blueprint for tourism development. Among the

participants in the conference discussions were also the Instituto Terramar (an NGO created by Mr Schärer to work with coastal communities), tourism experts, neighbouring communities, local government officials and other NGOs. The result of the discussions was a strategic plan for Prainha do Canto Verde's tourism development and the creation of a cooperative to undertake the project, COOPECANTUR, an acronym for Tourism and Handicrafts Cooperative (SOS-ZonaCosteira, 2003).

Prior research on the bottom-up approach to tourism development includes 'spotlighting the everyday lives of everyday people' (Agrusa *et al.*, 2003). The village of Prainha has a calm, tranquil, peaceful way of life, a communitarian culture and the possibility of interacting with the villagers, which is the village's essence for attracting tourists. The local residents of Prainha knew that this harmony could be jeopardized easily, depending on the type and number of incoming tourists. Therefore, one of their first steps with the bottom-up approach was defining to whom the residents of Prainha wanted to portray their culture and how accommodation and other services would be provided.

The results of the strategic planning sections are summarized below, including the definition of their niche market, accommodation and food for visitors, as well as activities.

Niche market

Guidelines for market selection are quite strict. Travel agencies and local tour operators are not involved in the promotion and marketing of Prainha's products and services (restaurants, hotels and activities). On the contrary, the Internet and word of mouth are the preferred marketing channels. However, Prainha villagers do encourage agencies that specialize in responsible culture tourism and community tourism to contact COOPECANTUR to organize special offers. Villagers want to attract those who are sensitive to the environment, conservation, local cultures and who want to learn about the community organization. 'Those individuals who seek tranquility and the natural beauty offered by the region, who are interested in the culture and traditions of the Sea Dwellers and are engaged in preservation (...). People who can live without swimming pools, boutiques and agitated nightlife' (SOSZonaCosteira, 2003). Among those whom the villagers are attracting are ecologists, students from different areas, members of human rights movements and religious groups.

Additionally, besides the Internet and word of mouth, links are being made with international organizations that attract those concerned with socially responsible tourism and the impact that tourism has on traditional cultures. Some of the international organizations that are attracted by Prainha are 'Arbeitskreis für Tourismus und Entwicklung' in Basle and Tourism Concern and Fair Tourism in the UK (Studienkreis, 2003). Recently, Prainha has joined a network of coastal villages in Ceara, the Tucum network. One of the main objectives of this network is to consolidate marketing efforts to a target audience of communitarian and sustainable tourism lovers.

Accommodation and food

Where are tourists going to stay? Where and what are they going to eat? Who is going to provide accommodation and meals? Those were important questions that had to be answered by the residents of Prainha do Canto Verde. With a clear vision of what they wanted to gain from tourism development and using their community approach to problem solving, those questions were answered in a creative and innovative manner.

Accommodation is offered in guest house rooms in a family setting, called 'pousadas', which can be owned privately or by the community. Also, tourists can rent bedrooms in locals' houses. Prainha has no more than a total of eight overnight accommodation facilities, providing lodgings for a maximum of 45 people in rooms with private toilet and shower. Accommodation rates including breakfast are about US\$8.00/day and meal costs are approximately US\$4.00/meal. Local cuisine is offered in small restaurants owned and operated by the villagers and includes a fresh catch of the day of fish or lobster. Shrimp, chicken, rice, beans and other locally grown products are also served, with fresh mango, orange or cashew juices, beer, coffee and, for dessert, fresh fruits like bananas, pineapple and cashew.

Activities

Tourists expecting jet skis, banana boats, paragliding and parasailing are definitely coming to the wrong place. Activities available at Prainha provide tourists with the opportunity to be in contact with nature and the local culture in a natural context. Local tour guides arrange sailing trips on board a jangada or catamaran; lead the tourists across sand dune landscapes; reveal hidden saltwater lagoons; and discover neighbouring fishing villages. Excursions include trips to nearby projects like the oyster farm that female fishers have developed in a mangrove area adjacent to the River Jaguaribe. Historically, fishing was exclusively for men of the village who were fishermen, but the development of this oyster farm has given the women a position to provide an income in a culture where men are expected to be the only income provider.

Tourists can also arrange visits to the local school, participate in local events and celebrations, sail on research trips in the marine reserve which is being established and sail on scheduled fishing trips (Fortalnet, 2003). One can define Prainha's villagers as happy, festive people. The annual calendar of activities is intense and rich with history, giving visitors many different options to experience the local culture, including religious, national and local celebrations. On a visit to the local school, visitors can learn, through songs performed by the children's choir, about the village's history, including the invasions by land speculators, the regatta of 1993 and the villagers' concern for the environment and their culture.

The regatta is an annual event. Different marine ecology themes are chosen for it and the local children paint the sails of the jangadas with their art and creativity. The purpose of the jangada is to celebrate the bravery of 'jangadeiros' and to show off their navigation skills, at the same time raising awareness of the

environment; thus, it is called the Ecological Jangada Regatta. It has been celebrated since 1993 and has inspired other communities to organize their own ecological regattas. The regatta is an important measure which demonstrates that tourism is a complementary source of economic development and that the villagers are committed to their roots so that the prevailing usage of the jangadas is for fishing. Jangadas may not always be available for tourists to enjoy because they are used for fishing in order to provide and maintain the village's supply of fish. The fish supply for the villagers has priority over a tourist's joyride.

Crafts

The native culture is also portrayed through the crafts that are developed by the local children, women and artisans. Handicrafts, embroidered work and toys created by the children can be acquired at the local souvenir shop. Local beach-wear brand clothes, such as bikinis and sarongs, can also be purchased in the local store.

The statement of a French visitor summarizes perfectly the bottom-up approach to cultural tourism adopted in Prainha: 'here the visitors adapt to the villagers, and not the other way around' (SOSZonaCosteira, 2003). A local resident shared with one of the authors that 'we [Prainha villagers] don't have much, but what we have, few have'.

Discussion

With the implementation of the bottom-up approach to tourism, the results can be considered to be very positive in impacting the social, economic, cultural and environmental aspects of the village. Some of the positive results are as follows.

The creation of opportunities for income generation

As mentioned previously, all entrepreneurial endeavours (restaurants, sleeping facilities, tourist attractions) are owned and operated by locals and by the village cooperative, ensuring that the profits stay in the village. Tour guides are local youngsters that have the opportunity to add to their families' total income. Service provider teams were created in order to serve seminars and conventions held in the village. For example, the 'kitchen brigade', consisting of 11 women and 1 man, will produce a four-course banquet for groups of up to 50 people. This team is responsible for everything from the design of the menu, to the purchase of raw materials, cooking, serving and washing the dishes. At the end of the banquet, the service team presents the bill and pays a 10% commission to COOPECANTUR, dividing the remaining profits within the team. There are also different teams, such as the 'cake' and 'coffee' teams, responsible for the coffee and cake served at coffee breaks during meetings and seminars. Trail guides, producers of handicrafts and restaurant and lodge owners all consist of different

people, ensuring that new income sources are created and that opportunities are spread throughout the community.

Income from tourism is well distributed throughout the community. For example, during a tourism meeting event of 40 guests staying 5 days, approximately 40 villagers will earn some income. The amount depends on whether they are waiters, pousada owners, translators, tour guides, banquet chefs or artisans.

The participation of local stakeholders in the decision-making process

In patriarchal decision making (a model of management which delegates decision making to higher hierarchical levels), information flows from the top down, and individuals at the lower levels feel no need for change as they are engulfed in feelings of disempowerment and disenfranchisement.

In the case of Prainha, the predominant model is one in which the community is highly involved in the decision-making process concerning its future. Different councils have been created (e.g. a tourism council, an education council) and all stakeholders have a voice in the decision-making process, which is in fact the essence of the bottom-up approach to tourism development. Thus, community leaders spend many hours in different meetings to plan and evaluate activities and projects. The 'Community Centre' is a vibrant gathering place where Prainha's council members and residents in general meet frequently to discuss their ideas openly, expose concerns and make action-based decisions.

The model of tourism implemented in the community is referred to as 'community-based' tourism, clearly suggesting that the community own the decision-making process. There is strong evidence pointing towards a 'self-managed' community, in which assistance from the municipality is welcomed and needed, but by no means limits their scope of action. That is, improvements in the community, ranging from tourism development to improvements at the school, are highly controlled by the local residents. For instance, the local school has recently installed wireless Internet that is accessible to students and tourists alike. This project was funded partially by the Residents Association and by the philanthropic group, 'Amigos da Prainha' (Friends of Prainha). No funds were requested or received from the municipality.

In most cases in Brazil, a patriarchal society, the predominant mindset is to expect government authorities to identify and address the needs of the community. Citizens tend to delegate the destiny of their communities to government bureaucrats. In Prainha's case, it is evident that they have challenged this predominant mindset of the Brazilian culture by taking ownership of their future. However, it is important to remind the reader that this change was initiated by a Swiss person who had moved to Prainha. Thus, the question is whether Prainha residents could have self-started the process of questioning their own values and assumptions.

A second predominant mindset, in this case related specifically to tourism development, is the fact that mass tourism is encouraged and perceived as a reasonable and desirable source of income. A community leader in Prainha,

during a personal conversation with one of the authors, pointed out repeatedly that the Brazilian Ministry of Tourism very recently started supporting community-based and sustainable tourism initiatives. According to this community leader, the Ministry's interest was to publish reports indicating a high percentage increase in tourism. Small, sustainable initiatives were not on the Ministry's agenda. This is true of governments around the globe. Prainha residents have indeed questioned this assumption and have developed a sustainable model of tourism which respects the community's identity, cultural values and carrying capacity. The decision to implement tourism, the type of tourists to be welcomed and types of activities to be carried out were all decisions made by the community as a whole through a democratic and inclusive decision-making process.

Reinforcement of local culture

The bottom-up approach to cultural tourism was instrumental in solidifying the local culture of Prainha do Canto Verde through the preservation and strengthening of communitarian values. The community values that were threatened during the attacks of the past were restored. Youngsters and children at school learn and discuss the real meaning of their culture and the consequences of breaking the same cultural values that bond them together. In a vast repertory of songs, in the school's choir the children's voices sing about their history, the animals, the ocean, cultural values and preservation.

Tourism has been implemented as a means of diversifying the economy and not substituting the existing one – fishing. Villagers are conscious that fishing is and will be their main economic activity in the years to come, and they will keep using the means of artisan methods of fishing, including what is the backbone of their culture – the traditional jangada. But at the same time, they are open to innovation, as long as it is sustainable. Thus, they are now in the process of building a sail catamaran to modernize ocean fishery, because jangadas have a limit to their range and cannot explore all the marine resources available.

According to James March, a professor of political science, we make decisions based on two models – the consequences model and the identity model (Heath and Heath, 2010). The consequences model is a rational model of decision making in which the actors take into account the pros and cons of a decision and choose the options that maximize outcomes. Based on this model, Prainha's inhabitants would maximize their financial outcomes, at least in the short term, by allowing external developers to buy land and develop business. In the identity model, decision makers ask questions such as: Who am I? What kind of situation is this? What would someone like me do in this situation? The villagers did not ask these questions intuitively, but were aided in this reflection by the wisdom of Mr Schärer and other NGOs. Villagers were led to realize the land, the culture and the environment were theirs, and so was their future. They not only could but should do something about it. This has created a strong and emotional sense of identity with their land and culture.

The villagers are proud of who they are and where they live. With the creation of jobs and opportunity for locals and reinforcement of the local

culture, the younger generations are less likely to leave the village to seek better living conditions in a big metropolis. In a conversation, one of the villagers said that many of his friends left Prainha to work in the capital city, Fortaleza. He went with them only to realize that in some instances, the big city transformed once honest and good friends into criminals. With the increased successes and accomplishments Prainha was collecting, he decided to return and is now an active, proud citizen of the village.

Environmental awareness and conservation

When it comes to environmental awareness and conservation, Prainha deserves a grade of A+. Prainha's fishermen are the leaders in the fight against predatory fishing and are in favour of sustainability among the fishing villages in the east of Ceara State. By limiting the number of visitors to 45 at a time, the carrying capacity of the village is being preserved, minimizing impact. Available activities take place in a natural setting and the nature of the activities cause very low impact to the ecosystem.

As the first community in Brazil to implement a special elementary class for fishermen, Prainha villagers combined their need to fish and their need to acquire an education. At school, environmental preservation education runs transversally through all the subjects, so that students will study mathematics using examples from nature; history using the local history and environment, all with Portuguese textbooks that favour environmental themes and so on. A schoolbook for first graders was produced by the school in cooperation with the environment education specialist from the environmental agency, IBAMA (The Brazilian Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources), reflecting the local geography, history and culture, bringing the subjects discussed in the classroom closer to the experience and reality of the local children.

With the creation of the children's choir, the GPT – grupo de Protetores das Tartarugas (Turtle Protection Group) – developed an initiative to educate their families about the importance of preserving marine turtles and turtle eggs. It is important to mention that the elders of the village consider eating sea turtle eggs a delicacy, as well as a male aphrodisiac. With the creation of the GPT, this tradition is dying out. The GPT also has dolphins and manatee in their care group. In 2001 and 2002, two baby marine manatees became stranded on the village beach and were saved by the village population and handed over to a manatee conservation group. The annual eco-regatta is a show of creativity when local children paint the sails of the jangadas with eco-friendly messages. The themes are always part of environmental education campaigns including themes like 'the bottom of the sea', 'the ocean, the child and the marine manatee', or about medicinal plants, the history of the village, or the history of the fisheries movement (Studienkreis, 2003).

In addition, the community as a whole is engaged in the recycling of refuse and other measures to create an environmentally sustainable village.

Knowledge transfer to other villages – spreading the knowledge

Prainha villagers are engaged and committed in helping to develop other villages that are environmentally sustainable and are ready to implement community-based tourism. Workshops and training seminars are delivered to surrounding villages, thus training locals in a wide range of skills essential to sustainable tourism development, ranging from how to organize a tourism cooperative to organizing events like regattas, as well as marketing and sales promotion, to cultural and ecosystem conservation. In the meantime, a community in the surrounding area, named Ponta Grossa, has developed very well with the help of Prainha's villagers and has become an attractive destination; and Tatajuba, another nearby village, is at the beginning of the implementation process.

In 2008, Prainha's leadership played an important role in creating the Tucum network, a network of 12 coastal villages in the state of Ceara that joined forces to promote communitarian and sustainable tourism. The objective of this network is to strengthen and increase the visibility of communitarian tourism in the state of Ceara (Fig. 10.1). The creation of the Tucum network is an example of how communities, sometimes with competing interests, can come together in collaboration, ensuring the success of all involved. By working together and not in competition, these communities can build capacity to serve tourism better by improving infrastructure, increasing resource acquisition capacity and developing a unified marketing strategy that promotes the entire region and not isolated villages.



Fig. 10.1. Translation: 'Get to know our community tourism project – local cuisine, ecological trails, catamaran rides and communitarian guest houses.'

Jefferson Souza from the Instituto Terramar described the creation of this network as a means for communities to dream together and not in isolation. The word 'tucum' itself is powerful and translates the mission of the network. Tucum is the indigenous word for a species of palm tree found in the region. The Tucum Ring symbolizes allegiance to indigenous and popular causes, social justice, the galvanization of human rights and the fight against oppression.

Land ownership

Prainha is a poor community. Selling real estate to outside investors is a lucrative business. However, for the most part, locals understand that land ownership is what will ensure a decent future for their children. The evidence from neighbouring communities is clear – residents who sell their property to outsiders are marginalized and their self-esteem suffers. That is not to say that all residents embrace the same vision. There are those who think that they should be able to sell their properties as they please. Community leaders have developed intensive campaigns, including the creation of outdoor signs, to communicate the consequences of the land being sold.

In 2009, President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva sanctioned Prainha as an 'extratrist reserve'. As a reserve, outside development is not permitted. This is a major triumph for the residents of Prainha after more than 40 years of trying to fight for its independence from external developers (Fig. 10.2). According to

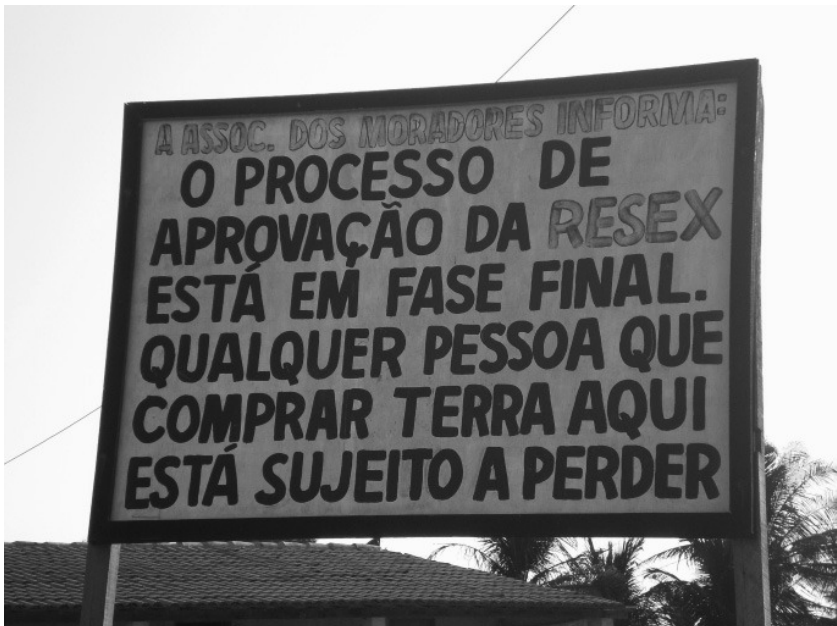


Fig. 10.2. Translation: 'The Residents Association advises that the process of approval at RESEX (extratrist reserve) is in its final stage. Any person who buys land here may lose it.'

Mr Schärer, the sustainable development of Prainha and other similar areas is only possible if the locals hold ownership of the land. When locals lose control of the land, they immediately become subordinate to the forces of external development, which can be overwhelmingly more powerful.

Learning

Prainha's 'Relatório Anual do Conselho de Turismo e Artesanato para o Ano 2007' (2007 Annual Tourism and Artefacts Council Report) demonstrates the ability of the group to identify the strengths and weaknesses of their model and to take action to improve it. The report presents a candid and thorough analysis of the council's challenges, such as the lack of involvement of some members, the increase of drug trafficking in the community, the lack of training programmes offered to members of the cooperative and the fact that fewer meetings have been held among council members when compared to previous years. As is suggested here and in the literature (see Argyris, 1993; Pfeffer and Sutton, 2006), bringing up problems is, for the most part, a characteristic of learning organizations. Organizations that discuss few or no problems cause real difficulties because facing up to the problems is avoided and, as a result, no action can be taken to solve them.

Economic results

Since COOPECANTUR's first year of business in Prainha do Canto Verde, results have been positive, which has allowed the board of directors to make capital reserves and to distribute 20% of the profit to the social and education fund. This fund is used to finance small projects or events, such as the annual party for the elderly of the community, a donation to the legal defence fund or educational projects. Visitors' numbers are growing steadily, from 500 in 2000 to 800 in 2003, generating about 2500 overnight stays.

The results are positive; improvements in the community are obvious, but far from perfect. The villagers recognize that this is an ongoing process requiring diligence and hard work in monitoring results and taking appropriate measures to fill the gaps in the process.

Challenges

While it could be claimed that the process of sustainable development through community-based stewardship is institutionalized in Prainha, it is by no means problem free. During various visits to the community, the authors have noticed fluctuations and inconsistencies in the momentum of the community-based tourism development project. Some of the projects previously implemented have been abandoned or are receiving little attention. For example, the school's sustainable 'vegetable garden' is no longer operating and the selective refuse collection service is struggling to survive.

The examples above show the constant struggle faced by communities to maintain well-intentioned sustainability programmes. The challenges include lack of financial and human resources, including overdependency on one person in the community to run a specific project. Communities and organizations are living things, in a constant state of flux. Institutionalizing sustainability is an arduous task. As in any living system, certain ideas will prosper and thrive while others will shrink and cease to exist. The battle for sustainability is a daily battle, a battle that never ends. Losing one battle does not mean the defeat of the cause. It just means that other battles need to be won and new battles need to keep on being fought. Finally, sustainability is being institutionalized through the education of the future leaders in the community – the children.

Conclusion

Eventually, isolated villages and cultures will be in contact with modern tourists, who are more than ever willing to experiment with what unique cultures have to offer. Exposure to tourists can be a liability to local cultures and the environment. However, through implementation of an approach that brings together the forces and expertise of the civil society, businesses and government, always placing the priorities of the local community first and allowing villagers to control the development process, a sustainable economic alternative in tourism can emerge. Benefits can range from the creation of additional income, to providing local economic development, to reinforcement of the local culture, as well as empowerment of minorities to environmental conservation. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to increase the quality of life of local villages sustainably through tourism without cooperation between the local community, government and non-governmental organizations.

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Part III

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11

Tourist Destination Governance Approaches and Solutions: Structural Change, Community Engagement, Networks and Collaborations

HAROLD RICHINS, JEROME AGRUSA, NOEL SCOTT
AND ERIC LAWS

This chapter provides an introduction to Part III, which explores the diversity of approaches and solutions to tourist destination governance through a number of case studies and writings of relevance. This includes addressing approaches to structural change, community engagement, networks and collaborations in the context of tourist destinations.

There are numerous difficulties in the governance of destinations with conflicting uses and a variety of jurisdictions, as discussed by Platt, ‘... this problem ... is particularly acute ... where pre-existing communities are intermingled with lands in public ownership. This results in a hodgepodge of jurisdictions and potential conflict in public policies and actions’ (1987:13). With the many difficulties created by ad hoc approaches taken in regional areas, a more structured method is advocated which is based on fairness, equity, efficiency, order, scientific backup and stewardship for future generations (Knecht, 1990).

In considering the various approaches and solutions which have been suggested and applied in dealing with issues of destination governance, this has been undertaken both on a broad level (Vendrik, 1988; Blank, 1989; Sorensen, 1993; Mowforth and Munt, 2008) as well as in studies focusing specifically on particular issues or decisions within a community (Rifkind, 1981; Bloomfield, 1999; Hall and Richards, 2003; Singh *et al.*, 2003). The numerous mechanisms for the governance of regional areas which have been suggested or undertaken may be organized into a grouping of five diverse approaches, namely: *integrated models, methods and theories; destination government policy and planning; focused development directives and procedures; communications and networks; and initiated partnerships and projects*. Table 11.1 elaborates further on these approaches.

Though there has been considerable emphasis in the tourism and environment literature on sustainable development (Marien, 1992; Murphy and Price,

Table 11.1. Diverse approaches related to regional tourist destination governance.

Integrated models, methods and theories	Systems, modelling and theory building in destination management Regional asset management methods Sustainable development and tourism
Destination government policy and planning	Destination policy related to tourism and destination development Destination development planning and management Community tourism planning
Focused development directives and procedures	Principles and procedures for destination development Land use management Regional community decision making
Communication and networks	Community and organizational networks Inclusion, integration and involvement of stakeholders Information and communication technologies
Initiated partnerships and projects	Partnerships and collaborations related to destination development Projects and developments in tourist destination regions

Source: Based on Butler *et al.*, 1980; Blank, 1989; Pearce, 1990; Haward and Bergin, 1991; Inskip, 1991; Marien, 1992; Dowling, 1993; Auyong, 1995; Wanhill, 1996; Richins, 1998; van Fossen and Lafferty, 2001; Gunn and Var, 2002; Hall and Richards, 2003; Neto, 2003; Singh *et al.*, 2003; Edgell *et al.*, 2008; Hall, 2008; George *et al.*, 2009; Ayman and Husam, 2010; Wray *et al.*, 2010, and others.

2005) as well as on sustainable tourism (Pigram, 1990; Wight, 1993; Harris and Leiper, 1995; Hunter, 1995; Neto, 2003; Mowforth and Munt, 2008) as an effective approach to community tourism and destination development, numerous other approaches have also been advocated. It is important to expand the knowledge of destination development and governance further by applying understanding from a diversity of studies both directly related and peripheral to tourism in order to provide tools to determine the most appropriate ways forward for attractive destination areas that embrace tourism and leisure as an economic strategy.

The methods put forward in addressing diverse issues of destination governance may not just include approaches such as policy development, systems theory, land use management, the popular yet questionable ecotourism, or the more broadly based sustainable tourism and development. Figure 11.1 presents a model that embodies the process of understanding and dealing effectively with the issues that regions face regarding destination development and governance.

When examining destination governance, exploring the various issues faced by regional communities that are embracing or are affected by tourism, leisure and other development (covered in Part I of this volume) is likely to relate directly to the process whereby stakeholders make decisions (covered in Part II) that affect the future of their regional communities. By reviewing these approaches, the process for dealing with various complex questions may be understood more clearly and lead to more effective development and implementation. It is anticipated that a positive set of tools for more integrated solutions to complex destination management (e.g. coastal, lake and mountain) and tourism development related

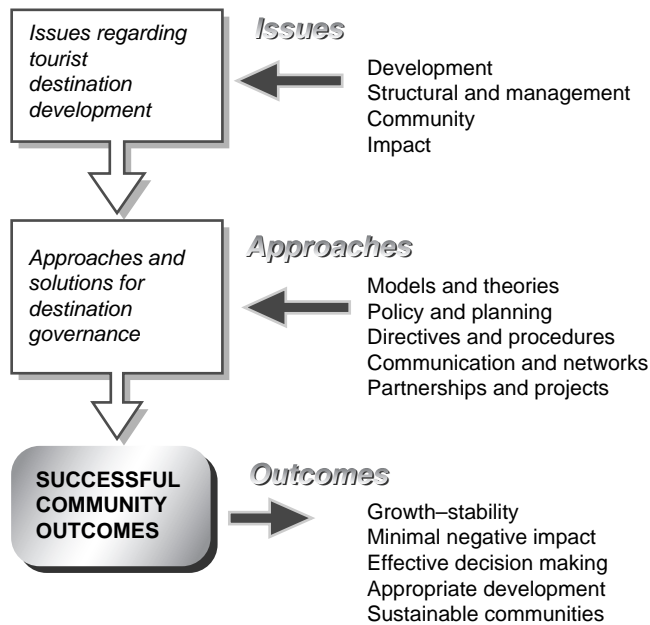


Fig. 11.1. Model of issues, approaches and outcomes of regional destination development and governance.

problems (Part III) may provide for a more favourable chance of achieving successful community outcomes based on stable growth, minimal negative impact, effective destination decision making and appropriate development consistent with sustainability in local and regional communities.

This chapter and the chapters following in Part III provide diverse examples related to these and other approaches, as well as solutions for moving forward in achieving effective tourist destination governance. A summary of the four chapters is provided below, addressing solutions of relevance to structural change, community engagement, networks and collaborations in tourist destinations.

Summary of Chapters and Relevance to Part III

Chapter 12 – Structural Change and Re-engineering in Tourism – A Chance for Destination Governance in Grisons, Switzerland?

Chapter 12 has focused on the process of a change in governance in a broader destination region in the mountain tourism sector. A major project involving a complex group of local and regional resort destinations in a key mountain resort area of Switzerland used an approach of governance that included a model with three key aspects: (i) organization and leadership; (ii) tasks and resources; and (iii) size and dominance.

In this chapter, Philipp Boksberger, Roland Anderegg and Markus Schuckert describe the process of governance in implementing a restructuring

and realignment of the many local tourism organizations to address market concerns more effectively through reduced but more focused and more competitive governance structures.

In discussing the lessons learned from the case, the authors put forward a number of points for success, which are important in achieving effective governance within complex regional tourist destination structures. These are discussed further in the chapter and include aspects of composition and responsibility sharing, strategic planning, understanding that which drives performance, stakeholder integration and involvement and effective communication, in addition to the fostering of networks and provision of influence in destination governance.

Chapter 13 – Design of Tourism Governance Networks

Chapter 13 explores the approach of networks in tourist destination governance. With a focus on tourist destination policy, the chapter by Rodolfo Baggio, Noel Scott and Chris Cooper discusses lessons learned from the literature with regard to collaborative stakeholder networks. In considering more proactive, integrated and collaborative approaches to destination governance, particularly at the local and regional levels, this chapter discusses the ‘new regionalism’ approach. This is done in the context of sustainable tourist destination development and its increasingly more balanced focus not just on economic interests and objectives but with the involvement of social and environmental objectives as well.

Acknowledging the movement toward tourist destination development increasingly becoming more and more a major aspect of policy and strategic planning frameworks for regional areas, the authors discuss the ways in which diverse stakeholder networks can achieve destination effectiveness in governance. As part of the chapter, and in order to frame its discussion, the authors elaborate on a concept of governance that relates to the rules of collective decision making, where there may be little or no formal control system and where the major political activity is more about bringing divergent views and interests together through effective, collaborative, self-organizing and consensus-building mechanisms.

The concept of networks is advocated in the chapter as an increasingly effective approach to tourist destination governance. Destinations and their governance require a highly flexible and adaptable approach where effective and dynamic community networks are virtually essential to their future success.

Chapter 14 – A Stakeholder Approach for Sustainable Community-based Rural Tourism (CBRT) Development in Thailand

Looking at a rural-based destination, Chapter 14 explores the approach of tourist destination governance with a focus on community-based tourism in Thailand. Through five case studies, Therdchai Choibamroong explores a number of factors in the failure and success of community-based tourism development, and the importance of an integrated stakeholder approach in achieving potential success.

These cases are then used to set forth guidelines for governance in countries with similar circumstances. While acknowledging the many challenges that Thailand has faced due to natural and political crises, the examples provide a constructive context for understanding the approaches and successes (as well as constraints) for rural- and community-based tourist destination development.

After analysing and generalizing the cases, lessons learned are put forward regarding governance approaches, with particular emphasis on stakeholder involvement in creating more sustainable community-based rural destinations. These include the strengthening of local communities and their structures, effective decision-making processes, mechanisms for functional rural tourism communities, building collaborative networks, providing a mechanism for understanding both community and visitor needs fully, developing and monitoring benchmarking approaches and the provision of rural tourism product positioning, along with strategic sustainable planning including action plans, implementation and review. The chapter concludes by acknowledging the diversity of governance approaches and capacity building, as well as the balance needed between more universal solutions in addition to appreciation of the knowledge and local wisdom in rural tourist destinations.

Chapter 15 – Dynamics of Destination Governance: Governance and Metagovernance in the Composite Industrial Environment of Destinations

In further developing various approaches and solutions to destination governance, Chapter 15 incorporates important insights from complexity, network and stakeholder theories. The concept of ‘destination’ is contextualized in the discussion of a multifaceted definition. A distinction is made from the traditional visitor-focused approach in which a tourist destination is seen only as a purpose-built, multi-amenity place where visitors base themselves. The authors, Thanasis Spyriadis, Dimitrios Buhalis and Alan Fyall, acknowledge that more recent concepts include local involvement and decision making, as well as environmental considerations and a component-sector approach (including various sectors of the tourism industry). In developing this concept further, there is also discussion of scale issues for tourist destinations at the local/regional (micro) level and management activities (programmes, structures, systems and processes), as opposed to the national (macro) level where broader policies and planning occur and have influence on these destinations.

After making the micro–macro connection and developing the concept further regarding the tourist destination, the authors discuss the important strategic approach of destination governance that includes planning, management and development, as well as including sustainability principles highlighting the involvement of the diversity of stakeholders for the benefit of all. Of special importance in this discussion of tourist destination governance solutions is the use of information and communication technology (ICT) in the development and effective use of networks, collaborations and community engagement, as well as change. The authors emphasize the numerous benefits of the use of ICT in the context of destination development, in facilitating these approaches,

providing knowledge and information distribution, increasing efficiency and productivity, enhancing decision making, reducing costs and improving the interaction of stakeholders and networks of relevance.

As discussed in the above summaries, each of the chapters in this part of the book provides further understanding regarding the approaches and solutions of tourist destination governance, including aspects of structural change, community engagement, networks and collaborations in the context of tourist destinations.

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12 Structural Change and Re-engineering in Tourism: A Chance for Destination Governance in Grisons, Switzerland?

PHILIPP BOKSBERGER, ROLAND ANDEREGG AND MARKUS SCHUCKERT

Introduction

Alpine tourism has evolved slowly but steadily from an isolated phenomenon in the 19th century to a mass phenomenon in the 21st century. It has changed from exclusivity to a mass tourism product with new challenges to face (Bieger, 2008; Schuckert and Boksberger, 2008). During this period, clear changes are recognizable in the motivations to engage in the activities on offer for alpine tourists. In the 19th century, the common motivations were for adventure, romance and nature experiences, undertaken by artists, poets and sportsmen, as well as by scientists. Later, the positive effects of the alpine climate on health became a motivation to visit, and this increased the flow of tourists. This led to expansion and development of the travel infrastructure, and the rapid expansion of mass tourism. The early 1970s brought a significant and lasting change of seasonality and shifts in demand, but the process of globalization also led to increased competition. New international tourist and leisure destinations created a more dynamic market for alpine destinations than had existed previously.

In summary, globalization, international competition, exchangeable products and new consumer behaviour are forcing alpine destinations into structural changes and re-engineering. To be successful in the tourism market, the alpine destinations need competitive structures and strategies. The following aspects are crucial (Bieger, 1998):

- Organization and leadership: efficient and effective processes for decision making and communication;
- Tasks and resources: own identity (unique selling propositions [USPs], brand, etc.) and a functioning network of local, regional and national partners; and
- Size and dominance: marketing by larger entities with a cumulative budget.

Currently, these challenges are being addressed in the re-engineering project, 'Competitive Structures and Task Sharing in Tourism in Grisons'. Grisons is Switzerland's premier holiday destination for skiing, snowboarding, wellness, railway adventure and culture, and includes international holiday resorts like Davos, St Moritz, Laax and other idyllic alpine villages (Fig. 12.1).

The organizational structure of Grisons in 2005 consisted of 428 executive committee members, but there were only 293 full-time people employed in the region, thus indicating an overregulated sector. The project aims to reorganize the 92 tourism organizations existing in 2005 into about 14 new competitive entities, with the long-term objective of stopping the declining numbers of arrivals at the destination, and the consequent migration of the workforce, in order to maintain viable commercial activities in the region.

The area encompassed by the re-engineering project is based on the concept that a destination equals the experience of a specific location and therefore involves a certain level of belonging, boundaries and connections to one's everyday life, even when the destination's identity may be artificial and change over time (Escobar, 2001). Using this approach, various operational attributes of Grisons's tourism have been elaborated, synchronized and agreed to within the complex network of stakeholders. Out of this process, it has been determined that a destination needs to have a presence (latent or at least evoked) in the

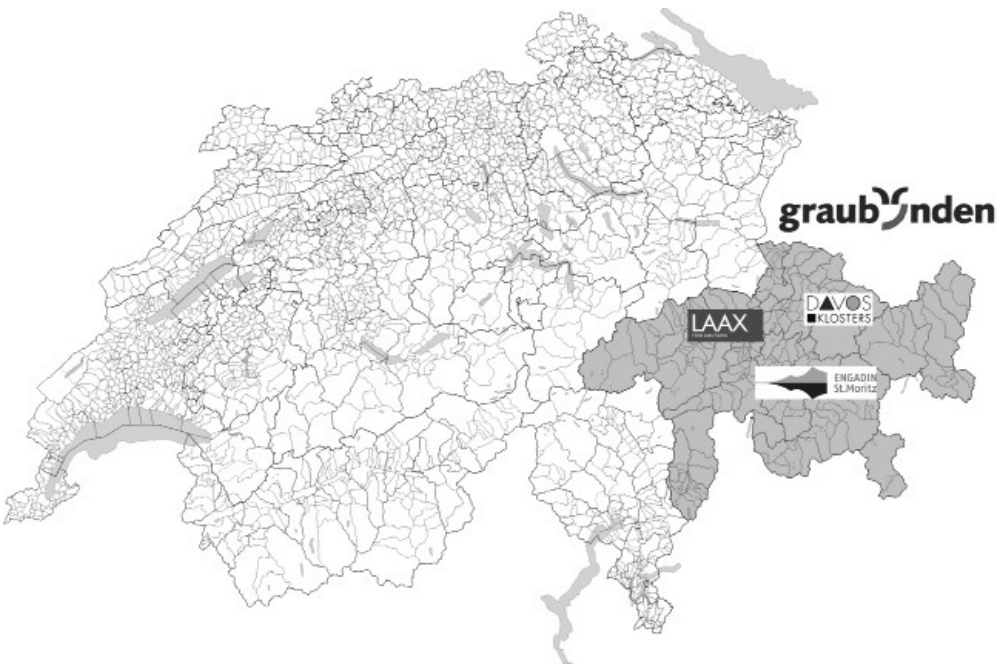


Fig. 12.1. Map of Grisons (www.graubunden.com).

mindset of potential guests and that it needs to have a completeness and range of products and services providing all the necessary benefits. Moreover, an area with clearly defined boundaries of geographical and/or topographical features has to exist. Finally, the existence of management capacity according to the complexity of the task, the willingness to cooperate, the willingness to change and the ability of all players to think out of the box is required in order to position the products and services in target markets.

To break down these criteria concerning size and dominance, a set of minimum indicators on a yearly basis has been developed. These include overnight stays of 2 million, a marketing budget of 7 million Swiss francs (SFr) and turnover with key accounts of SFr1 million, as well as a strengthening of product management and sales functions in the destination. Indicators have also been implemented in regards to organization and leadership, such as a maximum number of seven board members, written documentation of the destination strategy, a marketing plan and quality management, as well as the implementation of control measures, to name a few. This chapter, therefore, reports on the structural change and re-engineering process in relation to destination governance using a case study of Grisons, Switzerland – a mature tourism region in the Swiss Alps. It discusses the development of a professional destination management organization (DMO) and implementation of destination governance techniques using a corporate governance model (Beritelli *et al.*, 2007; Fischer, 2007).

New Old Challenges in the Tourism Industry

In the literature, there are a number of different definitions of a destination. Because of the relation between tourism and the use of geographic space, many aspects of tourism have their beginnings in geography. The development of regions under the influence of tourism was first studied as an independent research topic by geographers. In 1909, for example, Bowman analysed the tourism-related demand and supply structure of a region (see Wheeler, 1986, for a discussion). Subsequently, a destination was seen as a spatial construct and the development of tourist places has been described in terms of destinations. Based on these first approaches, tourism regions and so-called destinations increasingly became the subject of interdisciplinary research. In the course of further discussions, the description of a destination changed to a more or less spatially defined product bundle of different tourism products (Cooper and Jackson, 1989; Agarwal, 1994). Later, a destination was perceived as a process-oriented competitive unit (Bieger, 2008), which can be characterized further as a product and information system for tourism service features (Framke, 2002).

The evolution of the term 'destination' suggests the tasks of DMOs have also changed over time. In the beginning, Kaspar (1991) and Freyer (1995) considered the functions of a DMO included the promotion of the appearance of the site, the development of tourism offers and especially the marketing of a regional area. At the same time, marketing and public relations adapted to the

professionalization of individual destinations. DMOs nowadays shape organizational and process characteristics similar to companies, and are framed under public law or are based on the concepts and practices of commercial law.

According to Bieger (2008) and Pechlaner (2003), the management of a destination has four main tasks: (i) planning and strategic tasks in the form of creating concepts and developing a strategy for the destination; (ii) destination marketing inwards and outwards in the form of a build-up of a marketing strategy, as well as a communication and branding concept which has to be supported by market research and market control; (iii) the creation of an offer through product and quality development, as well as price management and the coordination and operation of sales channels; and (iv) coordinating and lobbying within the destination to develop awareness about and mindfulness towards tourism in the region.

As a result, the requirements for DMOs have changed fundamentally – until recently, these organizations tended to be administrative offices with limited duties related to regional marketing (Agarwal, 1994). Nowadays, these organizations may have an entrepreneurial portfolio of various commercial tasks, including sales (Framke, 2002). To operate successfully in this new environment, these organizations need to change from undertaking pragmatic ad hoc measures to strategic approaches that are set within the broader context of location development. It is assumed that, in the future, DMOs will evolve towards regional management, location marketing and location development, and finally should take over such functions. Therefore, tourism requires a destination governance concept of such spatially competitive units (Raich, 2006).

New Tasks of a Destination and New Requirements for Tourism Organization

The structure of tourism in Grisons described above, which is also applied in other tourism regions in Switzerland, does, however, have weaknesses and risks in organization and leadership. Not only is the recruitment of qualified managers and directors troublesome, but there is also a high turnover rate of managers and directors. The composition of the management board is not balanced and is often dominated by local politicians. In other words, particularistic rather than general interests dominate the local tourism business. Moreover, no, or insufficient, strategies are defined and implemented, which results either in the professional dominance of the management over the directors or the fact that operational and strategic tasks are mixed, or even neglected.

DMOs market their spatial units within a complex system of stakeholders (Mitchell *et al.*, 1997), such as cable car companies, hoteliers, land owners, politicians, NGOs, local population, media, etc. In this context, decisions made by boards of directors and executive managers are criticized, almost as a matter of course. Destination governance may alleviate this criticism by balancing general business principles in accordance with the different interests of the various stakeholders. Moreover, destination governance can both ensure effective and efficient management and assure a balance between decision making and controlling

(economiesuisse, 2007). Thus, destination governance should give answers to the following concrete questions (Müller and Kreis-Muzzulini, 2005):

- Who is to account for managerial decisions?
- Who is responsible for selecting management staff members?
- How are managerial decisions regulated?
- Who controls managerial decisions?
- Who is legally liable for managerial decisions?
- How can transparency within the organization be guaranteed?
- How is internal and external communication organized?

Along with these questions of governance, further decisions such as the change of corporate designs (logos), the organization of big events, or the building of new infrastructure are of great importance for the individual stakeholders of a DMO. Guidelines are important in order for the interests of the stakeholders of a destination to be considered seriously and acted upon in earnest. Action plans that combine economic, ecologic and social objectives should be implemented (Raich, 2006). In doing so, the governance of destinations ranges between two basic governance models which are applied in practice (Beritelli *et al.*, 2007; Fischer, 2007). On the one hand, there is a so-called corporate model that refers to a corporate- or personality-driven marketing organization. This predominantly corporate-driven form of organization occurs when companies and/or personalities dominate a destination. On the other hand, a community model has been identified that refers to a collaborative and central marketing organization. This central form of organization requires a unit which acts on behalf of the municipality and the service providers. It is funded by visitors' taxes and/or tourism subsidies, which are used for effective marketing for the benefit of all stakeholders.

Apart from the organizational structure and operational management within the two leadership models of a DMO described above, cooperation with the stakeholders has to rely on credibility, confidence and reputation (Sautter and Leisen, 1999). In order to achieve credibility, stakeholders must consider the actions of the responsible persons of a DMO and ask the following questions: Does the destination act credibly and within the scope of its duties and competences? Does the destination act innovatively and does it identify new or enhanced solutions for existing or potential problems? Does the destination communicate effectively and does it inform the affected stakeholders adequately and in time? Similar to credibility, confidence depends on how the destination managers handled and organized projects in the past. It is common in tourism that there are many changes in boards of directors or management boards and, as a result, new managers have to earn their stakeholders' trust gradually by prioritizing collective interests over personal interests. Finally, the good reputation that individual members of a DMO enjoy facilitates interaction with the stakeholders. Therefore, not surprisingly, strong personalities with a good track record are evident in several organizations. This can add to the efficiency of making decisions, but it may also be associated with the danger of too wide a range of power.

Destination Governance as a Success Factor

Destination governance applies the principles of ‘governing without government’ to the level of destinations (Rhodes, 1996). According to the specific features of each destination, the critical success factor is an institutionalized self-regulation of the relationships between a destination’s stakeholders. While the primary focus of a destination is its economic and sustainable success, a number of non-economic factors such as quality of life for the community have to be considered as well. The competitiveness and task-sharing characteristics of tourist destinations are essentially dependent on the professional organization and leadership of the DMO. The following seven recommendations for successful implementation of destination governance are discussed below:

1. Systematic consideration of the composition of the board of directors and executive managers;
2. Task sharing between the board of directors and executive managers;
3. Strategic planning on a regular basis;
4. Definition of performance measures;
5. Integration of stakeholders;
6. Internal and external communication practices; and
7. Fostering of networks and lobbying.

Systematic consideration of the composition of the board of directors and executive managers

Know-how and competencies have become important competitive factors in tourism. The thorough management of information, including existing knowledge and competences, is based on two distinct bodies, i.e. that of the employees and that of the organization. Hence, it is about systematic knowledge management with the following aims (Ciesinger *et al.*, 2005):

- To define the know-how required, e.g. deduced from the destination strategy;
- To gather existing knowledge and new know-how systematically and to update it continuously; and
- To provide employees with existing know-how as and when required.

Very often, directors selected in local community elections under the Swiss democratic system lack the strategic understanding needed to lead a destination. This can be addressed by ensuring that the principles on which the organizational structure, the organizational culture and the personnel policies are understood and demonstrated by all of the directors. The strategic leadership of a DMO should consist of no more than seven directors and should include competences in finance, marketing, law and product management/sales. Furthermore, the directors of a destination, as well as the executives, should undertake continuing training to enhance their professional competence further and to broaden their horizons.

Task sharing between the board of directors and executive managers

The board of directors of a DMO normally is composed of ordinary citizens in order to provide broad support, but is therefore strongly politically characterized. The resulting dominance of the executive managers means that tasks such as strategic planning and control are inadequately understood and are therefore followed only partially, or even ignored, by the directors. In other words, the tourism board of directors is often led by its managers. In this case, the militia system (directors are not professional and have other jobs) of tourism partially fails. This underlines the essential need for an integrated instrument to control and monitor task sharing between the board of directors and executive managers that coordinates the various operations between the members and creates trust (Kappler und Boksberger, 2007). Since the board of directors delegates functions to the executive managers, it is crucial that the legal processes inherent in this delegation are adhered to (economiesuisse, 2007).

Strategic planning on a regular basis

Strategy planning is the responsibility of the board of directors, together with the management of a destination, but it is essential that the strategy developed is revised and analysed continuously since market demand and the business environment is fast changing. It is crucial that there is a collective understanding of a defined strategy within the organization and between it and the main service providers in a destination. In this context, the 'balanced scorecard' serves as a link between the development of a strategy and its realization, and defines the framework for the implementation of the strategy (Kaplan and Norton, 1996). Figure 12.2 illustrates how, with the use of such 'cockpit' instrumentation, the implementation of strategies by the management of a destination can be measured in practice (Westermann *et al.*, 2005). The balanced scorecard provides direct feedback between measures, results and the strategy of a DMO (Philips and Louvrier, 2005) and:

- The development of the balanced scorecard leads to clarification and consensus regarding the strategic objectives of a destination. Therefore, all tourism service providers involved in the formulation of the strategy in one way or another have to be integrated.
- The balanced scorecard should unite the vision and the strategic goals of the destination. This is done firstly by communicating the goals themselves and connecting the numerical indicators, with specific targets for each of the individual tourism service providers and their related systems.
- Financial and material resources must be directed towards the implementation of the selected strategy. This is achieved in four steps: (i) formulate ambitious but achievable goals; (ii) select critical, target-related measures; (iii) define realistic intermediate targets; and (iv) develop strategic measures and actions to achieve these targets.

The balanced scorecard aims to identify and depict all performance criteria for a DMO, making them more measurable and communicating them with greater

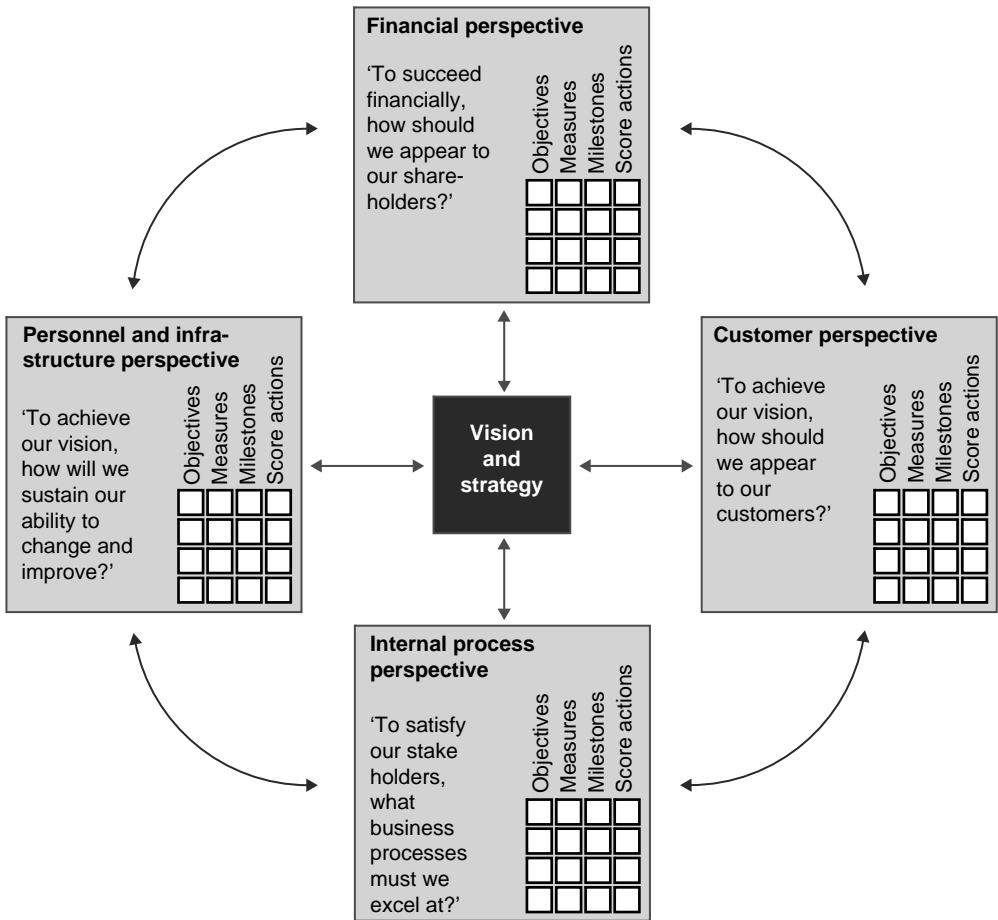


Fig. 12.2. Balanced scorecard as a management tool for destination governance (authors' own illustration based on Kaplan and Norton, 1996).

transparency. Ultimately, it facilitates a learning process for the entire destination. The emphasis on key objectives and measurement criteria, as well as the inclusion of the connected cause–effect relationships create a simplified model of the essential factors within the value chain, which are then included in the balanced scorecard as the target perspectives. Following this, emphasis is placed on the operationalization of the strategic initiatives, including the deployment of all resources.

Definition of performance measures

To manage a destination effectively, key data and other success measures have to be defined for management. They have, however, to be linked directly to the defined task and the performance mandate of the organization. For this reason,

it is essential to define a well-balanced mix of performance criteria to support the long-term development of the destination.

These data have to be presented within an integrated system (balanced scorecard) that combines financial measures with the other process and resource measurement criteria, or in other words, combining the hard factors with qualitative 'soft factors' and creating a translated balanced performance measurement system. This balanced scorecard serves as:

- a management tool to increase efficiency and effectiveness (manage);
 - a tool for the implementation of new strategies and projects (coordinate);
 - an instrument for measuring cause–effect relations (increase knowledge);
 - an instrument to administer investments (control); and
 - a monitoring tool for more transparency (increase trust).
- (Kappler and Boksberger, 2007)

Integration of stakeholders

A DMO can be described as a virtual management organization for a fluid network with several tasks to fulfil (Bieger, 2008). Besides representing a spatial unit in general, it also has particular performance mandates for the service providers in the region. Any destination governance concept must therefore include at least the following stakeholders:

- customers or guests;
- environmental protection organizations and other NGOs;
- political organizations and parties;
- regulatory bodies;
- local communities;
- local service providers and other cooperation partners;
- external influencers such as journalists, etc.; and
- intermediaries.

Depending on the matter and the importance of the issue, these stakeholders may be latent, conscious or active elements of a DMO. In order to deal adequately with these, all relevant stakeholders (individuals or groups) need first to be identified and listed. In a second step, an evaluation of the stakeholders according to the typology of Mitchell *et al.* (1997) is suggested. For this purpose, the stakeholders will be prioritized in seven categories according to (i) the power they possess; (ii) the legitimacy of their claims; and (iii) the highest urgency, as shown in Fig. 12.3.

Next, strategies for handling these stakeholders have to be developed, with due consideration of the leverage possibilities, the institutionalization of the relationships and the defined objectives. In order to implement and coordinate the elaborated stakeholder management processes, actions, budgets and schemes need to be defined. However, the inclusion of all relevant stakeholders in governance processes requires the general willingness and capability of these organizations and persons (Fuchs, 2006). Finally, it is crucial that the documented

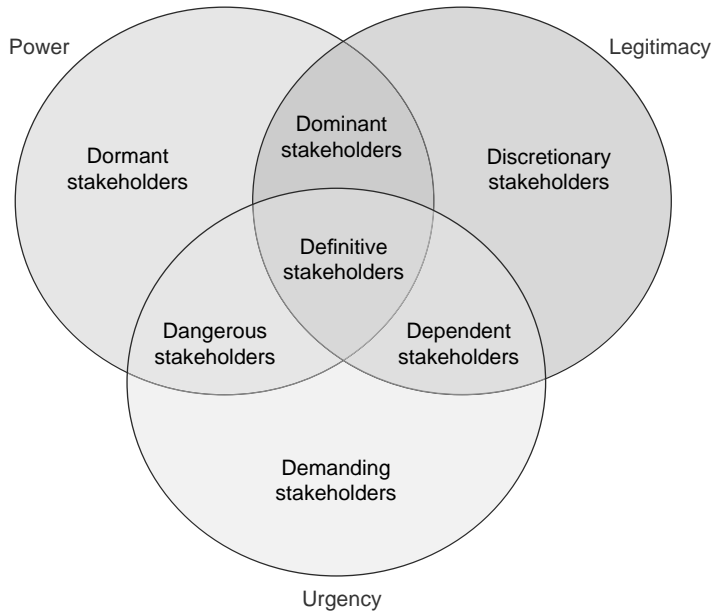


Fig. 12.3. Stakeholder typology for destination governance (authors' own illustration developed from Mitchell *et al.*, 1997).

measures and the relation to the stakeholder in regards to the defined objectives are monitored and controlled.

Internal and external communication practices

Communication is a process based on a deep analysis, strategic planning, operational implementation and controlling (Poràk *et al.*, 2007). In the context of DMOs, the management approach shown in Fig. 12.4 has been developed (Anderegg, 2009).

In order to manage a destination successfully, it is crucial that critical issues must be monitored continuously and evaluated according to their relevance, effective impact and potential to affect the destination negatively. Currently, Grisons's destinations have to deal with issues such as: value for money due to poor currency exchange rates; empty beds due to an increase in second homes; and snow scarcity due to climate change. Issue management should be based on the following information (Kuhn *et al.*, 2003):

- Content and context of the issue (what are the possible impacts of respective opportunities and risks?);
- Origin of the issue (why did the issue arise?);
- Significance of the issue (who supports the issue?);
- Life cycle of the issue (how long will the issue be important?); and
- Consequences of the issue (what kind of consequences are anticipated?).

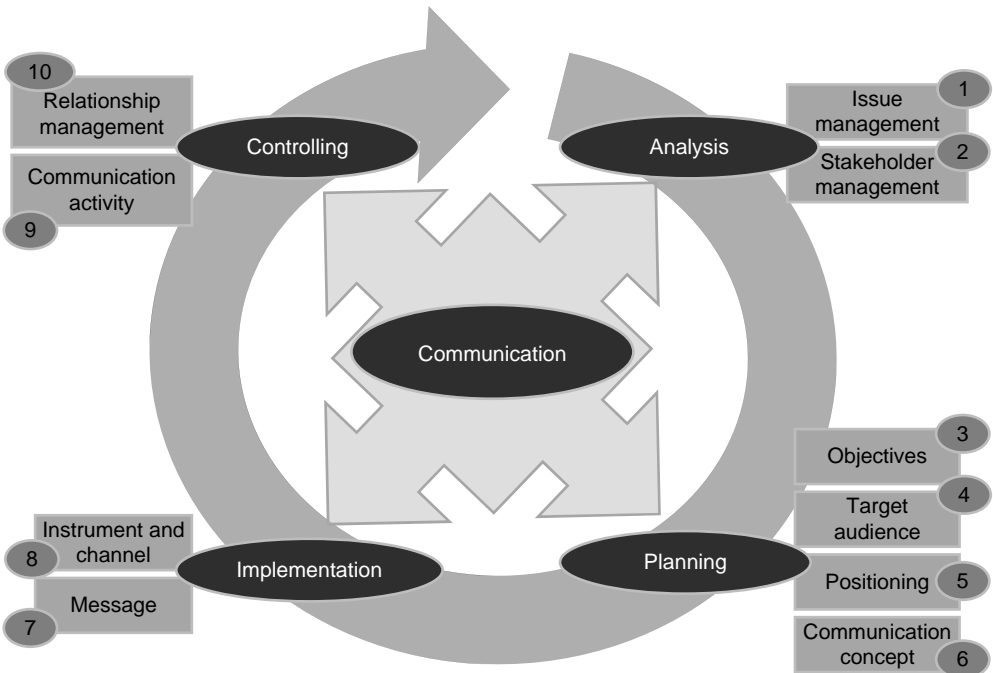


Fig. 12.4. Communication as an integral part of destination governance (authors' own illustration).

Once the critical issues have been analysed, they need to be communicated to both employees and other stakeholders. In the first case, the focus is on inward communication and therefore deals with human relationship management. The communication should incorporate the role of the dialogue partner (employee) as an individual person (Müller and Kreis-Muzzulini, 2005). Decisions made by managers of a DMO should also be understood and supported by the employees. It is therefore essential that internal communication channels are defined and complied with. The credo 'internal before external communication' is important. The objectives of internal communication are: to build up confidence, acceptance and authenticity; to cultivate the image; and to increase the 'we' feeling (Müller and Kreis-Muzzulini, 2005). In the second case, attention is given to outward communication and deals with public relationship management. Appropriate communication channels and messages have to be defined for all stakeholders. An ethics-based dialogue with stakeholders should be considered that includes: directness instead of manipulation; dialogue instead of monologue; and legitimacy instead of strategy (Waxenberger, 2001) to push community building, which has been identified as a key factor of local governance, among the stakeholders (Ball and Stobart, 1997).

Public relations, therefore, have to be easy to schedule and must adhere to a communication plan, which can be divided into three main categories (Zeiter, 2003): (i) analysis (of the initial position and the situation); (ii) strategy (objectives,

dialogue groups, communication content and strategy); and (iii) action (action, budget, organization and control).

Fostering of networks and lobbying

The fostering of networks is a very important part of managing a destination (Gibson *et al.*, 2005; Capone, 2006). Lobbying is a form of political influence in decision and implementation processes in which decision makers, public authorities, politicians/parties, workgroups, organizations and NGOs are addressed in a direct approach and/or indirectly via different forms of public opinion (Purtschert, 2005). Hence, the following objectives of a DMO are the most essential ones (Müller and Kreis-Muzzolini, 2005):

- influence on decision-making processes;
- opinion making through argumentative persuasion to political themes; and
- conflict prevention.

These objectives should be the foundation for a lobbying plan which should comprise the following propositions:

- target group (definition of the most important dialogue groups in the network);
- fields of intervention (as described above);
- networking with cooperation partners (e.g. through an institutionalized information platform); and
- communication (direct through personal contacts of the managers or indirect through public relations).

Conclusion

The managers of a tourism or destination management organization should act in accordance with defined processes and methods which foster credibility and confidence. Furthermore, it is essential that the strategic leadership of the destination establishes consensus between all the stakeholders. Through their ability to participate in self-governance in the destination, stakeholders commit themselves for the long term, and thus support the DMO.

To summarize, the following points are important:

- Changes in tourism structures should be used to optimize management processes and to establish a destination governance.
- All stakeholders have to be involved in important decisions as destination governance is based on credibility, confidence and reputation.
- Communication is an integral part of destination governance that needs to be managed.
- The balanced scorecard approach can be used to coordinate and provide consistent orientation uniformly from different directions within a destination – at both strategic and operational levels – and can also serve as the basis for integrated resource allocation.

In conclusion, increased management ability within a DMO leads to successful activities directed specifically towards the target market. Not only has the number of the 92 tourism organizations existing in 2005 been reduced to 23 in 2010, but the numbers of arrivals has also increased by 10%. With another 5 years of targeted structural change and re-engineering, Grisons's tourism should exemplify best practice in destination governance.

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13 Design of Tourism Governance Networks

RODOLFO BAGGIO, NOEL SCOTT AND CHRIS COOPER

...network theory holds considerable potential as an analytical tool for destination managers eager to develop strategies to foster synergetic relations and as a corollary, innovation and community capacity building
(Dredge, 2005:68)

Introduction

There is a general consensus that tourism is a vehicle for regional development; because of this connection, combined with the possibility of market failure, there is a need for government involvement in tourism. Thus, governments have directed attention to the development of policies related to tourism. These policies may be related to tourism-specific events or issues, as well as the implementation of political ideology-driven metapolicy. Governments have employed a number of metapolicy frameworks, and often in the past, these were led by developments in the UK and the USA (Church *et al.*, 2000; Hall and Jenkins, 2004; Bramwell and Lane, 2006). The first of these in the 1950s was a focus on macroeconomic policy measured by GDP growth. This was superseded by a neoliberal focus on small government in the 1970s and 1980s, a call for government to 'steer not row' and increasing involvement of policy networks involving private and public sector stakeholders.

More recently, Shone and Ali Memon (2008) note an 'ideological shift towards a more pro-active role for government, particularly at the local/regional level, in shaping tourism development in partnership with the private sector'. This 'new regionalism' policy is, in part, related to addressing issues of sustainability through an emphasis on collaborative planning at a local and regional scale. The focus of sustainability in human/biological regions has led to a need to integrate previously independent organizations to encourage regional decisions on trade-offs between economic, social and environmental objectives and essentially implies a new regionalism.

This new regionalism approach draws on concepts of 'clusters', 'innovation milieu', 'industrial districts' and 'learning regions' (Johannesson, 2005:135), whereby innovative organizations and firms are seen as the central actors, being linked together spatially through strong ties and connected to the global level through sparser weak ties (Grabher, 2004). The new regionalism requires the leveraging of regional firms to form alliances for planning, policy development and operational effectiveness (Croes, 2006:462) through collaborative activities such as destination branding and tracking of customer trends, as well as improved intergovernmental and public-private sector collaboration (Shone and Ali Memon, 2008).

At the same time, the new regionalism demands a re-examination of the concept of governance as it relates to tourist destinations. Governance is about the rules of collective decision making in settings where there is a plurality of actors or organizations where no formal control system can dictate the terms of relationship between these actors and organizations (Chhotray and Stoker, 2009:3). It is a political activity involving coordination and decision making between stakeholders with divergent views and interests and which is beyond the control of any one group. It refers to self-organizing, inter-organizational networks characterized by interdependence, resource exchange, rules of the game and significant autonomy from the state. The shift toward governance, where responsibility for policy making spans public and private sectors, has promoted increased interest in networks as an organizing concept for promoting joint action (Dredge, 2006b).

Thus, the concept of networks is central to the new regionalism, and the particular focus of this chapter is the networks of policy makers needed to provide aspects of governance of tourist destinations. Policy networks are mechanisms of political resource mobilization in situations where the capacity for decision making, programme formulation and implementation is distributed or dispersed widely among private and public actors (Kenis and Schneider, 1991:41–42). The cooperation of actors and organizations in networks can thus be explained by the fact that the individual stakeholders do not have all the resources needed to realize their goals, inasmuch as these resources are dispersed among different actors or 'owned' jointly, as in the case of a public resource such as a beach. As a consequence, a number of authors have begun to examine networks as horizontal forms of governance and to consider their effectiveness and efficiency for policy development and destination organization. Although the use and the understanding of the network concept varies greatly, the lowest common denominator in the understanding of a policy network can be seen in the definition of a network as a set of actors who are linked by relatively stable relationships of a non-hierarchical and interdependent nature. These actors share common interests with regard to a policy and exchange resources to pursue these shared interests, acknowledging that cooperation is the best way to achieve common goals (Borzel, 1998:254).

This chapter will firstly review the literature of tourism policy networks, then discuss how implementation of policy networks in tourist destinations as a form of governance may require some redesign of these networks and subsequently provide a discussion of tools useful for diagnosing network effectiveness.

Tourism Policy Networks

The tourism literature has a number of studies examining the structure of destination networks highlighting the cooperative relations and interdependence of public and private stakeholders involved in tourism planning. In tourism, planning and policy development are heavily intertwined, and planning is often the vehicle for policy development. Thus, this inter-organizational literature examining planning also represents a dimension of policy network studies (Selin and Beason, 1991; Bramwell and Lane, 1999), as does the study of cross-border cooperation in tourism planning and management (Timothy, 2000; Pechlaner *et al.*, 2002).

An early example of the recognition of tourism policy as occurring through a network of stakeholders is provided by Greenwood (1992), who noted that a plethora of private interests in the tourism domain in the UK made a significant contribution to public policies. These contributions range from the provision of expert information to full involvement in the implementation of public functions via self-regulatory mechanisms, with contributions at local, regional, national and international levels. Lovelock (2001) also noted that a lack of integration between government departments at the national level had important effects on regional planning for national parks. One of the first papers to address specifically the emergence of policy networks in tourism was that by Tyler and Dinan (2001), which described a centre-directed strategic policy core with subnetworks concentrating on commercial tourism and resource policy. Lovelock (2002) found that environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) were also involved in policy formulation, although this involvement might range from collaboration to conflict. Hall (1999) warned that policy networks and collaborative structures in Australia often involved only a limited set of actors. Wray (2009) examined the development of policy through a series of stages in Byron Bay, Australia, noting that a small number of stakeholders were involved. Anastasiadou (2008a,b) examined tourism policy development in the European Union.

A second theme concerns how the actors in a policy network function, and involves the concept of power. In an innovative study, Pforr (2002, 2005, 2006) used social network analysis methods to examine the planning process for development of the Northern Territory Tourism Development Masterplan (TDMP) in Australia. He found that there was a complex web of actors interacting during this process, with government organizations controlling it. De Araujo and Bramwell (2002) have similarly highlighted the need to consider the exercise of power and control in the study of stakeholder policy development in Brazil. Dredge (2006b) found in a study of Lake Macquarie, New South Wales, Australia, that networks spanning public and private sectors were important in shaping tourism planning and development, but that they required careful and explicit management to operate. Pavlovich (2001, 2003) examined the development of a self-organizing network for management, development of tacit knowledge and competitive advantage by considering the Waitomo Caves in New Zealand. Bramwell and Meyer (2007) used a network perspective to analyse power, policy making and policy debates around tourism development on the island of Rugen in former East Germany.

Together, these papers illustrate the importance of networks of stakeholders for the development of policies and plans, and also that these networks operate by transfer of knowledge. Policy networks in western countries also include both government and non-government actors who may seek to develop power over the operation of the network and its decisions.

Policy Networks Contribute to Governance of Sustainable Regions

Increasingly, the decisions taken by destination stakeholders involve balancing economic growth with social or environmental concerns. Collaborative governance is growing in importance in seeking to address sustainability issues at a regional level (Erkus-Ozturk and Eraydin, 2010). A developing literature related to policy networks is focused on environmentally sustainable development. Timur and Getz (2008) argue that the management and implementation of sustainable tourism requires the involvement of many partners, and that this collaboration between diverse stakeholders (including the public sector, the private sector and the local residents) is both complicated and difficult to achieve. This integration often involves the development of networks that play important roles in enhancing community participation and organizational integration (Caffyn and Jobbins, 2003) and regulate environmental practices in order to enhance a region's standard of sustainability in the global arena (Erkus-Ozturk and Eraydin, 2010). Thus, networks help the development of structures of consensus and compromise regarding the implementation of sustainability principles and the trade-offs required.

Sustainable development of destinations is seen to require adaptive management (Faulkner and Russell, 2001; Baggio, 2008), and learning that supports this adaptation may be stimulated and communicated through networks (Halme, 2001). Learning networks among businesses have been identified in the literature as important (Rosenfeld, 1996), and application of knowledge management principles is required for sustainable development (Cooper, 2006; Ruhanen, 2008). Nordin and Svensson (2005, 2007) have examined the role of governance in innovative tourist destinations in Sweden. Romeiro and Costa (2010) also discuss the use of networks for innovation and management. The rapid increase in the amount and velocity of information transfer (Kahle, 2002) is one reason for embracing a learning culture.

One of the more important aspects concerning the increasing use of networks as a form of organization is the reliance on trust, distinct from markets where contracts are used in enforcing decisions and in hierarchies where authority is used. Trust between actors has been found to underpin solutions to zero-sum games (such as usage of common pool property). Interpersonal relationships based on trust substitute for regulative state functions and support the efficiency and proper functioning of networks. Interestingly, services in the tourism industry are mostly experience or trust based (Bouncken, 2000). Thus, trust supports the development of a common orientation reached through a compromise of interests and the emergence of a stable network structure.

Need for Redesign of Governance Systems

While policy networks provide an approach to collaboration that appears useful, implementation of a policy network approach is usually emergent, unsystematic and lacking in considerations of structure (Parker, 1999). Often, policy and planning networks are confused with self-regulating (self-governing) action networks (Erkus-Ozturk and Eraydin, 2010). Power relations remain important in policy and planning networks but are often ignored in the design of policy networks (Erkus-Ozturk and Eraydin, 2010). A balance in the composition of network actors may allow a trade-off between core rigidity and lack of cohesion (Scott *et al.*, 2008b) and may avoid strategic narrow sightedness or the groupthink syndrome (Bouncken, 2000). One way of thinking about the implementation of an effective policy network is in terms of the design of a socio-technical system.

A number of factors have been found to influence the effectiveness of policy networks, including the relative roles of small and medium-size businesses (Halme and Fadeeva, 2000) and large firms (Erkus-Ozturk, 2009). Tosun (2000) has drawn attention to the limits of community participation in planning and policy development. Caffyn and Jobbins (2003) discuss the concept of governance capacity, highlighting that governance does not just happen. Fadeeva (2005a) similarly writes that the organizational practices of a tourism network for sustainability 'do not spring full-formed from the head of Zeus'. Instead, they often are formed in an emergent tourism setting (Reed, 1999).

In an examination of networking in the context of innovation systems, Fadeeva (2005b) found that it was paramount to have an understanding of the configurations of actors that make innovation more feasible. Policy networks may take different forms and can be vertical or horizontal in structure. Vertical relations are observed mainly between different levels of government departments at local, regional and national levels; while horizontal networks are formed between agencies organized at the same level. It is, however, vertical relations that are the most common form and generally are regulated by public institutions, especially ministries with environmental protection responsibilities (Erkus-Ozturk and Eraydin, 2010). In a study of policy formulation in the USA as a political activity, Heinz *et al.* (1990) found a network structure based on political lines and a lack of integration across these divisions – what he called a hollow core. Research on networks in tourist destinations, however, suggests that elite networks exist (Scott and Cooper, 2007).

Some attempts have been made to identify the major dimensions influencing the effectiveness of policy networks. For example, van Waarden (1992) presents seven: number and type of actors, function of networks, structure, institutionalization, rules of conduct, power relations and actor strategies. The identification of key players beyond the formal roles or the subjective judgments of the others is extremely important, as is the recognition of possible bottlenecks in the network of relationships that binds the actors of a destination. An analysis of the different centrality measures of a network can reveal these characteristics easily and reliably (Timur and Getz, 2008; Cooper *et al.*, 2009; Presenza and Cipollina, 2009). Dredge (2006a:579) considered that there was a need to develop diagnostic tools that could be used to analyse tourism networks

to assist stakeholders in determining boundaries of difference, spaces of inclusion and exclusion and the nature of the institutional space. Many of the tools used to achieve these ends exist, and some are discussed below.

Tools for Network Diagnosis

It is argued here, based on the above literature, that significant steps have been made to conceptualize tourism policy networks and to develop analysis tools to assess them and suggest areas for redesign. Thus, it is possible to model a policy as a complex network in which the stakeholders are the nodes and their varied relationships are the links connecting them. Then, the fast-growing literature on complex network analysis methods provides the tools for assessing the system's conditions. Even if relatively young, the application of network science to the study of tourist destinations is proving to be quite effective.

The main topological characteristics of a tourist destination network have been measured. It has been found that a scale-free topology exists. In other words, a few nodes with many connections act as hubs, connecting many nodes with a limited number of links. This is common to other socio-economic systems. The destinations examined have also shown a low density of connections and low clusterization. Translated into tourism terms, this means that not many communities (groups of nodes with more links between them than to other nodes of the network) can be identified (Scott *et al.*, 2008a; da Fontoura Costa and Baggio, 2009). This is an important result, because weaknesses in the cohesiveness of the destination can be identified independently (Scott *et al.*, 2008b). There is also a significant managerial implication. As discussed previously, the network approach emphasizes the need for a destination to be a collaborative environment. This can be measured using the metrics of the destination network (Baggio, 2007; da Fontoura Costa and Baggio, 2009).

Network analysis methods have been applied also to the study of the virtual network of websites present in a destination. The results have allowed estimation of the level of utilization of advanced communication technologies and measurement of the usage (or the waste) of these important resources, widely considered crucial in a globalized market (Baggio, 2006; Baggio *et al.*, 2007; Baggio and Antonioli Corigliano, 2009). By comparing the networks of destinations considered to be at different development stages (Butler, 1980), it has also been possible to correlate, although only at a qualitative level, the structural evolution of a destination with its evolutionary phase.

Important or critical stakeholders in a destination have been identified. They are located in the core of the network and form an influential assembly controlling the governance of the system. When these groups show good cohesiveness, the whole system achieves better outcomes. This is further confirmation of the necessity to create interconnected communities for the production of integrated tourism experiences (Cooper *et al.*, 2009). As expected, public stakeholders are the most important elements (Presenza and Cipollina, 2009). They own the critical resources, have the highest centrality and hold the greatest legitimate authority over others (Timur and Getz, 2008).

Numerical simulations can be performed with reasonable ease by using a network representation. They have the advantage of making it possible to conduct experiments when it would not otherwise be feasible for theoretical or practical reasons. Different configurations can be designed and several dynamic processes simulated. This allows us to understand better how these configurations affect the behaviour of the whole destination system.

Information and knowledge flows are relevant determinants of the system's *well-being*. Overall efficiency, innovation and development are influenced strongly by them, and the way in which the spread occurs shapes the speed by which individual actors perform and plan their future (Argote and Ingram, 2000). A common way to study this problem is based on an analogy with the diffusion of a disease (Hethcote, 2000). Yet, differently from traditional epidemiological models, it has been demonstrated that the structure of the network is highly influential in determining the basic unfolding of the process (López-Pintado, 2008).

A series of simulations run on a real destination network show, as expected, that the speed of the process varies in accordance with the capacities of the single actors to acquire and share information. They also show, however, that the increase in speed is much higher when the modularity of the network is increased by reconfiguring the linkages (Baggio and Cooper, 2010). This can be a very important suggestion for possible actions. Some more modelling, coupled with qualitative estimations of the possible returns, might help the building of scenarios to be analysed and discussed. The decision on which approach, or which mixture of approaches, to adopt might therefore be much better supported.

When pushing for more collaborative attitudes, some knowledge of the self-organization tendencies of the destination system is crucial. It is known that a forced evolution, when dealing with a complex adaptive system, is destined to fail in the long term. The self-organization characteristics will tend to prevail and the system will go back to its original, natural evolutionary path (Nicolis and Prigogine, 1977; Kauffman, 1995). It is like forcing a river into a different artificially created path. We know, and in many cases this is from having experienced devastating events, that sooner or later the river will go back to its original track.

A modularity analysis can help clarify these issues. A module, or community, in a network is a group of nodes that have denser links between them than towards other parts of the network. This effect can be measured with a specific measurement (the modularity coefficient) defined as $Q = \sum (e_{ii} - a_i)^2$, where e_{ii} is the fraction of edges in the network between any two vertices in the subgroup i and a_i is the total fraction of edges with one vertex in the group. In other words, Q is the difference between the fraction of all edges that lie within a community and the value of the same quantity expected in a graph in which the nodes have the same degrees but the edges are placed at random. Q can be calculated for a predetermined partition of the network into modules, or by using a stochastic algorithm that will find the network subdivision which maximizes it for the given network (Clauset *et al.*, 2004; Fortunato, 2010).

In a destination, traditionally, we divide the stakeholders into communities by type of business (hotels, restaurants, attractions, intermediaries, etc.) or by

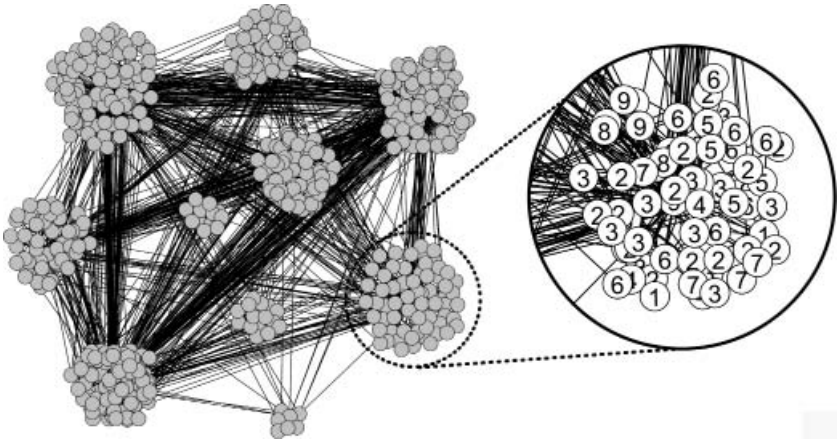


Fig. 13.1. The modular network of a tourist destination obtained by using a stochastic algorithm. One of the modules has been enlarged and shows the various geographic areas (the numbers in the nodes' circles) to which the different stakeholders belong.

geographic location. Q has been measured in this way for a sample destination and compared with the value obtained after having used a stochastic algorithm (da Fontoura Costa and Baggio, 2009; Baggio *et al.*, 2010).

The results tell us that the modularity of the network is very low, which was expected, and that Q calculated from the algorithm is significantly higher than the others. In other words, the system has, although not extensive or significant, a distinct modular structure. The topology generated by its degree distribution produces a certain level of self-organization which, however, goes beyond pre-set differentiations (by geography or type) of the stakeholders (see an example in Fig. 13.1).

Again, putting all these results together, more reliable scenarios can be designed and the policy setting activities of those governing the destination can improve the probability of achieving the desired results.

These examples show how network science can provide a means to describe a destination system and to understand the basic mechanisms of its dynamics. Moreover, the effects of varying the capabilities of single actors to absorb and retransmit knowledge, or the structure of the connections between them, can guide policy makers in enhancing or optimizing the diffusion processes (Baggio and Cooper, 2010).

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed recent developments in the management of tourist destinations that have led to collaborative approaches to policy development through the interaction of networks of stakeholders. A review of the literature of

tourism networks has highlighted a number of findings concerning the structure and operation of these networks that suggest there is room to improve their effectiveness. This chapter then examined an approach to modelling such complex networks using a network science approach.

Thus, while policy networks may emerge in a destination in response to some issue or problem, or as a consequence of the self-organization characteristics of the system, we consider there is a possibility of purposeful (re)design of these networks to improve their efficiency. It is argued here that network analytic methods are an important tool to help in this process. They may be used to identify key actors and groups of actors who make policy decisions within a policy domain, to analyse the interactions between the groups and to conjecture about changes that may increase efficiency. Further, they may be used to analyse network dynamics in terms of structural transformation or stability and for the identification and reconstruction of complex policy games, i.e. relations or patterns of strategic actions between a set of actors in the formulation and implementation of a policy. In this approach, network analysis would be used as a measurement tool for game theoretical models. In another strategy, the description and measurement capacities of network analysis would be used for cross-network comparisons in order to develop or test hypotheses explaining the effect of their aggregate characteristics on specific interactions (Kenis and Schneider, 1991).

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14 A Stakeholder Approach for Sustainable Community-based Rural Tourism Development in Thailand

THERDCHAI (TED) CHOIBAMROONG

Introduction

This chapter analyses community-based rural tourism (CBRT) movements in Thailand with a focus on the roles of tourism-related stakeholders. It starts by describing Thailand's tourism development paths. CBRT in Thailand is then discussed, with an emphasis on how it has developed, its success and failure and the roles of related stakeholders. The analyses of the stakeholder approach for sustainable CBRT development employ five selected case studies of community-based rural tourist destinations in different parts of Thailand, namely Koh Yao Noi, Phang Nga; Mae Kam Pong, Chiang Mai; Ban Huay Hee, Mae Hong Son; Plai Pong Pang, Samut Songkram and Ban Busai Homestay, Nakhorn Ratchasima to portray key failure and success factors towards a sustainable CBRT development path. The last part of the chapter discusses lessons learned in Thailand and provides guidelines on how to develop and promote CBRT to reach its sustainability for other countries with similar context.

The Tourism Development Path of Thailand: From Conventional to Postmodern Tourism with Sufficiency Economy Principle

The tourism industry has been a major component of Thailand's economy and a principal export over the past four decades (Homchauen and Marayaton, 2010). In the early stage of development of the tourism industry, known as mass or modern tourism, emphasis was given to the areas of marketing promotion activities, infrastructure and facility construction in tourist sites. The development of the tourism industry depended heavily on the directives from the government and the business sector that tended to respond to the demands of tourists to boost tourist arrivals and maximize profits. As a result, the growth in the industry was achieved at the expense of the tourism

assets, including the livelihood of the local people and their communities (Choibamroong, 2009a).

A shift in the tourism industry took place following the 1992 Earth Summit in Brazil's Rio de Janeiro, which called for sustainable development and proposed three aspects for tourism development to make it sustainable in the long run. These three aspects are: the need to preserve the environment and natural resources; the need for education, proper perception and experiences for hosts (tourist sites) and guests (tourists); and the need for human development. With these guidelines, tourism, instead of serving as an engine for generating national revenue, has become a tool for the management of natural and cultural resources and for the learning process of hosts and guests (Leksakundilok, 2004). Mass tourism has been replaced by the so-called alternative tourism, which is more concerned about the environment. Although in Thailand tourism-related organizations have put a lot of effort and attention into promoting alternative tourism, namely ecotourism, green tourism and responsible tourism, the country has failed to maintain the balance between the host and the guest, having a carrying capacity problem as a key issue (Sarobol, 2003).

With the carrying capacity problem in mind, Thailand has moved towards a postmodern tourism era, as can be seen from the marketing policy of the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT), which emphasizes the 'high quality' target market with smaller numbers of tourists and promotes quality tourism by attracting individuals who are more sophisticated, environmentally aware and responsible (Thailand Development Research Institute [TDRI], 1999; Choibamroong, 2008). The postmodern tourism of Thailand has been put forward more actively by the sufficiency economy principle of His Majesty King Bhumibol. The TAT explains the principle as follows:

'Sufficiency economy' is a philosophy that stresses the middle path as the overriding principle for appropriate conduct by the populace at all levels. This applies to conduct at the level of the individual, families, and communities, as well as to the choice of a balanced development strategy for the nation so as to modernize in line with the forces of globalization while shielding against inevitable shocks, internal and external, and excesses that arise.

(Tourism Authority of Thailand, 2010:1)

His Majesty King Bhumibol's principle of sufficiency economy was introduced in 1974 and currently is adopted as a comprehensive framework for sustainable development in every region and sector in Thailand. The concept is to ensure that individuals, communities or any organizations are well prepared for any activities they wish to undertake. The principle addresses three aspects: (i) one needs to know oneself, including one's potential and capacity; (ii) one needs to know that the activity in question is feasible and reasonable to undertake; and (iii) one needs to have immunity to cope with changes or shocks from both within and outside. Knowledge and moral integrity are key prerequisites (Tourism Authority of Thailand, 2007). It is believed that once the principle is widely adopted by all tourism-related stakeholders, rural tourism in Thailand should be well on the road to sustainable development.

Community-Based Rural Tourism in Thailand

The World Tourism Organization (2006) defines rural tourism as tourism engaged in by tourists seeking rural peace; it is away from the mainstream, away from areas of intensive tourism activity. It is engaged in by visitors who wish to interact with the rural environment and the host community, in a meaningful and authentic way. With this description, rural tourism covers a wide range of products and activities. It is sometimes referred to as agrotourism, farm tourism, or green tourism, depending on the activities the rural communities have for tourists.

In Thailand, most rural tourism is offered in the form of homestay programmes in rural settings where other tourism products such as ecotourism, cultural tourism and soft adventure tourism are also available. Popular homestay programmes in Thailand include: Ban Thai Prachan Homestay in Ratchaburi; Thai Song Dam Village in Phetchaburi; Ban Bor Nok in Prachuab Khiri Khan; Kho Ya in Phangnga; Plai Pong Pang in Samut Songkram; Ban Busai in Nakhorn Ratchasima; and Khiriwong in Nakhon Si Thammarat. The last one is the best-known in the country in terms of strong community involvement (Hongthong, 2003). Even though they are popular among both Thai and international tourists, they are encountering many problems in many issues, such as sustainable rural tourism concepts, development, management, marketing, public participation and partnership.

Despite a rapid growth, the authorities have yet to come up with a concrete policy to support the rural tourism industry and ensure that it is sustainable in the long term. What seems to come close to intervention is the 'One Tambon (sub-district), One Product' (OTOP) scheme initiated by the Taksin government. OTOP, derived from a scheme in the Japanese town of Oita, was promoted across the country with the aim of creating an avenue for cash-generating activities for local communities. Through use of local know-how and local materials, communities are encouraged to develop products and services. Following the introduction and promotion of OTOP, several rural tourism sites have developed products. The OTOP scheme and rural tourism can supplement each other, as demonstrated by several communities. There are at least eight communities that have been selected as OTOP villages to promote rural tourism: Mae Salong in Chiang Rai; Ban Thawai in Chiang Mai; Ko Kret in Nonthaburi; Ban Dan Kwian in Nakhorn Ratchasima; Ban Khiriwong in Nakhon Si Thammarat; Bang Chao Cha in Ang Thong; Ban Aranyik in Ayutthaya; and Ban Don Kaidee in Samut Sakhon.

As the concepts of 'public participation' and 'community rights' in managing natural resources were recognized and promoted by the 1997 constitution, a community-based approach to tourism, which is sometimes referred to as community-based tourism, has emerged (Sarobol, 2003). This approach plays a significant role in rural tourism as a mechanism in maintaining the balance of conservation and the management of tourism assets to ensure that rural tourism is sustainable in the long term (Castleden *et al.*, 2008).

The Thailand Research Fund (TRF) Regional Office, which is key to promoting community-based tourism through its community-based tourism research

and learning network, defines community-based tourism as alternative tourism management by the community on the foundation that local people own and have a stake in the natural resources in their community. Under community-based tourism, the community makes use of existing resources – be it historical heritage, cultural traditions, natural resources – in tourism management with regard to carrying capacity. The approach also calls for the capacity building of local people to enable them to plan, implement and make decisions and to contribute to community development and sustainable development. To conclude, community-based tourism differs from mainstream tourism in that it requires a bottom-up tourism planning process from all stakeholders, with the aim of responding to tourist satisfaction while contributing to local communities. According to this, it has also been seen as a mechanism for all to develop and manage community tourism, which happens mostly in the rural setting.

A Stakeholder Approach Analysis for Sustainable Community-Based Rural Tourism Development in Thailand

At present, tourism developers see more importance in increased collaboration in the tourism development process by decentralizing development power to involved stakeholders. Although some tourism developers attempt to present a definitive argument about the developing impact on the local community, the most basic argument relies on the need to involve more actively all persons affected by the tourism development project. The concept of a stakeholder was first proposed by Ansoff (1965), but in a limited sense referring to those whose conflicting demands must be balanced by a firm and later employed by the tourism-related organizations. To implement a stakeholder approach, the tourism developers need to have a full appreciation of all persons or groups who have an interest in the tourism development planning processes. However, managing tourism stakeholders effectively is considered challenging for tourism developers. Stakeholders in tourism development can be varied according to the specific characteristics of the potential tourist site (Choibamroong, 2002). In the case of CBRT in Thailand, there are many tourism stakeholders involved, who have different roles and actions in developing and promoting CBRT, as can be seen in the following case studies.

Koh Yao Noi, Phang Nga

Koh Yao Noi is a small fishing community located on an island of the same name in Phang Nga. It achieved an international standard of tourism management while conserving its natural and cultural heritage when Conservation International and National Geographic bestowed the Traveller's Destination Stewardship Award to the Responsible Ecological Social Tours Projects (REST), a non-profit organization that helped the community form and manage home-stay and community-based tourism programmes.

The community-based approach was initiated in 1994 after the community was hard hit by the depletion of marine resources caused by commercial fishing trawlers. The community used hard lobbying to persuade the state to ban commercial fishing boats from within 3 km of the coastline, and then deployed tourism as a tool to promote their marine resources. The community has set clear objectives, which are to promote the conservation work of the villagers, to enlist the help of people who want to protect nature and to generate additional income for the villagers. With these objectives in mind, the community set up regulations to prevent any adverse impacts. Tourists are expected to abide by the rules and to show an interest in learning about their fishing tradition and culture as a Muslim community.

Koh Yao Noi is an island that has strong community ties. About 10% of income generated from tourism goes to a village development fund, which is disbursed to benefit the villagers in the community who are not involved in tourism (Hongthong, 2003). In 2007, to promote the tourism activity on the island, the TAT gave the islanders a 'Best Community for Tourism' award.

Mae Kam Pong, Chiang Mai

Mae Kam Pong is a small village located in the northern mountains, about 50 km from the city of Chiang Mai. Its renowned homestay programme won an award from the TAT in 2004. The community began its community-based tourism with the help of the TRF Regional Office, which encouraged the community to conduct a research project. The first 6 months was spent on educating the local people about the concept of ecotourism through group discussions and individual talks, which was followed by a survey of tourist attractions to assess their potential and carrying capacity. The next stage was to develop the capacity of the local people in tourism management and the final stage was to organize a pilot tourism programme to assess the tourism plan.

The process, albeit painstaking, assisted the local people to know their community better and to decide which tourism programmes were best for the community. After 2 years of research, trial and errors, the community has found that it has tourism potential in many areas as it has rich natural resources and a local way of life in genuine rural settings. The community also has a clear goal that the homestay tourism programme is a way of supplementing the villagers' income and is not a substitute for their way of making a living (Taemsamran, 2004).

Ban Huay Hee, Mae Hong Son

Ban Huay Hee is an ethnic Karen village in the northern province of Mae Hong Son and is a successful model of community tourism for other communities. The community is engaged in community-based tourism with the involvement of a non-governmental organization, the Project for Recovery of Life and Culture (PRLC). Tourism is used as a tool to improve people's quality of life, to preserve

and reinforce the importance of the Karen culture, to empower the villagers to make their own decisions and to contribute to the conservation of the natural resources and environment. The community has developed a land classification system for a nearby national park to prevent deforestation and degradation of watersheds (ESCAPE, 2001).

Plai Pong Pang, Samut Songkram

The homestay tourism programme in the Plai Pong Pang community in Samut Songkram Amphawa district is a different story. The homestay programme was initiated by a former local leader (Kamnan-Tambon Chief) and took shape in 1999. The programme offers tourists an experience of community life by staying in traditional Thai-style houses, some of which are over 100 years old. The tourists are offered a night boat tour along the Amphawa Klong (a canal), the community's main transportation channel, to view fireflies and a floating market in the morning. The programme has been a success with tourists, who are drawn to the community, mostly for a change of atmosphere (Wattanasukchai, 2000).

As a former local leader, the operator received the cooperation of several people from his community. However, not all community members were included in the process, and several of those who cooperated did so because they bowed to his political influence. The participants of the homestay programme were encouraged to modify their houses to suit tourists. Some renovated their conventional toilets to accommodate tourists, most of whom came from the city. This is against the concept of homestay tourism, in which visitors are expected to respect the traditions and way of life of their hosts.

After running CBRT activities for some years, it turned out that the night boat tour disrupted the orchard farmers of the village, who go to bed early and wake up early for their farm work. The loud noises from the boat's engine and its spotlights broke their sleep. As the programme went on, there was dissidence from the participants of the homestay programmes, who felt they did not get a fair share of the economic benefits of tourism. Distribution of the visitors was arranged by the local leader, who also requested that they dine at his house instead of allowing them to dine with their hosts. The Kamnan's failure to maintain a balance of economic benefits forced the participants to pull away from the programme and return to their fruit orchards. The exploitation of public resources by the homestay operators forced the villagers who were affected to cut down lampoo trees (*Rhizophora Caseolaris* L.) to eliminate the fireflies and the tourists.

Ban Busai Homestay, Nakhorn Ratchasima

Ban Busai is one of the villages in the Wang Numkheo District, Nakhorn Ratchasima, in the north-eastern part of Thailand. Ban Busai Homestay was developed by a group of local people in the Wang Numkheo District with the initial purpose of conserving the Moon River. Later, when agrotourism was booming in Nakhorn Ratchasima, the group changed its role of tourism

activity. Urged and supported by a research project of the government-run Suranaree University of Technology (SUT), Ban Busai Homestay has offered many study tours for young agrotourism lovers. The tourism products include mushroom farms, flower farming, camping and trekking. At present, there are 17 houses that have joined the club. The club is supported technically by the Wang Num Kheo Subdistrict Administration Organization and the Office of Provincial Tourism and Sports. After having been in operation for 2 years, the club members were awarded the 'Homestay Standard' from the Ministry of Tourism and Sports for their management of the tourism product.

To clarify, a meeting for homestay improvement is set up every month by the club committee. Projecting an image as the Switzerland of north-eastern Thailand, Ban Busai promotes itself through the Internet (www.wangnumkheo.com), assisted by the SUT. In addition, the local student group, called 'Mod Dang' (Red Ant), is assigned full responsibility for managing the recreational tourism activities and the cleanliness of the village. For meals, on the first day of guest arrival, the homestay members join forces to prepare dinner and traditional performances together to welcome the guests. On the day of the guests' departure, the locals bring agricultural products to sell. After more than 2 years, Ban Busai Homestay has increased pride in their local way of life, local wisdom and local products, leading to a better community quality of life and economic benefits (Sriwongtrakul, 2008). Although Thailand has succeeded in moving closer to sustainable CBRT, there are still many barriers that could affect its sustainability.

Problems in Practising Sustainable Community-Based Rural Tourism by Tourism Stakeholders in Thailand

Most communities in Thailand hold the misconception towards CBRT that it is a tool for increasing community income, not for creating better understanding among and a learning environment for people (Kaewsuriya, 2002; Sarobol, 2003; Choibamroong, 2009b). As a result, proactive tourism marketing techniques and tourism facility development have been undertaken extensively to attract as many tourists as possible to destinations. However, communities have announced that these actions have failed. This indicates that they need capacity building in this small-scale learning tourism, which has a very limited niche market (Choibamroong, 2009a).

Based on the profit maximization concept, rural communities develop rural tourism businesses to satisfy tourists, causing local identity changes and other negative impacts such as standardization and commodification. The process of operating CBRT in Thailand, often urged and initiated by bodies external to the community, such as NGOs, begins with the formation of a community group comprising of many stakeholders who have different backgrounds, both in terms of social and economic status. Once the rural tourism businesses have operated for some time, the stronger stakeholder takes a major role and governs the weaker ones, leading to conflicts, particularly in benefit sharing. This clearly shows that targeting a specific tourism stakeholder would create better opportunity for equal

development. This would be a solution for uplifting the well-being of the particular local community, employing CBRT as a means. On the other hand, if the group needs to be composed of many different stakeholders, the systems of management, administration and benefits have to be effective and transparent. In terms of community development for rural tourism purposes, it is found that there is a lack of pre-planning and of analysing an area's potential. Or, if these do exist, the community has no mechanism for identifying what should be protected for conservation purposes. Given these circumstances, most community tourism products are offered whenever requested by tourists, causing many negative impacts. This indicates a lack of understanding of the real concept of sustainable CBRT, which is *supply based*, not *demand based*. To simplify, communities should offer tourism products and services based on their selected local resources and management capacity and should not supply fully all visitor demands. This is the considered approach: local communities select the right target market, which is ready to adjust its travelling behaviour to fit with the local environment.

Additionally, in-depth analysis shows the root problem of unsustainable rural tourism; that most rural tourism communities in Thailand are not ready for tourism. To simplify, they are not strong, self-reliant communities in the sense that they see tourism only as a better way of earning a living. Most of them stop their farming and agricultural activities. The peak tourism season provides no problems for them, but during the low season, when there are fewer tourists, they face the problem of how to survive. Relying only on tourism in the community is even worse when the rural tourism site on which the community depends heavily is no longer popular or is popular only for a while, due to tourists' changing consumer behaviour. This is related simply to the normal nature of the tourism product life cycle (PLC) (Choibamroong, 2009b).

With regard to service provision, management and development, it was found that most rural tourism communities in Thailand were formed initially as a result of not being able to depend on governmental bodies, or conflicts with some stakeholders in the area. This led directly to the problem of exchanging know-how and knowledge among stakeholders, obstructing the sustainable growth of Thai rural tourism, which required multidisciplinary knowledge from all internal and external tourism-related stakeholders. This circumstance has resulted in ineffective service provision, management and development. One of the most serious problems of rural tourism communities in Thailand is the language and communication barrier, which causes cultural and tourism product misunderstanding such as product quality, pricing standards and incorrect information about tourist sites (Komsan *et al.*, 2007).

Concerned about the above circumstances, the Ministry of Interior sees the importance of strengthening the capacity of the Tambon (subdistrict) Administration Organizations (TAO), the smallest government bodies, at the local level by positioning tourism planning and development officers in all TAOs in Thailand to develop sustainable rural tourism. As well, the Ministry of Tourism and Sports, a new ministry, has agreed to set up Offices for Provincial Tourism Development and Promotion (OPTDP) in all provinces in Thailand. However, many claim that doing so does not hit the point in overcoming the problem, as the new officers in these above governmental bodies are not effective, having insufficient knowledge

and know-how of rural tourism development planning. Additionally, some say that the TAOs in Thailand are an ineffective mechanism, as they are under the pressure of local political conflicts, while OPTDPs are very new to the area and face collaborative, financial and structural problems. Therefore, it is recommended here that instead of strengthening the capacity of local and provincial governmental administration organizations, communities, particularly the local people, should be involved directly in capacity building and strengthening for sustainable rural tourism development (Choibamroong, 2009b).

In addition, due to insufficient quality manpower in planning, developing and managing rural tourism and rural public participation problems, most TAOs, municipalities and Provincial Administration Organizations (PAOs) have no functional strategic rural tourism development and management plans, encountering directionless development of rural tourism in areas.

Lessons Learned: Insights from Thailand's Experiences

Community as a whole: A multipartite approach

Judging from the homestay programmes offered at the five rural tourism sites, community involvement via a stakeholder approach is essential for success. However, there seems to be a misunderstanding about community-based tourism and community tourism, which needs to be addressed urgently (Untong, 2006). Community-based tourism is often misunderstood as a tourism product (DeLemos, 2006). Instead, it is a management mechanism. In Thailand, 'community' refers only to very poor or very local people; as a result, the tourism activity is managed from a very limited perspective, causing conflicts among local stakeholders. The serious repercussions are demonstrated in the case of the Plai Pong Pang community.

It is therefore necessary to educate people to ensure they have the right perception of community-based tourism and community tourism. There are differences in goals, and thus management, between conventional tourism and community-based tourism. As conventional tourism hopes to generate income, the approach is usually top-down and targets maximization of profits. Community-based tourism, on the other hand, is for the sustainable development of the area; a bottom-up approach, with local input as well as accountability, is therefore needed. And with effective implementation of a community-based approach, the community, in its own right, can offer the community as a tourism product and position it as a source of community-based learning.

Community empowerment research: A tool for self-assessment and success for tourism stakeholders

One of the very first steps in engaging in tourism activities is research. It is essential that communities are made aware of their tourism potential and capacity (tourism components and tourism products – supply side) and tourism market

(demand side). Mae Kam Pong is a classic example of how a community can exploit research to its economic benefit. Without undertaking research, the community would lack information to make proper decisions for tourism development and marketing activities. Additionally, research can help a community develop a set of tools and techniques for monitoring and assessing tourism activities to analyse impacts and service quality (Sarobol, 2003).

As a result of the aforementioned circumstances, the community, referring to all individuals, should conduct a programme of research to identify their tourism potential and capacity, potential risks and limitations. A participatory approach is needed to decide whether or not the community needs tourism; the community has the right to say no. It is important to recognize that the needs and expected benefits of individuals vary. Tourism products must be selected based on the community's capacity, readiness, tourism identity and target group (Suansri, 2003).

As well, the community should carry out monitoring and assessment of the economic, socio-economic and environment aspects after the implementation of tourism activities. This will enable them to adapt tourism activities and products to changing conditions with regard to their own tourism identity and to manage problems that may arise at the early stage. The TRF is a leading independent research organization that has supported CBRT for more than 7 years, having granted more than 70 community-based tourism development projects. The TRF employs 'community-based research' to empower the local people by providing learning opportunities for them to realize and address their own problems by undertaking research processes. The funding process is facilitated by research counsellors who are local people.

Partnership and coalition building: Mechanism for community-based rural tourism sustainability

To achieve these objectives, the community requires support and advocacy from the other parties concerned, including local administrative organizations and government and non-governmental organizations. The Koh Yao Noi community has the support of the REST projects, while Ban Huay Hee is assisted by the PRLC. Mae Kam Pong, meanwhile, enlists help from the TRF Regional Office. For community-based tourism to grow in a sustainable manner, there is a need to build and expand a comprehensive network under which the communities exchange experiences, knowledge and technical support, and through the process strengthen themselves.

Local administrative bodies, especially the TAOs, have played a significant role in rural development over the years. Due to the policy decentralization of power recognized by the 1997 constitution, state budgets, decision making and capacity-building resources have been channelled to these local organizations. However, little recognition is given to local authority institutions as stakeholders in community-based tourism, apparently because they have political interest and their responsibilities involve largely investment in and development of public infrastructure and utilities such as roads, water treatment and refuse disposal

facilities. It is advised that the community should raise awareness and seek close cooperation as a step towards creating a political will in promoting community-based tourism as a mechanism for tourism sustainability.

Processes of developing and promoting sustainable CBRT by the stakeholder approach

CBRT development in Thailand has experienced both failure and success. The lessons learned from the case of Thailand can be drawn as process guidelines for developing and promoting sustainable CBRT for other countries with similar context, as follows:

- Rural development perspectives need to be altered from re-engineering the structure of governmental administration organizations at a local level to strengthening local communities and community structure directly. Doing so would create a community learning environment, construct community networks, strengthen collaborative efforts with other local stakeholders and build better understanding among inter and intra communities. Finally, this would help create self-reliant communities ready for developing and promoting sustainable rural tourism.
- Decision-making processes should then be provided where the community is willing to employ tourism as a means for rural development. The right to choose the development path and the community's destiny should be identified by the community. This is contrary to the present situation. Most communities have no right to voice whether they would like their areas to be tourist destinations, causing community resistance such as organized protests, community aggression and reinvented rituals (Wang and Pfister, 2008).
- Rural tourism development mechanisms such as rural tourism committees need to be set up, making them functional and accepted by all tourism-related stakeholders. In addition, the background and status of the mechanism members should be similar and on an equal level to avoid power domination after the rural tourism activity has taken place for a period of time. If the members are from different status and background, administration and benefit sharing must be very well managed to make it fair, transparent and reliable.
- Having functional mechanisms, the rural tourism development committees and members need to build collaborative networks, as success in rural tourism development requires knowledge and know-how from all tourism stakeholders. The knowledge for sustainable rural tourism development is, for example: rural tourism marketing (price, place, product, promotion, people, partnership, package/programme, physical evidence, etc.) from the business sector; tourism laws and regulations from the governmental sector; carrying capacity management from environmentalists; and local landscape management from architects. Transferring and exchanging tourism knowledge among stakeholders is a must for success.
- Next, the community needs to survey and analyse the potential, strength, weakness, opportunity, treats of the area and the needs and wants of the

community, as well as the visitors. After that, they need to select community tourism products that can be offered to visitors with little or no negative impacts. It is not necessary to sell all the products of the community. This action can help the community to attract high-quality tourists who are willing to adjust to the real community settings.

- Destination benchmarking then needs to be practised, and its result will help the development of guidelines on what the destination positioning should be, not to compete with each other but to be linked as one travelling route.
- Rural tourism product positioning and destination branding then need to be designed according to community identity, community strength and selective target markets.
- After knowing what to offer to tourists and what to develop in the community, a strategic sustainable rural tourism development plan needs to be drafted, employing a multipartite participatory approach, to be a guideline for rural tourism development in the area. The strategic plan will last for 5 years, while each year is directed by a rural tourism action plan which must be in accordance with the 5-year strategic plan. More importantly, both plans are necessary to create a balance between the host and the guest.
- The strategic rural tourism development plan and yearly action plan must be implemented with a participatory approach. Calling for participation from all stakeholders needs to be practised carefully in order to increase the area's sense of belonging.
- Along the way of plan implementation, follow-up activities to monitor and evaluate the plans need to be undertaken to ensure that the plans work well, fit the changing tourism situation and provide the best outputs and outcomes. If the plans lead the community in an unsustainable rural tourism direction, they need to be amended with a participatory stakeholder approach.

Conclusion

Influenced by global tourism circumstances, the Thai tourism industry has been developed through four stages: conventional tourism, modern tourism, alternative tourism and postmodern tourism (Choibamroong, 2008). As part of Thai tourism products, CBRT has adjusted itself as well to fit the changing situation. Employing learning by approaching many stakeholders, it has experienced both success and failure. Looking back at its origin, it is found that CBRT has been developed and promoted by different stakeholders, depending on the area conditions (Theerapappisit, 2007).

Some CBRT sites are initiated by NGOs, where the people cannot rely on the local government, having other development issues for action, and then turning to rural tourism. Some are developed by the local government, whose rural tourism is influenced very much by the local political power and the fact that most local people are not given the right to make decisions on its development. Academic and research organizations are also considered as having a critical role in CBRT development in Thailand. With aims for sustainable rural development, some universities have undertaken CBRT development projects,

combining universal knowledge and local wisdom as a means for development. Independent research organizations employ research as a means to promote CBRT. Along the way, through research processes, the local community's capacity is strengthened. Regarding the role of central government, there have been many projects to develop and strengthen rural tourism, such as OTOP (One Tambon [subdistrict], One Product), Homestay Standards Awards and Tourism Awards. Some consider the aforementioned governmental actions as end-of-pipe solutions, which do not overcome the root of the problem.

Rural tourism cannot be sustainable if its base is not stable. 'Being stable' here means 'self-reliant communities'. If communities are not self-reliant, they easily can be impacted negatively and drawn in by income generation from tourism, leading to unsustainable tourism development. Learning from Thailand's experiences, it is recommended here that employing rural tourism as a tool for rural development, developers should pay serious attention to the structure and composition of the players, making them similar in background, both in terms of social and financial status (targeted players), so that they are equally developed, leading to equal benefit sharing. If the players are from different backgrounds and status, a fair and transparent management system is vital and needed to make the process functional.

Collaboration with other stakeholders is essential for developing and promoting sustainable rural tourism. Being self-managed and reliant, communities tend not to depend on other stakeholders, while developing and promoting rural tourism requires multiskills and multidisciplinary bodies of knowledge, such as community tourism zoning, tourism landscape management, rural authenticity tourism management, tourism activity management, responsible marketing management, etc. Therefore, building partnerships, networks, collaborations and participation are all necessary for sustainable community-based rural tourism.

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15 Dynamics of Destination Governance: Governance and Metagovernance in the Composite Industrial Environment of Destinations

THANASIS SPYRIADIS, DIMITRIOS BUHALIS AND ALAN FYALL

Introduction

As with any form of economic activity, successful achievement of the implicit or explicit objectives of tourism organizations requires careful strategic planning and management (Hanlan *et al.*, 2006). At the physical space where tourism activity takes place, the tourist destination, strategic planning and management necessitate a focus on a coalition of several organizations and stakeholders working towards common goals (Hall, 2008). Tourist destinations are therefore notoriously complex systems to manage (Zahra and Ryan, 2007) and, as such, maximizing stakeholder benefits from tourism development calls for strong leadership and coordination of the collaborative activities under a coherent strategy, as well as an appropriate governance approach and structure. In this context, destination management organizations (DMOs) are seen to have an influential role to play (WTO, 2007). This chapter discusses key issues of governance in the context of tourist destinations. Current knowledge and practice are explored and existing models of governance with potential application to destinations are identified.

Setting the Context of Destination Governance

While within the planning paradigm the notion of the tourist destination has become a central unit of analysis (Lazzeretti and Petrillo, 2006), its definition necessitates a multifaceted approach. For example, a destination can be argued to be a purposely built and developed area in which visitors temporarily base themselves to participate in tourism-related activities (Pike, 2004). In contrast, a supply-side analysis views the destination as an area where the various component sectors of the visitor economy supply their services to travel and tourism

markets (Middleton *et al.*, 2009). Contemporary and more holistic views of the destination, however, would encompass the role of the local community and the environment in the synthesis of the destination's tourism product (Reid *et al.*, 2004). Destinations require place-focused public policy and place-conscious governance to work as a strategic relational node (or arena) in an area. Undertaking a multidimensional and integrated policy development and pursuing reorientation of relations between governance, businesses and communities are, therefore, significant tools in unlocking the potential of destinations, along with community and business aspirations (Untaru, 2002). The dynamics embedded in such a 'composite industrial environment' become explicit when a destination is viewed as:

a physical space that includes tourism products such as support services and attractions, and tourism resources. It has physical and administrative boundaries defining its management, and images and perceptions defining its market competitiveness. Local destinations incorporate various stakeholders, often including a host community, and can nest and network to form larger destinations. They are the focal point in the delivery of tourism products and the implementation of tourism policy.

(WTO, 2002, cited by Lew and McKercher, 2006:405)

A sustainable approach to strategic destination planning emphasizes the need for the participation of diverse stakeholders in order to pursue sustainable tourism development in ecological, economic, sociocultural and political realms (Hanlan *et al.*, 2006). Therefore, destination management is seen to encompass a key role in addressing the many and sometimes conflicting issues that arise in contemporary tourism (Buhalis, 1999, 2000b; Howie, 2003). Indeed, destination management is examined as a destination (micro-) level activity in which the several resident and industry stakeholders perform their individual and organizational responsibilities on a daily basis in an endeavour to integrate and adapt the national (macro-) level vision contained in policy, planning and development. In other words, destination management focuses on the activities which implement the policy and planning framework (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003; Hall, 2008).

Tourism is viewed as a 'complex system', which refers to 'a phenomenon consisting of a large number of elements organized in a multi-level hierarchical structure where elements themselves could represent systems'. At the core of such an approach is the complexity of interaction among systems and elements, which implies that the behaviour of the system as a whole is hardly predictable. It is important to highlight that complex systems are usually understood intuitively, which presents additional challenges for destination management. Moreover, 'complex' problems can hardly be expressed in hard (quantitative) relations, as the most relevant values are qualitative (Lazanski and Kljajic, 2006:1049), which has implications for performance evaluation of management and governance of the destination. Managers and planners who adopt a 'complex evolving systems' approach are able to facilitate rather than inhibit *emergence* (the process that creates new order collectively with self-organization), as well as encourage self-organization and exploration of available possibilities by any organization

in the system. As such, the adoption of such an approach would enable management to 'focus on the creation of conditions that facilitate constant co-evolution within a changing environment, and would encourage the *co-creation* of new organizational forms with those directly affected' (Mittleton-Kelly, 2003:23).

Destination Governance: Balancing Destination Dynamics

Contemporary wisdom suggests that a focus on destination governance is an interesting alternative to both traditional planning and management perspectives of examining destinations, the major benefit being that it improves our understanding of destination dynamics and forces at play. The governance perspective can provide a focus on destination policy networks, and acknowledge the multi-actor complexity and the resource dependencies between actors while addressing the public-private interplay at the destination (Svensson *et al.*, 2006). As a result of these specific characteristics, the core elements of governance, for instance control and predictability, leadership and hierarchy are significant challenges for the governance of destinations.

Governance is used as a coordination mechanism in and across a wide range of specialized social systems, as well as in civil society. Placing governance at the core of attempts to 'organize' and manage diverse systems is suggested to result in growing ambiguities about its meaning (Bang, 2003). Moreover, governance has been studied in various industrial contexts (private/public/non-profit sector, government or state). Hence, before embarking on a discussion about destination governance, it is useful to clarify the term *governance*. 'Governance can be understood as encompassing both structure and process, both institutional and procedural dimensions' (Bogason and Musso, 2006:5), while it has been defined as 'the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs' (Commission on Global Governance, 1995:2, in Hemmati *et al.*, 2002:40). Rhodes (1997, in Nordin and Svensson, 2007:54) claims that 'governance refers to self-organizing, inter-organizational networks characterized by interdependence, resource exchange, rules of the game and significant autonomy from the state'. Essentially, destination governance is twofold. On the one hand it refers to the self-organization (structure and links) of the destination's tourism network, characterized by interdependence and resource exchange, as well as codes of conduct, hierarchy and authority. In addition, it refers to the way (the processes) the various and diverse destination actors and stakeholders manage their common affairs and identify visitor economy opportunities and challenges, as well as how they go about meeting them. In this discussion, destination governance can be defined as the totality of interactions of governments, public bodies, private sector and civil society that aim at solving problems, meeting challenges and creating opportunities for the visitor economy at the destination. The two core dimensions of destination governance (structure and processes) will be discussed in the following sections.

Destination Governance Structure

At the local level, destination stakeholders can be seen as forming and operating in a tourism system underpinned by complex reciprocal interdependence. This system is organized in the form of clusters, which represent 'geographic concentrations of interconnected companies, specialized suppliers, service providers, firms in related industries and associated institutions in particular fields that compete but also cooperate' (Porter, 1998:197–198). Destination networks can be described as 'groups of three or more legally autonomous organizations that work together to achieve not only their own goals but also a collective goal. Such networks may be self-initiated, by network members themselves, or may be mandated or contracted' (Provan and Kenis, 2007:231). Following the approach of Provan and Kenis (2007), destination network effectiveness can be defined as the attainment of positive network level outcomes that normally could not be achieved by individual destination participants acting independently. One may argue that for destination networks that are seen as collaborative agreements, governance can be regarded as inappropriate as it implies hierarchy and control, the very notion of which contradicts equality and the principles of pure democracy. However, network governance has the potential to promote deliberation and to improve flexibility and responsiveness, while raising issues of equity, accountability and democratic legitimacy (Bogason and Musso, 2006). Clearly, 'democratic control' in governance is an oxymoron schema that implies balancing the benefits and drawbacks of destination dynamics through management practices.

Carter and Fabricius (2006) advocate that tourism development, management, marketing and promotion should be managed within an integrated structure that relates not only to these tasks and processes alone, but also to the geographical political and strategic levels involved in tourism development and management. Destination governance can take various forms that extend from a department of single public authority to private sector partnership (Carter, 2006). Scholars identify that tourism is related to the wider destination political and economical environment in at least three dimensions (Zahra and Ryan, 2007:860): the industrial structures of the components of the industry (transport, accommodation, attractions); the formal political systems within which policies are determined (the degrees of governmental centralization or devolution); and the prevailing political ideologies that persist, which help articulate a rationale for those policies. Optimum tourism development calls not only for cooperation, but also for coordination of the private and public sector stakeholders, with the active engagement of the local community (Hall, 1999; Jeffries, 2001; Cooper *et al.*, 2005; Holloway, 2006). The central role in this endeavour is that of a DMO (Pike, 2005), the role of which is further discussed later in this chapter.

Multi-agency partnerships are part of a strategy to open up local decision-making processes where demands are heard from interest groups and community bodies on issues that affect their lives. Furthermore, such partnerships promote flexibility, synergy, added value and leverage of resources. Decision making is

based on finding, sharing and defending the adequate supply of resources, as well as the norms and values of the participants (Lowndes and Skelcher, 1998). As such, a non-profit governance structure seems to be appropriate for destinations, as it enables stakeholders to operate in complex environments, mobilizing resources from market operations, governmental subsidies, or from the community, while pursuing civic and democratic objectives (Enjolras, 2009). Moreover, in the non-profit realm 'economically oriented activities aim at other finalities but imply the production and consumption of goods and services to realize those finalities' (i.e. the work of education, health, social services, art and culture, sport, religion) (Enjolras, 2009:770). In contrast to many destination stakeholders that belong in the for-profit domain, the destination needs to accept a governance structure that is useful for organizing economically oriented activities (of the for-profit sectors) involving ethical objectives and for allocating resources on the basis of reciprocity. A number of key coordination mechanisms that facilitate destination governance should, therefore, be highlighted. For example, a centralized decision-making structure is important, where formal goals, ownership, distribution of property rights and decision-making procedures are adapted to the requirements of collective action, allowing the pooling of resources and providing multi-offerings (mainly services) as outputs. Such decision-making structures are not without challenges. Enjolras (2009:765) argues that 'each coordination mechanism corresponds to an allocation mechanism, that is, the mechanism by which resources are directed and distributed in the economy, and displays some form of coordination failure', which may initiate from market failure, government failure and/or collective action failure.

Another significant dimension of governance in destinations is that of collective *ownership*, which means that no stakeholder owns the tourism product directly, and there are no owners who bear the wealth consequences of their decisions directly. This is a key characteristic as potentially it can have major implications for the effectiveness of governance structures, due mainly to the lack of incentives for cost minimization. Destination decision making can be devolved by principles of a 'membership', where ultimate authority rests with the membership, or a 'board' where authority is self-perpetuating. Nevertheless, governance executives are 'politically' responsible for their actions, which means that they are accountable to the authorities delegating their authority and the general public. Motivational factors for destination managers can take the form of monetary incentives, instrumental and extrinsic incentives, as well as intrinsic incentives and values. Values such as public interest, public service and public spirit are important in inspiring and encouraging destination managers.

Consequently, destinations can be seen as following the governance structure of non-profit organizations, which follow 'the norm of (generalized and balanced) reciprocity, making possible the pooling of resources according to the reciprocity principle and, because of these features, facilitating collective action oriented toward public or mutual interest or toward advocacy [...] mobilizing resources from market operations, governmental subsidies, or from reciprocity (volunteering and donations)' (Enjolras, 2009:779). For destination governance, bringing together the destination stakeholders, facilitating and

coordinating their input reflects the reciprocal nature of inputs and benefits for destination stakeholders. Furthermore, the compatibility of a non-profit governmental structure with other coordination mechanisms means that the various industrial sectors that are linked to the visitor economy can be synchronized, organized, managed and developed, and evolve in harmony with governmental and public sector bodies.

In the public and non-profit realm, governance structure also affects significantly the planning and management of investment projects. Destinations need to make important trade-off decisions with regards to planning initiatives and development priorities, as resources are often limited or scarce. Thus, destination governance frameworks can secure transparency and control, while clarifying the role of project sponsor. Non-profit governance structures potentially face challenges that relate to inefficiencies, downgraded quality, misuse of resources and goal displacement, which all relate to issues of trustworthiness. Failure to comply with ethical and judicial standards, in addition to opportunistic behaviours of stakeholders, may affect the functioning of such a governance structure and eventually undermine its trustworthiness and efficiency further. Building on the six dimensions of governance discussed by Enjolras (2009), destination governance structure dimensions are expressed in Table 15.1.

Table 15.1. Dimensions of non-profit organization governance structure and destinations.

	Non-profit	Destination
Organizational purpose	Public benefit Mutual benefit Political action Economically oriented	To develop and implement the tourism development strategy for a destination (destination management plan)
Ownership	Collective ownership or trust	Collective (membership organization)
Residual claims (residual control and income)	Members, board and trustees (with limited alienation rights) No residual claims on income (non-distribution constraint)	Members Board No residual claims on income
Decision making	Members of the board co-opted or elected by the general assembly of members Trustees	Board or annual general assembly
Control and accountability	Democratic and/or checks and balances	Accountability of managers to the board and general assembly Checks and balances
Embedded incentives	Extrinsic and intrinsic Reputational	Intrinsic and extrinsic Reputational

Source: Adapted from Enjolras (2009:770).

Destination Governance Processes

Collaboration and ‘co-opetition’ have been widely advocated as essential intrinsic characteristics of destination management and marketing (Fyall and Garrod, 2005) that facilitate destination development, improve the level of ‘product’ quality and enhance the competitiveness of the destination (Ritchie and Crouch, 2000, 2003). Multiple destination stakeholders need to engage in joint risk taking and decision making with regard to destination strategy development and implementation. As a consequence, the stakeholder interplay in managing and marketing the destination denotes multi-stakeholder decision-making processes. These entail both formal and informal relationships between the local government, public sector agencies and services and the private sector. Destination governance affects public–private relationships, formal and informal networks, as well as resource dependencies (Nordin and Svensson, 2007). Modelling how the multiple and diverse destination actors interact, reach strategic consensus and solve joint problems is important when discussing destination governance.

Following the principles of a stakeholder approach, the quest for democratic multi-stakeholder decision-making processes requires attention to the way each of the diverse destination actors influences these processes. This influence is determined by the key attributes of the destination governance participants: power, legitimacy and urgency (of request). The dynamic nature of these attributes creates additional difficulties in the management of these processes in a democratic and fair way. Nevertheless, these attributes can determine what key strategic added value (SAV) the destination is trying to achieve, as well as the sources of legitimacy and support (resources necessary) to sustain the effort to create this value. Ultimately, operational capabilities in the form of new investments and innovation at the destination are also affected by such participant attributes. In this sense, the industry, the visitor, the local community and the environment form the ‘authorizing environment’ for destination governance. However, lack of objectivity in defining ‘stakeholder satisfaction’ (Moore and Khagram, 2004) means that destination governance is destined to see establishing authority and focus as a challenge.

Further implications for destinations originate from the view of governance that refers to ‘the reflexive self-organization of independent actors involved in complex relations of reciprocal interdependence, with such self-organization being based on continuing dialogue and resource sharing to develop mutually beneficial joint projects and to manage the contradictions and dilemmas inevitably involved in such situations’ (Jessop, 2003:101). Jessop’s approach, however, challenges the core principles of the sustainability of destination management and development, as he states governance ‘need not entail complete symmetry in power relations or complete equality in the distribution of benefits: indeed, it is highly unlikely to do so, almost regardless of the object of governance or the “stakeholders” who actually participate in the governance process’ (Jessop, 2003:101). Nevertheless, empirical evidence suggests that the individual power of stakeholders (in its various forms) can affect multi-stakeholder decision-making processes at destinations positively, even in situations where unity is not achieved (Marzano and Scott, 2009).

It is critical that such collaborative endeavour is supported by adequate resources for extensive participation techniques, as they increase the potential success of the collaboration. In many cases, resources and funding for the implementation of the related actions principally come from the stakeholders themselves. Thus, stakeholders who 'own' these resources have considerable power to influence policies and initiatives (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999). In such socio-economic environments, where multiple agents and stakeholders are involved, co-governance is essential, as the different power bases of the stakeholders that affect their collaborative capacity can result in strategic imbalances (Sullivan *et al.*, 2006). A stakeholder theory approach can thus be employed to address such a challenge (Sautter and Leisen, 1999).

Effective Destination Governance and Metagovernance

The analysis of multi-stakeholder processes of destination governance can benefit from underpinnings from stakeholder theory. Indeed, stakeholder theory has been employed by various tourism scholars to understand collaboration in local tourism policy making (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Jamal *et al.*, 2004); for planning integrated communication approaches; and in the management of diverse stakeholder groups (Sautter and Leisen, 1999), as well as to consider resident perceptions and attitudes towards tourism planning (Easterling, 2005).

Following the notion of stakeholder capitalism proposed by Freeman and Liedtka (1997), the more destination stakeholders participate in decisions that affect them, the greater the likelihood that they will be committed to the future of tourism in their area. Stakeholder capitalism is based on four principles: stakeholder cooperation, complexity, continuous value creation and emergent competition. Freeman and Liedtka (1997) employ a value chain perspective which can facilitate the analysis of resource dependencies among destination stakeholders. The value chain approach extends from supplier–firm–customer relationships to include employees, communities, governments and interest groups as important sources of value creation. For instance, local government's investments in education and other forms of social infrastructure affect directly the ability of a tourism business to put together a deal with other key stakeholders. Skelcher *et al.* (2005:573), meanwhile, investigate the existence of democratic practices in institutions operating in collaborative spaces, or as they note, 'the policy and spatial domains where multiple public and private and non-profit actors join together to shape, make and implement public policy'. They find that in such partnerships, the notion of flexibility and stakeholder engagement is evident; however, they argue that they hardly see them to constitute representative democratic systems. Nevertheless, Sullivan *et al.* (2006) note that sustainable strategies require legitimation by a range of stakeholders, which raises issues of power imbalance; power relationships in inter-organizational and cross-sectoral settings; process management (interactions between existing members/stakeholders); and network constitution (changes to existing networks and/or rules).

The endeavour of the public and private stakeholders of the destination to engage in destination development and achieve consensus-oriented decision making is essentially a typical example of a collaborative governance form. Determinants of collaboration effectiveness that link to this mode of governance include the prior history of cooperation or conflict, the incentives for stakeholders to participate, power and resources imbalances, leadership and institutional design. For the collaborative process to work, emphasis should be placed on dialogue, trust building and development of commitment and shared understanding, while 'small wins' can result in deeper trust among participants (Ansell and Gash, 2007). Overall, consensus-oriented decision making in destination management necessitates a balanced approach to governance with regards to the inputs, processes and outputs for each destination stakeholder.

Collaboration among destination stakeholders in developing tourism policies can be affected by power imbalances and can affect resource allocations, policy ideas, interactions, practices and means of implementation (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999). Partial consensus about tourism policies can bring benefits of: avoiding adversarial conflicts; greater political legitimacy and credibility; improved coordination of actions; a more holistic view of the economic, environmental and social impacts of tourism; more efficient and sustainable outcomes; and more innovative and coherent policies. Destination managers must promote collaborative arrangements that facilitate collective learning, establishment of trust and development of consensual views. Evaluation of collaborative policy making should not rest entirely on the level at which consensus emerges, but also should examine the scope and intensity of collaboration. Scope refers to the inclusiveness of the policy making in terms of stakeholder participation. This is an important catalyst towards the legitimacy of destination governance decisions. Intensity refers to when and how often relevant stakeholders are involved, in addition to the acceptance of diversity among stakeholders (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999).

Some scholars argue a positive association between 'tight governance' and effectiveness (Palmer, 1998). However, empirical investigation (Nordin and Svensson, 2007) suggests that informal public-private network relationships can be very important and influential in terms of destination development, in contrast to formal structures and procedures. In such cases, elements of trust, openness and dialogue among stakeholders can facilitate increased understanding of one another's roles and agendas, which potentially leads to new solutions and opportunities through the allocation and coordination of resources.

Evaluating destination governance performance can be a highly daunting task, as performance measurement and, as a consequence, performance management are problematic (Randor and McGuire, 2004). The main challenges relate to understanding the relationship between strategy, people and organizational form/design, while challenges also stretch to technical issues of performance systems. Moreover, externally imposed restructuring and reorganization restrict the successful implementation of performance management in organizations of this nature. Nevertheless, good governance systems are seen to

entail some key principles of multi-stakeholder processes (Hemmati *et al.*, 2002), such as:

- participation of all stakeholders in decision making;
- transparency in procedures and methods of decision making (implying a free flow of information to those concerned);
- accountability of decision makers to the public and to key stakeholders;
- effectiveness and efficiency in key functions;
- responsiveness to the needs of all stakeholders; and
- grounded in a fair, agreed set of rules (code of practice), enforced impartially and signed up from all participants in decision making.

Multi-stakeholder processes are described as important governance tools, as they can comprise of dialogues or grow into processes that facilitate consensus building, decision making and implementation. However, the effectiveness of these tools can be enhanced by the presence of key values and ideologies like sustainable development and *good* governance (i.e. control and structure), democratic practices and participation, commitment, fairness, unity (rather than unanimity) and diversity. Additional catalysts for the effectiveness of multi-stakeholder practices as governance tools are elements of leadership, economic success, access to information, ability to learn and change (evolve), partnership and solidarity, transparency, inclusiveness, legitimacy, accountability and responsibility (Hemmati *et al.*, 2002).

Types of Destination Governance and Metagovernance

Governance is of a highly dynamic nature. Political, social, economic, environmental and technological changes in the destination and the external environment affect power balances among the destination stakeholders. For instance, power in the governance of destinations can shift from public to private stakeholders, as has been the case in the UK with the devolution of tourism structures, which resulted in extended partnerships between the public and private sector, enhancing the latter's power in decision making. In addition, change and evolution are related positively to avoidance of likely phases of stagnation or crisis. Innovation and knowledge building add to the dynamism of the destination environment, while shifting customer characteristics and preferences are catalysts in these developments. Therefore, destination governance needs to be responsive (or even proactive by leading evolution) to these developments. In this respect, flexibility and innovation of governance structures is necessary.

Moreover, power in destination governance can shift from internal (local) actors to external actors with a local presence at the destination. Such patterns of governance, however, can result in lower numbers of actors involved in decision making that diminish legitimacy and are in contrast to the core principle of democratic participation that is promoting social economy benefits. Some scholars (Nordin and Svensson, 2007), however, argue that even though few actors are involved, such arrangements potentially can have positive effects in

destination development in terms of capability building and innovation due to the greater individual financial resources, knowledge and know-how of the external (international) operators involved.

Meuleman (2006) argues that 'although many modes or styles of governance have been distinguished, they are usually grouped into three "ideal-types" of governance': hierarchy, market and network. Hierarchies are characterized by authority and rules, and produce legal instruments because they can be controlled hierarchically. Hierarchical governance puts the governing organization at the centre and all the other actors are dependent ('iron fist' with 'velvet glove'). Markets are characterized by prices and competition and a competitive logic. Societal actors are, in principle, independent and autonomous ('anarchy'). Lastly, networks are based on mutual trust, diplomacy and voluntary agreement. Network governance suggests that actors are interdependent and dialogue is the norm.

Contemporary governance needs to be situational, integrating the three modes according to circumstances. For example, a hierarchical mode of governance is more appropriate for the financial department of an organization, or when dealing with crises, disasters or security issues. On the contrary, this mode would not work well in dealing with 'fuzzy' issues, for instance multi-actor, multi-level problems (Meuleman, 2006). Lowndes and Skelcher (1998) examined governance in the context of the multi-stakeholder partnerships (networks) of urban regeneration and identified different combinations of the triptych according to the life cycle stage of public partnerships:

1. Per partnership collaboration: emphasis on networking;
2. Partnership creation and consolidation: some hierarchy, formalization of authority in partnership board and staff;
3. Partnership programme delivery: market mechanisms of tendering and contractual agreements; and
4. Partnership termination and succession: networking between individuals and organizations as a means to maintain agency commitment, community involvement and staff employment.

A similar governance mode pattern could be argued to be appropriate for a destination. However, it should be noted that value in tourism services or tourist/visitor experiences is co-created. Value, therefore, is in the hands or minds of the consumer, and is actualized with the presence/involvement of the consumer at the destination. Thus, one element that probably needs to be examined is that of the role of the consumer (visitor) in the integration of the three modes for destination governance.

Although, as stated above, the integration of the triptych of governance modes can create synergies, conflicts and tensions are unavoidable and ultimately produce serious performance problems. Allocating resources and coordinating policy and its implementation are some of the most eminent challenges. Tensions also originate from the different standpoints of hierarchical and market modes, i.e. from a market governance perspective, hierarchy is too inflexible. Although competition in a market setting calls for quick decisions of independent actors, a network setting may take time to respond (Meuleman, 2006).

Metagovernance: A Role for the DMO?

For destination governance to be effective, the role and responsibility of every participant stakeholder needs to be defined. Additionally, potential conflicts and synergies between the various forms of governance within the destination need to be addressed. This 'organization of conditions for governance' or 'governance of governance' is referred to as 'metagovernance' (Meuleman, 2006). 'Metagovernance is best employed as an umbrella concept for the redesign of the relationship among different modes of governance' (Provan and Kenis, 2007:115). Essentially, destination metagovernance relates to the need of the destination actively to form governance structures and manage their mechanisms, conflict and tensions.

Beritelli *et al.* (2007) suggest that the DMO serves as a principal metagovernance body for forming and organizing destination governance. In this respect, the DMO is challenged to develop and implement a means for framing, political leadership in the form of storytelling and direct participation in democratic forums, establishing increased communication among stakeholders. Finally, establishing and maintaining systems of accountability and responsibility in network governance is a major metagovernance task (Bogason and Musso, 2006) that stakeholders can require DMOs to undertake.

Network governance can marginalize politicians and consequently weaken representative democracy, which is why politicians are urged to strengthen their roles in metagovernance by 'broadening their leadership repertoire to include framing through institutional design, storytelling, supporting and facilitating, and participating' (Sorensen, 2006:98). Sorensen (2006:100) defines metagovernance as 'a way of enhancing coordinated governance [...] an indirect form of governing that is exercised by influencing various processes of governance'. The purpose is to manage the complexity and plurality of governance and to organize the self-organization (of networks).

'Metagovernance involves managing the complexity, plurality, and tangled hierarchies found in prevailing modes of coordination. It is the organization of conditions for governance and involves judicious mixing of market, hierarchy and networks to achieve the best possible outcomes from the viewpoint of those engaged in metagovernance. In this sense, it also means the organization of the conditions of governance in terms of their structurally inscribed strategic selectivity, i.e. of their asymmetrical privileging of some outcomes over others' (Sorensen, 2006:108). From this perspective, DMOs have an important role to play as vehicles of metagovernance. For instance, as mentioned earlier, the role of the DMO is central in coordinating and integrating the development and implementation of policies and strategies at intersectoral (across sectors) and intergovernmental (across the levels of government) levels.

Being at the core of destination strategy implementation, the DMO endeavours to assist and facilitate the achievement of multiple goals and involve all stakeholders in the development of the destination in terms of policy formulation, planning and product delivery (Pike, 2004). In this respect, the DMO has the critical and vital role of providing leadership and coordination of the many diverse

destination stakeholders that must contribute and work together to create a rich visitor experience. Essentially, the credibility of the DMO as a strategic leader in tourist destination development and its ability to facilitate industry partnerships towards a collective destination vision are its most critical assets (WTO, 2007).

Information Communication Technologies as Salient Tools of Governance

Recent developments in information communication technologies (ICTs) and the emergence of the Internet in particular as a mainstream communication and transaction media has changed the way that governments, organizations and citizens interact and operate. These developments have changed the best operational and strategic practices for organizations on a global level and have altered the competitiveness of enterprises and regions around the world. ICT has, in fact, changed the entire economic system dramatically and destination governance models need to be updated constantly, enhancing their productivity and efficiency through new technological tools. The rapid development of both tourism supply and demand makes ICTs an imperative partner, not only for the marketing, distribution and promotion of tourism, but also for its effective governance (Buhalis, 2000a). Increasingly, DMOs use ICTs in order to facilitate the tourist experience before, during and after the visit, as well as for coordinating all partners involved in the production and delivery of tourism. Thus, not only do DMOs attempt to provide information and accept reservations for local enterprises as well as coordinate their facilities, but they also utilize ICTs to promote their tourism policy, coordinate their operational functions, increase the expenditure of tourists and boost the multiplier effects in the local economy.

Moreover, destination management systems (DMSs) are employed by many national and regional governments to facilitate the management of DMOs, as well as for the coordination of local suppliers at the destination level (Buhalis and Spada, 2000). DMSs can provide the essential 'infostructure' for governance structures to coordinate activity and to provide sufficient information and direction to their stakeholders. For instance, DMSs can emerge as interfaces between destination tourism enterprises (including principals, attractions, transportation and intermediaries) and the external world (including tour operators, travel agencies and ultimately consumers). In some cases, such as in the UK, Singapore and Austria, DMSs have been used to integrate the entire supply at the destination. Their contribution to strategic management and marketing is demonstrated by their ability to integrate all stakeholders at destinations and also to reach a global market at a fairly affordable cost.

Conclusion

Strategic destination planning, management and development that are underpinned by principles of sustainability call for an inclusive approach to

stakeholder 'satisfaction' (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003). Destination management that enhances destination development and destination competitiveness promotes benefits and value for all its stakeholders. Following such a holistic approach in pursuing visitor economy outcomes and impacts simulates a 'public sector' or 'not-for-profit' sector approach to development and management. The relevance of governance in the study of destinations links to the rationale of governance to optimize network management.

Research on destination governance is still in its infancy, which implies that it can benefit from a plethora of theoretical lenses. This chapter has discussed destination governance employing key insights from the complexity, network and stakeholder theories. Being at the core of good governance, multi-stakeholder processes denote the relevance of stakeholder and network theories (Provan and Kenis, 2007). Insights from these areas can help with the analysis of inter- and intra-organizational relationships that affect destination governance performance and, therefore, effectiveness (Fryer *et al.*, 2009).

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16

Tourist Destination Governance: Some Approaches and Suggestions for Future Research

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Introduction

This final chapter discusses the state of governance research and provides some suggestions for further studies. It begins by discussing the theory and appropriate methodology for some aspects of the study of tourist destination governance. These considerations and the previous chapters of this book provide a basis for a discussion of the managerial implications and recommendations for areas of further research.

The Theory of Governance Studies

How can governance be conceptualized and studied to determine the effects in the development of tourist destination policies that move from a centralized to a network structure? Should we abandon hope of reaching a general understanding of how a governance approach leads to improvements in efficiency and effectiveness, except in specific situations? Perhaps the governance project is simply too complex to allow measurable effects and we should resort to belief. Alternatively, perhaps all systems of government and collaboration are, in fact, based on belief in their relative effectiveness. In any event, we contend that complexity is a characteristic of a topic suitable for academic study, and that the systemic effect of governance is not 'unknowable'. But to understand it more fully, we need to examine our methodologies and conceptual frameworks.

Based on the work of the authors in this volume, governance seems to be a summative unit of theory. 'Summative units ... serve a very important purpose in sensitizing an audience to the boundaries of an intellectual domain and giving them some grasp of the main dimensions of that field' (Dubin, 1976:78). Such theoretical units have utility in beginning theory development and in introducing a topic to a wide audience '... [but] are not employed in scientific models'

(Dubin, 1976:78). Governance as a phenomenon is complex and dynamic, and one where interaction effects (between people, events and interests) lead to a lack of predictability using the academic models developed and a lack of agreement about which concepts should be included. This is illustrated by the work of Dredge, who writes that:

Concise management strategies will depend upon the specific characteristics of the destination, the networks in operation and the actors and agencies involved. From this analysis, key directions for managing local tourism networks involve reconciling a number of issues.

(Dredge, 2006:278)

This author identifies these issues further as: leadership that takes into account the different types of influence used; involvement of the wider community; clarification of roles and responsibilities; open discussion and negotiation of rules of conduct; and the resourcing of tourism. Apart from these issues, however, there are numerous other concepts that are considered to be important in the study of governance, such as: stakeholder capability (Caffyn and Jobbins, 2003), organizational frameworks (Erkus-Ozturk and Eraydin, 2010), public interest (Dinica, 2009), networks structure (Timur and Getz, 2008), informal versus formal structure (Nordin and Svensson, 2007), accountability (Harrill and Bender, 2007) and collaboration. Indeed, perhaps we can argue that governance is a particular form of collaboration which has a variety of forms and, if so, then we can seek to delineate and compare its advantages and disadvantages in particular circumstances.

In the tourism literature, as in other fields of study, researchers usually examine governance by adopting concepts that are pertinent to the context of their particular study. In many of the case studies examined, these concepts are identified based on post hoc analysis and often on the (implicit) assumption that each case is unique or too complex and dynamic to allow the effect of particular concepts to be deduced (Rhodes, 2002). This is not to say that the summative approach to discussing governance is not useful, indeed as Rhodes (2007) presents in a review of 10 years of academic and practical discussion of governance and policy in the context of the UK, issues such as hollowing out of the State, developing policy networks, changing roles of the core executive, and the State, are important and reflective of changes in society and its functioning. However, perhaps our research should move to a comparative methodology, such as advocated by Perry (2001). One step towards these comparative studies has been taken by Harold Richins in Chapter 5, where a number of issues that a regional area may face regarding community destination governance have been identified. These may provide a template for comparisons across regions.

Methodology – Tourist Destinations as a Useful Context to Study Governance

One important conclusion from this volume is that tourist destinations provide a theoretically valid context in which to study governance. The tourist destination is an important unit of analysis, and although requiring further definition

(Haywood, 1986), it may be considered to be a cluster of interrelated tourism operators and organizations (stakeholders) embedded in a social network of community relationships (Scott *et al.*, 2008b). This is a distinguishing feature of tourism and tourist destinations which allows us to research governance in ways which other research settings such as manufacturing distribution channel studies do not. A network of tourist destination stakeholders interacts, meeting visitor needs jointly and 'producing' the experience that travellers 'consume' to their satisfaction during their holiday destination experiences. These destination stakeholders include accommodation businesses, attractions, tour companies and others providing commercial services; government agencies and tourism offices; as well as representatives of the local community. The interaction of these stakeholders is complex, dynamic and subject to external shocks; therefore, it is changing constantly. The basic premise of tourist destination management is that, through cooperative planning and organizational activities, the effectiveness of these joint interactions can be improved to the benefit of individual stakeholders, but it is not a game where everyone benefits (or participates) equally. Game theory provides a methodology to capture behaviour mathematically in such governance situations (games), where one's choice and outcome is affected by the choices of others (Webb, 2007). Game theory has been used to study tourist destinations (Bimonte, 2008) and offers a fertile ground for further research.

Governance is a conceptual domain which refers to the relationships between multiple stakeholders and how they interact with one another. It involves such processes as the setting of (perhaps) mutually agreed objectives, exerting influence (power) and obtaining cohesive support for goal-oriented policies. Studying governance allows us to understand how stakeholders determine, implement and evaluate the rules for their interaction (Beritelli *et al.*, 2007).

Thus, differences in the governance arrangements of tourist destinations may be presumed to lead to differences in the effectiveness of joint stakeholder interactions, and hence to improvements in destination competitiveness (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010) and/or community outcomes.

The management of any tourist destination involves the interaction of the informal, corporate, public and non-government sectors. Destinations, then, are contexts in which coalitions and individuals engage in multi-stakeholder processes (see Chapter 15). Further, similar context, issues and approaches used in tourist destinations are found, irrespective of the many aspects of the local political, ideological and developmental situation in destinations around the world. In other words, there is a degree of standardization in the operation of tourist destinations. Some functions such as marketing, and the setting and monitoring of health and safety standards, must occur in every destination. Also in every tourist destination, the components of accommodation, attractions, transportation and so on are necessary to achieve a functional tourist system (Leiper, 1990), and thus similar tourist destination management tasks are found in many destinations. This highlights the opportunity for comparison studies within and between countries, as a methodological approach to improving our knowledge of tourist destination governance. These comparative studies will require the collection of comparable data on similar concepts across multiple locations, as illustrated hypothetically in

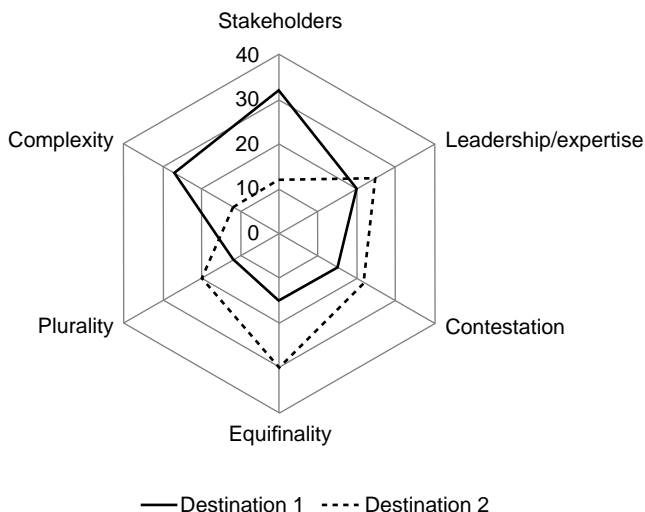


Fig. 16.1. Notional example comparing governance of destinations using selected dimensions.

Fig. 16.1. Some comparative studies are found in the work of Dinica (2009) and Beaumont and Dredge (2010), but more are needed.

Structure Versus Agency

Tourism governance studies in general are methodologically weak and the editors believe that a more useful approach is to develop comparative studies of governance in tourist destinations. Similar to the discussion of methodology above, this requires the use of some common methods. One structural approach is to use quantitative network analysis for comparing the characteristics of different destination stakeholder networks (Scott *et al.*, 2008a,b). However, network analysis has been criticized as being a static rather than a dynamic approach, and also its usage tends to minimize issues of power, beliefs and values (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007).

An alternative actor perspective focuses on issues of agency and individual actions. In this vein, Hall and Jenkins (2004) suggest a need for examination of the linkage between power, ideology, values and institutions. One recent approach is provided by actor-network theory (see Latour, 2005). 'Actor-network theory emphasizes interactions as the focal point for understanding the relationships between individuals' actions and organizational realities' (Steen *et al.*, 2006:305). Similarly, an actor approach based on the work of Long (2001) has been recommended by Bramwell (2006). These actor approaches provide an alternative micro-focused approach to the study of governance.

Both of these perspectives, structural and actor, have value. Chapter 3 in this volume focuses on exploring tourism legislation and the nature of governance structures. Similarly, Chapters 12 and 13 adopt a structural perspective.

Chapter 12, for example, discusses the use of a balanced scorecard to assess destination governance performance. Chapter 13 suggests analysis of destination networks to evaluate governance performance. On the other hand, Chapter 10 provides some discussion of both actors and structure, concluding that an increase in the quality of life of local villages sustainably through tourism requires the cooperation of the local community and government and non-governmental organizations. Chapter 15 also examines these issues.

Cultural and Political Differences

One advantage of a comparative approach is to enable the examination of cultural differences in the governance of tourist destinations. Studies of governance and decision making have been undertaken in several countries, including Turkey (Goymen, 2000; Yuksel *et al.*, 2005), Sweden (Nordin and Svensson, 2007), Central and Eastern Europe (Roberts and Simpson, 1999), South Africa (Cornelissen, 2005) and China (Zhang and Qi, 2009; Airey and Chong, 2010). In the context of sustainable development, Western models of good governance are often accepted and promoted as appropriate, with little explicit recognition of their origins in the literature and little critical evaluation of their success or applicability in developing countries. As discussed in Chapter 9 of this volume, Aras and Crowther (2009) suggest that 'Anglo-Saxon systems of governance' are being imposed in developing countries from 'outside' for narrow (not necessarily wrong – but possibly so) ideological motives.

Within such systems, there often can be found mechanisms for the imposition of some type of privileged administrative group with coercive powers. This suggests the need for further research into the appropriateness or effectiveness of such systems and how they may be tailored for a particular cultural and social context. Two recent and useful studies in this area by Airey and Chong (2010) and Zhang and Qi (2009) provide useful work on the mechanism of the making of tourism policies in China, one of the fastest developing tourist destinations in the world.

Management Implications

Managing a tourist destination means finding the way to direct a complex system under changing conditions, which calls for an adaptive approach, rather than a rigid, deterministic, authoritarian style. It may require the adoption of strong rules, but it also needs flexibility in order to change these rules dynamically, reacting quickly to all the unpredictable events that may occur in the destination or in the external environment. The proposal of using adaptive styles when dealing with such systems stems from the work of ecologists in the 1970s. The method suggests an experimental path to governance and builds on the idea of exploring alternative possibilities, implementing some of them, monitoring the outcomes, testing the predictions and learning which ones best allow the achievement of the objectives. This is essentially an iterative approach, in which the results of actions are then used to improve knowledge and adjust subsequent activities. This approach

has been adopted in different situations, including tourism systems, with encouraging results (Agostinho and Teixeira de Castro, 2003; see also Chapter 6).

One practical application for managers is to integrate governance with adaptive management techniques such as scenario planning. Scenario planning is a process in which specially constructed stories about the future are used to describe possible parameters in future settings. The planning process deals with these stories to identify the most probable future situation and uses them to analyse possible reactions and outcomes and derive action plans (Yeoman *et al.*, 2007; Yeoman, 2008; Glover and Prideaux, 2009). Usually, the stories are built after some preliminary investigation grounded in qualitative analytic methods. Then, the issues identified are discussed by experts and consensus is sought on the best lines of action (Breukel and Go, 2009). On the basis of the case studies in this book, it would appear to be important in implementing such scenario planning to include information about the current and possible future state of governance of that destination. This may include the concept of metagovernance or 'organization of conditions for governance', as discussed in Chapter 15.

Another approach to governance is that of an institution in the social sciences literature which has not been well integrated with the tourism literature but is similar to the 'longue durée' of Giddens (1979; Johnston, 2001), the 'life-cycle stage' (Butler, 1980; Scott, 2004), or arguably the 'niche' (Laland *et al.*, 1999, 2000). An institution in these terms is a stable human system in which people can survive and where social learning and transmission of knowledge about the 'rules' occur recursively. A variety of types of sanctions may be applied to enforce compliance with rules, with varying effects (Janssen *et al.*, 2008). Tourism provides a novel context in which to examine the concepts of institutions and rules, especially related to the development of robust sustainable systems, as a tourist destination provides an example of a 'commons'. A 'commons' is a type of 'common pool resource' (CPR); a natural or man-made resource system with open or widespread access where the resources deplete with increased use. Such systems are characterized by low excludability and high rivalry among their users. An early examination of such systems by Hardin (1968) found that the problems of overuse of a CPR 'had no technical solution'. He wrote that, 'the social arrangements that produce responsibility are arrangements that create coercion, of some sort' (1968:1247).

More recently, Ostrom (1990) adopted a case study approach, examining the management of CPR, and found that certain types of governance structure and rules could produce effective CPR management. A governance structure may be termed an institution referring to 'the prescriptions that humans use to organize all forms of repetitive structured interactions' (Ostrom, 2005:3). In other words, institutions consist of the formal and informal rules-in-use established, as well as the norms relied on to protect the resource.

Rules are defined by Ostrom (2005:18) as 'shared understandings by participants about enforced prescriptions concerning what actions or outcomes are required, prohibited, or permitted'. These rules can be formal or informal. Ostrom (1990) identified seven clusters of generic types of rules: pay-off rules, information rules, scope rules, boundary rules, position rules, authority rules and aggregation rules.

Also, a source of the 'dynamique' is that, by definition, a tourist destination system is open to external influence, thus weakening the ability to impose rules and requiring that they are constantly subject to scrutiny and change. One underexploited opportunity for research is to interview past and present destination managers to identify examples of the practical rules, sanctions and techniques used in dealing with stakeholders, to understand how the rules have changed and hence contribute to the development of 'best practice' governance techniques, useful in tourism and perhaps providing examples for other sectors as well.

Governance Effectiveness

In Chapter 6 of this volume, Moscardo writes that '... [good] governance can be conceptualized as an approach to decision making and regulation in tourism which is based on democratic principles and seeks to maximize efficiency in decisions made in the public arena'. This raises another important issue of what good governance is. Is good governance associated with a particular set of ideological principles such as democracy, or does it only have dimensions that are value free? If governance is found only in democracy, then the term is not applicable to many tourism companies, or even some government departments of democratic countries. It is also inapplicable in communist countries or dictatorships, or arguably in theocratic regimes. Instead, we use the term 'governance' in connection with ideology on the basis of our belief that democracy is an effective ideology. In Chapter 6, what Moscardo is seeking is 'good governance' and she bases her definition of good implicitly on belief in the effectiveness of democracy as a principle of governance.

An alternative view is that good governance is not absolute but is related to the task; it is a form of governance that achieves its ends. This approach is more in line with that used by Graham *et al.* (2003): 'In its broadest sense, governance refers to the processes by which groups of people make decisions, and it covers all the ways in which decision-making power is organized and used in a group.' Then, good governance is 'processes by which groups of people make decisions, and it covers all the ways in which decision-making power is organized and used in a group' (Moscardo, Chapter 6).

Much of the discussion of tourist destination governance seeks to improve governance effectiveness and to identify best practice. Thus, it would appear our research should examine the aims of governance systems and compare their effectiveness. This reinforces the need for comparative studies, and might allow support for the proposition that destination governance is a precondition for success (see Chapter 12) for tourist destinations. Future studies should also evaluate critically the numerous dimensions by which governance systems are characterized, and seek correlations between each of these characteristics and overall destination governance effectiveness. This is the approach adopted in Chapter 3 of this volume, which examines tourism law in three countries. Essentially the same point is made by Butler (Chapter 4, this volume) in the context of the local level of tourism.

The lack to date of local governance in tourism undoubtedly has been a significant factor in the survival of so many contradictory viewpoints about tourism in the town, and this situation certainly has made it difficult for those involved in tourism to be able to formulate coherent and cohesive images for promotion of the town to potential visitors.

Similarly in Campiranon *et al.* (Chapter 8), we find:

Further research is required to understand the ways in which government policy and action by key actors can determine the success or even the survival of a tourism sector following the disruption resulting from a major crisis.

In Choibamroong (Chapter 14), we find:

Therefore, building partnerships, networks, collaborations and participation are all necessary for sustainable community-based rural tourism.

Thus, a clear area of focus for future research is to investigate improvement in governance, both in general as well as in specific situations such as crises. Similarly, we may also ask whether effective governance varies by aim (innovation, efficiency, sustainability).

Conclusion

The study of tourist destination governance offers opportunities for improvement in the effectiveness of tourist destinations, provides areas of study for tourism academics and, indeed, may provide useful lessons for the wider social sciences research community. The discussion of governance also has important implications for managers. Increasingly, the issues of sustainability, corporate social responsibility and community involvement focus attention on which stakeholders set the objectives and participate in the management of tourist destinations. These objectives may be enlarged to include specific community development, and sustainability outcomes. Reconciling these objectives with economic performance is a complex task, but arguably, tourist destinations have a significant incentive to achieve these outcomes as so much of economic success depends directly on natural resources. Finally, the discussion above suggests that when we consider 'good governance', we should be aware of our own ideological bias as researchers. Perhaps our future destination research should eschew particular political or ideological perspectives and use a more sociological platform to examine concepts like power, collaboration and governance.

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Index

Page numbers in **bold** refer to figures and tables.

- access **53, 54, 57**, 58
- accommodation 42–43, 124
- accountability
 - establishment 198
 - key governance dimension 33, 34, **35**, 37, **192**, 204
 - lack 85
 - principle 196
 - requirement 181
- accreditation programme 114–115
 - see also* awards
- activities 124–125, 128, 181, 182
 - see also* agrotourism; ecotourism; golf; whales
- actors 99, 100, 160, 162, 193, 206
 - see also* networks; stakeholders
- Acts 37, 44, 58, **94**, 95
- adaptive approach 207–208
- administrators 6, 9
- agencies 107, 206–207
- agents 69, **73**, 74, 107
- agrotourism 175, 178–179
- aid 104
 - see also* funding
- airports closure 91, 92, **94**, 95–99, 100
- algorithm, stochastic **166**
- alpine tourism 139–140, 145–147
- alternative tourism 174, 176
 - see also* Community-based Rural Tourism; homestay programmes
- Amazing Thailand Campaign 92
- Amigos da Prainha (Friends of Prainha) 126
- analysis unit 204–205
- Anglo-Saxon system of governance 106, 107, 113, 207
- Annual Tourism and Artefacts Council Report 2007, Prainha 131
- APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) Conference October 2003 93
- arrivals growth 26, **28**
- Asian Development Bank (ADB) 26, 37
- assessment 182
 - see also* monitoring; performance, evaluation
- Associação de Moradores da Prainha do Canto Verde 120, 121
- Australia 36–37, 54, 57, **71**, 161
- awards 176, 177, 179, 185
 - see also* accreditation programme
- balance 60, 148, 174, 175, 196
 - see also* scorecard, balanced

- Ban Busai Homestay, Nakhorn Ratchasima 173, 178–179
- Ban Huay Hee, Mae Hong Son 173, 177–178, 182
- benchmarking 1, 115, 141, 184
see also best practice; standards
- Best Community for Tourism award 177
- best practice 1, 88, 113, 114, 115, 209
see also benchmarking; standards
- Bhumibol, His Majesty King 174
- bottom-up approach 119, 122–125, 127, 176, 181
- branding 28, 148, 184
see also image
- Byron Bay, Australia 57, 161
- Cambodia 25, 29, 31–32, **35–36**
see also Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam
- Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam (CLV)
 countries 19, 25–37
- Cameron, David 2
- capacity building 77, 106, 176, 179, 181
see also carrying capacity; networks
- capitalism 118, 194
- career opportunities provision 112–113
- carrying capacity 128, 174, 176, 177
see also capacity building
- case study approach
 analysis process 67, **70**, **71–72**, 73, 74
 areas 19, 25, 29–30, 86, 109–110
 database 69
 methods 109
- Ceara, Brazil 129–130
- certification approach 114
see also awards; standards
- challenges
 addressing 146, 147–148
 analysis 131
 destination governance 17–22
 external 1
 trustworthiness issue 192
 unprecedented 117
- change **55**, 56, 137, 139–140, 145–157
- claims, residual **192**
- clusters 160, 190
- co-opetition 193
see also collaborations approach; cooperation
- coaching **108**, 114
see also training
- coalition building 182–183, 187
see also cooperation; networks; partnerships
- Coastal Zone Management Act 1977
 Hawaii 58
- collaborations approach
 attitudes 165
 destinations development **138**, 193
 effectiveness 8–9, 195
 marketing characteristic 193
 measures 164
 potential success increase 194
 regionalism role 160, 162
see also coalition building; cooperation; networks
- commitment lack **53**, **57**, 58, 61
- commons 55, 208
- communication
 approach **138**, **139**
 barrier 180
 crises 92, 93, 94
 critical issues 155
 facilitation 6
 management task 148
 methods 76
 organization 149
 practices 150, **154–156**
 skills 112
 technologies use estimation 164
 tools 199
see also information and communication technology
- community approach
 involvement 17, 137, 138, **139**
 issues 20–21, 52, **53**, 56–59
 model 126, 149
 pressures 20–21
 projects **129**
 regionalism 51–61
 rights concept 175
 typology 51–61
- Community-based Rural Tourism (CBRT)
 140–141, 173–185
- comparative approach 204, 205–**206**, 207
- Competitive Structures and Task Sharing in Tourism in Grisons* 146
- Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS) 8, 165

- complexities 7–9, 10, 51–52, 56, 83–88, 188
- concepts 11, 68, 86, 141, 204, 208, 209
- concerns 1, 17, 51, 68, 84–86, 162
- Conference for Sustainable Tourism 122–123
- confidence 149, 156
- conflicts
 - community **57–58**
 - land use zone areas 52, **57**, 58–59
 - local issues 39–48, 119–121, 178, 181
 - sustainability barrier **73**
 - see also* contestation; controversies
- conservation 6, 74, 87, 104, 106, 128
 - see also* ecotourism; environment
- contestation 5–7
 - see also* conflicts
- contexts change 3–4
- control **57**, 58, **192**
 - see also* power
- controversies 87, 103–115
 - see also* conflicts
- cooperation 26, 149, 160, 190
 - see also* coalition building; collaborations approach; networks; partnerships
- coordination
 - development factor 190
 - lack **55**, 71, 72, 99
 - mechanisms 189, 191
 - modes 198
 - poor **73**
 - tasks 148
- corporate model 147, 149
- costs, in opportunity **54**
- countries, case study 19, 25, 29–30, 86, 109–110
- crafts 125
- credibility 149, 156
- crises 86, 91–100
- criticisms, governance practices 18, 113
- cultural tourism **71**, 118–119
- culture 59, 106–107, 122–125, 127–128, 207
- data collection 109, 110
 - see also* surveys
- decision-making
 - barriers 84–85
 - complexity 10, 56, 83–88
 - concerns 84–85
 - dynamics 83–88
 - exclusion 68, 69, 107
 - focus 85
 - influences 67, 83–88, 95, 99
 - models 127
 - outcomes 8
 - power organization and use 91
 - processes 83, 86, 160, 183, 190–191
 - review 86
 - rules 140, 160
 - studies 83–84, 207
 - theory 84
 - tools 138–139
- democracy 6–7, 28, 29, 31, 92, 190
 - see also* ideologies; participation
- destination, *defined* 7, 147, 187–188, 205
- destination management organizations (DMOs)
 - decision communication 187
 - description 153
 - development 147
 - functions 147–148
 - lack 45, 46–47
 - leadership 150
 - management approach 154
 - metagovernance role 198–199
 - objectives 156
 - structure 149, 150, 151
- destination management systems (DMSs) 199
- development
 - approach **138**
 - barriers 9, 70–**73**
 - challenges 19, 121, 131–132
 - impacts 60–61, 119–121
 - issues 17, 52, **53–54**
 - mechanisms 183
 - pace **55**, 56, **57**, 59
 - processes analysis 69–73, 161, 183–184
 - sustainability aspects 174
- dialogue partner (employee) 155
- dimensions of governance 33, **35–36**, 37
 - see also* accountability; effectiveness; power; structure; transparency
- directors 148, 150–151
- disasters 7, 94, 95
 - see also* Tsunami

- discussion 204, 206, 208, 209, 210
- dynamics
 complex 7, 8, 9
 decision-making 83–88
 destination governance 141–142, 187–200
 network 166, 167
 source 209
- Earth Summit 1992, Brazil 174
- Ecological Jangada Regatta 124–125
- economy
 cooperation programme 26
 decision consequences 91
 growth 29, 30
 management 19
 positive results 131
 sufficiency principle 173–175
- ecotourism 32, **71**, 87, 103–115, 177
- education 11, 76, 77–78, 105–106, 128
see also knowledge; learning; training
- effectiveness
 collaborations 195
defined 34
 key governance dimension 33, 34–35, **36**, 37, 194–196, 209–210
 networks 190
 policy network 163
- Eisenhardt's framework 69–**70**
- emergence 188
see also networks, self-organization
- empowerment 87–88, 117–132, 181–182
- environment 60–61, 87, 128, 141–142, 187–200
see also conservation; ecotourism; sustainability
- environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) 161
- events 123–124
see also activities
- expectations, false 71, 72, **73**, 74
- farm tourism **71**
- feedback 151–152, 153
see also scorecard, balanced
- food 119, 124
- Friends of Prainha (Amigos da Prainha) 126
- funding 33, 48, **55**, 56, 131
- game theory 167, 205
- geography 84, 85, 147, **166**
- global production networks (GPNs) 7
- GMS (Greater Mekong Subregion) 25–37
- golf 39–48
- governance
defined 4, 7, 9–10, 67, 86, 92, 100, 106, 189
 typologies 20–21, 137, **138**, **139**, 196–198
- government, local 43–44, 85–86
- Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) 25–37
- Green Globe 21 accreditation programme 114–115
- Grisons, Switzerland 139–140, 145–157
- Grupo de Protetores das Tartarugas (GPT) 128
- guidelines
 Community-based Rural Tourism 173, 183
 database development 69
 destination positioning 184
 development 141, 183–184
 ecotourism 103, 105, 110
 importance 149
 market selection 123
 stakeholder roles and responsibilities 32
 sustainable development aspects 174
see also benchmarking; recommendations
- guides 105, **108**, 109, 110–113, 114
- Hawaii 58, 59
- hierarchies 162, 197, 198
- holistic approach 188, 200
- homestay programmes 173, 175, 176, 177, 178–179
- human capacity approach 77
- Huon-Channel, Tasmania 86
- ideologies 159, 190, 196, 206, 209, 210
see also democracy; politics
- image 44–47, 84, 85, 179
see also branding
- impacts 52, **53**, 54, **59**–61, 74–75, **93**–**94**

- incentives 33, 119, 191, **192**
- income 111, 124, 125–126, 177, 181, **192**
- Index of State Weakness in the Developing World 29
- indicators 61, 75, 147, 151
- industry environment 141–142, 160, 187–200
- ineffectiveness 53, **55–56**, 113, 180, 181
- information 34, 76, 162, 165
see also communication; knowledge
- information and communication
 technology (ICT) 141–142, 199
- infrastructure problems 72, **73**
- innovation systems 163, 196, 197
- institutions 67, 86, 91, 163, 190, 208
- integration approach
 balanced scorecard 151–**152**, 153, 156, 207
 data presentation 153
 DMO role 153–**154**
 governance modes 197
 lack 161, 163
 managers role 208
 models, methods and theories **138–139**
 potential success factor 140, 150
 stakeholder role 140–141, 150, 151, 153–**154**, 164
 structure elements 190
 task sharing instrument requirement 151
see also communication; networks; stakeholder, integration
- integrity 174
- interactions 85, 123, 161
see also networks
- International Ecotourism Standard 115
- International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) 104, 105, 111
- International Whaling Commission (IWC) 104
- interventions 37
- interviews 109, 110
see also surveys
- involvement 33, 34, **36**, 37
see also participation
- issues, typologies 20–21, 51, 52, **53–61**
- issues model **139**
- iterative approach 207–208
- Jorge, Henrique 120
- jurisdictions 17–18
see also laws; legislation
- knowledge
 competitive factor 150
 flows 165
 power link 74
 role in governance 21–22, 67–78
 sharing 76
 sufficiency economy key prerequisite 174
 sustainable rural tourism factor 183
 transfer 129–130, 162, 183
see also communication; networks
- Koh Yao Noi, Phang Nga 173, 175, 176–177, 182
- laddering approach 107, 109
- Lake Macquarie, New South Wales, Australia 57, 161
- land
 classification system development 178
 ownership 130–131
 speculators 119–120
 use conflicts 52, **57**, 58–59
- Laos 29–30, 32–33, **35–36**
see also Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam
- law 19, 25–37, 56, 209
see also Acts; legislation
- leadership
 community opinion diversity 18
 expertise **206**
 indicators 147
 knowledge lack effect 75
 lack 20, 71, **72**, **73**, 74
 model 149, 150
 provision 111
 repertoire 198
 roles 2, 129, 149, 150, 198
- learning 131, 162, 174
see also communication; education; knowledge, transfer; networks
- legislation 28–29, 30, 36–37, 56, 206
see also Acts; law
- lessons 181–184

- licensing 31, 37
see also monitoring; permits;
standards
- life cycle theory 154, 180, 197, 208
- lifestyle **53, 57**, 59
see also culture
- lobbying 40, 92, 150, 156, 177
- Lohscheider, D Aloisio 120
- Mae Hong Son, Ban Huay Hee 173, 175,
177–178
- Mae Kam Pong, Chiang Mai 173, 177,
182
- Magalhaes, Antonio Salles 119–120
- management 19, 54–56, 148–149, **152**,
207–209
- managers 150, 151, 208, 210
- maps **27, 146**
- marketing 123, 129, 147–149, 174, 197
- Master Plan for Law Development to
2020 32
- means-end analysis technique 109
- measurement methods 60, 152–153
- media **76**, 94, 95, 98
- Mekong River 19, 25–28
see also Cambodia, Laos and
Vietnam; Greater Mekong
Subregion
- metagovernance 141–142, 187–200, 208
- metapolicy frameworks 159
- methodology 10, 70, 138, 204–206, 207,
208
see also concepts; themes
- Ministry of Tourism (MOT), Brazil 127
- Ministry of Tourism (MOT), Cambodia
31, **35**
- Mod Dang (Red Ant) group 179
- modularity analysis 165–166
- monitoring 33, 35, **36**, 37, 182, 184
see also scorecard, balanced;
transparency
- multipartite approach 181, 184
- Natura 2000 6
- networks
analysis methods 8, 161, 163,
164–166, 167, 206
approach 137, 139
building 183
concept 160
defined 8
described 190
design 140, 159–167
diagnosis tools 164–166
dynamics 166, 167
effectiveness 163, 190
establishment 76
fostering 156
governance mode 197, 198
links 8, 164, 205, 206
objectives 123, 129–130
self-organization 166, 188, 189, 193,
198
structure 163, 204
topology 164
typology 6, 7, **138, 155**, 162, 193,
195
see also capacity building;
cooperation; partnerships
- non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
4, 6, 7, 123, 161, 184, **192**
- Northern Territory Tourism Development
Masterplan (TDMP), Australia
161
- objectives 123, 129–130, 156, 210
- obligations 32, 33
- observation 109, 110, 113
- Offices for Provincial Tourism
Development and Promotion
(OPTDP) 180–181
- One Tambon, One Product (OTOP)
scheme 175, 185
- Open Golf Tournament 45
- organization requirements 148–149
- organizations 146, **192**, 204
see also destination management
organizations (DMOs)
- ownership 56, 130–131, 191, **192**, 194
- participation 5–7, 68, 74, 126–127, 175
see also bottom-up approach;
collaborations approach;
involvement; networks
- partnerships 87–88, 117–118, **138**,
182–183, 190–191, 197
see also collaborations approach;
cooperation

- People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) 96
- performance
 criteria 151–152
 evaluation 184, 188–189, 195–196, 207
 measures definition 152–153
 problems 197
- permits 105
- personal insight interpretative approach (PIIA) approach 107–**108**, 114
- perspectives 183, 189, 206
- Plai Pong Pang, Samut Songkram 173, 175, 178, 181
- planning
 governance approach **138**, **139**
 management task 148
 strategic 151–152, 184
 tourism effectiveness barrier **72**, **73**
- players 163, 185
see also stakeholders
- policies
 development study 161
 formulation 161
 lack **55**
 making mechanism 207
 model **138**
 network approach 160, 161–162, 163, 167
- politicians 2, 5, 9, 148, 198
- politics
 community 18
 conflicts 98
 differences 207
 lobbying 40, 92, 150, 156, 177
 order transformation 4–5
 stability 56, 95, 98, 99, 185
 systems 190
see also democracy; ideologies; politicians; protests; state
- Ponta Grossa, Brazil 129
- popularity 44–47
- populations
 change pace **57**, 59
 demographic imbalance 29
 labour force growth problems 30
 St. Andrews 40, 42, 43
- positioning **155**, 184
- power
 balances 196
 coercive 207
 decentralization 182–183
defined 73–74
 external 74, 196
 holders 193, 194
 imbalances 74, 194, 195
 key governance dimension 33, 35–**36**
 knowledge link 74
 policy networks factor 163
 shifts 74, 196–197
 tourism development role 73–75
- Prainha do Canto Verde, Brazil 88, 119–132
- pressures 20–21, 51
- private sector 19, 25, 29, 32–33, 161
- privileges loss 44, 45
see also rights
- process approach 77, 193–196
- product life cycle (PLC) 180
- profit maximization concept 179–180
- programmes 6, 32, 77, 132, 175, 177
see also homestay programmes
- Project for Recovery of Life and Culture (PRLC) 177, 182
- projects **138**, 139–140, 145–157, 192
- promotions 33, 41–42, 45, 175–176
- protests 86, 91, 95–99, 120–121
- psychology, social 5, 84
- public relations management 155–156
- quality assurance 31, 37
see also standards
- re-engineering approach 139–140, 145–157
- recommendations 104, 115, 150–156, 181
see also guidelines
- regatta 124–125, 128
see also activities; events
- regionalism approach 52–61, **71**–72, 84–85, 137–139, 140, 159–166
- regulations
 adherence motivation 105
 adverse impact prevention 177
 building 120–121
 comparisons **35**, **36**
 disregard 105, 110, 111–112
 during crises 94–95

- regulations *continued*
 effect 56
 enforcement 105
 external 107
 importance perception lack 113
see also guidelines; law; legislation
- relationships
 complexity 51–52
 examination and regulation 34
 formal and informal 193, 195
 inconsistent 115
 institutionalization 153
 interactions 205
 self-regulation 150
 system components regulation 68, 92
see also networks; trust
- Relatório Anual do Conselho de Turismo e Artesanato para o Ano 2007*, Prainha 131
- renovation policy 30
- reputation 149, 156, 192
- research 181–182, 185, 200, 203–210
- reserves 6, 26, **130**–131
- resort-based tourism **71**
- responses analysis 86, 91–100
- responsibilities 31, 85, 92, 198, 204
- Responsible Ecological Social Tours (REST) Projects 176, 182
- responsiveness 17, 84, 85, 196
- revenue 26, **28**, **93**, 98, 105
- rights 32, 33, 44, 47, 58, 175
- Rischard, J F 117
- Rugen Island, Germany 161
- rule, non-democratic 28–29
- rules **35**, 196, 204, 207, 208, 209
see also legislation; regulations
- rural tourism **71**, 175, 180, 183, 184
see also agrotourism
- St Andrews 20, 39–48
- sanctions 208, 209
- SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome) 92, **93**
- satisfaction 31, 105, 176, 193, 200, 205
- scale 8, 141
see also regionalism
- scenario planning 208
- Schärer, René 121, 123, 127, 131
- scorecard, balanced 151–**152**, 153, 156, 207
- self-assessment 181–182
- severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) 92, **93**
- simulations, numerical 165
- solutions 8, 10, 137–142
see also collaborations approach; networks; participation; partnerships; re-engineering approach
- South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) 104, 111, 113
- Spanish Coastal Zone 56
- species protection 6, 104
- stakeholder
 approach 173–185, 193
 capitalism 194
 decision-making role 126–127, 138, 193
 democratic management 3
 ethics-based dialogue 155
 identification 164
 management **155**
 theory approach 5, 194
 typology 153, **154**, 162, 165–166
see also actors; integration approach; networks
- standards
 distribution and management 115
 guiding 109, 114
 illegal practices and corruption **35**
 management 176, 205
 Ministry of Tourism role, Cambodia 31–32
 of operation 48
see also awards; best practice
- state 2–3, 4, 11, 29, 33
- strategic added value (SAV) 193
- strategies 145–146, 148, 151–152, 184, 198–200
- structure
 changes 137, **139**–140, 145–146, 156
 concerns 85
 governance 190–192
 issues 54–56
 as key governance dimension 33, 34, **36**, 37
 versus agency 206–207

- success
 - assessment tool 181–182
 - empowerment role 88, 117
 - factors 140, 145, 148, 150–157, 183
 - key 87
 - measures definition 152–153
 - model 177, 178
 - precondition 209
 - safety prerequisite 100
- sufficiency economy principle 173–174
- summative approach 203, 204
- surveys 48, **94**, 99, 118, 122, 183–184
- sustainability
 - barriers 21, 67, **73**
 - challenges 21, 67
 - concerns 68
 - emphasis 137–138
 - governance role 106–109, 113–115
 - initiatives 127
 - management 6
 - outcomes **139**
 - policy networks role 162
 - problems 131–132
 - requirements 77–78
 - stakeholder approach 173–185
- swim with humpback whale tourism
 - industry 103–115
- systems 8, 76, 163–164, 165, 190
 - see also* networks; relationships
- Tambon Administration Organizations (TAO) 180–181
 - see also* One Tambon, One Product scheme
- task sharing 146, 150, 151
- Tatajuba, Brazil 129
- teams 125–126
- technology programmes 77
- Thailand 86, 91–100, 140–141, 173–185
- Thailand Research Fund (TRF) 175–176, 182
- Thaksin Shinawatra 95–96, **97–98**, 99
- themes 52–61
 - see also* community approach; development; impact; management; structure
- theory building 69, **70**, 118, **138**, 203–204
- Tonga 103–115
- tools 138–139, **152**, 164–166, 181–182
- top-down approach 5, 106–107, 181
- Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) 98–99, 174
- Tourism Handicraft Cooperative (COOPECANTUR) 121, 123, 125, 131
- Tourism Queensland Act 1979 37
- trade policy reforms 30
- trade-offs 92, 159, 162
- training
 - delivery 129
 - guides 105
 - methods **108**, 112, 114
 - portability 111, 112
 - professional competence
 - enhancement 150
 - programmes content 114
 - regional residents 76
 - seasonal loss 111
 - standards achievement role 115
 - see also* education; learning
- transparency
 - guarantee 149
 - key governance dimension 33, 34, **35**, 37
 - monitoring tool 153
 - multi-stakeholder processes key
 - principle 196
 - see also* scorecard, balanced
- travel advice in crises situations **93**, 94, 95, 98
- trust 149, 151, 162, 192, 195, 197
 - see also* transparency
- Tsunami 7, 86, 91, 92, **93–94**, 99, 100
- Tucum network 123, 129–130
- Turtle Protection Group 128
- uncertainties 19
- understanding 75–77, 83, 84, 85, 86
- unrest 96, 98, 99
 - see also* protests
- value chain approach 194
- value model of interpretation (VMI) 109
- values
 - based framework 103–104, 107–109, 114, 115
 - capitalism principle 194
 - co-creation 197

- values *continued*
community-linked 111
conflicting 20, 87, 103, 107, 113
differing 113
gap 110
identification **108**, 109, 110, 112
mentoring effect 112, 114
see also strategic added value
- Vava'u 87, 103–115
- Vava'u Tourism Association (VTA) 105
- Vietnam 25, 28, 30, 33, **35–36**
see also Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam
- Village Residents Association Prainha do Canto Verde 120, 121
- violence 92, **93**, 94
- Waitomo Caves, New Zealand 161
- whales 87, 103–115
- whole of government approach 2–3, 28
- wildlife-based tourism **71**
- World Tourism Organization (WTO) 2020 Vision 26