

SELF-ORGANISATION IN TOURISM PLANNING:
COMPLEX DYNAMICS OF PLANNING,
POLICY-MAKING, AND TOURISM GOVERNANCE IN
SANTA ELENA, ECUADOR

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ABSTRACT

This research explores the dynamic interplay between self-organised tourism planning and formal, linear and institutionalised tourism governance structures in the Santa Elena province, Ecuador. Complexity theory provides a framework and a language to understand actor-led, non-linear, bottom-up, and highly contextualised self-organised planning efforts that can change the future of tourism destinations amidst unstable and changing tourism governance conditions.

For the purpose of this research, the tourism destination was understood as a complex socio-political system resultant from the interactions between tourism stakeholders. In the destination, the instability of the political landscape together with lack of ties among groups of social actors, and the low implementation of tourism plans provided the context in which key social actors self-organised to steer the tourism system. Critical realism, as the philosophical position and a single embedded case study as the research strategy, allowed the identification of three layers of analysis within the destination's tourism system, each one involving different but overlapping methods of data collection and interpretation. The first layer was based on semi-structured interviews to understand the intentions and interests of key tourism stakeholders in the Santa Elena province in relation to self-organisation. The second layer combined the analysis of meeting minutes and interviews to address conservative and dissipative patterns of self-organisation emerging from the interplay between (non-linear) planning interactions and actions and (linear) tourism governance structures. The third layer comprised the analysis of policy documents and a social survey to identify the tourism governance structures that enabled and constrained socio-political interactions, as well as the emergent results of self-organised planning efforts. A final interpretation reconciled the layers through the qualitative analysis of complex causation and emergence, while benefiting from the rich language complexity offers for the understanding of social dynamics.

The research findings indicate that in the absence of formal governance structures to coordinate efforts and steer the destination, self-organised tourism planning relies on multi-actor voluntary action, mutual pressure, agreed rules, personal and shared interests, information sharing, and consensus-building to act upon urgent issues in the tourism system, while maintaining and transforming institutionalised governance and planning practices. Planning in this context is a continuous socio-political

process of interacting and acting in the present, rather than a technical activity focused on achieving an idealised view of the future.

The contribution of the study lies first, in the combination of complexity theory with critical realism, a matching philosophical and methodological framework that emphasises multi-layered, contextual, and non-linear socio-political dynamics in tourism destinations. Second, it advances the understanding of the role of human agency and self-organisation in tourism planning, particularly in the context of shifting approaches from government-led tourism planning, to actor-led processes of tourism governance. Finally, it applies the idea of emergence to explore the relation between actor-led policy interactions, actions, and social change in the context of unstable tourism governance conditions.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AECI	Spanish Agency for International Cooperation
CBT	Community-Based Tourism
COMTECTURSE	Technical Tourism Committee of the Santa Elena Province
CONAM	National Council for the Modernisation of the State (1994-2007)
COOTAD	Organic Code for the Organization of the Territory, Autonomy and Decentralisation
CPR	Rural Promotion Centre
FEPTCE	Ecuadorian Multi-National Federation of Community-Based Tourism
FENACAPTUR	National Federation of Tourism Chambers of Ecuador
GAD	Decentralised Autonomous Government, or sectional government
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MINTUR	Tourism Ministry of Ecuador
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
PDOT	Santa Elena Province Development and Land-use Plan
PLANDETUR	National Plan for Tourism Sustainability
PTC	Self-organised Provincial Tourism Committee, or COMTECTURSE
PMRC	Program for the Management of Coastal Resources
PRODECOS	Program for Community-Based Ecotourism Development
SENPLADES	National Secretary for Planning and Development
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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The illustrations at the end of each chapter are Ecuadorian Prehispanic designs compiled and sketched by León Ricaurte, 1993.

DECLARATION

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed:

Dated:

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

In this section, I would like to present the rationale for the study of self-organisation in the context of tourism planning by linking my reasons for the choice of research topic with current tourism planning literature.

This research is about self-organised tourism planning. The research topic emerged from my own professional career. After obtaining my master's degree in 2001, I started work as a consultant for the Ministry of Tourism in Ecuador and various tourism NGOs, designing and applying situational analyses and methodologies for tourism plans and projects. What I have seen over the last 12 years is that tourism planning has blossomed in every level of public administration. However, it also seems that tourism plans rarely see the light of day when it comes to implementation, and many are discarded as soon as their elaboration is complete (Castro, 2004; Nobis, 2009). I realised that I wanted to investigate, not the issues affecting plan implementation, but the planning processes and frameworks themselves, since in my view, tourism planning methodologies ignore the changing conditions in which tourism is embedded, as well as the divergent perspectives for tourism development held by stakeholders in tourism destinations.

Indeed, one of the issues I have seen almost invariably in each tourism plan in Ecuador, is that the situational analyses on which policies and plans are based are often static understandings of the tourism system, that invariably lead to inflexible, cause-effect proposals incapable of coping with contingency inside the tourism system, or in the tourism environment. Living in a country where political instability, social turmoil, and uncertainty have been the norm for the last three decades (Faust & Harbers, 2012; Mejía, Freidenberg, & Pachano, 2005), I started my research process and my literature review looking for studies that addressed the gap between the assumptions of stability of mainstream tourism planning and the instability in which tourism planning processes are embedded. As will be discussed in depth in chapter two, tourism planning has been questioned for failing to acknowledge that 'tourism operates in a non-linear manner' (McKercher, 1999: 427), and that the planning process itself 'must give the destination an outline to evolve and cope with change' (Mill and Morrison, 1985: 287). Some studies have addressed socio-political instability and tourism planning, focusing on how the socio-political system in which tourism planning is embedded affects planning processes and plan implementation (e.g. Caffyn & Jobbins, 2003; Desforges, 2000; Ivars-Baidal, 2004;

Tosun & Jenkins, 1998; Tosun & Timothy, 1998). Instability has been portrayed in the literature as something to overcome in order to be able to pursue and achieve tourism-planning goals. As Tosun & Timothy (1998: 358) indicated, in an unstable macro system it is not possible to 'develop and implement a better planning approach to tourism development unless some desirable changes in this macro system take place'. In other words, while planning studies have addressed the unstable socio-political context in which planning processes take place, less attention has been paid to how tourism planning processes themselves could deal with these unstable socio-political contexts. This is the first gap in knowledge this research aims to address.

The other issue this research is concerned with is the role of agency in tourism planning. Participatory tourism-planning frameworks in Ecuador have been criticised for ignoring stakeholders' interests and perceptions, as well as for excluding groups such as women and indigenous people (Alvarez, 2001; Ordóñez & Marco, 2005). Social analysis in tourism plans has focused on the population for the impact of tourism on employment, rather than on the active participation of members of society in making decisions and acting upon their future (Ordóñez & Marco, 2005). In tourism planning literature, participative planning has been questioned for limiting participation to consultation and validation stages, and for homogenising stakeholders' views (Bramwell & Sharman, 2000; Timothy, 2007; Tosun, 2000). It has also been questioned how agency, divergent points of view, political interests, and values have been understood in traditional planning frameworks as issues planning processes need to control, rather than embrace and acknowledge (Healey, 1992; Innes & Booher, 2010). Nevertheless, emergent tourism planning literature is focusing on collaboration, communication, and network approaches concerned with multi-actor spaces where divergent interests and points of view are taken into account (e.g. Baggio & Cooper, 2010; Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Dredge, 2006; Getz & Jamal, 1994; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Medeiros de Araujo & Bramwell, 1999).

While some of these new approaches have reproduced prescriptive analysis, technical rationality, political and ideological-free frameworks, and overarching solutions, other studies have actively sought to overcome linear and prescriptive planning approaches by embracing plural understandings in planning processes, together with issues of ideology, politics, democracy, consensus-building, information-sharing and power imbalances (Dredge, Jenkins, & Whitford, 2011; Wesley & Pforr, 2010). For Dredge, Jenkins and Whitford (2011), planning

knowledge needs to move away from universal explanations towards interpretive and social constructionist understandings of how planning actually happens. I situate my own research among the emergent understandings of tourism planning that rely on philosophies of knowledge that reject prediction, prescription and universality. I also embrace diversity, divergent interests, and conflict in the communication and interactions between social actors in planning processes. However, at the same time I move beyond the interpretive layer of communication and discourse of social constructionist views, by adopting a critical realist position to understand actor-driven planning as a mechanism for socio-political structural change.

While there is plenty of tourism literature addressing structural governance arrangements in tourism destinations as indicated above, there is a gap in tourism research on the relation between actor-led planning and socio-political structural change. I concur with Bramwell and Meyer (2007) when they acknowledge that a relational approach that recognises the dialectical interplay between agency and structure is needed in tourism policy analysis. I also agree with Stevenson, Airey and Miller (2009) that complexity theory could offer a framework to address the instability and disorder that arise from human agency in policy processes, while at the same time investigating policy-making in the changing context in which it is embedded. Empirical research that applies complexity frameworks for planning, policy and governance can be found in the broader literature (e.g. Byrne, 2003; Haynes, 2003, 2008; Healey, 2007; Hillier, 2000; Innes & Booher, 2010; Innes & Booher, 1999; Teisman, van Buuren, & Gerrits, 2009), however in tourism the application of complexity to investigate these areas has been scarce (e.g. Baggio, Scott, & Cooper, 2010; Bramwell & Pomfret, 2007; McDonald, 2009; Stevenson, 2013; Zahra & Ryan, 2007). As such, my research deals with self-organised tourism planning from a complexity theory approach, which allows the understanding of both the changing socio-political structures in which planning processes are embedded, and the emergent outcomes of actor-led, self-organised planning efforts.

1.2. RESEARCH AIMS

The previous section focused on how my own interests and experiences in planning practice led me to identify three gaps in tourism planning research. These gaps are the possible contribution of actor-led planning to deal with unstable and changing socio political conditions, the role of agency and self-organised planning as

instruments for socio-political change, and the relation between actor-led planning and emergent structural conditions in tourism destinations. Structural conditions, that is, the changing socio-political context in which planning is embedded, are analysed through the concept of governance. Governance is thus understood as the context and outcome of actor-led, self-organised planning efforts. Additionally, the understanding of the dialectical interplay between agency and structure in tourism planning processes is underpinned by complexity theory and critical realism. These positions have been articulated in an embedded or multi-layered case study that focuses on the relation between actor-led, self-organised and informal planning efforts, and tourism governance structures in the Santa Elena province, Ecuador.

The first aim of my research is to identify the changing structural conditions of governance that allowed the emergence of self-organised planning in the Santa Elena province. The analysis of structural conditions will focus on socio-political relations between stakeholders and institutionalised rules and practices of tourism governance. The second aim arises from the assumption that actor-led planning both maintains and challenges institutionalised tourism planning efforts and hierarchical governance conditions. The aim is thus to understand and characterise actor-led, non-linear, and self-organised planning interactions, as well as their dynamic interplay with linear and institutionalised planning practices and governance structures in the tourism destination. Finally, the third aim is to explore the usefulness of complexity theory in understanding how self-organised tourism planning can lead to governance structural change.

This research contributes to the emergent and non-linear discourses in tourism planning that seek to understand planning processes rather than prescribe planning models (Dredge et al., 2011). By overcoming the understanding of social actors as passive receptors of policy, and by focusing on the transformative character of human interactions and actions, this research also seeks to give self-organised, informal, and non-linear forms of planning a space in tourism planning literature. Finally, I would like to contribute to current literature in which formal multi-actor arrangements to steer destinations are questioned for issues related to legitimacy, democracy, inclusiveness, power imbalances in decision-making, and answerability, by addressing the same issues in informal, self-organised planning dynamics.

1.3. VOICE

I have adopted a critical realist position in my case study. Critical realism assumes realist ontology and relativist epistemology. In other words, my case study is my interpretation as a researcher of other people's interpretations of social events and social structures that I assume as real. The main event I am concerned with, that is, self-organisation in tourism planning, serves as a medium to interpret deeper reality, related with transformations in governance structures in the tourism destination. However, the only means to identify underlying social structures are through subjective interpretations of the social actors involved, and indeed, my own interpretations. In this research, I have been torn between assuming the active voice of an interpreter, or the passive voice of traditional realist accounts. I will use the first person and the active voice to highlight my interpretations and the third person to highlight other people's interpretations. As such, the introductory chapter, as well as the methodology and conclusions appear mainly in the first person, while the literature review and results chapters will remain in the third person, the aim being to avoid an authoritarian intrusion (Robson, 2011: 500) on the voices of others, and by others, I refer to both the participants and the academics from which my literature is drawn. Nevertheless, as Boterrill (2007: 128) indicated, the assumption of a 'multiple voiced epistemology' should not be confused with the assumption of relativist ontology.

1.4. CHAPTER DESCRIPTION

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. This first chapter sets the context and aims of the study, highlighting research gaps in relation to self-organised tourism planning. The second chapter portrays three tourism planning traditions by placing tourism planning knowledge at the intersection between broader planning theories, shifting philosophies of social knowledge, and challenges in the tourism field. The chapter argues that the first tradition in tourism planning is linear and planning is the technical, value-free and top-down activity aiming to reach a predictable future. In the second tradition, planning knowledge is destabilised and challenged by emerging philosophies of social knowledge, including critical thought, postmodernism and interpretivism, which question the rationality of planning processes, relations of power between decision-makers and citizens, multiple worldviews, and the participation of traditionally excluded groups. In the third still-developing tradition, tourism planning is a non-linear socio-political process in which

the future is actively shaped through communication, interrelations and social interaction. While tourism planning has incorporated some of the criticisms that emerged and continue to arise from the instability period, and non-linear approaches are also arising in the literature, linear, predictive, and technical approaches continue to be considered mainstream knowledge in planning research and practice (Dredge and Jenkins, 2011). Moreover, while linear approaches are still strong in tourism planning literature and practice, these coexist in the social world with non-linear planning dynamics that often remain unacknowledged (Innes & Booher, 2010; Hirt, 2002; Hillier, 2010). The chapter argues that by gaining insight into how linear and non-linear planning traditions coexist, it is possible to understand processes of socio-political change in tourism destinations.

In chapter three, I maintain that complexity theory supports the understanding of, first, how self-organised, non-linear, and actor-led tourism planning both challenges and maintains linear and institutionalised planning practices and governance structures in tourism destinations; and second, how this interplay can transform the future of socio-political tourism systems. In order to do so, and drawing from the works of Reed and Harvey (Harvey, 2009; Harvey & Reed, 1997; Reed & Harvey, 1992) and Byrne (1998, 2001, 2002, 2005), the chapter explores how the ideas of instability, self-organisation, and emergence from complexity theory can be combined with Archer's (1995, 2000, 2003) critical realist understanding of society. The resultant theoretical framework, *complex realism* is useful in understanding the coexistence between the social stasis associated with *conservative self-organisation*, and social change associated with *dissipative self-organisation* (Buijs, Van der Bol, Teisman, & Byrne, 2009). It is maintained that both kinds of dynamics coexist in social complex systems.

Chapter four links complex realism with the field of study. Governance is put forward as the concept that allows the understanding of the socio-political structures in which tourism-planning processes take place, as well as the emergent outcomes of planning dynamics on a socio-political level. Following Kooiman's (2003) interactive and systemic approach to governance, linear planning is related to conservative self-organisation and hierarchical governance. On the other hand, non-linear planning is associated with dissipative self-organisation and self-organised governance. At the very core of these apparently conflicting dynamics, actors' interactions are placed. Interactions between stakeholders reinforce and undermine socio-political action through cooperation and competition. Roles, values, political

ideologies, knowledge, perceptions, and interests are continuously negotiated, realigned and reassessed in these exchanges. Finally, a conceptual framework is proposed to understand the relation between actor-led tourism planning and tourism governance within a complexity approach.

The fifth chapter starts by discussing the issue of finding a philosophical position for the study, by reflecting upon different approaches to research complexity. Critical realism is discussed again in this chapter, by focusing on its epistemological and ontological assumptions, and the methodological implications of studying a multi-layered social reality that emphasises agency, structure and their dialectic and dynamic relation. In other words, the first part of the chapter addresses the research design by contemplating how critical realism as a philosophical stance, and an embedded or multi-layered case study as a methodological strategy, can inform the study of social complex systems. The second part of the research design links the theory and the methods of inquiry with the social world. Three levels of analysis are identified. The first is an agency-related level of socio-political interactions. The second is focused on the dialectical relation between agency and governance structures through the concept of self-organisation. A third, structural level of governance is understood as both context and emergence for self-organised planning dynamics. Then, the research design focuses on choices about the location of the study, boundaries, and methods of data collection and analysis that can identify the relation between the individual and the social in the context of structural change. Finally, criteria to link data and theory, as well as judging the quality of the research process are discussed.

Chapter six identifies the structural conditions of tourism planning and governance that allowed the emergence of self-organised, agency-related planning interactions and dynamics in the Santa Elena province. Drawing from the analysis of documents such as regulations, reports, and plans, together with interviews and a social survey, two structural dimensions are analysed. The analysis of the relational dimension of tourism governance, or governance-as-relations, focuses on the identification of social actors and networks in the tourism system together with issues such as patterns of collaboration, legitimacy of actors, and their own perceptions about their roles in destination governance. The second dimension is institutional, concerned with governance-as-rules, which include established institutional practices and changes in national, provincial and local tourism governance ideologies, regulations, and their relation with enduring governance and planning practices at the local level,

including structural conditions for tourism planning and plan implementation. The chapter portrays a landscape of tourism governance and institutionalised planning practices characterised by instability, poor accountability, top-down policies, and legal ambiguities that are reinforced by a lack of cooperative efforts and communication between different groups of tourism stakeholders.

Chapter seven focuses on socio-political agency as its relation with structural change. The chapter is divided in three main parts that correspond to the three levels of analysis of the study. The first part links the structural conditions identified in the previous chapter with perceived uncertainty among social actors about the future of the tourism destination. Then, socio-political interactions between members of the self-organised group are explored in relation to interests and structural constraints, and how both are manifested in mutually reinforcing and inhibiting feedback between social actors. The second level of analysis explores how interactions between the group and the socio-political context give rise to conservative and dissipative dynamics of self-organisation associated with the reproduction and transformation of existing governance structures. The chapter finishes by identifying the emergent governance conditions in the tourism system of the Santa Elena province.

Chapter eight combines the findings of the two previous chapters by integrating the framework for the study of tourism planning and governance discussed in chapter 4 with the social transformative cycle (Archer, 1995, 2003) discussed in chapter 3. The discussion of the findings is made in relation to current literature in tourism planning and governance. Then, the contribution to knowledge is discussed in terms of theory, methodology and planning practice, together with the implications and recommendations for policy. Finally, the concluding chapter focuses on reflecting about limitations of the study, future research and my own development as a researcher during the PhD. process.



CHAPTER 2. THE FUTURE IN TOURISM PLANNING
KNOWLEDGE: BETWEEN LINEAR AND NON-LINEAR
APPROACHES

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter draws on the ideas of linearity and non-linearity from complexity theory in order to differentiate traditional positivist planning from the approaches that emerged after the challenges posed by postmodernist, interpretive and critical social thought in recent decades. In order to do so, tourism planning is understood as an area of knowledge at the intersection between broader planning theories, shifting philosophies of social knowledge, and challenges within tourism research. The chapter is divided into five main sections. The first section broadly reviews how different scholars have understood planning as a field of study. It will be noted that by examining the idea of future in planning concepts, it is possible to identify the different epistemological underpinnings that have informed planning theory. Then, using complexity as a loose metaphor, three tourism-planning traditions are identified. Finally, the three tourism-planning traditions are portrayed in relation to changes in wider planning theory and philosophies of knowledge. The first tradition is linear and the future is achievable. The second tradition is unstable and the future is unknown, while the third tradition is non-linear and the future is actively shaped through communication, interrelations and social interaction.

2.2. PLANNING AS A SUBJECT OF STUDY

According to Friedmann (1987), modern planning knowledge could be traced back to Comte and Saint Simon who advocated the role of science working at humanity's service. Planning flourished at the intersection between technical reason, social rationality and ideals of democracy, and it was linked 'with the notion of man perpetually shaping this world, including the guidance of his own development' (Faludi, 1973: 42). Planning theory was born at a moment when humankind trusted reason as a powerful tool able to grasp natural and social phenomena (Friedmann, 1987), while the economic progress of industrialisation permitted scholarly thought about how societies sharing a common time and space should manage their collective matters and reflect upon their future (Hillier & Healey, 2008).

Planning is indeed about the future, which can be imagined, predicted, controlled, or constructed through interactions and dialogues. It has been said that planning is the design of a desirable future (Ackoff, 1979); 'the making of an orderly sequence of action that will lead to the achievement of a stated goal or goals' (Hall & Tewdwr-

Jones 2011: 3); or the cyclic process of foreseeing, guiding, and controlling the future of evolving systems (McLoughlin, 1969). For Friedmann (1987: 250 emphasis in the original), planning is an activity 'in which knowledge is joined to action *in the course of social transformation*'; while for Yiftachel (1998: 399) it can also 'control, contain, oppress and marginalise elements' in order to maintain prevailing social orders. Planning can involve dreaming about alternate futures and the practice of actively shaping these futures in the present (Hillier & Healey, 2010), or can be understood as a process in which planners write persuasive texts about the future 'that other people read (construct and interpret) in diverse and often conflicting ways' (Throgmorton, 1992: 17).

Ideological, philosophical, epistemological, and political underpinnings shape the many ways in which planning is understood as a field of knowledge and as practice. Among the diverse definitions above, it is possible to identify scholars that understand planning as the linear and *technical* process connecting current means with future ends, and those who believe that planning is a rather messy, non-linear, and unpredictable *social* process oriented to building a common, better future. Also, some concepts focus on planning as an activity for social transformation, whereas others emphasise planning efforts to maintain social order and control. Finally, it is possible to distinguish planning concepts in which the future is predictable from those that assume that the future is unpredictable and is being constructed now. These three dimensions, linearity and non-linearity, social transformation and social control, and the possibility or not to predict the future are considered key issues in understanding the diverse planning approaches that can be found in the literature.

Chettiparamb (2006: 72) pointed out that 'within planning, the activity of theory building itself draws on two sources – first, the empirical domain of planning practice and second, theoretical advances in planning-related disciplines'. As a social activity concerned with societal issues, theorisation about planning practice comes from meta-level theories (Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000), especially different social sciences from which planning is more likely to borrow (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003; Friedmann, 2003; Healey, 1997). As planning theory draws from different fields including public policy, urban studies, business and management, economics, operations research and environmental studies, it has been said that there is no such thing as intrinsic planning knowledge (Friedmann, 2003). Planning studies thus lie on blurred boundaries between different bodies of knowledge, and appear 'to overlap with theory in all the social science disciplines' (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003:

2). As a result, there is no consensus about what planning means (Hall, 1999) or the key issues that a general theory of planning should include (Friedmann, 1998). What is still in force is the 'enduring tension within planning thought between a focus on the planning process and an emphasis on desirable outcomes' (Fainstein, 2000: 174) or what Faludi (1973) identified as the difference between the theory *in* planning and the theory *of* planning. The former is *substantive* and focuses on the issues with which planning is concerned, and the latter is *procedural* and is related to the planning process. This difference represents two different kinds of problems for planning theorisation:

The field of planning is divided among those who define it according to its object (land use patterns of the built and natural environments) and those who do so by its method (the process of decision making). The result is two largely separate sets of theoretical questions and priorities that undermine a singular definition of planning (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003: 2).

Apart from substantive and procedural distinctions in planning theory, Campbell and Fainstein (2003) have argued that other key issues in understanding planning approaches are related to questions about the public interest, social justice, and the justification for planning interventions. Other related issues are the values and ethical dilemmas of planning practice, the role of the planner, as well as the role planning itself in maintaining or challenging the social order. Not only is the understanding of traditional issues in planning theory changing, but also 'new' concerns are constantly emerging such as socio-political instability (Hillier & Healey, 2010), multiculturalism, feminism (Sandercock, 1998), the role of public planning in a market economy (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003) along with emergent relational understandings of space and social interaction (Graham & Healey, 1999), meaning that the frontiers of planning thought are in constant expansion and evolution.

The contributions from different fields of social knowledge, in conjunction with the diversity of problems found in practice, give planning theorisation an exceptional richness that, in turn, permeates the different planning specialisations, including tourism planning.

2.3. TRADITIONS IN TOURISM PLANNING KNOWLEDGE

According to Dredge, Jenkins and Whitford (2011), accounts related to the historical development of tourism planning are rare. A review of the literature reveals that different viewpoints have been applied to this task. For some authors, evolving tourism planning understandings have echoed shifting development, economic and political ideologies mainly in western countries (Burns, 1999, 2004; Hall & Page, 2005; Hall, 2008; Pearce, 1981; Scott, 2011; Telfer, 2002; Tosun & Jenkins, 1998). From a substantive point of view, Hall and Page (2005) identified five traditions of tourism planning (boosterism, economic, physical/spatial, community and sustainable) that reflect the main issues and goals pervading tourism planning from the advent of industrialised mass tourism at the end of the 19th century, to the inclusion of the ideas of sustainability at the end of the twentieth century (Hall, 2008: 51). A different procedural approach is the early account of Getz (1986) who reviewed tourism planning models in terms of how they improved the planning process. While the accounts above highlighted the themes and specificities that are particular to tourism planning as an isolated field of study, the accounts of Dredge and Jenkins (2007), and Costa (2001) interpreted tourism planning evolution within wider planning and social theories, focusing on the shifts in social thought that have had repercussions on tourism planning research. These interpretations are related to challenges to traditional, positivist and modernist views about tourism planning that were championed by critical and postmodernist theories during the second half of the twentieth century.

Drawing from complexity theory, I argue in this chapter that one of the main (and unexplored) contributions that postmodernism, interpretivism, and critical thinking have made to tourism planning, is the understanding of future and how the future can be changed. Indeed, the chapter explores non-linear, informal, unpredictable, planning based on communication, interaction, and agency as an instrument for socio-political change in relation to linear, top-down cause-effect and prescriptive planning approaches focused on maintaining the social order. I also recognise that while these dichotomies and distinctions are useful in improving our understanding of contrasting planning approaches, they are closely intertwined in the social world. Using complexity theory as a loose metaphor, and following the ideas of Darbellay and Stock (2012), in which tourism as an object of scientific inquiry is considered a complex system, tourism planning will be understood as a complex, self-organised system in constant transformation. Internal instabilities, such as advances in the

scope of tourism academia and developments in tourism planning practice, along with external perturbations such as changing ideological, philosophical, epistemological and political underpinnings in wider planning and social theory, continuously shake and transform tourism planning thinking, leading to emergent understandings of the issues and processes with which tourism planning is concerned.

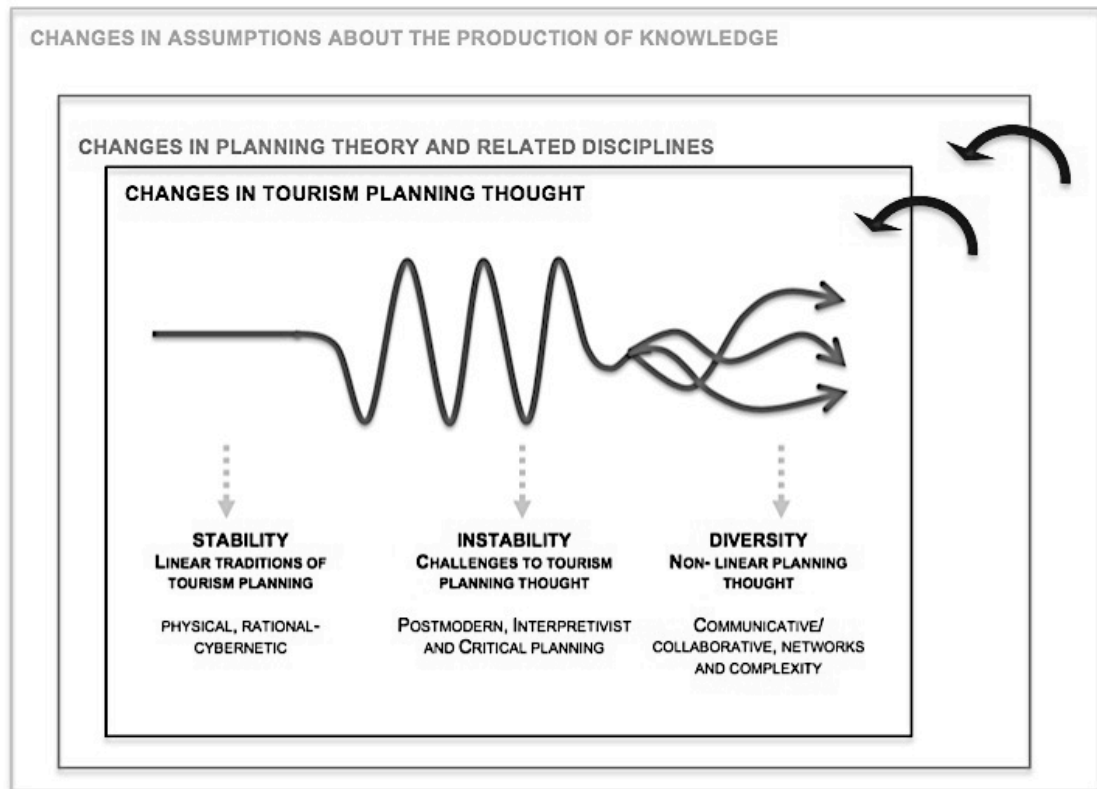


FIGURE 2.1. Traditions in tourism planning. Source: author.

Allmendinger (2002), Hillier and Healey (2010), and Innes and Booher (2010), have used the idea of non-linear planning in order to differentiate emergent planning understandings from previous linear ones. Following their ideas, it is maintained that three evolutionary traditions of planning and tourism planning thought can be identified (figure 2.1). The first tradition is characterised by linear approaches of planning theorisation, in which the future is perceived as a consequence of the planning process. In this tradition, two main approaches are going to be described: physical and rational/cybernetic planning. The second tradition brings instability through emergent understandings of the social world based on postmodernism, critical theories, and interpretive viewpoints. The instability of multiple understandings shakes the linear foundations in planning theory and opens the

possibility of multiple futures. The third tradition is characterised by diversity in planning thought in which the non-linearity and multiplicity of the communicative/collaborative, networks and complexity approaches are added to previous approaches and critical positions. These approaches assume that the future is not defined, but being sought through communication, interrelation and non-linear social interaction. Yet, as Dredge and Jenkins (2011) pointed out, an account of the evolution of tourism planning thought should not be considered a linear account related to paradigm shifts in which old approaches have been discarded to give space to new ideas. In tourism planning, 'there are seminal texts from a positivist tradition that sit alongside current offerings and continue to make important contributions to the field' (Dredge & Jenkins, 2011: 14). The understanding of how linear and non-linear tourism planning coexist in practice is precisely one of the aims of this research.

2.4. STABILITY IN PLANNING THEORY: THE LINEAR TRADITIONS

Two linear traditions are identified in planning thinking: the physical approach related to place and space and the rational/cybernetic one, mainly concerned with the planning process. Though different, both represent a modernist standpoint in which the world is predictable and perfectible through reason. In these approaches it is assumed that the design of detailed, comprehensive plans would undoubtedly lead to the desired future. Therefore, their linearity lies in a cause-effect assumption of the planning activity, where the intention to plan leads to action, and subsequently, to the desired outcome (Healey, 2007).

2.4.1 THE PHYSICAL APPROACH

Early modern planning was concerned with solving the economic, social and logistical issues evident in cities as a consequence of industrialisation and increasing processes of urbanisation (Healey, 1997). As a result, the latter decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the birth of the modern planning movement that would characterise a good part of the twentieth century (Hall, 2002; Taylor, 1999). Efforts to solve issues in the cities, including criminality, promiscuity, unemployment, transportation, housing and health problems resulting from overcrowding (Costa, 2001; Hall, 2002), were aimed at improving the physical environment-based utopic images about what cities and regions should be like (Healey, 1997). The aim was to make modern life more comfortable through promoting and providing space for

economic activities while improving the living conditions for the urban population. Cities and regions were imagined in an idealised world in which 'political and economic goals had already been achieved' (Fishman, 2003: 23). Planners thus considered themselves 'artists' (Taylor, 1999) and 'prophets' (Costa, 2001) with the mission to imagine an imminent better future given the era of human rationality, progress and economic growth in which they were living.

Reformist thinkers and public administrations continued to apply some of these physical ideas after the Second World War (Taylor, 1999). In Britain, for example, the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 aimed to reconstruct urban spaces and the spirit of their inhabitants through a land-use planning system that would shape the developments of cities, towns and villages, in a period called the Blueprint Era (Hall, 2002). While still revealing 'a strong level of rigidity and utopia' (Costa, 1996: 32), the Blueprint Era involved a closer study of reality, settlement patterns and the economic environment, through the application of Geddes' (1854-1932) model of *survey-analysis-plan*, a seminal planning sequence that would influence the forthcoming *cybernetic* planning model (Hall & Tewdwr-Jones, 2011). Blueprint plans however, were difficult to apply, precisely for being idealistic and because implementation was not yet part of planning thought (Costa, 1996). Also, economic and social issues were still subdued to physical designs and blueprints, where practical details about how to achieve these plans were often ignored, as were the contingencies of the 'changing forces of the outside world' (Hall & Tewdwr-Jones, 2011: 53). Costa (2001: 426) describes this approach as 'physical determinism' in which a fixed end-state solution in the future was proposed to solve the societal problems of the urban and regional areas (Faludi, 1973).

Regarding tourism, some authors affirm that the roots of tourism planning practice can be traced back to the Industrial Revolution and the advent of industrialised mass tourism (Costa, 2001; Hall, 2008), yet it is not until the late 1950s and 1960s that the blueprint approach influenced tourism activity in western countries (Baud-Bovy, 1982; Burns, 1999). After the Second World War, public planning in developed countries was entirely focused on post-war reconstruction, with attempts at improving transport systems and the aesthetics of cities and the countryside, some of which started to be considered leisure spaces and tourism destinations (Costa, 2001). However, these public efforts were part of the existing urban and regional planning designs, meaning that there was no public planning aimed

exclusively at tourism (Burns, 1999; Costa, 2001). Early tourism development plans were instead business-led physical plans 'associated with a particular project or facility' (Murphy, 1985: 159) and oriented to fulfilling a demand for activities of leisure and tourism that depended upon the high productivity of industrial society (Harkin, 1995). As Harkin (1995: 651) noted, leisure involved 'not merely the distinction between work and rest, but between production and consumption', and tourism planning emerged with a strong economic rationale. Formulated by architects, tourism plans would follow a blueprint approach, concerned more with physical designs than with the practicalities of implementation (Burns, 1999). As Baud-Bovy (1982: 310) indicated:

In the late 1950s, the first tourism development plans were mostly concerned with physical planning: the resources were carefully analysed and later combined with a summary market survey to produce an attractive image of future tourism development, defining the necessary infrastructures and pointing out favourable locations for the various facilities required.

As mass-tourism grew and tourism started to be recognised for its economic contribution (Baud-Bovy, 1982; Hall, 2008; King & Pearlman, 2009), the absence of public sector planning and regulations for tourism left the development of resorts, theme-parks and urban facilities in the hands of entrepreneurs interested in short-term profit (figure 2.2.). As a consequence, the first tourism physical plans ignored 'the long-term impact of tourism on the physical and social environment and the long-term survival of the economic structure of the destination areas' (Costa, 2001: 429). The absence of public tourism planning was not solely a characteristic of the developed world. With the emergence of commercial flights, developing countries also became tourism destinations. Nevertheless, tourism remained largely an unplanned activity with only scarce attempts at regulation in tourist-receiving countries or no tourism planning at all (Burns, 1999; Getz, 1986; Tosun & Jenkins, 1998).

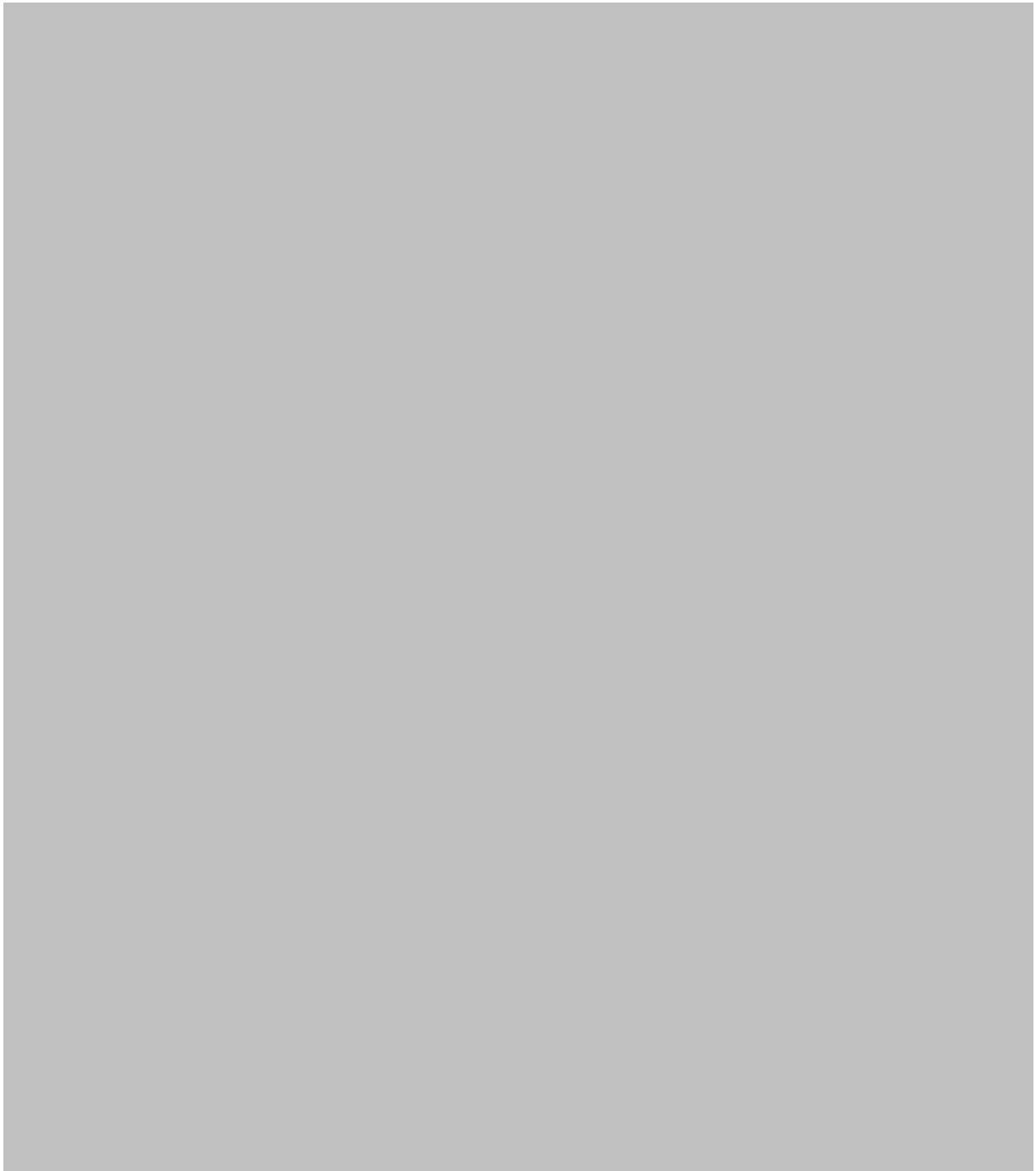


FIGURE 2.2. Blueprint for the Theme Park and Hotel Area – Disneyland, Paris. Source Baud-Bovy and Lawson (1998: 136).

2.4.2 THE RATIONAL/CYBERNETIC APPROACH

By the second half of the twentieth century, it was evident that while physical planning could certainly deal with some problems in cities (such as housing and transportation), it was also increasingly concerned with broader social and economical implications (Faludi, 1973). Simultaneously, advances in other disciplines and new theories were permeating planning thought, including Wiener's (1950) work on electronic communication and systems control, Bertalanffy's (1950)

biology-based general systems theory that emphasised a holistic and comprehensive worldview, and Simon's writings about rational choice (1955) and administrative behaviour (1950). As a result, during the 1960s planning theory started to understand some aspects of reality as systems composed of many interrelated elements that could be controlled through rational decision-making. This systemic, comprehensive and rational approach gave planning a theoretical basis from which to understand the diverse nature of the components of reality that needed to be planned (Camhis, 1979).

McLoughlin (1969), championed the systemic approach for urban planning by understanding human settlements as systems. He argued for a comprehensive understanding of human activities, based on the identification of their interdependence with other systems of similar or different nature, as well as the environment in which they were embedded (McLoughlin, 1969; McLoughlin & Webster, 1970). Also from a systemic framework, and drawing on Simon's (1955) model of rational choice, Faludi (1973) later dismissed the diversity of issues that planning had to deal with, arguing that all of them could ultimately be tackled by a single activity, which was planning in its pure sense. In other words, the failure to deal with the diverse problems that emerged from human activity was not a matter of understanding the problems or the phenomena themselves, but a matter of improving the planning and decision-making process. Faludi was not moving away from the systemic thought of McLoughlin. In fact, his was merely a deeper understanding of systems theory, a framework aimed at studying any kinds of system independently of the situation in the real world from which they are abstracted (Bertalanffy, 1968; Wiener, 1965). While the McLoughlin approach was substantive and focused on the understanding of the different issues planning has to deal with, Faludi's approach was focused on improving the planning process.

Rational/ cybernetic planning was concerned with applying technical rationality to decision-making about the future (Camhis, 1979). The matter of planning was conceived as a system formed by interrelated lower order systems and surrounded by an environment or super-system (McLoughlin & Webster, 1970). The environment was a feedback mechanism that helped to control the system, and was also the source of perturbances that could alter its behaviour. The rational/ cybernetic approach in consequence, dealt with problem identification and choice of the most effective strategy to control the natural and social world in order to maintain its state of equilibrium. To achieve that, Faludi (1973) proposed two

systems: one controls (the active system) and the other is controlled (the passive system) (McLoughlin & Webster, 1970). Planning from this point of view, is a continuous process focused on choosing the best rational solution to control reality rather than understanding it (Hall, 2002; Taylor, 1999).

Planning thought thus evolved from a single physical advice about the future to a technical process of continuous decision-making (Faludi, 1973). The planner was no longer merely a designer but an expert, a scientific analyst and a rational decision-maker (Dredge et al., 2011; Hall, 2002; Taylor, 1999). In the cybernetic approach, the planner scans the environment and anticipates the future through the collection and analysis of information, then the means to achieve the best possible scenario are chosen (Hall, 2002) and adjusted according to strategic information and feedback (Faludi, 1973). Instead of perceiving goals as a single state in the future (as in the physical approach), they were perceived as continuous outputs of the controlled system that needed to be monitored and adjusted by the controlling system, that is, the experts in the public sector (Dredge et al., 2011; Hall, 2002; McLoughlin & Webster, 1970). This approach was considered a complement to, rather than a replacement for, the physical approach, especially in practice (Fainstein, 2000; Hall, 2002). As Fainstein (2000: 453) argued, both 'the rational model and the physical master plan were the dominant, late twentieth-century modes of planning practice throughout the world'. Both approaches assumed that the object to be planned was passive, that the political system was separated from the planning activity, that optimal solutions could be found through technical rationality, and that the appropriate means could achieve the stated goals in a linear, top-down, cause-effect manner.

The first references of the rational/ cybernetic approach in tourism planning appeared in the literature at the end of the 1970s (e.g. Baud-Bovy & Lawson, 1977; Leiper, 1979). Its arrival can be related to the maturity and wide acceptance of the rational/ cybernetic approach in general planning thought (Baud-Bovy, 1982), and to the ecological movement of the same decade, which promoted the inclusion of social and environmental matters in economic activities (Sharpley, 2000). In consequence, social and environmental concerns were added to a tourism planning rationale that had previously been inherently physical and economic (De Kadt, 1979; Inskip, 1991; King & Pearlman, 2009). A tourism planning approach that could encompass all these issues in a comprehensive and rational way seemed to be the solution, as explained by Baud-Bovy (1982: 310, emphasis in the original):

[...] the relative failure of the previous planning approaches which neglected too many of the factors influencing the development of tourism; the recognition of the complexity of the tourism sector; and the growing popularity of systems analysis has led automatically to apply *systems analysis* to tourism planning.

Drawing from different aspects of rational/ cybernetic planning, some authors proposed substantive models to understand tourism as the object of planning (Boullón, 1985; Gunn, 1997; Laws, 1991; Leiper, 1979; Mill & Morrison, 2002; Molina, 1991), while others focused on the planning process (Baud-Bovy & Lawson, 1977; Getz, 1986). Substantive models were *comprehensive*, that is, they comprised the understanding of each one of the components of the tourism system such as tourist attractions, tourism services, infrastructure provision, transportation networks and demand, which had to be coordinated in a coherent manner by the public sector (Gunn, 1997; Laws, 1991; Tosun & Jenkins, 1998). Also called 'whole system models', substantive frameworks complemented the earlier physical approach and were applied through *master plans*¹ oriented to aiding national and regional public administrations in coordinating the different segments of the tourism industry and guide tourism development through land-use recommendations. Goals in tourism master planning were still defined as an end-state that had to be reached within a period, after which a new plan should be developed (Williams, 1998: 128). As Burns demonstrated (2010: 195), master plans 'became embedded in the approach of consultant tourism planners, a mind-set that lasted well into the late twentieth century'. According to Osorio (2006), in Latin American countries the first tourism master plans were developed in the 1970s and 1980s with funding provided by the World Bank and the Inter American Development Bank. These efforts had strong physical and economic underpinnings and were aimed at promoting development in territories through comprehensive analysis of natural and cultural resources.

On the procedural side, Baud-Bovy and Lawson's (1977) model for the Product Analysis Sequence for Outdoor Leisure Planning (PASOLP) and Getz's (1986) Integrative Systems Model of Tourism Theory and Planning, illustrate the use of procedural, rational/cybernetic models in tourism. The PASOLP model follows a progressive process that includes surveys and analysis, the definition of tourist

¹ It is important to point out that there is no agreement of what a tourism master plan is. While Williams (1998), associated tourism master plans with the physical approach as opposed to the systemic

products, recommendations about priorities, the preparation of the physical master plan and implementation. Furthermore, the model includes a separated monitoring system in order to evaluate the deviations between the intended goals and the actual outputs, as well to analyse the endogenous or exogenous causes of these deviations (figure 2.3). The achievement of Baud-Bovy & Lawson (1977) and Getz's (1986) models lay in the incorporation of a feedback system to monitor planning outputs and the socio-economic and natural side-effects of tourism (Baud-Bovy & Lawson, 1998; Murphy, 1985). The continuous process of monitoring tourism planning outputs was understood by Murphy (1985: 163 emphasis added) as an effort to reduce the gap between planning and implementation and 'a move to expand the planning concept to incorporate *management*'.

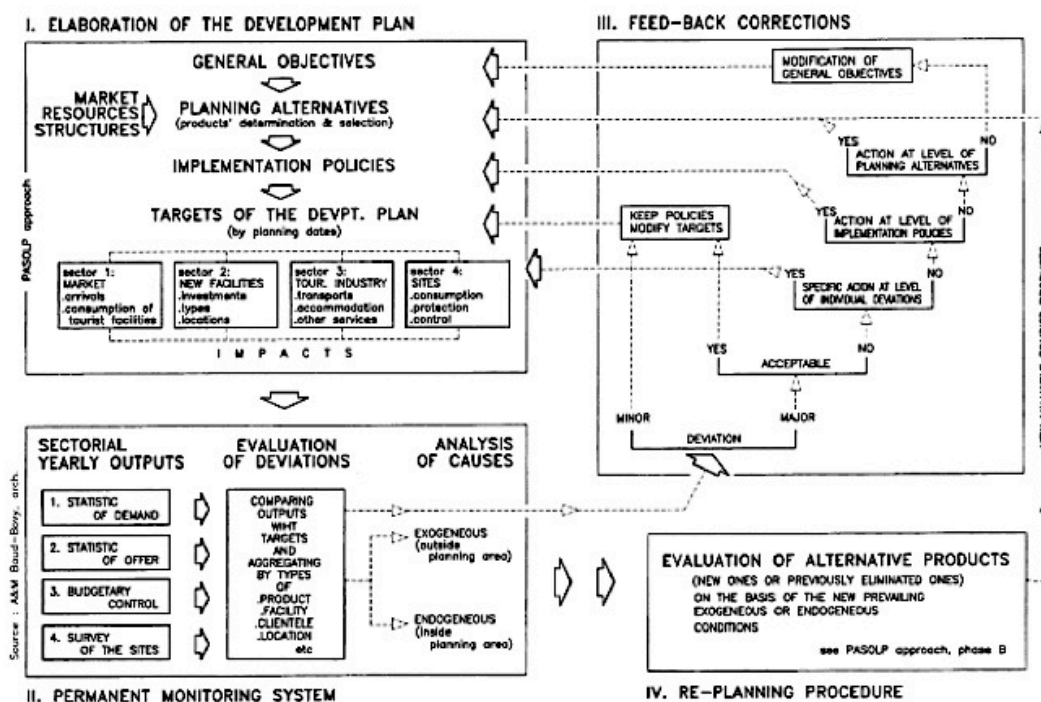


FIGURE 2.3. Product Analysis Sequence for Outdoor Leisure Procedure - Permanent monitoring system (PASOLP). Source: Baud-Bovy and Lawson (1998: 175).

By focusing on combining economic, social, and environmental issues, and pursuing a planning process that could be 'globally applicable' (King & Pearlman, 2009: 420), rational/cybernetic models (also called comprehensive models in tourism literature) became the archetype of tourism planning during the 1980s and 1990s. Later, the concept of *integrated planning* complemented the comprehensiveness of the rational/cybernetic approach by linking tourism with other policy sectors and embedding the planning process in broader regional, national and international

policies (Baud-Bovy, 1982; Getz, 1986; Gunn, 1997; Hall, 2008; Huybers, 2007; Inskip, 1991; King & Pearlman, 2009). *Alternative planning* approaches were also incorporated into tourism planning thought, including community, strategic, participatory and sustainable tourism planning (e.g. Gunn & Var, 2002; Inskip, 1991; Hall, 2008; Ruhanen, 2004; Simpson, 2001; Veal, 2002). While tourism planning literature has regarded alternative approaches as a replacement of the previous rational/cybernetic ones (e.g. Costa, 2001; King and Pearlman, 2009), upon closer inspection, a review of alternative planning models suggests that the idea of rational decision-making to find an optimal solution merely evolved into the strategic planning assumption of identifying optimal scenarios.

Some authors, such as Costa (2001) and King and Pearlman (2009), argued that the rational/cybernetic approach was abandoned in tourism planning during the 1980s and 1990s. Sustainable, community, strategic, and integrative planning were considered the emergent approaches of those decades that prompted a paradigm shift in tourism planning thought (King & Pearlman, 2009: 421). Their point of view is not shared by the present account as the new approaches were understood and applied in the same linear, cause-effect way. In other words, planning continued to be understood as a technical activity in which the best solutions could produce the desirable outcomes. An excellent example of how linear tourism planning grew to encompass diverse procedural and substantive issues is Inskip's (1991) tourism planning model which was, according to the author, 'continuous and incremental, systems-oriented, comprehensive, integrated, and environmental, with the focus on achieving sustainable development and community involvement' (Inskip, 1991: 29). King and Pearlman (2009) remarked how Inskip's approach was championed by the World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) and widely applied in developing countries through tourism master plans. As such, although the rational planning paradigm started to decline in wider planning theories in the early 1970s, it was evident that some of its assumptions were 'still fashionable among tourism planners' at the end of the twentieth century (Costa, 2001: 432), especially in developing countries.

2.4.3 KEY ASPECTS OF THE LINEAR TRADITIONS

Tourism planning thought evolved during the linear traditions, changing its focus from an uncomplicated and ideal perspective of leisure and tourism to a 'more sophisticated and integrated approach' (Burns, 1999: 330) that involved the consideration of wider economical, social and environmental issues. The early

physical and economic approaches to tourism planning were not as separated as is usually found in tourism literature (e.g. Getz, 1986; Hall & Page, 2005; Ivars-Baidal, 2004) but were one joint way of promoting tourism growth and economic revenues through the design of physical plant and facilities that would create a demand (Murphy, 1985). As a consequence, one of the main differences between the rational/cybernetic and the previous physical approach was that tourism started to be understood as a comprehensive system and not just as an industry (Burns, 2004). Another difference was that while in the physical planning tradition the public sector remained uninvolved in planning activity, the rational/ cybernetic tradition gave governments a predominant role in tourism planning, management and regulation (Baud-Bovy, 1982). The role of the government, however, was twofold. On one hand, the politicians would deal with the values and ideologies of policy, while leaving the choice of the optimal means to planners, creating a gap between planning and policy-making. Planning was the value-free, top-down and technical solution to put policy into practice (Friedmann, 1987), meaning that while planning was carried out by technicians, policy remained the responsibility of politicians.

The linear traditions have been named differently in planning literature. Academics have used terms like modernist, physical, blueprint, rational, comprehensive, positivist, systemic, cybernetic and master planning to discuss the different planning approaches that dominated planning thought before the emergence of critical and postmodern ideas in social theory and planning theorisation. Common aspects that typify linear traditions are that these were top-down solutions that tended to 'be centralised, elitist and technical rather than devolved, democratic and normative' (Walker, 1984: 86). Plans were mainly government-led (or business-led in the tourism physical approach) and were applied to passive physical places or social systems. Furthermore, in linear traditions planners were neutral experts, concerned with finding optimal designs or technical solutions that were prescriptive, predictive and universal (Healey, 1997; Taylor, 1999).

Regarding the understanding of time and future, the physical approach put forward the survey-analysis-plan model that highlights the linear character of the planning process, which was not replaced by the rational/ cybernetic approach. Although in both approaches reality could be perfected and controlled, goals needed to be set in different ways. In physical planning, they were set from the beginning and understood as a single state in the future. In rational/ cybernetic planning on the other hand, they were continuously set and evaluated in feedback processes (Faludi,

1973; Hall, 2002). In both linear traditions, the planned future was perceived as a period of successful stability, while planning outcomes could be reached and controlled. In order to achieve equilibrium, a process of decision-making based on the right foresight studies, models and surveys, in other words, based on rational thinking, needed to be put in place. In the linear traditions the future was predictable and certain. However, as Prigogine and Stengers (1984) pointed out, the paradox in linear and deterministic understandings of reality is that in a predictable future, human creativity and rationality is rather unnecessary.

2.5. INSTABILITY AND BIFURCATION IN PLANNING THEORY

2.5.1 INSTABILITY IN PLANNING THEORY

Post-modern, interpretive and critical philosophies drawn from social theory permeated planning research during the 1970s and 1980s (Allmendinger, 2002; Beauregard, 2003; Fainstein, 2000; Hillier & Healey, 2010; Taylor, 1999). Foucault's post-structuralism, Habermas's communicative rationality and Neo-Marxist ideas on political economy, flowed into the analysis of planning matters to shake the foundations of linear traditions (Hillier & Healey, 2010). As Beauregard (2003) argued, the deconstruction of rational planning represented a clash between new (postmodern) and old (modern) forms of social thought driven by environmental concerns, globalisation, postmodern social and cultural practices, and emergent ideologies that would challenge the excessive involvement of the government in the economy and people's lives (Beauregard, 2003; Healey, 1997; Yiftachel, 1998). Healey (1992: 244) for example, questioned cybernetic planning by maintaining that 'the very concept of a system immediately conjures up notions of dominatory practices which impose themselves on our actions'. Rational planning thought was criticised for its universal solutions sheltered under the objectivity of scientific rationalism. By merging everything into one comprehensive plan, rational/cybernetic planning ignored context, political, social, and private interests, as well as the disparities and incongruities of capitalism (Beauregard, 2003). The rational/cybernetic model, it was debated, had no subject or object of planning (Beauregard, 2003), since it 'represented an approach based wholly on process, with little regard either to political conflict or to the specific character of the terrain on which it was working' (Fainstein, 2000: 452).

Postmodern thinking meant the rejection of the normative, top-down, and universal character of rational planning theory in favour of multiple discourses and bottom-up interpretive and contextual understandings of social problems (Beauregard, 2003; Healey, 1997). An early postmodernist criticism to linear planning was Davidoff's (1965) advocacy perspective that would denounce precisely the impossibility of ideal, neutral, value-free planners and planning processes. Instead, planners should recognise their own values as well as the values of the different interest groups involved. From Foucauldian and neo-Marxist points of view, challenges to the linear traditions would be related to who controls planning, who exercises power through planning, who wins and who loses in planning processes, and what the constraints are of planning under a capitalist political economy (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1979; Flyvbjerg, 1998; Friedmann, 1987). By focusing on maintaining the equilibrium of the social system and by ignoring the political character of the planning process, Friedmann (1987) argued that previous linear traditions disregarded the transformative nature of the planning process itself, serving the regime in power and maintaining the status quo. Drawing from critical theory, marxism, feminism and other forms of radical thought, gender (Moser, 1993; Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992), multicultural (Sandercock, 1998; Yiftachel, 1998), and insurgent (Sandercock, 1998) planning approaches specifically addressed power imbalances, disadvantaged groups, and politics, focusing on the transformative potential of the activity to change the status quo (Friedmann, 1987). Finally, the Habermasian point of view focused on an alternative planning rationality in which decisions were made based on interaction and communication, as opposed to the technocratic decisions of scientific planning rationality (Hirt, 2002). The concern of the communicative approach, to be further discussed in the next section, was how to incorporate communication and debate into the planning process and how to reduce the gap between decision-making and action (Forester, 1982).

Theoretical instability meant that planning research expanded its substantive scope in order to deal with values, interests, power, inequality and political ideology. As Huxley and Yiftachel (2000) pointed out, by conducting the debate in terms of democracy, politics of decision-making, and the nature and limits of state intervention, the influential literature of this period implicitly conflated planning and public policy, giving rise to a planning literature that was no longer concerned specifically with town and regional planning. Regarding the planning process, the aim was to reduce the gap between planning and implementation by considering planning an activity that involved action. As Friedmann (1993: 483) stated, such

planning would be concerned with processes taking place now, 'because it is in the evanescent and still undecided present that planners can hope to be effective'. New thoughts from social sciences, as well as new philosophies of social knowledge challenged the very foundations of rational/cybernetic approaches, creating multiple planning approaches that can be identified as postmodern (Dear, 2000), postpositivist (Allmendinger, 2002), critical (Forester, 1993) or interpretive (Healey, 1992) planning traditions.

2.5.2 INSTABILITY IN TOURISM PLANNING

Postmodern, interpretivist and critical approaches slowly took hold in tourism research with some isolated initial efforts during the 1970s and 1980s, and later the emergence of a new wave of critical tourism research at the beginning of the 21st century (Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2011). The delay in adopting new research philosophies in tourism has been associated with the tendency to locate tourism departments in sports or business/management schools in which industry-oriented and positivist research is reinforced (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007). Also, the increase of tourism journals, scholars and postgraduate studies, instead of stimulating diversity and critical studies (McKercher B., 1999; Pritchard & Morgan, 2007), has 'resulted in a simply greater volume of research which is mainly confirmatory and reproductive' (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007: 12). Nevertheless, at the end of the 1970s and during the 1980s, linear approaches, including comprehensive and master plans started to be perceived as old-style, unrealistic and standardised (Burns, 2004; Dredge et al., 2011; Haywood, 1988; Tosun & Jenkins, 1998) with a 'rigid top-down approach with excessive reliance on overseas consultants, emphasis on land use planning, over-optimistic market forecast, lack of consultation with local communities and inadequate commitment to implementation' (King & Pearlman, 2009: 423). Burns (2010: 209) highlighted that one of the main flaws of master planning has been their 'homogenising approach where, in effect, destinations are developed and changed to meet the requirements of familiar market segments and tourists'.

Some of the challenges that are gradually changing tourism planning have originated from development and political economy perspectives, focusing on issues such as social tensions, the inclusion of the local population in tourism benefits, poverty, dependency and inequality. McIntosh and Gupta (1977) first specified that the economic benefits of tourism should raise the quality of life of the residents of

tourism destinations. Later, De Kadt (1979) noted that social planning for tourism was needed in order to find new ways to manage an activity that was only stimulating economic growth in developing countries. Britton (1982) and Burns (1999) also denounced that international consultancy for tourism planning was pervaded by economic and politic agendas of international tourism organisations and development agencies such as the World Tourism Organisation, International Monetary Fund, United Nations and the World Bank. These organisations would advocate a 'tourism first' approach that encouraged private (and often international) investment in order to develop resorts, accommodation and other facilities in the destination, and the profits would generate only trickle-down income for local residents (Burns, 1999). Also, Tosun and Jenkins (1998) described how tourism master planning methodologies have been transferred from developed to developing countries without necessarily meeting the developing countries' needs or including local stakeholders in the process. Furthermore, international funding agencies were likely to select multinational companies to undertake these studies, perpetuating the dependency of the poorest countries on the aid of foreign donors and foreign experts for the development of tourism (Burns, 2004, 2010; Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Tosun & Jenkins, 1998).

Regarding feminist, minorities, power and advocacy issues, although not explicitly reviewed within tourism planning research, these have been addressed in the wider tourism literature as the 'critical turn' (Bianchi, 2009) which has exercised some influence over tourism policy content and planning methodologies. Some studies have advocated, for example, that the involvement of women in the tourism economy through micro-commerce and work, could be an empowerment mechanism that could help promote local development (Sinclair, 1997; Swain, 1995). It has also been advocated that residents and cultural minorities (such as indigenous people and ethnic groups) must be included in planning processes. Local knowledge, local needs, and local expectations should be taken into account as a reassertion of culture and ethnicity, to improve host-and-guest relations, and decrease negative impacts of the activity (Burns, 1999; Haywood, 1988; Marsh & Henshall, 1987; Murphy, 1985; Timothy, 1999; Wood, 1984).

These perspectives, known as community, inclusive and participatory planning, have been highly influential in mainstream tourism planning in both developed and developing countries (e.g. Getz & Jamal, 1994; Murphy, 1985; Simmons, 1994; Timothy, 1999). Timothy (1999: 373) maintained that its characteristics derived from

the advocacy planning traditions, 'wherein weak interest groups are defended and local residents are given more control over the social processes that govern their welfare'. In this scenario, some authors highlighted the importance of training and incorporating local planners into the processes in order to avoid dependency (Reid, 2003; Tosun & Jenkins, 1998), and the necessity of the tourism planner to adopt an involved/critical position, rather than a detached/scientific one (Reid, 2003). More recently, the increased involvement of public, private and societal actors in tourism planning has raised questions about how power is manifested in policy relations and interactions, and how power imbalances affect policy outcomes (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007; Church, 2004; Reed, 1997).

As Bianchi (2009) remarked, tourism knowledge is mainly positivist and quantitative. However, the critical turn in tourism studies seeks to embrace multiple worldviews and cultural differences while adopting postmodern, critical, and interpretive social theories (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007). While not delivering a clear-cut paradigmatic shift, critical studies have had important repercussions in tourism planning content and frameworks. These substantive changes are evident in international policies related to ethics, public participation, female empowerment, indigenous and community-based tourism promoted globally by international organisations such as the World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) (e.g. Twining-Ward, 2010; UNWTO, 2001). Nevertheless, with the exceptions identified above, critiques of linear planning approaches are rare, and despite the challenges that emergent planning approaches have posed to their basic assumptions (section 2.6.3), linear approaches continue to be prominent in planning research and practice (Dredge et al., 2011; McKercher B., 1999).

2.5.3 KEY ASPECTS OF THE INSTABILITY PERIOD

The arrival of postmodernism, interpretivism and critical studies into planning theory has been understood in this research as an instability period that shook the foundations of the predominant linear approaches in both planning theory and tourism planning knowledge (figure 2.1). One of the main shifts has been a rejection of positivist planning methodologies (Allmendinger, 2002). As a result, there is no longer a universal culture of planning (Hillier, 2010). The critical period advocated approaches based on perceived local problems rather than utopian visions or top-down technical answers. Historical and social contexts, pluralism and diversity, public participation and democracy were taken into account while

normative/prescriptive models were treated with suspicion. Power imbalances in planning processes were exposed, as well as the role of planning itself as a transformative and emancipating social process, rather than a conservative mechanism of social control. It has been shown that these issues have permeated tourism planning and seem to be more prominent now, compared to 40 years ago when they destabilised broader planning theories. While some critical and postmodernist studies had repercussions in the substantive issues tourism planning is concerned with, their methods have not been fully apprehended in tourism planning research. Moreover, tourism planning has largely remained a practice for the guidance and control of destinations, rather than an opportunity 'for structural change and social transformation' (Friedmann, 1987: 303).

The inability of critical studies to find consensus and solutions for the problems they were denouncing has been criticised in planning literature (e.g. Hirt, 2002; Fainstein, 2000; Friedmann 1987). However, it has also been acknowledged that while there is theoretical fragmentation, these studies have led to a 'resurrecting optimism' (Fainstein, 2000: 472), where plurality, subjectivity, diversity, interpretation and debate have a place (Allmendinger, 2002; Dredge et al., 2011; Hirt, 2002; Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000). As a result of the 'paradigm breakdown' (Allmendinger, 2002; Yiftachel, 1988) brought on by postmodernism, critical theory and interpretivism in planning theory, the linear traditions have been forced in recent decades 'to compete with several alternative models, each based on a particular critique of comprehensive rationalism' (Hirt, 2002: 6). As Hillier (2010: 8) stated, 'today there seems to be a more general acceptance that our plural world calls for a multiple approach to planning which lends itself to theoretical diversity'. Citing Derrida (1997) and Deluze (1990), Hillier (2010: 24) described the advent of these new approaches as an event of disparate multiplicity that should embrace the potential of the forces from which it originated, creating a new ground of possibilities for planning theorisation.

2.6. PLANNING THEORY DIVERSIFIED: THE NON-LINEAR TRADITIONS

Following Hillier and Healey's (2010) account of contemporary planning theory, this section includes three non-linear approaches: collaborative planning, networks and complexity. These growing theoretical frameworks deal with emergent planning issues related to the rising number of players in policy arenas, challenges fostered by globalisation and information technology, the increasing complexity of socio-

political systems, as well as our apparent decreasing capability to deal with an uncertain future (Innes, 2005; Innes & Booher, 2010; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004).

2.6.1 THE COLLABORATIVE/COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH

Collaborative, communicative or interpretive (Healey, 1997; Innes, 1995) are the names given to the set of planning theories drawn from Habermas's theory of communicative action (Healey, 1997). Forester (1999: 6) made the point that some authors understand rationality in planning as a mental process of decision-making, whereas in communicative planning, rationality is an argumentative process of collaborative construction of the planning problem, discussing evidence and giving reasons, and constructing a shared rationality between participants. Moreover, communicative planning challenges postmodern approaches in planning theory. For Healey (1997: 42), communicative rationality is precisely a response to postmodern individualisation since 'post-modern individualisation generates severe problems with respect to the public realm, and specifically, for managing our relations of co-existence in shared spaces'.

Collaborative/ communicative planning focuses on the content of communication (policy issues) as well as on communication itself as a method for planning practice (policy process) (Fischer & Forester, 1993), while recognising the iterative, recursive, circular and non-linear ways in which policy dialogues and planning practices take place (Innes & Booher, 2010). In this approach, the planner's role is to build consensus among participants, empower different voices and enable pluralistic discourse (Hirt, 2002; Fainstein, 2000). Spaces for sharing ideas are considered part of the planning process in order to avoid future conflicts and promote collective learning. As Healey (2003: 239) stated, 'our ideas about ourselves, our interests, and our values are socially constructed through our communication with others and the collaborative work this involves'. The attitude towards the future in this approach is not *future defining* as in the previous linear traditions, but *future seeking*, through interaction, communication and mutual learning (Healey 1992). According to Healey (1997: 29), the communicative approach implies the following acknowledgements:

- All forms of knowledge are socially constructed;
- Individuals learn about their views and interests through communication;
- People have different interests and expectations, and relations of power have the potential to dominate them;

- Public policies and the management of co-existence in shared spaces need to recognise the above through collaborative consensus-building practices that can change the way of social organising and knowing;
- Planning is embedded in a context of social relations and can challenge them. Context and planning practice are not separated but socially constituted together.

Collaborative and communicative planning has been questioned because of issues of representativeness, for ignoring the competitive character of social actors, as well as its ineffectiveness in overcoming existing power imbalances. Indeed, Yiftachel and Huxley (2000) have raised the concern that rationality in planning is often determined by power and not by communication as collaborative planning advocates. Its prominence as a new theoretical discourse in planning theory has also been questioned for aiming to replace one dominant approach (rational/cybernetic planning) with another (communicative planning) (Allmendinger, 2002; Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000; Yiftachel & Huxley, 2000).

Regarding tourism, the previous section identified how critical studies, development and political economy literature raised the need to include local residents, indigenous people and excluded social groups both in the planning process and in the economic benefits of tourism. Furthermore, the emergence of community-based, inclusive, alternative and participatory initiatives, while representing a profound change in the substantive issues tourism planning was concerned with, has not necessarily represented a change from linear to non-linear planning frameworks. In consequence, collaborative tourism planning has not completely escaped linearity. Collaborative planning in tourism was initially concerned with the need to build consensus between public and private social actors in a growing neoliberal context, rather than seeking to enhance tourism planning with broader social theories. As Dredge, Jenkins and Whitford (2011: 28) highlighted, research on tourism planning in the early 2000s was 'anchored in the neoliberal dogma of public-private partnerships, outsourcing, collaboration and joined-up government'. As such, the collaborative-community approach in tourism was not based on broader planning theory or public policy literature, but organisational studies and behavioural science (Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Hall, 1999; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Jamal & Getz, 1999).

Drawing from organisational behaviour literature, Getz and Jamal (1994) proposed a three-stage model for collaboration that consisted of joint problem setting,

collaborative direction setting and implementation. Their framework was intended to complement strategic planning and had a great influence on the collaborative planning approach in tourism (e.g. Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Erkuş-Öztürk & Eraydın, 2010; Hall, 1999; Ladkin & Martínez, 2002; Medeiros de Araujo & Bramwell, 1999). While Getz and Jamal's (1994) step-by-step model undoubtedly implies a universal, linear and prescriptive approach, the authors emphasised interactivity, and flexibility in order to allow stakeholders to manage conflicts between themselves and find ways to solve problems through on-going dialogue (Getz & Jamal, 1994; Jamal & Getz, 1995, 1999). Collaborative planning in tourism was originally driven by the practical need to coordinate multiple stakeholders in shared governance settings (Wesley & Pforr, 2010) and largely focused on managing stakeholders' dialogue and micro-level interactions in order to solve conflicts and to build shared visions. Later, subsequent studies sought to understand the socio-political context in which collaboration takes place, including power imbalances and the outcomes of social interaction through descriptive case studies (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Jamal & Stronza, 2009; Ladkin & Martínez, 2002; Reed, 1999).

While not immediately related to wider communicative planning, collaborative tourism planning represents a move away from the prescriptive and normative planning models of linear traditions, towards the understanding of planning practice through qualitative research, interpretive and descriptive case studies (Dredge et al., 2011; Wesley & Pforr, 2010). The turbulent fields in which planning operates have also been recognised, as well as the non-linearity of interaction, interdependencies and decision-making in planning processes that could result in unanticipated consequences (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Reed, 1999).

2.6.2 THE NETWORKS APPROACH

Networks approaches focus on how individuals are interrelated and how these interrelations are embedded in existing social structures (Berry et al., 2004; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004). In planning, networks have been used either as planning approaches by themselves (Albrechts & Mandelbaum, 2005; Hillier, 2000), or to support the discourse of other approaches such as collaborative and communicative planning (Booher & Innes, 2002; Healey, 2006; Innes & Booher, 1999b, 2010). Berry et al. (2004) have identified three network approaches in public management which can be applied to planning research. The first is related to sociometry and

Social Network Analysis (SNA), and is concerned with the identification of relations (ties) between nodes (places, individuals or events) as well as relational patterns and subgroups (clusters). The quality of relationships such as intensity or reciprocity is measured, as well as macro behaviour related to the whole network such as density, reachability and diffusion of information. The second approach is socio-political and related to policy-making and governance. Networks are webs of collaboration, communication and interaction between diverse social actors, useful in understanding how power, roles and interest groups constantly influence policy-making (Booher & Innes, 2002; Healey, 2007; Papadopoulos, 2007). The organisation of formal and informal planning and policy communities is a central concern, as well as how informal interactions shape policy outcomes and transcend territorial policy boundaries (Albrechts & Mandelbaum, 2005). Finally, the public management approach focuses on managing networks in order to facilitate decision-making, influence policy implementation and improve the effectiveness of public service delivery. Central questions are how joint action can be achieved, how networks can be managed in order to improve their performance, and which kinds of network structure lead to successful outcomes (Berry et al., 2004; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004). For Innes (2005), the three network approaches are complementary in planning research: SNA provides quantitative insights to identify network structures in physical and social planning; the policy tradition focuses on how policy networks operate in practice; while the management tradition offers insights into how to manage networks in order to attain planning and policy goals.

In tourism planning, SNA has been applied to study physical tourist flows (Hwang, Gretzel, & Fesenmaier, 2006; Shih, 2006; Smallwood, Beckley, & Moore, 2011) as well as social patterns of interaction and collaboration between tourism stakeholders (Beritelli & Laesser, 2011; Beritelli, 2011; Presenza & Cipollina, 2010). In the socio-political approach, the characteristics and implications of joint action, public participation, collaboration, and interaction during planning and policy-making processes have been analysed through the concept of 'policy networks' (Dredge & Pforr, 2008; Dredge, 2006a, 2006b; Wray, 2009). These studies are concerned with horizontal multi-actor arrangements as a response to centralised planning, and deal with the implications of formal and informal relations between government, business and civil society for tourism policy-making and destination governance (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Dredge & Pforr, 2008; Pforr, 2006; Wesley & Pforr, 2010; Wray, 2009). Finally, in tourism the network management approach draws mainly from management sciences to understand how networks of small and medium-sized

tourism businesses can foster innovation, improve production efficiency and product quality, while increasing the competitiveness of tourism destinations (Guia, Prats, & Comas, 2006; Lazzeretti & Petrillo, 2006; Novelli, Schmitz, & Spencer, 2006; Pavlovich, 2003; Scott, Cooper, & Baggio, 2008; Tinsley & Lynch, 2001). These studies are concerned with private sector oriented initiatives, such as improving the competitive advantage of destinations and tourism product packaging (Dredge & Pforr, 2008). In contrast with collaborative approaches that focus mainly on (micro) interaction and dialogue, network approaches have focused on the (macro) relational arrangements of social, public, private and community actors that steer tourism destinations either to coordinate tourism production, marketing action or policy-making.

2.6.3 PLANNING WITH COMPLEXITY

The complexity approach in planning deals with uncertainty, self-organisation, dynamics of change, and emergent new social order. As Innes and Booher stated 'we live in a complex, fragmented and changing world, but most of our institutions of government operate as if we could count on stability and predictability' (Innes & Booher, 2010: 8). Instability and uncertainty in planning efforts are related to rapid changes in social, political, economic and environmental global processes; the need to acknowledge divergent interests among multiple social actors; and the impossibility of accurately predicting the consequences of planning actions (Innes & Booher, 2010). While linear planning traditions assumed that equilibrium and social order were the normal conditions of cities and social life, complexity embraces non-linearity and unpredictability, assuming that the result of planning efforts in social complex systems are often unintended and emergent. According to Haynes (2003: 40), complexity theory challenges the perception of managers and planners about the nature of order in organisations, explaining that there 'is never any perfect or attainable sense of complete control and order, because if there were, there would be no meaningful interaction' between social actors. Indeed, complexity is becoming a powerful framework for planning studies because it shakes some deeply-rooted assumptions of linear traditions aimed at keeping uncertainty to a minimum (Healey, 2007; Innes & Booher, 2010).

In the complexity approach, the subjects of planning (e.g. cities, regions, public and private organisations, or destinations) are understood as complex systems composed of multiple social actors that interact in circular and mutually inhibiting

and reinforcing ways (Innes & Booher, 2010; Jörg, 2011). These non-linear social interactions are embedded in constantly changing socio-political systems that give them context and meaning (Byrne, 2005; Teisman, van Buuren, & Gerrits, 2009). While previous systemic approaches tended to focus on the whole, one of the main contributions of complexity is that it 'is emancipating in terms of the potential it offers to local actors' (Byrne 2003: 175). Complexity not only acknowledges the vital role of human action and social interaction in relation to the system dynamics and outcomes, but also regards individual interactions as a form of self-organisation in which new social orders constantly emerge without the intervention of a central controller (Haynes, 2003; Innes & Booher, 2010), providing new contexts for future social interactions.

Complexity theory's language is commonly borrowed to explain the findings of planning research that might have been conducted using other planning approaches (Chettiparamb, 2006). As such, an increasing trend blending postpositivist, postmodern, collaborative and networks planning approaches with complexity is being witnessed (Healey, 2007; Hillier, 2000; Innes & Booher, 1999, 2010; Manson & O'Sullivan, 2006). However, Byrne (2003: 174) advocates complexity as a planning approach in its own right by explaining the relation of complexity with other planning approaches in dialectical terms:

If traditional 'positivist' science, which planning engaged with through its relationship with engineering, is a thesis, and 'postmodernist' and related relativisms, which dismiss 'real' understanding as a basis for action, constitute an antithesis, then complexity which allows for real understanding, i.e. agreed descriptions of context and potential, but delimits the range in time and space of that understanding, is a synthesis.

Innes and Booher (2010) emphasised that while there is a growing body of literature relating complexity with business and organisational management (Mitleton-Kelly, 2003a; Stacey, Griffin, & Shaw, 2000), there are fewer studies that apply complexity to public planning. Some exceptions are physical planning approaches focused on the understanding of changing urban and regional dynamics through mathematical and computational modelling (Allen, 1997; Batty, 2005; Manson & O'Sullivan, 2006), and public policy and governance studies that focus on the non-linear dynamics of planning and policy-making (Haynes, 1999, 2003; Jessop, 2003; Teisman & Klijn, 2008; Teisman et al., 2009).

Complexity approaches for tourism planning have emerged recently, with still limited literature supported by field research. The theoretical literature has predominantly focused on making comparisons between linear and non-linear perspectives in the understanding of tourism systems (Baggio, 2008; Butler & Hall, 1995; Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004; McKercher, 1999), rather than on highlighting the non-linearity of planning processes (Stevenson et al., 2009). Indeed, using a complexity approach, McKercher for example (1999: 426) criticised cybernetic tourism planning models for their inability to reflect tourism behaviour and adequately inform decision-making processes, arguing that they strongly implied that:

- Tourism can be controlled by a top-down management approach;
- Tourism players act in an organised and formally coordinated way;
- Individual tourism businesses function to achieve a set of common, mutually agreed upon goals;
- Tourism is the sum of its constituent parts, and by understanding how each part works, it is possible to understand how tourism works.

Scholars have also questioned the assumption of rational/cybernetic approaches that top-down planning systems can control the behaviour of individuals in the planned system (McDonald, 2009; Stevenson et al., 2009). In other words, linear approaches for tourism planning have assumed that external influences and top-down efforts alone bring about changes, ignoring the role of agency and bottom-up self-organisation within the tourism system (McDonald 2009: 458). The complexity approach thus allows the analysis of both the changing and unstable conditions in which tourism planning takes place (Butler & Hall, 1995), and 'the disorder arising from interaction, competition and human agency' that characterise planning efforts (Stevenson, Airey and Miller, 2009: 217) .

Probably the main approach so far to addressing tourism planning within a complexity framework is adaptive management, which draws from ecological and management sciences (Baggio, 2008; Baggio, Scott, & Cooper, 2010; Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2005; Plummer & Fennell, 2009; Schianetz & Kavanagh, 2008). By taking into account the evolving and unstable nature of complex systems, adaptive management consists of the exploration and implementation of alternative scenarios. Monitoring the outcomes is understood as a learning opportunity in which the alternatives that most effectively meet the management objectives are identified (Baggio, 2008). Adaptive co-management in tourism has brought together

collaborative planning approaches with adaptive management narratives, emphasising pluralism, communication, shared decision-making, and mutual learning (Plummer & Fennell, 2009; Reed, 1999). Additionally, mathematical and computational modeling have been applied to analyse the dynamic interplay between different segments of the industry; the changing social, economic and environmental contexts in which they are embedded, as well as emergent patterns arising from actors' interactions in tourism destinations (e.g. Baggio, 2008; Correani & Garofalo, 2008; Lacitignola, Petrosillo, Cataldi, & Zurlini, 2007; Patterson, Gulden, Cousins, & Kraev, 2004; Walker, Greiner, McDonald, & Lyne, 1998). However, both adaptive and modelling approaches still imply top-down and prescriptive planning understandings, focusing on reductionist accounts of the whole (chapter 3), while neglecting the understanding of self-organised agency and socio-political interaction.

In contrast, an incipient bottom-up approach has advocated precisely the understanding of the interrelated 'complex social circumstances and human interactions that influence policy' (Stevenson et al., 2009: 206). In this socio-political approach, (micro) non-linear interactions between policy actors are related to diverse and often conflicting interests, values, and roles, while at the same time being constrained and enabled by (macro) changing and unstable socio-political structures (McDonald, 2009; Spyriadis, Buhalis, & Fyall, 2011; Stevenson et al., 2009). Nevertheless, it still lacks empirical evidence, especially regarding the role of agency, non-linear interactions, and self-organisation in transforming existing socio-political structures and therefore, the future of tourism destinations.

2.6.4 KEY ASPECTS OF THE NON-LINEAR TRADITIONS

After linear planning traditions were challenged by postmodernism, interpretivism and critical studies, non-linear approaches emerged in planning knowledge, leading to new and diversified conceptions of planning activity (figure 2.1). Communicative/collaborative, networks, and complexity approaches are all relational and non-linear, focusing on circular and iterative communication, interrelations and interactions between multiple social actors with diverse values, interests and perceptions about the future. These relational approaches dismiss cause-effect assumptions where the intention to plan leads directly to action, and then to the desired outcome (Healey, 2007). While the literature suggests that within the three approaches, attempts to construct normative models for planning practice are still being pursued (Wesley & Pforr, 2010), other authors reject these attempts by arguing that any optimal and

universal solution is elusive, and planning practice is place-related, highly contextual and time dependent (Dredge et al., 2011).

Furthermore, the role of the planner has changed. While earlier approaches supported the idea of a value-free expert, non-linear approaches advocate a mediatory and political role (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003). Planners no longer have the right answer. Neither do they have a monopoly on power or expertise over the object of their work (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003; Taylor, 1999). In the communicative turn and network approaches, planners are nodes situated in the centre of the discussion (Fainstein, 2000) their role being one of listening to people and discovering purposes and visions through social interaction, building consensus among groups and different points of view (Innes & Booher, 2010). Differences and divergences are accentuated by the inclusion of wider sectors of society in planning processes in which the government is no longer the lone actor and executor of policies. Informal spaces for negotiation and bargain are opened and acknowledged together with the existing formal ones. However, these approaches have been criticised for displaying 'faith in the ability of civil society to promote the ideal of democracy' (Watson, 2002: 43). Indeed, while able to recognise the values, interests and perceptions of diverse social actors, non-linear planning has the challenge of addressing the legitimacy of actors, shared responsibilities for implementation, accountability of actions, as well as the pressure that empowered actors and political groups can apply to the outcomes of the planning process.

Finally, another distinctive characteristic of non-linear approaches is that they seek to reduce the gap between decision-making and implementation by embedding planning processes in everyday practice, and by creating spaces to foster mutual agreement and continuous communication. In non-linear approaches, the outcomes of planning are as important as planning processes themselves. Goals, perceptions, values and interests that are sometimes in conflict, are likely to change during the course of deliberation and mutual feedback, meaning that planning is not concerned with reaching future end goals but with 'the capacity to adapt to change' (Innes & Booher, 2010: 203). Change involves both the evolving social, political, environmental and economic contexts in which planning is embedded, and the changing perceptions and interests of socio-political actors. As Friedmann stated 'the time of such a planning is the *real time* of everyday events rather than imagined future time' (Friedmann, 1993: 76 emphasis in the original).

2.7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Tourism planning knowledge has been understood as a complex system, in which external influences from social theory and broader planning approaches (figure 2.1) have influenced its development, together with internal instabilities and critiques within tourism planning research. It is necessary to point out that not all approaches in broader planning theory have been reviewed, only the ones seen as the most influential on tourism planning and suitable to describe changes from linear to non-linear understandings. Additionally, changing political and economic contexts including ideological shifts from government to governance have highly influenced tourism planning as a field of study and will be covered in chapter 4. Finally, this review has focused mainly on English language academic literature, which more than a bias, reflects how planning thought has been developed in Western countries and permeated to developing ones (Burns, 1999, 2004; King & Pearlman, 2009; Tosun & Jenkins, 1998).

In relation to wider planning theories, it has been said that tourism planning 'draws upon a good portion of urban and regional planning' (Lew, 2007: 383) and as such it can be considered a subfield of town planning (Costa, 2001; Lew, 2007). However, this review identified how linear tourism planning, while drawing on urban and regional planning approaches, did not reflect on the same social and public issues as the social-oriented urban or public planning specialisations, because of its underlying economic rationale. Indeed, Burns (2010) argued that processes drawn from urban and regional planning have been interpreted in a narrow, product-led way in tourism planning. Additionally, the economic rationale has led tourism scholars to draw from other related disciplines. As a result, tourism planning knowledge is changing in a non-linear way, moving back and forward between urban and regional planning, architecture, development, environmental and organisational studies, business management, public policy and administration, and the empirical issues arising from tourism planning practice and research. The literature review also demonstrated that there is a false belief that tourism planning went through a paradigm shift in the 1990s (Costa, 2001; Robinson & Jamal, 2009) due to the incorporation of alternative, strategic, sustainable, and participative assumptions to plan tourism. While there is no doubt that tourism planning has been influenced by the 'crisis of mainstream planning' stimulated decades ago by interpretive, postmodern and critical thought (Friedmann, 1987), it is also evident that in many cases the new approaches (including the most recent network and

collaborative planning) have often been adapted to complement the existent linear ones.

While postmodern, critical, and interpretive tourism planning research² has been scarce and isolated, criticisms coming from these perspectives have raised concerns related to social exclusion, power relations, the need for value and political awareness, the recognition of changing conditions and instability, among other issues that broadened the scope of tourism planning and opened research spaces for emergent and non-linear understandings. Moreover, non-linear planning traditions are opening debates about how ‘actors, agents and arenas interact’ outside formal and hierarchical planning spaces (Dredge, Jenkins & Whitford, 2011: 29), and how tourism planning can no longer be understood outside socio-political arrangements of tourism governance.

	LINEAR PLANNING	NON-LINEAR PLANNING
DIRECTION	TOP-DOWN CONTROL	BOTTOM-UP SELF-ORGANISATION
LED BY	GOVERNMENT OR BUSINESS-LED	MULTI-ACTOR LED
PROCESS APPROACH	FORMAL TECHNICAL, RATIONAL	INFORMAL POLITICAL
FUTURE	PREDICTABLE	UNPREDICTABLE
PLANNER	EXPERT	FACILITATOR, NODE
SOCIAL ACTORS	PASSIVE	ACTIVE
VALUES	VALUE-FREE	VALUE AWARE
PLANNING KNOWLEDGE	PRESCRIPTIVE, NORMATIVE	DESCRIPTIVE AND EXPLANATORY
AIM	REACH GOALS IN THE FUTURE	BUILD COMMUNICATION, CONSENSUS IN THE PRESENT

TABLE 2.1. Differences between linear and non-linear planning approaches. Source: Author, based on Innes and Booher (2010).

Bertolini (2010) has said that ‘the question of how to shape the future is perhaps the one that most distinguishes planning as an activity’. Indeed, the idea of future, and how that future can be changed, is central in understanding the difference between linear and non-linear planning traditions in this chapter. Under the linear planning traditions, it was assumed that the future could be predicted and controlled through a detached, top-down scientific analysis of reality. Comprehensive analyses would provide a rational basis to make optimal decisions and devise strategies to achieve

² The recent book of Dredge and Jenkins (2011) is exceptionally completely focused on interpretive narratives of tourism planning practice, which until now have been isolated efforts in the literature. In the book, diverse planning approaches are included as long as the way to understand and describe them is supported by a social constructionist worldview.

the desired outcomes, that is, tourism development goals. Cause-effect, top-down, technical, prescriptive and formal planning processes were put in place based on the idea that the world was ordered and that all the components of tourism could work in equilibrium towards a purpose (table 2.1).

However, difficulties for plan implementation together with social and environmental concerns led critical planning traditions to point out that master, comprehensive and rational plans have failed to address the changing contexts in which tourism is embedded. Additionally, values, power relations, personal interests and miscommunications got in the way of the idealised planning processes. The desired future was never reached, and the need for new understandings to cope with these *irregularities* was evident. On the other hand, non-linear approaches acknowledge that planning is an unstable, often informal, bottom-up, socio-political activity that is not necessarily concerned with predicting the future, but with constructing and acting upon it (table 2.1). Planning in non-linear approaches is no longer prescribed, but understood. It no longer takes place solely in the government or in formal spaces of decision-making in order to be applied to passive physical spaces and social systems. In the non-linear traditions, the system to be planned becomes active, composed of multiple public, private and civil socio-political actors that not only have a say, but actively shape planning and policy processes and outcomes through mutually influencing formal, informal, and often self-organised social interaction and action. There is no longer a need to predict the future, because planning consists of continuously constructing and transforming the future in the present through the human agency embedded in dynamic policy communities, formal and informal policy networks, or evolving complex systems.

Finally, it can be said that linear approaches in tourism planning are still strong, coexisting effectively in the social world with non-linear planning dynamics that often remain unacknowledged (Innes & Booher, 2010; Hirt, 2002; Hillier, 2010). A deeper understanding of their coexistence is needed in order to contribute to emergent dialogues about what tourism planning is in different socio-political contexts, how agency, changing interests, and diverse values influence planning processes, and how planning processes can change the future of tourism destinations.



CHAPTER 3. COMPLEXITY, COMPLEX SYSTEMS,
COMPLEX REALISM, AND THE STUDY OF SOCIAL
CHANGE

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter explored the assumptions of linear planning traditions related to top-down efforts to predict the future and maintain social order, as well as non-linear planning efforts associated with bottom-up agency, interaction, and communication. I maintain that complexity provides the theoretical underpinnings to understand, first, how actor-led, non-linear and self-organised tourism planning coexists with linear and institutionalised planning efforts; and second, how this coexistence can transform the future of tourism destinations. While some scholars have imported the key ideas of chaos/complexity from the natural sciences employing their main concepts directly to understand social life, in this chapter I explore how complexity theory matches emergent accounts of the social that focus on the understanding of the transformative character of human agency that both challenges and maintain existing social structures, as well as the emergent outcomes of these dynamics. Drawing from the works of Reed and Harvey (Harvey, 2009; Harvey & Reed, 1997; Reed & Harvey, 1992) and Byrne (1998, 2001, 2002, 2005) on *complex realism*, the purpose of this chapter is to describe *complexity* by matching it with *social critical realism* (Archer, 1995, 2003; Sayer, 1992, 2000), the chosen philosophical position for this research. Complex realism becomes a framework for the understanding of social change and provides complexity theory with a much-needed social background.

The chapter is divided into four main sections. The first describes the main theoretical assumptions that are common to the study of both natural and social complex systems. The next section focuses on social complexity by relating it to the ideas of structure and agency as outlined in social understandings of critical realism. The third and fourth sections describe key ideas about the structure and dynamics of complex social systems with particular focus on social understandings of self-organisation, emergence and social change. Since the aim is to delineate a coherent theoretical framework to study social complexity and social change, the theoretical underpinnings explored in this chapter will remain abstract concepts that will not be immediately related to my own research. Instead, chapter 4 will focus specifically on relating the theoretical framework with the field of study, that is, tourism planning and governance.

3.2. COMPLEXITY THEORY: AN OVERVIEW

Complexity theory gained popularity when it was proposed as a challenge to Newtonian thought and as an opportunity for new dialogues between natural and social sciences (Capra, 1988; Prigogine & Stengers, 1984; Waldrop, 1992). Regarded as a science (Medd, 2001; Phelan, 2001) and a *new thinking* (Jörg, 2011; Richardson, 2005; Stacey, Griffin, & Shaw, 2000), the *complexity turn* (Blaikie, 2007; Urry, 2005) comprises a wide array of ideas that have developed across a range of disciplines, from evolutionary biology, to chemistry, mathematics, geography and anthropology (Bar-Yam, 2003; Byrne, 1998; Capra, 1988; Waldrop, 1992). These ideas have transcended disciplinary boundaries over recent decades and seem to permeate every field of knowledge, differing from discipline to discipline and from author to author (Baranger, 2001; Richardson & Cilliers, 2001). While there is no agreed definition nor boundaries for complexity (Waldrop, 1992), some authors argue that continuous research on natural and complex social systems (and the interrelations between them), will provide a better understanding of their core properties and dynamics (Baranger, 2001; Byrne, 1998; Medd, 2001; O'Sullivan, 2004). This section aims to introduce general standpoints on complexity theory in relation to chaos, order, time and context.

The study of complexity implies the study of *systems* that are complex. Complex systems exhibit dynamics that defy the ideas of equilibrium, linearity and predictability of traditional systems. By assuming a stable universe that behaves according to universal laws, traditional systemic theories were inherently linear and deterministic. In linear systems, changes are the result of the incremental accumulation of variables over time; this means that changes in the causal elements produce proportional changes in the system's outcomes (Byrne, 1998). So, when appropriate initial conditions are given, determinism indicates that it is possible to predict the future with certainty (Baranger, 2001; Mitchell, 2009). In non-linear systems, on the other hand, interactions between components can produce outcomes that are not the result of their linear sum. In non-linear systems, therefore, predictability is limited. As Prigogine (1997) explained, assumptions of determinism and linearity not only allow prediction, but also the identification of the initial conditions in the past that caused the present. Prigogine (1997) and Capra (1988) suggested that the classical assumptions of determinism, in which the future can be predicted and science is concerned with discovering the laws that govern the universe, have provided the framework for acting on the world and modifying natural

and social processes, sometimes with questionable consequences. As Byrne (1998: 45) suggested, complexity 'offers the possibility of an engaged science not founded in pride, in the assertion of an absolute knowledge as the basis for social programmes, but rather in a humility about the complexity of the world coupled with a hopeful belief in the potential of human beings for doing something about it'.

Complexity theory defends indeterminism and the role of uncertainty in shaping the future, by considering randomness as the rule instead of the exception (Prigogine & Stengers, 1984). From this perspective, the constructive and creative role of the arrow of time is acknowledged (Kauffman, 2010; Prigogine, 1997), implying that time is irreversible and goes in one direction, increasing the complexity of the natural and social world (Prigogine, 1997; Prigogine & Stengers, 1984). The foundation for the arrow of time is to be found in the second law of thermodynamics that states that the disorder in the universe is increasing (Kauffman, 2010), and there is a directionality in which no one moment can be exactly like the last (Toffler in Prigogine & Stengers, 1984). Nevertheless, when arguing for indeterminism using the second law of thermodynamics, complexity indicates that there are deterministic and non-deterministic processes coexisting in the world and that in fact, 'irreversibility is not a universal phenomenon' (Prigogine & Stengers, 1984: 301). Complexity challenges Newtonian science, recognising that both linear and non-linear ways of understanding the world are complementary.

Complexity has often been presented in tandem with chaos theory, especially in the social sciences where chaos theory has captured the social imagination through the well-known metaphor of a butterfly flapping its wings and producing unforeseeable consequences (Mackenzie, 2005). Baranger (2001: 10) explained that both chaos and complexity deal with non-linear systems, but are not the same thing:

Since every non-linear system is chaotic some of the time, this means that complexity implies the presence of chaos. But the reverse is not true. [...] Chaos is basically pure mathematics, and by now it is fairly well known. Complexity is almost totally unknown still.

While chaos focuses on non-linear systems that are highly sensitive to initial

conditions³, complexity is broader and deals with the connection between a ‘cosmic compulsion for disorder’ (Waldrop, 1992: 11) and an equal tendency for organisation, order and structure. Complexity is the domain of knowledge concerned with the coexistence of ‘linearly determined order and indeterminate chaos’ (Byrne, 1998: 1). When internal or external perturbations create far-from-equilibrium conditions (Prigogine & Stengers, 1984) that push the system to a critical edge between order and chaos (Kauffman, 2010; Waldrop, 1992), complex systems can create order and structures without an external controller. Order is self-organised through the time-dependent collective interaction among the numerous system’s components and between components and the environment (Baranger, 2001; Jörg, 2011; Mitchell, 2009). In consequence, complexity theory has to do with the transformative power that stems from self-organisation, in other words, with the highly contextual and time-dependent dynamics of change that emerge from collective interaction. As Holland (1992: 21) put it:

Because the individual parts of a complex adaptive system are continually revising their (‘conditioned’) rules for interaction, each part is embedded in perpetually novel surroundings (the changing behaviour of the other parts). As a result, the aggregate behaviour of the system is usually far from optimal, if indeed optimality can even be defined for the system as a whole. For this reason, standard theories in physics, economics, and elsewhere, are of little help because they concentrate on optimal end-points, whereas complex adaptive systems ‘never get there.’ They continue to evolve, and they steadily exhibit new forms of emergent behaviour. [...] It is the process of becoming, rather than the never-reached end points, that we must study if we are to gain insight.

Linear systems have been traditionally understood through reductionism that is, by analysing individual parts and then putting them together. Reductionist science claims that ‘*everything* can be reduced to little pieces of straight lines, therefore everything can be known and understood, if we analyse it on a fine enough scale’ (Baranger, 2001: 4, original emphasis). In non-linear systems by contrast, since

³ Chaos studies systems ‘in which even minuscule uncertainties in measurements of initial position and momentum can result in huge errors in long-term predictions of these quantities’ (Mitchell 2009: 20). Though very sensitive to initial conditions, these systems are still deterministic because these initial conditions determine systems’ future behaviour.

multiple causes can produce the same outcome, and conversely, the same initial conditions can produce different outcomes (Byrne, 1998), reductionism is unsuitable for understanding them. The non-linear behaviour of complex systems produces *emergent* outcomes. Emergence means that the whole exhibits properties and behaviours that are not reducible to the properties and behaviours of its components. Byrne (2001) warned that the study of complexity is not solely the study of emergent behaviour, which would lead us to holism, or reductionism to the whole⁴. Instead, the study of complexity necessarily needs to pay attention to the micro level of interactions and actions that produce macro-level behaviour, and vice versa (Byrne, 1998; Medd, 2001; Mitchell, 2009; Richardson & Cilliers, 2001).

The central question when studying complexity is therefore how self-organised behaviour emerges from disorder (Mitchell, 2009; Prigogine & Stengers, 1984). Complex systems that can adapt to their environment and in which organised behaviour emerges without the intervention of an external controller are usually called adaptive and self-organising (Holland, 1992; Mitchell, 2009); when the change is permanent they are usually called evolving (Allen, 1997; Mitleton-Kelly, 2003). For the purpose of this research, since adaptation, self-organisation and evolution are inherent characteristics of human behaviour and societies, they will simply be called *complex*. The understanding of self-organisation in a complex system is related to the understanding of its *structure*, that is how components are linked to each other and arranged in groups and hierarchies, and its *dynamics*, i.e. how interactions between components give rise to emergent patterns of behaviour (Kiel & Elliott, 1997). Baranger (2001: 9-11) summarised six fundamental properties of physical, biological and complex social systems. The first three are related to their *structure*, and the last three to their *dynamics*:

- Complex systems contain many constituents interacting in a non-linear way.
- The constituents of a complex system are interdependent.
- A complex system possesses a structure spanning several levels of organisation.
- A complex system is capable of emergent behaviour.
- Complexity involves interplay between chaos and order.

⁴ In social sciences macro-reductionism (Walby, 2007) is related to the idea of understanding the whole in order to explain the parts associated with Durkheimian sociology. Micro-reductionism on the other hand, is associated with Weberian thought and is considered a 'rejection of the conceptualization of social relations in terms of systems' (Walby, 2007: 451).

- Complexity involves interplay between cooperative and competitive interactions.

Sections 3.4 and 3.5 will further describe key ideas about the structure and dynamics of complex social systems and their relation to social interaction, self-organisation and social emergence. Nevertheless, before doing so, it is important to identify how complexity and the study of complex social systems are closely related to concerns in social theory.

3.3. COMPLEX SOCIAL SYSTEMS

The present research takes the view of complexity as a set of interrelated theoretical ideas that allow the understanding of actor-led, non-linear, and self-organised socio-political interactions and their relation with social change. Complexity theory however, has been criticised in the social sciences for providing yet another mechanistic, science-related approach for the understanding of human existence (Cilliers, 1998). Complexity studies in social sciences have been also criticised for not making explicit the standpoints of the theory in relation to the structure/agency debate in social theory (Pollitt, 2009). The purpose of this section is to show the relation between complexity and social theory, and how complex social systems are different to their counterpart in the natural and physical world. Then, the relation between complexity and critical realist's ideas of agency and structure will be outlined.

At the heart of social sciences lies the relation between the individual and society (Knorr-Cetina, 2005; Walby, 2007). Is society an emergent property of the interaction between individual actors? Following the arguments about self-organisation and emergence outlined above, this would be the evident central concern when doing social research within a complexity framework. The question is not new. From a functionalist point of view, Parsons (1991) already maintained that a social system is a network of patterned relationships between actors. Parsons' social actors, however, participated in the system according to their social roles, emphasising the function of the system in constraining and affecting individual action. Functionalist systems highlight equilibrium as the *normal* state to which a system would return if there were a small deviation (Walby, 2007) and deviations were considered anomalous behaviours. Functionalist systemic approaches have been deemed unsuitable for the study of social change as they focus on the

importance of equilibrating and perpetuating the system to maintain the social order (Reed & Harvey, 1992). Also, they have been criticised for their focus on the social, ignoring human action and its transformative role in producing and reproducing the social system (Knorr-Cetina, 2005; Walby, 2007).

As Walby (2007) pointed out, the rejection of the ideas of system and structure in sociology, in favour of micro-social theories based on postmodern and interpretive approaches favouring meaning, discourse, and individual identity, led to the use of similar notions of social system under different names. Social theory is currently using frameworks that are parallel to systems theories 'that address the issue of social interconnectedness and address a social level that is not reducible to that of individuals' (Walby 2007: 455). According to Walby (2007) these include: the Foucauldian idea of discourse, the novel relational sociology (Crossley, 2011; Donati, 2011; Emirbayer, 1997), and social networks (Latour, 1996; Scott, 1991). Furthermore, she argued that 'the attempt to build social theory without (at least implicitly) using the concept of a social system has failed' (Walby, 2007: 450). Functionalist and deterministic systems, it has been acknowledged, were inadequate for the study of societies precisely because their assumptions were imported without any changes from the natural sciences (Reed & Harvey, 1992; Sawyer, 2005). In the present research, I argue that the concepts of self-organisation and emergence that the complexity framework provides, together with a social critical realist approach that acknowledges the emergent properties arising from the interplay between agency and structure (Archer, 1995), provide the underpinnings to study the shaping power of human interactions and actions in planning processes and their relation with socio-political change (Byrne, 1998; Reed & Harvey, 1992; Sawyer, 2005; Walby, 2007).

One of the differences between natural and social systems is that in the natural world, complex systems are bound physical systems. Conversely, boundaries in social systems are hard to identify since social actors are continuously interacting with their natural and social environment (Buijs, Eshuis, & Byrne, 2009; Cilliers, 2001; Teisman, van Buuren, & Gerrits, 2009). Consequently, social systems are radically more prone to external and internal perturbations (Sawyer, 2005). Additionally, while perturbations originate in the environment of natural systems, in social systems perturbations also come from society itself (Byrne, 1998; Reed & Harvey, 1992; Sawyer, 2005). Since these internal perturbations are the result of social interaction, human qualities like meaning, intentionality, and inter-subjectivity

become important for understanding social complexity. Research on complex social systems needs to acknowledge that,

part of the experience of any actor⁵ is the interaction with others and that these actors will in general have different perspectives and views of reality. The values, aims and goals of different actors will not necessarily coincide and the trajectory of the system will therefore express both the mutual reinforcements and conflicts of these (Allen, Maguire, & McKelvey, 2011: 2).

Finally, unlike any other complex system, in social systems individuals have their own perceptions of the emergent macro patterns (Sawyer, 2005). As individuals experience the outcomes of their actions over time, their reflexive ability will allow them to confirm or change their behaviour, modifying again the trajectory of the system (Archer, 2000; Maguire & McKelvey, 2006; Sawyer, 2005). Hence, 'emergence processes in social systems are qualitatively different from emergence processes in natural and biological systems' (Sawyer, 2005: 25).

3.3.1. STRUCTURE, AGENCY AND COMPLEXITY

This section will outline how the ideas of social interaction, self-organisation and emergence in complexity theory are related to ideas of agency, structure and social change as proposed by Archer (1995, 2003, 2010) and Sayer (Sayer, 1992, 2000) within critical realism (Bhaskar 1979, 2008, 2011), in order to put forward *complex realism* (Byrne, 2011; Harvey, 2009) as the philosophical and theoretical framework for this study.

It has been said that complexity gives creativity, action and transformative power back to individuals, without abandoning the idea of sociality (Byrne, 1998). However, the study of the relation between micro and macro social behaviour remains contested (Knorr-Cetina, 2005). From a critical realist perspective of complexity, or, *complex realism* (Byrne, 2001; Harvey, 2009) relevant questions about the relation between micro and macro social behaviour would be: What is the nature of the

⁵ In her critical realist account of agency, Archer (2000) differentiates between 'agent' and 'actor'. The former related to the conscious human being reflecting on the self, while the latter refers to the social human being aware of their own powers of organisation and action. While Archer's transition of agent to actor is useful to understand individual points of view for self-organisation, the present research is, rather, concerned with actors interacting with each other, and with existent social structures. In other words, the idea of agent falls outside the limits of this study.

relation between individuals and the system, or between individuals and social structures? Are social systems and social structures equivalent? The answers to these questions differ in critical realist positions and certainly diverge in the study of social complexity. Studies of social complexity supported by mathematical analysis and computational modelling usually focus either on the non-linear or the emergent behaviour of the macro-social, respectively (e.g. Gilbert, 2000). These approaches follow a macro top-down approach in which individuals follow simplified rules for action, giving rise to equally simplified patterns of collective behaviour (Allen, 2001; Cilliers, 1998). On the other hand, studies that use narratives and symbolic interactionism usually have a micro bottom-up approach where meaningful individual interaction and communication gives rise to emergent discourses (e.g. Luhman & Boje, 2001; Sawyer, 2004, 2005). For Byrne (2011) and Harvey (2009), complex realism provides the theoretical and epistemological support to bridge the gap between the micro and macro without reducing the phenomena to either of them.

The critical realist answer to avoid micro or macro reductionism is that both structure and agency have analytical qualities (Archer, 1995) and ontological properties (Bhaskar, 2008). As Archer (1995) explained, analytical dualism means that agency and structure can be studied as separate entities and understood by themselves, a position that differentiates critical realism from Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration in which social structure and people's actions are two parts of the same social process, and consequently, impossible to analyse separately. In complex realism, structure and agency become different types of entities, and 'only when productively combined do they constitute a system of mutual reproduction and transformation' (Harvey, 2009: 32). With this distinction, reality acquires ontological depth, and different levels of analysis ranging from micro to macro behaviour are allowed. The purpose of a complex realist study is therefore to understand how micro behaviour becomes macro behaviour, through time-dependent social interaction and the idea of *emergence* (Archer, 2010; Bhaskar, 2008; Byrne, 2005; Harvey & Reed, 1997; Sayer, 2000). Archer's (1995) *morphogenetic approach* focuses precisely on the understanding of how structure and agency intertwine and mutually transform over time. As she suggested, the morphogenetic approach is both a theoretical framework to analyse the interplay between agency and structure and a methodological approach for giving accounts of the dynamics and emergent properties of macro social phenomena (Archer, 2010).

A complex realist account of the social, while recognising the mutually transforming interrelation between macro and micro, differs from the bottom-up interpretivist and postmodernist understandings of social complexity in one key regard: individuals do not create social structures from nothing (Bhaskar, 1979). Social structures pre-exist in the transformational account of complex reality. For Archer (1995), actors' interactions and actions either transform or reproduce existing structures through social dynamics of morphogenetics or morphostatics, respectively. Morphogenetics focuses on social change as a result of the actions of meaningful human agency (Archer, 1995; Bunge, 2000). Morphostatics, on the other hand, is related to practices that are reproduced by individuals and lead to social stasis (Archer, 1995; Bunge, 2000). Social change is both path-dependent and contingent, shaped by history, context and legacies (Sawyer, 2005). By maintaining that human agency takes place within pre-existent social structures, the morphogenetic/morphostatic sequence is necessarily historical, providing a useful framework for research focused on social change fostered by social movements and self-organisation (Diani, 2003; Fuchs, 2003, 2006). In other words, structural change happens when meaningful interactions and actions of individuals challenge existent social structures that no longer apply to them. As Lewis (2000) pointed out, there is a distinction between current social actions and the existing social structures that condition them; 'at any given moment of time people confront social structures which are pre-formed in the sense that they are the product, not of people's actions in the present, but of actions undertaken in the past' (Lewis, 2000: 250). In this account, 'people certainly can make history' (Byrne, 1998: 6) and change the circumstances of their own lives.

When conducting research from a complex realist position, an issue to deal with is the conceptual relation between system, society and structure. Bhaskar (2008: 66) recognised the irreducibility of the whole to the parts when he maintained that 'systems are irreducible to their constitute parts, and as such, they are emergent entities that can be understood in their own right, and at their own level'. However, he conflated the notions of social structure, social system and society by using the terms interchangeably (Urry, 1982). Harvey (2009) on the other hand, suggested that societies (or social systems) involve more than social structure when he described society as the 'emergent social space in which the co-respective powers of structure and agency realize their respective potentials by harnessing and transforming the powers inherent in their opposite' (Harvey, 2009: 32). From a similar point of view, Bunge (2000, 2004) further described the differentiation

between structure and system by arguing that structures are properties of systems that reflect the bonds and arrangements between individuals, as well as their rules and practices. In Bunge's (2004) social *systemism*, society or social systems represent both the dialectic and dynamic relation between agency and structure, and the emergent ontological entities resultant from this interaction, which are 'ontologically distinct and irreducible' (Harvey & Reed, 1997: 297).

Emergent approaches that seek to reconstruct the macro-social from a micro-social perspective are, according to Knorr-Cetina (2005), relatively new. Emergence, by definition, can be 'manifested by a whole but not by its parts when these are considered independently' (Knorr-Cetina, 2005). In consequence, complex realism does not relate the study of macro-phenomena directly to what happens in micro-situations, since individual accounts of events cannot fully describe the macro-social. If individuals were able to give an account of the whole complexity of the social system, then the system would be reducible to its individual parts and no longer emergent or indeed, *complex* (Cilliers, 1998). There are two consequences of this understanding of emergence in social research: firstly, the collective consequences of individual action are often unintended since each actor cannot know the whole system; and secondly, the social sciences cannot expect to fully know the emergent macro-order, since it is methodologically bound to individual accounts. Although emergence is unknowable through direct verification, it is possible to find proof of its existence through limited reconstructions (Knorr-Cetina, 2005: 28). As Cilliers (1998: 4) indicates:

Each element in the system is ignorant of the behaviour of the system as a whole, it responds only to information that is available to it locally. This point is vitally important. If each element 'knew' what was happening to the system as a whole, all of the complexity would have to be present *in that element*. This would either entail a physical impossibility in the sense that a single element does not have the necessary capacity, or constitute a metaphysical move in the sense that 'consciousness' of the whole is contained in one particular unit.

This section has argued in favour of an analytical (Archer, 1995, 2010) and ontological (Bhaskar, 2008; Bunge, 2000; Harvey & Reed, 1997) distinction between structure, agency and society that acknowledges the mutually transformative interaction between different scales of analysis: the micro and the macro. This interaction is historical when it is assumed that structure necessarily

exists before agency and that the pre-existent structure is itself the result of agential interactions in the past. Society is the emergent space resulting from a meaningful action that continually transforms and is transformed by a flexible and adaptable social structure. In other words, people within social systems are not creating new social structures through self-organisation from nothing, but are going through a process of morphogenesis in which the old structures (bonds and arrangements, rules and social practices) remain but are in constant change and transformation. A change comes when individuals are confronted with structures and practices that no longer apply to their context. The system remains, but is transformed. 'Human intentional agency must be understood as acting upon (reproducing or transforming) pre-existent structures, not as creating structures ex nihilo' (Lewis, 2000: 251).

3.4. STRUCTURAL COMPLEXITY

Following a critical realist perspective of social structure, the macro arrangements that enable and constrain agency can be understood through two complementary structural dimensions (Archer, 1995; Elder-Vass, 2007a, 2007b). According to Elder-Vass (2007a, 2007b, 2008), the first dimension refers to *structure-as relations*, or the ties between individuals and groups that facilitate social interaction. The second is related to *structure-as-rules*, and includes the norms, institutions and social practices that emerged from historical interactions and self-organisation (Cilliers, 1998), which provide the context for subsequent social interaction and action. The identification of both relational and institutional structural dimensions of complex systems is needed in order to analyse how social interaction and self-organisation can lead to structural change (Elder-Vass, 2008).

3.4.1. STRUCTURES AS RELATIONS: HIERARCHICAL NETWORKS

Complex social systems are composed of interrelated and interacting individuals and social groups (Cilliers, 1998). A starting point to describe structural complexity would be to acknowledge that the structure of a complex system is not completely ordered, nor completely random (Érdi, 2008). It rather maintains a unique dynamic between flexibility and rigidity that makes complex systems prone to perturbations while being resilient and adaptive. Simon (1962), in his seminal paper on the 'architecture of complexity', was one of the first to recognise the significance of hierarchical structures in adaptive processes. He emphasised hierarchies as bottom-up, semi-autonomous *levels of organisation* in opposition to the traditional hierarchies related to top-down mechanisms of control (Holling, 2001). In these

complex hierarchies, interactions between elements in a system can give rise to emergent behaviour in a higher-level system, which in turn will constrain and enable interactions and dynamics in the lower level. Information, purpose and power in these hierarchies run vertically (both top-down and bottom-up) and horizontally, making each level potentially significant for all other levels (Byrne, 1998). Complex social hierarchies allow the relational understanding of how actors' interactions give rise to social organisations, structures of governance, governments and societies through self-organisation and emergence (García, 2006; Holling, 2001).

Macro or higher levels of organisation are emergent and have properties that cannot be reduced to lower-level or micro ones. As such, each emergent level develops its own structure and dynamics, increasing the complexity of subsequent levels of organisation (García, 2006; Holling, 2001; Simon, 1962). However, it must be considered that since the structure of a complex system is not completely ordered, complex hierarchies are not neatly nested. There are always 'other systems which intersect with them, cut across them, constitute part of them and are constituted by them' (Byrne, 2005: 105). Similarly, any given actor can belong to several organisations or sub-systems, 'a single person, for instance, can simultaneously be part of a family, union, investment club, and regional economy' (Manson 2001: 409). Criss-cross interaction is not a deviation. It provides room for adaptability and self-organisation, offering alternative paths of communication that can disrupt hierarchies 'that may have become too dominant or obsolete' (Cilliers, 2001: 143). A complex view of hierarchy means that systems overlap, and that one system is not always completely contained by another, as is usually understood in functionalist, or linear systems approaches. In other words, a complex system 'does not necessarily fully saturate the space or territory that it is in. This enables the idea of a set of social relations as not fully saturating an institution or domain—it can overlap with other sets of social relations' (Walby, 2007: 459).

Some approaches use network analysis to investigate the relational dimension of complex systems (Cilliers, 2001; Mackenzie, 2005; Mitchell, 2009; Sawyer, 2005; Scott, Cooper, & Baggio, 2008). According to Cilliers (2001), network approaches often maintain a contradictory position to the one of hierarchies, which traditionally implied a centred concentration of power along with rigidity and top-down mechanisms of communication and control (Urry, 2000). Arguments in favour of flat, non-hierarchical complex networks emphasise the distributed nature of power among social actors, as well as the dynamics of social self-organisation without

apparent central control (Cilliers, 2001). In these approaches, networks *replace* hierarchies and become ‘the new social morphology of our societies’ (Castells, 1996: 469), giving pre-eminence to the morphological configurations of society that decentre social dynamics while acknowledging shared mechanisms of decision-making (Urry, 2003: 9). Nevertheless, research in social networks is also concerned with identifying relational arrangements and subgroups. As Bodin and Crona (2009: 368) pointed out, in network terms,

a subgroup can be defined as having significantly more ties between its group members or nodes than between members and non-members. [...] Regardless of how groups are defined and identified, the underlying assumption is that groups distinguish themselves from the rest of the network through their internal tie distribution, i.e. they make up more or less distinguishable islands in the relational landscape.

Following the thought of Cilliers (2001; 1998) and concurring with the complex realist idea of a multi-layered (Bhaskar, 1979, 2008) or nested (Byrne, 1998, 2005) complex reality, this research conciliates the notions of hierarchy and networks maintaining that they are not exclusive but complementary. A hierarchical network perspective in opposition to a flat one is maintained in the present research for three reasons. First, as described earlier, society is not a random collection of independent individuals; it is rather a system of interrelated individuals organised into groups of various kinds. (Bunge, 2000; Manson, 2001). The second is that flat networks, as found in Latour et al. (2012) and the early works of Castells (1996), allow the possibility of focusing social analysis solely on the individual or on the distributed power among social actors, ignoring concentrations of power which remain in groups and structural arrangements in society. Finally, non-hierarchical networks contradict the multi-layered ontology of complex realism as flat networks discard higher levels of organisation and emergence (e.g. Latour et al., 2012). Looking at hierarchical networks provides the opportunity to tackle explicitly and empirically the duality between micro and macro social behaviour (Diani, 2003), without falling into rigid mechanisms of social organisation that assume a functional separation between parts, and between the parts and the whole (Walby, 2007).

3.4.2. STRUCTURES AS RULES, INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL PRACTICES

The previous section described the structure of complex social systems as the emergent social relations, interconnections, or networks arising from micro or

individual interactions. This section, in turn, is concerned with how individuals are affected by the rules, institutions and social practices that characterise these macro arrangements. Cilliers (1998) clarified that structure is not only the result of interactions between actors, but also the result of interactions between actors and the system's structural conditions:

If the capacities of the system satisfy a number of constraints, it can develop a distributed form of internal structure through a process of self-organisation. This process is such that (the new) structure is neither a passive reflection of the outside, nor a result of active, pre-programmed internal factors, but the result of a complex interaction between the environment, the present state of the system and the history of the system (Cilliers, 1998: 89 added parenthesis).

In other words, social systems' rules, institutions and social practices can be understood as the emergent properties of higher-level relational arrangements that have been historically shaped by previous social interactions. These are institutional or normative patterns that enable and constrain, organise and regulate relations between social actors, and encourage social actors to adhere to the social practices that are considered normal for that collectivity (Elder-Vass, 2008). Haynes combined the relational and institutional dimensions of structure when he argued that the 'word structure is used to describe the fabric of society and its organisation, the rules, laws, institutions and traditions' (2003: 56). As Fuchs and Hofkirchner (2005) pointed out, social structures mediate communication and interaction, they are the medium and outcome of interactions between meaningful individuals. Dynamics of social change are thus the transformation of historically produced and context-rich relational hierarchies or macro levels with their own rules, institutions and social practices. Transformation does not imply that hierarchies should be abolished, but renewed, and although 'they generate frameworks of meaning in the system, they cannot remain unchanged' (Cilliers, 2001: 144).

Social structures are manifest in individuals through their roles (Cilliers, 2001), obligations and positions (Bhaskar, 1979, 2008) in the system. Indeed, in complex systems 'individual agents or agent communities will typically specialise in a particular activity (e.g. processing a particular type of resource) that complements the activities of the other agents' (Heylighen, Cilliers, & Gershenson, 2007: 127). Within hierarchical networks and through interactions, these positions, rights,

obligations, and roles become, in turn, associated (Lewis, 2000). Therefore, structures provide frameworks and rules for long-lasting practices, facilitating and constraining the actions of individuals, though recognising the individual as a societal, self-conscious, creative, reflexive, cultural, value-based, co-operative and competitive being that makes its own history (Fuchs, 2003). Complex realism assumes that from subjective and structurally constrained social interactions (further discussed in section 3.5.1) between individuals, and between individuals and their structural constraints a new entity emerges – society (Archer, 2003).

3.4.3. BOUNDARIES AND ENVIRONMENTS

Previously, it was indicated that boundaries of complex social systems are difficult to define because individuals are continually interacting with their environment making boundaries open and blurred (Cilliers, 2001). Additionally, a networked structure can expand almost indefinitely, incorporating new nodes/actors according to individual and collective interests and purposes (Castells, 1996). As Heylighen, Cilliers and Gersehnson (2007: 129) indicated, ‘the relationship between a complex system and its environment is in itself a complex problem’, especially when considering that the system under study is embedded in higher-level complex systems that are themselves dynamic and changing (Jörg, 2011; Mitleton-Kelly, 2003). Indeed, the same system can be simultaneously part of many different higher-level systems, which means that systems overlap and intersect each other, sharing components and subsystems. Hence, systems are not a given, but depend on the point of view and focus of attention; ‘the system and its boundaries in one scenario may be nested systems in another, or vice versa’ (Teisman et al., 2009: 137). Consequently, the identification of a boundary should not be taken in the traditional sense. Instead of separating the system, boundaries facilitate connections and interactions with the environment (Cilliers, 2001).

In spite of being highly interrelated, systems are relatively autonomous and can be differentiated from their environment. Boundaries are simultaneously a function of the activity of the system itself, and a product of the strategy of the description involved. They do not exist *a priori* and are not completely objective, nor completely arbitrary (Byrne, 2005; Cilliers, 2001; García, 2006). Cilliers (2001) maintained that a way to identify a boundary of a system is through the idea of operational closure. For a system to maintain its identity, he explained, ‘it must reproduce itself (internally)’ (*Ibid* 2001: 140). In other words, since the system is generated and

regenerated continually through its internal dynamics of production and reproduction, the observer can identify what a system does, or what a social system is about, even when the system is in incessant transformation. As Cilliers (2001: 140) clarified:

We frame the system by describing it in a certain way (for a certain reason), but we are constrained in where the frame can be drawn. The boundary of the system is therefore neither purely a function of our description, nor is it a purely natural thing. We can never be sure that we have “found” or “defined” it clearly, and therefore the closure of the system is not something that can be described objectively.

3.5. DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN COMPLEX SYSTEMS

Complexity theory is inherently dynamic. It is concerned with the description and explanation of transformations and the emergence of order throughout time (Byrne, 2005). Time is thus ‘the deterministic component of chaos and complexity theory, in that time cannot be run backwards and in this sense the past does determine the future. If one can understand how order emerges over time, some partial answers are possible’ (Haynes, 2003: 4). This section draws from complexity and critical realism to conceptually describe self-organisation and the emergence of social order from perturbations and instability.

3.5.1. PERTURBATIONS AND INSTABILITY

Complex systems are inherently dynamic, historical, innovative, and evolutionary (Byrne, 1998; Cilliers, 1998; Reed & Harvey, 1992). As outlined previously, the sources of perturbation that continuously push complex social systems far from equilibrium are to be found both inside and outside them (Byrne, 1998; Cilliers, 1998; Nicolis & Prigogine, 1977; Reed & Harvey, 1992). *External* perturbations are associated with the interactions between the system and its environment, which as described previously, consists basically of higher-level hierarchical organisation. Instability occurs when the dynamics of higher-level systems are incompatible with the dynamics within the system. *Internal* perturbations on the other hand, are distinctive of social systems and are triggered by differences in values, actions, intentions and interests between individuals (Harvey & Reed, 1997).

Transformative (Bhaskar, 2008), morphogenetic (Archer, 1995) or adaptive cycles (Holling, 2001) are initiated with internal or external perturbations large enough to push the system into a transition state characterised by instability (Byrne, 1998; Harvey & Reed, 1997). In this state, the system becomes unstable as it alternates between different possibilities for the future; this includes maintaining its original structure and dynamics or evolving into different ones. Instability means that the future of the system is uncertain and, in the case of social systems, it means that individuals within the system become unsure of what to do or what to expect (Heylighen, 2011).

Instability is not always associated with transformative change or evolution. Some perturbations can be absorbed by the system's flexible structure and the system subsequently returns to its original dynamics. Nevertheless, there is a limit to what the system can absorb (Byrne, 1998) and other perturbations do destabilise the system in such a way that it cannot continue its original trajectory. In such cases, self-organisation and new structural arrangements are possible (Harvey & Reed, 1997). Possibilities for the future, nevertheless, are history-dependent and constrained by context. In this perspective, social transformation or morphogenesis (Archer, 1995) is related to self-organisation and the emergent structures that arise when a social system is unstable and reaches a point in which it needs reorganising (Reed & Harvey, 1992). As Laszlo and Laszlo explained, when societies are destabilised (1997: 15),

they then either reorganise their structures to establish a new dynamic regime that can cope with the original perturbations, or disaggregate to their individually stable components. [...] Societal bifurcations can be smooth and continuous, explosive and catastrophic, or abrupt and entirely unforeseeable. However, they always describe the point at which a social system transverses a period of indeterminacy by exploring and selecting alternative responses to destabilising perturbations.

Once a new path is selected new structural relations emerge, increasing the system's complexity. The ability of complex social systems to self-organise, adapt or evolve when facing perturbations depends on the reflexive and innovative nature of human agency and their capacity to respond to perturbations and instability (Laszlo & Laszlo, 1997). Complex systems bring both instability and order together through dynamics 'where the components of a system never quite lock into place, and yet never quite dissolve into turbulence, either' (Waldrop, 1992: 12).

3.5.2. SELF-ORGANISATION

Self-organisation is a property of complex systems that enables them to re-produce or re-arrange their internal structure in order to cope with internal or external perturbations and instability (Buijs, Eshuis, et al., 2009; Cilliers, 1998; Heylighen, 2011). Its main feature is that, contrary to cybernetic systems, self-organisation acknowledges dynamics that take place without the intervention of any external or central mechanism of government and control (Cilliers, 1998; Reed & Harvey, 1992). Social self-organisation is related to the idea of power, information, and agency being distributed across many actors who can interact and act spontaneously, creatively, and adaptively, sometimes to maintain the status quo, but mainly to seek social transformation (Buijs, Van der Bol, et al., 2009; Cilliers, 2001). Smith and Steven's (1996: 139) definition of self-organisation beautifully emphasised its emergent character while clarifying that not all dynamics of self-organisation are actually permanent:

Like emergent properties in general, self-organisation occurs under non-linear conditions, typically where there are large numbers of interacting elements. In some dynamic environments, emergent properties often change in such quick and seemingly chaotic ways that they are neither observable nor particularly interesting. [...] In other cases, however, sustained patterns of emergent phenomena appear, and become defining features of their environments. These self-sustaining, observable, emergent structures are examples of self-organisation, and are called self-organising systems.

Self-organisation provides the principles to understand how individual agency can change the trajectory of a complex social system. The subsequent sub-sections seek to define such principles, including reinforcing and inhibiting interactions, complex causality, and conservative/dissipative social dynamics.

3.5.2.1. *Interactions and complex causation*

Self-organisation can be understood as the dynamic patterns arising from social interactions, which are multiplicative (rather than additive), non-linear and circular relations between social actors (Byrne, 1998). The circular character of social interactions is the origin of complex causation and non-linearity, which means that individuals are continuously causing and modifying their actions through mutually inhibiting and enhancing feedback loops that in turn take place within constraining

and enabling structural contexts (Jörg, 2011). Complex causation does not determine a certain outcome and cannot be assessed by linear analysis, as the 'outcomes of interactions between parties do not only result from the intentions and actions of these two parties, but also from interferences from the context in which the interaction takes place, and the emerging results of such interactions' (Teisman et al., 2009: 2). In other words, the outcomes of social interaction need to be understood with an emergent, rather than a cause-effect approach, and are highly contextual. The outcomes of social interaction, thus, can vary in different places and at different times: history, context and agency matter (Byrne, 2005: 105).

In contrast to linear accounts of causation that are focused on regularities and linear outcomes, a complex causal account deals with what an entity can or cannot do in relation to its effects (Lewis, 2000). In other words, social actors have causal powers over other social actors because they can reinforce or undermine, for example, creative action. Also, the social structures that emerge from social interaction have causal powers because they can enable or constrain further social interaction and action (Archer, 1995; Bhaskar, 2008). For Cilliers (1998), interactions have a number of important characteristics:

- Interactions can be thought of as the transference of information between social actors.
- Any actor in the system influences, and is influenced by, others.
- Interactions usually have a fairly short range and are enabled and constrained by existing connections or ties among social actors. Interactions themselves can create new ties between social actors.
- Interactions are non-linear. Complex causation and feedback are the social equivalent of non-linearity and are a precondition for complexity. That is how actor-level causes can have social-level results, and vice versa.
- There are loops in the interactions. The effects of any action can feedback onto itself, sometimes directly, sometimes after a number of steps. This feedback can be positive (enhancing, stimulating) or negative (detracting, inhibiting).

As discussed in section 3.4.2, positions, obligations and roles, are the way in which social structures are manifest in interactions between actors. However, these constitute only one of the dimensions (*structural* dimension) that influence social interaction at the individual level, where an *intentional* dimension in form of

individual perceptions, interests, goals and values also plays a part (Kooiman, 2003). Archer (2007) emphasised that within this approach, both structures and meanings are real and have causal implications. Cooperation and competition are the individual intentions that lie at the heart of interactions and social feedback. They are necessary to foster dynamics of mutual inhibition and reinforcement between actors and form new, rich and meaningful structural arrangements (Cilliers, 1998). Cooperation is related to mutual interdependencies and occurs when individuals are interested in reaching goals that they would not be able to reach on their own (Fuchs, 2002). Nevertheless, there is also competition among individuals and social groups as 'competing for limited resources is the basic driving force behind the development of structure', because if resources were limitless, 'no meaningful structure could evolve' (Cilliers, 1998: 94).

Both, structural (roles, positions and obligations) and intentional (cooperation and competition) dimensions are jointly embodied in actor's interactions (Elder-Vass, 2008), and manifest in mutual feedback between social actors. When an innovative action is *reinforced* through (positive) mutual social feedback, instability, but also changes and transformations, are possible. When a change-oriented action is undermined or *inhibited* through negative social feedback, the current path of the system is maintained. The social processes of morphogenetics and morphostatics are closely related to positive and negative feedback, respectively (Archer, 1995). As Haynes (2003) has pointed out, the understanding of interactions and feedback are more significant in comprehending social change than the identification of a few individual factors causing and determining one outcome or another.

3.5.2.2. *Conservative and dissipative self-organisation*

Following the ideas of social stasis and social change from previous sections, a distinction will be made between two kinds of self-organisation (Buijs, van der Bol, et al., 2009; Fuchs, 2002; Heylighen et al., 2007; Mittleton-Kelly, 2003), which will be called *conservative* and *dissipative*⁶ (Buijs et al., 2009: 98). While the study of

⁶ Although the concept 'conservative' is being used mainly in terms of Buijs *et al.* (2009), it is important to clarify that similar concepts exist in both complexity theory and critical realism. In addition to Archer's morphostasis (1995), concepts such as path dependence (Byrne, 1998; Mason, 2001); lock-in effect (Walby, 2007; O'Sullivan 2003); self-production and autopoiesis (Maturana and Varela, 1987; Mingers, 2004) are used to refer to the dynamics of re-production and social stasis as opposed to dynamics of change. These correspond to social actions oriented to maintaining the system's original path or trajectory supported by history, context, constraints in the environment and individual interests.

complexity usually focuses on dissipative self-organisation (Prigogine & Stengers, 1984), some authors emphasise their coexistence in complex systems' dynamics (Buijs et al., 2009; Holling, 2001). Conservative self-organisation refers to dynamics oriented towards maintaining existent social structures and patterns of interaction, and it is associated with the linear, monitoring and equilibrating dynamics of cybernetic and functional systems. Conservative self-organisation pertains to morphostasis, inhibiting feedback, and the ability of the system to control, maintain, and re-produce itself (Archer, 2010; Buijs et al., 2009; Fuchs, 2003, 2006; García, 2006). Holling (2001) pointed out that conservative dynamics allow growth and (dynamic) stability in the system, yet too much focus on control and stability can restrict the creative and adaptive ability of social actors, diminishing the stimuli provided by perturbations. In other words, conservative dynamics can lead the system to an inert state (Buijs et al., 2009: 9).

Dissipative self-organisation (Prigogine & Stengers, 1984) on the other hand, is associated to destabilising non-linear dynamics which spawn transformations in the system. Dissipative self-organisation relates to morphogenesis, rearrangement of structures, reinforcing feedback, and the ability of human agency to change the course of the future (Archer, 2010; Byrne, 1998; Fuchs, 2003, 2006; García, 2006). These processes bring a system into a situation of dynamic and creative innovation, but without the stabilising forces of conservative self-organisation, they also have the potential to cause further instability (Buijs et al., 2009). Dissipative dynamics are the central concern of chaos and complexity theory, which assumes that through non-linear dynamics produced by stimulating, self-enhanced social interaction, small changes could cause large, unpredictable outcomes (Cilliers, 1998; Jörg, 2011; Morin, 2008). Dissipative self-organisation is thus inherently transformative and implies that 'social order is not always possible, nor is it necessarily desirable' (Harvey & Reed, 1997).

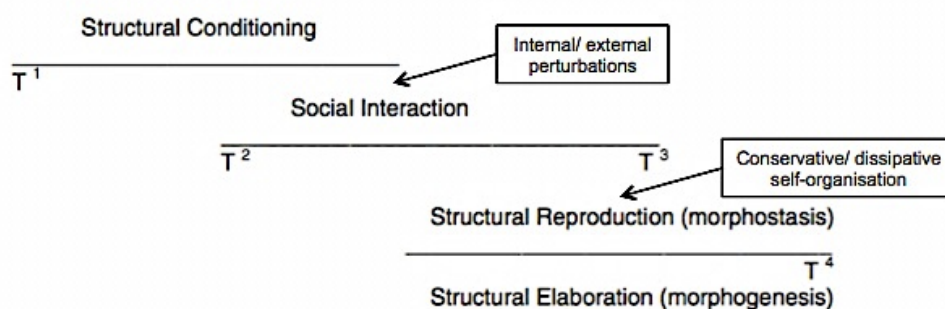


FIGURE 3.1. The basic morphogenetic sequence. Source: based on Archer (1995: 76).

Lastly, a complex realist account assumes that self-organisation is time-dependent and that social structures necessarily precede them. As Archer (2010) pointed out, structures necessarily come first since social actions cannot change or maintain something inexistent. Within 'structural conditioning' (figure 3.1) and because of internal or external perturbations, social interaction takes place. Conservative and dissipative patterns of self-organisation arise from social interaction, leading to new structural arrangements or next 'structural conditioning' that will enable or constrain future interactions. When a morphogenetic or transformative cycle is completed, not only is the structure transformed, but agency also, as part of the same process. As it reshapes structural relations, agency is inevitably reshaping itself,

in terms of what has become normalised and taken for granted; in terms of the new roles and positions that some occupy and others do not; and in terms of the novel situations in which all agents now find themselves, which are constraining to the projects of some and enabling to the projects of others, yet of significance for the motivation of all (Archer 2010: 276).

3.5.3. EMERGENCE

Social emergence implies that society cannot be regarded as the sum of the individuals that compose it, but as an emergent entity with specific qualities and causal powers (Archer, 2003; Bhaskar, 2008; Harvey & Reed, 1997; Morin, 2008). Social ties and agreed rules emerge from interactions among individuals and social groups, giving rise to higher-level social structures. Nevertheless, interactions are circular, and individuals continuously modify their behaviour as a consequence of mutual feedback, meaning that their emergent outcomes cannot be fully determined or predicted (Fuchs, 2003: 10). From this point of view, emergence is inherently time-dependent, that is, low-level hierarchies necessarily precede higher-level ones, precisely because the latter emerge from the former. Additionally, higher-level structures emerge with autonomous properties and dynamics that can enable and constrain interactions in the lower level (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2002: 181). In other words, higher-level structures have causal powers over the lower level structures and individuals from which they emerged.

Emergent understandings of society have been criticised for attributing causal powers to collectivities such as organisations, institutions and society itself, which from micro social perspectives are only attributable to individuals (Sawyer, 2005; Walby, 2007). For Archer (Archer, 2007), while every individual is a structurally

constrained, self-conscious, reflexive being, emergent societies and social structures are not. Indeed, to recognise the mediating role of human agency and interaction in the emergence of society is to acknowledge two different ontologies: 'the objective pertaining to social emergent properties and the subjective pertaining to agential emergent properties' (Archer, 2007: 42). Thus, 'however differently the social may be conceptualised in various schools of thought — from an objective and emergent stratum of reality to a negotiated and objectified social construct — the social remains different from its component members in this crucial respect of lacking self-consciousness' (Archer, 2007: 40). In consequence, the social and the individual have different ontological properties that can be studied separately from the effects they have on higher or lower-levels of analysis.

As Sawyer (2005: 52) emphasised, an emergent analysis of society implies: (a) the simultaneous consideration of multiple levels of analysis including a higher-level emergent one, a lower-level componential one, and a dynamic one focused on the interplay between the individual and the social; (b) the understanding of how higher-level entities emerge from the complex interactions among individuals and social groups (self-organisation); and (c) the examination of how these higher-level emergent entities influence the future interactions of individuals and social groups. In order to understand social emergence, Sawyer (2001: 576) identified three characteristics of social systems that are not explainable or predictable through actor-level accounts:

- *Non-aggregativity*. The properties of the system are not the sum of the properties of the individual components and the trajectory of the system is not the sum of individual interactions and actions in a linear, additive way (Byrne, 1998).
- *Interdependency or near decomposability*. In functionalist systems, each component has a function that contributes to the functioning of the whole, but the whole does not determine the internal functioning of its components. In social complex systems on the other hand, the function or role of each actor is not completely determined intrinsically, meaning that the interactions and actions of individuals are both intrinsically and extrinsically influenced and modified by their constant interaction with other actors and with existent social structures.
- *Distributedness*. In functional systems, each property of the system can be identified with a single individual or subsystem. When the system's emergent

properties cannot be identified in the components but are distributed within the whole system, the emergent properties of that system are distributed (Cilliers, 1998).

3.6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter outlined a theoretical framework for the study of social change by relating concepts of social complexity with notions of structure and agency from a critical realist standpoint. The emergent framework, *complex realism*, however, not only provides theoretical background for this research but also philosophical and methodological underpinnings, as will be discussed in chapter 5. This chapter contributes to the research process by identifying and organising the relevant concepts from complexity and critical realism that will facilitate the analysis of findings and their final interpretation. Dissimilar language used by different authors to refer to analogous ideas, made the task of building coherence challenging. Complex realism precisely brings together what appear to be divergent concepts: instability and order, the parts and the whole, agency and structure, micro and macro social dynamics, social stasis and social transformation.

Dynamics of change in social complex systems can be understood by identifying a departure point in which the dynamics of the system are unstable due to external or internal perturbations. External perturbations occur when the dynamics of higher-level systems are incompatible with the dynamics within the system. Internal perturbations arise when individuals or groups within the system have conflicting perceptions, interests, or values that inhibit action. When the system is unstable, individuals within the system become unsure of what to do or what to expect. Intentional, meaningful, value-based, but also structurally conditioned interactions grounded on interdependencies between social actors within the system take place to face the new challenges.

Social interactions involve mutually inhibiting and enhancing feedback loops in which actors have causal power over other actors. Also, social structures have causal powers over actors' interactions by enabling and constraining them. Complex causation is what makes social complex systems unpredictable, since the outcomes of continuous mutually modifying, and structurally constrained interactions are difficult to determine. Instead of looking for cause-effect explanations, social complexity focuses on the dynamic patterns of self-organisation that arise from

actors' interactions without the intervention of any external controller. These patterns lead to structural reproduction when social interactions are mainly oriented to maintain structural conditions (conservative self-organisation), or structural transformation when social interactions are mainly oriented to change and challenge existing structural conditions (dissipative self-organisation). Finally, emergence allows the understanding of self-organised structural change in complex systems and how new social structures influence the future interactions of individuals and social groups.

On one hand, the implications of a complex realist approach for social change are how to relate the theoretical framework with the field of study, or how to relate agency, interaction and non-linearity in tourism planning with dynamics of reproduction and transformation of the socio-political governance structures in a tourism destination. On the other, the ontological/methodological challenge is related to how to bring together different levels of analysis in a research design that includes individual agency embodied in social interaction and actions, the interplay between agency and structure embodied in dynamics of self-organisation, and the structures that emerge from such dynamics. These challenges will be the topic of chapters 4 and 5, respectively.



CHAPTER 4.GOVERNANCE AS EMERGENCE:
CHALLENGES IN CONTEMPORARY DYNAMICS OF
TOURISM PLANNING

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Tourism planning does not take place in a vacuum; instead, it is embedded in wider socio-political contexts that are in constant change. This chapter emerged after the first rounds of data analysis (chapter 5) to highlight governance as the concept that allows the understanding of the socio-political structures in which tourism-planning processes take place, as well as the emergent outcomes of planning dynamics on a socio-political level. One of the aims of this chapter is to discuss key challenges in tourism planning and policy-making related with the emergent governance discourse. The other aim is to integrate the theoretical framework discussed in the previous chapter with current research in planning and governance. In order to do so, the chapter draws mainly from ideas of collaborative (Innes & Booher, 2003, 2010), network (Innes, 2005; Sorensen & Torfing, 2005) and interactive governance (Kooiman, Bavinck, Chuenpagdee, Mahon, & Pullin, 2008; Kooiman, 2003). Complexity theory is used as a framework to organise and understand the relevant literature in the subject, even when some ideas come from different perspectives.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section refers to the study of destinations as complex systems, focusing on regional destinations as tourism unities interrelated with higher and lower-level socio-political systems. The second section focuses on the shifting understanding of the role of government in planning and managing tourism destinations, and how the prominence of the emergent governance discourse affects tourism planning. Governance and planning are then associated in a dialectical way, by understanding planning as the micro social activity based on non-linear interactions, and governance as the contextual and emergent structural conditions for these interactions. The third section focuses on how tourism planning can transform governance structures by expanding on interactions, dynamics of conservative and dissipative self-organisation and emergence.

4.2. DESTINATIONS AS COMPLEX SYSTEMS

Destinations have been used extensively as units of analysis in tourism research (Echtner & Ritchie, 2003; Getz, 1992; Hall, 2008; Eric Laws, Richins, Agrusa, & Scott, 2011; Spyriadis, Buhalis, & Fyall, 2011; Timothy, 2007). What actually constitutes a destination in physical terms varies in the existing literature, which implies that the geographical scale of the destination could vary from continents,

states, provinces, and municipalities, to tourist resorts and even single tourist products (Hall, 2008; Saarinen, 2004). Marketing approaches have focused on identifying destination identities based on holistic and unique attributes that differentiate them from their competitors (Echtner & Ritchie, 2003) and that can be meaningfully perceived by tourists (Beerli & Martín, 2004; Murphy, Pritchard, & Smith, 2000). Traditional planning approaches have focused on destinations as tourism systems where attractions, accommodation, transportation and other support services need to be coordinated to function in a balanced and coherent way (Gunn, 1997; E Laws, 1995; Leiper, 1990). Geographical approaches have focused on how patterns of tourism mobility (Dredge, 1999), cultural practices, and history shape the destination as a socially constructed place in constant transformation (Saarinen, 2004). Effectively, while the literature cannot agree on what a destination is, it certainly concurs in conceptualizing the tourism destination as a unity (Haugland, Ness, Grønseth, & Aarstad, 2011), either a spatial, functional, perceived, or socially constructed one.

The destination under study will be understood as a socio-political complex system (Kooiman, 2003). A socio-political approach to understanding tourism complex systems implies a shift from the traditional tourism planning view of destinations as systems constituted by functional subsystems of attractions and tourism services (chapter 2). It also differs from market approaches, in which the tourism system is a network of interdependent stakeholders that work together to develop or commercialise a coherent tourism product (Haugland et al., 2011; Pavlovich, 2003). The socio-political understanding of the destination rather focuses on the dialectical dynamics between socio-political agency, that is, stakeholder's interactions oriented to act upon their future, and enabling and constraining socio-political structures. Interactions, in other words, are considered actor-related planning and policy-making dynamics shaped by individual and shared interests (Kooiman, 2003), that reproduce and transform pre-existent socio-political rules, institutionalised practices and social networks of relations (Dredge, 2006b; Kooiman, 2003; Richins & Agrusa, 2011; Scott, Baggio, & Cooper, 2008; Spyriadis et al., 2011; Tinsley & Lynch, 2001).

Once it has been established that the destination is understood as a complex socio-political system, it is important to consider that the geographical scale influences the nature of planning dynamics. According to Timothy (1998), whether it is exclusively for tourism purposes or embedded in other policy issues, the highest level of tourism administration in a country is the national government. Below that, many countries

have lower-order units of tourism administration including states, provinces, counties, and municipalities. In between national and local levels of tourism administration, regional levels usually exist precisely to coordinate them, linking lower levels of government and disparate segments of the industry, while enabling destination networks to form (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001; Pforr, 2006; Timothy, 1998; Zahra & Ryan, 2007). This research is concerned with regional planning as a middle level of public administration that could refer to states, provinces or counties. Regional (in this case provincial) tourism planning is complex since it includes socio-political actors with local interests, along with actors who have provincial, national or international interests (Medeiros de Araujo & Bramwell, 1999), involving horizontal and vertical interactions across different levels of government and key social organisations (Tosun & Jenkins, 1998). In consequence, regional planning requires multi-level analysis (figure 4.1) that relates the level of local actors and organisations with the regional level of the destination, while considering that both are embedded in a wider socio-political context (Haugland et al., 2011; Milne & Ateljevic, 2001; Mosedale & Albrecht, 2011).



FIGURE 4.1. Tourism and the global-local nexus. Source: Milne and Ateljevic (2001: 372).

4.3. THE CHANGING STRUCTURES OF TOURISM GOVERNANCE

Chapter 2 focused on how developments in broader planning theories, together with new approaches to social knowledge, have influenced tourism planning research in terms of both content and process. This section, on the other hand, explores how economic and political ideologies are shifting the understanding of who should be planning and managing tourism destinations. It is argued that both criticisms oriented to opening the planning process to traditionally excluded actors reviewed in chapter 2, and neoliberal policies that seek to reduce the state by decentralising functions of the central government to local public and private actors, make the understanding of tourism planning inseparable from the understanding of tourism governance. The section then reviews how the introduction of the concept of governance has contributed to new perspectives in planning research, and finally, governance is understood as the socio-political structure in which planning interactions and actions take place.

4.3.1. FROM PUBLIC TOURISM PLANNING TO SHARED GOVERNANCE

The discourse in contemporary tourism planning literature broadly agrees on the role of neoliberal policies (among other factors such as globalisation and new technologies) in the changing role of the state in tourism planning, development, management, and control in different countries (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Church, 2004; Dredge & Jenkins, 2011; DM Dredge & Pforr, 2008; Göymen, 2000; Hall, 1999; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2011; Schilcher, 2007; Yuksel, Bramwell, & Yuksel, 2005). The increased confidence in the market, favoured by neoliberalism, challenged traditional and state-centred planning by questioning how much the government should intervene (Gunn & Var, 2002; Klosterman, 1985). By claiming that government regulation and planning restrict entrepreneurial innovations and initiatives, neoliberal ideas led to the assumption that the alternative to government planning is the self-regulating logic of the market. State-led planning and the market became clashing concepts in planning theory and practice (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003). As Higgins-Desbiolles (2011: 127) pointed out, 'one of the key social constructions of tourism policy in recent decades is the widely held belief that tourism policy is best formed by creating policy environments that empower the private sector and reduce government regulations'. Indeed, since the 1980s, tourism affairs related to the public good, such as regulation, quality assessment, and the development of tourism facilities have been delegated to private providers, while

governments have restructured their roles and tourism departments in order to focus on marketing and market research efforts aimed at supporting tourism growth (Dredge & Jenkins, 2011).

At this point it is important to recognise that Latin American countries have been affected by neoliberal policies somewhat differently (Clancy, 1999). Neoliberalism and tourism development discourses have strongly permeated national policies in the region since the 1980s, a decade characterised by political transformations and debt crises (Desforges, 2000; Kingstone, 2011). International organisations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) conditioned new lending and debt renegotiations to the application of structural changes towards the reduced role of the state in regulating and planning the economy. Privatisation, decentralisation and the modernisation of state institutions were tied to the urgency to find alternative economic activities that would help these countries out of the political and economic crises (Brohman, 1996; Clancy, 1999; Mowforth, Charlton, & Munt, 2008; Schilcher, 2007; Torres & Momsen, 2005). Neoliberal economic philosophies were often combined with linear development philosophies in which poorer countries were understood as 'simply "behind" their wealthier counterparts' (Clancy, 1999: 2). In this context, according to Brohman (1996), tourism was seen as an outward-oriented trade activity that could contribute to the economic diversification of countries with agriculture-based economies and limited resources for industrialisation. Tourism could, in other words, contribute to development (Altés, 2006; Brohman, 1996; Burns, 1999; Clancy, 1999; de Kadt, 1979; Sharpley & Telfer, 2008) by capitalising on cheap labour and natural and cultural resources (Schilcher, 2007). As Kingstone (2011: 4) noted, for many decades 'Latin America has been a laboratory of competing strategies for promoting growth and development', defining the dichotomy between market and government control at the very centre of public policy decisions.

However, initiatives to encourage tourism in developing countries⁷ were born when the effects of tourism in other geographical locations were already evident (De Kadt, 1979; Mathieson & Wall, 1982). In order to avoid excessive foreign dependency, loss of local control over resources, environmental damage, the reinforcement of

⁷ The term 'developing countries' is used to mirror what is currently being used in tourism literature (e.g. Tosun, 2000). However, it is important to point out that it has been criticised for homogenising development, assuming that it is a universal condition that can be reachable in a linear, cause-effect way (e.g. Escobar, 1995).

neo-colonialist mechanisms on economic production and the unequal distribution of the benefits of tourism, in Latin America, tourism planning and policy-making involved the blend of neoliberal-based tourism policies supported particularly by the IDB (Acerenza, 1997; Altés, 2006; Clancy, 1999; Mowforth et al., 2008) together with mechanisms of local empowerment and public participation (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Brohman, 1996; de Kadt, 1979; Reid, 2003; Timothy, 2007; Tosun, Timothy, & Öztürk, 2003), as well as discourses of 'alternative' tourism development championed mainly by NGOs (De Kadt, 1992; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2011; Kennedy & Dornan, 2009; Mowforth et al., 2008; Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Schilcher, 2007). Sustainability, decentralisation, encouragement of smaller-scale, local-based tourism initiatives and public participation in conjunction with arguments regarding the multiplying effects of tourism, flow of foreign currency, and the contribution of tourism activity to a more favourable balance of trade, were heavily integrated in the tourism planning discourse (De Kadt, 1992; Wilkinson, 1989). The mix reflected a set of structural adjustments in public tourism administration better known as neoliberalism with a 'human face' (Kingstone, 2011).

In some countries, the need to use tourism as a tool for national economic growth, instead of reducing the role of the state in tourism planning, actually increased it. New tourism ministries and state tourism offices in local territories emerged, and tourism planning efforts boomed (Burns, 1999; Clancy, 1999; Rogerson, 2009; Torres & Momsen, 2005; Yuksel et al., 2005). At the same time, the involvement of international agencies and funding organisations such as the UNWTO and the IDB (Altés, 2006; Burns, 1999; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2011; King & Pearlman, 2009; Schilcher, 2007; Tosun, 2000), together with experts and consulting companies often with western planning perspectives (Acerenza, 1997; Burns, 1999; Timothy, 1998; Tosun & Jenkins, 1998), the participation of residents and the market in planning efforts (Bramwell & Sharman, 2000; Reid, 2003; Timothy, 2007; Tosun et al., 2003) and the growing non-profit third sector (NGOs) as a new key player (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003)⁸, has exponentially enlarged the number of

⁸ Some scholars have identified how international tourism organisations and international NGOs can help in creating local solutions to poverty and generating direct tourism benefits for communities in developing countries (e.g. Kennedy and Dornan, 2009) However, following the discussion of chapter 2, these organisations have also been criticised for bringing their own agendas, for being plagued by neo-colonialist attitudes in which further dependency is encouraged through the application of western planning and development frameworks, and for imposing the values and environmental concerns of developed countries' donors instead of understanding the developing countries' needs (e.g. Burns, 1999; Mowforth & Munt, 2003).

stakeholders effectively involved in tourism planning in developing countries. Additionally, it has also been observed that the role of the government in countries with interests in tourism is still strong due to the lack of experience of the private sector, the lack of political culture of non-governmental tourism actors, and the need for non-government actors to get the government involved in financial terms (Göymen, 2000; Tosun, 2005; Wilkinson, 1989). In other words, the involvement of the state in tourism planning and management in a market economy is highly contextual and related to various socio-political aspects such as government ideology, national economy, context, culture and the degree of dependency on tourism.

In consequence, structural changes in the public administration of tourism have had different outcomes in different countries that differ in the degree of involvement of the government, private sector, and other key social actors. The emerging structural arrangements characterised by the processes of governing being shared among different governmental and non-governmental entities, have come to be studied under the concept of tourism governance (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Bramwell & Lane, 2011; Dredge & Jenkins, 2011; Göymen, 2000; Hall, 2007; Hall & Jenkins, 2004; Richins & Agrusa, 2011; Yuksel et al., 2005).

4.3.2. PLANNING INTERACTIONS AND GOVERNANCE STRUCTURES

The incorporation of the concept of governance in planning discourses, opened new spaces in tourism planning theory and practice (Dredge and Jenkins, 2011). In the theoretical domain, the idea of governance, together with the influence of critical and social constructionist approaches in tourism planning (chapter 2), has shifted the attention from the development of technocratic, linear and rational planning models to socio-political and non-linear understandings of how these planning processes actually happen (Dredge, Jenkins, & Whitford, 2011; Stoker, 1998). As Healey (2003: 116) indicated, the current task of planning research 'is to critically interrogate the governance practices that currently exist'. In other words, the understanding of planning and policy-making has shifted from a normative/prescriptive tradition to an explanatory/descriptive approach (Dredge & Jenkins, 2011; Hillier & Healey, 2010; Timothy, 1998). In planning practice, ideological shifts in public administration, together with changing understandings of planning 'denote a range of non-traditional, and sometimes not very explicit, spaces in which discussions take place, information is exchanged and decisions are made.'

(Dredge & Jenkins, 2011: 5). Roles, power relations, interests, ideologies, and values shape and are shaped in planning interactions, which vary over time, geographical locations, policy communities, policy sectors and levels of government, influencing the outcomes of policy-making processes (Dredge & Jenkins, 2011; Hall & Jenkins, 2004; Harvey & Reed, 1997; Wesley & Pforr, 2010).

Governance, in this context, is a concept that enables the understanding of the socio-political context in which planning and policy-making interactions occur (Kooiman, 2003). For Bramwell and Lane (2011), tourism planning involves debate, negotiations and decision-making regarding the political agenda and available courses of action to improve the future. Governance, however, is a wider concept that includes the dialectical interaction of planning and policy-making dynamics with their broader socio-political context, including the societal groups that influence and are influenced by their outcomes (Bramwell & Lane, 2011; Hall & Jenkins, 2004; Healey, 2003; Hillier, 2010; Kooiman et al., 2008; Spyriadis et al., 2011; Teisman et al., 2009). In this context, since the tourism system includes all the stakeholders affected by tourism planning dynamics, the tourism system is at the same time the system-to-be-governed and the governance system (Kooiman et al., 2008)⁹. Tourism planning and policy-making, therefore, occur in socio-political governance systems (Folke, Hahn, Olsson, & Norberg, 2005; Hall, 2011; Innes & Booher, 2010; Kooiman et al., 2008; Spyriadis et al., 2011; Teisman et al., 2009) where public and private actors, NGOs, advocacy groups and other stakeholders, participate in formal and informal planning interactions that not only transform the future of the tourism destination but the structures of tourism governance themselves (Innes & Booher, 2010; Kooiman, 2003). Indeed, the 'stability of governance systems seems to be the exception rather than the rule' (Teisman et al., 2009: 2).

⁹ At this point, I am moving away from the cybernetic approach of Kooiman (2003) in which the system-to-be-governed and the governance system are different. Kooiman differentiates the system-to-be-governed and the governance system in these terms: In the case of aquatic resource systems, the governing system consists of different parties (governments, market and civil society organisations) will have varying images of their roles and tasks with regard to the system-to-be-governed (the aquatic system) (Kooiman et al., 2008:4). My posture in this case is related to Healey's (1992) in which all public efforts, even the ones related to environmental policy or policies related to the physical world, are eminently social, since social actors implement policies. In other words, the governance system and the system-to-be-governed are always social. In this research, both overlap and do not constitute different social systems because this study is concerned with self-organised forms of planning and policy-making in which socio-political actors in the tourism system interact and act to govern themselves without the intervention of an external governance system.

To summarize this section, three relevant implications of the new discourse of governance for tourism planning theory and practice can be identified. The first has to do with the redefinition of planning spaces (Healey, 1992), since these are no longer occupied either by the government or the market (chapter 2) but as new spaces of interaction between government, market and civil society (Dredge & Jenkins, 2011). The second implication concerns the redefinition of the political dimension of planning theory, shifting the activity away from a technocratic and prescriptive approach to a socio-political and descriptive one. The third implication relates to conceiving planning as interactions between socio-political stakeholders that influence and are influenced by changing governance structures (Kooiman, 2003). While planning is understood in (micro) terms of actors' interactions, governance becomes a concept to understand (macro) structural change. As Healey indicated, governance 'has come into use to refer to all "collective action" promoted as for public purposes, wider than the purposes of individual agents' (2007: 17 emphasis in the original).

To understand planning and policy dynamics, complexity frameworks have been used by various authors in tourism and wider planning and public policy studies (e.g. Bramwell & Pomfret, 2007; Duit & Galaz, 2010; Milne & Ateljevic, 2001; Richins & Agrusa, 2011; Scott, Cooper, & Baggio, 2008; Spyriadis et al., 2011; Teisman et al., 2009). A complexity perspective enables the understanding of emergent properties arising from the interaction between different socio-political actors; the consideration of perturbations and instabilities that encourage these interactions; and the identification of changing governance structures over time (Duit & Galaz, 2010; Hillier, 2010; Kooiman, 2003; Teisman et al., 2009).

4.3.3. GOVERNANCE AS SOCIO-POLITICAL RELATIONS

Socio-political interactions refer to the circular dynamics of communication and exchange between two or more actors (chapter 3) and will be further explained in section 4.4.2. However, socio-political actors not only interact within a socio-political context of rules and ideologies, but also within established social relations and ties, that is, relational structures (chapter 3). What is more, they reproduce, transform and expand ties or relations through their interactions. Relations or ties can be represented through social networks (Baggio & Cooper, 2010; Scott, Cooper, et al., 2008). Nevertheless, a common misconception about networks is the assumption that networks are flat, and their non-hierarchical character has been highly

emphasised in tourism governance literature by studies that focus on horizontal market-state-civil society governance arrangements (Baggio & Cooper, 2010; Hall, 2011; Pforr, 2006; Rhodes, 1996). However, networks are often hierarchical due to the different existing tiers of state governance, planning structures, and clusters of stakeholders with closer ties in which power is concentrated (Bodin & Crona, 2009; Church, 2004; Krutwayshe & Bramwell, 2010; Manson, 2001). Hierarchical networks in this research do not necessarily reflect the hierarchical, formal, rigid and top-down modes of governance that will be described in the next section. As discussed in chapter 3, they are instead used to emphasise interactions and ties that run vertically across tiers of government (top-down and bottom-up), as well as the emergent, higher-level structures and groups that arise from actors' interactions (Bodin & Crona, 2009; Byrne, 1998, 2005; Healey, 2006; Wray, 2009).

Studies have emphasised how some actors within the social complex system engage in policy and decision-making interactions, creating a closer cluster of interrelated stakeholders (Bodin & Crona, 2009; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004). These clusters have been studied as policy-making subsystems (Kooiman, 2003), policy communities (Wray, 2009), or policy networks (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007; Dredge, 2006a). As Bramwell & Meyer (2007) pointed out, policy networks 'can be depicted as mediating between the micro and the macro-levels, creating a connection between the wider societal structures and individual agency'. Franch, Martini, & Buffa's (2010) study also demonstrated that in tourism destinations, these clusters of primary stakeholders are constituted by socio-political actors with decision-making power, whose roles are recognised and more or less legitimated by other actors in the wider tourism system (section 4.4.2). On the other hand, as indicated above the wider tourism system is constituted by the totality of stakeholders that influence, and are influenced by, decisions made within the planning subsystem or policy network (Medeiros de Araujo & Bramwell, 1999). Other subsystems or clusters of stakeholders also emerge in tourism destinations, such as business chambers, tourism associations, or interest groups in which socio-political actors have more ties between them than with other actors in the tourism destination. However, boundaries between subsystems are not discrete (Byrne, 1998, 2005), and actors that belong to one group can at the same time belong to other groups that are at the same level or in upper and lower levels of socio-political governance (Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004).

4.3.4. GOVERNANCE AS SOCIO-POLITICAL RULES AND PRACTICES

Apart from relational arrangements between socio-political actors, the institutional understanding of governance focuses on enduring planning and decision-making practices, prevailing ideologies, as well as the rules, and regulations that guide and control socio-political interactions and action. From an institutional point of view, (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003; Healey, 2003), the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (2006: 6) defines governance structures as 'regimes of laws, rules, judicial decisions and administrative practices that constrain, prescribe, and enable the provision of publicly supported goods and services'. They include the formal political systems within which policies are determined, prevailing political ideologies and rules for socio-political action (Zahra & Ryan, 2007: 860), as well as institutionalised governance, planning and policy-making practices that persist at any given level of government.

Institutional governance structures give interactions a structural dimension (chapter 3) (Kooiman et al., 2008) by regulating action and defining the formal roles and responsibilities of stakeholders in the tourism system. At the same time, they are the outcome of socio-political dynamics that evolve into institutionalised governance practices (Healey, 2003; Healey, 2006; Kooiman, 2003). Institutional structures of governance, the same as relational ones, are dynamic, constantly unfolding and not clearly demarcated by beginnings and endings (Teisman et al., 2009). From this perspective, 'social "order" is continually emergent, and the product of dialectical tensions between a range of structuring "forces" interacting with the active creative force of human agency' (Healey, 2003: 111 emphasis in the original). Planning and policy-making, are thus, truly transformative when aimed at changing both existing relational, and institutional structures of governance (Healey, 1992: 245).

4.3.5. GOVERNANCE AS EMERGENCE

As previously mentioned, studies of tourism governance have largely focused on market-state-civil society arrangements, leading scholars to identify typologies characterised by the degree of involvement of the state, the market and civil society in tourism destinations (e.g Hall, 2011; Haugland et al., 2011; Treuren & Lane, 2003; D' Angella, Carlo, & Sainaghi, 2010). While these typologies are useful to understand shifts from government to governance (Rhodes, 1996), in late neoliberalism (Schilcher, 2007), the market-state dichotomy is no longer seen as such a tidy separation (Haynes, 2003), both being intertwined in such ways that

'public and private sectors no longer, if they ever did, represent mutually exclusive sets of actors, interests, or planning tools' (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003: 7).

A framework to understand socio-political structures of governance that has not been fully explored in tourism literature (Caffyn & Jobbins, 2003) is the one proposed by Kooiman (2003). Kooiman's typology is based on the multi-level understanding of the socio-political interactions taking place between actors, and the relational and institutional structural arrangements that are likely to emerge from them. In other words, Kooiman's approach goes beyond the market-state-civil society horizontal analysis of governance, to a hierarchical one that relates micro socio-political interactions with macro structural emergences. He distinguishes between self-governance, co-governance and hierarchical governance and the three can be found in markets, governments, and civil-society.

4.3.5.1. Self-governance

Self-governance refers to the capacity of societies to govern themselves autonomously. Self-governance, for Kooiman (2003), is more likely to be found in the civil society domain than in government and market policy actions. They can take the form of informal agreements and non-linear interactions, self-applying or symbolic rules and codes of conduct. Self-governance is fluid and relatively unorganised. It is related to social movements and bottom-up grassroots or community initiatives, where socio-political actors join together because of shared ideas and values about how the future should be changed. Within planning literature, while self-governance can be associated to Friedmann's (1987) ideas of planning as social mobilisation, insurgent, and radical planning theories (Sandercock, 1998) in which planning goes beyond societal guidance and becomes a space for social transformation, they are also closely related with complexity planning approaches (chapter 2). Complexity theory allows the understanding of how socio-political actors interact and self-organise without top-down intervention in order to change their future. Existing practices and structures are challenged, while negotiations and struggles are initiated in order to produce alternative values, goals and futures in the socio-political system (Bodin & Crona, 2009; Fuchs, 2003, 2006). Not only is the behaviour of socio-political actors unpredictable, but self-organised interactions are also more likely to emerge in uncertain and unstable environments (Kooiman, 2003), when citizens are affected by top-down policies they do not agree with or when they no longer trust their government to solve the problems that affect them. These

spaces are likely to emerge with a critique of the present situation, i.e. when there is a mismatch between the civic society and the state (Innes & Booher, 2003; Wagenaar, 2007). Self-governing initiatives in the form of grassroots social movements or insurgent planning often remain informal and outside the state in order to maintain their pressure (Mohan & Stokke, 2000). Since they are likely to resist state guidance, they can also become a challenge to governability, democracy and accountability (Kooiman, 2003) (section 4.4.2).

In tourism literature, studies regarding emergent, self-organised arrangements for destination governance are scarce. Yet, similar ideas can be found in studies about community-based tourism (Murphy, 1985; Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011). The study of Ruiz-Ballesteros (2011) concerning community-based tourism elaborated on how these initiatives, when driven by the community, can be resilient ways of governing destinations. Some studies can also be found about self-regulation initiatives in tourism businesses. The study of Haase, Lamers, & Amelung (2009) illustrated how tourism operators in Antarctica formed an official association in order to organise their activity in the absence of formal regulation. McDonald's (2009) study in the Swan River region in Australia, suggested that conflicting values between tourism operators may lead to self-organising processes in order to manage their common natural resources. Finally, the study of Zahra & Ryan (2007) associated self-governance with uncertainty, describing how the Regional Tourism Organisation in New Zealand went through structural changes when the tourism industry was left predominantly to market forces, with little planned leadership from government.

4.3.5.2. *Co-governance*

Co-governance is related to formalised and semi-formalised socio-political arrangements based on cooperation, coordination and collaboration mainly between the government and the market. They are characterised by more or less flexible horizontal interactions in which socio-political actors participate equally towards a concrete aim or policy issue, within agreed rules or codes of conduct (Hall, 2011). Kooiman (2003) warned that co-governance is frequently referred to as *network governance* and for some authors, it is what governance is all about (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003). Nevertheless, networks can be found in every form of governance and are not considered specific governance arrangements, but the structural representation of governing interactions (Bodin & Crona, 2009; Kooiman, 2002; Provan & Kenis, 2008; Scott, Cooper, et al., 2008). As Kooiman (2003: 112) pointed

out, 'co-arrangement between public and private actors permeate the boundaries between the societal domains of state, market and civil society, thus creating more opportunities for experimenting with varying forms of interplays'.

Co-governance is the form of governance that has captured most attention in tourism literature in forms of strategic alliances and joint efforts including public-private partnerships (Bramwell & Medeiros de Araujo, 2002; Bramwell, 2004; Dredge, 2006; Göymen, 2000; Kelly, Essex, & Glegg, 2012; March & Wilkinson, 2009; Spyriadis et al., 2011; Svensson, Nordin, & Flagestad, 2005); collaborative and cooperative policy-making (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Hall, 1999; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Tazim Jamal & Stronza, 2009; Ladkin & Martínez, 2002; Pforr, 2006; Reed, 1999; Richins & Agrusa, 2011; Sautter & Leisen, 1999; Timothy, 1998); policy and destination networks (Baggio, 2006; Bramwell, 2006; Dredge, 2006; Dredge & Pforr, 2008; Novelli, Schmitz, & Spencer, 2006; Pavlovich, 2003; Pforr, 2006; Scott, Baggio, et al., 2008; Tinsley & Lynch, 2001) and co-management initiatives (Plummer & Fennell, 2009; Ryan Plummer & Fitzgibbon, 2004).

Interdependencies, power imbalances, consensus-building, mutual learning, stakeholder involvement, joint decision-making from a socio-political perspective, together with shared goals, flexibility, synergy, efficiency, information exchange, and negotiation from a public management one, are the key aspects that have been studied either through relational or institutional perspectives (Bramwell, 2011; Scott et al., 2001). For Provan and Kenis (2007), future research should move from the characterisation of these public-private structural arrangements to a focus on how they get started in the first place, and what factors push their evolution towards more complex governance arrangements.

4.3.5.3. Hierarchical governance

Hierarchical governance refers to the bureaucratic and linear arrangements that are mainly characteristic of the government (Bramwell, 2011; Dredge & Jenkins, 2011; Hall, 2011; Kooiman, 2003). The interactions in this mode of governance are vertical, top-down, rigid, and supported by formal rules and regulations. Hierarchical governing organisations use institutionalised practices to influence and regulate the behaviour of the stakeholders involved in the policy issue. These arrangements are related to the mechanisms of communication and control of cybernetic planning approaches. In other words, these are traditional governance systems supported on

linear assumptions about goal setting, policy inputs and predictable outcomes (Innes & Booher, 2010; Kooiman, 2003).

In tourism, hierarchical governance usually refers to the concentration of planning functions in the state, which is in charge of leading policy-making processes with or without the participation of other stakeholders (Hall, 2011; D' Angella et al., 2010). Its instruments are laws, formal political-administrative structures and rational scientific models for planning and policy-making (Dredge & Jenkins, 2011). Hierarchical governance is perceived as 'the way governments have worked and continue to work' (Dredge et al., 2011: 51). Centralist, top-down and linear approaches continue to be present according to Göymen (2000: 1042), due to 'the reluctance of different levels of bureaucracy to relinquish part of their authority, coupled with the relative weakness of civil society' as a socio-political actor.

As discussed in chapter 2, contemporary shifts in tourism governance, planning and policy-making 'have not meant that modernist positivist notions of planning and policy processes have been replaced with alternatives' (Dredge & Jenkins, 2011: 20). In consequence, and from a theoretical point of view, I argue that complex realism supports the assumption that self-organised modes of governance based on agency coexist with co-governance and hierarchical governance modes that are evidently more closely associated with institutionalised socio-political structures. I also argue that both coexist complementing and challenging each other, continuously fostering new understandings in academic research and enabling dynamics of change in the social world (Kooiman et al., 2008; Rhodes, 1996; Sorensen & Torfing, 2005). Kooiman's (2003) typology of governance arrangements also matches complex realism by assuming that one of the differences between self-organised governance, co-governance, and hierarchical governance is time, since actors within self-organised governance modes can develop rules to guide their own action and interaction, as well as semi-institutionalised practices, or formal agreements with formal governance structures.

Finally, after reviewing the literature it can be assumed that self-governance is the emergent result of non-linear interactions and self-organised planning dynamics. The following sections will be focused on elaborating on this argument.

4.4. DYNAMICS OF TOURISM PLANNING AND POLICY-MAKING

The aim of this section is to review the literature related to dynamics of planning and policy-making. It starts by acknowledging the role of perturbations and instability (chapter 3) in fostering interactions between socio-political stakeholders. Complex feedback loops and issues such as blurred roles, legitimacy, democracy, cooperation and competition further shape these interactions in which stakeholders' interests, perceptions and values are continuously negotiated and changed. Finally, the concepts of conservative and dissipative self-organisation are championed in order to understand the patterns of governance emerging from such dynamics.

4.4.1. PERTURBATIONS, INSTABILITY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

From a complexity perspective, perturbations encourage creative and dynamic responses that could lead to the emergence of innovative planning and governance interactions, dynamic patterns, and eventually to new structures (Cilliers, 1998; Holling, 2001). As Koppenjan & Klijn (2004) indicated, new socio-political dynamics often result from specific occurrences (such as crises), which can hardly be predicted in advance. While among planners there is an on-going desire for stability in planning systems in order to ensure a certain future, planning and policy-making dynamics, far from being rational and ordered, can become turbulent, complex and characterised by uncertainty and conflict (Boons, Van Buuren, Gerrits, & Teisman, 2009; Dredge et al., 2011; Hillier & Healey, 2010; Innes & Booher, 2010; Reed, 1999; Treuren & Lane, 2003).

There is a growing body of literature connecting planning, governance and tourism management with chaotic events such as terrorist attacks, global health treats, natural disasters and economic and socio-political crises (e.g. Blackman, Kennedy, & Ritchie, 2011; Coles, 2004; IvarsBaidal, 2004; King & Pearlman, 2009; Ritchie, 2004). While the above are external perturbations of diverse nature, this research is specifically concerned with perturbations related to changes in tourism governance structures, as well as internal perturbations arising from stakeholders' interactions during periods of socio-political change. Indeed, within the tourism system, tensions due to incompatible interests, values, perceptions and agendas (Healey, 2003; Reed, 1999) together with confusion about roles and duplication of efforts among the various socio-political actors, also constitute perturbations (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Kooiman, 2003; Reed, 1999). In short, internal and external perturbations depend

on the boundaries and scale of the system under study (section 3.4.3). Internal perturbations are related to conflicting interactions among socio-political actors, while external perturbations are related to the changing socio-political context (section 3.5.1).

External socio-political perturbations related to changing structures of tourism planning and governance have been studied previously in tourism. Desforges (2000), for example, looked at the shrinking role of the Peruvian state during the neoliberal regime of president Alberto Fujimori and the issues arising from these structural transformations, including the reduced state's inability to lay down strategies to cope with the booming tourism sector and their difficulties in managing tourism-related environmental and cultural impacts. Torres & Momsen (2005) on the other hand, illustrated how top-down, central government-led tourism planning initiatives in Quintana Roo, Mexico, have been profitable for both the investors and the government, and successful in promoting economic growth. Yet the author emphasised that these initiatives failed to stimulate balanced regional development due to the lack of integration with local plans and other policy areas such as agriculture or transport. Ivars-Baidal (2004) explored how the transfer of power to autonomous communities in Spain during the decentralisation processes of the 1970s opened a new policy scale for the region, which had been neglected during the previous centralist government.

In relation to internal actor-related perturbations, Russell and Faulkner (1999), identified how tourism stakeholders were the origin of perturbations in the Gold Coast destination, Australia. The authors regarded tourism entrepreneurs as creative and positive chaos makers aimed at transforming the destination. Furthermore, planners and regulators represented the linear and static structures of government with an interest in maintaining the existing dynamics. In Bhat and Milne's (2011) study, the changing structures of governance and the increased number of players in the policy arena led to a lack of clarity of roles in both the public and private tourism sector, affecting their disposition towards mutual collaboration. Also, McDonald (2009) noticed that conflicts related to differences in values, interests and underlying perceptions held by stakeholders, might impact on tourism planning and governance processes in ways that cannot be predicted. The examples above are diverse and regard internal conflicts arising from stakeholder's interactions as both positive and negative, yet all of them coincide in highlighting

how these interactions might have unforeseen consequences for the policy network, and eventually for the wider tourism system.

While most of the traditional planning and policy-making approaches 'have sought to eliminate unpredictability and surprise' (Heritier & Rhodes, 2011: 199), this research focuses precisely on actor-led socio-political dynamics that take place during periods of structural change. As shown in the studies identified above, decentralization, new governance structures, political crisis, and changing regulations originate unstable conditions, in which actor interactions and emerging patterns of social self-organisation are more likely to emerge, as discussed in section 4.3.5.1. Planning within these conditions, more than focusing on comprehensive designs, consists of managing and embracing change, instability and uncertainty (Hillier, 2010: 9).

4.4.2. SOCIO-POLITICAL INTERACTIONS AND COMPLEX CAUSATION

As indicated above, socio-political actors maintain and transform the systems they are governing through their interactions. Socio-political actors (or stakeholders) are 'any social unit possessing agency or power of action', including individuals, associations, leaders, firms, departments and international bodies (Kooiman & Bavinck, 2005: 3). Emergent governance outcomes, however, cannot be reduced to one actor or group of actors in particular since 'no single actor, public or private, has all knowledge and information required to solve complex, dynamic and diversified problems' (Kooiman, 1993: 4). In other words, patterns of interactions must be addressed to understand self-organisation and emergence, rather than simply actors or individual actions.

As discussed in chapter 3, socio-political interactions have both a structural and a intentional dimension (Kooiman, 2003). The structural dimension acknowledges that governance structures are manifest in actors' interactions through their roles, positions and obligations (Kooiman & Bavinck, 2005; Lewis, 2000). These roles include actors as individuals, actors as corporate representatives, and actors as policy-making and governing entities. Contrary to what Svensson et al., (2005) indicated, public and private roles in destination governance are not relatively clear cut, but fuzzy, overlapping, ambiguous and in constant negotiation (Bhat & Milne, 2011; Boons et al., 2009; Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Kooiman, 1993, 2003; Richins & Agrusa, 2011). The intentional dimension on the other hand, refers to the knowledge,

values, meanings, ideologies, interests and perceptions that actors bring to socio-political interactions which influence and are influenced by planning and policy-making processes (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Bodin & Crona, 2009; Caffyn & Jobbins, 2003; Dredge & Jenkins, 2011; Franch et al., 2010; Reed, 1999; K. Walker & Moscardo, 2011). Socio-political interactions lead, through communication and feedback, to significant changes in actors' perceptions and 'those involved find themselves re-assessing and realigning their interests', thus re-articulating both their values (Healey, 2006: 540) and roles (Bhat and Milne, 2011). While it seems accepted that the interaction of stakeholders 'is complex, dynamic and subject to external shocks' (Baggio, Scott, & Cooper, 2011), the complex feedback loops in which socio-political actors mutually inhibit and reinforce action have been less acknowledged in tourism literature. Feedback loops make interactions complex, non-linear, and unpredictable. The next sections will discuss the dynamics of self-organisation that can emerge from cooperative and competitive interactions, as well as intended and unintended emergent socio-political patterns related to power, democracy, legitimacy and accountability.

4.4.2.1. Cooperation and competition

Throughout socio-political interactions, actors have opposing tendencies: they either cooperate or compete with each other (van Buuren, Gerrits, & Marks, 2009). Competition happens when actors pursue their own interests, perspectives and goals so they can survive and remain able to contribute to the dynamics of the system. When interactions of competition prevail, the emerging dynamics are divergent, keeping actors isolated from each other and making changes and common goals more difficult to achieve. As a consequence, it is likely that old dynamics are maintained (section 3.5.2). On the other hand, when actors adapt to each other and interact towards common goals that they otherwise could not achieve on their own, dynamics move towards cooperation, planning subsystems or policy networks could emerge, and dissipative self-organisation is possible (Fuchs, 2002; Van Buuren, Gerrits, & Marks, 2009). Cooperation and competition are embedded in interactions between actors (section 3.5.2.1) who continuously revisit and manage 'this tension between preserving one's identity and adapting to other elements or actors' (van Buuren, Gerrits, & Marks, 2009: 155).

Drawing from collaborative planning, tourism planning literature has largely focused on how cooperative interactions between the different kinds of policy actors should be encouraged during planning processes in order to foster mutual learning,

communication, and achieve common goals (Bramwell & Sharman, 2000; Schianetz, Kavanagh, & Lockington, 2007; Timothy, 2007; Timothy, 1998). While cooperation has been emphasised as positive, less attention has been placed on analysing competition as necessary to maintain the dynamics of the system. Indeed, Timothy (1998: 53) argued that 'cooperation between government agencies, between different levels of government, between equally autonomous polities at various administrative levels, and between the private and public sector is necessary if integrative tourism development is the goal'. Competitive interactions have been seen as negative during socio-political dynamics. As Church (2004: 561) noticed, 'the growth of collaborative tourism partnerships has also been accompanied by problematic competition between local governments'. Richins & Agrusa (2011), indicated that overlapping roles, relations of power and duplication of efforts could bring unnecessary competition between political actors. Dynamics of competition are fostered when different government agencies compete among themselves for limited operating funds (Timothy, 1998), when representatives of tourism destinations belonging to the same governance network compete for tourists (Buijss et al., 2009), and when policy actors compete in order to put forward their own agendas (Van Buuren 2009: 160). In governance interactions, these two apparently contradictory strategies coexist. According to Van Buuren, Boons and Teisman (2012), too much emphasis on competition can result in fragmentation and a lack of cohesiveness. Similarly, too much emphasis on cooperation can result in a lack of interest in socio-political processes when actors do not see their individual interests represented.

4.4.2.2. Power relations and democracy

It has been said that 'the practice of tourism planning may be viewed as a manifestation of the authority of those who exercise power' (Robinson & Jamal, 2009: 426). Power inequalities are a key concern when examining governance and the literature has acknowledged that shared tourism governance arrangements are often unable to break the existent social inequalities maintained in wider societal contexts (Church, 2004; Hall, 2007). Also, emergent governance arrangements, instead of promoting democratic ideals, 'may indeed reinforce exclusionary and anti-democratic policy making practices' (Dredge and Jenkins, 2011: 23). For example, racial minorities and women may continue to be excluded from governance structures (Newman, 2001: 172); power imbalances could affect the willingness of stakeholders to participate in governing processes (Ansell & Gash, 2007); shared governance arrangements can marginalize politicians and governmental actors,

consequently weakening representative democracy (Sorensen & Torfing, 2005); increased public participation may simply transfer control of development from one elite group to another (Brohman, 1996; Tosun, 2000); and finally, democratic control and accountability is weak due to the fact that in shared governance arrangements participants are often self-appointed instead of democratically elected (Sorensen and Torfing, 2009: 243). However, it has also been acknowledged that governance dynamics can create opportunities for social change, including the redistribution of power and accountability, while complementing representative democracy (Dredge & Pforr, 2008; Haynes, 2003).

In relation to the power of planning subsystems or policy networks, depending on their members and their degree of formalisation, these groups could have little power for decision-making and action, which means that the group might need to turn to authorities to get support for their recommendations that may or may not be heard (Innes & Booher, 2010). Within the group, more powerful actors could dominate the discourse and influence the construction of shared views about the policy issue (Healey, 2003). Within an interactive governance perspective, power is embodied and flows through reinforcing and inhibiting interactions in which actors fortify or modify their own views (Fuchs, 2006; Innes & Booher, 2010). Innes and Booher (2002, 2010), have also argued in favour of network power, that is the power of planning subsystems and policy networks, which can be understood as an emergent result of interaction and dialogue. The authors maintained that when actors understand other actors' views about policy issues, they co-construct shared knowledge and become more powerful themselves as socio-political actors. As a result, the planning subsystem or policy network becomes more powerful and, even if the group has limited power for decision-making or action, they can challenge existing structures through influencing policy makers' agendas and decisions.

4.4.2.3. Legitimacy and accountability

Self-organised and shared modes of governance raise difficulties related to accountability and the legitimacy of the actors involved (Stoker, 1998) since the responsibility for action is spread over a large number of public and private actors (Kooiman, 1993: 252). Issues over accountability could be internal (peer accountability) among the members of the planning subsystem that need to answer to each other for their action or lack of action (Papadopoulos, 2007), or external among those excluded from the group that ultimately will be affected by the policy

outcomes (Stoker, 1998). For Papadopoulos (2007), accountability issues in shared and multilevel governance arrangements are related to the lack of visibility of these networks, which are often informal or are not recognised by all of the stakeholders affected by the policies. Also, in multi-level governance, the lack of clear lines of communication (Haynes, 2003: 33), along with the shared operational responsibility across different higher and lower level government agencies, and private and social organisations (Sorensen & Torfing, 2009) can create a gap in responsibility and answerability. Finally, accountability is related to the composition of policy networks or planning subsystems, where members may or might not be directly accountable to the wider governance system (Papadopoulos, 2007).

Regarding the legitimacy of actors that participate in policy networks and planning subsystems, Medeiros & Bramwell (1999) considered that a relevant tourism stakeholder would be any actor affected by the policy issue. However, not all of the stakeholders that conform the tourism system of a destination are part of the planning subsystem. In consequence, the core attributes to identify tourism policy stakeholders are, according to Jamal & Getz (1995), power and legitimacy.

Legitimacy is manifested when the participants of the planning subsystems or policy networks are recognised by other members in the network as representing a broader group of stakeholders (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Haywood, 1988; Sautter & Leisen, 1999). Similarly, stakeholders are legitimate when they are recognised by the stakeholders they represent as having the power to speak for them (Innes & Booher, 2010). Tourism literature generally agrees on key stakeholders of the tourism system that are usually involved in planning subsystems or policy networks: the local government; local representatives of regional and national tourist authorities; tourism industry associations and sectors such as commerce chambers; convention and visitor bureaus; employees and residents organisations; and relevant NGOs (Byrd, 2007; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Medeiros de Araujo & Bramwell, 1999; Schianetz, Kavanagh, & Lockington, 2007). Yet in planning practice, planning subsystems and policy networks have been criticised for 'their narrow stakeholder and institutional base' (Hall, 1999: 280). The interactive perspective of governance acknowledges that not only are stakeholders constantly reassessing their own points of views and interests, but they are also reassessing their common interests and their policy topics. As a consequence, they might exclude or include new stakeholders in order to reflect these fluctuations, effectively varying the components and boundaries of the planning subsystem, while

continually legitimising and delegitimising socio-political actors (Boons et al., 2009; Buuren et al., 2012; Healey, 1992).

According to Medeiros and Bramwell (1999), legitimacy can also be related to perceptions that the interests or claims of a stakeholder are valid or important. Similarly, for Innes and Booher (2010), the inputs of a stakeholder are often perceived as more legitimate when the stakeholder has knowledge of the policy issue, or grounds her or his claims in her or his own experience. Additionally, legitimate claims are co-produced within the planning subsystem through interaction and dialogue. Regarding the issue of legitimacy of actions, the exclusion of key stakeholders can negatively affect the implementation of policies and plans due to the negative perception of the project's legitimacy (Jamal & Getz, 1995: 191). Broader stakeholder involvement on the other hand, though challenging in consensus-building processes, can increase the commitment of those involved regarding the future of the tourism destination (Spyriadis et al., 2011: 194), and promote richer interactions and dynamics supported on diverse interests and points of view (Kooiman, 2003). Finally, legitimacy of actions can be related to the recognition of the decisions made within the policy network by democratically elected politicians or public sector institutions. As Hall stated, 'public policy would be the outcome of any planning and policy-making processes legitimated by any agency of the public sector, even when these processes were not expressively led by the government' (2008: 8).

4.4.3. EMERGENT PATTERNS: CONSERVATIVE AND DISSIPATIVE SELF-ORGANISATION

As discussed in chapter 3, self-organisation means that complex systems can reorganise, adapt or evolve during periods of instability without any external or central intervention. Some tourism scholars have mentioned self-organisation as one of the main characteristics of complexity theory which could be applied to the study of dynamics in tourism destinations (Baggio, 2006, 2008; Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004; McDonald, 2009; McKercher, 1999). Nevertheless, socio-political self-organisation has not specifically been a research topic in tourism planning so far. In Farrel & Twining-Ward's (2005: 110) theoretical paper about tourism and complexity, self-organisation is the emergent and unique character that results from the combination of tourism services, infrastructure, natural and cultural attractions, recreation facilities, among others, 'in which the alteration or disturbance of one component from within or without, may affect a hundred others'. Offering a similar

point of view, McKercher (1999) emphasised that while destinations are often shaken by perturbations and instability, tourism operates in a semblance of order in which many elements self-organise, including public sector bodies, attractions, amenities, access and accommodation. While both perspectives effectively stressed the bottom-up character of self-organisation, both still maintain functionalist understandings in which destinations need to work in equilibrium, and reinforce the traditional understanding of the tourism system as a passive receptor of policies. The implications of self-organisation as a way of understanding how individual interactions and actions in planning and policy-making processes can challenge and transform governance structures, in other words, how change is produced by dialectic dynamics between the micro and the macro social, has yet to be explored through empirical research.

Outside the field of tourism, governance itself has been defined by Jessop (2003: 101) as the 'reflexive self-organisation of independent actors involved in complex relations of reciprocal interdependence' in which self-organisation is supported by continuing dialogue and information sharing in order to develop collective actions towards a shared goal. Self-organised dynamics are the patterns that emerge from actors' interactions that are mainly cooperative and oriented to changing the way things are. Since self-organised dynamics may include multiple and diverse actors interacting through inhibiting and reinforcing feedback loops, the outcomes could end in many unexpected and unintended ways (Baggio et al., 2010; Boons et al., 2009; Buuren et al., 2012; Healey, 2003).

Van Buuren (2012) noted that self-organised socio-political dynamics are difficult to deal with, especially from the point of view of governmental actors. Nevertheless, the literature has acknowledged the role of the public sector in laying conditions for self-organisation by encouraging bottom-up initiatives (Baggio et al., 2011; Boons et al., 2009; Healey, 2003; Innes & Booher, 1999; Jessop, 2003; Spyriadis et al., 2011). Planners themselves could facilitate the dynamics of self-organisation through bringing policy agents together, enabling information sharing, and aiding in the mobilisation of social action (Innes & Booher, 1999; Spyriadis et al., 2011). The main argument about the role of the government and planners in self-organised governance processes is that they become *nodes* within the system and as such have powers of action to foster dynamics of communication, collaboration and self-organisation (Booher & Innes, 2002: 232). The key is to understand government efforts as part of the planning subsystem in question, in opposition to traditional

systemic planning in which the government would direct the system-to-be-governed (Kooiman, 2003) from outside (chapter 2). Van Buuren's (2012) study, for example, shows that governments acting outside the system-to-be-governed not only do not promote joint action among different kinds of stakeholders but also put more pressure on public agencies in terms of planning and implementation.

According to Boons et al. (2009: 235-236), socio-political self-organisation has four dimensions:

1. Self-organisation is a driving force of governance processes that emerges from the interactions and actions of stakeholders;
2. Self-organisation causes processes to follow unexpected trajectories since there is no unique agent controlling actions;
3. Self-organisation is closely related to available information, values and judgments regarding the system as understood by the actors during the processes. However, these perceptions are in constant change since the actors are feeding back to each other through communication;
4. Self-organisation is driven by the ambition or need to survive (self-interest, competition, or conservative self-organisation), but also by the ambition to contribute to changing the state of things and have an impact on a larger system (public interest, cooperation, or dissipative self-organisation).

Regarding the ideas of conservative and dissipative self-organisation (Boons et al., 2009; Buijs, Van der Bol, et al., 2009; Teisman et al., 2009), these are useful in understanding how emerging patterns of interactions include both efforts focused on maintaining existing ways of doing things, as well as actions to change them. On one hand, a planning subsystem or policy network can be oriented towards conservative self-organisation by sticking to its usual dynamics within the boundaries it has set between itself and wider socio-political systems (Boons et al., 2009). As discussed in chapter 3, conservative self-organisation is often related to competitive interactions supported by self-interest, but also to hierarchical governance arrangements and linear planning practices. It is manifested for instance when, in order to recover control and guidance, government officials and representatives who are not willing to give up power, attempt to exclude other stakeholders and reduce the boundaries of planning subsystems. Conservative self-organisation dynamics also appear when the government or other interest groups push their own interests and plans forward, even when they meet resistance from

citizens and wider social groups (Buijs, van der Bol, Teisman, & Byrne, 2009). Conservative self-organisation is a strong emerging dynamic in planning subsystems because it reduces the number of stakeholders involved, fixes the boundaries of the system and establishes linear and cause-effect planning processes. In other words, it appears to reduce complexity and improve efficiency (Boons et al., 2009; Teisman et al., 2009).

On the other hand, dissipative self-organisation is related to dialogue about policy issues, the exploration of alternative means of policy-making, and the expansion of policy boundaries (Boons et al., 2009). It is related to cooperative interactions and interdependencies that create the possibility for internal strengths to converge, which may then lead to the emergence of new structures and entities. In this way, processes of dissipative self-organisation prevent systems from becoming locked in self-referential processes (Van Buuren et al., 2009). As discussed in section 4.3.5.1, dynamics of dissipative self-organisation are likely to appear when socio-political actors are confronted with instability or unsatisfactory conditions for themselves, and begin to explore alternative policy issues and system boundaries. These dynamics of change are often developed in new informal networks of actors from a variety of formal and informal organisations (Van Buuren et al., 2009). Again, the combination of both kinds of self-organisation, conservative and dissipative, keep actions and interactions going. As a consequence, governance systems are in constant transformation (Van Buuren et al., 2009).

4.5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The chapter applied the complexity theory approach outlined in chapter 3, as a framework to understand and organise literature on tourism planning and governance. The aim of this chapter was to address key contemporary challenges in tourism planning related with the emergent governance discourse in tourism literature, including shifting roles of the government; the emergent tourism governance arrangements pushed by the neoliberal agenda; the inclusion of new actors in policy-making processes; and the new theoretical perspectives that have challenged traditional prescriptive planning models in order to open spaces for descriptive, interpretive, contextual, descriptive and non-linear understandings of planning practice (the latter were reviewed in more depth in chapter 2).

Governance becomes a key concept to address the changing context in which tourism planning and policy-making processes take place and the expansion of these processes to non-political actors. It also becomes the idea that allows the understanding of emergent socio-political structures as a result of actor-led, self-organised planning efforts. Tourism planning literature has addressed governance either from a macro perspective, often focused on the characterisation of state-market-civil society governance arrangements, or from a micro, actor-level perspective focused on understanding how actors play their policy game, build collaboration processes, and co-construct shared visions. I consider that both approaches are necessary and complementary. What is more, they can be linked through a conceptual framework that highlights structures and actors, as well as context and dynamics (figure 4.2). Based on the review of contemporary tourism planning literature, and drawing from a complexity and interactive governance perspective, three key points summarise this framework:

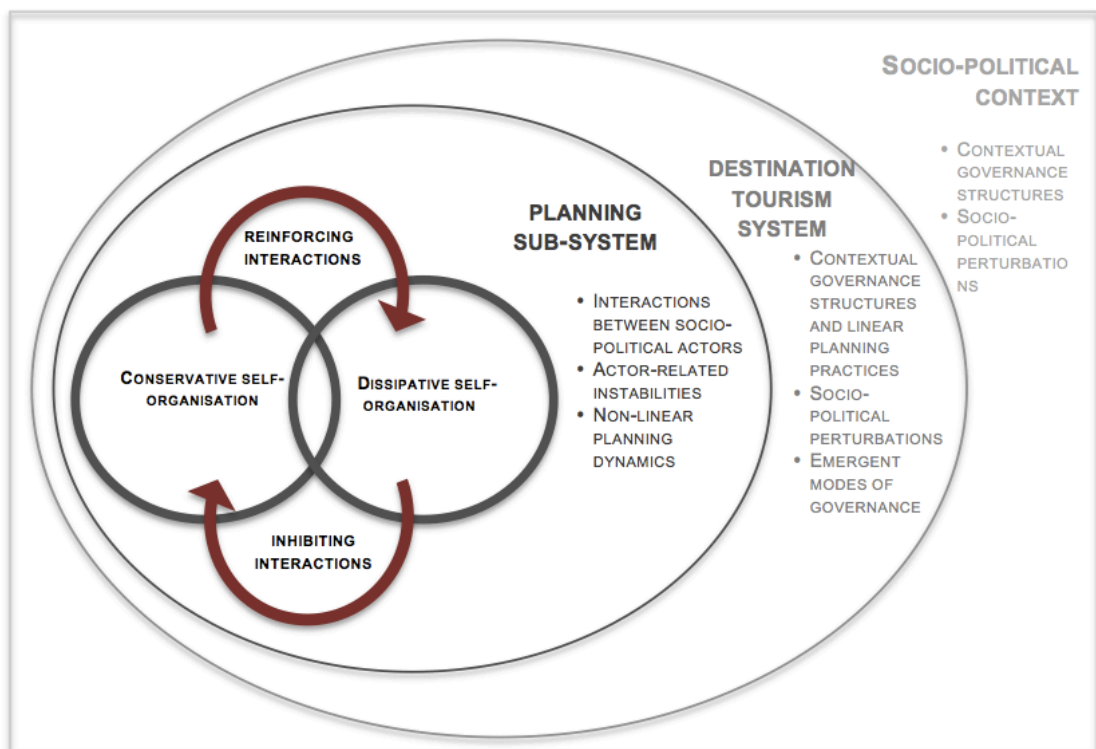


FIGURE 4.2. Framework to understand planning and governance dynamics from a complex systems perspective. Source: author.

Firstly, the tourism destination can be understood as a complex socio-political system constituted by diverse tourism stakeholders. As illustrated in figure 4.2, some actors in the tourism system form closer ties to make decisions about their future, creating a planning subsystem or policy network that is embedded in the

destination's tourism system. Actors and dynamics are shared between the two systems and with wider and lower socio-political systems. Although there is a differentiation between the planning subsystem and the tourism system, it is more an analytical than an ontological one. This subtle differentiation is crucial since one of the main assumptions of this research challenges the traditional systemic planning approaches where external planning systems are put in place to manage tourism destinations. From this perspective, governance is the concept that allows the understanding of the implications of self-organised planning for the destination's tourism system and vice versa.

Secondly, while there is plenty of tourism literature addressing structural governance arrangements in tourism destinations, there is a gap in tourism research focusing on planning dynamics themselves as stimuli for governance change. In other words, this research focuses on how structural change occurs through actor-led, self-organised planning, rather than characterising the frequently perceived as fixed structures or macro governance arrangements that steer tourism destinations. Previous research has shown how perturbations related to transformations in wider socio-political contexts (figure 4.2), as well as conflictive interactions between stakeholders, foster instability in tourism destinations. The literature review emphasised how new dynamics and structural arrangements are possible when the tourism system is unstable. As shown in figure 4.2, conservative and dissipative self-organisation are key concepts to understand dynamics of change. Conservative self-organisation is related to maintaining structural conditions, including linear planning practices and hierarchical modes of governance. On the other hand, dissipative self-organisation is oriented to structural change through non-linear planning and self-organised governance. At their very core, interactions are placed. Interactions between stakeholders continuously reinforce and undermine socio-political action. Roles, values, political ideologies, knowledge, perceptions, and interests are continuously negotiated, realigned and reassessed in these exchanges.

Finally, the research design will aim to explore how emergent patterns of socio-political interactions, that is conservative or dissipative self-organised planning dynamics, result in emergent structures of tourism governance. The conceptual framework identified in this chapter involves three levels of analysis: firstly, the agency-related level focuses on the intentions, perceptions and values, as well as obligations, positions and roles that pervade socio-political interactions and actions. The dynamic level deals with conservative and dissipative self-organised planning

as the dialectical interplay between socio-political interactions and structural conditions; and thirdly, the structural level focuses on governance as both context and outcome of planning dynamics. The methodological implications of developing three levels of analysis in a single research design will be discussed in the next chapter.



CHAPTER 5. RESEARCH DESIGN

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The present chapter makes explicit how the interplay between the philosophical position, the theory, and the subject of study, is linked to the social world through a coherent research design. In order to do so, the complex realist approach to study socio-political change discussed in chapter 3 is integrated with the conceptual framework to understand tourism planning and governance discussed in chapters 2 and 4. The research design includes two main sections. The first is concerned with how critical realism as a philosophical stance, and case study as a methodological strategy, can inform the study of social complex systems. The second links the theory and the methodological strategy with methods of data collection and analysis. Three different methods for data collection are identified and integrated through explicit criteria for data analysis and interpretation. Finally, I discuss the criteria to evaluate my research process and findings.

5.2. RESEARCH DESIGN: SOME CONSIDERATIONS

Research designs link the world of experience with the research paradigm or philosophical perspective (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011), spanning the choices 'from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis' (Creswell, 2009: 3) and turning research questions into specific projects (Robson, 2002). There are many kinds of protocols to develop research designs available in the literature, the majority of them arising within either the qualitative or quantitative approaches to research social life and the inductive or deductive strategies correspondingly associated with them (e.g. Blaikie, 2007; Bryman, 2008; Creswell, 2009; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Gilbert, 2001; Robson, 2002). It is not the intention here to review them or apply one of these sequences (Maxwell, 2005); instead, the aim is to develop a coherent research design that is most appropriate to answer the research questions, while agreeing with the frameworks proposed for this study. A suitable departure point is that in a good research design, the 'components work harmoniously together' (Maxwell, 2005: 2). These components, according to Denzin and Lincoln (2011) are: the paradigm or philosophical perspective being used and its relation to the data collection and analysis; the way research is going to address social problems; the object or subject of research; the strategy of inquiry, and the methods for collecting and analysing empirical materials.

This research was not conceived within a paradigm of enquiry *per se* (Crotty, 1998;

Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Guba, 1990) rather, it started at the intersection between a problem in the *real world* (Robson, 2002) and the rapidly evolving contribution of complexity theory to the social sciences. The empirically founded nature of the research problem made the quest to find the appropriate philosophical stance to understand both the problem and the theory very challenging. As Leff (2000) noted, the world has not become complex, it has always been that way, but its complexity was invisible for the existing research paradigms. While the polarised paradigm arguments have been fruitful in encouraging me to further reflect on my own assumptions and claims, I largely share the opinion that ‘the paradigm wars are over’ (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998: 5). In this sense, I agree with the assumption that the qualitative/quantitative division is no longer sustainable and that the ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions of each paradigm should not be assumed straightforwardly when doing research. However, I also agree with Archer’s (1995) critical realist position against pragmatic standpoints that dismiss the underlying reasons for divided epistemological positions. The qualitative/quantitative divide, together with other divides such as macro versus micro sociological approaches as discussed previously in chapter 3, cannot be overcome by ignoring their fundamental assumptions, but by assuming a philosophical position in which both positions are critically embraced (e.g. Archer, 1995, 2000). Rather it should be the task of the researcher to choose carefully from among a plurality of methods in order to tailor-make their own design, based on the research questions and ‘the ontological contours of the problem they are studying’ (Harvey & Reed, 1997: 296).

The first part of the research design includes its theoretical components, namely the philosophical position, the role of complexity theory and the chosen strategy of inquiry. The aim of the storyline is to explore the basic features of each of these three components in relation to the other two, in an attempt to emphasise their interconnection and the way they feedback to one another.

5.2.1. THE PHILOSOPHICAL POSITION: CRITICAL REALISM

The methodological approaches for complexity research constitute an on-going debate in the social sciences. While some argue that the study of complexity cannot be placed in a radical positivist perspective because of its limitations to predict and generalise (Kiel & Elliott, 1997), others consider that interpretivist approaches cannot grasp complex systems because meaning can be attached to individuals but not to social wholes (Bunge, 2004). For some scholars, complexity theory ‘admits

multiple ways of knowing' (Phelan, 2001: 135) and seems to support a wide range of epistemological and ontological positions evident in the variety of approaches and methods employed to carry out research about complex systems. Richardson & Cilliers (2001) identified three overlapping schools of thought in complexity literature. Firstly, quantitative *neo-reductionism* which, by applying mathematical equations in tandem with available software, pursues general laws and methods to predict the evolution of complex systems. On the other extreme, *soft complexity* refers to the application of complexity language as a metaphorical tool to interpret findings that in some cases have been studied through other frameworks. In between the two, *complexity thinking* involves the thoughtful choice of theoretical foci and methodological perspectives that fit the research questions and the subject under study. I uphold a complexity thinking approach and its implication of a conscious search for adequate worldviews that fit equally the research questions and the main assumptions of the theory.

One central issue that social science researchers interested in complexity thinking have to deal with is the nature of complexity itself. A starting point would be to ask why complex systems are complex. As McIntyre (1998) put it, is complexity an ontological property of the world or is it an epistemological issue? Is complexity a property of reality or is it related to our limitations in understanding social phenomena? In order to clarify this point, it is possible to identify three different understandings regarding the nature of complexity. On one hand, complexity can be considered an epistemological matter (McIntyre, 1998: 29). In this position (often related to neo-reductionism), complex systems are unpredictable due to our current inability to grasp phenomena that involve multiple and interrelated variables. This inability, however, is currently increasingly enhanced by technology (Harvey & Reed, 1997). Other perspectives assume that complexity is independent of our ability for understanding. In these perspectives, complexity is either straightforwardly related to the world (Capra, 1988; Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004), meaning that the impossibility of fully understanding the world lies in the complexity of the world itself, or complexity is related to language, meaning, and our multiple interpretations of the world (Abraham, 2001; Cilliers, 1998; Leff, 2000; Luhman & Boje, 2001).

An approach that supports both ontological and epistemological complexity is critical realism (Byrne, 1998; Harvey & Reed, 1997; Jörg, 2011; Reed & Harvey, 1992), a philosophical position that recognises the complexity of the real world, while acknowledging the position and limitations of the researcher who understands that

world. Moreover, critical realism has been seen as the bridge between positivism and interpretivism while at the same time confronting crucial assumptions of both (Zachariadis, Scott, & Barrett, 2010). While critical realism is a philosophical approach to understand the natural and the social (and the relation between them), my account of its main features will be related to its application in sociology (e.g. Archer, 1995, 2000; Harvey, 2009; Sayer, 2000). Additionally, while chapter 3 explored critical realist perspectives to understand the social, in this chapter, critical realism is explored in relation to its epistemological and ontological assumptions.

Harvey (2009) explained how Bhaskar's (1979, 2011) critical realism developed a dialectic framework to study social life, drawing from the Durkheimian positivist paradigm and the Weberian hermeneutic one, in which some dualisms, such as positivism versus social constructivism and qualitative versus quantitative methodologies, were overlapped by nullifying their contradictory assumptions. Critical realism reclaims reality from the superficial view of empiricism where reality can be grasped by observation and experience (Bhaskar, 2011). It also rejects the idea that 'society is simply what we choose to make it and make of it' (Archer, 1995: 3). In critical realism, it is assumed that social phenomena exist independently of people's perceptions. Yet the only way to gain knowledge is by interpreting individual perceptions about social phenomena and then identifying the underlying structures that allow their emergence (Harvey & Reed, 1997; Sayer, 2000). In this position,

the ultimate objects of knowledge are the structures and mechanisms that generate phenomena [...]. These objects are neither phenomena (empiricism) nor human constructs imposed upon the phenomena (idealism) but real structures which endure independently of our knowledge, our experience, and the conditions which allow us access to them (Bhaskar, 1979: 24).

The independence of the world from our thought about it can be explained by the critical realist distinction between the *intransitive* and *transitive* dimensions of knowledge. The world that we study or more concretely, physical process and social phenomena, constitute the intransitive dimension of science, whereas the changing understandings of the world, including theories and discourses constitute the transitive dimensions of knowledge (Sayer, 2000). In this perspective, theories about the world can change, but that does not mean that the world itself changes. Critical realism, to put it another way, sees science as a '*transitive, historically*

conditioned activity, which has as its object an *intransitive ontologically layered world*' (Reed & Harvey, 1992: 357 emphasis in original). Knowledge is produced socially and science is a social practice in which structures and institutions of knowledge, social relations, rules and language influence what is known and what is communicated (Sayer, 2000). Regarding the social sciences, Sayer (2000) acknowledges that the transitive dimension of knowledge, i.e. changing theories and discourses about the social world, can constitute objects of study themselves. Additionally, not only is knowledge produced by interpretation, but at the same time social phenomena are inherently meaningful (Harvey & Reed, 1997; Sayer, 2000), and meaning 'is not only externally descriptive of them but constitutive of them' (Sayer, 2000: 17). Sayer (2000: 17) pointed out that meanings have to be understood, since they 'cannot be measured or counted, and hence there is always an interpretive or hermeneutic element in social science'.




DOMAINS OF REALITY	LEVELS OF ANALYSIS	
PERCEPTIONS (EMPIRICAL)	INDIVIDUAL PERCEPTIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF SOCIAL EVENTS AND STRUCTURES	
DYNAMICS (ACTUAL)	SOCIAL EVENTS THAT ARISE FROM ACTIONS AND INTERACTIONS	
STRUCTURE (REAL)	EMERGENT STRUCTURES OF SOCIAL PRACTICES, RELATIONS, INSTITUTIONS AND RULES	

FIGURE 5.1. Domains of reality and levels of analysis in critical realism. Source: based on Gregory and Urry, 1985; Sayer, 1992.

Probably the most relevant proposition that critical realism offers for the study of complex systems is the idea of a time- and context-dependent multi-layered reality that stands out against the 'flat ontologies' (Sayer, 2000: 12) of other philosophical stances. Reality has depth (Blaikie, 2007) and the world is 'structured, differentiated, stratified and changing' (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2002: 5). For Bhaskar (2008) there are three domains of reality: the real, the actual and the empirical (figure 5.1). The *real* domain is 'whatever exists' (Sayer, 2000: 11) and in the social world includes institutions, relations, practices and other social structures with causal powers to generate events and an ability of action, interaction and change (Lewis, 2000). The *actual* domain refers to the events (and their effects) generated by the exercise of action and interaction. Finally, the *empirical* domain

would be the domain of experience that includes what is perceived and observable. The real and actual domains are independent of the observer, while the empirical domain is generated when an observer perceives and interprets social structures or social events of the real or the actual domains respectively (Sayer, 2000).

In order to understand how the real, actual and empirical domains are interrelated, critical realism argues that the world is characterised by emergence (figure 5.1). In the emergent, multi-layered understanding of social reality, actors *perceive, experience and interpret* events (empirical domain of reality). *Events* are the observable patterns of social dynamics (actual domain of reality), including social actions (Jessop, 2003), and social interactions (Archer, 1995). Social dynamics, however, do not take place in a vacuum. A critical realist understanding of the social necessarily implies the identification of the structures (real domain of reality) that enable and constrain the social dynamics that are being studied. Additionally, the way in which the pre-existent social structures are transformed by social interactions and actions is necessary for the understanding of social change (Archer, 1995, 2003).

In relation to causation, as discussed in chapter 3, complexity assumes that interactions between social actors are non-linear, that is, interactions are associated to feedback loops in which actors' perceptions, interests, values and ultimately, their power of action, are constantly inhibited and reinforced by their interaction with other social actors. Such non-linear relations allow for only a limited predictability of future events (Jörg, 2011; Teisman et al., 2009). Likewise, critical realism emphasises the open character of social systems, which are strongly influenced by their environment, socio-political context and history, all of which make causation complex: according to the context, the same social dynamics can produce different outcomes while different social dynamics can produce the same outcomes (Collier, 1994; Sayer, 2000). Since 'outcomes depend on multiple causes and these causes interact in an unpredictable manner' (Byrne, 1998: 20), *complex causation* is not concerned with the unvarying causes for each event (Buijs, Eshuis, et al., 2009; Byrne, 1998; Sayer, 2000), but with the identification of the dialectical interplay between agency and structure and the *emergent* outcomes of such interplay (further discussed in section 5.3.6). The future in a multi-layered reality is (just as in complexity) open, context- and contingency- dependent, and time-irreversible (Sayer, 2000).

The methodological implications of the study of social complex systems from a critical realist standpoint are that methodological individualism and collectivism need to be discarded while different levels of analysis are required. As Danermark et al. (2002: 164) explained:

Strata cannot be reduced one to another: at the different levels there are emergent powers, which we cannot reduce to the level above or below the one in question. A practical methodological consequence of this is that the researcher, in order to understand a phenomenon must allow the analysis to encompass a number of levels (Danermark et al., 2002: 164).

Danermark et al. (2002) emphasised that methods to study a stratified reality should be able to highlight intentionality, social dynamics, and emergence while acknowledging the impossibility of social prediction. In contrast to positivism and interpretivism, critical realists argue that a multi-layered ontology supports a wide range of research methods and even the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches (Danermark et al., 2002; Sayer, 2000; Zachariadis et al., 2010). Nevertheless, methodological choices must be carefully linked to the theoretical framework (Danermark et al., 2002), the nature of the object of study (Reed & Harvey, 1992) and what we aim to know about reality (Sayer, 2000). Critical realism encourages innovation in the current ways of carrying out research (Jörg, 2011) and rejects 'cookbook prescriptions of method' (Sayer, 2000: 19), as long as the methods employed avoid reductionism (Reed & Harvey, 1992) and inconsistency with critical realist assumptions (Danermark et al., 2002).

As for the research strategies suitable to address complexity and critical realism, García (2006), Harvey (2009), and Byrne and Ragin (2009) have advocated case-based research because of its suitability for addressing complex causation and gaining a deep multi-level understanding of the object of study (Yin, 2009). The ontological nature of case studies in relation to the study of complex systems has also been questioned by Ragin (1992) and Harvey (2009) in order to define whether cases are realities with ontological claims on their own or epistemological constructions defined for research purposes. Byrne (2009: 105) on one hand, made no differentiation between the case and the system when he argued that 'we can treat real cases as complex systems' that exist with autonomous properties before the researcher starts reflecting on them. In his position, the case and the system are real, while the knowledge about them is constructed. On the other hand, García

(2006) maintained that the case is a hypothetical construction developed when the researcher interprets reality through his or her theoretical lenses, and he or she calls this interpreted reality a complex system. Therefore, the interrelations within the elements of the system must not be *discovered*, but *constructed* according to the research questions. Together, the case and the system are constructions to interpret reality and as such, always incomplete. I agree with Harvey's (2009: 30) position in which the case is the 'emergent totality' that results of the interrelation between the researcher and the reality. From his point of view, the case study is a (epistemological) social construct to investigate an 'ontologically complex, stratified social formation' (Harvey, 2009: 36).

5.2.2. THE STRATEGY OF INQUIRY: CASE STUDY

The case can be understood as both the object of study (Creswell, 2007) and the on-going process of inquiry that finishes when the case is explained and reconstructed theoretically as a 'self-contained entity' (Harvey, 2009: 30). As a choice of '*what is to be studied*' (Stake, 2005: 443), the case has to do with the interest of the researcher in explaining different aspects of a particular phenomenon that is perceived as a unity. Hence, the distinctive feature of the case study is the detail and richness that results from the in-depth study of a specific aspect of reality (Flyvbjerg, 2011), as well as the learning outcomes resultant of that deep understanding (Stake, 2005; Yin, 2009). Not everything is a case. What makes a case subject of research is its uniqueness and specificity. As Stake (2005: 2) puts it, the case is a 'complex, functioning thing' and this includes individuals, organisations, processes, events, communities (Yin, 2009), a period of time (Matthew, 2006), a bounded system (Stake, 1995: 2) or a complex system (Byrne & Ragin, 2009; Harvey, 2009). Yin (2009) emphasised that case studies constitute a *methodological strategy* associated to the research problem and questions. In this position, the case is more than the choice of an object of study and becomes a *process* (Gray, 2004) that permeates different research stages (Ragin, 1992; Yin, 2009). Hence, 'casing' (Ragin, 1992: 217) is the research strategy dedicated to constructing a case that is finished when theory is linked with evidence, bringing meaningful, analytic closure (Harvey, 2009: 30).

One of the main criticisms of the case study as a research strategy is related to the feasibility of generalising from a social unit with such a context and research specificity that makes it almost impossible to apply to other settings (Bryman, 2008; Easton, 2010; Flyvbjerg, 2011; Robson, 2002; Yin, 2009). Some advocates of case

study research claim that generalisation has been overvalued and should not be the aim of all research efforts (Stake, 1995), especially when 'social science has not succeeded in producing general, context-independent theory' (Flyvbjerg, 2011: 303). For other scholars, one of the ways to generalise from a single case is by basing the research design and questions upon an existing theory (Easton, 2010; Yin, 2009). This argument emphasises the value of producing highly complex and contextualised knowledge that, while not suitable for generalisation to populations through *statistical generalisation*, can be generalised to theoretical propositions through *analytical generalisation* by exporting particular sets of results to a broader theory (Ragin & Becker, 1992; Robson, 2002; Yin, 2009).

Buijs, Eshuis and Byrne (2009) explained analytical generalisation as the combination of the specific knowledge obtained from *single* case studies (what they called *situated* complexity) with the general knowledge obtained through the comparative study of *multiple* or collective cases (or *general* complexity). Hence, 'an in-depth understanding of particular cases is required. At the same time, a more general understanding of complex systems [...] is aimed at through a search for general patterns. These general patterns are derived from a comparison of cases' (Buijs, Eshuis, & Byrne, 2009: 36). In other words, my research aims to generate specific and contextualised knowledge from a single case that could contribute to the general body of knowledge about social complexity.

The appropriateness of case study as a strategy for this research can be discussed in terms of its potential for understanding the transformative character of actor-led planning processes, in relation to governance and institutionalised planning structures in tourism destinations. The usefulness of single and multiple case studies in addressing issues of governance, planning, and public policy has been widely addressed in complexity literature (e.g. García, 2006; Haynes, 2003; Innes & Booher, 2010; Teisman et al., 2009; White, 2001). As Ragin (2009: 533) noted, 'social policy is most capable of decisive intervention when it is grounded in explicit case-oriented knowledge about specific sets of cases'. However, it is important to acknowledge that in the study of cases (and complex systems) there are always going to be more variables of interest than data points (Yin, 2009). Cilliers (2001) has pointed out that knowledge about reality can never be as complex as reality itself, and that only some of the social dynamics that take place in a complex system can be identified.

Case studies are qualitative research strategies. However, they do not necessarily entail the sole use of qualitative methods of data collection (Robson, 2002; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2009). The critical realist position is that qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection and analysis can be dialectically opposed and yet synthesised within the same case (Byrne, 2009; Harvey, 2009; Ragin, 2009). For Yin (2009), if research questions address various aspects or levels of analysis within the case, then the case study is embedded. Embedded cases necessarily rely on multiple data collection methods to address multiple layers of analysis (Yin, 2009). One of the main advantages of the case study, it has been argued, is precisely that it relies on multiple sources of information that both enable more complex research questions, and reduce researcher and respondent bias (Robson, 2002; Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2009; Easton, 2010).

5.2.3. THE ROLE OF COMPLEXITY THEORY

The role of theory in literature about case study research can vary from inductive approaches of theory generation (Eisenhardt, 1989) to deductive ones of theory verification (Yin, 2009). Nevertheless, theory might be both constructed and tested within the same study (Newman, Ridenour, Newman, & DeMarco, 2003), since 'as researchers our primary goal is to link the empirical and the theoretical – to use theory to make sense of evidence and to use evidence to sharpen and refine theory' (Ragin & Becker, 1992: 237). The theory-laden definition of my object of study meant that the theoretical framework informed the research design. The use of theory to define case studies has been criticised because 'preordained theoretical perspectives or propositions may bias and limit the findings' (Eisenhardt 1989: 536). On the other hand, Flyvbjerg (2011) argued that while this kind of bias is no worse in case studies than any other method, the intensive learning process in which the researcher is immersed throughout the case study, together with a meticulous definition of procedures to maintain the quality of the research process (Yin 2009) are more likely to lead to a rejection of unsuitable theories and the dismissal of preconceived notions about phenomena. In short, I consider that the up-front theoretical interpretation of my object of study, instead of being a rigid framework, changed and evolved throughout the course of the research as it came together with the review of the literature about the subject under study, and the empirical evidence (Robson, 2002; Creswell, 2007; Ragin, 2009).

In agreement with Ragin (2009: 218) who stated that 'usually a problematic relation between theory and data is involved when a case is declared', the idea for this

research was born from the perceived incompatibility between the linear models applied to tourism planning in the Santa Elena province and the contingency of the real world, bringing out a dissociation between theory and practice that could affect negatively the management of tourism destinations. The concepts of instability, non-linearity, and self-organisation that complexity theory offers to interpret the world seemed appropriate for providing a lens to further shape what was going to be studied and how things would be understood (Creswell, 2007). Consequently, I seek to construct theoretically structured interpretations (Ragin, 2009), grounded in the case study as the research strategy that allows a multi-layered, contextual and time-dependent understanding of the social world through the use of different methods of data collection and analysis.

5.3. RESEARCH DESIGN: THE CASE STUDY

The case study links the research aims and questions (which in turn are based on the literature review and complexity theory) with choices about boundaries, layers of analysis, and methods of data analysis and data collection (Yin, 2009). Criteria to link data and theory, as well as judging the quality of the research process, are also described.

5.3.1. RESEARCH AIMS, QUESTIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS

This section focuses on the research aims, questions, and assumptions that are guiding the study. Making them explicit will help to identify the case and build its logic, while reducing bias during the research process (Robson, 2002; Yin, 2009). As argued in chapter 2, linear tourism planning frameworks have identified desired outcomes of the planning process and placed these outcomes in a predictable future where complex causation and contingency were not addressed. These models have been widely applied in the Santa Elena province (section 6.5.1), through formal and institutionalised planning led mainly by the public sector (Gobierno autónomo descentralizado de Santa Elena, 2012; Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2007; Nobis, 2009; Senplades, 2008). While successful in delivering comprehensive and strategic plans, linear planning processes have experienced serious problems in their implementation stage (Tosun, 2000; Yuksel et al., 1999), which in many cases did not even start (Garcés, 2006; Nobis, 2009). In the meantime, a group of key tourism stakeholders from the destination's tourism system have joined together to create a space of dialogue between the public sector, tourism businesses, and civil society, that seeks to improve the future of the tourism

destination. Following the conceptual framework identified in chapter 4, this group is understood as an actor-led, self-organised planning subsystem formed by interrelated key stakeholders from the provincial tourism system, in which non-linear tourism planning dynamics take place through reinforcing and inhibiting interactions between members.

The introductory chapter summarised the three gaps in knowledge the present research seeks to address. These are related to how tourism planning can deal with unstable structural conditions, the role of agency in the planning process, and the relation between actor-led planning and socio-political structural change. Then, the literature review chapters elaborated on the arguments by highlighting the need to understand tourism planning within the changing and often unstable structural conditions in which it is embedded. Instability arising from incompatible and changing interests, perceptions and values among tourism stakeholders also require further understanding.

As discussed in chapter 2, instability is rarely taken into account in tourism planning research and practice. Additionally, with the exception of more recent developments related with interpretive, collaborative, and network-planning approaches (chapter 2), the transformative character of agency has remained largely ignored in mainstream tourism planning. Within a complex realist framework, I am assuming that self-organised planning is unpredictable and non-linear because of the reinforcing and inhibiting character of the interactions that take place between socio-political actors in the self-organised group (chapter 3). From these circular interactions, patterns of conservative and dissipative organisation emerge, that is, dynamics oriented to maintaining or transforming governance structures (chapter 4). In consequence, a way to understand the transformative character of planning interactions and dynamics comes through the analysis of change in tourism governance structures that enable and constrain planning interactions. Governance is thus understood as the context and outcome of self-organised planning.

The first aim of my research is to understand the structural conditions that allowed the emergence of self-organised planning in the Santa Elena province. The analysis of structural conditions will focus on socio-political *relations* between stakeholders and *institutionalised* rules and practices of tourism planning and governance. The second aim arises from the assumption that self-organised planning coexists with linear and institutionalised tourism planning efforts that also take place at different

levels of tourism public administration in the province. The aim is thus to explore the relation between actor-led, non-linear, self-organised planning and both the structural conditions of tourism governance and the institutional planning efforts in the tourism destination that are associated with such governance structures. For that purpose, the self-organised planning subsystem is understood as embedded in the tourism governance conditions of the Santa Elena province (figure 4.2). Finally, the third aim of my research is to explore the usefulness of complex realism in understanding how self-organised tourism planning can lead to governance structural change. The three research aims can be translated into three main research questions:

1. Which changing relational and institutional tourism governance structures in the tourism system and in the wider socio-political context allowed self-organised tourism planning in the Santa Elena province to take place?
2. What agency/structure dynamics are there between self-organised tourism planning and the institutionalised planning efforts and governance structures in the tourism destination?
3. How does self-organised tourism planning contribute to the reproduction and transformation of governance structures in the tourism system of the Santa Elena province?

The following sections will link the research questions with the boundaries of the study, layers of analysis, data collection methods, and criteria for data analysis and interpretation.

5.3.2. TOURISM PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE IN THE SANTA ELENA PROVINCE: AN EMBEDDED CASE STUDY

The primary decision about the case study was place-related. A municipality on the Ecuadorian coast, Salinas, with identifiable problems in relation to tourism planning and governance (Delgado & López, 2009; Nobis, 2009) was first selected as the case study. However, during the process the following issues led to a reconsideration of its geographical scope:

- Informal conversations with local actors to discuss the topic and place chosen for research showed that local actors see the municipality as the main touristic point of a broader tourism destination, which is the Santa

Elena province.

- The publication in August 2010 of the Code of Territorial Organization, Autonomy and Decentralization (COOTAD), which regulates the politico-administrative organisation of the Ecuadorian state, and the jurisdictions of the different levels of autonomous governments. The COOTAD sets the provincial governments (instead of municipalities) as the government body in charge of developing economic activities within each territory (Asamblea Nacional del Ecuador, 2010).
- The acknowledgement in December 2010 by the Ecuadorian Ministry of Tourism of the efforts made by a self-organised group of key provincial stakeholders to plan activities and contingency strategies for the high tourism season of the Santa Elena province. Through a press conference and press release, the ministry publicly recognised their work and cooperated with the strategies put forward by the group¹⁰.
- The Santa Elena province was created in 2007 by joining together three municipalities, all highly dependent on tourism. The fairly recent creation of the province was considered an opportunity to address changing structures of tourism governance, as well as planning issues arising from the new political status of the territory.

As a consequence, the geographical scope was readjusted to the provincial level in order to emphasise an unusual and highly contextualised situation (Stake, 2005; Creswell, 2007). The research questions were geographically broadened to investigate the provincial level, while the topic was narrowed down to more specific questions addressing planning dynamics and their relation with changing structures of tourism governance.

One of the tasks in designing a case about a complex system is the definition of boundaries (section 3.4.3) (Byrne, 2005; Cilliers, 1998; García, 2006). The first boundary is geographical, meaning that the study is mainly concerned with tourism stakeholders within the limits of the province. Nonetheless, key actors outside these boundaries, that is, actors within the province that were not necessarily working in tourism, or actors working in tourism outside the province, were interviewed in order to address the socio-political context in which the provincial tourism system is embedded (figure 4.2 in the previous chapter). The second boundary is theoretical

¹⁰ turismo.gob.ec accessed on 20th December 2010

and has to do with the interplay between actor-led planning dynamics and governance structures in the tourism system. Therefore, the tourism system is socio-political and does not include traditional functionalist components such as services and attractions, demand and supply. Also, the emergent results of the self-organised planning subsystem will be understood in terms of how they affect the governance structures of the tourism system, rather than on substantive results of planning efforts. The third boundary is temporal. In concordance with the research strategy, current events are being researched (Yin 2009), yet tourism governance structures are understood as the emergent result of socio-political dynamics that took place in the past, and are considered as the context in which current tourism planning interactions take place.

Table 5.1 illustrates the research design in which the theory, the philosophical position and the research questions are linked across three layers of analysis, each one involving different, interrelated, and overlapping methods of data collection and interpretation. The first layer focuses on the empirical domain, or the understanding of the individual intentions and perceptions of key tourism stakeholders in the Santa Elena province in relation to self-organisation, through 41 semi-structured interviews. The second layer combines the analysis of documents and interviews to address social dynamics. That is, conservative and dissipative patterns of self-organisation emerging from the interplay between (non-linear) planning actions and interactions and (linear) tourism governance structures. Finally, the third layer draws from the analysis of interviews, documents and a social survey, aimed at collecting data about the relational and institutional tourism governance structures that both enable and constrain socio-political interactions. Finally, a qualitative interpretation, that will be further described in section 5.3.6, links the different layers of analysis and methods (Miles & Huberman, 1994), while benefiting from the rich language complex realism offers for the interpretation of the social world.

The use of multiple methods of data collection and analysis within an embedded case study is not uncomplicated. What is vital is to distinguish between mixed approaches in which different philosophical viewpoints, methods of data collection and interpretation are combined to answer separate sets of research questions within the same study, and the standpoint adopted for this research in which different methods for data collection answer the same research questions on different levels of analysis (i.e. the individual level, the system level, and a dynamic

METHODOLOGY		ONTOLOGY		THEORY	FIELD OF STUDY
EMBEDDED CASE STUDY		CRITICAL REALISM		COMPLEXITY	TOURISM PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE
FIRST LAYER (Interviews and documents)	INTENTIONS AND PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL ACTORS (Agency)	EMPIRICAL DOMAIN	INDIVIDUAL PERCEPTIONS OF EVENTS AND STRUCTURES	INDIVIDUAL ACTORS	INTENTIONS, PERCEPTIONS AND INTERESTS OF SOCIO-POLITICAL ACTORS
SECOND LAYER (Documents and interviews)	DYNAMIC PATTERNS (Interplay between agency and structure)	ACTUAL DOMAIN	SOCIAL ACTIONS INTERACTIONS AND DYNAMICS (EVENTS)	DYNAMICS OF SELF - ORGANISATION	ACTOR-LED, SELF-ORGANISED TOURISM PLANNING DYNAMICS
THIRD LAYER (Social survey, documents and interviews)	TOURISM SYSTEM (Structure)	REAL DOMAIN	SOCIAL STRUCTURES	CONDITIONS OR CONTEXT EMERGENCE	STRUCTURES OF TOURISM GOVERNANCE IN THE DESTINATION

TABLE 5.1. Research design. Source: after (Archer, 1995; Danermark et al., 2002; Mingers, 2004; Sayer, 1992, 2000).

level) to address the interplay between them (appendix 1). In other words, the use of multiple data collection methods within an embedded case study in my research is different from adopting a mixed methodology (Newman et al., 2003). Additionally, research literature links the use of mixed methods as a mechanism of triangulation to enhance validity (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Creswell, 2009). I share the view (Simons, 2009) that the danger of this straightforward assumption would be to focus on the corroboration of the different sources of data to form a single, unproblematic view of social reality in which contradictions and divergences are discarded. In other words, validity is enhanced in my research precisely because divergences, different angles, viewpoints and inconsistencies arising from multiple data sources provide opportunities for further and deeper understanding of the case study (Maxwell, 2012; Simons, 2009).

5.3.3. AIMING FOR BREADTH: THE SOCIAL SURVEY

The social survey aimed to draw information from stakeholders in the provincial tourism system in relation to relational and institutional governance structures in the destination. As discussed in the previous chapter, the tourism system is understood as the network of tourism stakeholders in the destination.

5.3.3.1. *Sampling method and limitations of the survey*

Tourism stakeholders include individuals, businesses or organisations that could influence and are influenced by tourism policy (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999) either recognised by a local, regional or national tourism authority, or considered part of the informal tourism sector. Official data and rosters were requested from the Ecuadorian Tourism Ministry, the National Federation of Community-based Tourism (FEPTCE), the Port Authority and the tourism departments of the three municipalities. The resultant list consisted of 883 members of the tourism system which were divided into 10 different subgroups, in order to match the classification of tourism businesses and subsectors contemplated in the Ecuadorian Tourism Law (Congreso Nacional del Ecuador, 2002). Within the list, tourism businesses and organisations are considered stakeholders, instead of the totality of employees working within the organisation. The rationale for such a decision is twofold. Firstly, the Tourism Ministry keeps records of tourism businesses as the smallest unit of analysis of the tourism system, disregarding data about members within a particular organisation, and secondly, in participatory socio-political processes, organisations are invited, rather than individual actors. Additionally, the main limitation of applying a social survey in the tourism system of Santa Elena is that the sampling method

largely relied on the data available in the different governmental organisations. Public data largely excludes informal tourism stakeholders, even when they have worked in tourism for many years, and participate in tourism planning processes. Indeed, lack of accurate and up-to-date data about the provincial tourism system, as well as the informality of tourism social actors are issues highlighted by provincial tourism plans (Garcés, 2006; Nobis, 2009). As such, while 883 stakeholders were identified, the total number of people working in tourism in the province is much higher, a situation further discussed in chapter 6.

#	STRATA OF THE TARGET POPULATION	SOURCE OF THE ROSTER DATA	N	PROPORTION OF POPULATION	STRATA SAMPLE SIZE
1	Accommodation businesses	Ecuadorian Tourism Ministry. Registered businesses. December 2010	208	0,235560589	63
2	Catering businesses	Ecuadorian Tourism Ministry. Registered businesses. December 2010	362	0,409966025	110
3	Transportation businesses	Port Authority. March 2011	39	0,04416761	12
4	Local travel agents and tour operators	Ecuadorian Tourism Ministry. Registered businesses. December 2010	22	0,024915062	7
5	Other tourism services	Ecuadorian Tourism Ministry. Registered businesses. December 2010	30	0,033975085	9
6	Private or public managed attractions	Ecuadorian Tourism Ministry. Registered attractions. June 2006	13	0,014722537	4
7	Community-based tourism services	Prodecos and Feptce. Registered business. January 2011	127	0,14382786	39
8	Retailer associations of informal vendors	Salinas, Santa Elena and La Libertad borough councils. March 2011	37	0,041902605	11
9	Public sector stakeholders	Interviews. March 2011	41	0,046432616	12
10	Academia representatives	Interviews. March 2011	4	0,004530011	1
TOTAL			883	1	268

TABLE 5.2. Stratified random sampling of the Santa Elena province's tourism system.

In order to address not only formal but also informal stakeholders, a largely hidden population, two runs of face-to-face data collection were applied by five research assistants departing from the total population identified as the (formal) provincial tourism system. The first run was based on a stratified random sample (table 5.2) drawn from a table of random numbers in order to ensure that the resulting sample was distributed in the same way as the population and to avoid over- or under-representation of the different groups of tourism stakeholders (Bryman, 2008). The stratified random sample identified 268 stakeholders to maintain a 95% confidence level and 5% margin of error. During the data collection 216 questionnaires were completed, which represent a response rate of 80%. Since small associations, businesses and individuals were indistinctively included in the official lists, in the case of organisations, the survey was applied to the official representative indicated in the list, who was asked to answer the survey from the perspective of their organisation (Pforr, 2006). The identified person was not always available, which affected the response rate, together with the inaccuracy of data provided by public organisations which lacked addresses for several stakeholders, included out-of-date addresses as well as businesses and organisations that were no longer operating.

The second run of data collection applied respondent-driven sampling to follow the names nominated by original respondents. In order to do so, some of the questions were designed on a name-generator basis in which respondents of the first run would nominate stakeholders with whom they work in collaboration (Rowson, Broome, & Jones, 2010). Although it did not follow a statistical design, the respondent-driven sampling in this case was useful in including hidden stakeholders (Baggio et al., 2010b) that might not have been identified in the rosters, because they are not part of the official data. During the second run, 90 questionnaires were completed, resulting in a total of 306 questionnaires.

5.3.3.2. Survey instrument, application and analysis

A 20-question instrument was developed in order to explore the perceptions of stakeholders in the tourism system about planning processes as well as patterns of organisation, and connectivity between them (appendix 3). The questionnaire was designed after the first pilot interviews (section 5.3.4.4), which shed light on the general issues of tourism planning in the destination. Additionally, most of the questions were developed to match the themes addressed in the interviews, aiming for different viewpoints of similar themes. The questionnaire was structured in four parts. The first part focused on attributes of the respondents, including the kind of

organisation to which they belonged; the second aimed to identify perceptions in relation to institutionalised planning processes; the third was related to agency, organisation and associativity; and the final part collected data for the respondent-driven sampling.

The survey was piloted through an online survey service (appendix 2), which was sent via email with additional feedback questions to sixty-one acquaintances in the Ecuadorian tourism sector. Twenty-one replies helped me to improve the questionnaire and the ability of the questions to reliably identify what I had intended. The pilot helped to spot leading questions, and to improve the wording (Rea & Parker, 2005). Wording was a main issue in the survey application since the population consisted of people with diverse backgrounds and levels of education, ranging from illiterate to higher education levels. In order to improve the internal validity (Gilbert, 2001) of the survey and maintain the rates of response of individual questions, most included instructions for administration and completion. Additionally, the group of interviewers had two training sessions to make sure that the meaning of each one of the questions was homogeneously understood. At the end of the first session the full team, including myself, applied a small round of pilot questionnaires. The second session was useful to exchange comments about the difficulties encountered, ideas about how to improve and homogenise the discourse when explaining the questions, and finally as Rea and Parker (2005) suggested, to agree on guidelines for handling uncooperative respondents. During this second session we realised that the original weighted questions were difficult for many of the respondents. The risk of having inaccurate responses by making the questionnaire unappealing (Robson, 2002; Rea & Parker, 2005) led to my dropping the original aim to measure some of the responses and instead, qualitative categorical responses were emphasised.

Finally, the survey was applied face-to-face in twenty-three different geographical locations (towns and communes) of the Santa Elena province, based on the original random sample and the follow-up run of data collection. Five final-year students from the local university (*Universidad Estatal Península de Santa Elena - UPSE*) collected the data. The students were identified by the academic director of the tourism program because of their experience in survey application. Additionally, a university lecturer helped in organising the logistics and to oversee the four-week survey application process in April 2011.

While the lack of data to identify the size of the population, together with the response rate, and the respondent-driven sample of the second run of data collection make inferential statistics impossible, descriptive statistics were useful in identifying patterns within the respondents. The survey analysis focused on adding a different angle to the individual perceptions and institutional perspectives that arose from the analysis of the interviews and documents, respectively (Creswell, 2007). In other words, the survey results were analysed in relation to the main themes identified in the bottom-up analysis of the qualitative sources of data (sections 5.3.4.2 and 5.3.5.3). The categorical data was mainly analysed through cross-tabulation using SPSS¹¹ software in order to find patterns in the perceptions of stakeholders about formal planning processes, as well as patterns of organisation and associativity in relation to the different groups of tourism stakeholders identified in the stratified sample.

5.3.4. AIMING FOR MULTIPLE POINTS OF VIEW: USING DOCUMENTS

The analysis of documents focused on identifying institutional structures of tourism governance and institutionalised planning practices. It also facilitated the study of self-organised planning dynamics as recorded formally by social actors in meeting minutes. In other words, documents were analysed to shed light on the structural and dynamic levels of the research design (table 5.1). The main documents targeted were the ones recording public matters (Gilbert, 2001) including plans, regulations, studies, reports, minutes of meetings and procedures related to tourism, public policy and development.

5.3.4.1. *Sampling method and access to documents*

For the document analysis, a sample was not considered necessary (Robson, 2002). Instead, the original delimitation for the case study was applied to the identification of the first group of documental sources. Documents targeted were the plans and regulations that were still valid and affected the provincial tourism system. The second group of documents were respondent-driven and included the documents and plans identified as key by the interviewees. The documents identified are limited since formal (and public sector-led) tourism planning processes only started in sectional governments in 2003 (table 5.3).

¹¹ IBM Corp. Released 2011. IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 20.0. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp. Licensed to the University of Brighton.

SOURCE	YEAR	TITLE
Ecuadorian Tourism Ministry	2001	National Plan for Tourism Competitiveness.
Ecuadorian National Congress	2002	Ecuadorian Tourism Law
Ecuadorian Tourism Ministry	2003	La Libertad Municipality Tourism Strategic Plan
Presidency of the Republic of Ecuador	2004	General Regulation for the application of the Ecuadorian Tourism Law
Ecuadorian Tourism Ministry	2006	National Policy for Decentralisation and the Local Management of Tourism
United States Agency International Development	2006	Santa Elena Peninsula Strategic Plan for Tourism Development
Inter American Development Bank, BID - Ecuadorian Council for the Modernisation of the State, CONAM	2006	Santa Elena Province Tourism Marketing Plan
Ecuadorian Tourism Ministry - BID	2007	Strategic Plan for Sustainable Tourism Development in Ecuador, PLANDETUR.
National Constitutional Assembly	2008	Constitution of Ecuador
NOBIS Foundation - BID	2009	Tourism Strategic study for the Coastal Fringe of the Provinces of Santa Elena and Guayas
National Secretary for Planning and Development	2009	National Plan for the Good Living
National Secretary for Planning and Development	2009	National guidelines for the Formulation of Sectoral Public Policy
Ecuadorian Tourism Ministry	2009	Guidelines for the registry of Community-Based Tourism Centres
National Assembly	2010	National Organic Code of Territorial Organization, Autonomy and Decentralization
Source	Year	Title
National Secretary for Planning and Development	2011	National guidelines for Territorial and Decentralised Planning
Ecuadorian Tourism Ministry	2011	National Policy for Conscious Tourism
Santa Elena Provincial Government	2011	Santa Elena Province Development and Land-use Plan

TABLE 5.3. Documents identified for analysis. Source: author.

The documents were either downloaded from official public websites or requested from local, regional and national authorities. The use of public documents for research purposes was not considered an issue since the Ecuadorian Transparency Act (Congreso Nacional del Ecuador, 2004) guarantees access to public information to all Ecuadorian citizens as a mechanism of democratic participation in the management of the state. Nevertheless, when the documents needed to be requested, a signed letter was sent that included a presentation of the aims of the research project with a description of how the information was to be used. As well

as the public documents listed above, minutes of the meetings held by the self-organised planning subsystem were analysed to identify interactions within the group, membership and dynamics of decision-making. In this case, although the group has mainly public-sector members, it is not completely a public organisation (this point will be discussed in chapter 7). I requested access to emails sent within the group, which included meeting minutes, through written requests to the secretary of the group. The requests were informally accepted and I was granted access to meeting minutes and emails from February 2010 until August 2012 (appendix 10).

5.3.4.2. Qualitative document analysis

In accordance with the critical realist approach, documents are considered socially constructed (Gilbert, 2001). In other words, documents are interpretations of reality that can be used, in tandem with the other methods of data collection, to identify events and social dynamics, as well as the structures of tourism governance in the destination. The public and formal character of most of the documents (Bryman, 2008) was understood as authentic, meaningful and representative of the efforts of the government and public actors to plan and manage the tourism activity in the province. As biased documents, they were interesting precisely because of the partialities they revealed (Scott, 1991).

The starting points for the document analysis were the research questions, and the emergent themes that aroused from the bottom-up analysis of the interviews (section 5.3.5.3). Similarly to the interviews, documents were coded using the qualitative analysis software NVivo¹². The analysis of documents populated some codes that were mentioned but not covered in-depth by the interviewees, such as laws, regulations and planning frameworks in the tourism system.

5.3.5. AIMING FOR DEPTH: INTERVIEWING SOCIAL ACTORS

Interviews are the main method of in-depth data gathering in the present research. While the survey looked at collective patterns in the tourism system, the interviews conveyed individual perceptions, interests and values among key stakeholders in relation to interactions, dynamics of self-organisation and changing structures of tourism governance in the destination (Byrne & Ragin, 2009; Creswell, 2007).

¹² QSR International Pty Ltd. Version 9, released in 2010. Licensed to the University of Brighton.

5.3.5.1. Identification of key stakeholders

Given that I personally knew the main social actors related to tourism in the province and was conscious about the biases this situation could imply, I used three different sources of information to develop a map of key stakeholders. As the population was supposedly yet to be identified, snowball sampling was applied starting from one of the main gatekeepers at the provincial level. The interviewees were asked who else should be contacted with no limits on the number of names they could provide (Robson, 2002). This method resulted in more or less the same names being repeated in the majority of the responses. Additionally, during the early days of the field research, I had the opportunity to attend three meetings: one of the tourism group organised to feed the Santa Elena Province Development and Land-use Plan; one of the International Development Bank development project for the coastal fringe of the Guayas and Santa Elena province, lead by the NOBIS foundation, and one of the self-organised Tourism Committee of the Santa Elena province. By previous request I was introduced during the three meetings to briefly present my research, build trust among the possible participants (Creswell, 2009), and as a mechanism of access negotiation (Robson, 2002). Social actors were identified during the meetings and approached to gather their contact information. Finally, documents such as provincial and local tourism plans, which always include a list of the participants involved in the consultation stages, helped in finding other possible participants. As a result, 45 key provincial stakeholders and 7 key actors outside the province were identified in total.

5.3.5.2. Carrying out the interviews

I started by conducting five in-depth pilot interviews in January 2011, before travelling to Ecuador. The pilots were conducted via Skype and were the basis to develop questions and topics which allowed me to continue designing the case and the data collection methods. I then conducted the face-to-face, semi-structured interviews in Ecuador between February and May 2011. The majority of the stakeholders, especially the ones based in the three main towns or in Guayaquil, were contacted by email or telephone in order to request an appointment. An email with a formal letter presenting the study was also sent to the interviewees in advance. In the rest of the cases, social actors were approached in their communes and if they were available, they were usually happy to answer the questions without a previous appointment. In these cases, I presented the study before starting the interview, and sent an email afterwards with the formal letter and presentation, with

the sole exception of the interviewees without an email account. The presentation included information about the research, contact information, an attached 'informed consent form' (Robson, 2002: 380), and the intention to maintain confidentiality (appendix 4).

In total, I conducted 41 interviews with 36 local stakeholders, as well as 5 interviews with stakeholders based outside the province (appendix 5). Before each interview started, I further explained to the stakeholder why she or he had been selected for the interview, the interview process itself, the way the information was to be used, and procedures to maintain confidentiality (Robson, 2002). I asked the interviewee to then sign the consent form and if she or he would give me permission to record the interview. Almost all of the interviewees signed the consent form, with the exception of the ones who for reasons of privacy did not want their signature on a document (four interviewees in total) - yet all of them agreed to having the interview recorded. All of the key stakeholders identified were contacted, and the ones interviewed were those who wished to participate or who were available according to their time constraints.

A printed interview guide (Bryman, 2008) including themes, questions, and probes was prepared beforehand for stakeholders that were members of the self-organised group (appendix 6), and a slightly different one was prepared for non-members (appendix 7). The sequence and the wording of the questions could vary according to the conversation. Emergent themes were reinforced and followed up according to what was perceived important for the participant (Bryman, 2008). Additionally, the guide included a printed introductory section and plenty of space to take notes during and at the end of the interviews so I could write my own impressions, the main themes that were covered, and if there was an implication for subsequent data collection (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The duration of the interviews ranged from 30 minutes up to three hours. On average, the interviews lasted about an hour. Some of the interviewees were approached twice to follow up on key themes, especially those who participated in the pilot interviews.

5.3.5.3. Analysis of the interviews

For the analysis of the interviews, transcribing the audio-recordings can be considered an advantage when done by the researcher (Bryman, 2008) and has been recognised itself as a form of qualitative analysis (Rapley, 2007). However, due to time constraints, a research assistant did the verbatim transcriptions of the

audio-recordings using the software Transcriber¹³. Ethical and methodological issues can arise from the transcription of interviews when done by a third person (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Robson, 2002). The first one would be related with keeping the anonymity of the interviewees. In order to respect anonymity, I never asked the name of the interviewee and in most cases I tried not to mention their position or affiliation while recording. Additionally, I chose a research assistant that lived in another province, and made sure that the filename of each audio recording was the code assigned for the interviewee, before providing access to the research assistant. On the methodological side, in order to familiarize myself with the data and check the transcripts for accuracy, I did the initial coding working on the transcripts while hearing the audio recording. NVivo facilitated this task. Listening to the recorded interviews allowed me to familiarize myself with the data, bridge the gap in time between the interviews and the analysis due to the transcription period, and find further meanings from the tone of voice of the interviewees (Simons, 2009). Given that the interviews were in Spanish, and in order to keep the context of the answers, the transcripts were analysed and coded in Spanish in order to capture 'the subtle nuances in meaning of the original language' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 285). Finally, emerging themes and the key passages needed to explain the case were translated into English, which involved a further process of interpretation on my part.

I used a bottom-up approach for coding the data, facilitated by the NVivo software, for two main reasons. The first was to emphasise interviewees' words and categories. The second was to avoid biased interrogation of the data in order to confirm the theoretical framework (Eisenhardt, 1989; Flyvbjerg, 2011). In the bottom-up approach, emergent themes were identified from the data. Since the interviews bring to the study the words and categories of meaning of the social actors (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004), the interview analysis entailed a mixture of the interviewees' own understandings together with the theory that informed the elaboration of the questionnaire, and guided my own interpretation (Byrne & Ragin, 2009). The criteria for interpreting the data obtained through the three methods of data collection will be further discussed in the next section.

¹³ <http://trans.sourceforge.net>. Transcriber - Copyright (C) 1998-2008.

5.3.6. CRITERIA AND PROCESS OF DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The qualitative analysis of self-organised planning dynamics and their relation to changing structures of tourism governance included three levels of analysis: non-linear socio-political interactions, dynamics of self-organised planning, and both contextual and emergent tourism governance structures. While the three layers were previously discussed in section 5.3.2, the way in which I understood the relationship between layers during the analysis and interpretation of the case study needs clarification. The main challenge in such analysis was to identify the properties of each level, which as discussed previously, are *emergent*, and cannot be reduced to the properties of lower levels of analysis.

Emergent accounts of the social have been highly criticised in the literature for not making explicit how higher level entities emerge from lower level ones (Elder-Vass, 2007a; Sawyer, 2001, 2004). In my research, emergence is grounded on the identification of complex causation (chapter 3) given by the dialectical interplay between structure and agency (Fuchs & Hofkirchner, 2005) that takes place in two levels: the circular, intentional and structurally constrained interactions among socio-political actors that give rise to the self-organised planning subsystem, and the also circular dynamics of conservative and dissipative self-organisation that arise when the joint actions of the group challenge or maintain pre-existing structural conditions. From the complex causation of the first level, the self-organised planning subsystem emerges. From the complex causation of the second level, new governance conditions in the tourism system emerge. The identification of emergent properties was based on the ideas of non-aggregativity, interdependency, distributedness, and downward causation discussed in chapter 3.

Causation in qualitative research also remains contested (Maxwell, 2004, 2012; Miles & Huberman, 1994). According to Miles and Huberman (1994), causality within critical realist qualitative research should not be understood as the linear, traditional approach mainly used in experimental quantitative designs. It rather emphasises the local and unique web of interacting factors that allowed the emergence of an event or a group of events. In this view, context (governance structures) goes from being a set of external variables to playing an active part in the understanding of the event under study (actor-led, self-organised planning) (Maxwell, 2004). Causality is therefore multiple, contextual, local, interrelated and time-dependent (Byrne & Ragin, 2009; Ragin, 2009) in which causes and effects are arranged in a network that changes over time (Miles & Huberman, 1994). While

quantitative data and simulation can be used to explain partial processes (García, 2006), this complex, non-linear and non-predictive form of causation is better addressed by qualitative analysis and interpretation (Miles & Huberman, 1994; García, 2006; Danermark et al., 2002). Drawing from Byrne's integrative method (2001: 71), my qualitative analysis of complex causation and social emergence focused on:

- Describing and interpreting qualitative socio-political change in the complex system stimulated by self-organised planning dynamics.
- Exploring and understanding, rather than confirming or predicting, the relation between self-organised agency and socio-political change.
- Integrating quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection understood as social perceptions and interpretations about tourism planning and governance in Santa Elena, which were then interpreted within the philosophical position, the theory and the conceptual framework.

Following the criteria identified above, the analysis followed different stages. During the bottom-up analysis of the interviews and documents, emergent themes were identified through *descriptive* codes that summarised meaningful segments of data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). All 41 interviews were read, listened to, and coded in an open, empirically grounded way. Often, the same segments within the interviews were coded in different themes in order to allow different interpretations of the same data. Following the interviews, the selected documents were coded in a similar way. The second step was to categorise the codes in wider data-driven *interpretive* themes. Also the analysis of the survey was undertaken to find convergences and divergences in the data, as well new possible interpretations of identified themes. At this point, an overarching theme started to emerge that had not been considered before as significant to understand the interplay between linear and non-linear planning processes, and that was the idea of governance. The interviewees used governance, governability and related ideas such as participation, duplicated public efforts, and public-private relations, to describe the situation of the tourism system. In other words, governance was a powerful concept to understand the social, as opposed to other ideas such as interests, perceptions, and roles that were useful to interpret the individual level. A new process of literature review was undertaken as a result of the initial rounds of coding.

Next, descriptive and interpretive codes were grouped into *pattern* codes associated

to the theory and the philosophical position (Miles & Huberman, 1994). For the identification of pattern codes, two data display techniques were used, thematic networks and a case dynamics matrix (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The thematic networks were exploratory and allowed an overall identification of interrelated codes and themes. The software Nvivo facilitated part of this task (appendix 8). The case dynamics matrix, however, was a key analysis technique, useful in understanding complex causation and dynamics of change (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The matrix allowed the display of codes related to the planning subsystem, the tourism system and the wider socio-political context, in relation to unstable structural conditions, actor-led planning interactions and dynamics, as well as emergent governance structures (appendix 9). Finally, the process of writing up was itself a significant method of interpretation in which I made further sense of the data by giving it order and further meaning (Simons, 2009).

In order to build an account of social change and dynamism, qualitative and quantitative findings were integrated, and 'presented in terms of substantive issues, rather than in terms of different methods' (Bryman, 2008: 676). The case study was reported through a data-rich narrative based on the multiple views about reality brought about by different kinds of socio-political actors and diverse methods of data collection (Buijs, Eshuis, et al., 2009; Maxwell, 2012), that included tabular, graphic and pictorial displays (Yin, 2009). The whole process was aimed at gaining insight into three different layers of reality, from the individual accounts of socio-political interactions in the empirical domain, the dynamics of interactions and self-organisation that constituted the event under study, to the governance structures that enabled and constrained phenomena in the real domain.

5.3.7. CRITERIA FOR TRUSTWORTHINESS AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Critical realism acknowledges the limitations of human knowledge and considers the possibility of getting things wrong (Danermark et al., 2002; García, 2006; Zachariadis et al., 2010). In consequence, the main challenge for a critical realist approach to trustworthiness in qualitative research, is to identify how or if our limited and fallible understandings based on other people's interpretations about the social world, can be related to the real world itself (Maxwell, 2012). As Jörg (2011: 122) asked, 'to what degree, then, will we be able to acquire substantial knowledge about the very complex, real-world dynamics of reality?' As a philosophical question it is evidently broad, yet as a practical question for this study it is useful as a departure point to reflect upon the limitations and quality of the overall research process. For

Miles & Huberman (1994), criteria for assessing qualitative critical realist research can combine criteria used for naturalistic research with the ones traditionally used in positivistic research. Robson (2002) on the other hand, recognised that some of the criteria for fixed designs do not apply for qualitative accounts of the social world, and identifies three interrelated criteria for trustworthiness: reliability, validity and generalisability.

For Robson (2002), *reliability* in qualitative realist research has to do with being able to show that the researcher has been thorough, careful and honest, and also with being able to show the research process. For case studies specifically, Yin (2009) recommended the development of a record that includes the data collection instruments (appendices 2,3,4,6, and 7), procedures for data analysis and interpretation (section 5.3.6 and appendix 8), while keeping the availability of raw data for revisiting purposes.

Validity in turn, deals with the problem of making inferences from the data (Yin, 2009). Maxwell (2012) identified three categories of validity: descriptive, interpretive and theoretical, each one related to the kinds of understandings that take place in qualitative research. *Descriptive validity* relates to not fabricating or distorting the things the researcher saw and heard. Descriptive validity was enhanced with recorded and transcribed interviews, further listening of the interviews for data analysis, and the use of NVivo for the interviews and document analysis, as well as SPSS for the analysis of the survey. NVivo and SPSS enhance descriptive validity by allowing easy access to raw data at any time. As discussed previously, descriptive validity was also carefully considered during the further process of interpretation that involves the translation of document and interview data to another language (section 5.3.5.3).

Interpretive validity has to do with demonstrating how data was analysed and how an interpretation was reached, and is closely related to what was described as reliability above (Robson, 2002). It can refer to enhancing or ignoring issues to confirm the results of other methods of data collection, or the points of view of a particular group of participants. In my research, the different methods for data collection and analysis rather than triangulating results, were designed to allow different and diverse results about self-organised planning. Additionally, I actively sought to maintain representativeness (Yin, 2009), by including diverse participants in the interviews and survey in order to get divergent perspectives from different

kind of actors, including informal stakeholders that are often marginalised from tourism planning processes. Both the inclusive character of the data collection, and the different methods employed, added richness to the description and helped to identify significant issues for the final interpretation (Simons, 2009).

Theoretical validity refers to 'the validity of the concepts themselves as they are applied to the phenomena, and the validity of the postulated relationships among the concepts' (Maxwell, 2012: 140). In my research, the ontological approach, the theory and the methodology were integrated (chapter 3 and section 5.3 in this chapter), while being aware of the strengths and criticisms of each one of them. However, one of the limitations for the theoretical validity of this study is that rival theories, while addressed during the literature review, were not considered for the interpretation of the findings. For Guillemin & Guillam (2004), in order to avoid interpretation bias and internal threats to validity, the choice of theoretical framework to guide the study should be subject to reflexivity on the part of the researcher. For Robson (2002), validity focuses precisely on the status of the researcher in relation to the study, sometimes referred to as reflexivity.

With respect to the choice of theory used, I consider myself part of the 'generation T' of graduates with undergraduate and master studies in tourism rather than in a wider social discipline (Tribe, 2010: 21). The uncertain skills of 'generation T' researchers to contribute to social sciences have been questioned, especially because of the multidisciplinary status of tourism knowledge (Tribe, 2010). In my case, my interest in complexity theory might have been underpinned by my interest in using a framework that did not necessarily emerge from the traditional theories of social science. Additionally, Newman et al. (2003: 167) highlighted how the researcher's own life can magnify or reduce the understanding of the social world. In my case, I grew up and continue to live in the geographical location under study. I have worked there as a university lecturer, and a tourism planning consultant for the public sector. In other words, it was my own experience with tourism planning and instability in the geographical location that made me question the frameworks we use to plan tourism. I was already aware of some of the issues I was researching, and I knew many of the key informants of the study. This issue was first identified during the pilot interviews, and was both a disadvantage, when the interviewees assumed that I was already familiar with what was going on, and an advantage when the interviewees felt comfortable talking to somebody they already knew. My current affiliation to a university outside the geographical limits of the study also

helped in building trust with informants, since it was seen as an organisation with no institutional or political interests in the province. In short, I was not a value-free researcher, and it was my own values and experiences that guided the choice of the theoretical standpoint. However, theoretical (and my own) biases in analysing and interpreting the findings were reduced by using a bottom-up approach for the analysis of interviews and documents, by the meticulousness of the research design (section 5.3.2), and again, by making explicit the criteria and process of analysis and interpretation (section 5.3.6).

Generalisability, as previously discussed, is limited in this research because of two reasons: the choice of a single case study (Byrne & Ragin, 2009; Yin, 2009) and the epistemological positions of critical realism and complexity theory. While the contextualised results cannot be fully generalisable, the methodology and the framework could be used in other localities to make comparisons and push knowledge further (analytical generalisation or transferability). Universal generalisation is not possible and is not aimed for, since the universal application of tourism planning models that ignored local needs and expectations, was precisely one of the identified research problems.

Regarding *ethics*, I followed the code for good research practice of my institution (Yin, 2009), the University of Brighton¹⁴, which focuses on maintaining an honest research process by acknowledging authorship and intellectual property to the ideas of other researchers, maintaining a thorough record of the process, keeping sensitive data confidential, and complying with the reporting requirements asked from the public organisations funding my studies. In relation to the participants, Robson (2002) identified some ethical issues researchers need to take into account. These are related to possible harm to participants, the use of deception to encourage collaboration, anonymity and confidentiality, and the right to withdraw. In relation to the first issue, my research did not represent any mental or physical risk for participants. The other ethical issues were addressed by sending by email, reading, and in some cases, providing hard copies of the information sheet discussed above (appendix 4). In the case of the surveys, the research assistants carried copies of the information sheet with which to brief participants. Finally, due to the sensitive character of some of the information provided, I coded participants

¹⁴ staffcentral.brighton.ac.uk/xpedio/groups/public/documents/staffcentral/doc007528.pdf, staffcentral.brighton.ac.uk/xpedio/groups/public/documents/staffcentral/doc001431.pdf, accessed 11.03.2013.

according to their tourism sector and jurisdiction in order to maintain their anonymity (section 5.3.5.3 and appendix 5).

5.4. CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In my research, the case study is considered the emergent result of the multi-layered interplay between critical realism as the philosophical position, complexity as the theoretical framework, the research design, and the interpretation of the social world. This chapter draws from previous chapters to construct a coherent research design that allowed the contextual and time-dependent understanding of the case study.

The research design had two parts. The first part focused on the interrelation between the philosophical position, the role of complexity theory, and the chosen strategy of inquiry, an embedded case study. The second part focused on linking the philosophical position, the theory, and the strategy of inquiry with the research aims and questions. Three levels of analysis were identified, an actor-led level of socio-political interactions, a dynamic level of self-organisation, and a structural level of governance understood as both context and emergence. Then, the research design focused on choices about the location of the study, boundaries, and methods of data collection and analysis. Finally, the criteria to link data and theory, as well as judging the quality of the research process were discussed.

If the research design appears intricate this is because 'one really needs complexity to be able to deal with complexity' in the real world (Jörg, 2011: 119). Following the design outlined in the present chapter, chapters 6 and 7 explore the structural conditions of tourism governance, socio-political interactions, and emergent dynamics of self-organisation in the Santa Elena province in Ecuador.



CHAPTER 6. STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS OF
TOURISM GOVERNANCE IN THE SANTA ELENA
PROVINCE

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The structural conditions for tourism governance in the Santa Elena province are hierarchical (Kooiman, 2003) and characterised by instability. The Santa Elena province was created in 2007 by grouping together three coastal tourism-reliant municipalities. Before this, tourism governability in the three municipalities was already troubled by stakeholders' conflicts, deficiencies in tourism public administration, and duplication of efforts due to the lack of coordination between public, private and NGO interventions, as well as by changing national tourism policies. The creation of the new province raised the further challenge of putting new tourism governance structures and institutions in place. Furthermore, structural rearrangements of the same institutions were needed to reflect the changes of the new National Constitution published in 2008 along with new regulations for public planning, administration and governance. As discussed in chapters 3 and 4, in order to identify changing structural conditions, tourism governance will be examined in two main dimensions. Firstly, the analysis of the *relational* dimension of tourism governance, or governance-as-relations (Elder-vass, 2010) will focus on the characterisation of social actors and networks in the tourism system. The second dimension is *institutional*, related to governance-as-rules, which will identify both enduring and changing institutional governance and planning practices, regulations and procedures in the different levels of public administration that affect tourism governability in the province.

The aim of the chapter is to identify the structural conditions and context that allowed the emergence of the self-organised, actor-led planning interactions and dynamics that will be analysed in the following chapter. The chapter includes analysis of documents such as regulations, reports, and plans, together with interviews and a social survey in order to identify the structural conditions of tourism planning and governance in the Santa Elena province. It starts with a broad characterisation of the tourism system in Santa Elena, as well as the main challenges in tourism as perceived by the stakeholders. Then, relations and networks of tourism stakeholders are identified together with issues such as patterns of collaboration, legitimacy of actors, and their own perceptions about their roles in destination governance in order to identify governance structures in relational terms. Next, national and local rules, policies and practices that affect provincial tourism governance are examined in order to identify institutional governance issues and emerging themes. Finally, structural conditions for tourism

planning and plan implementation in the Santa Elena province are discussed in their institutional dimension. The four sections will expose an emergent landscape of tourism governance characterised by systemic instability, complexities and contradictions, where changing conditions coexist alongside old governance practices.

6.2. THE DESTINATION AS A COMPLEX SYSTEM

The Santa Elena province is a socio-political complex system in which existent governance structures enable and constrain planning interactions. From a socio-political point of view, the tourism system of the Santa Elena province is made up of interrelated public, private, NGO and community tourism stakeholders that can potentially influence and are influenced by tourism policy. Tourism stakeholders interact in a socio-political and a physical space consisting of the territory of the province and its politico-administrative divisions.

The Santa Elena province is located on the Pacific Coast of Ecuador, bordered by the Manabí province to the north, the Guayas province to the east and south, and by the Pacific Ocean to the south and west (figure 6.1). Santa Elena is the newest of the 24 provinces of the Republic of Ecuador, created in November 2007 by separating 3.762Km² (approx. 30%) from the territory of the Guayas province (Gobierno autónomo descentralizado de Santa Elena, 2012). The provincial government website describes the process of creating a new province as the realisation of a long-time aspiration of the inhabitants of the territory. The reasons for separation were related to the perception of a different cultural identity¹⁵, the continuous neglect of the Guayas provincial authorities, and a long-held desire to have representatives in the National Congress.

The new Santa Elena province has 308.693 inhabitants (INEC, 2010) and is composed by the sum of the territories of the municipalities of Salinas, La Libertad and Santa Elena. Each municipality is further subdivided into urban and rural parishes.

¹⁵ During colonial times and until now, native people from these territories both mixed with and separated themselves from the white Spanish population by adopting their clothes, language and religion on one side, and keeping their own traditional forms of socio-political organisation and culture on the other (Alvarez, 2001). The current cultural identity of the natives of the province is still torn between keeping ancestral roots and adapting to modern life (Bauer, 2012).



FIGURE 6.1. Political division and limits of the Santa Elena Province (left), and location of the province within the Country (right). Source: F. Condo with data from INEC, 2011; Wikimedia commons, 2011.

While urban parishes are merely neighbourhood-related subdivisions within the capital towns of each municipality, rural parishes are smaller administrative divisions of the territory with their own democratically elected authorities. Most rural parishes are located in the municipality of Santa Elena (table 6.1 and figure 6.1) and are, in turn, divided into *communes*¹⁶, which are territories with ancient, culturally-bounded, and indigenous-related forms of socio-political organisation based on communal land rights (Asamblea Nacional del Ecuador, 2008: art. 308).

MUNICIPALITIES	POPULATION	AREA	RURAL PARISHES	COMMUNES
SANTA ELENA	144.076	3.668 KM2	ATAHUALPA	ENTRE RÍOS
			COLONCHE	AGUADITA, AYANGUE, BAJADITA DE COLONCHE, BAMBIL COLLAO, BAMBIL DESECHO, CALICANTO, CEREZAL DE BELLAVISTA, FEBRES CORDERO, JAMBELÍ, LAS BALSAS, LOMA ALTA, MANANTIAL DE COLONCHE, MANANTIAL DE GUANGALA, MONTEVERDE, PALMAR, RÍO SECO, SALANGUILLO, SAN MARCOS, SAN VICENTE.
			CHANDUY	BAJADA DE CHANDUY, CIÉNEGA, EL REAL, ENGUNGA, MANANTIAL DE CHANDUY, OLMEDO, PECHICHE, PUERTO DE CHANDUY, SAN RAFAEL, SUCRE, TUGADUAJA, VILLINGOTA, ZAPOTAL.
			MANGLARALTO	ATRAVESADO, BARCELONA, CADEATE, CURIA, DOS MANGAS, LA ENTRADA, LAS NÚÑEZ, MONTAÑITA, OLÓN, PAJIZA, RÍO CHICO, SAN ANTONIO, SAN JOSÉ, SAN PEDRO, SINCHAL, SITIO NUEVO, VALDIVIA, RÍO BLANCO, SAN FRANCISCO.
			JULIO MORENO	BELLAVISTA DEL CERRO, JUNTAS DEL PACÍFICO, LA BARRANCA, LIMONCITO, SACACHÚN, SUBE Y BAJA.
			SAN JOSÉ DE ANCÓN	PROSPERIDAD, TAMBO.
			SANTA ELENA	AZÚCAR, CERRO ALTO, JUAN MONTALVO, MORRILLO, RÍO VERDE, SAN MIGUEL, SAN PABLO, SAYA, BAÑOS DE SAN VICENTE
LA LIBERTAD	95.942	25 KM2	--	--
SALINAS	68.675	68 KM2	ANCONCITO	--
			MUEY	
3 MUNICIPALITIES	308.693 INHABITANTS	3761 KM2	9 RURAL PARISHES	66 COMMUNES

TABLE 6.1. Administrative organisation of the Santa Elena Province. Source: GAD Provincial Santa Elena, 2012a.

¹⁶ For this research, the word *commune* is used instead of the more generical term *community* to refer to the Ecuadorian territories officially recognized as such in the Law of Communes of 1937. *Comuna* (in Spanish) is used to refer to the indigenous communities of the Santa Elena and Manabí provinces that differentiate themselves from the highland indigenous communities. Silvia Alvarez, the most well-known anthropologist studying the communes of Santa Elena, suggests that the word *comuna* has to be understood in anthropological terms, in which communes are recognized for ethnic and cultural singularities, their close relation with their territory, a form of social organisation based on kinship, and a political organization based on democratic and participative assembly (personal email communication 21.10.2012).

According to the recently published Organic Code for the Organization of the Territory, Autonomy and Decentralisation, COOTAD (Asamblea Nacional del Ecuador, 2010) which identifies the political-administrative divisions as well as the competences for each level of government in Ecuador, the four levels of autonomous and decentralised governments of the State are regions, provinces, municipalities and rural parishes. In this new context, the Santa Elena Province is a mid-level of government in Ecuador that acts as a link between national and local tourism policies, particularly because regional levels of government will only be fully operative in 2016 (Asamblea Nacional del Ecuador, 2010).

The Provincial Development and Land-use Plan (PDOT) drawn up by the provincial government in 2011, recognises that the main economic activities of the province are fishing and tourism (GAD Provincial Santa Elena, 2012a). Official data however, show an insignificant percentage of the economically active population working in tourism (table 6.2) as it only considers accommodation and catering services, ignoring other tourism service providers as well as the population involved in different stages of the tourism production chain. Also, the province has a considerable and unidentified number of informal tourism service providers, a topic that will be further discussed in section 6.3.1.2.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN SANTA ELENA	#	%
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, FISHING, MINING	19659	25,2%
MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES	8111	10,4%
CONSTRUCTION, TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION	10414	13,3%
WHOLESALE AND COMMERCE	14014	17,9%
ACCOMODATION AND CATERING SERVICES (TOURISM)	2219	2,8%
FINANCE AND LETTING SERVICES	2341	3,0%
HEALTH, EDUCATION AND OTHER PUBLIC SERVICES	7029	9%
PRIVATE SECURITY AND DOMESTIC SERVICES	2187	2,8%
OTHER ACTIVITIES	12133	15,5%
	78107	100,0%

TABLE 6.2. Economic activities of the economically active population of the Santa Elena Province. Source: PDOT, 2012.

As a tourism destination, the three municipalities are connected by the E15 highway that runs along the Pacific coast, each with distinctive tourism products (figure 6.2), which attract different kinds of visitors. Salinas and La Libertad have a predominantly domestic market, while Santa Elena also attracts some international tourists, especially backpackers (Nobis, 2009) drawn by its laid-back beach atmosphere (Haslam, 2012). Provincial tourism plans (Garcés, 2006; Nobis, 2009; USAID-ARD3D, 2007) have focused specifically on attracting a larger portion of

Ecuador's annual 1.2 million foreign visitors, who represented an income of USD850 million in 2011, the 6th largest export of the GNP (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2013).



FIGURE 6.2. Tourist map of the Santa Elena province. Source: rutadelsol.com.ec [accessed 6/5/2013]

Salinas has historically been considered the preferred beach destination of the inhabitants of Guayaquil, the largest city in Ecuador, and the capital of the Guayas province. Tourism in Salinas is a mix of second homes belonging to middle-class *guayaquileño* families, together with traditional accommodation and tourism services associated with sun, sand and sea tourism, such as yacht clubs, casinos¹⁷, night clubs, water parks and water sports. The lack of beaches and the presence of a port, on the other hand, made La Libertad an urban municipality oriented to commerce and oil refinement activities. Its commercial character, however, has slowly been adapting to tourism services by the opening of the province's biggest shopping centre in 2003, engineering works to recover the beach in 2003, and the construction of a seafront promenade in 2007. Finally, Santa Elena, by far the biggest of the three municipalities, is mainly rural and subdivided in communes. As discussed below, the presence of government and NGO initiatives for poverty-alleviation has resulted in the emergence of community-based tourism (CBT) products that include adventure tourism, health and wellness, cultural and heritage tourism and ecotourism products. As such, the three municipalities exhibit contrasting forms of tourism development.

The average annual temperature in the province is 24°C, with the highest temperatures around 32°C during the rainy season between January and April, and the lowest between July and August, when the presence of the Humboldt cold current influences the weather, and the province becomes colder, cloudy and characterised by the presence of coastal fog, with temperatures between 16°C and 24°C (GAD Provincial Santa Elena, 2012a). Climate is strongly associated with one of the main tourism issues in the province: seasonality. The seasonal pattern of second-home tourism has been very strong, coinciding with the three-month school holiday from January until March, and with the sunny season. The emergence of new attraction points in the north of the province and the work of NGOs in communities, created opportunities for new forms of tourism that were no longer solely related to sunshine (figure 6.2). However, seasonality has proven a difficult pattern to break, causing problems in relation to excessive presence of visitors during the high season. The absence of visitors during the rest of the year forces some tourism stakeholders to seek alternative productive activities during the low season, limiting investment in tourism, and reinforcing a pattern of seasonal informal tourism services:

¹⁷ Recently banned in Ecuador after a national public consultation in March 2011.

We have a seasonality problem because we have been depending on the visitors that come from Guayaquil. We need to find alternative markets, like visitors from the highlands, from Peru. [...] Tourists from Guayaquil stay for two nights during the high season and then go back (PP1)¹⁸.

NGO and public investment sell the community-based tourism idea to the communities and they get excited and get involved in these processes looking for an alternative income. They get disappointed when they realise that the tourists don't come the whole year round, and go back to their previous economic activities and the projects fail (PP11).

There are no watersports service providers at all. People here [in La Libertad] do not want to invest and adapt their boats to become formal, because they say they need their boats for other things when the tourists don't come (PM4).

Indeed, long stays are usually related to second homes, while tourists without second homes either come just for the day or stay for the weekend. According to the Santa Elena Strategic Plan for Tourism Development (USAID-ARD3D, 2007) there is an average number of 15.000 visitors during the weekends of the high season, and this number goes up to 40.000 visitors during the bank holiday weekends of Carnival and Easter (figure 6.3).

Visitors have traditionally stayed in the town of Salinas, where the concentration of traditional tourism services is higher, often doubling or tripling its regular population (Delgado & López, 2009). The uneven concentration of tourists has been linked, in different tourism plans, with further problems such as insufficient tourism services, vehicular congestion, collapse of garbage collection services, lack of drinking water, seasonal informal tourism business, noise pollution and crime (Garcés, 2006; Nobis, 2009; USAID-ARD3D, 2007). Mass tourism and its derived problems together with low-quality informal services are perceived as contributing to image deterioration:

Sadly, the concentration of tourists in some beaches has attracted a massive, low-quality and informal supply. If we keep going like this our destination will be polluted and we will have a bad image. We won't be able to compete with other destinations (PP1).

¹⁸ See list of participant's codes in appendix 5.

We need local authorities to control informal tourism services, but they are doing nothing (BM9).



FIGURE 6.3. Crowding in one of the Salinas' beaches, Carnival 2013. Source: M. Trujillo.

Finally, the lack of local travel agencies to put together different tourism services and sell local tours is another identified problem in Santa Elena. This deficiency is commonly confused with lack of promotion, and rather reflects a poor understanding of how tourism services can be placed in the market. It also reflects the lack of cooperation between municipalities and different service providers to enhance their products through complementary tourism services:

Baños [a well-known highland destination] for example, is a municipality 10 times smaller than our province and they have 58 local travel agencies that work year-round because they organise interesting tours. They know how tourism works. Here in our province we don't even have 6, they only work during the high season or during the whale-watching season and that's it (SP9).

We've been short-sighted here because each municipality has promoted their own tourism products, without making any effort to consolidate them into a solid tourism supply. That is what has stopped us breaking the cycle of seasonality (PP1).

Issues such as seasonality, length of stay, overcrowding, and lack of travel agencies are tightly interrelated and have to do with the capacity of the different sectors to coordinate efforts in order to generate a diversified tourism supply, in which the differences between the cultural, eco and community-based tourism of the north of the province are both differentiated from and complemented by the traditional beach tourism of the south-west:

There are no tours to complement the beach tourism of Salinas with the eco-, cultural and community-based tourism in the north. We need to offer options for the tourists to stay longer. They could sleep in Salinas and do daily visits to the attractions in the north for example (PM8).

To sum up, tourism problems are related to tourism governance and strong interdependencies between the different social actors and the kind of tourism products in the province. The next section will examine networks, groups and patterns of cooperation in the tourism destination.

6.3. ACTORS AND NETWORKS OF TOURISM GOVERNANCE

This section provides a description of the existing networks and the presence or absence of ties between different social actors within the tourism system. As discussed in chapters 3 and 4, social networks are relational social structures that together with rules, laws, and institutionalised governance practices, enable and constrain the planning and policy-making interactions and dynamics that will be discussed in the next chapter.

The organisation of social actors in networks of shared interests is the emergent result of bottom-up social interactions that took place in the past. As such, stakeholder networks are themselves dynamic, since they are continuously transformed and reproduced by social interaction. Flexibility and dynamism in the way that different stakeholders organise themselves in groups will be highlighted, as well as the identification of the bottom-up, criss-cross and overlapping relational arrangements that allow fluid communication in different directions, across groups and hierarchies.

6.3.1. ACTORS AND ROLES IN THE TOURISM SYSTEM

The emergence of new stakeholders, their organisation and lack of organisation in interests groups, and their shifting roles in the destination's governance, suggest

that the tourism system of the Santa Elena province is not fixed but is dynamic and in constant flux. As discussed previously (chapter 4), the tourism system consists of all stakeholders who influence, and are influenced by, tourism policy.

	EXTERNAL ACTORS		INTERNAL ACTORS (TOURISM SYSTEM)				INDIVIDUALS
	NATIONAL	REGIONAL	PROVINCIAL	MUNICIPAL	PARISH	COMMUNE	
PUBLIC	TOURISM MINISTRY (MINTUR)	REGIONAL SUB- SECRETAR Y OF THE TOURISM MINISTRY	PROVINCIAL TOURISM DIRECTION OF: - TOURISM MINISTRY - PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT	MUNICIPAL TOURISM DIRECTORS: - SANTA ELENA - LA LIBERTAD - SALINAS	PAROCHIAL TOURISM COMMISSION S: - COLONCHE - MANGLARAL TO - ANCÓN - ANCONCITO		- ATTRACTIONS MANAGED BY THE PUBLIC SECTOR
PRIVATE	NATIONAL FEDERATIO N OF TOURISM CHAMBERS (FENACAP TUR)		PROVINCIAL TOURISM CHAMBER (in process of formation)	MUNICIPAL TOURISM CHAMBERS: - SANTA ELENA (informal) - LA LIBERTAD (informal) - SALINAS			- ACCOMMODATI ON - CATERING - TRANSPORTATI ON SERVICES - LOCAL TRAVEL AGENTS AND TOUR OPERATORS - OTHER TOURISM SERVICES - ATTRACTIONS MANAGED BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR
CBT	NATIONAL FEDERATIO N OF COMMUNITY -BASED TOURISM (FEPTCE)					COMMUNAL TOURISM COMMITTEES	- CBT ACCOMMODATI ON - CBT CATERING - CBT TOUR GUIDES
NGOS							- VARIOUS WORKING IN THE TERRITORY
ACADEMIA							- UNIVERSITIES IN THE PROVINCE WITH TOURISM- RELATED COURSES
INFORMAL							- ASSOCIATIONS OF VENDORS, ARTISANS AND SMALL SERVICE PROVIDERS

TABLE 6.3. Stakeholders in the tourism system of the Santa Elena province.

Consequently, the tourism system of the Santa Elena province (table 6.3), includes: tourism-related public institutions, directors and officials at provincial, municipal and parochial levels; private tourism businesses as identified by law and their organisations, chambers and trade unions; community-based tourism centres and their committees; members of the two higher education institutions that offer tourism courses in the province; NGOs working in tourism-related initiatives; and tourism retailer and vendor associations. The tourism system includes both individuals and groups, such as communes¹⁹, institutions, associations, chambers, committees and commissions. Some external actors, while not considered part of the tourism system, were identified in order to understand the interactions between actors in the tourism system and actors in the environment that make the boundaries of the system open and often blurred. In other words, the tourism system of Santa Elena is embedded in higher-level public, private or community-based tourism governance systems that are regional, such as the regional tourism sub-secretary for the Ecuadorian Coast, or national, such as the Tourism Ministry (MINTUR), the National Federation of Tourism Chambers of Ecuador (FENACAPTUR), and the Ecuadorian Plurinational Federation of Community-Based Tourism (FEPTCE).

The different kinds of tourism in Salinas, La Libertad and Santa Elena means that social actors are not distributed evenly across the three municipalities. Table 6.4 shows the distribution by municipality of the self-declared activities of the 306 respondents of the social survey. In the table it is evident that public actors and traditional tourism business owners and employees are distributed across all three municipalities, while other actors such as NGOs' employees and CBT service providers are predominantly found the Santa Elena municipality and are absent in Salinas and La Libertad. The survey helped to identify CBT actors (not yet registered in the Tourism Ministry); however, it did not help in identifying informal tourism vendors since the respondents were not keen on identifying themselves as such. The distribution of social actors is related to the existence of two spatially differentiated tourism products in the province, the north, i.e. the Santa Elena municipality with ecotourism, CBT and heritage products which could be identified as alternative tourism, and the southwest, i.e. Salinas and La Libertad with traditional beach and mass-tourism.

¹⁹ Since communes are collectivities that share common resources, the only way to legalise the practice of CBT in Ecuador according to the Law for the Registration of CBT (2009), is by registering an entire commune or community, even when their individual members or families offer many different tourism services. In other words, there is not a figure in the Ecuadorian Law that allows the registration of an individual business offering CBT services.

ACTIVITY	MUNICIPALITY				TOTAL
	Santa Elena	La Libertad	Salinas	n/r	
Own tourism business	53 33.3%	37 23.3%	68 42.8%	1 0.6%	159 100.0%
CBT business	40 97.6%	0 0.0%	1 2.4%	0 0.0%	41 100.0%
University lecturer	2 66.7%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 33.3%	3 100.0%
Informal vendor	1 100.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 100.0%
NGO employee	4 66.7%	0 0.0%	2 33.3%	0 0.0%	6 100.0%
Private sector employee	16 24.6%	8 12.3%	41 63.1%	0 0.0%	65 100.0%
Public sector employee	8 53.3%	3 20.0%	4 26.7%	0 0.0%	15 100.0%
Other	11 68.8%	2 12.5%	2 12.5%	1 6.2%	16 100.0%
Total	135 44.1%	50 16.3%	118 38.3%	3 1.0%	306 100.0%

TABLE 6.4. Tourism activities declared by respondents by municipality, N= 306.

6.3.1.1. Emergence of new actors: parishes, communes and NGOs

At the national level, the Tourism Law recognises as tourism governance actors the public sector with its national and sectional tourism authorities and officials, private institutions, organisations and businesses represented by FENACAPTUR, as well as the community-based tourism sector represented by the FEPTCE. More recently, the Strategic Plan for the Development of Sustainable Tourism in Ecuador, PLANDETUR, (*Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2007*) broadened the scope of social actors that should participate in tourism governance indicating that ‘communities, tourism businesses, NGOs, the public sector, environmental and development agencies, and universities should all be involved’ (*Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2007: 414*). The situation is similar in the Santa Elena province where according to the Strategic Plan for Tourism Development (USAID-ARD3D, 2007), traditional actors for tourism governance were the central government and the organised private sector. However, new protagonists have emerged in recent years, claiming their space in the debate and ‘creating a new governance scenario in which civil society plays a more direct and significant role’ (USAID-ARD3D, 2007: 45).

Some emerging actors in the Santa Elena province are related to the creation of the new province itself. The provincial government created a Tourism Department in May 2008. Also, a new office representing the Tourism Ministry at the provincial level was opened in June 2008 (Nobis, 2009). Other new actors are the result of changes in the administrative structure of the Ecuadorian public sector. The COOTAD, for example, recently recognised rural parishes as the lower level of government in the country with their own elected representatives, planning and policy-making mechanisms (Asamblea Nacional del Ecuador, 2010). The implications for tourism of the emergence of parishes as socio-political actors are described by PG2 and PG1, who point out that parochial governments are now organising their own tourism committees:

We are in a transition process now. Since October last year, we are officially a level of government and we have our own money for public spending on small projects. There are 5 of us in the parish government... and they designated me to be in charge of the tourism commission (PG2).

Based on the COOTAD, and being part of the parish government, and moreover, president of the tourism commission of this parish government, now I have an obligation to develop tourism in [name of one of the parishes]... Now you know our parish is not yet considered a tourism product in the province so we are starting a process of... touristification, if you like. Our aim is to develop tourism in our parish (PG1).

The head of the tourism commission of another parish government explained that rural parishes need to elaborate annual plans in order to allocate the budget to small community projects, in which tourism can be included:

At the end of this year we need to present our annual plan for the next year, as well as a report [to the central government] about the implementation of the current plan. The plan is made in relation to the identified needs of the 17 communes in our parish. Since some needs are related to tourism, there is a tourism commission (PG3).

The emergence of community-based tourism has been closely linked with socio-political struggles and the indigenous movements and mobilisations that took place in the country in the 1990s. Indeed, the FEPTCE indicates that CBT is a mechanism for the social inclusion of indigenous communities that were exploited as tourist

attractions and historically marginalised from tourism revenues (FEPTCE, 2010). In the Santa Elena province, there are two versions of CBT. Firstly, CBT is managed on a whole-commune basis through the communal tourism committee. In this case, the commune charges a fee for each visitor that is collected by the commune governing body. Additionally, members of the commune get income by providing guiding, accommodation or catering services, charging fees that are usually set by the commune. This form of operation is typical for the communes in the northeast of the province whose tourism resources are trails and paths built in communal forests. A member of the tourism committee of Dos Mangas describes how it works in their commune:

We charge two dollars for each tourist that visits the commune. They also need to hire a guide to go into the woods who charges 7 dollars for the day whether it's one tourist or a group... We started with low earnings but now we make around 400 dollars a month for the commune. The commune invests some [of the revenues] in tourism. We need to maintain the interpretation centre, buy rope for the guides, boots for visitors... stuff like that (SC6)

The second version relates to the communes settled on the coastal fringe, that is, in the north-west of the province. Since the tourism resource of these communes are mainly the beaches, which are not community-owned²⁰, CBT has been developed on a family basis, in which families that want to participate in the programs set up by NGOs choose a tourism service (either accommodation or catering) and receive support in terms of training and micro-loans to start the business, then the service provider contributes to the commune from their own earnings.

In relation to governance, communes have two levels of socio-political administration, the *cabildo communal*, which is an elected directorate, and the general assembly, formed by all of the members of the commune. The *cabildo* can appoint members from the assembly to form committees, to handle important issues for the commune (Alvarez, et al. 2005; Alvarez, 2001). Social, sport and festivities committees are common, and more recently, tourism committees have been formed in many of the communes. NGO's have been closely associated with this emergence of communal tourism committees in the province. Indeed, one of the first

²⁰ Beaches in Ecuador are public. They cannot be privately owned and their administration and management is a competence of the municipal government (Asamblea Nacional del Ecuador, 2010).

organisations to develop what later became CBT in Santa Elena, was the Program for the Management of Coastal Resources (PMRC), a government initiative financed by the USAID, and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). From 1988 until 2000, the PMRC started a pilot project to develop '*hospederias comunitarias*', a form of community-based accommodation in 13 communes of the Santa Elena municipality (USAID-ARD3D, 2007). The interview with SC2 suggests that the PMRC encouraged the conformation of tourism committees in the communes:

We organised ourselves in 2001 because there was this institution, the PMRC that was supporting CBT in various communes around here. We wanted them to support us too, so we talked to them and they told us 'you have to form a tourism committee first', so we did (SC2).

Also, *Ayuda en Acción* and the *Centro de Promoción Rural* (CPR) were two related NGOs that worked in CBT in the north of the province from 1997 until 2006, with the support of the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation (AECI). The CPR specifically organised a network of CBT service providers, called the Program for community-based ecotourism development (PRODECOS), which connects 115 CBT partners from 18 different communes of Santa Elena (PP8). PRODECOS is the only provincial CBT initiative that is part of the FEPTCE and therefore recognised nationally as a CBT tourism initiative (Nobis, 2009: 56). In consequence, a CBT service provider could simultaneously (although not necessarily) belong to the tourism committee of their commune, the provincial PRODECOS organisation, and the national FEPTCE. PP8 describes the relation between PRODECOS and the FEPTCE:

We have been working in CBT for 17 years, with the help of different NGOs, we have been organising ourselves and now we are part of the FEPTCE, which is the national CBT organisation recognised by the Tourism Ministry (PP8).

The emergence of parishes, communes and NGOs as tourism actors, especially in the north of the province, effectively means that new stakeholders with different visions and perspectives in relation to tourism operation and tourism development are now involved in the governance of the destination. The section demonstrated how emergent actors are not only diversifying tourism in the province, but are organising themselves in order to push their interests in various governance spaces within and outside the province. Nevertheless, not all tourism stakeholders are

working within the law, an issue that will be examined in the next section.

6.3.1.2. *Legitimate social actors*

While the tourism law formally identifies actors for national tourism governance, in practice the informality of the tourism sector and its organisations is common to the point that many recognised and somehow legitimised stakeholders in the tourism system of Santa Elena, are in fact informal according to the law because they have not registered their business or their organisations with the institutions of government.

Community-based tourism is a good example. While various communes and communities in Ecuador have worked in CBT for decades (FEPTCE, 2010), CBT was not officially recognised as such until the publication of the Tourism Law in 2002, when the FEPTCE was included as a social actor for national tourism governance. The law however, did not define the rules to license the operation of CBT services, leaving the CBT sector in a legal vacuum without any kind of applicable regulation. The regulation for the licensing and operation community-based tourism centres was published in 2009 (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2009), meaning that for seven years the Tourism Law legitimised FEPTCE as a tourism governance actor, while the sector FEPTCE represented, CBT, remained informal. Examples within the Santa Elena province include the provincial representative of the FEPTCE and PRODECOS who provides tourism services in a commune that is not yet registered in the MINTUR, or the Tourism Chambers of Santa Elena and La Libertad, which are not yet legally constituted. Nevertheless, these social actors are often legitimised by being included in the actions of the Tourism Ministry in the territory, or by being convened to participate in planning processes by different levels of government. In other words, informal actors have legitimacy because they have individual or collective interests that are perceived as legitimate by other actors in the tourism system.

While the official data for the province indicate that 2219 inhabitants (2,8% of the labour force) work in tourism activities (GAD Provincial Santa Elena, 2012a), these numbers only reflect the population working in formal tourism businesses and organisations, excluding numbers from community-based tourism (currently in process of legalisation) as well as informal tourism service providers and vendors (table 5.2 in previous chapter). The latter are the street vendors that sell food in disposable containers, soft and alcoholic drinks as well as handcrafts. They also

rent parasols, beach chairs, and water trikes, among other services. According to some social actors, CBT and informal vendors could double the formal tourism employment:

I'd reckon there are around 400 families in the province working regularly in CBT, but in total there must be around 1500 families, including the informal ones... by informal I mean the ones that haven't been trained in tourism [by NGOs] as we were (PP8).

Informal vendors can work on the beach because they form associations. In Salinas, the oldest one of the associations has 500 members, but there are, how many? Fifteen? Plus the associations in Santa Elena, let's say another 20? I reckon there must be at least 3600 tourism informal vendors in the province... of course many of them are seasonal workers (PP2).

Lack of official data that takes into account the informal tourism businesses has policy repercussions, since the authorities are making decisions based on official numbers. One of the most illuminating examples is the recent downgrading of the Tourism Director position in the structural chart of the provincial government (GAD Provincial Santa Elena, 2012b), supported by data that indicates that the main economic activity of the province is artisanal fishing (table 6.2). Informal actors lack a voice in planning processes, and can be overlooked in local and provincial tourism policy, as it will further discussed in following sections.

6.3.1.3. Lack of organisation: the tourism chambers

The lack of organisation of the private sector is one of the main issues identified for tourism governance in the province (Nobis, 2009; USAID-ARD3D, 2006), a frequently-raised issue in the interviews. At the time of the fieldwork, the three municipalities lacked local tourism chambers that represented the interests of the private business, while the possibility of creating a unified provincial tourism chamber was on the table. PM7 pointed out that tourism in the province was being steered by the public sector because of the lack of private representation and organisation:

Everything, every effort is public because we don't have the representation of the private sector. They are not organized, their chambers are not legalised

and they can't agree on anything to make things work. We are waiting for them to organise themselves (PM7).

Indeed, before the creation of the province, the municipalities of Santa Elena and La Libertad had a group of tourism business affiliated de facto to chambers that collected monthly fees but were not legally constituted. Nevertheless being informal, they had a more or less constituted directorate, and held annual meetings. Salinas on the other hand, has a legally constituted tourism chamber, but internal differences between its members have prevented them from electing a director and a board for many years. According to PG1 and BM10 the conflict in the Salinas Tourism Chamber started in 2005 because of divergent interests between local and external tourism business owners:

Ok, let me explain the real roots of the conflict. You know Salinas has many tourism businesses owned by people from Guayaquil, right? That means that there is a divergence in interests between people who only want to make money and people that are interested in a real development of tourism in the territory (PG1).

The disunion was introduced, we were organised but people from Guayaquil that have businesses here came with their own interests and formed an opposing group (BM10).

While many actors recognised the necessity of forming a private organisation to represent the interests of the private sector, concerns were also raised in terms of their lack of action and answerability:

With the tourism chambers we have a bad precedent here. The same as some of the municipalities, the chambers only existed to collect money from the tourism business without any benefits for their members (SP9).

Article 58 of the current General Regulation for Tourism states that all tourism businesses must present their affiliation papers to the respective Provincial Tourism Chamber as a requisite to obtain their operating licence from the Tourism Ministry (Presidencia de la República del Ecuador, 2004). However, a presidential decree published in the Official Registry in May 2008, made the affiliation to all Commerce Chambers optional, derogating all the previous regulations that made any form of

affiliation compulsory²¹. The new law is consistent with the new Constitution in which aggrupation and joining trade unions is not an obligation but a right. The regulation is perceived by the private business as a national government attempt to weaken the private sector and one of the main causes for the extinction of the existent *de facto* chambers in the province:

This is a presidential policy, because the president doesn't want anybody contradicting him, because he wants to avoid organised opposition (BM10).

The idea of reorganising the tourism chambers was abandoned. We are no longer functioning as a chamber because of that regulation that says that being a member of a commerce chamber is not compulsory, so everybody left and that was the end of it (BM6).

The lack of tourism chambers is an issue related to many things... Sadly the conflicts and personal interests made other people uneasy and uninterested in belonging to them. Then the government denounced the unconstitutionality of being forced to belong to a trade union because that should be a personal choice. The result is that now we don't really have chambers (PP1).

The lack of tourism chambers in the province is a threat to the public participation of the private sector in tourism governance. As indicated above, all the public participation mechanisms in the tourism law establish that private sector participation is through representatives of the tourism chambers recognised by the National Federation of Tourism Chambers of Ecuador, FENACAPTUR (Congreso Nacional del Ecuador, 2002: Art. 14). Evidently, this is one of the inconsistencies that the tourism law of 2002 maintains in relation to the new national regulations including the one regarding trade unions, the new Constitution, and the COOTAD that favours direct civil society participation over trade organisations. The lack of tourism chambers is a threat not only to private participation in public affairs, but also to public accountability, when private actors, especially informal ones, feel they cannot demand actions or answers from the public sector:

When we became a province 3 years ago, we started to think about the provincial chamber... but personal interests got in the way. Now the public

²¹ <http://www.eldiario.com.ec/noticias-manabi-ecuador/82047-ya-no-es-obligacion-afiliarnos/>. Accessed 12.04.2013.

sector no longer recognises the local chambers for decision-making purposes, because they are not legal and none of them are recognised by the FENACAPTUR (SP9).

Some private business joined the informal vendors and wanted to organise a local tourism chamber. But how is that possible? They are informal and I don't want a bunch of informal businesses to represent me! How can they represent us? How can they demand anything from anybody? (BM10).

Right now we are not legalised so we are no longer taken into account for anything. Well, sometimes we are taken into account... but with trepidation because public sector officials are afraid of convening us because we are not legal and they don't want to have any problems (BM3).

6.3.1.4. Shifting roles of social actors

The complexity of social relations within the tourism system is increased not only because of the emergence of new actors and organisations, but also because the traditional roles of existing social actors are changing. Shifting roles are evident in the National Plan for Tourism Competitiveness (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2001) and the Ecuadorian Tourism Law (Congreso Nacional del Ecuador, 2002) both of which contemplate the private sector as the cornerstone of tourism activity in the country, while the public sector's role is to facilitate their activities. Later in the PLANDETUR (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2007), the role of the public sector is stronger and focused on coordinating public, private and community efforts in order to promote a sustainable, equitable, decentralised, and competitive development of tourism activity in the country (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2007: 128). Finally, the structural changes promoted by the current national government embodied in the new Constitution (Asamblea Constituyente, 2008) and the COOTAD (Asamblea Nacional del Ecuador, 2008: Arts.133-135), represent an intensification of the role of all levels of public administration in productive activities in order to guarantee equal access to means of production, including access to funding, technology, scientific knowledge and infrastructure.

While the profound changes in national policy in relation to the role of the State in productive activities in general is clear, these changes remain unclear in the tourism sector, where the tourism law in force still gives prominence to the role of private stakeholders in tourism development (Congreso Nacional del Ecuador, 2002). The

inconsistency between the COOTAD and the Tourism Law, together with a lack of governance strategy of the Tourism Ministry as discussed below, are manifest at the local level in terms of instability and confusion among stakeholders about who is steering or should steer the tourism system in the Santa Elena Province:

It should definitely be the private sector. Because they have money and can be more dynamic while we [the public sector] are constrained by many things (PP11).

The municipalities should guide tourism development, because they are the leaders at the local level, and they know what is best for their territories (PP7).

Tourism should be promoted by the central government, by the Tourism Ministry. We have a Tourism Ministry but it feels like we having nothing (BM6).

Some opinions focused on mechanisms of joint action among different levels of the public sector and tourism stakeholders:

The provincial government has the resources to coordinate the actions of all public, private and community actors, but it should be a horizontal mechanism (ON5).

It should be everyone as a group, including the different tiers of government and the private sector [...]. We need to understand that the private sector needs the support of the public sector and vice versa (BM9).

Public actors' opinions about the inability of the private sector to fulfil their roles in tourism, and vice versa, were also identified in the interviews:

The private sector wants the public sector to give them everything. They want the municipality to organise events so all their hotel rooms are full. Why can't they organise the events themselves (PP11)?

The municipality should be supporting the private sector. But what kind of support does the municipality give me? None, really (BM10).

The private sector here needs a more proactive attitude. If we are not proactive, when we don't get involved... that's why the public sector makes decisions without us. It's a matter of co-responsibility (BM3).

There seem to be actors who have fulfilled their roles more successfully than others, suggesting that individual agency and leadership affects what is done and what is not in tourism departments, committees and interest groups:

We had [name of a previous director] in the Provincial Direction of the MINTUR. He did an excellent job. He wouldn't wait for a higher authority to tell him to do things. He would identify the problems and try to solve them according to what the law allowed him to do (PP10).

There is somebody in the local parish government, [name of a social actor], he is our leader for tourism here, and he is working hard to put [name of a rural parish] on the tourism map (SC1).

We have people here that made history. [Name of a private business owner] for example was a pioneer here. He was the first one promoting the idea of the route along the coast, la Ruta del Sol, and he developed a network of tourism service providers and attractions by himself (BM10).

Whilst national and provincial tourism regulations and plans have emphasized the difference in roles of the social actors in the tourism system (Congreso Nacional del Ecuador, 2002; Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2001, 2007; Nobis, 2009), interviews suggest that not only are these roles being changed by new structures of tourism governance and changing political and economic frameworks as discussed in chapter 4, but also by leadership and by the agency of some social actors within the system. This means that blurred and overlapping roles are not only the result of changing structures of governance, but also of the action or inaction of members of the tourism system, principally of those who are involved in decision-making. As a consequence, one of the structural conditions of the tourism system of the Santa Elena province is the fuzzy and changing understanding of the roles of its members in relation to tourism governance.

6.3.2. SOCIAL NETWORKS AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

This section aims to identify existent clusters of actors in the tourism system as well as the patterns of communication and collaboration that enable and constrain cooperative socio-political interactions. When the tourism stakeholders were interviewed, they were asked with whom they work in collaboration. Clear patterns can be identified from the responses. The first pattern is that the different tourism sectors have a strong tendency to work with their own sector (public, private), or within the hierarchies of their own organisation:

We work with other departments within the municipal government (PM7).

I always meet with fellow hotel owners, not only from La Libertad, but also from Salinas. We meet and discuss our problems (BM6).

I share concerns with other tourism businesses around here, the ones that are close. We talk and everything, but without a chamber there's not much we can do (BM9).

There seems to be greater collaboration between public sector institutions than between private sector stakeholders. Attempts to work with other types of social actors are related to top-down power more than horizontal ways of collaboration, such as public sector agencies working with informal services to organise them. Similarly, bottom-up interactions are characterised by requests for help by social actors that feel powerless to deal with issues, rather than attempts to work together:

I work with the associations of street vendors on the beach... We authorize who can work there and who can't. So if they are assigned a space to work they have to clean the beach after their activities. My job is to monitor that they keep the place clean (PP5).

If we have a tourism initiative here, we first discuss it with the commune assembly, once we agree we have to take it to the authorities for them to help us. Then, a delegation from the commune goes to the authorities to ask for support (SC4).

When the provincial government built the ecotourism trail here in the commune I was desperate because they were building the infrastructure and

we were not prepared... We needed training. So I went to different institutions to ask for help (SC5).

Regarding the communes, they appear to work more closely with NGOs and the public sector. The lack of mechanisms to legalise CBT has provoked discomfort in the private sector for years, especially because of all the efforts that the Tourism Ministry has put into developing more CBT (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2007). Complaints from the private sector have denounced the Tourism Ministry for supporting a tourism activity that is not yet legalised, which contrasts with the lack of governmental support for the private sector, who pay their taxes and are officially registered (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2001; Ruiz-Ballesteros & Solis, 2007):

The problem between the private sector and CBT is that CBT got too much attention and way too much budget in the PLANDETUR. That means that efforts of the Tourism Ministry are more oriented to developing and supporting CBT than the private sector. I just don't understand why in this country we have a public sector, a private sector and a community sector in tourism. Aren't CBT service providers private businesses? Yes, they are small and they don't have much money to invest... but they have earnings (BO3).

We went with a group of business owners to one of the communes. 'Organise yourselves, put together a tourism product and we'll send you the tourists, let's work together' – we told them. But they didn't want to work with us... they don't want to work at all. The NGOs, the government give them everything (BM10).

The situation has effectively divorced the private and CBT sectors, the latter working in close relation with national and international NGOs instead of private tour operators (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Solis, 2007), and often finding difficulties in placing their tourism products in the international market:

Here we have a hospedería in the commune, we have the guides and we are specialised in avitourism, but we need publicity, or somebody to send us the tourists (SC2).

We have the idea of developing tourism in the community; we want to offer whale-watching tours. So I guess we need to develop partnerships with private business because... who else is going to bring the tourists (SC1)?

The evident lack of ties between different sectors however, does not necessarily imply lack of associativity. Of the 306 stakeholders who completed the social survey, 144(47%) declared that they belonged to a tourism organisation. When asked what kind, the 144 organised stakeholders provided 182 responses (table 6.5), which indicates that individuals are not neatly nested within one organisation. Even when tourism chambers are informal and have internal issues, 41.9% declared that they belonged to one of them. Also, 26.6% of the respondents declared belonging to restaurant and hotel associations which usually group small or CBT tourism businesses; 22.5% declared being part of an association of informal vendors and artisans; and 21.8% declared being part of PRODECOS. Additionally, some stakeholders declared that they were part of the FEPTCE, clearly indicating interaction with networks beyond the provincial tourism system.

KIND OF ORGANISATION/ ASSOCIATION	RESPONSES		PERCENT OF CASES
	N	PERCENT	
Restaurant/ hotel associations	33	18.1%	26.6%
Informal vendor associations	28	15.4%	22.5%
Tourism chamber	52	28.6%	41.9%
FEPTCE	5	2.7%	4.0%
Women association	14	7.7%	11.3%
PRODECOS	27	14.8%	21.8%
COMTECTURSE	8	4.4%	6.5%
Parish tourism commission	5	2.7%	4.0%
Commune tourism committee	10	5.5%	8.1%
TOTAL	182	100.0%	146.8%

TABLE 6.5. Kind of organisations to which respondents belonged. N=144.

Boundaries in networks of stakeholders are blurred as a consequence of intersecting interactions that are not limited to a specific public, private or CBT sector. For example, of the eight provincial and municipal tourism directors and deputy directors interviewed, five had their own tourism businesses and four of them were running the business alongside their public role. However, their dual role does not seem to encourage communication between these two sectors:

You can see that [name of a tourism public officer] now has a public role and maybe he feels committed to the authorities... and now in his opinion the chambers no longer exist. Instead of encouraging us to be organised they are ignoring us (BM10).

These intersections not only apply for public and private actors. PG3, a tourism stakeholder that provides CBT services in the Montañita commune talked about the different organisations she belongs to:

First, I have my own tourism business here in Montañita, so when I became involved in the communal council I became part of the tourism committee. Then, I am also part of the tourism commission of the parish government. And I am also part of the COMTECTURSE [the self-organised planning subsystem which be described in detail in chapter 7], because it brings together all of the autonomous government and tourism business representatives (PG3).

From the analysis of the social actors, it is clear that there are three differentiated groups of stakeholders in the province, the public sector, the CBT sector, which is associated with NGOs, and the private sector, which lacks organisation and representation. Communication between them has broken down for different reasons. There is no evidence of dialogue between the private sector and the CBT sector which some attribute to preferential policies coming from the Tourism Ministry that favour CBT tourism. Additionally, the relationship between public and private sector is poor due to the perception among private stakeholders that the public sector is weakening private organisation. Finally, the CBT sector has broken relations with the public sector because of their lack of political will to apply the regulations to legalise CBT. Furthermore, the relationship between sectors is characterised by a lack of trust in their mutual capacities for action and a poor understanding of mutual roles and competences. As such, while there are cooperative efforts and associations between social actors in the province, these remain largely within sectors and their own hierarchies, with little evidence of intersecting actors as hubs of communication between sectors.

6.4. RULES AND PRACTICES OF TOURISM GOVERNANCE

This section provides an analysis of the existing rules and institutionalised practices of tourism governance in Ecuador and the Santa Elena province. Together with the presence or absence of ties between different social actors in the tourism system, these form part of the structure of tourism governance that enables and constrains

planning and policy-making interactions between social actors in the province. The rules and institutionalised practices of governance are also dynamic, continuously transformed and reproduced by social interaction.

6.4.1. SHIFTING STRUCTURES OF TOURISM GOVERNANCE

The governance of tourism in Ecuador has undergone a series of structural changes that followed the creation of the Tourism Ministry of Ecuador in 1992. The first National Plan for Tourism Competitiveness (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2001), elaborated in 2001 with the technical assistance of the UNWTO was aimed at tourism modernisation²², and the improvement of Ecuador's international competitiveness in relation to other Latin American countries with similar tourism products (Ordóñez & Marco, 2005). Following the plan, the Tourism Law of 2002 (Congreso Nacional del Ecuador, 2002) was published to ratify its neoliberal-oriented policies, including the encouragement of private foreign investment through tax incentives, the privatisation of national tourism infrastructure and services, the creation of public-private partnerships, and the decentralisation of tourism governance²³. While these initiatives clearly emphasised the leading role of the private sector, the declaration of tourism as a priority economic activity for Ecuadorian development in April 2001 actually led to an increased involvement of the public sector with special focus on the creation of employment, the development of alternative tourism products, and the strengthening of the Tourism Ministry's functions in incentivising foreign investment, and contributing to tourism modernisation and decentralisation (Ordóñez & Marco, 2005). The application of the competitiveness plan and the tourism decentralisation process led to the creation of regional and provincial offices of the Tourism Ministry, as well as tourism departments in provincial and municipal governments (Castro, 2004; Maldonado, 2008), effectively increasing public administration and control over tourism activities.

The decentralisation process to transfer competences from the central government to sectional authorities followed UNWTO guidelines and a framework designed by a UNWTO consultant (Castro, 2004). The process, which started in 2001, can be

²² Modernisation processes started in Ecuador in 1993 with the creation of the National Council for the Modernisation of the State that sought to remove obstacles to economic growth and reduce the State to give prominence to the private sector (Castro, 2004).

²³ The guidelines of the UNWTO Business Council focused precisely on tourism competitiveness and public-private partnerships, and were in turn based on Porter's (1998) competitive advantage ideas and the World Bank's Business Partners for Development initiative.

considered one of the first attempts by the Tourism Ministry to open tourism governance to other actors. In order for the competences to be transferred, the Tourism Ministry developed a facilitation, training and monitoring process that required the municipalities to: elaborate participative tourism plans; create a tourism department in the municipality; and open formal spaces for governance and public participation, that is, a municipal tourism assembly (figure 6.4). The assembly was the space in which representatives of the different groups of tourism stakeholders, including businesses, universities, community representatives and NGOs would be convened by the mayor twice a year in order to discuss priority tourism issues and actions, and to coordinate efforts to achieve the aims established in the municipal tourism plans (Castro, 2004). The transfer of competences was deemed complete when the assembly drew up the tourism plan, and the municipal tourism department was officially created. Among the decentralised municipalities were Salinas, La Libertad and Santa Elena, where the process of decentralisation took place between December 2001 and October 2003.



FIGURE 6.4. Tourism Assembly for the elaboration of the Tourism Strategic Plan, La Libertad, October 15, 2003. Source: author.

By 2011, 79 municipalities and 16 provincial governments across the country received their decentralised tourism competences including tax collection, marketing and governance, among others (table 6.6). The tourism competences for decentralised governments and the different levels of public administration were further clarified and ratified by Ministerial Decree in 2006 (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2006).

	MINISTRY OF TOURISM	DECENTRALISED PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS	DECENTRALISED MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS
POLICY AND LEGISLATION	– Formulation of national legislation and policies	– Formulation of provincial legislation and policies	– Formulation of municipal legislation and policies
GOVERNANCE AND COORDINATION	– General coordination of tourism competences for the different sectional governments	– Coordination of tourism planning, policy and implementation within their jurisdiction and with higher and lower levels of government	– Coordination of tourism planning, policy and implementation within their jurisdiction and with higher and lower levels of government
PLANNING	– Strategic and participative tourism planning at the national level	– Strategic and participative tourism planning at the provincial level	– Strategic and participative tourism planning at the municipal level
REGULATION OF TOURISM SERVICES	– National classification system, regulation and control of tourism services, and tourism attractions	– Provincial inventory of tourism services and attractions based on municipal information	– Inventory, registry, taxation and control of tourism services, and tourism attractions
MARKETING	– Integrated marketing and branding at the national level	– Provincial marketing and branding according to national guidelines	– Municipal marketing and branding according to national guidelines
VISITORS’ INFORMATION AND PROTECTION	– National guidelines for visitor information and protection	– Create and operate tourist <i>protection</i> centres	– Create and operate tourist <i>information</i> centres

TABLE 6.6. Centralised and decentralised tourism competences in Ecuador. Source: Ministerial decree of the Ministry of Tourism of Ecuador, 2006-085.

While the three municipal governments that make up the Santa Elena province have been decentralised, the provincial government itself has not yet requested the decentralisation of tourism competences. A representative of the provincial administration (PP2) indicated that tourism decentralisation is a good arrangement for municipal governments who get to collect tourism taxes, but not for provincial ones because they receive more competences and no extra income. Indeed, tourism decentralisation has been considered more relevant for municipalities and

successful in the creation of municipal tourism departments, who are in charge of registering tourism services and granting the annual operating licence for tourism businesses, a tax previously collected by the Tourism Ministry (Castro, 2004). However, the acceptance of other competences, the implementation of local tourism plans, as well as the continuity of the municipal tourism assemblies has been limited. In most cases, assemblies disappeared as soon as the plan was drawn up. Despite this, participatory planning processes were successful in generating networks of municipal tourism stakeholders, pioneering public participation in tourism decision-making and for the first time, opening spaces for discussion in relation to tourism affairs (Maldonado, 2008; Ordóñez & Marco, 2005). The consultant for the elaboration of two of the municipal tourism plans in the province, recalled what happened during the processes:

We did the plans because that was the aim, but it was very difficult. During the meetings the discourse was about cooperation between sectors and openness, which was all new... but in reality the public sector and the private sector did not want to share their information with one another, there were unsolved frictions between them (AP12).

The aforementioned failings of the process have been blamed on poor public administration capacity of provincial and municipal tourism departments. High rotation of personal in tourism departments, unskilled tourism directors, low decision power, and poor financial resources have been linked with the low political will of the authorities to solve tourism issues in territories (Castro, 2004; Maldonado, 2008). The Santa Elena province is no exception. The competences transferred to municipalities include the elaboration and actualisation of tourism plans and the management of natural and cultural resources, leaving poorly skilled tourism departments in charge of actions that require a minimum level of technical knowledge:

We were lucky to have our three municipalities decentralised, but currently the situation is chaotic. [...] Decentralisation is a headache... they gave the competence to the municipalities to deal with things they cannot deal with, like... beach management for example. The municipalities just don't have either the capacity or the money to deal with these big and complex problems. (SP9)

Tourism decentralisation was based on the neoliberal-oriented Constitution of 1998 (Asamblea Nacional Constituyente, 1998), in the National Plan for Tourism Competitiveness (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2001) and the Tourism Law (Congreso Nacional del Ecuador, 2002), which favoured the privatisation of public services and the delegation of public competences not only to sectional governments but also to public-private corporations (Bedón, 2011).

The new Ecuadorian Constitution (Asamblea Constituyente, 2008) ratifies decentralisation, but re-examines the ideology behind it. According to the National Development Plan, the new Constitution entails a rupture with the ideals of the Washington Consensus as well as the orthodox understandings of development (SENPLADES, 2009: 10). It rejects western development paradigms as 'linear processes of development in which states of subdevelopment need to be overcome' (Acosta, 2009: 34), and rather focuses on the circular and continuous processes of co-construction of ways to improve social coexistence and achieve *Sumak Kawsay*, a prehispanic philosophy for the 'good living'. Within the new constitutional framework, decentralisation is understood as a way to strengthen the state through 'multilevel synergies' (SENPLADES 2009: 15) in which the central government and the sectional governments become jointly responsible for the elaboration of public policy, development plans and the delivery of public services (Asamblea Nacional del Ecuador, 2010). New political-administrative divisions of the Ecuadorian territory, together with a redefinition of competences for the different levels of government, have been defined through the COOTAD to match the ideological changes and allow the flow of power from the citizens to the State and viceversa, while promoting the concurrent action of each level of government (Bedón, 2011). Furthermore, article 135 of the COOTAD specifies that 'tourism is an economic activity that can be managed by all levels of government'.

While the adoption of yet another constitution and a new framework for public administration entails new governance instabilities and perpetuates 'the pattern of institutional fluidity and uncertainty' (Faust & Harbers, 2012: 72) that characterise public administration in Ecuador, it also represents the opportunity to strengthen the public management of tourism in different levels of government with the concurrent and supportive action of an increasingly strong central government. Nevertheless, there is no indication that the Tourism Ministry will provide guidelines for sectional governments to embed their efforts within the COOTAD and the new constitution, or propose a coordinated governance framework aimed at overcoming the current

deficiencies in sectional tourism public administration. Furthermore, as discussed above, the neoliberal-oriented Tourism Law and its General Reglament (Presidencia de la República del Ecuador, 2004) are still in force, conflicting with the new framework for public decentralisation and governance. The current administration of the Tourism Ministry does not seem to be working on any of the challenges identified for the local administration of tourism, while decentralisation and tourism governance no longer appear as areas of action in the new MINTUR website²⁴.

There are things that the Tourism Ministry has to change but doesn't. Starting with the Tourism Law of 2002 that everybody knows is obsolete and completely private sector oriented... it actually reflects an obsolete way of understanding tourism management and governance. There is a draft for the new law that has been around for more than two years, but I don't think that it has even reached the Congress yet (BO3).

Regarding provincial governments, the COOTAD establishes that they are in charge of the coherent development of economic activities. Municipal governments on the other hand, while in charge of encouraging and planning economic activities in their territories, are also in charge of regulating and controlling them (Asamblea Nacional del Ecuador, 2008: art. 54). The COOTAD also indicates that rural parish governments must encourage traditional and communal economic activities related to 'agriculture, livestock, handicrafts, and tourism' (Ibid. Art. 64). Also, provincial governments have the competence of finding participatory strategies for the economic development of the territory in conjunction with regional and parroquial governments (Ibid. Art. 64). After the publication of the COOTAD in 2010, the provincial government and the three municipal governments of the province began a restructuration process to revisit their internal procedures, competences and organisational charts in order to match the new public administration framework. In tourism specifically, with the absence of tourism governance guidelines from the Tourism Ministry, it is up to the sectional governments to balance the COOTAD with the competences already received during the decentralisation process:

Now with the new law, the governance and jurisdiction law, it establishes what each level of government has to do. The municipality does one thing; the provincial government is in charge of another thing and the same with the parishes. Everything should work better, right? In practice the municipalities

²⁴ www.turismo.gob.ec. Accessed 5.11.2012.

still don't know what they should be doing and what they can spend their money on or not. I'm telling you... they are lost (BO3).

According to the analysis of a representative from the Tourism Ministry (PN1), the competences established in the decentralisation processes of 2001 and the Ministerial Decree of 2006, are not in contraposition with the COOTAD. However, the urgency to define clear tourism governance structures in the framework of the new constitution and public administration model is evident:

The COOTAD means that right now is the time to build structures and institutionality for tourism governance in the country (PN1).

6.4.2. SHARED DESTINATION GOVERNANCE

As discussed above, citizen participation in local tourism governance in Ecuador started with tourism decentralisation in 2001 and the creation of municipal assemblies for consultation in the elaboration of municipal tourism policy. According to the Plan for Tourism Competitiveness, the idea behind the involvement of new sectors in the elaboration of tourism policy was to give prominence to the role and interests of the private sector in the direction of tourism development (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2001). Later in 2007, the PLANDETUR proposed to open participation to more social actors including academia, CBT, NGOs and civil society, and to broaden its scope from consultation to the 'sustainable management and control of tourism, including planning, implementation and monitoring processes' (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2007: 22). The PLANDETUR proposed a new national system for tourism governance based on the creation of regional and local Destination Management Organisations (DMOs) of voluntary participation, with an elected directory among its members and a flexible structure according to local needs.

The difference between the local assemblies proposed in the decentralisation framework and the proposal of the PLANDETUR was clear: a. the public sector would no longer be the leading actor that convenes and presides over tourism governance spaces; b. shared citizen participation in tourism would include more than public-private actors; and, c. citizen participation would no longer be for discussion and feedback from citizens to public authorities only, but for planning, collaboration, information sharing, implementation and monitoring. In other words, there was a change of framework from tourism government to tourism governance

(PLANDETUR, 2007: 419). While the governance system of the PLANDETUR was never applied, the fully participative process with which the PLANDETUR itself was elaborated set a precedent for citizen participation in national tourism policy-making.

At the provincial level, in 2005, the four coastal municipalities of the then Guayas province, Santa Elena, Salinas and La Libertad and Playas, joined together to officially form a *Mancomunidad Turística*. A *mancomunidad* is a regional commonwealth organisation, in which different sectional governments can cooperate to manage a common resource (such as a river basin), coordinate the provision of a public service (such as solid waste management) or coordinate efforts around a common policy issue like tourism (Bedón, 2011). During 2006 the *Mancomunidad Turística de Santa Elena* got the financial support of the USAID to elaborate an organisational structure, a formal agreement that was signed by the mayors of the four municipalities, and an 8-year-plan. At that time, while *mancomunidades* were arising in different parts of Ecuador for different purposes, their legal status was not recognised in the Ecuadorian Constitution. One of the participants of the process (PP1) described these organisation efforts as follow:

We [the mancomunidad] joined together with other mancomunidades in Ecuador and had meetings in different parts of the country. As a result we officially asked the Constitutional Assembly that was forming in 2007 that this form of territorial organisation be officially recognised in the new constitution. It was very interesting to see that our joint efforts and common interests were legitimised by the Constitution of 2008 (PP1).

While the *mancomunidades* could be understood as a form of socio-political organisation coming from the local territories that effectively achieved changes in the governance structures of the country, the exponential growth of the number of *mancomunidades* in Ecuador during the mid-2000s is also related to the decentralisation and modernisation processes oriented to reducing the state, the debilitation of the government at the national level, as well as to the growth of financial support coming from international organisations to provide technical assistance to strengthen these processes and elaborate plans of action (Bedón, 2011; Ortiz-Crespo, 2008). Regarding the *Mancomunidad Turística de Santa Elena*, the official document for its constitution recognises that its background can be found in the National Plan for Tourism Competitiveness of 2001 and its main objective was joint and participative tourism planning and marketing, as well as institutional and technical cooperation so that each one of the municipalities could undertake the

competences acquired by tourism decentralisation.

Organisationally, the *mancomunidad* had a directive level formed by the four mayors, and a Technical Committee that was formed by a CEO, the tourism directors of the municipalities, as well as private and community tourism stakeholders (USAID, 2007: 30). The *mancomunidad* was effectively a form of *co-governance* (chapter 4) that would get financial resources from the Guayas Provincial Government who was the leading actor, the municipalities, a public-private fund for tourism marketing, and from international funding organisations. The *mancomunidad* started to operate in 2006 with the support of the MINTUR, USAID, the Guayas Provincial Government, the Guayas Chamber of Tourism and the four municipalities. PP1 and BM10 explained how difficulties arising from political interests, lack of interest from local authorities, and conflicting dynamics between the public and private sector debilitated the process, which finally came to an end with the creation of the new province in 2007. While Playas remained in the Guayas province, Santa Elena, Salinas and La Libertad formed the new province of Santa Elena and a *mancomunidad* was no longer a shared interest among the 4 municipalities.

Sadly, when we needed the financial contribution of the four municipalities, the campaign for local elections started and the interests of the mayors shifted towards other issues (PP1).

Originally it was the private sector that wanted to conform the mancomunidad... as a solid organism for business cooperation. But suddenly it all changed and the public sector wanted to lead all the efforts. We opposed that because the involvement of the public sector in a leading role meant political interests involved... politicians do not care about tourism, they only care about votes. And that is what happened in the end (BM10).

The failure to continue the meetings of the assemblies created between 2001 and 2003 in the three decentralised municipalities of the province, the lack of application of the shared national governance mechanism proposed in the PLANDETUR in 2007, and the discontinuity of provincial efforts of the *Mancomunidad* also in 2007, suggest that top-down policies for citizen participation have limitations. However, these efforts, together with participative methodologies used in tourism planning as further discussed below, set strong precedents for the creation of joint arenas of dialogue in tourism (Maldonado, 2008; Ordóñez & Marco, 2005). These arenas are

ratified in the new governance framework, in which citizen participation becomes essential in the understanding of public affairs as the collective space between the state and Ecuadorian citizens (SENPLADES, 2009a).

6.4.3. DUPLICATION AND LACK OF CONTINUITY IN TOURISM EFFORTS

The two main visible consequences of the chaotic structural conditions for tourism governance are overlapping tourism efforts, and the lack of continuity of tourism initiatives. These are linked with other institutional conditions, such as the poor acceptance of tourism competences by sectional governments, continual changes of authorities and public tourism officials, lack of accountability mechanisms, and reduced citizen participation in public affairs. This section aims to identify how institutional conditions of tourism governance are manifest in the province through questionable governance practices that reinforce instability patterns in the tourism system.



FIGURE 6.5. Signaling of the Route of the Sun and the Pacific Way, March 2011. Source: author.

An iconic example of overlapping efforts in Santa Elena is related to the name of the route (E15) that runs along the Pacific Coast, which connects the three municipalities and the attractions distributed alongside it (figure 6.2). A very well received private sector initiative named it '*Route of the Sun*', in 2001. In 2003, as a result of studies carried out by a Guayaquil-based university, the name was changed to '*Route of the Sea*', to make the name more accurate in relation to the weather conditions of the whole year (Nobis, 2009). Later, the Ministry of Transportation and Public Works placed signposts with the name '*Pacific Way*', an initiative that was not discussed with the local authorities, the Tourism Ministry or the local population. Finally, the in 2008 the Tourism Ministry developed an ambitious project to extend the route to Colombia in the north and Peru to the south, called '*Route of the Spondylus*', a project abandoned when the tourism minister was

changed in 2010. At the moment of doing the field research, remainings of signalling could be seen alongside it, some of them covered in white paint to conceal previous names (figure 6.5).

The negative implications of a continuously changing brand for tourism promotion and product positioning are evident. Moreover, the mixed signposts not only confuse visitors, but also the tourism stakeholders seemed muddled themselves:

Some time ago they decided to change the name of the north highway and they called it 'the Route of the Spondylus'. But just today I got some maps made by an organisation in Santa Elena with the name 'Route of the Sun' on them. Who understands this (BM6)?

They didn't keep working on the route of the Spondylus and let me tell you, that was the big opportunity for the coastal region to be positioned in the international market. Because we all know the coast has never really been in the international market, not like the Galápagos, or the Highlands or the Amazon (BM3).

Overlapping efforts are also evident in tourism planning. International cooperation agencies such as USAID and the IDB have financed the elaboration of tourism plans often without the involvement with the provincial or local governments who have the competences to implement them. As a consequence, these plans have faced the challenge of not having a coordinating institution that leads their implementation:

USAID's was an imposed plan. Allegedly, USAID consulted the local authorities if they wanted the plan... but who knows. They were not going to say no because it was for free, they didn't have to pay for it... but at the moment of implementation, they just didn't do it (PN4).

During the fieldwork for this study for example, Nobis, a national NGO funded by the IDB, was elaborating a comprehensive and participatory sustainable development plan for the coastal fringe of the Santa Elena province (Nobis, 2010). However, they did not have an institution to adopt the plan and implement it. At that point, their efforts were oriented towards forming a multi-actor provincial committee for implementation that, according to their studies, should have been led by the provincial government. Since at the same time the provincial government was working on their own participatory development plan, the efforts of Nobis were under

threat of being ignored:

They [Nobis] don't have the competence to implement the plan. The plan is good but it needs to be adopted by an institution, in this case, the Provincial Government I guess, who might or might not want to lead the implementation process (PP2).

We've [Nobis] developed various scenarios for implementation, with different institutions leading it... more than leading, I would say coordinating. We are proposing horizontal implementation mechanisms in which everybody participates and one institution coordinates everything. The provincial government seems to be open to assuming this role. The other option would be the Ministry for the Coordination of Production, we just don't know yet. It depends on who wants to assume responsibility (ON5).

Following guidelines provided by the IDB, Nobis's efforts were effectively aimed at creating a governance organisation for the implementation of the development plan, an initiative remarkably similar to that of USAID and the *Mancomunidad* some years before, with the difference that Nobis's plan was for sustainable development in general and not only tourism. As a result of these interventions, currently the province has two tourism plans elaborated by NGOs (Nobis, 2009; USAID-ARD3D, 2007) and two general development plans that include strong strategies for tourism, the one elaborated by Nobis and the other by the provincial government (GAD Provincial Santa Elena, 2012a; Nobis, 2010). The estimated deadline for the implementation of these plans mean that all of them are still valid. There is little evidence, however, that any of these are being actively implemented by any of the sectional authorities (to be further discussed in section 6.5.4).

Perrone, Cajiao and Burgos' study about NGOs and tourism on the Ecuadorian coast (2009) indicated that the work of NGOs has not been coordinated with other NGO efforts, the public sector or civil society. Their study demonstrates that the lack of communication between NGOs and other actors leads to the duplication of similar efforts within the same territories, wasting both donors' money and the beneficiaries' time (Perrone et al., 2009). The PLANDETUR also indicated that NGOs represent a concern in terms of tourism governance as 'some NGO's intervene in tourism with their own points of view. However, their projects are not adequately in tune with the interests of social actors or coordinated with the efforts of public institutions' (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2007: 126).

Overlapping efforts are also common between different sectors and levels of government. The intervention of higher tiers of government in tourism competences of lower tiers of government for example, is legitimised by the General Regulation of the Tourism Law, which states that ‘the Tourism Ministry in representation of the executive can, without agreement (with sectional governments) implement projects and services as long as their need is demonstrated’ (Presidencia de la República del Ecuador, 2004: art. 24). Messiness in governmental and non-governmental interventions is the result of political interests, top-down ideological agendas, and a debilitated citizenship in which social actors are accustomed to asking their authorities for things, but not for accountability:

This is a no-man’s-land in terms of governability. Every institution gets to do what they want and nobody says anything. This is due to a lack of political awareness and citizenship [...]. It’s a matter of political power; politicians are interested in getting votes, that’s all that matters (PP3).

International cooperation and governmental institutions have been paternalist. They come and give you things according to their own agenda, but they don’t show you how to do it yourself. In many communities, that’s exactly the problem. They are used to asking and they expect to be given everything. They know that if they ask, somebody is going to give them what they want. That’s very convenient for some authorities of course, because that helps you earn votes (BO3).

Another governance condition is the lack of continuation of efforts by intervening institutions, a result of the political instability that has characterised the country in the last two decades, and a long enduring practice of changing appointed officials in the institutions of government. As an example, there have been five different provincial directors of the MINTUR between the designation of the first in June 2008 and February 2013, meaning that on average, a provincial tourism director lasts only one year in office. The change of tourism directors and public authorities cause delays in the solution of issues that should not take that long. The president of the tourism committee of one of the communes (SC6), explained that they needed to renew the Community-Guide credentials so they can keep guiding tourists in their community:

I did all the necessary paperwork but then they made the MINTUR provincial director redundant and now I have to keep waiting because they haven’t appointed a new one and there is nobody else to sign the credentials. The

chances are that they're going to make us go through the whole process again.



FIGURE 6.6. Abandoned restrooms in the Manglaralto commune, POP initiative for community-based beach management of the Guayas Province Government. Source: author, February 2011.

Another example was the Beach Certification and Land-use Program (POP) started in 2005 by the provincial government of Guayas in several communes in the province (Perrone et al., 2009). The initiative was a long-term project focused on training and community-building capacities for beach management including managing basic services like lifeguards and restrooms. With the creation of the new province the initiative was abandoned (figure 6.6) and the MINTUR tried to compensate by starting a new initiative with new technical standards in a pilot commune, Libertador Bolívar:

The provincialisation meant that all the work done by the communes during years with the POP went in the trash. Then the MINTUR tried to do something similar with Destino Azul, there in Libertador Bolívar. They created new norms, built an office, and it was a supposed to be a model destination. But then the authorities in the ministry changed and they stopped the project (SP9).

They came [MINTUR officials] and painted our walls, we went to the meetings, we wanted to be certified, we really did, and the training was good. I can't deny that. But at the end there was no certification, they just abandoned the project (SC3).

Abandoned tourism infrastructure is a common sight in the Santa Elena province, the tangible side of innumerable tourism projects and public sector initiatives that have been discarded. There are many examples of facilities that despite being relatively new, do not function for the purposes they were built, including restrooms, interpretation centres and trails, among others (figure 6.7).



FIGURE 6.7. Abandoned surf facilities and changing rooms. Community-beach management initiative of the Tourism Ministry. Source: author, February 2011.

Lack of continuity in institutional efforts, just as overlapping initiatives, are closely associated to political interests and worsened by protagonism and paternalist attitudes in elected authorities. It is also a chaotic, self-reinforcing situation, since citizens keep voting for parties that oppose the current authorities in an attempt to improve their situation. However, constant changes in parties in power also mean that the new authorities dismiss all previous efforts:

When the local authorities change, there is always an opposition with the plans of the previous mayor. New mayors always dismiss what has been done before because “that doesn’t work, we need a new one”. For me, this is a waste of resources, because they commission studies that were done before, they collect information again about the same things (PP3).

There is no continuity... that is the problem. There is an initiative, with a nice idea, then it is socialized in the territory, people get excited, sometimes they make the idea theirs. And then there is a change of authority and everything is

abandoned. There are so many cases. If I start telling you we'll never finish here! (BO3)

We change presidents and authorities like changing a T-shirt in this country. Even now with [president] Correa who not only managed to finish his term but seems that he'll get another one, he keeps changing tourism ministers. We've had 3 different ministers during his term already! Ministers change subsecretaries, subsecretaries change directors, and so on. And new ministers never, ever continue previous efforts, because that is not convenient for their image (BO3).

6.5. RULES AND INSTITUTIONALISED PRACTICES OF TOURISM PLANNING

According to the new constitution, planning and policymaking are the governance instruments to achieve 'Sumak Kawsay'. The previous sections identified the structural conditions for tourism governance in the Santa Elena Province by focusing on relational and institutional structures and by interrelating changing conditions at the national level of government, with local governance challenges and practices. In this section, the structural conditions for tourism planning and policy-making will be identified, including rules, laws, planning practices and planning approaches applied in the Santa Elena province.

6.5.1. PLANNING APPROACHES

Since the elaboration of the first National Plan for Tourism Competitiveness (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2001), tourism planning in Ecuador has been characterised by a rational approach to decision-making, principally based on the idea of planning as a technical and value-free activity. Rational decision-making has taken place through strategic, systemic, and participatory planning approaches that broadly follow the survey-analysis-plan sequence. Indeed, participatory strategic planning is currently the main planning approach for tourism in the Santa Elena Province (Nobis, 2009). According to Castro (2004), participatory strategic planning was first applied by recommendation of the UNTWO for the tourism decentralisation processes of 2001.

Participatory strategic plans rely on public input to identify weaknesses and strengths of tourism destinations, due to the lack of data and statistical information for tourism decision-making in the country (Garcés, 2006). As such, tourism and development plans circumvent the lack of data by grounding their decision-making

process and strategies in public consultation. Since participatory situational analyses rely on citizens' perceptions rather than on statistical data, one of the characteristics of these plans is that they are supply-oriented, instead of market-oriented. As BO3 commented in relation to the PLANDETUR:

The plan focuses only on what we have. It doesn't consider what the market wants at all (BO3).

The PLANDETUR used a participatory SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) methodology consistent with strategic planning tourism to analyse 'supply and demand, attractions and tourism products, community attitudes towards tourism, tourism infrastructure and governance' (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2007: 92). In other words, participants 'offered their technical criteria in relation to weaknesses and strengths of the *tourism system*' (*Ibid.*). The same methodology has been applied at the provincial and local levels, where the situational analysis has been based on comprehensive systemic approaches or whole system models (chapter 2) in which it is assumed that all of the elements of the tourism system need to work together in harmony to achieve the desired future. Systems theory underpinnings in tourism planning processes can be very explicit like in the Tourism Strategic Plan of La Libertad, where 'the situational analysis was elaborated through a participatory analysis of the tourism system, in which the tourism system was understood as a set of six interacting and interdependent elements' (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2003: 11). In other cases, the systemic understanding of tourism is more subtle, as in a regional Sustainable Tourism Strategic Study, which states that 'based on the analysis of the tourism system, the aim is to complement the positioned tourism products with emergent ones in order to develop a coherent tourism destination' (Nobis, 2009: 197). Comprehensive or systemic understandings of the object of planning are not limited to tourism plans. More recently, the PDOT states that the methodology used is strategic, participative, and focused on the analysis of three interrelated environmental, economic and sociocultural systems (GAD Provincial Santa Elena, 2012a: 10). One of the liaison officers (PP2) of the provincial government explained:

The guidelines say that development plans must focus on systemic analysis of the territory. So there are systems and subsystems. In our province we decided that the economic system should include fisheries, agriculture, small production initiatives such as handcrafts, and tourism. So those are the subsystems we analysed (PP2).

The guidelines PP2 refers to, are the national recommendations published by the National Secretary of Planning and Development, SENPLADES for the elaboration of sectional plans at the provincial, municipal and parish level (Senplades, 2011). The guidelines indicate that the situation analysis is the participative and interrelated understanding of the environmental, economic and sociocultural subsystems of the territory that are embedded in a wider governance system. While the idea of multiple scenarios and obstacles for plan implementation is introduced, planning continues to focus on achieving 'harmony between environmental, economic and sociocultural conditions of the territories' (Senplades, 2011). It is also an activity 'developed by a team of technicians' (Senplades, 2011: 62) in which the step from the participatory situation analysis to the elaboration of the strategy continues to be the black-boxed technical process of decision-making restricted to the planners.

In order to compare approaches for tourism planning in the Santa Elena province, eight tourism and development plans were analysed, three of them national and five sectional (table 6.7). The analysis shows that six plans have included strategic SWOT analysis, which are the same plans that included public participation mechanisms. Only three of them justified the decision-making process and how the identification of priority issues was made. In six plans, the strategies were defined by the planning team and validated with the public in a follow-up meeting. Six plans devised stages for implementation, and two proposed governance arrangements for the destination.

In relation to planning frameworks, while whole system models clearly underpin four of the plans, cybernetic approaches are not explicit in any of them. All of the plans analysed have approached planning as a value-free, technical activity that follows the survey-analysis-plan sequence. Only one plan (PLANDETUR) considered agency, as well as the diverse perspectives, values, and interests of social actors. None of the plans considered revision stages, or subsequent adjustments in strategies or budget. Similarly, no plan acknowledged contingencies for implementation such as change of tourism authorities or sectional authorities, issues of power, and changing conditions of tourism governance. In other words, as discussed in chapter 2, almost all the planning processes assumed that the social actors would be passive receptors of tourism policy, and that the tourism system would hold still while the plan was being developed and implemented (Mintzberg 1994: 110).

PLAN	INSTITUTION	POLICY AREA	PLANNING APPROACH	STAGES OPENED TO PARTICIPATION	TRANSPARENCY IN DECISION-MAKING	IMPLEMENTATION STAGES	MONITORING MECHANISM	PUBLIC POLICY
1	National Plan for Tourism Competitiveness	Tourism competitiveness	Competitiveness and strategic advantage	Situational analysis	No	No	No	Public-private partnerships, competitiveness, tax incentive policies embedded in the Tourism Law of 2002.
2	La Libertad Tourism Strategic Plan	Tourism decentralisation and development	Strategic, systemic, and participatory	Situational analysis, validation, dissemination	No	No	No	Ordinance for the creation of a tourism department in the municipal government and the municipal tourism assembly.
3	Santa Elena Peninsula Strategic Plan for Tourism Development	Tourism development	Strategic	Situational analysis, validation, dissemination	No	Yes	Public participation governance system – no indicators	Proposal of an ordinance for the creation of the <i>mancomunidad</i> , a tourism co-governance system for the 4 municipalities.
4	Santa Elena Province Tourism Marketing Plan	Tourism marketing	Strategic	Dissemination	No	Yes	Suggested indicators for public sector monitoring	Proposal of 7 public policies for tourism marketing in the province.
5	Strategic Plan for Sustainable Tourism Development in Ecuador, PLANDETUR 2020	Tourism sustainability	Strategic, systemic, and participatory	Situational analysis, decision-making, validation, dissemination	Yes, matrix of priorities elaborated by consultation	Yes	Participative monitoring system – and indicators	Identification of 7 public policies for tourism development in the country. Proposal of the law for national tourism governance. Law for the legalization of CBT
6	Sustainable Tourism strategic study Santa Elena and Guayas	Tourism development	Strategic, systemic, and participatory	Situational analysis, validation, dissemination	Scenario analysis and matrix of priorities by the consultancy team	Yes	Participative monitoring system – and indicators	Ratification and adaptation at the provincial level of 7 national tourism policies established in the PLANDETUR.
7	National Policy for Conscious Tourism	Tourism marketing	Not specified	Validation	No	Yes	No	Proposal for the updating of the national tourism law.
8	Santa Elena Province Development and Land-use Plan, PDOT	Land-use and general development.	Strategic, systemic, and participatory	Situational analysis, validation, dissemination	Scenario analysis elaborated by the consultancy team and public actors.	Yes	Suggested indicators for public sector monitoring	Proposal of two main policies for tourism related to product diversification and seasonality, and service quality improvement.

TABLE 6.7. Comparative analysis of tourism and development plans at national and sectional levels. Source: author.

6.5.2. PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING

In relation to changing practices of citizen participation in tourism planning, minority groups such as women and indigenous actors were originally considered in tourism plans for the functional roles they had to perform in the tourism system, rather than for their role as legitimate actors in planning processes. Their role has evolved from their ability and predisposition to take care of the guest, to providers of alternative tourism services, and more recently, to socio-political actors in public policymaking. Indeed, in one of the earliest plans, the National Plan for Tourism Competitiveness (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2001: 146) it was stated that '[social] predisposition is, in general, quite hospitable. However it is necessary to improve obliging and service attitudes towards visitors in the communities' (*ibid.* 39). Regarding the territories that now form the Santa Elena province, the same plan pointed out how begging, poor personal hygiene and dirtiness of public spaces could affect the competitiveness of the destination (*ibid.* 119).

Later, in the PLANDETUR, social exclusion and gender equity are prioritised as the second objective of the plan, which is to 'coordinate public, private and community-based tourism efforts in Ecuadorian sustainable tourism development' (2007: 128). In this sense, the PLANDETUR embraced citizen participation in a process where 750 tourism stakeholders participated in 17 consultation, validation and socialization workshops in different parts of the country. Yet participation in the PLANDETUR was not only extended to the planning process itself, but also conceived as a continuous system for shared tourism governance as discussed in section (6.4.2).

In contrast, the new policy of *Turismo Consciente* (Conscious Tourism) launched by the Tourism Ministry in March 2011, was formulated by '10 or 12 national and international tourism experts and tourism officials of the Tourism Ministry' (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2011a: 11). Additionally, the methodology included a 'meeting of experts in a closed tourism workshop' (*ibid.*). Open consultation meetings were held in August 2012, months after the idea was launched to the public and international market, in order to 'socialise and further develop the policy' (*ibid.* 15). Yet among the 109 stakeholders convened in five open meetings in different parts of the country, there were no representatives of FEPTCE, only one representative of a CBT initiative, and a total of 17 representatives of the private sector. The majority of representatives, 36, were from regional and local offices of the Tourism Ministry and from related ministries. The consultation process for the Conscious Tourism policy did not follow the guidelines for the elaboration of sectoral

policy of the SENPLADES in relation to minorities and disadvantaged groups, nor were the needs of local governments thoughtfully articulated within the documents that comprise the policy²⁵, as established in the same guidelines (Senplades, 2009b). In terms of participative mechanisms for implementation, the documents emphasise that the Tourism Ministry is the institution responsible for implementation through its representations at the local level. Furthermore, sectional governments, are considered 'external actors' (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2011: 21) in the implementation of the policy, together with private, civil society organisations, and the academic sector.

In the new framework, the COOTAD and the national guidelines for sectoral and sectional planning (Senplades, 2009b, 2011) make compulsory that the Tourism Ministry and sectional governments elaborate their tourism policies and plans through citizen participation. The SENPLADES recommendations for citizen participation in sectoral and sectional policy-making include the consideration of equality, diversity, ethnicity, and excluded groups in the identification of the policy problem, the formulation of policy alternatives, monitoring, and evaluation (Senplades, 2009b, 2011). In relation to who participates, and how, the guidelines recommend the conformation of *general assemblies* of grassroots organisations and representatives of the private sector, mainly as a space for consultation and validation. Decision-making is done, however, within *planning councils* in which authorities approve the strategies proposed by consultants. The guidelines do not include citizen participation mechanisms for joint implementation, however they indicate that the general assembly should be convened twice a year by the sectional government for accountability and monitoring purposes.

Regarding citizen participation in tourism planning processes in the province (table 6.8), from the 306 stakeholders surveyed, 107 (35%) have participated in at least one tourism planning process, whereas 198 (64.7%) have not participated in any planning process. One actor did not respond to the question. Additionally, the survey shows that public participation in tourism planning has been extended to different

²⁵ The documents with the policy of Conscious Tourism have not been made available to the public. After two requests to the Regional Subsecretary of the Tourism Ministry in September and December 2001, the 5 documents were obtained through a direct request made to the Minister in January 2012, in which the Ecuadorian Law of Access to Public information was quoted.

social actors, without giving prominence to one particular kind of actor. From the stakeholders who did participate in plans, 58.5% of the 41 CBT actors surveyed, 66.7% of the 10 public sector employees and 31.4% of the 159 private business owners reported participating in a plan.

TOURISM ACTIVITY	PARTICIPATION			Total
	No	Yes	N/r	
Own tourism business	109 68.6%	50 31.4%	0 0.0%	159 100.0%
CBT business	17 41.5%	24 58.5%	0 0.0%	41 100.0%
University lecturer	1 33.3%	2 66.7%	0 0.0%	3 100.0%
Informal vendor	1 100.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 100.0%
Non-profit organisation employee	3 50.0%	3 50.0%	0 0.0%	6 100.0%
Private sector employee	56 86.2%	9 13.8%	0 0.0%	65 100.0%
Public sector employee	4 26.7%	10 66.7%	1 6.7%	15 100.0%
Other	7 43.8%	9 56.2%	0 0.0%	16 100.0%
Total	198 64.7%	107 35.0%	1 0.3%	306 100.0%

TABLE 6.8. Actors and public participation in tourism planning processes. Source: Data collected by author. N=306.

However, participatory mechanisms for policy-making have been criticised for not taking into consideration the differences in socio-cultural characteristics and worldviews of the *comuneros* of Santa Elena:

Participative situational analysis, local development appraisals and SWOT analyses are widespread forms of investigating the territory. However, they do not involve the understanding of the complex dynamics and conflicts going on in the local society, providing only short-sighted information for decision-making and intervention initiatives (Alvarez, 2005: 19).

Additionally, tourism stakeholders' described their participation in planning processes as a form of tokenism, and how diverse perspectives are homogenised during decision-making:

I think that people feel used in consultancy processes, because they are always consulted for the situational analysis but once the strategies are designed they are not convened again. They are not informed about what happened with the information they gave (ON5).

During the second meeting [of the PDOT] there were more people from the private sector and fewer from the communes. All of them had different points of view and I felt we wasted our time on private interests. I think that's why for the third meeting they [the consultancy team] came back with everything done, saying 'that's what we did, please check if its ok or not'. I didn't see that as participation, they just informed us. What we did in that meeting is to observe and listen, nothing else (SP9).

We had various meetings [Salinas development plan, convened by the municipal authorities in 2004], and I attended, representing the chamber of tourism, but we saw that there was no commitment to doing something meaningful. I felt the interest was to justify something, a public action or something and not to initiate any kind of dialogue (PM8).

On the other hand, participatory plans are also seen as spaces where opinions and problems are heard:

We always attend. At least I do because I'm representing my people and we need to contribute with our opinions and points of view... and we need to be there, so something is done for our communities (SC5).

I think we must take advantage of the power that these spaces have. We have power there because we are convened to say what is bothering us and to have an opinion (BM10).

It is clear, therefore, that while the new structures and mechanisms for planning and policy-making in the public sector clearly establish mechanisms for participation in planning and monitoring processes, there are no spaces for joint public-private action during decision-making and the implementation stage. This is consistent with the general policy of the new government embodied in the National Plan for Good Living in which public-private partnerships and the privatization of some roles of the

state are rejected and criticised as neoliberal means to reduce the government and transform public spaces into private ones. In the same document, public planning, regulation and control are considered roles of the state that must be 'deprivatised' in order for them to 'effectively reflect the public interest' (Senplades, 2009b: 87).

6.5.3. TOP-DOWN OR BOTTOM-UP?

Tourism planning in Ecuador has been the space in which tourism policies are formulated in detail; as a consequence, some plans have resulted in the publication of new tourism laws or regulations. The participatory character of most of the plans analysed could lead to the assumption that national and sectional tourism policy is a bottom-up process. Nonetheless, the analysis of tourism plans shows that frameworks and ideologies in planning processes are usually in line with recommendations of the international organisations funding or providing technical assistance for their elaboration. As evident in table 6.7, six of the eight plans analysed have been carried out with international funding or technical assistance, with the exception of the two most recent plans, the PDOT, and the national plan for Conscious Tourism. The National Plan for Tourism Competitiveness, for example, drawing from UNWTO guidelines (UNWTO, 2001b), recommended tourism decentralisation, the creation of public-private tourism partnerships, tax incentive policies, and a new tourism law, all of which were applied by the Tourism Ministry (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2001). Furthermore, the decentralisation processes for the transfer of tourism competences from the national to sectional governments, was designed by an UNWTO consultant following UNWTO guidelines (Castro, 2004). The PLANDETUR followed a sustainability approach also in line with the STEP (Sustainable Tourism for Eliminating Poverty) program of the UNWTO (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2007). However, the process was not completely top-down. As discussed before, the strong participatory methodology of the plan was designed to match top-down ideologies with bottom-up needs.

At the regional level, the Santa Elena Province Tourism Marketing Plan (Garcés, 2006) and the Tourism strategic study for the coastal fringe of the provinces of Santa Elena and Guayas (Nobis, 2009), both funded by the IDB, followed PLANDETUR policies for sustainability and poverty alleviation, adapting them for the provincial level. On the other hand, the Santa Elena Peninsula Strategic Plan for

Tourism Development, funded by USAID, was consistent with national policies of decentralisation, public-private partnership and modernisation of the State (USAID-ARD3D, 2007). In summary, while tourism-planning processes have ensured bottom-up public consultation, the resultant macro tourism policies have, in six of the eight plans analysed (table 6.7), reflected either the neoliberal policies of funding organisations like the USAID or the IDB, or international policies for tourism development drawn from organisations of technical assistance like the UNWTO.

The newest plans, the provincial PDOT and the national plan for Conscious Tourism, are different, however. Both were elaborated with public funds and without the intervention of international agencies and both came after the publication of the new Ecuadorian Constitution, the COOTAD, and the National Plan for Good Living (Senplades, 2009a), in which the environmental, social and economic national policies are already thoroughly outlined. The PDOT draws on the principles established in the constitution, the National Plan for Good Living (Senplades, 2009a), and the guidelines for the elaboration of development and land-use plans published by the National Planning Secretary (Senplades, 2011). One of the social actors of the provincial government explained the integration of different levels of government within national policies:

The Constitution establishes that our plan [the PDOT] must be in line with the National Plan for Good Living. Now all the development plans need to be coordinated in a waterfall way: national, regional, provincial, municipal and parochial. This means that when we finish our plan, the municipalities and the rural parishes can elaborate theirs (PP1).

Whitin this model, the broad framework for public policy comes from the central government, whereas specific strategies are identified in a bottom-up way, according to local conditions. One of the officials from the central government working in the province explained:

This is a bottom-up model in terms of specific development processes and top-down in terms of public policy, and this is what I think we should be applying in tourism here [in the province]. The way I understand it, processes, programs and actions are local, while the policy issues, the administrative and organisational models come from the government (PP7).

While the proposed tourism strategies of the PDOT were not specifically linked either with the national policy of Conscious Tourism or with the still-valid PLANDETUR, the plan is thoroughly consistent with national policies in terms of planning framework, process, structure and areas of action (SENPLADES, 2011). The Conscious Tourism national policy itself, as described above, is a national policy coming directly from the Tourism Ministry, with little bottom-up input indicating that even plans that do not adopt an international framework are top-down in terms of national policy being applied at the local level. Also, while most of the plans had some form of citizen participation, and claim to have used a participatory methodology, the planning stages in which participation occurs rarely include decision-making or joint action. In summary, neither of the approaches for tourism planning and policy-making applied so far in Ecuador and in the Santa Elena province are open spaces for citizen bottom-up policy or strategy formulation in terms of bottom-up dialogue, as the policies are either predefined by the international funding and technical assistance organisations or by the central government, and the spaces opened for participation do not include decision-making.

6.5.4. PLAN IMPLEMENTATION AND MAKE-UP PUBLIC ACTIONS

The implementation of tourism plans, and the survival of long-term tourism projects and initiatives is closely related to the governance structures of tourism in the Santa Elena province. Political instability, political interests, lack of cooperation and lack of coordination between institutions of government, are among the main reasons tourism stakeholders give for the lack of efforts for plan implementation. This section refers to the perceptions of the people in relation to plan implementation, as well as the identification of the structural conditions that constrain this implementation.

IN YOUR OPINION, TOURISM PLANS ARE IMPLEMENTED	ALWAYS	SOMETIMES	I DON'T KNOW	ALMOST NEVER	NEVER	NO RESPONSE	TOTAL
Frequency	28	80	70	59	65	4	306
Valid Percent	9.2%	26.1%	22.9%	19.3%	21.2%	1.3%	100.0

TABLE 6.9. Stakeholders' opinions about plan implementation. Source: Author. N=306.

During the survey, stakeholders were asked about their opinions concerning plan implementation. The results of table 6.9 show that the majority of respondents think that plans are implemented ‘sometimes’ (26.1%), followed by ‘I don’t know’ (22.9%) and ‘never’ (21.2%).

IN YOUR OPINION, WHICH FACTORS CONSTRAIN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF TOURISM PLANS AND PROJECTS?	RESPONSES		PERCENT OF CASES
	N	PERCENT	
Change of authorities, the new authorities ignore the previous processes and plans	142	16.2%	47.5%
Lack of coordination between the bodies and institutions related to tourism	169	19.3%	56.5%
Incompatibility of plans with the laws, regulations and institutions related to tourism	69	7.9%	23.1%
Lack of monitoring mechanisms on the plans and projects once underway	117	13.3%	39.1%
Duplication of efforts / lack of agreement on the role that each institution plays	72	8.2%	24.1%
Low level of technical knowledge and lack of professionals in the province of Santa Elena	105	12.0%	35.1%
Lack of political will from local and provincial authorities	101	11.5%	33.8%
Lack of economic resources in the institutions responsible for implementing plans	97	11.1%	32.4%
Other	5	0.6%	1.7%
Total	877	100.0%	293.3%

TABLE 6.10. Opinions concerning constraints for plan implementation. Source: Author. N=306.

As for factors that constrain plan implementation (table 6.10), respondents were allowed to choose more than one response, up to a maximum of three. Of the total responses (N= 877), the highest number of responses is ‘lack of coordination between tourism bodies and institutions’ (19.3%), followed by lack of continuation of efforts related to ‘change of authorities’ (16.2%), and thirdly, ‘lack of monitoring mechanisms’ (13.3%). Of the three main responses, the two first are related to governance conditions, while the last one is related to planning processes themselves.

During the interviews, one of the questions for representatives of the sectional tourism offices was about whether tourism or other general plans were taken into account in their daily activities. In relation to the provincial government for example,

the first appointed tourism director in a report written at the end of her time in office²⁶ pointed out that her work was consistent with the national PLANDETUR 2020, the national tourism marketing plan, the provincial development plan, and the provincial marketing plan. The reported actions of her seven months in office suggest that indeed the efforts of the department were in line with existent national and provincial planning efforts. Similarly, the next tourism director worked in accordance with the PLANDETUR, and the provincial marketing plan:

Provincial tourism plans [...] are very useful for our work because they are very technical but also very down to earth, including specific projects, some of which we are working on (PP1).

In relation to the provincial tourism office of the MINTUR, a representative commented that their work follows an annual operational plan (PP11). The recently appointed provincial tourism director of the MINTUR at the time of the interviews also mentioned that:

Our actions are based on the annual operational plan. I didn't structure it, the previous director before me did. I understand that our annual operating plan is based on the PLANDETUR. Now if I may be honest with you, I haven't studied the PLANDETUR yet (PP3).

This operating plan is made in coordination with the headquarters in Guayaquil, and guides all the investments the MINTUR makes in the province throughout the year. A representative from the MINTUR in Guayaquil explained how this works:

The job of the provincial tourism director is to identify the needs of the territory and elaborate a draft, which is discussed with the Subsecretary of the region and then with the budget office at the national level. Here [in the regional office] we have to find the way to articulate those needs with the PLANDETUR. In terms of flexibility? Well, they could modify their operational plan during the year, but they would need to go through the whole approval process again (PN3).

²⁶ The report was sent via email by the outgoing tourism director on 01.08.2009 to various tourism stakeholders at the provincial and national levels.

While the tourism offices at the provincial level rely on tourism plans, the situation of the municipalities is different. The tourism competences for decentralised municipalities state that local governments should elaborate their tourism plans in accordance with the national policies of the MINTUR. Nevertheless at the time of the interviews, none of the three municipalities had a local plan for tourism:

Right now, none of the three municipal tourism departments is following any kind of plan. Not even the PLANDETUR that provides general policies for the whole country. Nothing! (SP9).

Two representatives of municipal tourism offices concurred in saying that, while they do not have a tourism plan, their work is supported on ordinances, municipal regulations proposed by the mayor and approved by the members of the municipal council. In other words, ordinances are the main embodiment of municipal tourism policy, yet their approval is based on representative democracy, rather than on public consultation or direct democracy mechanisms:

Our work here is based on municipal ordinances. They are specific regulations that we need to enforce. Our work is not office work, but a work in the field, a work related to the application of the ordinances in the territory (PM2).

Here we are working on the new ordinance for beach management. This is being worked between the tourism office, the municipal councilors [three names], and the mayor (PM7).

Yes, I heard they are working on the ordinances for beach management [the municipal council]. I don't know how they are working on that since they don't have the expertise. The beaches were our jurisdiction [the port authority] for years, and now they are not even inviting us so we have the opportunity to transfer our knowledge. They are not consulting the people involved either (PM10).

During the interviews with public officials it was evident that ordinances and interventions are heavily based on the mayors' interests, a situation that is reinforced by poor accountability practices in local governments, an unintended consequence of decentralisation processes in which lack of answerability was also

transferred when local governments got more power. This situation is, in turn, related to a political system heavily based on personality, rather than on ideology. In other words, getting reelected depends on the mayors' actions being visible and tangible, especially things that can be opened with a fanfare and photographed (figure 6.8).



FIGURE 6.8. Billboard for paragliding and mountain bike infrastructure build by the provincial government in San Pedro commune, Santa Elena municipality. Source: autor, March 2011.

Municipal tourism action, or the lack of it, relies more on the will of the mayor in office than on tourism plans, and long-term actions are not perceived as beneficial for electoral campaigns. One representative of the municipality of La Libertad, for example, when asked about tourism plans or policies in the municipality replied that their policy is to organise popular events:

Well, the vision of the mayor is to make people come to our municipality through big events. That is our tourism strategy. We are working on bringing [popular] singers and beauty contests. You know, the kind of massive events that people like (PM4).

Similarly, one of the provincial government representatives indicated that the problem with informal vendors in one of the municipalities would not be resolved

due to its repercussions in future elections:

This is a tremendous problem with a very easy solution; the mayor has the power to pass an ordinance to assign them spaces as long as they are associated, and that is it. Sorted. But he is not going to do that because the informal vendors and their families are votes (BM10).

Even when there is a plan to follow, some of the actions on the plan are not interesting for politicians to adopt, since they do not represent the accumulation of political capital for future elections. The intangible and long term actions often proposed in tourism plans, such as tourism training, or the delineation of governance structures, however urgent they may be, are dismissed since there is no way to put signboards on them and build immediate political capital. As BM3 pointed out,

We need profound, structural changes for tourism development, things like sustainability, a management organisation, product development, and training. These are all changes that need a long time, a process. Years. Make-up changes on the other hand, are superficial and can be done in 6 months. Those are the kind of actions our authorities are interested in; they decide to do something quick, such as a new tourism brand or tourism leaflets, and bang! They can say they did something for tourism. But make-up changes do not solve our real issues in tourism. They are a huge waste of public money (BM3).

Additionally some interviewees suggested that tourism plans that promote collaboration between various actors and levels of government, are perceived as documents that take power away from local authorities:

Plans are made because it is mandatory for sectional and local governments. Since these plans have to have public participation with various sectors, maybe the public institution leading them does not identify themselves with the results of the planning process, especially if the recommendations reduce the leading role of the authorities (AP12).

In my view, all these plans risk being left on the shelf. Well, not on the shelf anymore but in a hard drive, right? With the USAID plan we really made a

huge effort and I think the plan was very good, very concrete... based on our own reality. We reached an agreement for the management of the province as one tourism destination, with mechanisms of real citizen participation. But there was no real commitment from the mayors. The plan was not really promoted by them... it didn't emerge from them. [...] What I mean is that no matter the effort of the stakeholders or the enthusiasm of the public tourism officials, plans won't work if mayors don't see that they are politically convenient for them (PN4).

Political instability, a governance condition that was discussed above, was also mentioned as one of the constraints for plan implementation:

First of all, political stability is fundamental to maintain any process. We need authorities that stay in office long enough to implement things. The other solution would be that all stakeholders get involved in planning and development process so when an authority is changed, they have the information and power to put some pressure on the new ones (ON5).

When authorities change it gets worse because the previous ones don't leave the information for the new ones. But also the new ones always want to start again, so they want to do their own studies, their own plans (PP3).

The lack of long-term tourism planning in the municipalities in Santa Elena is dealt with through short-term actions to manage tourism issues that invariably arise during the high season. According to the Santa Elena Strategic Plan for tourism development, the three municipalities that now belong to the Santa Elena province have worked since 1994 in short term actions for the high season called '*planes de temporada*' or high season plans (USAID-ARD3D, 2007). These consist roughly of a couple of meetings involving different organisms of the public sector, including the municipal tourism and health departments, and related institutions such as the police, the risk management subsecretary, the fire department, Red Cross, and the Port Authority.

Agreements for action are written on a spreadsheet with contact and emergency numbers that is distributed among all the institutions involved, and often to the press.

These meetings are aimed at identifying the weekends with a high number of visitors during the high season and coordinating actions between different institutions regarding traffic congestion, emergencies, informal vendors on the beach, and the distribution of lifeguards (USAID, 2007). While some actors see these plans as short-term, reactive actions, others focused on the space that these meetings open for articulation of dispersed public efforts:

In the famous 'plan de temporada' what we really do is to change the dates from year to year and maybe change the contact numbers, and one or two actions according to what is currently going on. It's a reactive plan, just to deal with emergencies, but it doesn't take into account previous years' numbers or reports, for example (SP9).

These [planes de temporada] are the spaces where all the institutions of the province work under the same flag. The competences of each institution are articulated but respected at the same time. This is really an interinstitutional effort that is not imposed but agreed by consensus, with everybody working towards the same goal, which is to deal with tourism issues that arise during the high season (PP7).

While some of the interviewees related plan implementation with political instability, lack of political will, and low capabilities for implementation, other actors identified the planning approaches themselves as a problem:

I think that plans don't get implemented because nobody knows about them. We are invited to the consultation part and then they don't call us again to tell us what the results were, or how we can get involved (PP3).

Plans have these visions fixed for 5 or 10 years in the future. They are static and inflexible with respect to tendencies, changes, and context. Plans don't have any kind of mechanism to adapt to the unexpected and that is why they become obsolete so quickly. I know everybody says that new authorities always want to make new plans, but they do because circumstances have obviously changed by the time they take office (BO3).

Development plans and participative plans have relied on participation inputs instead of a profound analysis of reality. They were fixed 10-, 15-year plans that nobody wanted to apply because nobody was going to see the results. Politically of course those plans were a disaster because they led to invisible changes (PP2).

When a plan is made, there is a group of consultants in charge of putting it together, right? But for plan implementation there is nobody! Or worse, plans are made under the assumption that all the organisations, institutions and people involved are going to implement it. In other words, plans either don't include a group of people dedicated to apply it, or assume that everybody is going to apply it, or worse, assume that the two people working in a public tourism department will apply it (AP12).

While plan elaboration is largely participatory, plan implementation is not. From the eight plans analysed (table 6.7), four leave plan implementation to the sole public institution leading the plan, an unviable situation at the local level since public tourism departments usually lack trained personnel as discussed above. On the other hand, two plans leave implementation to tourism stakeholders in general, without identifying specific leading organisations or institutions. Only two plans proposed a structure for plan implementation through the creation of destination management organisations in order to coordinate efforts between the different social actors involved. The lack of identification of joint mechanisms for plan implementation is consistent with systemic tourism planning as discussed in chapter 2, where efforts are focused on areas of action, such as tourism infrastructure or training, instead of focusing on coordinating stakeholders' efforts.

6.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The chapter focused on the interpretation of documents, interviews and the social survey in order to identify the structural conditions of tourism planning and governance in Santa Elena. Tourism governance conditions in the province are the result of both enduring and changing socio-political relations and practices from which a consistent pattern of instability emerges. Tourism governance and planning structures have been analysed in two main dimensions: governance-as-relations

and governance-as-rules. The former focused on the identification of social actors as well as the interactions or lack of interactions between them. This dimension allowed the identification of formal and informal tourism stakeholders, patterns of organisation and cooperation, as well as the roles and unclear roles of the different actors involved in the governance of tourism in the province. Governance as rules on the other hand, identified regulations, governance and planning practices, prevailing ideologies, changing roles of the state, and institutional capacity, that is, the *institutional arrangements* in which planning and policy-making interactions and actions take place.

Relational tourism governance in Santa Elena is characterised by an increased number of players and a lack of clarity of roles. The recognition of the CBT national organisation, FEPTCE, as actors of tourism governance in the Tourism Law of 2002, permeated the provincial and municipal levels with the inclusion of CBT representatives and related NGOs in consultation processes for the elaboration of different tourism and development plans within the province. Tourism decentralisation also increased the number of public actors, since new municipal tourism departments were created as a direct consequence of the process. Additionally, the creation of the Santa Elena province in 2007 increased governance players with the introduction of a provincial level of representation of the Ministry of Tourism, and the creation of a tourism department within the provincial government. Finally, the COOTAD in 2010 recognised rural parishes as the minimum level of government in the country, which led to the creation of parochial tourism committees. The increased number of players, together with changing governance ideologies and tourism policies at the national level, and deficiencies in the public administration of tourism at the provincial and local levels, has resulted in a lack of clarity of roles in relation to who is, or should be, steering the destination.

Tourism stakeholders in Santa Elena are aware of their interdependency, that is, the need of cooperation between different sectors and between municipalities in order to build complementary tourism products to tackle seasonality, the uneven concentration of tourists in provincial tourism attractions, and increase visitors' length of stay. However, the analysis shows that social actors are scattered and isolated, and that cooperative efforts take place between similar kinds of social actors and within territories, rather than across social actor groups, localities, and

levels of government. In other words, while the tourism system is flexible in boundaries, allowing changes in number and kinds of actors, it is inflexible in relation to criss-cross, bottom-up and top-down socio-political interactions. Relational rigidity of the tourism system relates to the persistent lack of associativity of the private sector, the informality of the CBT sector, divergent perspectives about tourism, and a lack of trust in the capacity of stakeholders from different sectors to fulfil their roles.

The analysis of *institutional* conditions of governance, on the other hand, shows that approaches to tourism planning and governance in Ecuador have reflected different macro policies including neoliberalism, as evident in the Plan for Tourism Competitiveness in 2001, neoliberalism with a social face, embodied in the PLANDETUR in 2007, and finally, postdevelopment theories as outlined in the Constitution and the COOTAD in 2008 and 2010 respectively. Both the Plan for Tourism Competitiveness and the PLANDETUR established clear mechanisms for tourism governance mainly oriented to decentralisation and public-private partnerships. Yet the recent changes in national policies towards a coordinated and increased role of the State in economic and social development, as well as the encouragement of direct democracy and citizen participation, are not yet reflected in a national tourism policy. The evidence showed that the Conscious Tourism policy of 2011 not only ignored the new guidelines for public participation in the elaboration of sectoral policy, but also ignored the necessity of revisiting the tourism competences of the different levels of public administration to create joint spaces for decision-making and action.

For the governance of Santa Elena as a tourism destination, changes in national policies for development in general, and tourism management in particular, together with the new governance landscape brought about by the creation of the new province, mean that institutional structures for tourism governance including ideologies, rules, practices and processes have been in constant flux for the last decade. The pattern of instability is further worsened by the lack of a clear national tourism governance strategy that responds to the recent structural changes in national public administration, leaving the challenge of deciding the scope of involvement of local governments in tourism development to the local authorities themselves.

At the provincial and municipal levels, macro tourism policies are reflected in the tourism competences for sectional governments, which were established unilaterally by the Tourism Ministry, following the recommendations of the UNTWO. Top-down tourism policy at the local level can further be seen in ordinances made by democratically elected authorities without public consultation, as well as by planning processes in which participation is merely a way to ratify decisions made by planning experts behind closed doors. As such, the tourism governance conditions in the Santa Elena province are not only *unstable* but also *hierarchical* (Kooiman, 2003), in which 'information trickles up and orders flow down, frequently without explanation' (Caffyn & Jobbins, 2003: 241).

Hierarchical tourism governance in Santa Elena is possible precisely because there are not social relations across different actor groups, limiting bottom-up and criss-cross interaction, or in other words, limiting the flow of information and power in different directions other than top-down. More than anything, hierarchical governance constrains citizen participation in policy decisions and reduces the accountability of public sector authorities towards their constituents. While the national government is reclaiming power for governmental institutions, and the subsequent higher concentration of power in sectional government this implies, the Santa Elena province must also face the enduring and difficult-to-break tradition of poor accountability and top-down policy making. This creates a potentially dangerous landscape for the participation of other tourism actors, such as the private sector and communities, who have already had their power diminished by the abolition of compulsory associativity in commerce chambers and the lack of action of the MINTUR to apply the law and legalise CBT. Additionally, while the new constitution, the COOTAD, and SENPLADES guidelines clearly establish joint spaces for decision-making, they do not encourage joint spaces for plan implementation and action, precisely due to the interest of the new government in regaining the power of the state to combat social differences, inequality and generalised poverty brought about by neoliberal policies.

In relation to institutional practices of tourism planning, an analysis of eight plans showed that planning at the national, regional and local levels is *linear*, and characterised by a broad application of the survey-analysis-plan sequence through

strategic, participative and comprehensive planning frameworks. These plans have incorporated public participation at different stages of the process, such as the situation analysis and validation, yet decision-making has remained limited to experts and authorities. Additionally, linear planning approaches in Santa Elena have separated planning from action, in both substantive and procedural ways. Substantive separation between planning and action is embodied in the understanding of the tourism system, i.e. the system-to-be-planned, as a unity composed of interrelated parts such as infrastructure, supply, demand, and the environment, among others, that need to be comprehensively understood and managed to achieve desired goals. In this functional understanding, the system is the passive receptor of public policy, and the agency of stakeholders to influence public affairs and change their own future is ignored. Procedural separation between planning and action is reflected in fixed time limits for plan elaboration and plan implementation, as well as the lack of governance mechanisms to link the decisions made by the planners with the actions of tourism stakeholders. In other words, there is no acknowledgement of planning as a continuous socio-political space for decision-making and action embedded in a socio-political tourism system in constant change and dynamism.

Current practices of tourism planning in the Santa Elena province, while linear on paper are rather full of complexities, contradictions, and underlying interests. Planning approaches, however, 'fight' these nuances and manifest themselves in ordered, technical, value and political-free discourses and practices ignoring agency and contingency, turning participation into tokenism, and diversity into uniformity. Nevertheless, their formal and technical character is perceived as useful in giving rational validity to policy-making that otherwise might have been completely dependant on provincial and municipal ordinances, and therefore, more sensitive to political interests.

The structural conditions for governance in the Santa Elena province have been unstable for a number of years. Changing governance structures at the national level, and a lack of tourism governance strategy for the country to respond to these changing conditions, are found alongside other provincial-level problems such as new structures of public administration, lack of cooperative efforts and coordination across different kinds of socio-political actors and government bodies, as well as

enduring hierarchical practices of provincial and local planning and governance, overlapping and truncated tourism efforts, paternalistic public initiatives associated with political interests, poor accountability, and the lack of will of democratically elected authorities to elaborate or implement plans, establish clear tourism policies, or assume local tourism competences.

In spite of challenging governance conditions, the relational analysis shows that tourism social actors are predisposed to working together, which is evident in the mainly informal and voluntary tourism organisations in the province, including tourism retailer and vendor associations, communal tourism committees, parochial tourism commissions, CBT organisations, and to a lesser extent, the *de facto* tourism chambers. The institutional analysis additionally suggests that participative strategic planning processes and the short-lived joint governance efforts such as the municipal tourism assemblies, the *mancomunidad*, or the *planes de temporada*, have opened spaces for contribution and discussion that have also been helpful in creating social ties among provincial socio-political actors.

The next chapter will discuss how changing tourism governance conditions, together with previous joint governance efforts have allowed the interaction of tourism stakeholders, and more importantly, their self-organisation in order to face instability and uncertainty about the future.



CHAPTER 7. INTERACTIONS, SELF-ORGANISATION
AND EMERGENCE IN THE PROVINCIAL TOURISM
SYSTEM

7.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter identified the structures of tourism governance in the Santa Elena province. This chapter will discuss how the unstable, changing, and hierarchical structural conditions in the tourism destination, together with the agency of key stakeholders, allowed the emergence of a self-organised group with tourism planning and steering purposes. It also identifies how the internal and external dynamics of the group are simultaneously maintaining and transforming tourism governance structures.

In order to provide an interpretation that emphasises the change and dynamism emerging from the constant interplay between agency and structural conditions, this chapter is mainly based on the analysis and interpretation of interviews and meeting minutes in which socio-political actors provide their intentions and meanings, as well as their understanding of the dynamics that characterise self-organisation. The chapter is divided into three main parts. The first part identifies how the interactions between socio-political actors that are the basis for self-organisation are pervaded by both intentions and structural constraints, and how both are manifested in mutually reinforcing and inhibiting feedback between actors. The second part explores how interactions between members of the self-organised planning subsystem, and between the group and the environment give rise to conservative and dissipative self-organisation associated with the reproduction and transformation of existing governance structures. Finally, the chapter ends by picturing the emergent planning and governance conditions in the tourism system of the Santa Elena province.

7.2. THE INTERACTIONS OF SELF-ORGANISATION

This section explores socio-political interactions between members of the self-organised planning subsystem by separately analysing their intentional and structural dimensions, as discussed in chapters 3 and 4. The intentional dimension explores stakeholders' perceptions, interests, values and intentions in relation to the structural conditions of the provincial tourism system, and how these perceptions are embodied in cooperative and competitive interactions between key socio-political actors. The structural dimension focuses on the roles, positions, and

representativeness of the socio-political actors that compose the self-organised group. Finally, the section discusses how both intentional and structural dimensions are jointly manifest through reinforcing and inhibiting interactions between members, from which the self-organised group itself is structured and restructured.

7.2.1. INTENTIONAL DIMENSION OF SOCIO-POLITICAL INTERACTIONS

This section focuses on intentions behind self-organisation. It starts by identifying how the self-organised group emerged from the wider tourism system as a cluster of key socio-political actors who wanted to act upon that tourism system. Then, cooperation and competition between members is explored in order to understand how individual intentions play a part in dynamics of self-organisation.

7.2.1.1. *The emergence of self-organisation*

The PTC (Technical Tourism Committee of the Santa Elena province, COMTECTURSE, in Spanish) is a self-organised planning subsystem that emerged from the interplay between changing governance structures and the agency of a group of socio-political actors. It is argued that the PTC is self-organised because it was formed from local, voluntary and informal socio-political interactions among key stakeholders within the provincial tourism system, as opposed to the tourism assemblies that the MINTUR encouraged during the decentralisation processes (Castro, 2004), or the *Mancomunidad Turística* encouraged by social actors from the Guayas province and an NGO (USAID-ARD3D, 2006). However, it is clear that these previous attempts to form governance organisations at the municipal and regional levels respectively, together with previous collaborative efforts, like the *planes de temporada* and other participative planning processes, set the conditions for the conformation of the PTC. SP9 and BM3 explained how previous joint planning processes influenced the formation of the planning subsystem:

The PTC was born in 2008. The province was new, formed just a year earlier. Tourism stakeholders were invited to a fair in Quito, CENEXPO, thanks to the actions of the new tourism director of the provincial government. So we went to Quito and we recognised each other from previous meetings, from the mancomunidad planning process, for example, which was in decline by then. After the day sessions, we would meet in the hotel and the idea of continuing

the meetings was born. [Name of the provincial tourism director] encouraged us to keep the meetings as an informal group of key tourism stakeholders, to share information... to coordinate and plan other events and tourism initiatives. We discussed the idea and we decided to meet every two weeks (SP9).

I think coordinated tourism efforts between the three municipalities have been going on for at least 15 years, when the authorities started to get together to work on those planes de temporada. Then we had the group of private entrepreneurs promoting the idea of the Ruta del Sol, then we had the mancomunidad, and now we have the PTC. I see it as the same thing with different names; the idea is the same, to work together to manage tourism (BM3).

Evidence shows that the first tourism director of the provincial government led the organisation of the PTC in 2008. However, when the provincial tourism director was changed just a few months later, the committee went through a period of instability characterized by a lack of leadership. The provincial director who represented the Tourism Ministry (who was later appointed provincial tourism director in the provincial government) assumed the leading role of the group:

When [name of the first tourism director of the provincial government] left, they put somebody else in charge of that office, but the new person wasn't interested in the PTC and didn't convene any meetings. There was a pause until [name of MINTUR tourism director] decided to lead the committee and we started to have meetings again. The committee became very strong, the members were committed and we managed to do things, but when the authorities changed due to the general elections of 2009, the tourism directors at the provincial and municipal levels changed. We had to start all over again, because there were new actors. Also [name of MINTUR tourism director] moved from the MINTUR to the provincial government, but he kept convening the meetings from his new post and included the new actors (SP9).

After [name of the first tourism director of the provincial government] left, everything was up in the air, because her successor didn't do anything about

it. At that time I was working in the MINTUR and decided to call the meetings again, based on the will of the people involved. While the space was still informal, I think it was the validity of our needs that kept things going. [...] Then they invited me to be the tourism director of the provincial government. I told the new governor that we wanted to keep this space for dialogue and he agreed (PN1).

Interviews show that leadership played a major role in the emergence and maintenance of the group. Yet, it is also evident that its members consider it a shared effort. In PG1's interpretation below, there is recognition of the role of both structure and agency in self-organisation:

Look, the new constitution says, if I'm not wrong in chapter 31, says that we citizens can organise ourselves in groups in order to manage our collective affairs. The new regulations also say that there should be a coordination of efforts between the different public institutions and levels of government. [Name of the tourism director in the provincial government] applied that [when supporting the provincial tourism committee], but let's make it clear that it wasn't him that organised this. We all did (PG1).

The planning subsystem can be considered self-organised for various reasons. First, although it was an idea that emerged from the initiative of one socio-political actor, that actor was part of the tourism system of Santa Elena. Second, the idea was shared in an informal context in which the first rules for meeting were agreed by a group of actors. Finally, while structural conditions, context and history played a significant role in its emergence, the way in which the meetings were run by leading actors regardless of the institutions they were working for, is a clear sign that the group was not organized by a leading institution, but by a leading actor, or group of actors. In other words, the planning subsystem is an expression of agency, rather than an effort of a particular institution.

7.2.1.2. Cooperation and shared interests

Cooperation between members takes place for various reasons; these include perceived external threats that affect the whole tourism system, such as a decreased numbers of visitors; and internal threats such as shared concerns about

the situation and the future of the tourism system. An external threat for tourism stakeholders in Santa Elena is the possible loss of visitors after their separation from the Guayas province, as well as the need to coordinate public efforts to put together a competitive tourism product:

Before we didn't have to do any promotion because Guayas promoted us. Now it's different. We have to promote ourselves and for that we need to get organised. Now we have competition. Guayas developed all that agritourism, they have a regenerated main city with lots of things to see. Fewer people are coming to visit us and the people that visit us is because they want to, not because we're making an effort (BM9).

We need to position ourselves as a tourism destination, as a product with a differentiated brand, separate from Guayas. We need to differentiate ourselves from our neighbor provinces and the rest of the country in order to be competitive, touristically speaking (PP3).

Interviewees identified governance conditions within the tourism system as reasons for cooperation and self-organisation. These conditions are related to their own situation or the situation of their locality that are shared by other actors:

I'm very sad to say this but here it's like there aren't any authorities at all. They lack the political will to improve tourism. I'd like tourism to be better developed in Salinas, the quality of service above all. I don't know how it is in the other towns but I know about my town and I feel tourism in Salinas is decaying, and we need to do something about it (BM9).

We need to organise and work together because authorities can abuse their power (BM10).

It's been two years since the Tourism Ministry published the law [for the legalisation of CBT services] but they haven't applied it yet [...]. I hope that through this space we can reach an agreement with the authorities to solve this and other problems we have (PP8).

While some actors described interests of their own sectors or territories as reasons for joining the PTC and cooperate with other actors, others focused on structural conditions and shared interests related to the future of tourism in the province:

We started working on this committee because of the creation of the new province. With all the changes, we found that we needed to find a way to exchange information and coordinate efforts between the municipalities and the recently created provincial tourism offices (PN1).

I think people joined together because we understand the necessity to coordinate our efforts, we understand that together we have more power and while we have differences between us, we can still show a unified front, we can still identify common goals (PP1).

We have common interests and aspirations for the province (BM5).

The lack of leadership and political will of our local authorities is well known. People are apathetic and they don't trust their leaders. That's why we need leadership, action... and that, right now, is coming from us (PG1).

You know what we agree on? We agree on not being satisfied with the way in which tourism is going. There is a high degree of dissatisfaction with the actions of the public and private sector. The only way to move forward is to rectify and change things. I find participation crucial to make the changes we need (PM8).

Internal instability was emphasised over external threats in members' accounts, which focused mainly on the lack of action of local authorities. The perception that 'things are changing', and that 'nobody is doing anything' for tourism, together with the idea of a shared future were the underlying discourse for cooperative action. 'Action' and 'joint action' pervade members' accounts of intentional cooperation in which shared interests play a significant role.

7.2.1.3. Competition and conflicting interests

Members heavily emphasised the cooperative character of the PTC during the interviews, yet there were also accounts about how they compete due to scarce resources, political differences, and conflicting points of view. Scarce resources identified were attention from higher levels of government, and visitors:

There are three municipalities turning to the Tourism Ministry for support. Also the parishes and communes go to the ministry. Who is supported depends on political decisions (PM2).

We know there must be cooperation but there also are interests in conflict. Why should I support the development of tourism in the north? What if that means that tourists won't come to my business? (AP11).

The international press that was covering the Ecuadorian Tourism Fair was scheduled for a day visit [to the province], so the Tourism Ministry asked us [the PTC] to organise it. When we started to put options on the table about places to visit with them, and where to eat, individual interests became very evident. All of us wanted to benefit from free international press coverage and nobody wanted to be left out. I think that was one of the worst meetings we've had (AP12).

Also, some members of the PTC are appointed public officials that represent a democratically elected authority that has a political affiliation. External political interests and differences between political parties are manifest through the members of the PTC:

Yes, we are members of the PTC, but we prefer to manage our tourism independently. [...] The problem is that the current leader of the group is associated with the Governor of the province, who was before the mayor of La Libertad. My boss, the new mayor of La Libertad, happens to be from a different party and there is a rivalry between them. I sense that there is not a good predisposition to let us participate in the group. It might not be a conscious thing, but that's what I perceive (PM4).

There are problems that come from outside of this group. Political problems, I mean. La Libertad doesn't come to the meetings and they should be here so we can coordinate efforts among the three councils. Also, I think that some of us have tried to use the PTC for their political purposes and I won't give examples because it's too delicate, but political interests are always present (PM1).

At the heart of competitive interactions is the internal issue of who should lead the PTC. Consensus about this topic has not been reached and this is constraining the organisation in finding a solution to financial and legal issues, as will be discussed in section 7.3.2.

We are all very aware of political conflicts. When we sit in PTC to discuss a more formal management model, when we have to define who is going to be the head and lead our efforts, we just can't find a solution. We know that if somebody is the head, others won't be part of this anymore, because the members represent authorities from different political parties. Sadly we can't find a solution (PN4).

Members of the PTC also represent different sectors with their own internal conflicts. Divergences that have arisen within other networks are manifest in competitive and conflictive interactions between members of the group. Problems within the private sector related to the divergent interests in the conformation of the provincial tourism chamber are a good example:

One thing that discouraged some people from attending the meetings was the presence of [name of a private sector stakeholder], who claims the presidency of the Chamber [Salinas]. He used to attack the actions of other members in order to make himself look good and that caused tension (BM9).

We had a meeting in which there was a row between the business representatives, because of the problem of the tourism chambers. They brought the problem here. Now they are not coming because they don't want to bump into each other. The thing is, if they can't organise themselves to

work for their sector's interests, how are they going to work for the province (PM1)?

On the structural level, competition is related to the role of the members in the socio-political system, as is the example of competition to get the attention of the public sector. But competition for tourists or political capital can also be related to interests at the individual level e.g. having more tourists in their own business, or gaining political capital to reach higher positions within the tourism system or outside it.

7.2.2. THE STRUCTURAL DIMENSION OF SOCIO-POLITICAL INTERACTIONS

The structural dimension of socio-political interactions refers to roles, positions, boundaries, arrangements of members within the group, and the representativeness of members in relation to the wider tourism system. From a structural point of view, members are diverse in terms of kinds of actors, such as the public sector, the private sector, CBT and civil society. Additionally, their diversity has to do with levels of socio-political administration, such as communes, parishes, councils and the higher levels of provincial administration that are represented by the members. In other words, members are diverse in terms of their different sectors, powers and competences for action, as opposed to the intentional diversity discussed above, which is related to interests, perceptions and points of view.

7.2.2.1. Boundaries and structure

According to meeting minutes (06.07.2010), the PTC is an apolitical organisation that coordinates the actions between public, private, and CBT tourism organisations in the province. During the meeting, it was agreed that the members of the PTC are:

- The provincial tourism director representing the Tourism Ministry
- The tourism director of the provincial government
- The directors of the three municipal tourism departments or their delegates
- The provincial representative of the Environment Ministry
- The provincial representative of the Culture Ministry
- The Port Authority or their delegate

- A representative of the provincial organisation for CBT
- A representative from the 7 parish governments in the province
- The president of the provincial tourism chamber (as yet non-existent), and 3 local delegates of each one of the municipalities.
- A representative from the University of the Santa Elena Península

In relation to the structure, it broadly covers representatives from the different tourism actors in the province, as discussed in table 6.3 in the previous chapter, with the exception of representatives of communal tourism committees, NGOs, and representatives from associations of informal vendors.

An examination of the 22 calls for meetings sent by email between February 2010 and August 2012, corroborate that there is a core group that roughly reflects the regular members indicated above, while other names change. Indeed, interviewees confirmed that membership is rather flexible and people invited to the meetings depends on the issues to be covered:

The way I see it, we are around 12 or 15 regular members and depending on the issues we need to cover, we decide to invite representatives of the organisations or interest groups that could contribute with ideas or solutions in relation to their competences. Health issues are a good example, or transit issues as well. If we are going to cover an issue in a commune, we invite them (PP1).

If we are organising an activity or we are going to cover an issue that needs other kind of support, we invite other institutions. This can be tricky though, because these invited institutions can be clear or not about what the PTC is for or the role expected from them or their institutions during the meeting (PP11).

On-and-off members talked about their point of view of being invited to some meetings only:

I don't really understand what the policy is. I am invited to some meetings but I'm not invited to others. The last meeting for example, I heard about it... but I wasn't invited (BM10).

Yes, I'm frequently invited to the meetings and I always collaborate with their efforts because I think they are doing something necessary, but I couldn't tell if I'm a member (PP10).

At the time of the interviews in 2011, the PTC did not have an approved internal structure, but was rather a completely horizontal space for the exchange of ideas in which one member elected secretary was in charge of taking minutes and distributing them via email after the meetings.

The way we are working is horizontal, flexible and it works because all the forces are balanced. More than having a structure, I think that we should focus on representing all sectors, all tourism stakeholders (BM3).

Other members on the other hand, indicated that they should have a more structured organisation:

What we need to do is to define working commissions; I would say three, one for planning, one for promotion and communication, and one for coordination. This would help to organise our actions better, to reflect more the work we are doing for the province (SP9).

Working commissions were also discussed in a meeting in July 2010 (06.07.2010). The suggested commissions (that apparently were never approved by the group) were communication and marketing; planning and events; and cultural and natural heritage. According to the minutes, the structure of the PTC was discussed again in an ordinary session in February 2012 (16.02.2012) when the group agreed to create the following commissions:

- *Tourism management commission*, in charge of planning the actions and participation of the PCT in promotional, planning and development efforts.
- *Communication commission*, in charge of managing the internal communications within the group, as well as external communications with the press and related organisations.
- *Legal commission* in charge of creating ordinances and regulations to manage and legalise the group as well as being informed of regulations,

ordinances and tourism laws related to the actions of the group.

- *Monitoring and evaluation commission* in charge of following up actions of the group, collect information and serve as a liaison with other institutions that could aid in the solution of tourism issues in the province.

During the same meeting (16.02.2012), the group elected a president, vice-president, treasurer and secretary. While the following mails suggest that the president and secretary were acting as that, there is no evidence that the other members of the directive did. Additionally, there is no evidence in the following minutes that the commissions were formed and assigned members. The following minutes suggest that the PTC was working in the same horizontal, informal and rather unstructured way that has been its characteristic since the meetings started.

7.2.2.2. Roles and representativeness

In relation to public sector members, the PTC groups middle-level bureaucrats, such as the municipal tourism directors, as well as the tourism directors of the provincial government and the Tourism Ministry. As some actors pointed out, this is a difference from the organisational structure of the former *Mancomunidad Turística* in which the members were the Municipal Governments represented by the mayors, together with the Regional Subsecretary of the Tourism Ministry. The difference in levels of power of those involved show how the proposed structure of the *mancomunidad* was oriented towards coordinated policy-making, whereas the structure of the PTC is rather oriented towards coordinated action:

Well... I would say that the PTC groups middle-level officers from public institutions and local governments, instead of authorities. [...] In this space we plan and coordinate actions and events, and then each member acts in relation to their particular competences (PP1).

Look, the problem with the mancomunidad was the mayors. What was the issue with the mayors? They were the official members but they never had time for the meetings, because tourism was not their only priority, of course... We never, ever managed to have a proper working meeting... with all the mayors I mean. [...] It was a mistake... to have a structure based on the

mayors, because it meant that we couldn't do anything, we couldn't decide anything at all without them... and they didn't come to the meetings (BM5).

However, while the three municipalities are members of the PTC, La Libertad does not attend the meetings because of conflicting political interests, as previously mentioned. The lack of a public sector representative from La Libertad was an issue raised by different members, since it constraints PTC's efforts to coordinate tourism actions for the whole province (PP7 and SP9):

It's very unfortunate that not all the municipalities are present in the meetings, because this is the only space for discussion of all the internal problems that the province has in terms of tourism (PP7).

In terms of how representativeness is perceived by members of the public sector, interviews show that they are torn between representing the interests of their territory and constituents, and representing the interest of their authority:

I represent the interests of the mayor, and of course the people of Santa Elena too (PM1).

We always work for the public benefit, making clear that our municipality has more than 40 years of tourism activity, and its importance is due to the efforts of the private sector, and also the current efforts of our Mayor [name of the mayor] (PM8).

I represent the interests of the province. I don't have political interests because I'm a public officer so I can work for the public benefit (PP11).

My institution is part of the PTC, but if you ask who I represent I would say that the interests of the province, since my institution is provincial (AP12).

I work for the Ministry, so obviously I represent the interests of the Tourism Ministry. (PP3).

In relation to the private sector, the inability of tourism business representatives to solve the issues of the tourism chambers in the province means that effectively, there are no official private sector representatives for the PTC. So far, the committee has been working with key private actors who were willing to attend the meetings:

Since there are no representatives for the private sector at the municipal or provincial level, what we have done is to invite private business owners who were involved in previous efforts, I mean... key stakeholders. These key stakeholders are members, since their point of view is critical. However, in the official structure we're proposing, the representatives would be related to the chambers, once the chambers sort out their issues... The other option would be to convene an open assembly and ask the private sector to elect representatives for the PTC (PP1).

We are waiting for the private sector to sort out their organisations, in order to include official representatives. Until then, we don't have private representatives but key private stakeholders (PM7).

Well, I've been participating in different tourism initiatives here in the province...There's a group of private businesses that are always present in these things, so they know us already, and if we are convened, we participate. [...] I am a member of the PTC, yes. [...] I am a member because I speak for the private sector, but I don't really represent all the other businesses in my municipality. I don't push my own interests either; I understand that we are there for the development of our province (BM5).

I am aware that we are invited as private business, but not as members of the tourism chamber of Salinas (BM10).

While it is evident that private businesses attending the PTC were not elected representatives of organised groups, it is also evident that they are key stakeholders known for their active participation in previous planning efforts. In February 2012, the members of the committee finally decided to convene private business in the three municipalities in order to elect representatives of the private sector (Meeting

minutes 09.02.2012). The proposal implied the election of separate representatives from different kinds of tourism services, e.g. accommodation, catering, and travel agencies, in each one of the municipalities. According to PTC's minutes, and two local newspapers²⁷, the tourism directors of the municipalities of Santa Elena and Salinas organised open meetings with private business in order to elect representatives for the committee in March 2012. These calls were aimed exclusively at accommodation services. In total, six representatives from the hotel sector were elected, four from the Santa Elena municipality (two from the north and two from the south), and two from Salinas (meeting minutes 21.03.12). In the same meeting members agreed on calling for new assemblies to elect representatives from other sectors, such as catering services, and travel agencies and tour operators. The idea of electing representatives from different kinds of tourism business contrasts with traditional arrangements for the participation of the private sector, where the tourism chambers represented by the FENACAPTUR, group all kinds of tourism service providers, usually giving greater prominence to hotel owners. It also evidences a desire to open the group up to different points of view within the private sector and increase their representatives in the PTC.

Community-based tourism representation in the PTC is not free of issues either. The PTC has discarded the idea of asking for representatives directly from the communes, because of the number of communes:

We can't invite all the communes because there are 66 communes in the province... If they were members of the committee it would be chaos! Neither can we invite just the ones we consider touristic because that would be arbitrary. So we decided to invite the provincial CBT organisation [PRODECOS] and the parish representatives (PP1).

Once, we put on the table the possibility of opening the group to the communes, but the idea was discarded. It was a pity because I think that the communes should be directly convened... in order to balance all sectors (AP11).

²⁷ notipeninsula.com, periodicolaprimera.com. Accessed 13.01.2013.

We are a coordination group that should be open... but not that open. To make myself clear, an open door would mean an assembly, and assemblies are not good for coordination, they are good for hearing opinions. But to really make decisions, the system we have with representatives is better (BM3).

It is not clear however, why the PTC does not include representatives from the communes that already have tourism committees (between 12 and 15 communes according to PP9 and AP12). There could be a political intention behind having parish representatives instead of commune representatives directly, since parishes have more political capital and are part of the provincial government. Nevertheless, if there were political intentions behind the decision, no actor mentioned it. This particular is consistent with Innes & Booher study (2002) where socio-political actors made decisions based on concealed interests, also Kooiman (2003) refers to hidden agendas in governance dynamics. Apart from representatives from the parish governments, the PTC includes a representative from the provincial CBT organisation, PRODECOS, which for some actors undermines communal perspectives, since PRODECOS does not work with communal tourism committees, but with CBT service providers directly, as discussed in the previous chapter:

I maintain that the communes should be better represented, and they are already organised; I see sometimes that hotel owners are given priority and we need to balance representativeness. Too much representation of one sector and too little representation of the other can affect any process of tourism governability (AP11).

There is nobody else from CBT, I feel a minority there, and so what can I say there? Then they say that I always protest but I am the only one truly speaking for CBT.... I mean the parishes are fine, don't get me wrong... But they are the public sector and they haven't been involved in CBT like we are... they know nothing about CBT regulations, and the processes we've been involved in (PP8).

From the point of view of the parish representatives, the ones who regularly attend the meetings are aware of their role representing the communes:

In PTC I represent the Colonche parish. I represent the interests of the whole parish but you know that not all the communes in our parish are doing tourism, so I focus more on the ones that do have tourism like [name of three communes]. I maintain contacts with their people (PG2).

I'm from [name of a commune] originally, but I participate in these meetings because I'm a member of the parish government. That means I represent the 17 communes that are part of the parish, not just my commune (PG3).

When asking the commune tourism representatives, some of them were aware of being represented in the PTC by their parish governments, and others were not:

Yes, I've heard of it but I don't attend... who attends is [name of the parish government representative]. Yes, because she represents us there (SC7).

Ah! They are working on the tourism promotion of the province, right? Yes, I've heard... they invite the parishes, but not us directly. So no, the communes are not involved... I don't understand why. Why not (SC7)?

Representativeness can be understood as the structural dimension of stakeholders' interactions within the PTC, since each member embodies the structural constraints that affect their group. However, interviews show how representatives are split between representing their own interests, the interests of powerful actors in the tourism system, and common interests.

7.2.3. REINFORCING AND INHIBITING INTERACTIONS

Interactions between members are circular exchanges of information characterised by continuous feedback in which members influence and are influenced by other members (chapters 3 and 4). Feedback can be inhibiting or reinforcing, and constitutes the building block of non-linear dynamics in social complexity, and the basis for social stasis and social change:

If somebody comes up with a silly idea, the group makes the person understand its unviability... but if somebody comes up with a good idea... that idea grows through the empathy of the rest of the group (BM3).

Interactions that inhibit action can lead to social stasis. They have to do with competition, divergent points of view, negative criticism and lack of trust among members:

Everybody has an opinion in the meetings, and some perspectives are very basic, coming from people that know absolutely nothing about tourism. It can be a waste of time (BM10).

From my point of view... there have been occasions when everybody starts talking about the problems in their communities and that is when the conversation diverts to issues not on the agenda (AP12).

Inhibiting interactions can be related to the intentional dimension, such as individual interests, or even values:

We were trying to decide about which kind of event we should organise for the start of the high season and somebody had the idea of having a cooking contest to make the biggest hamburger. I know that would be an attraction, but where is our heritage in that idea? How is a hamburger related to our identity? I think it's wrong to make tourism efforts not based on our cultural identity, so I completely opposed the idea (AP11).

The other day we were discussing promotional efforts and one of the representatives of one of the municipalities said that they wanted to promote [name of a tourist attraction]. We had to tell him that he should wait because they need to invest more in that place; the quality of the services is not ready yet for an international campaign... so he threatened to pull the municipality from the event, if we didn't include that particular attraction (PP3).

Inhibiting interactions can be also based on structural constraints. For example, when a member does not support an idea because they do not have the resources to back it up:

Sometimes we want to do something but there are members that remain silent because I don't know, maybe they can't do it, or don't have the funds, or the time or maybe they feel they are not capable, I don't know. There could be many factors for not supporting something (BM9).

Some actors mentioned the absence of some members as an issue that inhibit the ability for action of the rest of the members. Additionally, historical conditions can inhibit action when there is a perception that things cannot be changed:

The lack of leadership here and the bad governments have led to apathy... to indifference. Sometimes we are no longer interested in participating or making an effort (PG1).

I think sometimes there are public officers that think that these meetings are not important, and it's the officer that gets to decide which ones to attend and which not. Ideally, they should be permanently involved because of the information that is shared in the meetings and the decisions we need to make (PP7).

Reinforcing interactions, on the other hand, are associated with cooperation, trust, constructive criticism, and shared interests. Also, reinforcing interactions take place when different perspectives are valued and taken into account:

If somebody has a problem in their territory, we can discuss it during the meeting and we contribute with different ideas to help the person that has to act. Some ideas are contradictory, but that's not always a problem. Different ideas can complement each other or they can provide different points of view for action (AP12).

There are different visions about tourism. The vision of Salinas is not the same as, let's say, Sacachún. They are all important and all are valid (BM3).

I think that we all try to be amicable during the meetings. Yes it's true that sometimes we point out things to each other, we criticise each other but it's

constructive criticism. What helps is the fact that we know each other and that we know that it's done in a positive way (SP9)

When we can see that something is going to benefit us all, and is not related to the interests of one sector, then we agree immediately (SC7).

Reinforcing interactions can change the state of affairs, and are associated with transformative action. Reinforcing interactions and further cooperation come from perceptions among members about taking action themselves, as well as doing it voluntarily. In these cases, reinforcing interactions take the form of peer pressure, as will be further explored in section 7.3.2:

After we made a decision, in the following meetings we always put pressure on the members who are not doing their part, especially because these are commitments, not obligations. We gave our word and we have to comply (PP5).

Nobody forces us to do this, it's voluntary (PG2).

If I learned something in these meetings, it's that if we start to depend on one institution, we won't get anywhere. We can't depend on institutions, the provincial government or the municipal government. We can do things ourselves (SC7).

Reinforcing and inhibiting interactions occur constantly and repetitively during any form of communication between members, giving rise to complexity. The PTC itself is maintained and transformed through them when members revisit the boundaries of the group in relation to membership and the scope of their actions. The next section focus precisely on what the PTC does, according to its members.

7.2.4. WHAT DOES THE PROVINCIAL TOURISM COMMITTEE DO?

When asked about what the PTC does or should do, responses were diverse. Responses included data collection and information sharing for decision-making, policy-making and planning activities, coordination of efforts and destination management, and monitoring activities. In other words, the interviews suggest that

the aim of the group is oriented towards different aspects of traditional tourism planning i.e. situation analysis, decision-making, plan implementation and monitoring. Nevertheless, the lack of legal status means that the group is currently dedicated to marketing activities that are more likely to win the support of the authorities:

When we want to do something as PTC, it's usually marketing efforts, because other institutions are more likely to join in and contribute with some funding. [...] We won't be able to do bigger things until we get a legal status and a budget (SP9).

Some members' positions believe the role of the PTC is to address the lack of data and information to support decision-making in planning and policy processes as discussed in the previous chapter:

What we have done so far, but not enough, is to collect data. We should focus more on gathering data for policy-making, in order to support any project, any tourism decision here in the province (SP9).

I think the committee should focus on data collection to have provincial tourism statistics. One of our biggest weaknesses, not only in the province but also in the whole country, is that we don't collect statistical information about tourism. We need data to determine if our actions and efforts are paying off, or if we should be doing something different (PP1).

For me, the committee should identify issues, especially problems in the present that could affect our possibilities for further development in the future. It groups, it collects information, the information could be data... but it also can be different points of view, all of which are shared during the meetings... we seek to articulate the information to manage the issues [...] to exchange ideas (PP7).

For some actors, the role of the PTC should include the homogenisation of tourism policy among the three municipalities. However, that vision is not shared by other actors who reject the idea by drawing upon the autonomy of local governments ratified in the COOTAD, as well as the presence of non-public actors in the group:

They already organised the informal vendors on the beaches in La Libertad... they already implemented a policy that works... and other municipalities could apply the same. So I think one of the things we should do is to discuss the elaboration of similar tourism policies (SP9).

We discussed the issue of homogenising tourism policies across the three municipalities... soon we realised that that was the competence of the municipalities that are autonomous... and that was rather a political issue, so we left it there (BM5).

We should focus on marketing, and not on policy or regulations because that's a political area. Regulations and ordinances are exclusively in the public sector... So we should focus on marketing only (PM8).

Other responses highlighted coordination and destination management as the main role of the PTC. Also, the complementarity between the actions of the PTC and the existing structures of tourism governance is evident in PG3's response:

For me, it helps to steer the actions of the different public organisations related to tourism, including the three municipalities, the provincial government, the tourism ministry and even other ministries that are related, like cultural heritage and environment (PM7).

We support the management of the tourism destination, together with existing plans and regulations (PG3).

Opinions are divided about how the PTC could manage tourism. While some actors argue that plan implementation should be part of their role (PN4), others argue in favour of putting pressure on authorities, information sharing and monitoring the actions of the public sector:

I think this should be a coordination committee in charge of ensuring the implementation of plans, though linking together all the different tourism actors with the institutions of the State (PN4).

It's not like we have to solve problems directly... We take the measures for the responsible institutions to solve the problems... Because we can't execute directly... we can only put some pressure on other organisations (BM9).

We agreed on not being an executive committee because we don't have a budget. We may have great ideas but without a budget of our own it's impossible... so we share information about the actions taken by different institutions, and we kind of... coordinate them through the meetings. [...] We are monitors as well... we do a lot of that (SP9).

After analysing responses of what the PTC is or should be, it is evident that in a similar way to structural boundaries, e.g. who should be a member, conceptual boundaries, or the scope of their actions, are also blurred. Members attend the meetings with their own ideas and point of views about the role of the organisation, some of which are aimed at changing existent structural conditions of governance, such as collecting data, homogenising policy, and plan implementation, while others are aimed precisely at maintaining these conditions, such as respecting the autonomy of the sectional governments by focusing solely on marketing actions.

Individual intentions and perceptions, together with group arrangements, and boundaries in relation to members and contents, are continuously negotiated through circular interaction, making the planning subsystem an emergent entity that is characterised by its flexibility and adaptativeness, but that is also prone to unstable dynamics because of its lack of structural anchorage. The role of the PTC as the 'main tourism organisation in the province' (PM1) is continuously torn between emergent dynamics of dissipative and conservative self-organisation, that is, between challenging and maintaining the status quo. These apparently conflicting dynamics will be examined in more detail in the following section.

7.3. DYNAMICS OF SELF-ORGANISATION IN THE POLICY SYSTEM

The previous section focused on identifying the intentional and structural dimensions that play a part in the internal interactions between members of the group. It exposed how the self-organised planning subsystem with its flexible rules,

membership and contents, emerged from mutually influencing socio-political interactions that have both an actor and a structure-related component. This section focuses on identifying the dynamics of the planning subsystem, which are related to interactions between members, as well as the interactions of the group with the governance structures in which it is embedded. Dynamics of conservative self-organisation arise when the actions of the group are constrained (either by internal interactions or external governance structures) and therefore, the tourism governance conditions of the province are maintained. Dissipative self-organisation on the other hand, emerges when the actions of the group are enabled and lead to changes in governance structures of the tourism destination.

7.3.1. CONSERVATIVE SELF-ORGANISATION

7.3.1.1. *The committee is apolitical*

One of the aspects that preserve the planning and governance status quo in the province is the strong position of the members to keep it apolitical. What this means is that sensitive issues are avoided during the meetings, such as political interests, as well as differences between political parties and ideologies among representatives of sectional governments and members in general:

They have changed municipal tourism directors many times. Lucky for us, the new appointees have joined the efforts even when there were political differences between municipal and provincial governments. We have kept things going by overlooking politics. The PTC is an apolitical group and we need to be careful to keep it that way. It doesn't depend on who the authorities are or who the political parties in charge are (SP9).

Sadly, there are people who have tried to put their interests on the agenda. Not their personal interests, I mean their political ones. I don't want to give examples because it's too delicate. [...] Those attitudes weaken us, separate people (PM1).

The name of the committee itself includes the word 'technical' as an attempt to send a clear message that their actions do not have political or proselytic hidden agendas. According to meeting minutes (09.02.2012), in early 2012, one of the high-profile

members proposed changing the name of the organisation from technical committee to management committee, since the vast majority of the representatives were not technicians²⁸ but representatives from different sectors. Other members opposed the idea by arguing that the name emphasises the planning, monitoring and marketing character of the committee's efforts in which the different members work together based on their experience, overcoming their political differences. The apolitical and technical position of the PTC can also be associated to the general understanding of planning efforts as being rational, value-free, and supported on available data, and can be considered a sign of how mainstream and universal planning frameworks have strongly permeated the local planning discourse. In other words, the generalised perception is that if the committee becomes a political space, their efforts would not be planning efforts.

There's no doubt that the issues raised during the meetings are technical (PP3).

We always, always focus on technical issues only, we avoid politics (PM8).

It [the PTC] needs, above all, to be a technical organisation. It needs to be a technical space for mutual coordination and data gathering (AP11).

Members are careful not to align the group with any level of government in order to avoid being associated with any political party. This is a strategy to keep the meetings focused on tourism issues, as well as to facilitate the wider involvement of different sectors and stakeholders who would not be involved if there were a political agenda on the table. Nevertheless, avoiding political issues has prevented the group from dealing with deeper issues such as discussing tourism policy, acknowledging issues of power in decision-making, as well as making a decision about the formalisation of the PTC as a legally recognised group, as will be discussed in the following sections.

²⁸ Technician, in Spanish *técnico* or *técnica*, is a word often used to refer to an expert or a person with expertise in a determinated area of knowledge. In tourism, it is often used as synonym for tourism planner, tourism consultant, or a person with a degree in tourism.

7.3.1.2. *Funding mechanisms, legal status and autonomy*

Funding, legal status, and autonomy are closely intertwined dynamics of conservative self-organisation, which are also linked to the political interests that permeate socio-political interactions. In order to get funding to finance actions of the committee as a whole, they need to be legally recognised. However, responses show a reluctance to be recognised by a public institution since members perceive that an affiliation would reduce their autonomy in decision-making.

There are three different options for legalisation. The first one is that the organisation is created by ordinance within an autonomous government. In this case, the provincial government would be the only one with the jurisdiction to do so. The second option would be to attach the committee to the Tourism Ministry. Articles 38, 39 and 40 of the Tourism Law indicate that the Tourism Ministry can create tourism committees in destinations when considered necessary (Congreso Nacional del Ecuador, 2002). However, the same law states that their functions are to coordinate action according to the competences of their members and cannot carry out tourism planning, policy-making, and regulation or control activities. In these cases the Tourism Ministry should appoint a secretary for the committee that would be in charge of coordinating meetings and the activities of its members, as well as reporting directly to the Ministry.

The third option would be the creation of a *mancomunidad*, by signing an agreement between the three councils and the provincial government. As discussed in chapter 6, both the Constitution (Asamblea Constituyente, 2008: art. 243) and the COOTAD (Asamblea Nacional del Ecuador, 2008: art. 285-288), identify *mancomunidad* as a group of autonomous governments that coordinate their competences with the aim of managing a common resource. However, mancomunidades are not only highly dependent on the will of the main authorities of the governments involved, but and according to the law, they group sectional governments only, leaving out other tourism stakeholders.

Regarding the first option, an ordinance for the creation of the PTC within the provincial government was proposed in a meeting on July 2010 (06.07.2010). The meeting was unsuccessful in reaching an agreement between members and the ordinance was not passed to the provincial council. Some members supported the

idea, while some others raised issues of autonomy and political interests during the interviews:

Well, if you think about it, the PTC is actually doing the job of the provincial government. That's why I think they should at least pay for the secretary, and this should be a permanent job within the provincial government structure (BM3).

We proposed an ordinance to create the PTC within the provincial government... the ordinance proposes it as a coordination and planning space rather than an organism for control and execution. It's proposed as an organism that allows all the actors to work collaboratively (PP1).

When they proposed the provincial government as the main actor... I understood it as a political manoeuvre... I think other people thought the same... because... maybe in their gestures, or maybe because we remained silent... that's how I understood it (AP12).

When we discussed the ordinance [for the creation of the PTC] and we saw that the proposal included attaching the group to the provincial government... I felt that everybody was looking at each other, like people weren't... there was silence... We decided to leave it for another meeting, but we haven't discussed it again. In my point of view, we need to give this a legal status, that's something that must be done and I think we all agree on that. The issue is... the issue is which institution should manage this. I think if we link the group to an institution, politics will intrude... (AP12).

In relation to ascribing the PTC to the MINTUR, PN4 discussed the option of belonging to the Tourism Ministry in positive terms, while PP3 pointed out that it might not be in the Ministry's interests to recognise the organisation:

We need to be legitimised as a coordination organism; I think this should be done through official recognition from the Tourism Ministry which could be the leading governing body (PN4).

If the Tourism Ministry officially recognises the organisation, they would have to finance it. Maybe they are not promoting these committees because of that, or because other provinces would start creating committees and then... that would diminish the resources for the ministry itself... I mean, that wouldn't be convenient for them, right? But they can't oppose it either, because apparently the tourism law supports this (PP3).

On the other hand, PP11 highlighted that the PTC should be financed by private organisations in order to avoid dependency and political interests:

I think we should remain independent, with no single public institution leading our efforts or funding us because politics could affect our actions. Instead, private businesses should be funding and leading our efforts... and public institutions should support the actions of the private sector (PP11).

PP1 went further and identified the figure of a public-private destination management organisation (DMO or OGD in Spanish), which would mean a change of governance structures, since they are not currently contemplated in the Tourism Law:

We've discussed being a destination management organisation. From what I understand, DMOs have a broader action scope. They have aims... an established mission, they can generate and manage their own resources. [...] Only they don't exist in Ecuador yet, the idea hasn't been developed and nobody really knows how they should work.

Reasons to make the PTC a formally recognised organisation are mainly associated to the public sector. One of them is the necessity of formalise public members' attendance to the meetings which, as PM4 indicated, take up working hours. The second one would be to enforce action once a decision is made, in this case, action would be oriented to putting pressure on authorities to be accountable and to assume the tourism competences established in the law. The third reason is to find funding for PTC's activities:

Why should I go to their meetings? Are they a legitimate organisation? No, they aren't. Why should I waste working hours on this? [...] Being legal would give them the authority to demand public actors attend the meetings (PM4).

Right now there's not a signed document where it says for example, that the Salinas municipality is a member of the PTC, and that they always need to send a delegate (SP9).

PTC is clearly a voluntary group [...]. With the legal status, everybody would have to abide by their commitments... there would not be voluntary commitments anymore, they would be related to competences... at least in the case of public members (PG1).

If the organisation were legally created, they could somehow put pressure on the municipal authorities so they spend the income from tourism taxes and their culture funds on these activities. For example, these days each municipality gets funds from the central government to invest in local cultural development, but these are currently spent on popular events (PP4).

During the last year we came up with two proposals to fund our activities. One involves the organisation being attached to the provincial government [...], and the other one is that every institution involved should contribute to paying the secretary and for office equipment and supplies... of course, both options need the group to be formalised (SP9).

Members do not completely agree what the funding is for. While some members indicated that funding would be for a secretary and an office that works as an information and coordination hub, others mentioned that funding would be to finance PTC's own actions as a group, instead of having to rely on authorities and organisations being on board for each one of their initiatives:

If I could solve the issue, I'd establish that all the members with a budget would contribute annually to cover the costs of a secretary or executive director. He would be in charge of coordinating everybody in order to put our decisions into action according to each member's competences, as well as

systematizing and distributing all the information. Of course an office would also be necessary (PP1).

We need a legal figure similar to the mancomunidad because in that way we could manage our own projects and resources. A mancomunidad is a legal organisation that can even apply for international funding! Of course we would need to find way to open it to non-public actors, but I think that's possible (PM8).

The way the group works around the lack of funding and legal status is by including the annual actions of the PTC in the plans of their own public organisations, mainly events and marketing efforts:

We have an operative annual plan and I know which activities and events I have to organise during the year as a representative of the Tourism Ministry. It's not that difficult to coordinate some activities with the PTC because some aims are similar, so instead of doing different activities for the same thing, we can do one coordinated event (PP4).

What we've done is to include in our institutional budgets some actions that we already know we are going to do with PTC. Actions that our own institutions do, but at the same time are coordinated with others, you know what I mean? That's how some activities get done (PP11).

Other members questioned the need to have a legal status, pointing out that voluntary and informal work has worked until now:

Maybe we need to consider that we've been just fine all these years. Maybe the issue with the legal status is not as important as we think. What is important is to find a way to have a paid secretary. The secretary is crucial to turn our decisions into action because we are all busy with our day-to-day activities. [...] We need to be careful to remain free of the political pressures and interests of the authorities... staying out of these issues gives us more legitimacy (BM5).

We should remain autonomous, no matter what (PP3).

We need to find an alternative to remain independent, because we don't want one institution to finance the group. Right now, a lot of people think the provincial government is managing this, but we need to avoid that because it prevents them from attending the meetings. We need to remain independent (AP11).

The accounts above highlight autonomy as an essential condition of the PTC. As Mohan & Stokke (2000) argued in relation to bottom-up participation, formalisation and political integration would constrain efforts for structural change, which is why organisations that seek change must remain autonomous from the political system. In this sense, the PTC is clearly torn between autonomy and legalisation, working simultaneously inside (in the case of competences of each member) and outside (by not being a legalised organisation) existing structural conditions. As one member said:

I understand that the current regulations establish the way these committees should work, as well as funding mechanisms. But the way it's working now [the PTC]... it seems like it's in agreement with the law, but not really. Yes... but no (AP11).

Members have emphasised that their integration with governance structures would undermine their autonomy in making some decisions, as well as their current ability to discuss public inefficiencies. On the other hand, being independent and informal prevents the group from tackling more complex issues such as policy, defining a fixed membership, as well as finding funding sources. These are contradicting dynamics of conservative and dissipative self-organisation both of which are currently present in the actions of the group.

7.3.1.3. Decision-making and decision power

Interactions between members of the PTC imply dialogue, information sharing, negotiation and ultimately, decision-making. Interviewees pointed out that decisions are based on both data and points of view. While not everybody thinks that points of view are the same as hard data for decision-making, they broadly agree on consensus-building through dialogue as the way to reach an agreement:

Decisions are made collectively, through dialogue. And we have emphasised that from the beginning. Nobody can say we've made arbitrary decisions. We analyse the data, or reports if they are available, we also consider points of view... it's not easy, because the idea is that we reach an agreement with the majority on board (PM1).

We need better inputs for decision-making. I mean, not just our points of view but also data, because I think during the meetings... consciously or unconsciously, some issues can be minimised or distorted (AP11).

We never decide on an issue if there's a lot of disagreement. Sometimes we prefer to leave some themes to be discussed again in future meetings (BM5).

The advantage of these meetings is that we encourage brainstorming, and then we decide by choosing the idea that's most feasible. The good thing is that brainstorming is not about the opinions of actors with more prominence; it's about the best ideas (BM3).

While members emphasised that decision-making is horizontal, that all points of view are heard, and that consensus is usually reached, the internal structure of the PTC discussed above, as well as its lack of legal status, could actually lead to conservative self-organisation. Indeed, lack of legitimate representatives from the private sector, the decision to leave out tourism representatives from the communes, and the absence of members at meetings due to voluntary attendance, can lessen the intentions of the group to make decisions in the interest of the provincial tourism system. Some members are aware of these issues:

I think we should improve our decision-making mechanism [...] we should have an extended assembly once in a while to be able to hear more points of view (SP9).

The problem for me is that not everyone attends the meetings. They are invited, but maybe half, or a little more of half of us are actually attending, how can we make decisions this way... I mean whose decisions are these? (AP11)

This works when the people attending have decision power. When they send a delegate, and the delegates say 'I was sent here, but I can't commit to anything', then is when I think, 'you know what? Then don't come... If you can't make any decisions then don't come' (PP5).

On the other hand, decisions made within the group are bound to the competences and power boundaries of its members. Some efforts, however, necessarily exceed these boundaries and require the support of higher-level authorities and stakeholders in the wider tourism system. In these cases, decision-making is constrained by higher-level authorities that have the power to decide and turn the ideas of the PTC into action. Indeed, provincial and municipal tourism directors work within their local governments' structures, meaning that decisions made in the PTC can or cannot be supported by local and provincial authorities:

Our work depends on the ability of the municipal directors to influence the perception of their authorities (BM5).

We need a deeper commitment from higher levels of autonomous government, because the tourism directors seem committed but we need more support from the authorities (PG2).

Members attribute higher-level decisions to support or not the PTC initiatives to political interests, which is consistent to the governance context explored in the previous chapter:

Sometimes authorities support our efforts to increase their own visibility, so this is convenient for them (BM5).

Normally the decisions taken there [in the meetings] influence what we do here [the municipal council] because we are aware that we need to complement each other in tourism issues. The Mayor sometimes has a good predisposition to support these joint efforts.... Well sometimes yes, and sometimes no if I'm very honest... Some decisions have political... repercussions. Sometimes there are issues that are not handled because of... fear of those repercussions (PM8).

My Mayor listens to me and he knows it's important that I go to the meetings, but in [name of another municipality], they have it harder. She goes to her Mayor and he doesn't listen. In [name of a third municipality]? Uff, they even stopped coming to the meetings. Their Mayor doesn't care about tourism.... and there's also the political rivalry so they are not interested in supporting joint efforts. But we remain united because united we are strong and that's the only way we can capture the attention of people above us (PM2).

In summary, decisions within the PTC are made in a horizontal way through dialogue and consensus building. Nevertheless, horizontal decision-making does not necessarily mean that all stakeholders' interests are represented, since the PTC is not a completely open organisation. Additionally, while decisions might be made horizontally, they are ultimately constrained by hierarchical structures of tourism governance. In other words, even when the process is non-linear and oriented to change the future of the tourism system, internal and external structural constraints (hierarchies) could lead to actions that maintain the status quo, such as tourism efforts that respond to political rather than the public interest.

7.3.1.4. Accountability

While transparency and answerability are very low in the public sector within the province, as discussed in the previous chapter, some accountability dynamics have emerged in the PTC which can be identified as internal, between members of the group, and external, reporting to other members in the tourism system. Dynamics of accountability within members of the group emerge from reinforcing interactions embodied in the form of peer pressure as discussed in section 7.2.3, or 'peer accountability' (Papadopoulos, 2007: 480):

We acquire commitments in the meetings and while they are not obligatory, we still ask for results. It's not like because we are not legal, or haven't signed any documents, that we don't have to do what we said we would do. Of course not everybody acts. I think after all this time we already know who collaborates and who doesn't (AP12).

Between members for example, I, as part of the private sector, sometimes confront the public sector... because they have an obligation towards us... and when they are not doing their job, I want to know why. Then there is friction, and I'm always saying that this isn't personal, but I have to ask and say what I think could improve. Yes, there's friction but I think it's healthy. How else will they know our perspectives about their actions (BM9)?



FIGURE 7.1. Representative of one of the municipalities reporting to other members in a meeting, September 2009. Source: Author.

Peer accountability is stronger after bank holidays, when members of the PTC are convened to evaluate their own actions. Emails confirm that meetings were held after each one of the bank holidays between August 2010 and Easter 2011, with a total of five meetings. A further meeting to evaluate the Easter holiday was held in April 2012. In each of these meetings, the evaluation of members' actions was the sole point on the agenda. The minutes of a meeting held after the Carnival holiday of 2011 (meeting minutes 10.03.2011) reveal how each member from the public sector reported their activities during the bank holiday and the issues arising from poor management. After the reports, the meeting focused on how each institution

could improve their performance for the following bank holiday at Easter. In these evaluative meetings (figure 7.1), public sector members usually bring a written report or a PowerPoint presentation, following an unwritten, mutually agreed rule:

From the beginning we required a report of activities, actions and issues from each institution. They would have a written report and even slides to present during the meeting. Some actors such as the Police representative, the Risk Management Secretary and the Port Authority take this very seriously. They always come with some data to present to the other members (SP9).



FIGURE 7.2. Accountability meeting in August 2012. Source: Facebook page of a PTC member.

External accountability on the other hand, has to do with answerability to the wider tourism system and higher levels of government. Meeting minutes suggest that external accountability emerged from interactions between the PTC and the environment. In one of the meetings (meeting minutes 19.07.2011), the secretary of the committee reported that a prominent stakeholder from the private sector requested a report of the activities done by the PTC during their promotional trip to Perú in June 2011, including information regarding Peruvian tour operators and travel agencies. The secretary acknowledged that there was no such report and this

was followed by a discussion between members about elaborating reports and distributing them to stakeholders that might not be members or representatives of any sector. A year later, after the promotional trip to Colombia in August 2012, the committee not only elaborated a report but also convened a press conference open to all tourism stakeholders in the province (figure 7.2). The press conference was aimed at informing tourism stakeholders about their activities during the promotional trip, including results of the business roundtables held with travel agencies and tour operators, and contacts established (meeting minutes 06.08.2012).

To sum up, accountability dynamics within the PTC are related to peer pressure between members in relation to their role as representatives of different tourism sectors, for example when the private sector asks the public sector for reports about their action or inaction regarding tourism issues, as BM9 indicated above. As a consequence, it is important that private sector and CBT members, while not being legitimate representatives, are at least legal tourism businesses. Legality is related to accountability since as long as the informal sector remains indeed informal, as is the case with CBT and some private business, they could be perceived as not having the right to ask for accountability from the public sector as discussed in the previous chapter.

In relation to the PTC as a group, despite some isolated initiatives, like the press conference described above, the accountability of the PTC is mainly bound to the accountability of its public sector members, and to members that represent other stakeholders in the tourism system. Indeed, actions of the public sector members are accountable by law within each public organisation and level of government (Asamblea Nacional del Ecuador, 2010), including actions carried out within the PTC and financed by the public sector. In the case of the private sector, the lack of tourism chambers means that these members might not be accountable at all to other stakeholders in their sectors. In between the two is CBT, represented by the rural parishes governments, and therefore, accountable to their constituents, and the PRODECOS representative that is accountable to some CBT service providers. While there is evidence that the actions of the PTC are internally accountable to other members of the group and externally to other members of the provincial tourism system, there is no evidence that these efforts to answer for their actions are recognised by the members as accountability practices. In other words, there is

no accountability system in place for the PTC as a whole (Papadopoulos, 2007) and the evidence rather indicates that the PTC is, with some exceptions, reproducing the long tradition of poor answerability, liability and control existent in Ecuadorian public organisations and institutions.

7.3.2. DISSIPATIVE SELF-ORGANISATION

7.3.2.1. *Coordinated action and intersectoral cooperation*

Despite being informal, the PTC is an action-oriented organisation rather than a merely information-sharing one. Since the lack of funding prevents the organisation from having a separate executive structure to implement its decisions, the actions of the PTC are again bound to both the agency and structural constraints of each member:

Sometimes we analyse the situation and identify the problems with tourism as well as corrective measures... so we identify problems and solutions... but as a group we can't implement them (BM9).

We don't have the money or the authority to act on some issues, but we can come up with ideas to be implemented by some of the actors according to their jurisdiction (SP9).

In other words, PTC's decisions turn into action through the coordination of individual efforts:

Depending on the decision made, the action falls on the institution with the appropriate jurisdiction. If the decision is provincial and related to tourism, the MINTUR and the provincial government are the ones in charge. If the decision is about security, it's the police. If it's something municipal, it falls into the competences of the municipalities and so on... So we normally all contribute with information and ideas, but the implementation is done by each organisation according to their competences (BM3).

When we want to organise something we identify our needs. We know that the sectional governments are keen to collaborate with printed promotional material. The university can collaborate with volunteers and transport, the

communes and private businesses can provide catering, the Tourism Ministry collaborates with something else... that's basically the way we work. Some members are very proactive, we don't even have to ask but they already know what can they contribute. Things can be organised very quickly through the committee, I mean much quicker than when an organisation tries to organise an action by themselves (SP9).

Right now we are organising the promotional trip to Perú. So Salinas [the delegate from the municipality] is in charge of finding hotels, I'm in charge of the folk dance group that will accompany us, others are in charge of finding the bus and so on. [...] We're all putting our shoulder to the wheel (PP3).

With relation to marketing actions, the PTC has focused on two broad areas. One is the organisation of events and press trips to promote specific products, with special attention to events that could tackle seasonality. Examples are the press trips organised before the Holy Week of 2010 and 2011 with the support of the Provincial Government²⁹ to promote the 'Route of the 7 Churches'. The aim was to encourage religious tourism to the province by inviting the press to write about the traditional one-day pilgrimage that runs across the three municipalities, and which usually coincides with the end of the coastal school vacation period and the end of the province's high season. Other efforts include welcoming events for the coastal season and for the humpback whale-watching season:

The PTC should focus on promoting tourism products that include the three municipalities... routes are a good idea, like the route of the 7 churches for example, that's something the PTC worked on already with good results (PP4).

I think we're looking to position some events that mark different seasons and repeat them every year, such as the launch of the whale watching season, or the welcoming events at the beginning of the coastal season... we also do something for Holy Week... I think the idea is for these events to become a tradition (PP11).

²⁹ santaelena.gob.ec. Accessed 09.01.2013; explored.com.ec. Accessed 09.01.2013, and ppelverdadero.com.ec. Accessed 18.02.2013.

The second area of marketing actions is the organisation of promotional trips to find alternative markets for the destination. In these trips, the province is promoted directly to travel agencies, tour operators and citizens through tourism fairs organised in selected cities and towns. Once the cities are selected, the PTC opens the call to tourism stakeholders to participate. Typically individual businesses pay for their accommodation while the public sector contributes with transportation and promotional material (meeting minutes 02.05.2011). So far the PTC has organised three promotional trips, one to the Centre and Southern highlands of Ecuador in 2010, one to the north of Peru in 2011, and one to the south of Colombia in 2012. The destinations were selected in accordance with the Provincial Tourism Marketing Plan (PP1), which identified them as the three main potential markets for the province (Garcés, 2006). Since the interviews were carried out in early 2011, they only covered the first promotional trip, which was a success according to some members of the PTC:

Our first marketing effort had the support of a group of people for the private sector and the public sector. We coordinated with the provincial governments of the south and centre of the country to visit them for five days and promote our province (PP1).

I wasn't working in the Ministry yet when they organised the promotional trip to the highlands, but I've heard that the businesses that participated were very pleased with the organisation because they really had the opportunity to present their products. Now the idea is more ambitious. This year we're going to the north of Peru because that's another potential market (PP3).

Nevertheless, promotional trips have not been free of controversy. Some members suggested that these are organised so PTC members can travel to other places themselves. Their feeling is that promotional efforts should either be geared to bringing visitors to the destination, or to solving urgent matters within the supply side of the destination:

Those promotional trips don't work; they are a waste of money. [...] Instead of travelling, they should have invested that money in a festival or a big event to make people come here (PM4).

Some initiatives, especially the promotional ones, are more to show off... they are more oriented to the interests of those involved. Where is the deep work? What we need to do is some research to understand what is going on within the province (AP11).

Also, PG2 recalled how members of the wider tourism system could be critical about making such an effort to promote the whole province, especially when not all stakeholders get involved:

During the preparation meetings [for one of the promotional trips], a business owner started to ask why the itinerary was so busy and who was going, and why the rest weren't going. Then he told me that on the provincial tourism maps we were going to distribute, we should only include the businesses that were going on the tour. 'Why should we promote everyone if we're the only ones making an effort?' – he told me. I told him that this was open to everybody and it was about promoting tourism in the whole province. But I do understand, a few of us are making an effort that will benefit all of us (PG2).

Lack of data for planning and decision-making is another structural condition that has been addressed by the PTC. At least two initiatives for tourism data collection have been coordinated through PTC meetings. Nevertheless, these appear to be one-off initiatives, without evidence of future actions oriented to maintain a continuous data collection system:

This year [high season 2011] we [the local university] are monitoring the beaches with the support of other members of the PTC and the provincial government. We are measuring carrying capacity and local management through a bilateral agreement. The provincial government covers the costs and we're in charge of the human resources and technical issues.

Last year [2010] we coordinated efforts between the Tourism Ministry, the university and some other members of the committee in order to apply a survey to collect data during the 4-day November bank holiday. Our survey together with the data collected by the transit police at the toll, helped us in

having reliable data about the number of visitors, hotel occupancy and tourist spending (SP9).

The other area of PTC action is monitoring public efforts in tourism. This is closely associated with two structural conditions discussed in the previous chapter: the new rules of citizen participation that encourage the monitoring of public affairs, and the lack of interest among local authorities in taking on the tourism municipal competences as established in the decentralisation processes.

One of PTC's roles is to put pressure on the municipalities to do their job in relation to tourism. There are very specific issues that are the competence of the municipalities such as garbage-collection services, beach-use planning, health and security... That's the kind of pressure we put on authorities (BM5).

When we identify an issue, something that an authority has neglected and affects tourism, we go to the radio, we send emails to tourism stakeholders, so everybody knows... so it permeates the community. Mayors don't work against community interests; they prefer to work in accordance to what the majority wants... They have no choice than to attend tourism needs... And let me tell you, we need to do these things because mayors usually don't listen to their tourism directors... they don't take tourism seriously, but if their constituents are complaining, if there's pressure... do you see what we can do? (BM3)

We put pressure on issues that are contemplated in the law, that are established as competences of the sectional governments. We cannot put pressure on issues that aren't in the law... that means that we need to understand the law and the new government's competences in the first place (PP5).

We need to break with some patterns... We, as citizens, we can also do something, we need to apply pressure. Things are no longer like they used to be, when we had to beg our authorities to do their job (PG1).

While the interviewees' accounts focus mainly on monitoring actions of the municipal governments, minutes show that during one of the meetings (20.04.2012),

tourism business representatives raised an issue related to the new inspection system of the Tourism Ministry, pointing out that the inspection company is asking for facilities and amenities that are not established in the current national regulation for accommodation services. Since other members agreed, one of the decisions made during the meeting was that the PTC would write a letter to the Tourism Ministry to expose the situation and the stakeholders' concerns.

It is in these cases that the PTC truly acts as a unified organisation in which the whole is more than the sum of its parts, since the government officials that are part of the group, are also members of the organisation that receives the pressure. The PTC thus, becomes a pressure group where medium-level public officials join together with other sectors to put pressure on higher-level authorities. Also, as discussed in a previous section, pressure is applied internally to other members of the group, or as BM3 pointed out, to other stakeholders in the wider tourism system:

We are a kind of... observers? In the PTC we agree on responsibilities to organise activities. It's very interesting when we meet again and they ask, "So what did you do about that?" You have to have guts to stand up there and explain what you did and didn't do... and why. That goes for the communes as well. We made agreements here about carrying capacity for last high season, and Montañita didn't apply them. So we used the press and the radio to apply social pressure... and now you can see that they're organising themselves. Sometimes we do the same with the mayors, and they get into line because of the pressure and because they don't want to lose the support of the community (BM3).

Pressure goes in every direction, that is, between members of the group, from the group to higher-level authorities or to other stakeholders in the tourism system, and as previously discussed, pressure also comes from other stakeholders in the tourism system that demand answerability from the PTC.

Monitoring actions of the PTC can be understood as a response to the lack of accountability in public efforts, as well as the lack of monitoring mechanisms for plan and policy implementation. Additionally, the group becomes the only space for coordination of efforts and joint action between the different tourism stakeholders in the destination, opening the possibility to tackle governance issues such as poor

intersectoral cooperation, duplication of tourism initiatives, top-down tourism policy and tokenism. While some initiatives like policy-making or formal plan implementation are less likely to be effected by the group because of political issues and the legal status of the PTC, there are other initiatives that can be coordinated more easily. These are marketing efforts, data collection, the monitoring of authorities' performance in tourism, as well as some fragmented, and informal planning efforts. The latter will be discussed in a following section.

7.3.2.2. Planning

Regarding planning actions, interviews and documents evidence that the PTC is torn between short-term efforts and long-term planning. None of them, short or long-term initiatives are discarded. Yet the evidence suggests that interactions within the PTC are useful to coordinate efforts for urgent matters and contingencies:

When we identify an issue with tourism, we immediately call the secretary so the issue can be discussed in the following meeting (PM7).

Well... I think we act more on immediate problems... but we also discuss and think about long-term issues (PM1).

A clear indication of short-terminism is, as one of the municipal tourism directors pointed out, that their meetings are more frequent before the coastal season, and then again in May, just before the highland season where individual efforts are put on the table and coordinated when possible:

For example, when they [the provincial government] convene the meeting to organise the 'plan de temporada', we are already ready for it. We agreed on a strategy among us and what the governor does is merely ratify what we've done... Sometimes an organisation that isn't a member of the PTC contributes with something else, but the main part is already done (PM8).

Similarly, meetings are also held at the end of the high season and after bank holidays to mutually evaluate efforts as discussed in section 7.3.2.4, but also to plan for the following season:

When we meet, it's usually to plan events, either when a season's just finished, like this one, which is going to finish soon. We evaluate tourism

benefits and the main problems and issues that arose during the season that just ended, and then we plan our next actions and marketing efforts. (PM2)

We know what we need to do each year, and that's planning. We know that we meet in November before the high season starts, to elaborate the 'plan de temporada', [...] we know we have meetings to evaluate the main bank holidays in Carnival, Easter and November... in June, there's the opening event for the whale-watching season, also the start of the highland's holiday period, and so on... we plan to coordinate immediate actions. But there's another kind of planning, a technical planning, to sort out some problems of the province that are deep... and some members think we should do more of that. I think the same way, actually (SP9).

Evaluative meetings after bank holidays contrast heavily from traditional prescriptive and normative planning approaches in which the future is decided according to technical and rational analysis. Indeed, far from being an antithesis of planning, they represent an effort to jointly construct descriptive and explanatory knowledge about the situation in order to correct the course of action. Evaluative meetings focus heavily on feedback and resemble monitoring mechanisms of cybernetic planning efforts (chapter 2), with the profound difference that the evaluation of outcomes is based on mutual dialogue, rather than on targets and specific tourism indicators. Short-term planning can be also associated with the difficulty in implementing rigid and long-term formal plans due to shifting structural conditions, including changing public officers and political interests. Nevertheless, some members indicated that formal plans are also used as a guide for their efforts:

Our provincial marketing plan says that our tourist source markets are the United States, Colombia and Perú. It recommends working with the neighbour countries first through fairs, promotional trips, fairs and events to position our products. That's why the actions of the PTC have been focused on getting that market, that's what we're doing now (PP1).

Yes, we follow some guidelines from the plans, especially from the provincial marketing plan (BM5).

The plans are already there, what we do is to say, well, which strategies can we realistically apply? Who can do what? (AP12).

Interviews and minutes show that the plans adopted are considered technical guides that do not depend on the authorities or political affiliations behind plan elaboration. Actually, plans and laws are perceived as positive guidelines that provide legitimacy to their own efforts. In April 2012 for example, a meeting was convened to evaluate existing plans to use as guides for action (meeting minutes 02.04.2012) where participants agreed to focus on the provincial tourism-marketing plan. Arguments for it included that it involves specific but flexible promotional efforts that are easier to translate to the current circumstances, and marketing efforts are more likely to receive support from different sectors. Members also agreed to revisit other plans to look for initiatives that could still be valid and implemented by the group. Wider plans, such as the PDOT, which is the broad development plan for the province, as well as the PLANDETUR, which provides national guidelines for tourism policy, have also been considered:

I think the PTC should adopt the PDOT when is ready, because it provides a new framework to develop tourism in coordination with other economic activities in the province. [...] We should adopt it because it'll provide guidance (PN4).

We take the PLANDETUR as a guide that shows us how we should be working in tourism, because it gives us broad policies (PM2).

The interviews show that formal plans are useful to provide guidance, but as one member mentioned, 'they are not our Bible, either' (BM5). The dynamic interplay of different structural conditions, such as the inflexibility of plans, the lack of interest of public authorities in tourism, changing socio-political actors, lack of funds, and the informality of the PTC, make full plan implementation not only impossible, but also undesirable since formal plans, as discussed in the previous chapters, do not deal with contingencies, nor take into account the diversity in points of view and interests of different stakeholders. In sum, planning within the PTC is manifested through identification of emerging issues in the tourism system, horizontal decision-making, inclusion of action within formal planning and governance structures, and mutual evaluation of efforts.

7.3.2.3. Dialogue, mutual learning – information sharing

An emergent pattern within the PTC is horizontal dialogue between sectors and between different levels of government. Dialogue in terms of 'seeking mutual understanding' (Innes & Booher, 2009: 119) is a dissipative dynamic because it facilitates information sharing, reflexivity and knowledge-building among members, who constantly change attitudes and their own understandings through reinforcing and inhibiting interactions. Members of the PTC are frequently engaged in negotiation regarding their points of view and are encouraged to answer for their actions, stimulating mutual review and deliberation. Since participation is voluntary and meetings have informal peer pressure dynamics, members do not need to conceal their own values, interests and disagreements (Innes & Booher, 2003):

There are times when everybody has a different opinion, even contradictory ones... but dialogue always allow us to make a decision (AP12).

Sometimes we say very direct things to each other... there is criticism of the action or lack of action of some institutions... so we need to keep it constructive... there are a couple of people who usually lighten the mood with the occasional joke... and also, I don't even know if this is worth mentioning, but we try to have a coffee break in each meeting... coffee breaks are very good to lighten the mood, and after them we can return to the issues with a different attitude (SP9).

Dialogue, however, takes time. While some members are aware that communication, information sharing, and time are needed for building consensus, others find the process tedious and wasteful:

Everybody's opinion is valid. If somebody comes up with an idea either for the group or for their area of action, the rest offers their opinion. Usually some support the idea and others don't... but always giving reasons. We do listen to each other (PP4).

Some issues cannot be solved immediately... they take time. Decisions are made through consensus and that means that some issues need to be discussed in several meetings (PP1).

We [a group of hotel owners] don't go to the meetings because they take too much time, they allow everybody their opinion and I think that if you do that, you dilute action and dilute the opinions of people who know more (BM10).

According to members, knowledge is not only shared, but also built when the group develops a mutual understanding about policy issues (PP7). Additionally, this new knowledge is transmitted to new members who might arrive in their posts with poor institutional capacity (Healey, 1998):

The committee has experience that has been accumulating all these years... it's this experience that's passed on to the new members (PP11).

We share our technical criteria, from our own field of action. We share the information we have... and the experience of each one of the actors is transmitted and somehow collected by the group (PP7).

This is what happens... When somebody new becomes a member of the PTC, that person's going to get the knowledge of the group. Sometimes new public tourism officials have no knowledge at all about tourism... Do you see what I mean? That's why the committee is so important (BM3).

Information is also shared to the tourism system and the environment, with the advantage of having a unified discourse among the members of the PTC:

After each event we organise, we immediately have the press calling us, asking for results. Even after some meetings... for example in the last meeting we discussed the Carnival bank holiday... since we shared the information during the meeting, we all knew about fatalities, tourist expense, hotel occupancy... you see? We keep a unified discourse; we avoid speculation... because it happened before that the numbers are distorted on purpose. That's not good for tourism and makes us look like we're not organised, that we're not prepared to manage tourism (SP9).

For some members, the participation of the parish representatives is important to include bottom-up information from the communes, for example. However, members

are also aware that the exchange of information should improve between the PTC and the wider tourism system:

Now the parish governments are involved, and they come with new information, they come with information from the communes... It's like a chain of information heard in the meetings and that can facilitate coordinated action (PP7).

We should share our information through technology because we're this group of people but we don't know everything that's going in our province. We should be using the Internet in order to reach more people, get other perspectives and share the information. If we could exchange information more quickly and to more actors, I think the action of the PTC would improve (BM3).

I think it should be about networks. With the existing technology we should be able to communicate faster. I know Internet connectivity is slow in the communes but that's improving with this government and we could take advantage of that to include more people. Mobile phones are helping already to keep us communicated (PP1).

A member of one of the communal tourism committees complained about the lack of information they have since the PTC decided to convene the parish governments only, leaving communes outside the group, pointing out that information does not always reach them:

Before they would invite us... and we used to go to the meetings where they presented slides or videos of the things they were doing, so we were informed... but now... they're not inviting us anymore, and we don't know what's going on (SC6).

As in the case of accountability, while there are efforts to collect and distribute information from and to non-members, these are isolated, with no procedures put in place to make information exchange a priority. As a result, the communication between the PTC and the wider tourism system is far from optimal. Indeed, the

interviews show that the PTC is sharing information and building shared knowledge among members, which indicates a transition from linear, one-way, rational planning efforts, to non-linear, interactive ones. These efforts, however, are currently centred on PTC members only, constraining the transformational opportunities of information exchange to a closed group.

7.3.2.4. Legitimacy and recognition from the wider system

While the PTC is informal, it holds legitimacy as a provincial tourism organisation. Since the PTC does not undertake control, regulation, or policy-making activities, legitimacy is understood as the support and recognition of its actions by other stakeholders in the tourism system, and by higher levels of governance (Cashore, 2002).

ACTIVITIES	No	Yes	N/r	Total
Own tourism business	112 70.4%	43 27.0%	4 2.5%	159 100.0%
CBT business	21 51.2%	19 46.3%	1 2.4%	41 100.0%
University lecturer	0 0.0%	3 100.0%	0 0.0%	3 100.0%
Informal vendor	1 100.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 100.0%
Non-profit organisation employee	4 66.7%	2 33.3%	0 0.0%	6 100.0%
Private sector employee	41 63.1%	24 36.9%	0 0.0%	65 100.0%
Public sector employee	7 46.7%	7 46.7%	1 6.7%	15 100.0%
Other	10 62.5%	6 37.5%	0 0.0%	16 100.0%
Total	196 64.1%	104 34.0%	6 2.0%	306 100.0%

TABLE 7.1. Recognition of the PTC by different stakeholders in the tourism system. Source: author.

Recognition from the tourism system, however, is limited and the majority of stakeholders surveyed have not heard about the PTC. Indeed, the survey showed that only 34,9% of the stakeholders surveyed has heard about the organisation (table 7.1), with the higher recognition within the academic (100%), CBT (46.3%), and public (46.7%) stakeholders.

The recognition from higher-level authorities is also limited, since the informality of the PTC constitutes a constraint for joint efforts and public support. SP9 and PP1 explained how their lack of legal status is compensated by credibility and the orientation of their actions towards the public interest:

Since we haven't solved the problem of legalisation, we're working... let's say, informally. Nevertheless, we're recognised by the Tourism Ministry and the local authorities as an organisation that works towards the tourism development of the province. We're recognised because of all the work we've done so far, because of our results (SP9).

Our successful actions give us credibility... the credibility of the committee is important, is something we need to maintain, because when tourism officers change, we need the new ones to join and support this initiative, independently of changes in authorities, independently of political interests. That's why we always work for the public interest (PP1).

A good example of how higher levels of government respond to PTC's efforts is the Tourism Ministry. One of the medium-level officials of the MINTUR's provincial office pointed out:

The subsecretary has told me to attend the meetings. I don't know what she thinks about it really, but it seems she sees it as necessary... after all, it's a space in which all the tourism directors and key actors meet (PP3).

According to SP9, recognition from the Tourism Ministry depends on the point of view of the regional subsecretary in office. For that reason, the group has requested meetings with the last two regional regional subsecretaries, both of them aimed at explaining what the PTC is, as well as asking for support for their activities (meeting minutes 29.08.2010 and 18.02.2011)

We had access to the previous Subsecretary; she would come and meet with us to agree on actions for the province. But she's been removed and we don't know if the new one is going to recognise our efforts [he laughs], it's the same story again and again (SP9).

The position of the Tourism Ministry is ambiguous in relation to the recognition of the PTC. On December 2010 for example, the MINTUR organised a news conference and published a press release in their official website indicating that the MINTUR and the PTC worked together in the *plan de temporada* for 2011 and that the destination was ready to receive the high season visitors. Later, in February 2011, in a meeting with the regional subsecretary of the Tourism Ministry, the subsecretary pointed out that in order to get the official support from the Tourism Ministry they needed to legalise the committee. However, she also encouraged the group 'to maintain the activities oriented to strengthening tourism in the Province' (meeting minutes 18.02.2011).

By May of the same year, the Tourism Ministry contributed financially towards the promotional trip to Peru organised by the PTC (meeting minutes of 02.05.2011). The Tourism Ministry also provided funds for the trip to Colombia (email communication 26.06.2012) and provided four training workshops in tourism marketing for the stakeholders going on the promotional trip (email communication 21.06.2012). Other public institutions that contributed financially to the promotional trip to Colombia were the Provincial Government, the Ministry of Productivity and Social Inclusion, the Ministry of Culture, and to a lesser extent (just covering costs of sending delegates) the local governments of Salinas and Santa Elena, as well as the parish governments of Manglaralto, Ancón and Colonche (email communications 25.07.2012, 08.08.2012 and meeting minutes 26.06.2012). The financial support provided by public institutions to PTC's initiatives, indicate recognition of the work done so far by the organisation, and an understanding that the initiatives are for the common good, instead of responding to private interests.

In short, PTC is being legitimised by the public sector in two ways, by the membership of public sector representatives and by the recognition and financial support of the actions of the self-organised group. Legitimation by the wider tourism system however, is more blurred.

7.4. EMERGENT PATTERNS OF TOURISM GOVERNANCE IN SANTA ELENA

The previous sections exposed how the self-organised planning subsystem with its flexible rules, membership and contents, emerged from mutually influencing socio-

political interactions between key stakeholders in the tourism system that have both an actor and a structure-related component. Then, the conservative and dissipative dynamics of self-organisation of the planning subsystem, which are related to interactions between members, as well as the interactions of the group with the governance structures in which it is embedded, were presented.

This section focuses on summarising the emergent properties of the self-organised subsystem. Emergent properties of a system are the kind of properties that when described are criticised for reification (e.g. the role of the PTC), and cannot be reduced to its member's intentions, perspectives, roles and interactions. The complex realist position is that system properties, including socially constructed ones, are real because they have identifiable effects, and can be understood in their own right (chapters 3 and 5). The identification of emergent properties of the planning subsystem are necessary to understand firstly, why the planning dynamics of the PTC can be understood as non-linear, and secondly, the effects of non-linear planning actions and interactions for the wider tourism system and the socio-political context. The closely interrelated concepts of non-aggregativity, interdependence and distributedness discussed in section 3.5.2 (Cilliers, 1998; Sawyer, 2001) will be used to identify and further understand some emergent properties in the PTC.

7.4.1. THE PTC AS A SELF-ORGANISED AND NON-LINEAR PLANNING SUBSYSTEM

The PTC has been understood as an actor-led, non-linear, and *self-organised planning subsystem*. The characteristics of such planning subsystem are identified below in contrast to the linear approaches used for tourism planning in the Santa Elena province (table 6.6). These include who the leading institution is, policy area, planning approach, public participation and transparency, decision-making, implementation, monitoring and an additional characteristic in relation to the previous chapter: rules.

- LEADING INSTITUTION. Section 7.2.1.1 showed how the emergence of the group was related to voluntary interaction between key socio-political actors regardless of the institutions they were working for. Furthermore, members showed an interest in keeping the PTC detached from the politics that would arise if the PTC were to be 'adopted' by a particular institution. Members

perceive their own efforts as led by multiple actors. The actor-led, self-organised planning efforts of the group are *distributed* among its members. *Distributedness* means that while some members are perceived to have more agency (leadership) or power than others, their efforts are collective, that is, they cannot be identified or located in any of its members. The property of distributedness is what allows the group to put pressure on their own members, stakeholders in the wider system, and higher-level authorities without the fear of retaliation.

- POLICY AREA. The policy areas in which the group works are blurred, in constant negotiation, and depend on what are perceived as the main tourism issues at any given time. However, their main actions have been focused on tackling seasonality, extending the stay of visitors, as well as promoting coordinated tourism products and a unified image through marketing actions. Other areas include data collection for decision-making, as well as coordinating and monitoring public efforts in tourism, mainly during the high season and bank holidays.
- PLANNING APPROACH. The PTC has adopted a non-linear planning approach focused on discussing issues and bringing different points of view to the table. Points of view are continuously taken into account, disregarded, and modified through reinforcing and inhibiting interactions, giving rise to an emergent, co-constructed understanding of policy issues that is shared by the members. In the case of the PTC, their planning approach is focused on contingent issues, short-term goals, and immediate action. However, linear, institutional and long-term plans are also taken into account to complement their point of view and to give technical rationality and legitimacy to their efforts.
- STAGES OPEN TO PARTICIPATION. Within the PTC, the formulation of the policy problem, discussion of alternatives, decision-making, implementation and monitoring are all transparent and open to participation of members, although not necessarily to the wider tourism system.
- DECISION-MAKING. Decision-making is horizontal, based on dialogue, and

negotiation among the members of the PTC, contrasting with linear planning in which decision-making is rational and often top-down. In other words, decision-making is based on reinforcing and inhibiting feedback between socio-political actors, and on the *interdependencies* members maintain between them, which encourage them to listen to different points of view. Once a decision is made, it becomes *distributed*, that is, the decision is not identifiable as the choice of a single member, but a collective one. In the same sense as open participation, horizontal decision-making is restricted to members. Since not all of the stakeholders in the tourism system are represented (NGOs, informal actors), the group could potentially make decisions that are not in the interest of all the sectors in the wider tourism system.

- IMPLEMENTATION. Implementation in the PTC relies on coordinated action. Within the PTC, members are highly *interdependent* in terms of information, knowledge, resources and power in order to put their decisions into practice. Coordinated action depends on the voluntary action, interests, and perceptions of each member, together with the roles, competences and representativeness each member has in relation to the wider tourism system. Implementation is bound to the competences of members, e.g. the group cannot work on regional or national tourism jurisdictions, or create new tourism regulations, since these are not the responsibility of any of its members. In other words, implementation and coordinated action depend on both, the agency, and the structural enablings and constraints of each member.

- MONITORING MECHANISM. Monitoring in the PTC is a constant practice and is what allows the group to deal with contingent issues in the tourism system. As discussed above, evaluative meetings after the high season and bank holidays consist of the shared construction of descriptive and explanatory knowledge about the situation in order to amend the course of action. It contrasts with linear efforts in that it is based on interaction and peer pressure rather than on specific indicators.

- RULES. Norms and codes of conduct, rather than coming from top-down

frameworks, are agreed among members through interaction. These include rules for membership, internal structure, norms for attendance and participation during the meetings, and follow-up mechanisms. The scope and boundaries for their own actions can also be understood as agreed rules between members of the group that are open to discussion and therefore, fluid and in constant change.

As discussed above, tourism planning within the PTC is manifest in the identification of emerging issues or problems in the tourism system, the discussion of alternatives for action during the meetings, the inclusion of agreed courses of action within the formal planning and governance structures that constrain and enable the action of each member, and the mutual evaluation of efforts. In consequence, it might be difficult to argue that their efforts are planning efforts at all, since many of the actions of the PTC are reactive and short-term focused. Yet it might be even more difficult to argue that their initiatives are *not* planning, since their ultimate aim is to change the future through the construction of shared understandings about policy issues, as well as through immediate joint action. Non-linear planning within the PTC becomes the socio-political space in which agency meets tourism governance structures, which are embodied in members' roles, institutional rules and practices, and linear planning approaches. It becomes the dynamic space in which top-down, technocratic, state-led meets bottom-up, multi-sector led and action-oriented decision-making about the future.

Furthermore, I argue that the main emergent property of the PTC is tourism governance itself. Governance is related to non-aggregativity, interdependence, and distributedness and cannot be located in any individual member, or any individual action. Indeed, this chapter and the previous one have demonstrated that no single socio-political actor in the tourism system can, or is, steering the destination. The PTC as a diverse group of socio-political actors from different sectors and organisational levels, beyond non-linear planning efforts, holds destination governance capabilities that will be discussed in greater depth in the next section.

7.4.2. BETWEEN SELF-GOVERNANCE AND HIERARCHICAL GOVERNANCE

In order to understand how the non-linear dynamics of the planning subsystem have

repercussions in the tourism governance conditions of the destination, the emergent properties of the group need to be understood in terms of their effects. In other words, the PTC influences not only the interactions of its own members, but also socio-political interactions and actions of stakeholders in the tourism system, and in higher-level systems, such as institutions of government.

As discussed in chapter 4, Kooiman (2003) identifies the emergent socio-political structures that arise from stakeholder's interactions as self-governance, co-governance or hierarchical governance. I argue that the PTC is a form of tourism self-governance that emerged as an alternative to both co-governance and hierarchical governance. Indeed, by placing decision-making in a horizontal space for dialogue, the PTC challenges the *hierarchical* governance practices that take place in the different levels of government where tourism policies and plans are made using a top-down approach, and where public participation is merely used to collect information, notify and gain support for decisions made within institutional structures and behind closed doors. The PTC also emerged as an alternative to previous *co-governance* initiatives, the municipal tourism assemblies and the *mancomunidad*, in which formal mechanisms for joint decision-making required the formal appointment of democratically elected authorities as the main actors of the organisation.

The way in which the PTC influences the tourism system and its socio political context is discussed in terms of direction of tourism efforts, legitimacy, power, accountability, and democracy.

- DIRECTION. The PTC emerged from a bottom-up initiative mainly led by medium-level public officials that took hold because of shared perceptions about improving the future of the tourism system. Their actions go in every direction, since they are oriented to influence practices among diverse members, stakeholders in the wider tourism system and in higher-level authorities, transforming the channels of communication between socio-political actors in the province.
- LEGITIMACY. The PTC relies on informal and voluntary verbal agreements among members and between members and the institutions they represent,

even in the case of public actors. Representativeness can be informal, as in the case of private businesses that are represented by key actors in the absence of official ones. Since the group itself lacks legal status, their actions complement, rather than replace the responsibility and tourism competences of each actor. Despite being informal, the PTC is legitimised when groups of actors in the wider tourism system send representatives to the meetings and when higher-level authorities ratify, recognise or fund their efforts.

- COLLECTIVE POWER. One of the main emergent properties of the PTC is collective or *network* power (Booher & Innes, 2002; Innes & Booher, 2010) which is embodied in coordinated action, shared knowledge and social pressure. Coordinated action, as discussed above, is related to the interests and perceptions, as well as roles and competences, of members, which are aligned through interaction. Coordinated action transforms the governance conditions of the province in relation to lack of ties between different sectors and duplication of efforts. In relation to knowledge, members contribute with their own information, experience and points of view, giving rise to emergent, co-constructed understandings. The shared knowledge not only empowers members as socio-political actors (Innes & Booher, 2010), but is also transmitted to new actors in the PTC, such as new tourism officials, potentially tackling the long tradition of discontinuity of tourism efforts in the province. Power is also embodied in social pressure and monitoring practices that have effects on the actions of members, other groups in the tourism system, as well as on higher-level authorities in the province.
- ACCOUNTABILITY. While power and knowledge are more than the aggregate characteristics of each individual member, accountability remains an aggregate result of the competences and roles of the members of the PTC. While there is internal accountability among members through peer pressure and continuous monitoring, and there have been efforts to communicate and answer for actions to the wider tourism system, there are not accountability mechanisms for the group as a whole, which potentially maintains the conditions of poor answerability in the tourism system.

- DEMOCRACY AND PARTICIPATION. The PTC is maintaining the exclusion of informal tourism stakeholders, some CTB actors, and NGOs (Dredge & Jenkins, 2011). However, it has been able to include representatives from different geographical locations, as well as rural parish and business representatives in decision-making processes, even when parish actors are emergent and the private sector is not organised in tourism chambers. The PTC is also changing the prominent participation of accommodation business by actively seeking out representatives of other services such as catering and tour operators. Additionally, participation is open at each and every stage of the decision-making process, broadening participation from merely consultation to joint action and monitoring. Democracy in the PTC is related to the emergent space for the socio-political equality of the different tourism sectors in which horizontal dialogue, mutual learning, and knowledge building is encouraged through voluntary participation. This deliberative democracy (Innes & Booher, 2003) complements rather than replaces representative democracy anchored in elected politicians.

The self-organised group is currently the only space in the province in which different tourism sectors interact and steer the tourism destination in a joint manner. These are, however, not the only steering efforts. Any kind of tourism intervention made by the provincial office of the Tourism Ministry, the Provincial Government, or even by the municipalities and parish governments are also forms of steering the destination, with the difference that these are more likely to be top-down decisions characteristic of hierarchical modes of governance. Hierarchical tourism governance has not disappeared in the Santa Elena province, and is not likely to disappear in the near future. In consequence, both self- and hierarchical governance coexist in the tourism destination.

While the instruments for hierarchical governance are top-down interventions, rule making and control, the instruments of self-governance of the PTC are bottom-up interferences. Interferences are voluntary, spontaneous and fluid socio-political interactions in which the main purposes are coordinated action, information exchange, knowledge building and mutual learning (Kooiman, 2003). According to Kooiman (2003), when interferences get socio-political attention, they can have effects over the structural conditions in which they are embedded. In the case of the

PTC, the group influences public policy through letters, press releases, direct feedback to public sector officials during the meetings, and other forms of information sharing and social pressure. Additionally, decisions made within the group are legitimated by public sector agencies through press releases in official websites, human resources, training, and funding. In conclusion, while the PTC does not participate directly in the elaboration of public policy, nor is public policy made directly within the group, their decisions and actions turn into public policy as soon as they are legitimised by public sector agencies, even when these processes are not expressively led by the government (Hall, 2008).

The PTC itself is a changing subsystem that is seeking to legalise its activities, define internal organisational arrangements, and formalise its own rules, in which case, the PTC would become a formalised form of co-governance (Kooiman, 2003). As such, the PTC embodies the need to steer the provincial tourism system through horizontal, coordinated action grounded in bottom-up efforts that complement the many top-down tourism policies and interventions that have taken place in the destination. As PP1 argued:

This is a self-convening exercise. This is the space where we meet and face the problems of the province related to the tourism sector. We have problems with funding, with the change of authorities and with political interests. We have gone through crises. But I don't think this is going to disappear. We agree on things here, and we plan, and then we act. But as I told you, this doesn't belong to any institution. No institution is convening this. We all get together (PP1).

7.5. CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter interpreted interviews and meeting minutes in order to explore the dynamics of self-organisation taking place within the PTC. Both interviews and meeting minutes were understood as meaningful accounts of an event, in this case, self-organisation, in which socio-political actors provide their intentions and reasons, as well as their understanding of practices and dynamics that characterise self-organised planning. Intentional accounts are more prominent in the first part of the chapter that focuses specifically on actors' interactions. Then, in the second part of

the chapter, the dynamics of self-organisation are explored by contextualising actors' accounts within the structural governance conditions discussed in the previous chapter, that is, the structural conditions that enable and constrain self-organisation. Finally, the third part of the chapter focuses on my interpretation of the emergent non-linear planning practices and self-governance structures that arise from conservative and dissipative dynamics of self-organisation, by contextualising the event within the literature discussed in chapters 2, 3 and 4.

The PTC emerged within unstable structural conditions of tourism governance in the Santa Elena province. At the same time, the structural changes in Ecuador, in which public participation in policy-making becomes a social practice and a right, together with public participation in formal tourism planning, previous governance efforts in the province, and a predisposition to work collaboratively, are all interrelated conditions that allowed the emergence of the PTC. In other words, self-organised planning emerges from joint agency to act upon and within tourism governance structures.

The interplay between members of the group, and that of the group as a whole with structural conditions, gives rise to the group itself, and then to dynamic patterns of conservative and dissipative self-organisation. Conservative and dissipative self-organisation are themselves intertwined. Conservative self-organisation is related to the concerns of the group to avoid the political nature of socio-political interactions and keep a technical rationality for their decisions. Dynamics of reproduction of the tourism system are also manifest in poor accountability and information sharing practices in relation with non-members; with the interest to legalise the group by adscribing their actions to a public tourism organisation; and in some practices of exclusion, for example, by not directly inviting informal stakeholders, representatives from the tourism committees of the communes, or NGO representatives. Finally, their efforts to act upon the future of the tourism system are greatly constrained by their limited power to make decisions, and the need to seek support from higher-level authorities, which may or may not endorse their actions.

In relation to dissipative self-organisation, the PTC challenges governance conditions by providing a horizontal space in which actions can be shared and coordinated to avoid duplication of efforts. Joint initiatives emerge through the

convergence of tourism competences, powers and capacities from different members. Dissipative dynamics are related to the emergent power of the group that improves the knowledge and capacity for action of individual members, allows joint action and pressure to be applied to higher-level authorities and stakeholders in the tourism system. Dynamics of transformation of the tourism system are also related to the capacity of the group to deal with contingent tourism issues through short-term planning and immediate action. Finally, their efforts modify the structural conditions of tourism governance when they are enabled or supported by other stakeholders in the tourism system, and in higher socio-political spheres.

The group itself has unclear and changing aims that include information sharing for decision-making, planning and decision-making activities, coordination of efforts for destination management, and monitoring activities. In other words, all of their activities are related to the different stages of linear planning processes. However, the structure of the PTC in which different public, private, and CBT actors are represented, together with their agreed rules and mechanisms for action, turn it into a form of self-governance that is effectively steering the destination in conjunction with hierarchical governance efforts. Indeed, planning actions that a) seek to steer the whole tourism destination; b) go beyond decision-making and include implementation and monitoring activities; and c) involve different socio-political actors, effectively become governance efforts. Tourism planning in this case can no longer be understood separately from destination governance.



CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSIONS

8.1. SELF-ORGANISATION IN TOURISM PLANNING: A CASE STUDY

This embedded case study explored actor-led, non-linear and self-organised tourism planning in relation to unstable tourism governance conditions and linear planning efforts in the Santa Elena province, Ecuador. It also explored how self-organised tourism planning reproduces and transforms the tourism governance landscape of the destination. Three research questions guided this study, which will be discussed in relation to the research findings and literature in the area of study.

8.1.1. STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS OF TOURISM GOVERNANCE IN SANTA ELENA

The first research question was aimed at identifying the relational and institutional structures of tourism governance that allowed the emergence of self-organised planning in the Santa Elena province. The study of the system's structural conditions permitted the understanding of how actor-led planning can a. deal with instability, and b. lead to structural change. Two kinds of structural conditions of tourism governance, relational and institutional, were analysed.

8.1.1.1. Relational structures of tourism governance

In terms of relations between stakeholders, the tourism system of Santa Elena is characterised by an *increased number of players* and emergent social actors related to alternative forms of community-based tourism, the creation of the new province, and changes in the administrative structure of the Ecuadorian public sector. New stakeholders bring different perspectives and *conflicting interests* with regard to tourism development, especially when some advocate traditional tourism while others support alternative tourism products. Emergent actors are also related to the *informality of the tourism sector*, another tourism governance condition. In contrast to Timothy's (1999) study which demonstrated that stakeholders in the informal sector in Indonesia felt they should not be involved in tourism planning efforts, in Santa Elena the informal sector, especially CBT, have organised themselves in associations in order to defend their work and push their interests in various governance spaces within and outside the province.

While stakeholders acknowledge their *interdependence in order to put together tourism products* that could improve seasonality and the length of stay of visitors,

actors remain largely scattered in the province. The *lack of tourism chambers* and the issue of informality has contributed to *divisions between the private sector and the public sector*, due to the perception of the private sector of being treated unfairly despite being highly regulated and taxed. Also, there was no sign of collaboration between the private sector and the CBT sector. Actors in the tourism system have a tendency to *work in collaboration with other actors in their own sector*, or within the hierarchies of their own organisations, that is, through top-down communication and command (Caffyn & Jobbins, 2003). Lack of ties between the different tourism stakeholders constrains communication and information sharing between sectors. Additionally, the interviews showed how patterns of communication between different kinds of social actors were related to *top-down initiatives of guidance and control*, rather than horizontal cooperation. While there is available literature informing interconnectedness between members of tourism policy networks and its relation to power imbalances and horizontal governance (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Bramwell & Meyer, 2007; Dredge & Pforr, 2008; Dredge, 2006b; Pforr, 2006), there is less literature about how lack of ties among stakeholders in the wider tourism system can reinforce top-down governance practices.

The results concur with Timur & Getz's (2008) study which identified how limited relations between tourism stakeholders together with a *lack of clarity of roles* of different sectors in the tourism destination (Bhat & Milne, 2011; Ladkin & Martínez, 2002) can affect horizontal relations and reinforce the perception of the government as the key and most legitimate player in the governance landscape of a tourism destination.

8.1.1.2. Institutional practices of tourism planning and governance

The institutional conditions of tourism governance in Santa Elena are characterised by being in a state of transition in which *changing ideologies at the national level* in relation to the renewed role of the state in public affairs is joined with new rules for the concurrent action between the different levels of public administration, and the *identification of new competences and jurisdictions*. The study exposed how *national policies for tourism governance in Ecuador have reflected different ideologies* for public administration, from the neoliberal focus on modernisation, decentralisation and public-private partnerships of the National Plan of Tourism

Competitiveness and the nacional program for tourism decentralisation (Castro, 2004; Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2001); to neoliberalism with a social face embodied in the PLANDETUR (Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, 2007). However, the current nationwide actions of the Ministry of Tourism appear to be ignoring the challenge of incorporating the recent public administration ideologies to reclaim the role of the state and increase citizen participation in public affairs outlined in the new Ecuadorian Constitution and the COOTAD.

A lack of tourism governance strategy for the country that responds to changing governance conditions is met at the provincial level with enduring hierarchical governance practices where interventions are the result of *political interests and paternalist attitudes*. *Duplication of efforts and the lack of continuity of tourism plans and projects* also increase the instability of the governance landscape (Ladkin & Martínez, 2002), which is worsened by the poor communication between intervening institutions, *lack of will on the part of local authorities* to deal with tourism issues, *political interests*, and *poor capability of the bureaucrats* appointed in local and provincial tourism public offices. These findings concur with previous studies on sectional policies for tourism in developing countries. Yasarata, Altinay, Burns, & Okumus's (2010), and Krutwayshe & Bramwell's (2010) studies have identified how political interests pervade tourism planning and implementation, and how changes of authorities in local governments often result in lack of continuity of tourism efforts.

A review of eight tourism and development plans showed that frameworks for tourism planning and policy elaboration in Ecuador and the Santa Elena province have been linear in nature. Furthermore, the study demonstrated that even when there have been deep ideological changes in public administration at the national level, planning approaches for tourism and other sectors have remained unchanged. Indeed, the current government's guidelines for both sectoral and sectional planning have *ratified linear systemic understandings* of the territory (Senplades, 2011), even when participation has been officially opened not only to consultation and validation as before, but also to monitoring and evaluation stages (Senplades, 2009b, 2011). The main approaches used to plan tourism in the documents analysed were *participative, strategic and comprehensive*, that is, based on *whole-systems models* in which destinations are understood as a series of functional elements working together in harmony. A functional understanding separates planning from action,

and what is planned from who plans it. In other words, the *relegation of agency and joint action comes from the planning frameworks themselves*. In this way, the tourism system becomes a passive receptor of public policy that can be controlled to achieve strategic goals.

8.1.1.3. Hierarchical tourism governance in the Santa Elena province

The governance conditions of the Santa Elena province are hierarchical and unstable. Instability is manifest in the lack of clarity of tourism stakeholders' roles. They are uncertain of who is leading the tourism system amidst emergent players and changing governance conditions. Instability is also evident in conflicting laws and rules for tourism governance, lack of efforts to formalise some tourism sectors, and lack of clear guidelines for tourism governance at the different levels of public administration. Simultaneously, hierarchical tourism governance is embodied in tourism competences established by the Tourism Ministry that have followed the recommendations of international agencies; tourism ordinances made by democratically elected authorities without public consultation; and by planning processes in which participation is a form of merely ratifying decisions made by planning experts. Hierarchical governance and instability are possible because the lack of socio-political relations between different actors reinforces top-down interaction, limiting same-level interaction and the flux of information and power in different directions other than top-down. In this context, the poor accountability of public sector authorities towards their constituents is reinforced, as well as the continuity of make-up public actions and duplication of tourism interventions. In consequence, the structures of tourism governance in the Santa Elena province can be understood as a web of interrelated institutional and relational factors that constrain and allow the interaction and action of tourism stakeholders. In other words, it constrains and enables self-organisation.

8.1.2. SELF-ORGANISED PLANNING AND THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN AGENCY AND STRUCTURE

The second research question was geared to understanding what kind of agency/structure dynamics exist between self-organised tourism planning and the governance structures in the tourism destination. The findings show that structurally constrained and intentional interactions between key socio-political actors are the

basis for self-organisation, and how interactions between members of the group, and between the group and structural conditions of tourism governance, give rise to the group itself and to patterns of conservative and dissipative self-organisation in which these structural conditions of governance are both maintained and transformed. In other words, the second question led to the identification of complex causation, or the way in which agency influences, and is influenced by, social structures.

8.1.2.1. *Socio-political interactions*

The findings presented how the dialectical relation between agency and structure is manifest in inhibiting and reinforcing interactions between key stakeholders in the destination, in which the decision to support or not coordinated initiatives responds to *personal and political interests*, values, and perspectives about tourism development, together with structural constraints related to the *roles, obligations and positions* of the members of the PTC (Kooiman et al., 2008). The structure of the PTC itself plays a part in what the group is able to do or not in relation to decision-making and action. While the structure is *horizontal and fluid*, with a flexible membership depending on the issues to be covered in each meeting, and includes middle-level bureaucrats who are directly acquainted with local tourism issues, the same *structure prevents the group from tackling deeper issues* that need a more structured organisation and higher-level bureaucrats who have decision-making power.

The circular reinforcing and inhibiting interactions between key stakeholders *gave rise to an informal, and self-organised planning subsystem*, the PTC, which emerged from the wider tourism system of the Santa Elena province. The PTC opened a *space for conversation and joint action* between different sectors that changes the identified patterns of isolation and poor cooperation between actors in the tourism system. However, the results also show that actors understand their own efforts as oriented towards collecting data for decision-making, working on the implementation of existing tourism plans, and monitoring efforts. In other words, by *working on different 'stages' of linear tourism planning*. In consequence, the efforts of the group are oriented to both changing and maintaining structural conditions of governance in the Santa Elena Province.

8.1.2.2. *Conservative self-organisation*

Conservative self-organisation is characterised by constraining conditions on the governance structures and inhibiting interactions among members of the group (Buijs, Van der Bol, et al., 2009). Conservative dynamics can be seen in the *avoidance of political issues* during the meetings in order to encourage attendance and promote inclusiveness. At the same time, ignoring these political issues, a conservative pattern that responds to inhibiting interactions, has *prevented the group from dealing with deeper concerns* such as tourism policy, acknowledging issues of power in decision-making, as well as making a decision about the formalisation of the PTC as a legally recognised group.

With respect to this last point, *the PTC remains informal* due to the lack of a suitable way to legalise their efforts without subsuming themselves within an existing parent institution, which would in turn constrain the group's ability to act. The group thus operates at the edge of formal planning, moving back and forth between wishing to legalise their own actions and maintain their autonomy. Other conservative dynamics related to structural constraints are the *lack of power of the PTC* to make certain decisions and to back these decisions with financial means, limiting their ability to act (Caffyn & Jobbins, 2003). These structural constraints push the group to *act in areas that are likely to receive political support*, such as marketing and events planning, reinforcing current practices of tourism governance related to make-up public actions and political interests. Existing governance conditions are also maintained when the group *reproduces poor answerability and communication* practices in relation to the wider tourism system.

8.1.2.3. *Dissipative self-organisation*

The group is the *only space for coordination of efforts* between the different groups of stakeholders and levels of tourism public administration in the destination, opening the possibility to change governance conditions such as poor intersectoral cooperation, duplicity of tourism initiatives, top-down tourism policy and tokenism through *dialogue and joint action*. *The actions of the group are carried out by combining individual competences and capacities of members*, and by *mutual pressure* in which each others' actions are informally monitored. *Pressure is applied in every direction*, that is, between members of the group, from the group to higher-

level authorities or to other groups within the tourism system, and from other stakeholders in the tourism system that ask the PTC for answerability.

These efforts are characterised by the exchange of information between actors who develop *mutual understandings of policy issues*. Additionally, *shared knowledge is transferred to new members* who might arrive in their posts with poor institutional capacity (Healey, 1998). Self-organised planning efforts are evidently focused on *short-term actions*, responding to issues that require an urgent solution through coordination. Long-term planning is constrained by the high rotation of public officers and political instability; in consequence, *long term thinking for the group is often associated with maintaining the group itself*, that is, maintaining the planning process. Dissipative self-organisation is manifest when *higher-level authorities recognise, legitimise and enable* the efforts of the group by sending delegates to the meetings and through financial support.

8.1.3. EMERGENT GOVERNANCE CONDITIONS

The third aim of my research was to explore how self-organised tourism planning can lead to governance structural change. The emergent outcomes of interaction between members of the group can be understood as non-linear, self-organised forms of tourism planning. The emergent outcomes of the interplay between the actions of the group and the wider tourism system can be understood as self-governance.

8.1.3.1. *Linear, non-linear, and self-organised planning*

As discussed in chapter three, complexity theory deals with the coexistence of linearly determined order and contingent, non-linear chaos (Byrne, 1998; Waldrop, 1992). When applied to the study of tourism planning, the underlying assumption is that linear and non-linear planning coexist in tourism destinations. This study has demonstrated that their coexistence is dialectical in the Santa Elena province in which actor-led, interactive non-linear planning both challenges and maintains linear planning practices.

Linear planning is easier to understand for the participants since it involves a series of planning steps that are already familiar to socio-politically active tourism

stakeholders. According to stakeholders' views, linear and formal planning processes are technical, comprehensive, and offer clear guidance for action. Linear planning appears to reduce complexity and improve efficiency (Boons et al., 2009), by assuming that policy interventions will achieve the planned outcomes and separating actions from the context in which they are embedded. Linear and formal tourism planning in Santa Elena has been useful to identify long-term objectives for tourism development and has offered the possibility of policy action in tourism based on technical rationality rather than on political interests. On the other hand, non-linear planning in the PTC has focused on short-term action and contingent issues, allowing information sharing, mutual learning and socio-political action based on agreed rules and decisions (Innes & Booher, 2010). It has offered the possibility of monitoring planning outcomes by embedding monitoring actions within the planning dialogue, and it has necessarily taken into account the context in which it takes place, which is internalised in the roles and obligations of socio-political actors. Non-linear planning became a possibility in Santa Elena when linear planning processes started to involve a participative, multi-actor methodology. In turn, non-linear planning efforts within the PTC resort to linear plans to legitimise and give their actions a sense of direction.

Self-organised planning in the Santa Elena province is a form of non-linear planning that emerged from adverse conditions in which the instability of the tourism system together with the perceived uncertainty among tourism stakeholders, led them to join together in order to act cooperatively. However, in Santa Elena, self-organised planning has been a messy process of establishing boundaries, acknowledging limitations, and agreeing rules that further enable and constrain the actions and interactions of members of the group. In other words, self-organised planning interactions have not only challenged and changed tourism governance structures but it became a social structure itself, that is, a self-organised planning subsystem within the destination with its own relational and institutional structure that is manifest in horizontal relations, informal rules for attendance and communication during and after the meetings, and recurrent social practices.

Self-organised planning, in sum, includes not only the non-linear interactions between social actors, but necessarily involves a dialectical relation between agency and structure. The idea of a self-organised planning subsystem in

consequence, has allowed an understanding that goes beyond non-linear communication and joint decision-making by addressing how the emergent group has causal powers that constrain and enable the interactions of their own members, and maintain and transform the governance landscape of the tourism destination.

8.1.3.2. *Self-governance*

Self-governance is the emergent outcome of the interplay between non-linear, self-organised planning efforts and the unstable structural conditions of tourism governance in the Santa Elena province. The PTC opened *a space for horizontal communication* between different sectors and levels of government changing, at least partially, the patterns of poor communication between tourism stakeholders and consequently, the relational conditions of governance in the tourism system. In relation to institutional conditions, the space relies on *informal agreements* among members and between members and the institutions they represent (Dredge, 2006b; Jamal & Stronza, 2009). The *voluntary* membership and self-determination of members is a consequence of bottom-up self-organisation rather than governance practices defined in a top-down way. Rules of conduct, membership, and scope of the group are *agreed among members* and are fluid, that is, open for further consideration (Innes & Booher, 2010), in contrast with the barely consulted rules imposed by hierarchical governance practices. *A broadened scope for participation* is characterised by the diversity of actors, and the planning process being open at every stage, including discussion about relevant policy issues, decision-making, implementation and monitoring, also in contrast with traditional planning practices and the new national guidelines for sectoral and sectional planning in which joint action is not considered (Senplades, 2009b, 2011). *Joint action* itself can *prevent the duplication of efforts* in the tourism system (Caffyn & Jobbins, 2003). Mutually constructed knowledge can maintain the *continuity of efforts* even when public officials are changed, and improve the poor capability of some socio-political actors. The *collective power of self-governance* in Santa Elena is based on shared understandings of policy issues that are manifest in coordinated action and social pressure. In contrast to hierarchical governance, *their actions go in every direction*, since there are oriented to influence practices within the group, and practices of higher-level authorities, as well as of stakeholders in the wider tourism system.

Self-governance in consequence, coexists with and continuously challenges hierarchical governance through bottom-up interferences manifest through letters, press releases, direct feedback to public sector officials during the meetings, and other forms of pressure. Support from the public sector is manifest in funding, membership, and recognition of the efforts of the PTC, legitimising the public character of their decisions and actions (Hall, 2008: 8).

8.2. CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

This study is closely related to previous studies about collaborative tourism planning (Erkuş-Öztürk & Eraydın, 2010; Getz & Jamal, 1994; Ladkin & Martínez, 2002; Medeiros de Araujo & Bramwell, 1999; Reed, 1999), policy networks (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Dredge & Pforr, 2008; Dredge, 2006a; Wray, 2009), and actor-led planning (Beritelli & Laesser, 2011; Caffyn & Jobbins, 2003; Timur & Getz, 2008) and overlaps them in various aspects. While many of these studies are horizontal and focus either on macro (structure-related) or micro (actor-related) interpretations of tourism planning, I place my research among the reduced number of studies that are vertical and focus on the dynamic and dialectical relation between agency and structure in planning and governance processes (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007; Bramwell, 2011; Dredge & Pforr, 2008; Wesley & Pforr, 2010). Furthermore, my study not only identified the unstable socio-political conditions in which tourism planning takes place in the context of a developing country (Bramwell & Medeiros de Araujo, 2002; Göymen, 2000; Medeiros de Araujo & Bramwell, 1999; Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2000), but also explored how actor-led, non-linear, and self-organised, tourism planning can respond to these unstable and changing governance conditions.

In relation to other actor-related planning approaches that I identified as non-linear in the literature review, such as communicative (Healey, 2003; Innes & Booher, 2003; Reed, 1999; Schianetz et al., 2007b) and interpretive tourism planning (Bhat & Milne, 2011; Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Dredge & Jenkins, 2011; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2011), this research goes beyond the study of discursive agency focused on dialogue, consensus building, knowledge construction, and mutual learning (Elder-Vass, 2007b; Lewis, 2000), by also identifying the outcomes of the *actions* of the PTC. In other words, when dialogue and communication are turned into action,

governance structures can be influenced and structural change can be achieved. I am therefore arguing that there is a difference between planning approaches focused on consensus-building and mutual learning, which are mainly concerned with the empirical and actual domains of reality (transitive knowledge), and a planning approach that takes this transitive knowledge further and analyses structural change. Social structural change, however, is not really intransitive, as in natural systems. It should be understood as less fluid, and more objective and enduring than a transitive or interpretive dimension (Archer, 1995).

This research also contributes to emergent and still incipient understandings of non-linear planning (Allmendinger, 2002; Hillier & Healey, 2010; Innes & Booher, 2010) by identifying the key aspects of linear and non-linear planning in the existing literature (table 2.1) and then by enhancing these understandings through a single embedded case study in which both approaches coexist. My posture is that non-linear planning is a useful concept to encompass and enhance the understanding of relational and actor-related planning approaches, including communicative/collaborative, network, and complexity based ones, focused on circular interactions and feedback loops, in which communication goes in every direction, and the future is actively shaped by interaction that takes place in the present. The concept of self-organisation in turn, provided a framework within which to investigate the active role of human agency in planning processes and to contribute to knowledge concerning the transformative character of tourism planning efforts (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999), particularly in the context of unstable structures of tourism governance.

A methodological contribution of this study lies in the combination of complexity theory with critical realism in an embedded case study that emphasises the multi-layered, contextual and unpredictable nature of a socio-political tourism system. As discussed previously, if there is little applied research in tourism planning from a complexity perspective, certainly there is virtually no applied research in tourism from a critical realist perspective (Botterill, 2007; Gale & Botterill, 2005; Platenkamp & Botterill, 2013). Critical realism favours an in-depth understanding of the social by focusing on different domains of reality that go from individual understandings to structural ones. Complexity in turn, allows broad understanding by providing a time and context-dependent, systemic and emergent perspective for the study of social change. The combination of critical realism and complexity, or *complex realism*,

supported the study of social change through the investigation of an actor level, a structural level, and a dynamic, dialectical level in a single embedded case study that relied on multiple methods of data collection. In other words, complex realism was useful to carry out research on socio-political change that explored individual agency embodied in socio-political interactions and actions, the interplay between agency and structure manifest in dynamics of self-organisation, and the identification of the structures that emerged from such dynamics.

8.3. REFLECTION ABOUT MY RESEARCH PROCESS

My research process started with difficulties when my research plan was not approved. My proposed methodology was not well received. Reflecting back, it was because I honestly did not know how to do what I wanted to do. Of course, at that point I could not explain convincingly that there was nothing wrong with that. I could not understand why it was so easy for other students to find their philosophical and methodological standpoints, and start working right away. Theory seemed to be for others the main difficulty whereas in my case, I felt confident about it. For me, it was about finding a sound philosophical position and a matching methodology for my theory and my research problem. Both became an obscure shadow in my research process and feelings of anxiety and lack of confidence overtook my work for a long time. I felt that I was living in a kind of no man's land.

At some point during my third year I understood why I could not find enough reference points in the tourism literature or for that matter, in conferences or colleagues. Everybody else seemed to sit comfortably in their philosophical and methodological standpoints, sharing the room with many others to whom exchange ideas with. I was not able to do that, and in February 2012 I found out why. I went to a conference in London about public policy and complexity in the 21 century. After a full day of *hard* complexity science, one of the presenters presented a *soft*, qualitative approach. His methodology was not well received either and he was told that his work was not using complexity science but common sense. The presenter couldn't reply to the comment and another similar criticism came, and then another. I realised that day that if I were in the same situation, I would have been able to argue (maybe not that persuasively) that a qualitative approach for social complexity,

allows the understanding of complex causation in the social world, through the understanding of intentional and structurally constrained, mutually reinforcing and inhibiting actor interactions, and their relation with self-organisation and emergence. Spring came in every sense after that.

The research process itself led me to further question the appropriateness of some of the frameworks we use for tourism public planning and management in Ecuador. To explain myself further, if before coming to England I thought I wanted to study tourism planning processes in general, the research process made me realise that my research was closely related to the very particular socio-political context that surrounds tourism planning in Ecuador. Living in England for almost four years has made me realise that instability and uncertainty in a country like mine are different. And that while we are probably more used to living with it, the frameworks we use to plan our future are based on research done in and on countries with different ideas of time, different contexts, and different understandings of what instability is. Similarly, the research process has made me question, if not the intentions, at least the poor consideration given to how tourism works in other contexts and other socio-political systems on the part of the international tourism agencies and funding organisations, upon which we developing countries rely unquestioningly to assist us by providing guidance to plan our tourism development.

These reflections have led me to gain a deeper understanding my own position as a researcher, and the policies of the current government to invest on studentships for Ecuadorians to pursue master and doctoral degrees.

8.4. IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING AND POLICY ACTION

Participative planning approaches and shared forms of tourism governance involve considerations in terms of agency, power, interaction and non-linearity. In other words, what was true when one actor (either public or private as discussed in chapter 2) led and implemented tourism planning is no longer applicable to multiple-actor planning processes. Opening planning to other social actors means that the future is no longer changed solely by the government, the private sector, or civil society, and that tourism planning can no longer be separated from tourism governance. If tourism planning is going to be truly collaborative, participative, or

cooperative, the recognition of non-linear interactions between stakeholders is crucial. Linear planning frameworks and assumptions need to change in multiple-actor policy spaces in order to recognise that communication goes in more than one direction, and that social interaction involves peer feedback in which understandings, perceptions and interests are constantly changing. The first implication for planning practice is the consideration of non-linearity, interaction, and feedback in policy processes that seek to engage multiple actors, in contrast with linear planning and hierarchical governance in which communication goes in one direction. The consideration of non-linearity in planning can go further than the analysis of discourses and communication by recognising interaction as the starting point of emergent governance arrangements which take into account both the self-determination and interests of the stakeholders in the destination and the governance structures in which planning is embedded.

The second implication for planning practice and research would evidently be to pay closer attention to the transformative power of agency and self-determination in planning processes. The results of the present research show how the future is actively changed through voluntary and self-organised social interaction. And while it is unrealistic to think that self-organisation is going to emerge in many destinations, it is more realistic to assume that socio-political agency, together with a predisposition for joint action, could be found in some of them. Planning practice could be more perceptive to agency and the individual and shared interests that can encourage active participation in policy issues. Naturally, these recommendations are only applicable to planning contexts in which participation is open to other actors, in other words, among enabling structures of tourism governance. However, in the case of self-organised planning, the transformation of those structures would be precisely the main aim and outcome of planning efforts.

8.5. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This research has many limitations, several of which are related to the boundaries of the case study. Firstly, focusing on the procedural character of the planning process means that the subject of planning, tourism, and its particularities could have been neglected. In other words, the tourism system has been understood as composed

by interrelated socio-political actors, instead of actors cooperating to put together a coherent tourism product. In consequence, the emergent results of the self-organised planning subsystem were understood in terms of how they affect governance structures in the tourism system, rather than on substantive results of planning efforts, such as improving the issues of seasonality, high concentration of tourists in some areas of the province, informality, or lack of associativity in the private tourism sector. Secondly, interactions between self-organised stakeholders are embedded in a cultural context (Archer, 1995, 2000) which has not been addressed in this study and has been previously identified as key to understanding tourism planning in different contexts (Göymen, 2000; Ladkin & Martínez, 2002; Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2000; Yasarata et al., 2010). Specifically, my study could have addressed how different social actors understand future, their own uncertainty and instability within a cultural perspective, and how these understandings affect their idea of planning, and are affected by self-organised planning efforts.

Another limitation is related to the kind of knowledge that has been constructed, and the ontological and epistemological positions that recognise that complexity is a property of reality, but is also related to our limitations to know that reality (chapter 5). In the social world, if social events exist independently of what we think about them, the only way to gain knowledge is through the accounts and interpretations of the social world given by social actors, which are in turn interpreted by the researcher within a theoretical framework: complexity. No single actor can grasp the complexity of the tourism system of the Santa Elena province (Cilliers, 1998), and even when multiple accounts were considered and multiple methods for data collection and interpretation were employed, I, a single actor, interpreted those accounts.

As such, this study is an identification of some of the dynamics of self-organised tourism planning as interpreted by the researcher, based on social actors' interpretations of the socio-political events. One might argue that the knowledge produced is incomplete, highly contextualised, and difficult to generalise. The framework employed for this research, complex realism, could be applied for similar research on self-organised planning and policy-making, either in tourism destinations or in the context of other policy areas, in order to allow comparison between cases and find general patterns to further inform knowledge on social

complexity (Buijs, Eshuis, et al., 2009). However, further research should consider that complex realism, as discussed before, involves both broad (complexity) and in-depth (critical realism) research, that are only augmented by a case study methodology, meaning that studies following such approach should carefully delimitate the research topic.

Then there is the issue of power, which can be related to both the theoretical framework and the boundaries of the case study. Social systems theories have been criticised for ignoring issues of power and social inequalities (Walby, 2007). While my own research considers issues of power and marginalised groups in tourism policy-making in Santa Elena, these are not at the centre of my analysis. However, I consider that complex realism can address power issues by relating power to circular interactions and complex causation. Indeed, reinforcing and inhibiting interactions are nothing but power relations between social actors. Conservative and dissipative self-organisation are also ways to understand how social structure constrains joint action, and that too, is an issue of power. In turn, the group can put bottom-up pressure upon these power constraints in order to change rules, and institutionalised practices. In other words, complexity theory could include power in horizontal interactions among the same level of analysis and vertical interactions that arise between different levels of social organisation.

Finally, self-organised tourism planning has been studied in the context of socio-political instability in a developing country. The role of agency, self-determination, and instability has largely been ignored in tourism planning frameworks that seek to assist developing countries in encouraging tourism as an economic activity and an instrument towards development. My approach to researching tourism planning has been descriptive, rather than prescriptive, seeking to understand rather than predict outcomes of tourism planning practice (Dredge et al., 2011). While I argued that it provides a theoretical, conceptual and methodological framework for future research aimed at similar understandings, I am also aware that such a framework might not be suitable for direct application to planning practice in countries like mine, where time frames are short, funding for planning is scarce, and where academic research in tourism is minimal. As such, I maintain that further inquiry in this topic needs to be more prescriptive, focused on developing planning frameworks which are context-dependent, which embrace agency and instability, and which consider tourism

governance itself as an outcome of the planning process in order for destinations to be able to deal with internal and external instabilities and contingent issues that are all too often overlooked in current planning practice.



GLOSSARY

SOCIAL STRUCTURE. Social structures are the product of past social interaction and action, and are the current conditions in which social interaction takes place. Social structures, thus, enable and constrain and are reproduced and transformed by social interaction. From a critical realist standpoint, social structures are understood beyond the empirical domain of discourse and representation by addressing the causal powers and dynamics that influence, and are influenced by, agency. Social structure includes the structural ties, bonds or connections between actors that allow interaction, and institutionalised rules, social practices, and established patterns of interaction that enable and constrain social action.

SOCIAL INTERACTIONS. From a complexity approach, social interactions are the dynamic, multiplicative, non-linear and circular relations between social actors and between actors and their environment (Byrne, 1998: 63) that allow the flow of information and power, and the reproduction and transformation of society. For this research, and based on a critical realist, and socio-political (Kooiman, 2003) standpoint, interactions always take place between socio-political actors, who interact according to their perceptions, values and interests (intentional dimension of interactions) and within their roles, positions, and the rules and practices that constrain them (structural dimension of interactions). Interactions are the source of complexity, complex causation, and non-linearity since they continuously change the structural contexts in which they take place. As actors experience the outcome of their own interactions, they can revisit their actions over time, changing again the structural constraints. The circular character of social interaction means that individuals continuously reinforce and inhibit each others' actions through mutual feedback.

LINEARITY/ NON-LINEARITY. By assuming a stable universe that behaves according to universal laws, traditional systemic theories were inherently linear and deterministic. In linear systems, changes are the result of the incremental accumulation of variables over time. In other words, changes in structural conditions produce proportional changes in the social system's outcomes (Byrne, 1998). So, when appropriate initial conditions are given, determinism indicates that it is possible to predict the future with certainty (Baranger, 2001; Mitchell, 2009). Determinism and

linearity not only allow prediction, but also the identification of the initial conditions in the past that caused the present. In non-linear systems on the other hand, non-linearity arises from the circular interactions between components, which produce outcomes that are not the result of their linear addition. The non-linear behaviour of complex systems produces *emergent* outcomes. Emergence is based on non-linear or complex causality, i.e. causes and effects cannot be mapped linearly. Similar causes can have different effects and different causes similar effects; small changes of causes can have large effects whereas large changes can also only result in small effects, and therefore it is not possible to predict the future with certainty.

ACTOR/ STAKEHOLDER. Actor and stakeholder are terms used interchangeably in this research to refer to all the individuals and organisations that can potentially influence and are influenced by tourism policy, compose the tourism system, and have the power to interact and act upon their future. However, the term socio-political actor is used to refer to actors that are effectively involved in interest or decision-making groups within the social complex system.

INSTABILITY. Instability is an emergent structural condition of the whole system characterised by disorder and multiple possibilities for future dynamics. Instability occurs when the dynamics of higher-level systems are incompatible with the dynamics within the system (external perturbations), or when the interactions of interrelated social actors challenge the dynamics of the whole system (internal perturbations). Unstable conditions in the system mean that social actors' actions are constrained and their future becomes uncertain. From a complexity perspective, instability encourages creative and dynamic responses from social actors who interact and self-organise to cope with these changes, or to rearrange their structural conditions.

SELF-ORGANISATION. Self-organisation occurs amidst unstable conditions and refers to the social interactions and dynamics of organisation that occur without the intervention of a central controller. While self-organisation is traditionally studied as a form of emergence, in the present research it is the middle-level concept that allows the understanding of the social dynamics that produce macro structural emergence from micro actor interactions. Self-organisation thus, refers to (emergent) patterns of socio-political interaction focusing on how these patterns

lead to structural reproduction when social interactions are mainly oriented to maintaining structural conditions (conservative self-organisation), or structural transformation when social interactions are mainly oriented to changing and challenging existing structural conditions (dissipative self-organisation).

EMERGENCE. Emergence is the concept that encompasses the effects of non-linear social interactions and complex causation, and allows the understanding of structural change in social complex systems. Emergence means that the social complex system exhibits macro structural conditions and dynamics that are not reducible to the micro structural conditions and interactions of social actors. Once new structural qualities of a system have emerged they will enable and constrain future interactions. Likewise, these emergent structural qualities will be challenged and reproduced by future agency.

SOCIAL COMPLEX SYSTEM. Complex systems exhibit dynamics that challenge the ideas of equilibrium, linearity and predictability of traditional systems by acknowledging the role of instability, disorder and uncertainty in shaping the future. The study of complex systems is thus, the study of the interplay between order and instability, or the coexistence of linearity and non-linearity. In the present research, linearity is embodied in enduring rules and practices related to socio-political structures, while non-linearity is related to circular reinforcing and inhibiting interactions between social actors. In consequence, the dynamics of social complex systems are understood in terms of the dialectical relation between structure and agency, and their unpredictable outcomes are understood in terms of emergence.

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APPENDIX 1

LINKS BETWEEN SURVEY AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS WITH DOCUMENT EMERGENT THEMES

	INTENTIONS, PERCEPTIONS AND INTERESTS OF SOCIO- POLITICAL ACTORS (agency)	DYNAMICS OF REPRODUCTION AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE POLICY SYSTEM (interplay between agency and structure)	EXISTENT AND EMERGENT GOVERNANCE CONDITIONS IN THE DESTINATION (social structures)
SOCIAL SURVEY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are you a member of a tourism organisation? - Why do you belong to a tourism organisation? - Perceptions about the actions of the organisation. - Name 5 people you work with in tourism - Name 5 people you go to when you have a tourism-related problem. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do you keep up to date in relation to tourism issues in the province? - Have you ever participated in the elaboration of a tourism plan? - Have you taken any action to improve collective tourism issues? - Have you heard about the PTC? - What is the role of the PTC? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Demographic questions (level of education, place, tourism sector) - Perceptions in relation to tourism plan implementation - In your opinion, what existing conditions constrain plan implementation? - In your opinion, what existing governance conditions should change in order to improve plan implementation?
DOCUMENTS		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Evidence of legitimization of the existing tourism organisations within planning processes - Evidence of legitimization of the existing tourism organisations within public actions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relation between national socioeconomic policies and tourism policies - Competences and roles of different actors and levels of government in tourism - Mechanisms of participation in tourism planning processes - Tourism planning approaches in the province - Mechanisms of policy-making - Characterisation of linear approaches for tourism planning
INTERVIEWS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are you a member of a tourism organisation? - What is your role in tourism? - What are your organisation/sector interests in relation to tourism? - What interests do you think you share with other organisations or sectors? - Name people you work in collaboration with. - Have you ever participated in the elaboration of a tourism plan? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you take into account existent tourism plans for your tourism activities? - Have you heard about the PTC? - What is the role of the PTC? - Do you think the PTC represents the interests of all kind of tourism stakeholders? - How are the decisions made in the PTC? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Perceptions in relation to tourism plan implementation - In your opinion, what constrains plan implementation? - In your opinion, what existing governance conditions should change in order to improve plan implementation? - What governance conditions should be maintained?

APPENDIX 2 ONLINE PILOT SURVEY

The survey was piloted through an online survey service (e-encuesta.com), which was sent by email to 61 acquaintances in the tourism sector with feedback questions. 21 replies helped to polish the questions.

The screenshot shows the e-encuesta.com interface. At the top left is the logo 'e-encuesta.com' and at the top right is the user identifier 'groot_p'. Below this is a navigation bar with buttons for 'INICIO', 'CONTRATAR', 'GESTOR DE ENCUESTAS', 'MIS CONTACTOS', 'MI CUENTA', and 'SOPORTE'. The main content area starts with a welcome message: 'Katherine, bienvenido/a a su zona privada de encuestas.' Below this, account details are listed: 'Funcionalidad: Versión Básica', 'Nº de encuestas: Ilimitado (?)', 'Nº de respuestas que puedo recoger: Ilimitado (?)', and 'Nº de respuestas que puedo consultar: 100 por encuesta (?)'. A note indicates that the user is on the 'Contratar Versión Profesional (desde 30 €) o Premium (599 € año)' plan. A button 'Crear nueva encuesta/ Duplicar encuesta' is visible. Under the 'Carpetas:' section, there is a dropdown menu set to 'Todas' and a link 'Gestionar Carpetas'. A table lists four surveys with columns for 'Abrir/Cerrar', 'Edit survey', 'Ver', 'Creada', 'Opciones', 'Lanzar', 'Informes', 'Vaciar', and 'Eliminar'.

Abrir/Cerrar	Edit survey	Ver	Creada	Opciones	Lanzar	Informes	Vaciar	Eliminar
	Copia de FINAL El sistema de planificación...		18/04/11			10		
	Copia de El sistema de planificación turís...		04/04/11			0		
	El sistema de planificación turística: aut...		26/03/11			21		
	Sin título		16/09/10			0		

APPENDIX 3

SURVEY OF STAKEHOLDERS IN THE TOURISM SYSTEM OF THE PROVINCE OF SANTA ELENA

Commune / parish _____ Municipality _____
 Survey carried out by _____ Date _____
 Year of birth of person completing survey _____



Q1. What is the highest level of education you have completed? (Choose **one** option)

- | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. None | <input type="checkbox"/> | f. High school diploma | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Literacy centre | <input type="checkbox"/> | g. Post-high school diploma course | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Primary | <input type="checkbox"/> | h. Higher / university education | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Secondary | <input type="checkbox"/> | i. Post-graduate | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Basic education | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

Q2. What type of activity do you carry out within the tourism sector? (Choose **one** option)

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. My own private company | <input type="checkbox"/> | f. Non-profit making organisation | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Community-based tourism business | <input type="checkbox"/> | g. Employee in the private sector | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Tour guide | <input type="checkbox"/> | h. Employee in the public sector | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Academic / teacher | <input type="checkbox"/> | i. Other _____ | |
| e. Informal sales | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

Q3. Your work in the tourism sector is done:

- a. only in the high season b. year-round

Q4. Name of the company, organisation or institution in which you work:

Q5. Have you participated in any tourism workshops or projects in your commune, parish, municipality or province?

- a. Yes b. No

Please mention up to three workshops or projects in which you have taken part:

Q6. Have you participated in any tourism plan(s) in your commune, parish, municipality or province over the last ten years?

- a. Yes b. No

Please mention up to three plans you remember

Q7. In your opinion, tourism plans are implemented

- a. Always b. Sometimes c. I don't know d. Almost never e. Never

Q8. In your opinion, which factors constrain the implementation of tourism plans and projects? (Please rank the **three** most important, with 1 being the most important and 3 the least important)

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|-------|
| a. Change of authorities, the new authorities ignore the previous processes and plans | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| b. Lack of coordination between the bodies and institutions related to tourism | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| c. Incompatibility of plans with the laws, regulations and institutions related to tourism | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| d. Lack of monitoring mechanisms on the plans and projects once underway | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| e. Duplication of efforts / lack of agreement on the role that each institution plays | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| f. Low level of technical knowledge and lack of professionals in the province of Santa Elena | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| g. Lack of political will from local and provincial authorities | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| h. Lack of economic resources in the institutions responsible for implementing plans | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| i. Other _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |

Q9. In your opinion, what would improve the implementation of tourism plans, and in general the management of the province of Santa Elena as a tourism destination? (Please rank the **three** most important, with 1 being the most important and 3 the least important)

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|-------|
| a. Change in laws, rules and regulations bringing them into line with the current reality of tourism | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| b. Greater coordination between the different authorities and institutions related to tourism | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| c. Acquisition and management of financing and foreign investment | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| d. Continuation of processes and projects already underway, even when the authorities change | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| e. Mechanisms of cooperation between the public and private sectors | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| f. Creation of an organisation for the management of the destination | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| g. Better communication/collaboration/links between the different social stakeholders in tourism | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |

h. Other _____

Q10. Are you, or have you ever been, a member of any tourism organisation or association?

a. Yes b. No (go to question 15)

If yes, which one(s)? - _____

Q11. Of which type of tourism association(s) or organisation(s) are you, or have you been, a member? (These may be local or national and you may select **more than one option**)

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| a. Restaurant association | <input type="checkbox"/> | h. Women's Association | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Hotel association | <input type="checkbox"/> | i. PRODECOS | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Cabin/eatery association | <input type="checkbox"/> | j. COMTECTURSE | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Street vendor association | <input type="checkbox"/> | k. Parish authorities tourism committee | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Artisan association | <input type="checkbox"/> | l. Commune tourism committee | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Municipal Chamber of Tourism | <input type="checkbox"/> | m. Other _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. FEPTCE | | | |

Q12. Please name the association(s) or organisation(s) of which you are, or have been, a member:

Q13. Why are you a member of a tourism organisation or association (Please rank the **three** most important, with 1 being the most important and 3 the least important)

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|-------|
| a. Because you need/want someone to represent your interests | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| b. Because it is mandatory in order to be able to work | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| c. So that the interests of your group are heard | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| d. Because you believe in the need for teamwork to bring about tourism development | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| e. Because you were told to | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| f. Other _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |

Q14. On a scale of 1 to 5, please choose the option which best describes your point of view:

- | | I completely agree | I agree | I am indifferent | I disagree | I completely disagree |
|--|--------------------|---------|------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| a. The organisation to which I belong is very persistent in achieving set goals | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. The organisation to which I belong adapts easily to the difficulties and challenges that emerge | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c. The organisation to which I belong has evolved in accordance with the new tendencies of the tourism environment | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q15. During the last five years, have you carried out any of the following actions to deal with a problem relating to your work in tourism? (You may select more than one option)

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| a. Sign a petition as part of the organisation to which you belong | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Write a letter to a local/national authority | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Hold a meeting with a local/provincial authority | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Hold a meeting with a regional/national authority | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Take part in a protest or demonstration | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Be part of a tourism marketing delegation or activity | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. Other _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Q16. How do you keep yourself informed of new policies or news from the tourism sector? (Please rank the **three** most important, with 1 being the most important and 3 the least important)

- | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| a. Email | <input type="checkbox"/> | d. Surfing the internet | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The media | <input type="checkbox"/> | e. Social media networks (FB, Twitter) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Meetings | <input type="checkbox"/> | f. Other _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Q17. Have you ever heard of the Technical Tourism Committee of the Province of Santa Elena (COMTECTURSE)?

1. Yes 2. No (go to question 19)

Q18. In your opinion, what is the function of COMTECTURSE relating to tourism in the province of Santa Elena? (You may select more than one option)

- | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| a. Tourism promotion and marketing | <input type="checkbox"/> | d. Strategic planning | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Inter-institutional coordination | <input type="checkbox"/> | e. Management of specific events | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Tourism monitoring and inter-institutional work | <input type="checkbox"/> | f. A space for the discussion of themes relating to tourism | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Q19. Please name up to five people, authorities or institutions within the tourism sector with which you work in collaboration with

1.	4.
2.	5.
3.	

Q20. Please name up to five people, authorities or institutions within the tourism sector you turn to when you have a problem of some kind.

1.	4.
2.	5.
3.	

APPENDIX 4 INFORMATION SHEET



University of Brighton



School of Service Management

Centre for Tourism Policy Studies (CENTOPS)

Eastbourne BN20 7UR

United Kingdom

Fax 01273 643949

Doctoral dissertation research: Self-organisation in tourism planning: Complex dynamics of planning, policy-making, and tourism governance in Santa Elena, Ecuador*

The general aim of the research is to explore the usefulness of complex systems theory in order to understand local self-organisation and their relation with tourism planning and governance in the Santa Elena province. With this in mind, the study will focus on the roles of, and mechanisms of social interaction between, different tourism stakeholders within the region, as well as on local initiatives in self-organisation, problem solving, and decision-making that could improve the governance of the provincial tourism system.

Researcher: Carla Ricaurte Quijano, PhD student of the Centre for Tourism Policy Studies (CENTOPS) - School of Service Management, University of Brighton. Associate Professor at the *Escuela Superior Politécnica del Litoral*.

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Telephone in Ecuador: +593 4 2 782 016 (home)

Supervisors:

Peter M. Burns (Professor of Tourism and Development, Director of CENTOPS – University of Brighton).

Philip Haynes, (Professor of Public Policy, Head of the School of Applied Social Science – University of Brighton).

CENTOPS website: <http://www.brighton.ac.uk/ssm/research/centops/>

** Carried out with the financial support of the National Secretary of Higher Education, Science, Technology and Innovation (SENACYT) and the Escuela Superior Politécnica del Litoral (ESPOL).*

ABOUT THE INTERVIEW / ACERCA DE LA ENTREVISTA

PURPOSE: This is an exploratory interview, which seeks to collect the personal opinions and points of view of the interviewee regarding tourism development and planning in the Santa Elena province. / PROPÓSITO: La entrevista es de tipo exploratorio y busca recoger opiniones personales y puntos de vista del entrevistado acerca del desarrollo y la planificación turística en la Provincia de Santa Elena.

PARTICIPATION: Interviewee participation is completely voluntary and participants can give their definite consent having read the attached information sheet. The interviewee can remain anonymous, in terms of name and job title, if s/he wishes. This decision does not affect the confidentiality of the study and will be respected by the interviewer. / PARTICIPACIÓN: La participación como entrevistado es completamente voluntaria y el participante puede dar su consentimiento definitivo una vez que haya leído la hoja de información. El nombre y/o cargo del entrevistado puede permanecer en el anonimato si el entrevistado lo solicita. Esta decisión no afecta la confiabilidad del estudio y siempre será respetada por el entrevistador.

TIME: The interview does not have a predetermined duration, as it deals with open-ended themes and opinions rather than closed or directed questions. / TIEMPO: La entrevista no tiene una duración predeterminada, ya que se tratarán temas abiertos y opiniones, en lugar de preguntas cerradas o dirigidas.

METHOD AND PROCEDURE: The interview will be carried out face-to-face and a digital recorder will be used to keep a record. The interviewee may suspend the interview at any time, without giving any reason. Once completed, the interview will be transcribed using Microsoft Word prior to being analysed. / MÉTODO Y PROCEDIMIENTO: La entrevista se realizará personalmente y se utilizará una grabadora digital como apoyo. El entrevistado puede suspender la entrevista en cualquier momento, sin necesidad de dar una explicación. Una vez finalizada, esta será transcrita en Word para proceder a su análisis.

THEMES AND SUGGESTED QUESTIONS FOR THE INTERVIEW: The interview is semi-structured which means that the interviewer will have a list of general areas for discussion as opposed to specific questions and will look to dig deeper around key themes. New questions may arise during the interview depending on the interviewee's interests and answers. The major themes of the interview will focus on planning, governance and ways of working together within the tourism system of the Santa Elena province. / TEMAS Y PREGUNTAS SUGERIDOS PARA LA ENTREVISTA: La entrevista es de tipo semi-estructurado, lo que significa que el entrevistador preparará temas generales a tratar en lugar de preguntas específicas y se buscará la profundización de temas clave. Nuevas preguntas pueden surgir en el transcurso de la entrevista de acuerdo al interés y respuestas del entrevistado. Los temas de la entrevista se enfocarán en planificación, gobernanza y formas de trabajo conjunto en el sistema turístico de la provincia de Santa Elena.

UNIVERSITY OF BRIGHTON
PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM / FORMULARIO DE CONSENTIMIENTO PARA ENTREVISTADOS

Self-organisation in tourism planning: Complex dynamics of planning, policy-making, and tourism governance in Santa Elena, Ecuador/ Autoorganización en la planificación turística: Dinámicas complejas de planificación, elaboración de políticas públicas y gobernanza del turismo en Santa Elena, Ecuador

- *I agree to be interviewed for this research / Estoy de acuerdo en ser entrevistado para esta investigación.*
- *The researcher has explained to my satisfaction the purpose of research and the procedure for the interview / El investigador me ha explicado satisfactoriamente el objetivo de la investigación y el procedimiento de entrevista.*
- *I have read the information sheet about the research and I am aware that I will be required to answer questions / He leído la hoja de información sobre la investigación y estoy consciente de que se requiere de mi participación para contestar preguntas.*
- *I understand how the data collected will be used, and that any confidential information will normally be seen only by the researcher and will not be revealed to anyone else / Estoy consciente de cómo se van a usar los datos que yo proporcione y que la información de tipo confidencial será vista sólo por el investigador y no revelada a terceros.*
- *I agree that should I withdraw from the study, the data collected up to that point may be used by the researcher for the purposes described in the information sheet / Estoy de acuerdo en que si suspendo la participación en la investigación, la información que he proporcionado hasta ese momento podría ser usada para los propósitos establecidos en la hoja de información.*

Signed/firma.....

Date/fecha

APPENDIX 5

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES BY CODE, TERRITORIAL SCOPE, AND KIND OF ORGANISATION

TERRITORIAL SCOPE	N	CODE	ORGANISATION	SCOPE OF THE ORGANISATION	KIND OF ACTOR
NATIONAL AND REGIONAL	1.	PN1	Representative of the Ministry of Tourism	National Authority	Public
	2.	PN2	Representative of the Ministry of Tourism	National Authority	Public
	3.	PN3	Representative of the Ministry of Tourism	National Authority	Public
	4.	PN4	Representative of the National Institute of Cultural Heritage	National Authority	Public
	5.	ON5	Representative of the NOBIS Foundation	Regional Organisation	NGO
PROVINCIAL	6.	PP1	Representative of the Santa Elena Provincial Government	Provincial Authority	Public
	7.	PP2	Representative of the Santa Elena Provincial Government	Provincial Authority	Public
	8.	PP3	Provincial representative of the Ministry of Tourism	National Authority	Public
	9.	PP4	Provincial representative of the Ministry of Culture	National Authority	Public
	10.	PP5	Provincial representative of the Ministry of Environment	National Authority	Public
	11.	PP6	Provincial representative of the Ministry of Environment	National Authority	Public
	12.	PP7	Provincial representative of the National Secretary of Risk Management	National Authority	Public
	13.	PP8	Provincial representative of the National Federation of Community-Based Tourism	National Organisation	Public
	14.	SP9	Representative of the Tourism Committee of the Santa Elena province	Provincial Organisation	Multiple
	15.	PP10	Representative of the Port Authority of Salinas	Provincial Authority	Public
	16.	PP11	Provincial representative of the Ministry of Tourism	National Authority	Public
	17.	AP11	Representative of the Santa Elena Province University	Provincial Organisation	Academic
18.	AP12	Representative of the Santa Elena Province University	Provincial Organisation	Academic	
SANTA ELENA BOROUGH COUNCIL	19.	PM1	Representative of the Santa Elena borough council	Municipal Authority	Public
	20.	PM2	Representative of the Santa Elena borough council	Municipal Authority	Public
	21.	BM3	Private businesses representative - Santa Elena town	Municipal representative	Private
LA LIBERTAD BOROUGH COUNCIL	22.	PM4	Representative of the La Libertad borough council	Municipal Authority	Public
	23.	BM5	Private businesses representative – La Libertad town	Municipal representative	Private
	24.	BM6	Representative of La Libertad chamber of tourism	Municipal representative	Private

TERRITORIAL SCOPE	N	CODE	POSITION	SCOPE OF THE ORGANISATION	KIND OF ACTOR
SALINAS BOROUGH COUNCIL	25.	PM7	Representative of the Salinas borough council	Municipal Authority	Public
	26.	PM8	Representative of the Salinas borough council	Municipal Authority	Public
	27.	BM9	Private businesses representative – Salinas town	Municipal representative	Private
	28.	BM10	Representative of the Salinas chamber of tourism	Municipal representative	Private
PARRISHES	29.	PG1	Representative – Ancon Parrish Local Government	Parrish Tourism Commission	Public
	30.	PG2	Representative – Colonche Parrish Local Government	Parrish Tourism Commission	Public
	31.	PG3	Representative – Manglaralto Parrish Local Government	Parrish Tourism Commission	Public
COMMUNES	32.	SC1	Representative – Anconcito Commune	Commune tourism committee	Civil society
	33.	SC2	Representative – Loma Alta Commune	Commune tourism committee	Civil society
	34.	SC3	Representative – Libertador Bolívar Commune	Commune tourism committee	Civil society
	35.	SC4	Representative – San Pedro Commune	Commune tourism committee	Civil society
	36.	SC5	Representative – La Entrada Commune	Commune tourism committee	Civil society
	37.	SC6	Representative – Dos Mangas Commune	Commune tourism committee	Civil society
	38.	SC7	Representative – Montañita Commune	Commune tourism committee	Civil society
OTHERS	39.	BO1	Representative – Committee of organized women of Ayangué	Local tourism association	Civil society
	40.	BO2	Representative – La Fragata tourism cooperative	Local tourism association	Civil society
	41.	BO3	Tourism consultant – NGO	Public sector consultant	NGO

APPENDIX 6

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MEMBERS OF THE SELF-ORGANISED GROUP

INTRODUCTION:

- Remember to explain the codification of the respondents and how their responses could be used.
- Sign the consent form.
- If the question isn't clear enough, please tell me.
- Don't assume that I know things, answer the questions as fully as possible.

QUESTIONS:

1. Current occupation.
2. Member of a tourism organisation?
3. Tell me about the tourism plans for the peninsula which have been done or in which you have participated. Which do you remember?
4. What is your general opinion of the tourism plans for the peninsula? Are they important? Have they worked?
5. Have they been implemented? Why are they not being implemented? (If they work for the council, ask if they are implementing one of the plans)
6. What has been, or what do you think should be, the role of your sector (or the role of the institution/organisation you represent) in the implementation / in the tourism management of the destination [peninsula of Santa Elena]?
7. What are the interests of your sector, or of the organisation you represent, in the development of tourism in the province?
8. What interests do you think you share with other stakeholders?
9. Who do you work in collaboration with?
10. Who do you contact when you have a problem or a complaint relating to tourism?
11. Who represents your interests? Whose interests do you represent?
12. Where did [the idea for] COMTECTURSE come from? What is the role of this organisation?

13. Do you think all of the stakeholders in the provincial tourism system are represented in the group?
14. How are decisions made in COMTECTURSE? Why are these decisions valid?
15. How could the COMTECTURSE improve what they do?
16. What should be kept unchanged in the management of the destination?
17. What should be changed?

CLOSING:

- Is there anything you would like to add?
- Do you have any questions about the study?
- Do you have any advice / recommendations for my field research?

DATE:

OBSERVATIONS:

APPENDIX 7

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR STAKEHOLDERS IN THE TOURISM SYSTEM

INTRODUCTION:

- Remember to explain the codification of the respondents and how their responses could be used.
- Sign the consent form.
- If the question isn't clear enough, please tell me.
- Don't assume that I know things, answer the questions as fully as possible.

QUESTIONS:

18. Current occupation.
19. Member of a tourism organisation?
20. Tell me about the tourism plans for the peninsula which have been done or in which you have participated. Which do you remember?
21. What is your general opinion of the tourism plans for the peninsula? Are they important? Have they worked?
22. Have they been implemented? Why are they not being implemented? (If they work for the council, ask if they are implementing one of the plans)
23. What has been, or what do you think should be, the role of your sector (or the role of the institution/organisation you represent) in the implementation / in the management of tourism in the province?
24. What are the interests of your sector, or of the organisation you represent, in the development of tourism in the province?
25. What interests do you think you share with other stakeholders?
26. Who do you work in collaboration with?
27. Who do you contact when you have a problem or a complaint relating to tourism?
28. Who represents your interests? Whose interests do you represent?
29. Have you heard about the COMTECTURSE? What is the role of this organisation?

30. Do you think all of the stakeholders in the provincial tourism system are represented in the COMTECTURSE?

31. How could the COMTECTURSE improve what they do?

32. What should be kept unchanged in the management of the destination?

33. What should be changed?

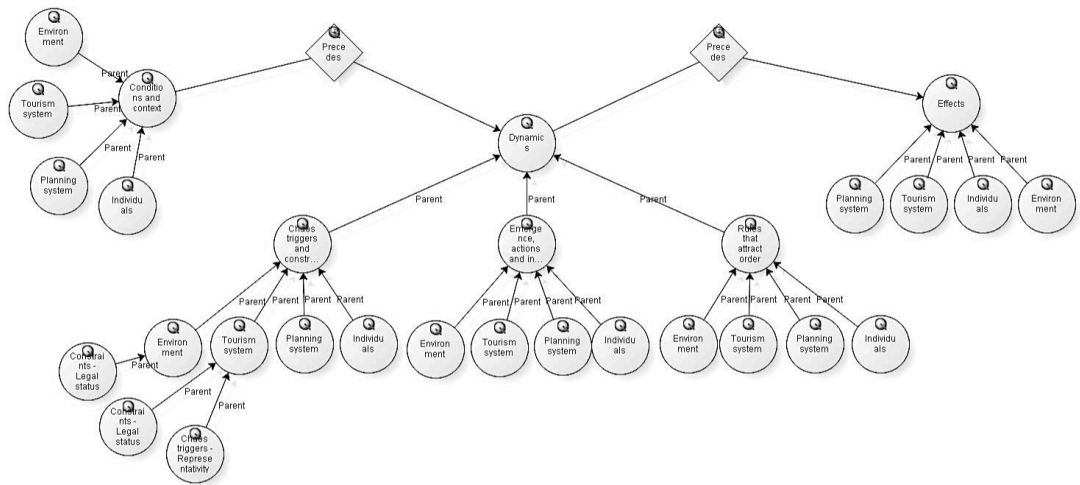
CLOSING:

- Is there anything you would like to add?
- Do you have any questions about the study?
- Do you have any advice / recommendations for my field research?

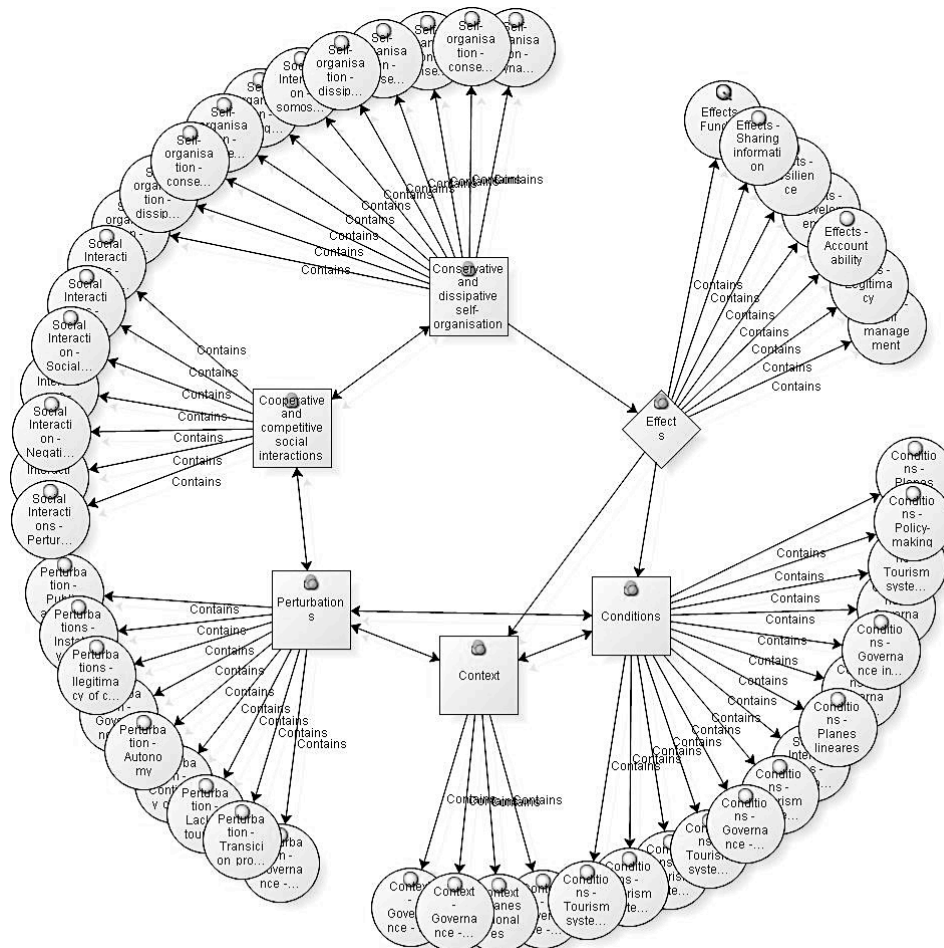
DATE:

OBSERVATIONS:

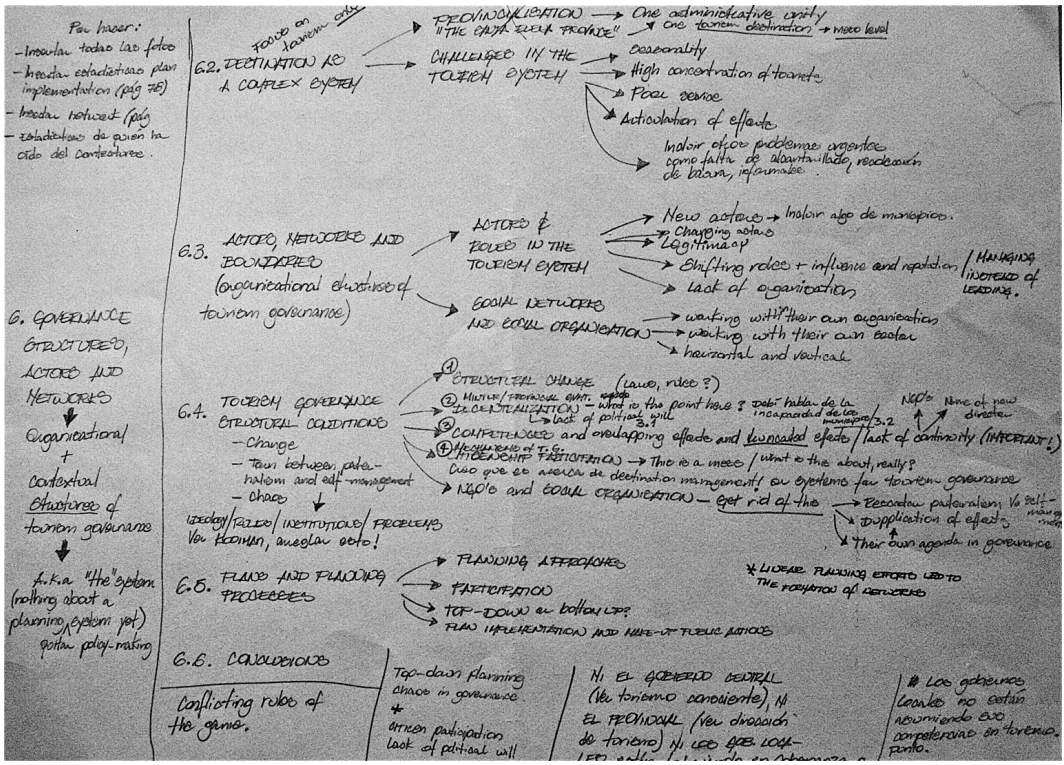
APPENDIX 8 INTERPRETATION OF DATA: THEMATIC NETWORKS / PATTERN CODES



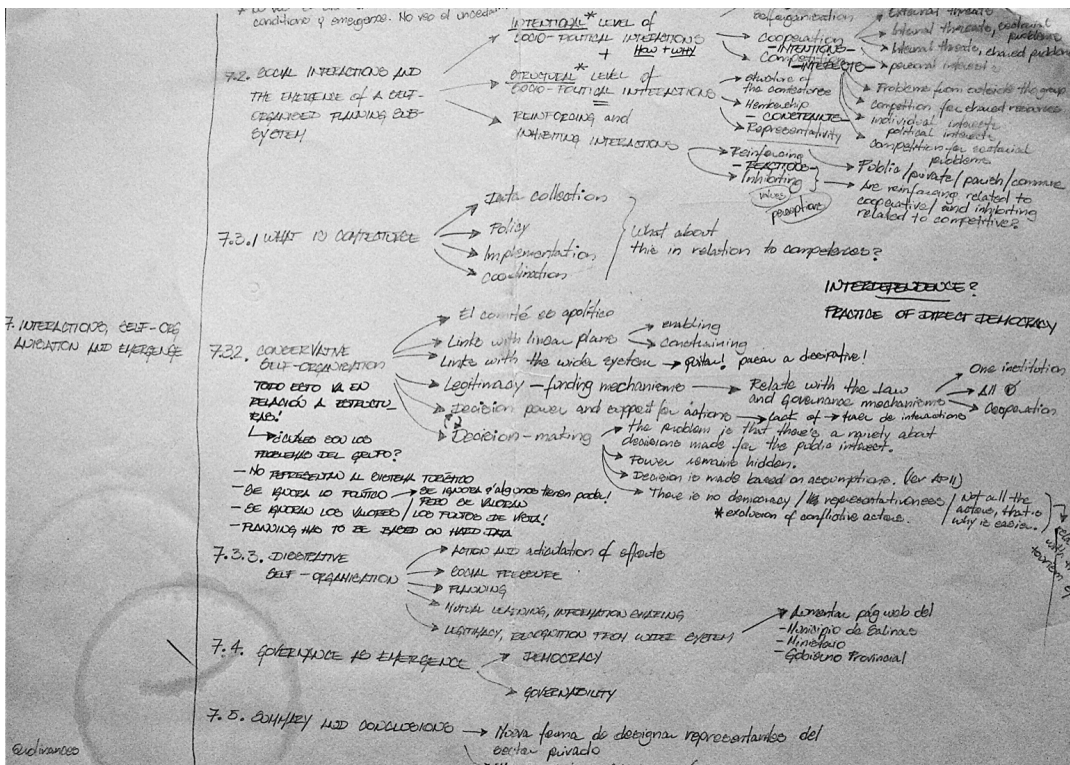
First round of data display with NVivo. Identification of patterns related to individuals, tourism system and socio-political context.



Second round of data display with NVivo. Identification of patterns related to individuals, tourism system and socio-political context.



Thematic network for the interpretation of findings for chapter 6.



Thematic network for the interpretation of findings for chapter 7.

APPENDIX 9.
INTERPRETATION OF DATA: CASE DYNAMICS MATRIX

CRITICAL REALISM	TOURISM PLANNING SUB-SYSTEM	TOURISM SYSTEM	SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT	COMPLEXITY
<p>GOVERNANCE AND SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURES AND CONDITIONS</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Linear, rational and technical planning - Planning frameworks adopted from international organisations - Participatory, strategic, and whole systems approaches for tourism planning - Public participation in tourism planning is inclusive in consultation and validation stages but exclusive in decision-making and implementation ones - Value-free approach in which perspectives and divergent points of view are homogenised - Decision-making is closed and exclusive of planners and authorities - Lack of coordination between government bodies and high rotation of tourism public officers are perceived as the main reasons for poor plan implementation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hierarchical governance - Increased number of players and lack of clarity about roles - Recognition of interdependencies to tackle tourism problems - Illegitimacy of tourism stakeholders and chambers - Hierarchy in relations/ inflexibility for crisscross interaction - High rotation of public tourism officers - Constant change of public actors - Low capability to manage tourism in the public sector - Lack of political will to manage tourism - Previous efforts for public-private governance - Duplicated and truncated tourism efforts - Poor accountability of local authorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recuperation of the role of the State in public affairs. - Changing structures and rules of public administration at the national level (COOTAD). - New spaces for citizen participation in policy-making but not for joint action. - Lack of a national policy for tourism governance that responds to new national rules. - Decentralisation as a longstanding policy for tourism governance that has not been revisited under the new conditions. - New structures of tourism public administration at the provincial and parish levels of government. 	<p>INSTABILITY AND UNCERTAINTY</p>
<p>SOCIO-POLITICAL INTERACTIONS</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cooperation due to interdependencies and shared interests regarding the future of the tourism system - Competition for attention and funds from higher level authorities, conflicting interests, and divergent perspectives about tourism - Sense of belonging, trust and reciprocity among members - Horizontal interactions enabled by an horizontal and flexible structure - Weak representativeness of private, informal, NGO and CBT stakeholders - Continuous reinforcing and inhibiting interactions pervaded by both interests and structural conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Outside the limits of the study 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Outside the limits of the study 	<p>DYNAMICS OF SELF-ORGANISATION</p>

CRITICAL REALISM	TOURISM PLANNING SUB-SYSTEM	TOURISM SYSTEM	SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT	COMPLEXITY
<p>CONSERVATIVE / DISSIPATIVE SELF-ORGANISATION</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interest in keeping their interactions technical, apolitical, informal, and free of institutional constraints. - Interest of legalising the group and get funding within existent governance structures - Interest in collecting 'rational' data for decision-making - Cooperative action based on the alignment of individual interests and the roles and competences of members - Internal accountability based on peer pressure and monitoring of member's actions - Recognition of horizontal dialogue, information sharing and knowledge building as forms of decision-making. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No accountability or communication mechanisms put in place to have answerability or share information to and from the wider tourism system - Low recognition from stakeholders in the tourism system - Exclusion of some actors in the tourism system in order to facilitate decision making - Limited capacity for decision-making and necessity to ask for support for actions that fall outside members competences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Seek for support for actions that fall outside members competences - Recognition from parochial, municipal and provincial authorities as well as from the Tourism Ministry. - Pressure to change ministerial policies in tourism in the province, pressure to local authorities to fulfil their competences in tourism. 	
<p>EMERGENT GOVERNANCE CONDITIONS</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The PTC is a form of actor-led, self-organised and non-linear planning that is not attached to a particular institution. - The policy areas in which the PTC works are in constant negotiation. - Participation is opened to every stage of the policy process from the definition of policy issues to implementation. - Planning is focused on short-term, immediate action. - Linear plans are considered necessary to give legitimacy and technical rationality to their actions. - Decisions are distributed through interaction. Once decisions are made, they are collective decisions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The PTC is a form of bottom-up, multi-actor form of self-governance based on informal agreements among members - The PTC holds collective power embodied in coordinated action, shared knowledge and social pressure. - Deliberative democracy related to horizontal decision-making among diverse groups of actors and different levels of public administration. - Coexistence of hierarchical and self-organised forms of governance in the tourism destination. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hierarchical governance is challenged through bottom-up interferences expressed in letters, press releases and direct feedback to public sector agencies. 	<p>EMERGENCE</p>

APPENDIX 10.

LIST OF 61 ANALYSED EMAILS SENT BY THE PTC FROM FEBRUARY 2010 – AUGUST 2012

DATE	SUBJECT
6 th August 2012	Final report – Colombia promotional trip
25 th July 2012	Updates re-promotional trip
20 th July 2012	Updates re-promotional trip
19 th July 2012	Report re-preparation promotional trip
17 th July 2012	Updates re-promotional trip
12 th July 2012	Report re-preparation promotional trip
11 th July 2012	Report re-preparation promotional trip
29 th June 2012	MINTUR activity report to PTC re-promotion
26 th June 2012	MINTUR invitation to training workshop
19 th June 2012	Meeting minutes
19 th June 2012	Call for meeting – promotional trip
17 th June 2012	Call for meeting
29 th May 2012	Meeting minutes
14 th May 2012	Meeting of provincial tourism businesses – invitation to PTC
8 th May 2012	Information regarding tourism decentralisation competences
20 th April 2012	Meeting minutes – various
18 th April 2012	Call for meeting
10 th April 2012	Call for meeting
27 th March 2012	Call for meeting + meeting minutes
21 st March 2012	Information about the ordinance for the legalisation of the PTC
21 st March 2012	Report on elections of private sector representatives
12 th March 2012	Meeting minutes – Santa Elena private sector representatives
7 th March 2012	Meeting minutes – Salinas private sector representatives
5 th March 2012	Call for meeting - Santa Elena private sector representatives
16 th February 2012	Meeting minutes – Legalisation of PTC
8 th February 2012	Call for meeting
14 th November 2011	Invitation to MINTUR workshop
13 th October 2011	Call for meeting – Evaluation promotional trip to Peru
5 th September 2011	Call for meeting
2 nd August 2011	Information about new tourism attractions in the province
25 th July 2011	Meeting minutes
14 th May 2011	Call for meeting – Peru promotional trip
4 th May 2011	Meeting minutes – Peru promotional trip
18 th April 2011	Call for meeting – Activities for Holy Week Bank Holiday
18 th April 2011	Change of Provincial Tourism Director
9 th April 2011	Call for meeting
31 st March 2011	Call for meeting
30 th March 2011	Meeting minutes –Planning for Holy Week Bank Holiday
28 th March 2011	Call for meeting – Planning for Holy Week Bank Holiday
12 th March 2011	Meeting minutes - Analysis of Carnival Bank Holiday
9 th March 2011	Call for meeting – Analysis of Carnival Bank Holiday
21 st February 2011	Meeting minutes – Meeting with Regional MINTUR authority

DATE	SUBJECT
17 th February 2011	Call for meeting – Meeting with Regional MINTUR authority
2 nd January 2011	Invitation to MINTUR workshop on promotion
24 th November 2010	Meeting minutes – Planning for 2011 High Season
19 th November 2010	Call for meeting – Planning for 2011 High Season
19 th November 2010	Invitation to MINTUR workshop
14 th November 2010	Invitation to an academic event
5 th November 2010	Report of MINTUR activities
4 th November 2010	Call for meeting – analysis of November Bank Holiday
29 th October 2010	Invitation to opening of CBT walking trails
10 th October 2010	Call for meeting – evaluation of High Season 2010
27 th September 2010	Invitation to workshop by the Ministry of Production
24 th September 2010	Invitation to MINTUR workshop on Promotion
16 th September 2010	Call for meeting
3 rd September 2010	Call for meeting
30 th August 2010	Meeting minutes – meeting Regional MINTUR authority
11 th August 2010	Info on data collection questionnaire – August Bank Holiday
5 th July 2010	Call for meeting
20 th June 2010	Information on promotional activities in neighbour province
21 st February 2010	Meeting minutes – Planning Carnival Bank Holiday