The Role of Tourism in Sustainable Rural Development:

A Multiple Case Study in Rural Taiwan

by

Jung-Chen Chang

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham

For the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Centre for Urban and Regional Studies

Birmingham Business School

College of Social Sciences

University of Birmingham

March 2011

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Background and context

In the last century, rural areas have gone through a major restructuring process (Newby, 1986). The conventional agriculture-based economy has not been able to support rural development any longer and rural decline crises have emerged in many countries (Long & Lane, 2000; Hall et al., 2003). This research aims to understand the effects of tourism on rural development, especially with regard to tourism's potential to sustain local development.

Tourism is perceived as one of the world's largest industries, as it consists of various business activities, such as transportation, accommodation provision, catering services, and leisure activities (Sharpley, 1996; Wilkinson, 1997; Jafari, 2000; Cooper, 2005; Saarinen, 2006; Hipwell, 2007; UNWTO, 2008). It has attracted attention from academic researchers since the 1960s (Jafari, 2000; Gunn & Var, 2002), and the foci in tourism research has evolved since then. Early studies were predominately interested in the economic benefits of tourism. After the 1960s, when the undesirable consequences of tourism development started to occur in tourist destinations, more studies were devoted to investigating the impacts of tourism from a socio-cultural perspective. Since the 1980s, the notion of sustainable development has

become popular. A growing attention on alternative forms of tourism developed in response to the concerns of environmental impacts.

Generally, rural tourism demonstrates several types of features, such as sight-seeing, farm tourism, agri-tourism, ecotourism and community-based tourism. Rural tourism entails units being located in rural areas, functionally rural and small scale with a reliance on local businesses; many outdoor activities involve trips in rural areas (Land, 1994; Shaw & Williams, 2002). With an accumulated understanding of the variety and complexity of rural tourism, much research has suggested that rural tourism should be seen in a broader rural development structure (Keane, 1992; Pigram, 1993; Lane,1994; Butler, 1998; Long & Lane, 2000; Shaw & Williams, 2002; Hall & Roberts, 2003; Youell, 2003). For example, the *Encyclopaedia of Tourism* (Jafari, 2000) defines rural tourism as using the countryside as a resource and including visits in rural areas as well as the enjoyment of it.

The initiation of tourism in rural areas is expected to alleviate the pressure of economic decline and to turn them into vibrant places. Research efforts have been made to investigate sustainable tourism in respect of the popular concept of sustainable development (SD) (McMinn, 1997; Saarinen, 2006). This notion comes from the Brundtland Commission's report 'Our Common Future' published in 1987. Sustainable tourism is about sustainable development, and follows the definition which defines SD as meeting *the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meets their own needs'* (WCED, 1987, p.43). It underlines the importance of achieving a

balance between three dimensions: economic, socio-cultural, and environmental in order to guarantee long-term sustainability.

Although the idea of adopting tourism as part of a new economy to alleviate rural decline is commonly accepted by the public sector as a development strategy, many studies point out that this might just be wishful thinking. For example, the development of tourism cannot *guarantee the results will be either sustainable or compatible with existing economic, social and ecological processes already established in those rural areas'* (Butler, 1998, p.226), particularly considering the nature of tourism which by its very nature being potentially considered unsustainable (Wheeller, 2004 & 2005), and the negative impacts of tourism on the local sustainability has been recognised in tourism literature (Verbole, 1997; Sun & Walsh, 1998; Madan & Rawat, 2000; Hall et al., 2003a; Blangy & Mehta, 2006). In terms of impacts on rural areas, the environmental impacts generally include track formation, soil loss and/or compaction, an increase in fire risk, litter and types of pollution (Sun & Walsh, 1998), or even broader impacts, such as problems of illegal construction, unplanned growth, excessive garbage, overcrowded roads, and urbanization (Madan & Rawat, 2000). These environmental negative impacts of tourism have become a major focus in tourism research with regard to sustainability. From another perspective, socio-cultural impacts have been identified in the literature including the changes in value systems, collective behaviour, family relationships, and collective lifestyles (Verbole, 1997). As to the co-existence of

positive and negative impacts of tourism, a sensible approach to the development and management of tourism is required, and the important of applying the concept of sustainable development into developing rural tourism has also been stressed (Lane, 1994; Verbole, 1997; Butler, 1998, Long & Lane, 2000). Therefore, the starting point of this study is an examination of the role of tourism and how it could contribute to sustainable rural development.

In order to respond to the multi-faceted nature of tourism discourse as well as the holistic concept in sustainable development, an integrated concept approach has been suggested in several studies. In tourism research, the concept of integration is applied in several perspectives. Tourism has been suggested as a system which includes tourists and the associated services, such as attractions, transportation, and accommodation, and the surrounding environment; these are all linked together in an intimate and interdependent relationship (Fennel, 1999; Gunn, 2002 Wilson et al., 2001, p.134-136).

Roberts and Lesley (2001) suggest that the integrated concept of tourism can be applied on two levels. Tourism development should be integrated into a wider rural development planning approach, and be integrated with stakeholders (collaboration and cooperation) from the local to the central level (p.226). An integration of policy and rural development planning are frequently suggested when pursuing sustainable rural tourism development (Inskeep, 1991; Keane, 1992; Butler, 2002; Dodds, 2007). This is because of the needs of controlling limits of tourism development from the environmental

perspective. The policy that needs to be integrated in tourism development includes perspectives of tourism or rural/agricultural development, environment-related management and regulation, government support which includes community capacity building programmes, and providing mechanisms and information that facilitates civic participation (Wilson et al., 2001; Mog, 2004; Ko, 2005; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006). Participation of stakeholders is often stressed as the essential link of this integrated approach (Shepherd, 1998, Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Robert and Lesley, 2001; Hall et al., 2005; Cawley & Gillmor, 2008b; Saxena and Ilbery, 2008). With the involvement of local people tourism development can be controlled locally, and their engagement in the process can be the most effective way of mobilizing and coordinating the resources required to develop a distinctive rural identity (Roberts and Hall, 2001; Chio & Sirakaya, 2006). In addition, and integrated concept has been suggested whereby tourism is embedded into local resources, for the reason that rural tourism development highly relies on the natural and socio-cultural resources of the place (Inskeep, 1991; Ray, 1998; Roberts & Hall, 2001; Carrod et al., 2006; Gezici, 2006; Robinson, 2008). A conceptualised 'integrated rural tourism' (IRT) approach was introduced in several recently published articles, which set a pioneer example of theorizing the concept of integration between stakeholders and local resources within a place-specific context (Oliver & Jenkins 2003; Cawley & Gillmor 2008a & 2008b; Saxena & Ilbery 2007 & 2008).

These studies have provided a comprehensive array of theoretical understandings and empirical studies in integrating tourism with other dimensions, such as policy or participation, in relation to its potential to promote sustainable development. Based on these understandings, this study takes an integrated tourism research approach to investigate the role of tourism in sustainable rural development, and contextualise the interrelationship of these potential key elements in promoting sustainability of rural tourism development. A qualitative case study approach is applied in this study as both tourism and sustainable local development are highly politically, historically, and locally influenced. This type of research inquiry is generally not well served by quantitative data though it was applied to the majority of existing tourism literature. A qualitative approach, however, appears to facilitate a greater variety of responses to provide an insight into this research inquiry.

1.2 Research Objectives

The overall aim of this thesis is to gain a deeper insight into the role of tourism in sustainable rural development. The objectives of this thesis are to:

1. develop a theoretical understanding and empirical knowledge of current rural tourism development in Taiwan.

2. examine the existing policy and planning framework in relation to tourism and local sustainable development in rural Taiwan.

3. conceptualize an integrated research framework to examine the key

elements that tightly connects to rural tourism and sustainable
development concerns.

4. examine and compare the effects (including both positive and negative
    impacts) of tourism development on the selected case study sites

5. re-examine the contribution of tourism to sustainable rural development.

6. contribute to future policy and practice in promoting rural tourism
    development in a more sustainable way.

1.3 Thesis Structure

The thesis is divided into a further nine chapters. Chapter 2 provides an
account and assessment of the literature addressing the concepts of rural
areas, rural crisis, rural tourism and sustainable rural tourism development.
Much of work in this chapter aims to provide a fundamental understanding to
define the research scope of this study, but alternative views are also provided.

Chapter 3 reviews the literature regarding the potential components of
sustainable rural tourism development. Three key components emerge from
the literature, namely participation, policy, and place. Further explorations of
these components in the literature are presented in sections 3-5 of this chapter.

Chapter 4 presents the research framework of this thesis, which was proposed
according to the literature reviews and reflects the concept of integration in

tourism. Three sets of research questions are developed based on this framework, and the following sections in chapter 4 gives further details of the methodology approach, research methods applied in this study and the elaboration of the rationale of the case site selection and the process of the fieldwork as well as data analysis approach.

Chapter 5 reviews the secondary data in relation to tourism-related policy and planning in Taiwan. Chapters 6, 7, 8 present the detailed findings that were obtained from the fieldwork. Chapter 6 examines the current tourism policy implementation in the three case study sites. Chapter 7 examines the degree of participation and collaboration between key stakeholders. Chapter 8 presents the perceptions of key stakeholders of the effects of tourism on local development, particularly from a sustainable development perspective.

Chapter 9 discusses the emerging issues from these findings, and suggests their potential implications for future policy formulation. Chapter 10 presents a summary of the main findings, a discussion of the limitations of this research and provides suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2 The Changing Nature of Rural Areas

2.1 Introduction

Chapters 2 and 3 constitute the literature review chapters of this thesis. Chapter 2 aims to explore the theoretical foundations of rural tourism and rural development in order to identify the research approach. Chapter 3 identifies the ingredients of successful sustainable rural development which tourism should have.

Chapter 2 below begins with an exploration of the concept of rurality and a review of contemporary issues in relation to rural decline. In the next section, the changing trends in tourism, more specifically rural tourism, are examined, and an approach to defining rural areas in this thesis is selected. The final part reviews the debates on the relationship between tourism and sustainable rural development and then concludes with the clarification of what we mean by 'sustainable tourism' and 'tourism sustaining rural development'.

2.2 Rural Development and Current Issues

Defining the 'Rural Area'

Defining 'rural' has seen a recent resurgence of interest since the 1990s as rural areas have started the process of major economic restructuring. This

issue has concerned geographers, sociologists, economists, and planners for many years (OECD, 1994; Urry, 1995). Rural area is a term which has a multiplicity of meanings in different research areas and contexts (Newby, 1986; Hoggart, 1990; OECD, 1994; Halfacree, 1993; Murdoch, 1993, Urry, 1995; Ilbery, 1998).

Urry (1995), provides three features of rural areas in order to simplify the complexity of the concept in terms of identifying and defining it. These key features are:

1. Agricultural production dominates the local economy;
2. The local society is structured by the class relations engendered by ownership and control of the agricultural means of production;
3. Low population density.

These features, the rural economy, the traditional social structure, and population density, have been developed as three main approaches to identify and classify rural areas (Lane, 1994; OECD, 1994, p.9; Sharpley, 1997, p.13; Roberts & Hall, 2001, p.11).

In terms of defining rural areas by their traditional social structures, a popular way in which 'rural areas' have been distinguished from 'urban areas' is according to their key differences of 'rural characteristics'. These are the

behaviour and attitudes of local people in small and large settlements (Robinson, 1990; OECD, 1994; Roberts & Hall, 2001). However, it is not easy to clearly define what the characteristics are, since they can be diverse between nations, even within countries. Flinn (1982, cited in Robinson, 1990; OECD, 1994) noted three very different types of traditional life styles within the rural United States:

- Small town society, closely knit, strongly believing in democracy, but often not in close contact with nature;

- Agrarian society, based on family farming, farm life and the calendar of the seasons;

- Ruralists, living outside towns, but not farming: independents who value open space, nature, and "a natural order".

Roberts and Hall (2001) added 'a sense of 'community' to these three points, and put an emphasis on the nature of rural life, which is defined as *'somehow slower, more "natural" and in tune with nature, less materialistic and more complete than in urban societies'* (p.14).

However, the social structures definition is facing increasing difficulties because rural areas are rapidly changing. Recently, the traditional rural idyll myth that is commonly associated with this type of definition has not worked well in identifying rurality. In addition, these romantic idyll concepts have been criticized as being *'created by the wealthy for the wealthy and reflects particular power relations'* (Little & Austin, 1996, cited in Ilbery, 1998, p4;

Shaw & Williams, 2002). These distinctive rural functions can only represent one face in one place. Ilbery (1998) argued that '*this does not mean that all rural areas are the same and those country dwellers are a uniform group* (p.3).'

In the planning and policy making process, however, there is a need for a more legitimate definition of the rural. Population density and land use are the approaches adopted more often.

Population density and size of settlement is the method which is internationally officially adopted by governments (Roberts & Hall, 2001; Robinson, 1990). The concept comes from the image of typical rural areas which have low numbers of people living in areas and are widely spaced apart. OECD (1994, p.9) described rural areas as where '*the natural and/or the farmed/forested environment dominates the built environment.*' Table 2.1 provides examples of eleven European countries' national criteria for classifying settlements as rural, which is based on the data from several studies in the 1990s and organised by Roberts and Hall (2001, p.11).

This table clearly shows the differences between countries. Take England and Wales, for example, the rule is that '*all settlements with a population over 10,000 are regarded as urban'* (Roberts & Hall, 2001, p.11) has been the long-standing basis upon which the government has separated rural and urban settlements, but in Denmark the rural settlement is identified as having fewer

than 200 inhabitants. This highlights the complexity and challenge of effectively defining rural areas.

Table 2.1 Examples of National Criteria Used for Defining 'Rural'

Country	Criterion
Austria	Places of fewer than 1000 people, with a population density of fewer than 400 per km²
Denmark	Agglomerations of fewer than 200 inhabitants
England and Wales	No formal definition but the Countryside Agency excludes settlements with more than 10,000 inhabitants
Ireland	Distinction between aggregate urban areas and aggregate rural areas in Ireland is set at 100 inhabitants
Italy	Settlements of fewer than 10,000 people
Norway	Agglomerations of fewer than 200 inhabitants
Portugal	Parishes of fewer than 10,000 people
Scotland	Local authority areas of less than 100 persons per km²
Spain	Settlements of fewer than 10,000 persons per km²
Switzerland	Parishes of fewer than 10,000 people

source: Roberts and Hall, 2001, p.11

In 2005, the British Government's Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs (Defra), recommended a further detailed classification of the district level for the Rural and Urban Area definition (Defra, 2005a & 2005b). The new classification of local authority districts and unitary authorities (LADs) attempts to explore 'rurality' as a sort of "continuous geographical hierarchy," and starts with Census Output Areas (COAs) and Wards, moving on to LADs (Defra, 2005b, p.9). In this classification, it combines the methods of the national settlement patterns and numerical criteria in the classifying process; however, while adopting the classification, it should be noted that

Defra stated *'The classification is not intended for detailed targeting of policy or service delivery'* (Defra, 2005a, p.7).
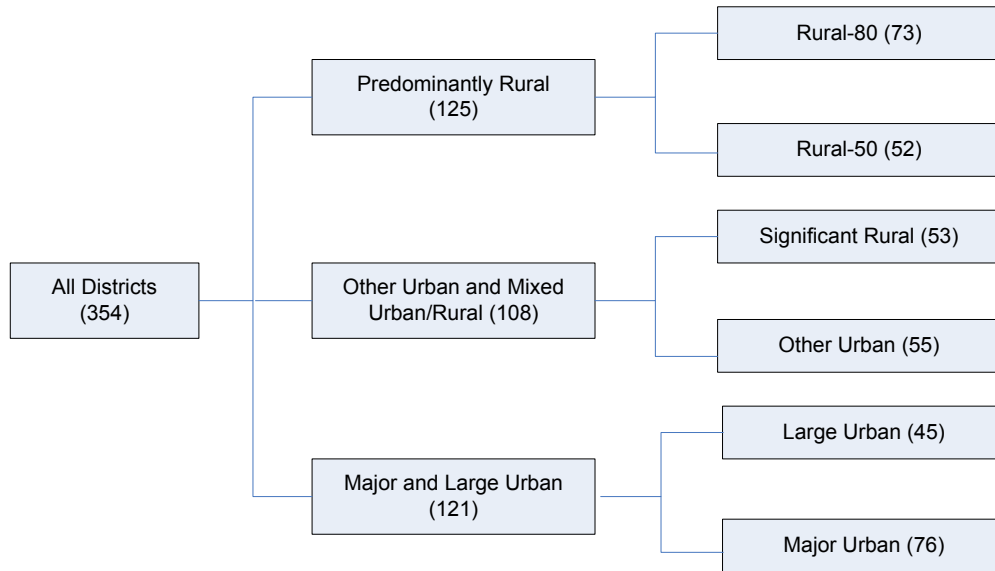
Figure 2.1 The Structure of the rural classification
source: Defra, 2005b, p.20

The first step of the classification process was to group all districts into three main categories by pattern of settlement. The three types of settlement types are defined as the following (Defra, 2005a, p.8):

1) a set of 'major' and 'large' urban areas distinguished by having a population size of more than 750,000 people and between 250,000 and 750,000 people respectively.

2) a set of districts that have the majority of their populations living in rural settlements (over 50%) and hence considered to be 'predominantly rural'.

3) a set of districts where the population includes a mix of urban and rural that can be further differentiated according to whether they have a 'significant' amount of rural population. These are referred to as 'other'

urban and 'mixed urban/rural' districts.

The next step involved using the numerical criteria to identify further detailed groups of districts. In this step, both absolute numbers and percentages are adopted in order to give recognition to districts with a large urban population and a significant rural population in absolute or relative terms. Defra's six-fold classification and the numerical criteria of each category is shown as Table 2.2

Table 2.2 the Classification of Local Authority Districts and Unitary Authorities in England

Major urban Districts	with either 100,000 people or 50 percent of their population in an urban area with a population of more than 750,000
Large urban Districts	with either 50,000 people or 50 percent of their population in one of 17 urban areas with a population between 250,000 and 750,000
Other urban Districts	with fewer than 37,000 people or less than 26 percent of their population in rural settlements and larger market towns
Significant rural Districts	with more than 37,000 people or more than 26 percent of their population in rural settlements and larger market towns
Rural-50 Districts	with at least 50 percent but less than 80 percent of their population in rural settlements and larger market towns
Rural-80 Districts	with at least 80 percent of their population in rural settlements and larger market towns

Source: Defra, 2005a, p9.
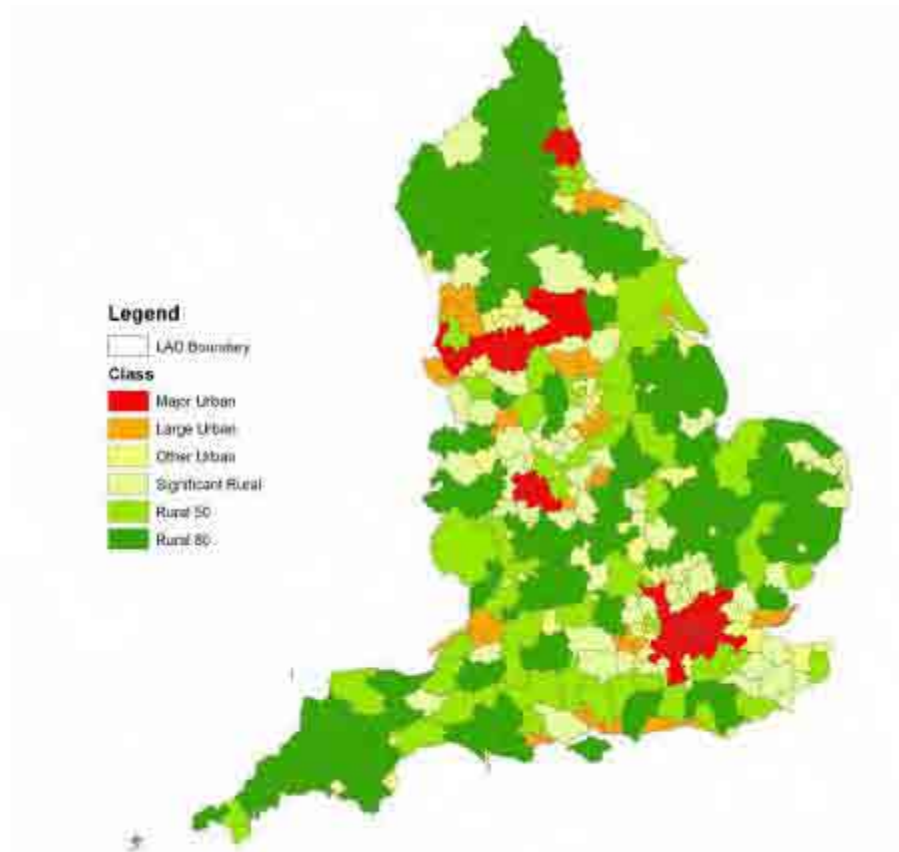
Figure 2.2 The Geography of the Rural Classification

source: Defra, 2005b, p.20

The population density definition is easy to use, but is rather crude with a classification into only two categories, urban or rural; therefore, it cannot describe the range of variation of the changing character of settlements and social behaviour that exists between the two categories. In addition, from Table 2.1, it can be seen that the average rural population densities vary enormously between and within countries. Furthermore, even settlements of the same size can have different functions.

The third approach is land use and economy. As OECD (1994) mentioned,

many commentators define rural areas as those with less than 10-20 percent of their land area covered by the built environment. Robinson's (1990, p.14) ecological approach stated a similar idea, which considered 'rural in terms of its environmental setting...which tends to be imprecise, though in broad physical terms everyone recognizes a difference between rural and urban.' Rural areas can be identified directly from their land use, which is dominated by traditional agrarian and forestry industry or at least covered by natural resources with wild-life, and its economic activities/ occupations being based upon the primary sector.

However, with the agricultural sectors declining in recent decades, the agrarian economic activity is less distinct, particular in the developed world (Roberts & Hall, 2001). The growth of the post-industrial service sector, for example the increasing tourism economic activity in rural areas, has gradually replaced the traditional agricultural activities. This increasing level of tourism will not only shape the land use but also the types of jobs in the countryside. The newly emerging job opportunities will also change the structure of the rural labour force. The traditional rural labour force was required for farming, so there were less job opportunities for women. When tourism contributes more to the rural economy, the situation of the shortage of female jobs will be different in the future.

Due to the complexity of defining 'rurality', a concept of the rural-urban

continuum emerged in the sociological and geographical literature in the late

1980s (Robinson, 1990, p.11, 37-50; OECD, 1994).

The idea of this continuum concept is to prevent the confusion of using *'the*

sharp discontinuity between the urban and rural' (Robinson, 1990; OECD,

1994; Shaw & Williams, 2002). This concept can cope with the difficulties in

identifying the rural area, which consists of a variety of landscape, lifestyle,

demographic inheritance and its changes (OECD, 1994). A summary made by

the United Nations Demographic Yearbook describe this as:

> *'There is no point in the continuum from large agglomerations to small*
>
> *clusters or scattered dwellings where urbanity disappears and rurality*
>
> *begins; the division between urban and rural populations is necessarily*
>
> *arbitrary (United Nations, 1955, cited in Robinson, 1990, p.11).'*

This rural-urban continuum concept is an expression of the degree of

urbanisation. At one end of this spectrum is the remote wilderness, and the

'world city' is at the other end (OECD, 1994). Between these two poles, it

identified a variety of situations which exhibits the characteristics of both a

rural and urban typology (Robinson, 1990; OECD, 1994). Following this

concept, OECD's Rural Development Programme has developed a useful

typology for assessing the economic geography of rural areas (Lane, 1994;

OECD, 1994, p.12). It groups rural areas into 'peripheral or remote' regions, 'intermediate' regions, and 'economically integrated' regions by a narrative description of their characteristics. For instance, when an area has a *'sparse population, small-scale often traditional enterprises, high servicing costs and economic poverty'* (OECD, 1994, p.12), it is referred to as a 'peripheral' region. This typology contributes to it not being sharply defined as rural but instead that they blend into each other, and to explain the gradual changes of geographic, social and economic activities from urban to wild areas, acknowledging the complex interaction that exists between these areas (Lane, 1994; Robinson, 1990, p.50).

Criticism of the conventional manner of defining rural areas was raised by several commentators (Newby, 1986; Hoggart, 1990; Halfacree, 1993). Newby (1986) observed the changes in rural Britain in the post-war period. He suggested that because of the restructuring process in rural areas, the relations between urban and rural area has been different; for example, either land use or agriculture has become dissociated with the conventional perception of rural areas (Newby, 1986). Rural and urban areas should no longer be expected to have clear dissimilarities (Hoggart, 1990). Therefore, it would be problematic if research simplifies the inter-rural difference and groups them in an undifferentiated manner, because

> *'social processes within localities combine the particular and the general, agency and structure, the production of new forms of social life and reproduction of existing forms, in differing, unknown quantities (and qualities)'* (Hoggart, 1990, p.254).

Therefore, the selection of rural sites for investigating is suggested to focus on *'particular social conditions (agency or structure) and evaluate how these unfold in particular settings'* (Hoggart, 1990, p.254).

In terms of the aims of this research, to understand how the tourism industry can be developed with the support of government and local resources, and what the tourism impacts are on local sustainability, it is necessary to select rural sites for investigation, even though there are complexities and difficulties in defining rural sites involved in the selection of valid case study sites. In order to illustrate contemporary rural development in Taiwan, this research decides to undertake multiple case studies. This could contribute to providing more information from the empirical work, and the researcher is able to develop a further understanding of how particular outcomes/results of tourism development emerged in the case study sites under particular background contexts, as suggested by Hoggart (1990).

In this research, rural areas are defined by the key features of rural areas, the agricultural economy and lower populations. The case study sites are, firstly,

identified according to the criteria of economically remaining agricultural in order to represent the rural areas. Although the post-modern perspective suggested that rural areas are functionally increasingly dissociated with agriculture, this research still decides to use the conventional perception of the reality. Because it is true that the agriculture is in decline in rural Taiwan, and there are gradually increasing agriculture products relying on imports, particular after Taiwan became a member of World Trade Organisation in 2002, rural areas are still protected by certain spatial planning and land use regulations which specify these areas as remaining in agricultural land use. Under the protection of these rural policies, agricultural activities still remain the main economic mainstay in rural areas in Taiwan.

In order to obtain more in-depth information on rural tourism in Taiwan, this research follows the continuum spectrum of rural areas that was suggested by Lane (1994) and OECD (1994). Therefore, after the qualified criterion of remaining as part of the agricultural economy, three case study sites are identified according to the population density from low to high in order to represent a 'remote' area, an 'intermediate' area, and a 'economically integrated' area. The details of the case study sites criteria and selection process will be discussed in the methodology chapter, chapter 4.

Rural Development and Current Issues

For many centuries, rural areas have played an important role in producing food. From a historical perspective, it cannot be denied that in the past agricultural sectors have been at the core of economies. Even during the Industrial Revolution, which had a great influence on modernization, it was still essentially driven by the development of agriculture, after the result of population growth and a significant increase in the workforce brought about by the Agricultural Revolution.

However, in the last century many parts of Europe and North America have experienced significant rural decline (Long & Lane, 2000; Hall et al., 2003). In Taiwan, over the past two decades there has been a dramatic restructuring process under way in rural areas, which includes agricultural decline, demographic change, and emerging conflicts, such as the tension between development versus protection and urbanisation versus counter-urbanisation. This section is going to pin down the extent of rural development and the current issues around it.

Rural development, conventionally, has meant the process of modernization combining a set of activities. It could mean improvement of incomes, housing, or infrastructure in rural areas. Although rural progress is defined differently by different people and different countries, agriculture improvement and the

growth of incomes/ poverty reduction have always been central subjects of rural development(Shepherd, 1998; Ashley & Maxwell, 2001, Heilig, 2003). Shepherd pointed out the basic rural development in the conventional modernisation paradigm is mechanical and inflexible, and described it as (Shepherd, 1998, p.2):

> '...to be achieved by big, bureaucratic organisations, with (mostly male) professionals and administrators in command of the process. Economic criteria dominated decision-making; social, environmental, and political 'factors' were relatively unimportant, and participation of the 'beneficiaries' of this development was only included as an afterthought.'

Ashley and Maxwell (2001) provide a useful narrative about the mainstream idea of rural development from 1960s until 1990s with a figure representing the balance between productive sectors and social sectors, and between the state and the market (Ashley & Maxwell, 2001, p.401):

> 'In the 1960s, the Green Revolution was associated with large-scale state investment in infrastructure, research, and support for the adoption of new technology. In the 1970s, budget priorities shifted somewhat to the social investments required by integrated rural development programmes. In the 1980s, in the era of structural adjustment, public sector institutions were trimmed and budgets cut. In

23

the 1990s, with an upsurge of interest in poverty reduction, a more balanced view took hold.'
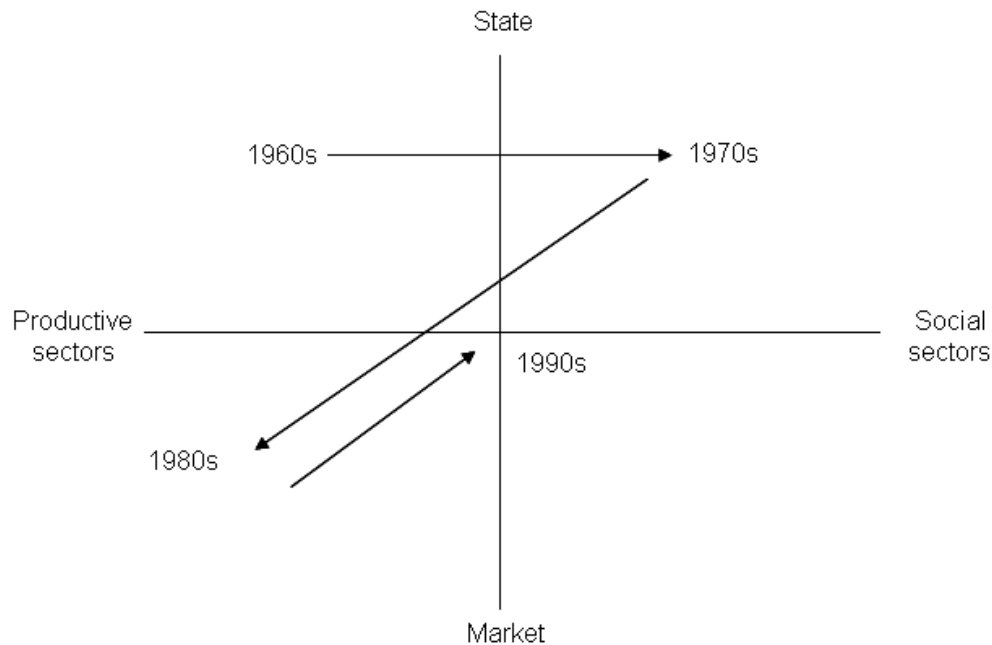
Figure 2.3 Rural development thinking: 1960s-90s
source: Ashley and Maxwell, 2001, p.402

The characteristics which Shepherd mentioned of conventional rural development, such as economic-oriented, government dominated, and large scale investments or projects, are faithfully reflected in Ashley and Maxwell's (2001) review of the period from the 1960s to the 1980s. After the 1970s, with the development aspect of neo-liberal theory, and the concept of sustainability, rural development had gradually turned to be less focused on government control and more on local participation. Furthermore, with the concept of sustainable development becoming the common goal over the world, the

24

sustainability of rural development became the central notion. Before getting started on the term of sustainable rural development (which will be discussed in section 4 of this chapter and section 2 of chapter 3), the following discussion focuses on the current crisis in rural areas.

The first key change in rural areas is the decline in the agricultural sector. Since the generation of post-industrialisation and globalization, the role of the agricultural sector in developed countries is no longer so important. When the function of food supplies has depended more on imports rather than domestic produce, the agricultural sector has experienced a dramatic decline. The phenomenon of agricultural decline can be clearly seen from its contribution to the national economy and in terms of employment(Cherry and Rogers, 1996), and the reduction of the need for labour is even more significant than the result of the impact of mechanisation.

The other force of rural change is the impact of urban development (Butler et al., 1998). Due to better job opportunities, education, health care, infrastructure, and transportation services in urban areas, it is a great magnet for rural populations to migrate into urban areas. On the other hand, urban sprawl can have negative impacts on the physical and socio-economic environment of rural areas. The pressure of urban sprawl has changed the original rural fabric. For instance, unplanned roads spread across fields not

only damages agricultural produce but also speeds up the population loss by increasing accessibility to cities.

Due to these reasons, rural areas are unable to function as they once did, and subsequently, several problems have emerged. The most significant problem is unemployment. Increasingly unemployed people in rural areas have to move into other areas, such as nearby towns and cities, in order to seek work opportunities. Therefore, the working age population (between 16-65) in the countryside is reducing. On the other hand, due to the attractiveness of the beautiful landscape and lower living costs, some retirees would like to move to the countryside. In addition to the above new population in rural areas, there are also some urbanites who like to have their second homes in the countryside, and there has also been a vast increase in the number of tourists visiting these areas (Butler et al., 1998). Thus, the demography of rural areas has changed dramatically in recent years.

A key social problem following agricultural decline is rural poverty. Sissons (2001) pointed out that in rural areas there are large numbers of vulnerable groups such as the elderly (a larger percentage in rural areas), the handicapped, single parents with young children, and young people who often lack access to resources, such as schools, health services, shopping, etc. Thus,

the concept of social exclusion has emerged in rural areas as a significant problem (Sissons, 2001).

Besides rural poverty, conflict in the countryside is another concern, which is the conflict between original residents and newcomers in relation to issues of development and protection, urbanisation and counter-urbanisation. Butler et al. (1998) pointed out that long-term residents tend to support new development because of the value they place on employment generation. Conversely, newcomers, retirees, second home owners, and tourists have generally attempted to conserve a rural idyll; therefore, they are generally opposed to any new form of modern development on the basis they would reduce the 'traditional' feel of the village (Butler et al., 1998, Hall et al., 2003). In terms of tourism, conflicts increase in the countryside with the growing numbers of tourists (Verbole, 1997); for example, conflicts might emerge between tourists and local people, and among local people themselves, in the competition for natural resources, public services, or land. Verbole (1997, p.200) also mentioned it could be the 'tracking' of young people into local jobs into low level service sector. However, whether or not it is considered as 'low level', it cannot be denied that tourism does bring locality impacts and those social impacts will be discussed in more detail in section 4 of this chapter.

On the other hand, rural development in Taiwan has been through a dramatic change within a relatively short period. Since 1949, the Republic of China government settled in Taiwan, and then started a series of land reform activities from 1949-1956 (Chen et al., 2007). The policies announced for these rural land reforms included the 'Land to the Tiller Act (1947)', '37.4% Rent Reduction Act (1949)', and the 'Sale of Public Lands Act (1951)'. These programmes resulted in increasing the numbers of small holders of farmland in rural areas. In the 1950s, the agricultural sectors played an important role in the national economy. Based on the strength of the rural economy, the economic development and the process of industrialisation and urbanisation began in the 1960s. In 1951, employment in the agricultural sector was about 1.64 million which represented 56.1% of the workforce, and the contribution of the agricultural sector was approximately 32% of the GDP (Taiwan Statistical Data Book, 2006). In the 1980s, under the government's policy influence, the structure of the economy of Taiwan had been rapidly moving towards the stage of industrial domination from labour-intensive to capital- and technology-intensive industries (Chen et al., 2007), and then the economic development of Taiwan began shifting towards a post-industrialised society in the 1990s. Due to the significant economic restructuring process during the last few decades, Taiwan's rural areas have faced severe economic decline. In terms of employment and the contribution of GDP, there were 0.54 million employees left in the agricultural sector which was 5.27% of the workforce, and the

agricultural sector contributed only 1.5% of the GDP in 2007. The decline from 32% in 1951 to 1.5% GDP in 2007 (National Statistics , 2007), in the last two decades has led to serious economic depression of agricultural sectors and has already had a ripple effect in rural areas in Taiwan. From economic problems to social crises, rural areas in Taiwan have been experiencing poverty, unemployment, a loss of working age population, and now even more has led to a collapse of the social structure, including family function disintegration and increasing crime rates (Chou, 2006). Furthermore, from a physical environment angle, there is an inefficiency of land uses. In some rural areas, many farms have been abandoned or transformed into non-agricultural uses, for example building country houses or factories; in some other rural areas, natural resources have been exploited for making short-term profits, for instance, as illegal landfill sites. The above description of Taiwanese rural areas aims to provide an outline of the current nature of rural Taiwan. Further details on the socio-economic development in relation to the case study sites will be provided in the methodology chapter (chapter 4).

The understanding of the current rural crisis is essential for this research, because the investigation of how and what tourism can contribute in sustainable rural development must be based on the problems that need to be solved. The reviews in this section will be used as the foundation of the subject in further fieldwork and be reflected in the analysis at the end of this research.

The following sections move attention to the centre of this research, rural tourism and the issues of sustainability.

2.3 Rural Tourism

Tourism can be defined as a human movement for leisure purposes, which has existed for a long time. It is perceived as one of the world's largest industries, as it consists of various business activities, such as transportation, accommodation, catering services, and leisure activities. In addition to its multisectoral nature as an industry, tourism is a field of study covering multiple disciplines (Sharpley,1996; Wilkinson,1997; Jafari, 2000; Cooper, 2005; Saarinen, 2006; Hipwell, 2007, p.5; UNWTO, 2008). Tourism has attracted attention from academic researchers since the 1960s, and the meaning of tourism depends on the research focus, which has changed with the evolution of tourism and its socio-economic contexts (Gunn, 2002; Jafari, 2000).

Jafari (1990) reviews the evolutionary process of tourism research and points out four diverse views of tourism studies during 1960s to 1990s. Before the 1960s, tourism research originated in the interest of the economic benefits of tourism. Therefore, the early studies focused mostly on the economic perspective of tourism. Later, when the undesirable consequences of tourism development occurred in tourist destinations, there were more studies which investigated the impacts of tourism from a socio-cultural perspective. In the

1970s, with the growing attention on environmental conservation, several alternative forms of tourism developed in order to minimise unwanted impacts. Finally, Jafari (1990) claims that based on the accumulation of previous research orientations, tourism studies then adopted a systemic approach which saw tourism as a holistic system rather than just limited in forms or impacts, and is related to other research orientations.

This evolution of tourism studies also reflects on the way in which research organisations or governments see tourism. For example the World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO, 1995) defined tourism at the World Conference on Tourism, Manila, in 1980, as:

'an activity essential to the life of nations because of its direct effects on the social, cultural, educational and economic sectors of national societies and on their international relations (UNWTO, 1995, p.10).'

In this period, tourism was defined by its effects on the economic and socio-cultural perspective. Later, due to the increasing demand of statistical measurement, WTO Ottawa Conference on Travel and Tourism Statistics (1991) provided the following definition:

'The activities of a person travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes (UNWTO,1995, p.10).'

The Australian Tourism Bureaux (ATB) provides a similar definition of tourism but focused more specifically on the geographic distance of travel. From their point of view, tourism is defined as *'outside their usual environment'* as at least 40 km away from home and including an overnight *stay* (Bureau of Tourism Research, 1993, cited in Sun & Walsh, 1998).

The UNWTO's (1995) and ATB's definitions were both concerned with the length of time and distance of travel, and this definition is widely used in tourism research and policy making. However, this approach does not seem to fit with recent developments. As high speed trains and new motor ways became available, it changes the pattern of people taking holidays, for example, more weekend trips were being replaced by a day trip (Shaw & Allan, 2002.; Cooper et al., 2005). On the other hand, this approach defines tourism only from a demand perspective. Jafari (1990) suggests this business-oriented definition needs to be revised under the holistic understanding of tourism. The context of tourism is broader than just tourist business. Instead, it involves both demand and supply perspectives, tourist regenerating and receiving areas,

as well as the interdependency between them. In this respect, a holistic system approach is suggested in tourism research.

The holistic approach is considered a key to sustainable development (Shepherd, 1998), because it can integrate the interdependence of the complicated multi-faceted issues that exist in reality and involve the perspectives from different dimensions which includes socio-cultural, economic and environmental aspects (Roberts & Hall, 2001). This concept is often referred as a holistic, systematic, or integrated approach. In terms of tourism research, many studies adopt an integrated approach (Murphy, 1985; Fennell, 1999; Butler, 2002; Gunn, 2002; Robinson, 2008). For example, Murphy suggested adopting the concept of the ecological system in tourism research. In Murphy's tourism ecological system, visitors are seen as consumers whilst the locality, including the nature and human capital, is seen as a producer. The interaction between visitors and the locality is the development of tourism; in which, revenue of tourism business is generated. On the other hand, the feedback mechanism between the consumers and producers is a key to sustaining this system. In other words, ensuring the locality benefits from tourism development is stressed in this model.

There are several commentators who have also provided their idea of this systematic thinking. Fennell (1999, p.4) considered tourism as *'the interrelated*

system that includes tourists and the associated services that are provided and utilised, including facilities, attractions, transportation, and accommodation…' Gunn (2002, p.35) described tourism as *'not made up only of hotels, airlines or the so-called "tourist industry" but rather a system of major components linked together in an intimate and interdependent relationship.'* The tourism system, according to Gunn (2002), has an interrelated demand and supply side. The demand side of tourism has four major factors, tourists with motivations of travel, financial ability, time and physical ability, and the projection of tourism markets (p.37-39). The supply side includes all programmes and land usages, which are designed and controlled by the policies and practices of all tourism related sectors (the public, private, and non-profit organisations). This can be categorised as five major components, attractions, transportation, services, promotion and information.

On the other hand, this integrated approach is also suggested in the investigation of rural society and sustainable rural development (Urry, 1995; Shepherd, 1998). Urry (1995) suggested that in order to define the rural area, *'the analysis of rural social relations will only be successful if a more "holistic" approach is adopted* (Newby 1980, cited in Urry, 1995, p.79).*'* Shepherd has one chapter in his book (Shepherd, 1998) to stress the importance of a holistic approach in sustainable rural development (SRD). He suggested the required components of SRD included the livelihoods, social development and

environment of the rural poor (p.146), and highlighted 'participation' of stakeholders as the essential link of this integrated approach. Further discussions regarding the integration concept in rural tourism research will be addressed in the next chapter (chapter 3 section 5), that will be a central feature of this research.

The emergence of tourism in rural areas is part of the rural restructuring process in many developed countries. Due to the crisis of economic decline in many rural areas and the fact that agriculture no longer supported the rural economy, tourism was adopted as a means to diversify the rural economy (Pigram, 1993; Lane, 1994; Verbole, 1997; Butlar, 1998; Long & Lane, 2000; Shaw and Williams, 2002).

Usually, in many studies regarding rural tourism, farm tourism features quite strongly and it represents the whole concept of rural tourism directly (Lane, 1994, Verbole, 1997; Hall, et al., 2003, p.3; Youell, 2003). However, given that the negative effects of tourism development have been acknowledged, and as the notion of sustainable development has emerged, gradually in the 1980s more studies have shifted the attention to alternative forms of tourism in rural areas. These include the emerging forms of community-based tourism and nature-based tourism. Community-based tourism emphasises the benefits to

the host community whilst nature-based and eco-tourism strongly relate to the use of natural resources.

The following provides a review of the three forms of tourism that are constantly seen as rural tourism, namely farm tourism, eco-tourism, and community-based tourism.

Farm tourism, leisure farm and agritourism

The concept of agri-/agrotourism describes those tourist activities that are highly related to and depend on agricultural activities. It often is

> '*directly connected with the agrarian environment, agrarian products or agrarian stays* (Jansen-Verbeke and Nijmegen, 1991, cited in Sharpley & Sharpley, 1997, p.9).'

Farm tourism and agri-tourism encourage tourists to get involved in the local farm families in order to get more experience of agricultural life. For instance, tourists stay on farms and go fruit picking or fishing with farmers/fishermen as leisure activities. Sometimes, farm-based tourism can be considered as part of agri-tourism; only farm-based tourism focuses on individual farms in terms expending tourist business for extra income. Agri-tourism, on the other hand, has a broader concept than farm tourism. Sharpley and Sharpley (1997) stated

that the concept of agritourism 'also covers festivals, museums, crafts shows and other cultural events and attractions (Sharpley & Sharpley, 1997).'

Ecotourism

The concept of ecotourism emerged in the 1980's. It was considered as an alternative form of tourism opposite to mass tourism. Ecotourism is often seen as a form of tourism with great passion for ecosystems or interests in 'natural resources', 'conservation', and 'educative experiences' (Fennell, 2008; TIES, 2006, Sharpley & Sharpley 1997; Cater, 1994);

Fennell (2008) examined 85 definitions of 'ecotourism' and identified several of the most frequent cited features, including 'nature areas', 'conservation', 'culture/ ethics', 'community benefits', and 'learning/education' which distinguished ecotourism from other tourism types. He defined ecotourism in a comprehensive way and included the principles that he believed ecotourism should follow:

> *Ecotourism is a sustainable, non-invasive form of nature-based tourism*
> *that focuses primarily on learning about nature first-hand, and which is*
> *ethically managed to be low-impact, non-consumptive, and locally*
> *oriented (control, benefits, and scale). It typically occurs in natural areas,*

and should contribute to the conservation or preservation of such areas

(Fennell, 2008, p.24)

The International Ecotourism Society's (TIES, 2006) definition of ecotourism is 'responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people.' In addition to the definition, TIES also outlined the principles that ecotourism should follow:

- minimize impact

- build environmental and cultural awareness and respect

- provide positive experiences for both visitors and hosts

- provide direct financial benefits for conservation

- provide financial benefits and empowerment for local people

- raise sensitivity to host countries' political, environmental, and social climate

As mentioned above, the venues of ecotourism are generally natural areas or protected areas. In addition to the venues, ecotourism activities rely heavily on natural resources, such as forests for bird-observing or rivers for angling (Weaver & Lawton, 2007; Fennell, 2001). Based on these features, ecotourism can be identified as a specific form of rural tourism, but not necessarily rural tourism (Sharpley & Sharpley, 1997) because of the fact that not all rural areas are abundant with natural resources or defined as 'protected areas'. Agricultural land usages are landscapes that most of the countryside consists

of which is a different geographic feature from the conservation areas. The strictly protected areas or National Parks are generally managed by specific authorities and controlled by specific acts or regulations, which falls under a different managing system from the countryside as a whole. Thus, while the research focuses are on the term 'sustainable rural development', it is clearly unrealistic to put all attention on the debates about ecotourism.

Community-based tourism

The interest in community–based tourism originates from ensuring that the host community benefits from tourism development. The idea is that through better community involvement or direct community control in tourism planning and decision-making processes, the host communities are able to cope with issues regarding the inequity in the distribution of benefits and negative social impacts from tourism development on them (Murphy, 1985; van der Stoep, 2000; Murphy, 2004). Van der Stoep (2000) pointed out several benefits of this approach for the host community, including:

- community empowerment which allows the community to make their own decisions in tourism development;
- better understanding by residents of the community's history, culture and natural resources;
- increased sense of community identity and pride; protection of 'sacred places' and sensitive resources;
- implementation of strategies to minimize or mitigate potential negative impacts;

- development and enhancement of community amenities for residents;

- opportunities to share resources; keeping profits within the community.

The implementation of community-based tourism (CBT) is common in rural areas (Van der Stoep, 2000). The recent studies in CBT have been applied in different research fields, for example, community-based enterprises (CBEs), community-based ecotourism (CBET), and community-based tourism initiatives (CBTI) (Timothy, 1999; Bramwell, 2000; Jenkins, 2000; Timothy, 2003; Kiss, 2004; Murphy, 2004; Manyara & Jones 2007; Ying, 2007; Gurung, 2008; Simpson, 2008).

Community-based enterprise tourism is seen in terms of potential poverty alleviation in developing countries (Manyara & Jones, 2007). Manyara and Jones (2007) investigated six CBEs regions in Kenya, and they provide a useful working definition of CBEs as:

'...a sustainable, community-owned and community-based tourism initiative that enhances conservation and in which the local community is fully involved throughout its development and management and are the main beneficiaries through community development (p.637).'

The importance of community involvement in the development and management of the initiative is paramount in this concept. Manyara and Jones (2007) suggest several critical factors of successful CBEs from their findings, and emphasised that if those factors can be achieved, CBEs can contribute greatly to economic development and poverty reduction. These factors included the communities' understanding of CBEs (the awareness and sensitisation), the level and ability of participation (e.g. community empowerment and effective leadership), the ability/skill of local people running their own business, support networks, and an appropriate policy framework. They emphasised that the role of the support framework for community tourism development in Kenya is highly reliant on foreign investment and donor funding and that without the community engaging in tourism development process, it would lead to the consequences of neo-colonialism and dependency on foreign support. With respect to this, Manyara and Jones (2007) concluded that the tourism development can be more sustainable, if community involvement is present, though it has not been fully achieved in Kenya.

The community-based perspective has been also adopted in terms of eco-tourism through involvement of residents by several international organisations, such as USAID (United States Agency for International Development) and the World Bank (Kiss, 2004). Kiss (2004, p.232) explains the community-based ecotourism (CBET) approach from a perspective of

conservation theory and practice as "a form of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM), a popular choice of activities in an enterprise-based strategy for biodiversity conservation and a common element in integrated conservation and development projects." Through practicing CBET, it could motivate the local community to reduce their harvesting, which can damage the landscape by helping them earn money from ecotourism, which is based on the ecosystem resource. The term of CBET illustrates the concept of compromises between different interest groups; from the perspective of effective land use and benefits to communities, it is a good approach, but in terms of pure protection, it is less effective, Kiss (2004) concluded.

Another example which explored the community-based approach in ecotourism was Gurung and Seeland's survey in Bhutan (2008) which was perceived as one successful case representing the concept of sustainable tourism development (Fennell, 1999). In Bhutan, tourism completely depends on international tourists. All foreign tourists are required to register with a local tour operator. After the survey of tour operators and foreign tourists, Gurung and Seeland (2008) identified two essential elements of ecotourism development in the protected areas. One is encouraging local communities to run micro-enterprises, and the other is to strengthen the network of stakeholders, such as the Department of Tourism, tour operators and the local community. Because providing tourist luxury hotels cannot help local

communities, only the investors who have adequate capital benefit from tourism development (Gurung & Seeland, 2008, p.501). If local communities have their own businesses, for example running restaurants or providing accommodation, or selling handicrafts, they can benefit more directly from tourism. However, this perspective should be supported by a strong social network for communities, who often lack the skills or finances to deliver it. Take the example of providing for tourists to stay, the term B&B or any other kind of home stay is strongly dependent upon the facilities offered and the conditions of the host's house; not every household has the ability to run such a business. Gurung and Seeland (2008) pointed out that only a few privileged households could benefit while most of the farm houses were not appropriate for hosting tourists due to issues of limited space or poor conditions of sanitation. That is to say that although encouraging local residents to run their own small business, like B&Bs, is the most direct approach to get the profit from tourism development, it still has the potential of an unequal distribution of tourism profits. Therefore, a support network could help. This well-developed mechanism is the key to link stakeholders, including the park management authority, the Department of Tourism, tour agents, and communities (p.503). This network provides the functions which help different sectors to develop good communication and co-operation over tourism development, and more importantly this mechanism could make sure that the communities are not excluded from the advantages of tourism development.

Figure 2.4 is the network of stakeholders which Gurung and Seeland (2008) identified in Bhutan's case.

ECOTOURISM IN BHUTAN
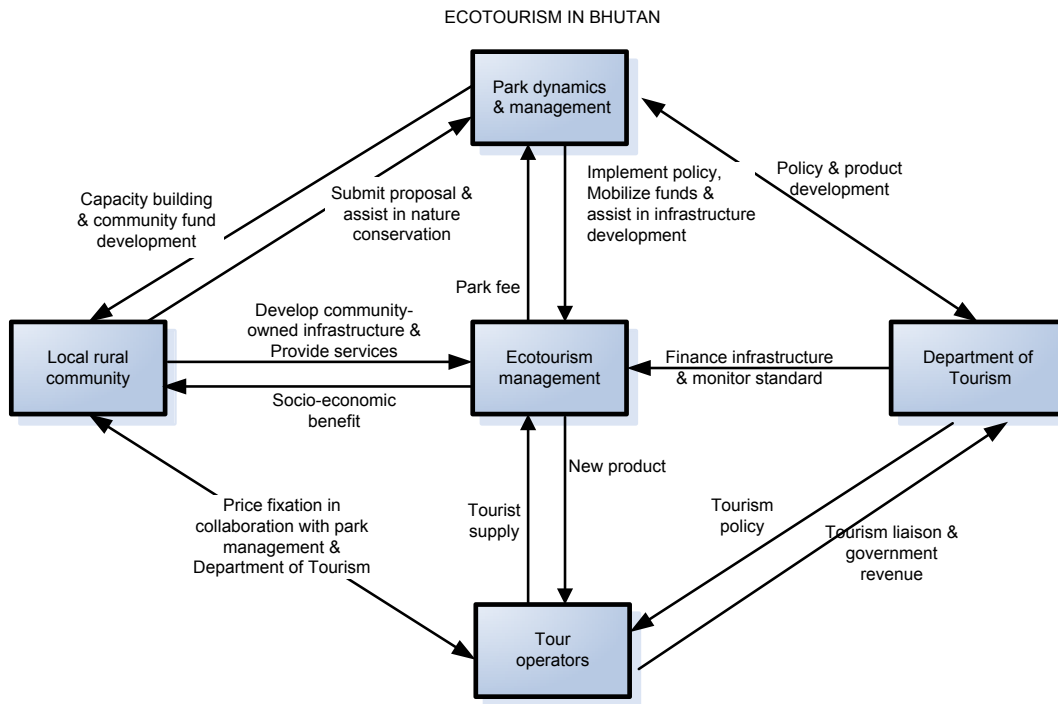
Figure 2.4 The Network of Stakeholders in Ecotourism Management
source: Gurung and Seeland, 2008, p.503

Simpson (2008) compared several types of tourism, which encompass the concept of community, for example pro-poor tourism (PPT) and eco-tourism, with the community-based tourism initiative (CBTI). The different view of Simpson's CBTI with other forms of CBT is, he stresses that it is not necessary to involve the whole community in tourism management or ownership, as long as tourism development follows the principle of '*transfer[ing] of benefits to a community regardless of location, instigation, size, level of wealth,*

involvement, ownership or control'. The concept suggested by Simpson is broader than the interpretation of other forms of community-based tourism, in which four key stakeholders, government, private sector, non-governmental organizations and communities, were suggested to be involved and four key components associated with the successful CBTI. Further details of the former components and the manner of implementation will be examined in the next chapter (chapter 3 section 3) along with the discussion in relation to the issues of participation and collaboration.

The above three forms of rural tourism each have a primary focus, and often, the meanings of these overlap. For example, some eco-tourism cases are combined with community tourism business initiatives (Kiss, 2004; Manyara & Jones, 2007; Gurung & Seeland, 2008), farm tourism and community tourism which generally place an emphasis on the diversification of rural household incomes (Kiss, 2004; Simpson, 2008).

Using one of these forms of tourism cannot represent a full concept of rural tourism, because in the real world, rural tourism involves various tourism activities in geographically diverse rural areas. First, take the location of eco-tourism for example; the venues of ecotourism are generally natural areas or protected areas. In respect of this, as noted previously, Sharpley and Sharpley (1997) argue that eco-tourism can be identified as a specific form of rural

tourism, but is not necessarily rural tourism, because not all rural areas are abundant with natural resources or defined as 'protected areas'. With this notion, while farm tourism and agri-tourism are strongly connected to farm land and community tourism is geographically identified with a human settlement, none of these above forms can be treated solely as rural tourism.

Second, there are still numbers of tourists who travel to rural areas without participating in any of the above forms of tourism. For, example, there are still mass tourism tourists who arrange to have a holiday in rural areas because mass tourism still has its perceived advantages.

> *'Many people seem to enjoy being a mass tourist. They actually like not having to make their own travel arrangements* (Butler 1990, p.40).'

As Butler described, because tourists can save time to find accommodation, restaurants, and have to spend only a reasonable amount of money to have comfortable trips, mass tourism does not seem to be replaceable by other forms of tourism (Butler, 1990). On the other hand, mass tourism does not only appeal to tourists, in terms of the destination, it also means generating a considerable amount of money to the local tourism industry.

Besides, there are still individual tourists who visit rural areas for walking, climbing, landscape appreciation, touring small towns or villages, participating

in rural festivals or events. This wide range of leisure activities in rural areas are all parts of rural tourism. It is really too narrow to explain rural tourism as one single form. As Youell (2003) argued *'farm tourism features strongly in the literature and it often used interchangeably with rural tourism...it is but one "product" offered within the rural tourism sector (p.170)'.*

Several features of rural tourism are, therefore, provided to identify rural tourism. These features include being located in rural areas, functionally rural and small scale with a reliance on local businesses; many outdoor activities involve trips in rural areas, so it is highly influenced by seasonal changes (Lane, 1994; Shaw & Williams, 2002). However, Lane (1994) also points out the difficulties in defining rural tourism. These problems include: urban or resort-based tourism or holiday villages and theme parks are not confined to urban areas, but spill out into rural areas; the fact that rural tourism means different things in different countries; the notion that the nature of tourism is an urban concept; the urbanisation process influences the changes in rural areas; and rural tourism is a complex multi-faceted activity, including various leisure activities (p.9).

With an understanding of the variety and complexity in defining rural tourism, several research studies have suggested that rural tourism should be seen in a broader rural development concept, and this concept has gradually been

accepted by researchers and the public sector (Keane, 1992; Pigram, 1993; Lane,1994; Butler, 1998; Long & Lane, 2000; Shaw & Williams, 2002; Hall & Roberts, 2003; Youell, 2003). For example, in the *Encyclopedia of Tourism* (Jafari, 2000, p.514), rural tourism is defined as:

> *'use[ing] the countryside as a resource'* and *'rural tourism includes visits to national and state parks, heritage tourism in rural, scenic drives and enjoyment of the rural landscape, and farm tourism'*

Another source, called Visit Britain's (2005, p.1), simply defined rural tourism in terms of *'where enjoyment of the countryside is the primary motive.'*

Considering the aims of this research, to understand the relationship between tourism and sustainable rural development and the research scope, including the continuum of rural areas, the broader definition of rural tourism should be taken in this research. On the other hand, the lines between each type of rural tourism are blurred and the fact is that rural tourists do not only undertake one form of leisure activity while visiting the countryside. Therefore, due to the theoretical and practical understandings, this research investigates rural tourism as one which includes all tourist activities in rural areas.

2.4 Tourism and Sustaining Rural Areas

At the beginning of this chapter, the crisis of rural decline was identified, and it was explained that the origin of developing rural tourism research was based on alleviating this rural crisis. Meanwhile, unexpected or unwanted consequences have affected the destinations because of tourism development. Research on the impacts of tourism is often considered within a tripartite framework consisting of an economic impact domain, an environmental impact domain, and a social and cultural (or socio-cultural) impact domain (Verbole, 1997; Hall, 2003). In the following paragraphs, a review of the literature explains the benefits of attracting tourism in declining rural areas. In addition, the negative impacts brought by tourism are also reviewed.

The benefit from tourism development from an economic perspective has received the most attention from policy makers and is widely discussed in the literature (Shaw & Williams, 2002; Hall et al., 2003). Economic impacts are defined as *'associated with the monetary costs and benefits that result from the development and use of tourist facilities and services* (Mathieson & Wall, 1982, cited in Verbole, 1997, p.200).' This definition implies that tourism is expected to sustain and create incomes and jobs, and to diversify the rural economy and to revitalise the local economy. Furthermore, it can foster local infrastructure and other development in order to improve the quality of rural

life. Concerns about the economic aspect mainly focus on the inequality of benefit distribution between the investors and the local community and the effectiveness of alleviation of poverty (Murphy, 1985; van der Stoep, 2000; Kiss, 2004; Simpson, 2008)

Socio-cultural impacts are seen as *'associated with the ways in which tourism contributes to the changes in value systems, collective behaviour, family relationships, and collective lifestyles* (Mathieson & Wall, 1982, cited in Verbole, 1997, p.200).' The positive impacts on socio-cultural perspectives are perceived in terms of opening up the possibility of interaction with other places and reducing the social isolation of the remote rural locations (Hall et al., 2003a). For example, cultural effects on tourism destinations could have the potential for dissolving kinship patterns or abandoning traditional resource-use strategies and be associated with the idea that these resources can be replaced with imports. This will lead to a loss of local authenticity (Gossling, 2003; McMinn, 1997).

Environmental impacts are *'associated with the ways in which tourism contributes to alterations in* both *the natural and the man-made environment* (Mathieson & Wall, 1982, cited in Verbole, 1997, p.200)'. Through direct expenditures and tax revenues, natural environment and cultural preservation/ conservation can benefit from tourism and also the conservation

of the natural and cultural features is expected (Shaw & Williams, 2002). In terms of negative impacts, it includes track formation, soil loss and/or compaction, an increase in fire risk, littering and water pollution (Sun & Walsh, 1998). Take an example from a empirical study by Madan & Rawat (2000, p.251) in Mussoorie, a town in the Himalayas, which found that there were many undesirable impacts from tourism development, such as problems of illegal construction, unplanned growth, excessive garbage, encroachment on the forest, sanitation and sewage problems, water scarcity, overcrowded roads, resultant traffic jams and vehicular pollution, and as well as urbanization. Besides the physical effects, it also could cause negative biological effects, such as causing damage to vegetation, and spreading plant disease (Sun & Walsh, 1998).

Table 2.3 is a brief review of the benefits and drawbacks of rural tourism development, as seen by Cannon (1994). This table highlights many of the potential benefits and drawbacks of tourism on rural areas. Cannon (1994) points out that these impacts are locally different. This means that the policy and decision makers should consider the unique characteristics of the locality when decisions are made, and this point will be further discussed in the next chapter. The co-existence of positive and negative impacts suggests that tourism is not a panacea for all rural problems. A sensible approach to the development and management of tourism is required. This raises the

importance of applying the concept of sustainable development into tourism

research (Lane, 1994; Verbole, 1997; Butler, 1998, Long & Lane, 2000).

Table 2.3 The Pros and Cons of Rural Tourism Development

Economic costs	Economic benefits
Rural tourism: Incurs developmental and marketing costs. Involves risk of the operator and community. Places demands on public services. May only give part-time employment. Is an image industry and is therefore very sensitive to the macro environmental conditions and forces outside direct community control. May increase cost of living for community residents because of inflation of property values and good and services costs.	Brings more money, particularly foreign currency, to the economy. Creates jobs and increases family and community income. Helps to diversify and stabilize the rural economy. Provides broader business base for the community and creates an opportunity for attracting other businesses and small industries. Provides the opportunity for innovation and creativity. Provides the support for existing businesses and services. Helps to develop local craft and trade.
Social costs	Social benefits
Rural tourism may cause: The introduction of conflicting ideas and styles into the community. The increase of crime. Overcrowding and congestion. Infringement on privacy in households and in the sharing of important community resources with outsiders. Institutional, community and family jealousies, as all may not share the benefit equally.	Rural tourism: Fosters a pride of place and sense of place. Helps to build up a community infrastructure. Provides the opportunities for cultural exchange. Promotes a team community spirit particularly through the development of cultural and entertainment activities. Creates conditions for safeguarding and enhancing local cultural identities.
Environmental cost	Environmental benefits
Rural tourism May downgrade the quality of natural and historic areas through increased tourism development and tourist behaviour. May increase noise and litter pollution.	Rural tourism: Can be a key factor in revitalizing the natural, cultural and historical resources of a rural region. Promotes and encourage village renewal and a cleaner countryside. Can foster the preservation and conservation of worthwhile resources.

source: Cannon, 1994, p.56-57

Lane (1994, p.19) stressed the importance of adopting the concept of sustainable development into rural tourism because of six reasons. First, *'tourism should be managed to minimise its harmful impacts while maximising its benefits'*; second, the physical environments of rural areas are fragile, and a sustainable approach must be taken; third, the improvement of transportation results in easy access to rural areas. In this case, the management of the carrying capacity and regulating access might be a solution; next, tensions between the development of rural areas and the conservation of the environment may occur; a sustainable approach is considered as a potential means to reconcile the tensions; fifth, tourism can introduce new investment, employment and businesses into rural areas, and, finally, he emphasizes that rurality *per se* is unique; therefore, acknowledging and preserving this unique rural characteristic is essential (p.19).

In respect of the concept of sustainability, tourism research has many interpretations of the term sustainable tourism. This mainly includes the focus on tourism as an industry and sustaining development of the destinations. Before clarifying these two perspectives, it is essential to understand the concept of sustainable development.

The concept of 'sustainability' emerged in the 1980s, with the recognition of increasing environmental problems and the depletion of the natural resources,

hoping through practical movements and actions to reduce the degradation of earth's environment. In 1972, the declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment was announced by The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, *'having considered the need for a common outlook and for common principles to inspire and guide the peoples of the world in the preservation and enhancement of the human environment'* (UNEP, 1972). In 1987, the publication of the Brundtland Commissions' report, *Our Common Future*, defined sustainable development as '*development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'* (WCED, 1987, p.43). This definition is widely accepted in research and development programmes.

As previously mentioned, the concept of sustainable tourism (ST) emerged from the concept of sustainable development. Numerous versions of explanations of ST which have been provided by commentators, and the concept and policy implementation of ST still essentially follow the Brundtland Commissions' report (McMinn, 1997; Cooper, 2005; Saarinen, 2006). As the definition provided by UNWTO indicates (1993):

> *'Sustainable tourism development meets the need of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the*

future (UNWTO 1993: p7, cited in Butler, 1999, p.10 and Cooper, 2005, p.264).'

UNWTO (2004) provide a further description of the requirements of this concept:

> 1) Make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity.
>
> 2) Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.
>
> 3) Ensure viable, long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contributing to poverty alleviation (UNWTO, 2004).

UNWTO (2004) has expanded the scope of 'sustainability', in which the concept of ST is broader than just a tourism-centric concern. This concept of ST has been accepted in terms of sustainable development in tourism (Butler, 1999; Hall, et al., 2003; Ko, 2005; Saarinen, 2006). This has not only recognised that the use of environmental resources of the destination 'constitutes the rock foundations of tourism' (McMinn, 1997, p138), but also acknowledges the

importance of concerns from the ethical perspective of the destination and the need for socio-cultural authenticity whilst promoting tourism.

This broader concept of ST is adopted in this research. In this respect, the research seeks an understanding of how and in what ways tourism can contribute to enhance the sustainability of the rural tourism industry as well as rural development. Further discussions regarding what sustainable tourism development involves is an aim for the literature review in the next chapter, and the investigation, in terms of the research framework designed by the author as well as further details of the research questions will be discussed in chapter 4.

Whilst this section emphasises the notion of sustainable tourism, the existence of its criticism about it has to be acknowledged. Several articles argue that sustainable development might be wishful thinking and point out that the nature of tourism could by its very nature be unsustainable (Butler, 1998; Hall et al., 2003; Wheeller, 2004 & 2005)

Firstly, from the point of view of the tourists, tourism is expected to provide entertainment. As the *Encyclopedia of Tourism* defines rural tourism as using the countryside as a resource, with people visiting in and having enjoyment of it (see page 48 of this chapter). Wheeller (2004) argues that the true motivation of tourism is the same as anything else in the world which is

'driven largely by avarice, greed, self-interest (p.471).' Bringing these views together, tourism is mainly about enjoyment rather than a wider environmental concern. Consequently, relying on the host community and the environment in order to achieve the goal of sustainable tourism or ecotourism seems less realistic.

On the other hand, from the point of view of the host community, a more sustainable form of tourism expects them to provide an authentic rural experience and hospitality to people who visit the countryside. A survey undertaken by Tucker (2003) showed that many of the hosts prefer that guests stay one day only, because the longer they stay, the more blurred their relationship became: for example, when they developed friendships it became hard to charge for drinks (Tucker, 2003, p. 87). For both tourists and hosts, economic gain and pleasure are the main motivation for tourism.

These examples of human behaviour demonstrate that tourism is inherently unsustainable. Additionally, the negative impacts that tourism might bring provide a warning, that when tourism is promoted in rural areas in order to solve rural problems, no-one can guarantee it will not cause other problems or that it will be sustainable.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter is the first part of the literature review of this research. This reviewed the basic terminology and approach that will be used in this research, such as the nature of rural areas and different expressions of rural tourism. Additionally, this chapter also provides an understanding of the current rural crisis, the importance of the concept of integration in rural tourism research, and the importance of seeing sustainable tourism in a broader concept instead of simply a 'tourism-centred' term. These affect the manner of the investigation and the further research design of this thesis.

In section three of this chapter, while explaining different forms of rural tourism, the review of community-based tourism is perceived strongly related to the concept of SD, because sustainable development should be based on local need and driven by the local community (Hall, 2000). Several key elements for successful sustainable development have been identified in this section, which includes the capacity of local residents in terms of understanding and participation in tourism activities, the skills to initiate business, the importance of support networks among key stakeholders, and the importance of an appropriate policy framework (Manyara & Jones, 2007; Gurung & Seeland, 2008). This emerging understanding in this chapter leads to the next focus in the literature review. In the next chapter, the review will explore rural

tourism by identifying the key factors which contribute to successful sustainable development.

Chapter 3 The Components of Sustainable Rural Tourism Development

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 is the second literature review chapter of this thesis. In chapter 2, rural tourism, the research object of this thesis has been identified and the different types of rural tourism and the notion of sustainability have been reviewed. Rural tourism is defined as all leisure activities in rural areas, and the aim of this research is to investigate the extent to which tourism contributes to sustainable rural development. This chapter explores the literature regarding the components of sustainable rural tourism development in order to form a basis for this research. This review of literature is categorised into the following four sections. Section 2 of this chapter, presents the debates in relation to the general ideas of sustainable rural development (SRD), particularly from the perspective of rural tourism. Three factors that affect the success of tourism in SRD are identified in this section, namely participation, policy, and place (the strong linkage between the locality and tourism). The following sections explore the content of these individual ingredients of SRTD in more detail. Section 3 reviews the concept of

'participation', section 4 focuses on tourism 'policy', and section 5 examines

'place'. Finally, a summary of this chapter is provided in section 6 and

discussions will then lead to the methodology in the next chapter.

3.2 Sustainable Rural Tourism Development

Since the notion of sustainability became a popular concept in the 1980s, many

policies and programmes have been produced by the public sector and funding

organisations in order to achieve this goal. The interest of research in the

evaluation of the sustainability of these policies or programmes also has arisen.

In order to obtain a general understanding of key issues which form or

contribute to towards tourism in sustainable rural development, this section

reviews studies regarding the evaluation of sustainable rural development

(SRD), particularly with a focus on adopting tourism to promote SRD (Bossel

1999; McCool, Moisey et al. 2001; Wilson, Fesenmaier et al. 2001; Mog 2004;

Ko 2005; Gezici 2006; Schianetz and Kavanagh 2008).

Mog (2004) in his study of evaluating sustainable development programmes

claims that there are two groups of principles, which can help to promote

sustainable rural development, the 'process-oriented' principles and 'outcome-oriented' criteria. The term 'process-oriented' principles outlined below, refers to actions undertaken in the process of a sustainable development project, which Mog described as '*the most essential element of an effective sustainability-oriented approach*.' These principles are (Mog, 2004)

- *Character of participation*
- *Success and nature of institution- and capacity-building efforts*
- *Diversity, multiplicity and adaptability of ideas promoted by the programme*
- *Accounting for heterogeneity, diversity and dynamism*
- *Understanding and use of local knowledge, skill, initiative and constraints*
- *Recognizing the influence of external conditions, markets and policies* (p.2141)

These principles aim to evaluate the quality of a development programme's approach. The first principle, the character of participation, concerns the involvement of the local community in terms of the level of participation in the programme. On a continuum from less to full participation, there are several stages in the levels of participation, such as being passively informed by authorities, expressing a local voice in consultations, building partnership with the government, to being fully empowered to practice citizen control. According

to the level of participation, it is possible to evaluate the level of sustainability of the programmes. Higher levels of participation are considered to match the principles of SD (Arnstein, 1969; Simmons, 1994; Mog, 2004). The second criterion, *the 'success and nature of the institution and its capacity-building efforts'*, puts emphasis on the importance of social capital, which is necessary to sustain long-term development programmes. For this reason, governments should invest resources in order to support schools, institutions, and non-government organizations, and strengthen their ability to contribute to sustainable development. The third criterion*, 'diversity, multiplicity and adaptability of ideas promoted by the programme'*, highlights the fact that there is no panacea for sustainable development; it should therefore involve different people in order to provide a full suite of options in order to meet demands of the economic, physical environment, and social aspects of development. The fourth and fifth principles are associated with local control and the importance of the acknowledgement of locally difference. The former points out that the reason why numerous sustainable development programmes end in failure is that they tend to be structured around a 'one-size-fits-all model' without considering the distinguishing features of local

areas. Instead, a successful SD programme should be designed and targeted at its population. The latter highlights the importance of local knowledge because SD programmes are ultimately carried out according to the nature of the place involving the local community and local resources. Therefore, in this respect, SD programmes are able to become more acceptable to localities at an early stage, and then will become more effective in the process. The last principle recognises the influences of the external environment, due to the fact that nothing exists in isolation from the wider world, external influences such as economic, demographic, political, social, cultural, and environmental factors can have various impacts. Even though SD programmes are often designed to target a specific territory, the consideration of influence, from within the place, to outside the region, even to the international level, should all be involved. In addition to the process criteria, Mog organises 18 outcome-oriented criteria which emerge from a comprehensive review of 64 papers extracted from published journals, books or research reports regarding issues of sustainability, rural development, and the participatory approach, used to assess the progress of growth. Table 3.1 lists the criteria for evaluating sustainable rural development (Mog, 2004, p.2144-2145)

Table 3.1 Outcome-oriented Criteria for Evaluating Sustainable Rural Development

Economic aspect
- Reduce inequality-improve intra- and inter-temporal wealth, land and benefit distribution with regard to age, gender, ethnicity, geography, economic class, and social position;   - Reduce poverty-quantitatively and qualitatively enhance income, employment, productivity, food security, and livelihood opportunities while reducing involuntary landlessness;   - Increase security of land tenure- to encourage long-term investments in the health and productivity of land;   - Increase access to credit- for the poor and small landholders, especially targeted to encourage long-term investments and conservation of natural resources;   - Reduce dependency on external farm inputs—particularly expensive, inorganic, and non-indigenous inputs;   - Diversify farm operations and livelihood strategies—to reduce risk and increase resilience;   - Increase access to efficiently functioning markets and market information;

Socio-political aspect
- Cultural acceptability—of the project's goal and methods, as well as the changes, technologies and policies promoted;   - Policy support—promote policies favourable to projects goals or tailor interventions to work within existing policy structure;   - Facilitate learning and knowledge-sharing—to empower individuals and communities, e.g., through extension, farmer-to-farmer exchanges, participatory experimentation, school programmes, technical assistance, etc.,   - Institutional flexibility/adaptability—to ensure resilience and continued relevance both within the program itself and among the organizations it helps create or strengthen;   - Facilitate a process of social change—to improve attitudes, values, awareness, and behaviours as they relate to the goals of sustainable development;   - Minimize local growth in human population and consumption of non-renewable resources;   - Organize communities and mobilize local resources—material, human, financial, institutional, political, and cultural—toward the achievement of project objectives;

Ecological aspect
- Maintain ecological integrity—by promoting the stability and healthy function of balanced and biodiverse (agro-)ecosystems;   - Protect and/or increase biological and genetic diversity (particularly of indigenous species) — both on-and off-farm to improve nutrient cycling, soil conditions, productivity, and food security, while minimizing pests and risk overall;   - Prevent land degradation—preserve soil health and fertility, e.g., through fallowing, crop rotation, careful management organic matter, planting of nitrogen-fixing species, and through means to minimize erosion, nutrient loss, and soil acidification or pollution;   - Protect air and water quality—prevent both point source and nonpoint source pollution, e.g., by minimizing erosion, nutrient runoff, and the application of inorganic agrochemicals.

Source: Mog, 2004, p.2144-2145

These criteria are all important, as there is no logical means to rank them, there is no alternative but to account for them all equally, and not all indicators should be considered in one area (Mog. 2004; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006). In practical terms, it is almost impossible for any SD programme to satisfy every single criterion. Therefore, Mog suggests the evaluation of the degree of success of the SD programmes should be undertaken with a consideration of the aims of the programme. For example, an environmental protection programme might not have positive outcomes in terms of the alleviation of poverty, but it still can be considered as successful. By assessing the selected purpose-specific criteria of the programme, both the amount of positive change created and the number of elements addressed, the effectiveness of the SD programmed can be better understood (p.2143).

In addition to Mog's (2004) study in evaluating SRD, several studies have been conducted into more tourism-specific research in relation to SD (McCool et al., 2001; Wilson et al., 2001; Ko, 2005; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; Gezic, 2006; Schianetz & Kavanagh, 2008). Research regarding quantitative indicators for assessing the sustainability of tourism development is useful to examine here. Because sustainable indicators summarise complex real world information

(Bossel, 1999), the SD indicator literature provides an insight into the current state of tourism development and its effects on the sustainable growth progress on the destination areas (Bossel, 1999; McCool et. al., 2001; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; Schianetz & Kavanagh, 2008).

Choi and Sirakaya (2006) developed indicators for monitoring and measuring the progress of sustainable community tourism development. They argued that, in addition to the traditional dimensions of tourism (economic, social, cultural, and ecological dimensions), the inclusion of the political and technological dimensions is suggested. Based on the literature and the three-round Delphi method[1], Table 3.2 lists the results of the top three objective indicators in each of the dimensions which are perceived as essential in sustainable community tourism development.

---

[1] In Choi & Sirakaya's (2006) study, the Delphi method applied including three round questionnaires process to reach an agreement of the issues discussed. The interviewees are experts who have published journal articles regarding sustainable tourism development.

Table 3.2 The Top Three Objective Indicators of Each Dimension

Ranking	Objective indicators
Economic dimension	
1.	Availability of local credit to local business
2.	Employment growth in tourism
3.	Percent of income leakage out of the community
Social dimension	
1.	Resident involvement in tourism industry
2.	Visitor satisfaction/ attitude toward TD
3.	Litter/ pollution
Cultural dimension	
1.	Availability of cultural site maintenance fund and resources
2.	Type and amount of training given to tourism employees (guide)
3.	Types of building material and décor
Ecological dimension	
1.	Air quality index
2.	Amount of erosion on the natural site
3.	Frequency of environmental accidents related to tourism
Political dimension	
1.	Availability and level of land zoning policy
2.	Availability of air, water pollution, waste management and policy
3.	Availability of development control policy
Technological dimension	
1.	Accurate data collection
2.	Use of low-impact technology
3	Benchmarking

source: Choi & Sirakaya, 2006, p.1284

While the above indicators were developed using a quantitative approach, Wilson *et al.* (2001) provide a description of 10 key components for successful rural tourism development. These components were identified according to the responses of focus groups which were conducted with local business people and leaders. These components included (Wilson *et al.*, 2001, p.134-136):

1. A complete tourism package which refers to the development of the destination which integrates with surrounding environment and businesses to provide more activities/ options of leisure activities in the destination.

2. Good leadership of key actors; this articulates the role of local government, community groups, the business community and non-profit organizations.
3. Support and participation of local government, which emphasises the important role of local government, in terms of providing funding, infrastructure, environment planning and maintenance of the cleanliness of the environment, and skill training for local businesses.
4. Sufficient funds for tourism development.
5. Strategic planning in terms of allocation of funds and resources, and participation and coordination mechanisms between key stakeholders
6. Coordination and cooperation between business persons and local leaders.
7. Coordination and cooperation between rural tourism entrepreneurs
8. Information and technical assistance for tourism development and promotion. This emphasises the capacity building of local communities which usually lack the resources and skills to develop tourism.
9. Good convention and visitor bureaus. This points out the advantages that could happen when a destination has a tourism-specific bureau to market local tourism, provide technical assistance to start tourist businesses, and coordinate or fund tourism events.
10. Widespread community support for tourism; the backing from local community in terms of attitudes and hospitality is considered important for successful tourism development.

Among these, points 2, 3, 6, 7, 10 stress above all the importance of partnership and coordination between the local community, businesses, and local government. The emphasis on participation and collaboration between key stakeholders is commonly recognised as one of the key essences in STD, as in Chio and Sirakaya's (2006) suggestion that SRTD should be controlled locally, which has also been stressed in the articles regarding the

comprehensive concept of SRTD in the earlier discussion of this section, such as in Wilson et al. (2001), Mog's (2004) process-oriented principles, Gezici (2006), Ko (2005), and McCool et al. (2001). In addition to the above articles addressing the SD concept in general, there has been accumulated tourism research with specific attention on the issue of participation. For example, as mentioned previously in chapter 2, the approach of community-based tourism in rural areas. Citizen participation and community involvement in the policy making-process (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Leeuwis, 2000; Bramwell & Lane, 2000; van der Stoep, 2000; Vernon et al., 2005) as well as collaboration between rural businesses (Hall & Mitchell, 2005) are also important issues in the debates on participation and SRTD.

The role of policy is also highly valued in SRTD due to the needs of controlling limits of development for the needs of future generations. This includes policy regarding tourism or rural/agricultural development (Wilson et al., 2001; Mog, 2004; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006), environment-related management and regulation, such as land use planning and natural resource management (Mog, 2004; Ko, 2005; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006), government support which includes

community capacity building programmes (Mog, 2004), and providing mechanisms and information that facilitates civic participation (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006). In this respect, local government and locally oriented planning and policy is particularly stressed, because local government is the public body which has direct contact, with, and influences the local community (Wilson et al. 2001; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006). In addition, there are many books and journal articles primarily addressing tourism policy in both theoretical and practical perspectives, which will be discussed in the latter sections of this chapter (Hall & Jenkins, 1995; Wilkinson, 1997; Butler, 1999; Gunn & Var, 2002; Dodds, 2007; Briedenhann, 2008; Krutwaysho & Bramwell, 2010)

Third, the concept of the strong linkage between tourism development and the locality of the destination also has emerged from these analyses. Studies investigating tourism and sustainable rural development are often defined within a local level for the feasibility of the evaluation of the tourist destination (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; Gezici, 2006; Saarinen, 2006). The value of local control and the important role of local government in the earlier discussion of this section are also evidence of this concept. The use of local

resources is another key factor which establishes tourism development in a destination in a particular form. Gezici (2006) points out that tourism activities depend on environmental resources, such as local natural attractions, urban & natural sites, and landforms, which are perceived as the most essential part of sustainable tourism.

Since the interrelationship between local resources and tourism activities has been recognised as being dependent on the location, recognising the resources available in a place can lead to the understanding of the potential of tourism development. This facilitates the identification of compatible activities and a sensible allocation of resources to promote local sustainability (Butler et al., 1998). In addition to this conceptual idea of place, there are several studies that illustrate the strong linkage between local resources and tourism development (Ray, 1998; Garrod et al., 2006) and the introduction of the 'integrated rural tourism' (IRT) approach. There will be more discussion and insights into the concept of 'place' in section 5 of this chapter.

These three issues, participation, policy, and place, which have emerged in this

section, are recognised as crucial components in increasing the contribution of

tourism to sustainable rural development. In order to inform the fundamental

understanding and basis of this research, these three issues are examined in

more detail in the following three sections.

3.3 Participation, Partnership and Collaboration

As identified in the previous section, partnership is believed to be a key

component in sustainable tourism development. It is also widely seen as a

'public right' of citizens to make their own decisions on changes affecting their

daily lives (Simmons, 1994, p.99). In respect of the concept of sustainable

tourism development, the involvement of local residents and businesses in the

decision-making process is particularly essential in order to enhance the

ability of tourism to meet the needs of local communities (UNWTO, 2004). In

addition, due to the nature of tourism development, it necessarily involves a

multiplicity of stakeholders including various businesses, residents, special

interest groups, policy makers and, government authorities. It is believed that,

in order to promote successful tourism development, no one stakeholder can operate in isolation (Jamal & Getz, 1995). Therefore, participation, partnership and collaboration have been stressed by some commentators as the 'very essence' of SRTD (Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Leeuwis, 2000; Hall et al., 2005; Gurung & Seeland, 2008).

In rural areas, participation and collaboration between tourism stakeholders is even more influential (Verbole, 1997; Roberts & Hall, 2001), because in the countryside, tourism-related businesses are usually small and family-run. In this respect, rural tourism development and entrepreneurship cannot coexist without the participation and collaboration of businesspersons directly and indirectly involved in tourism (Wilson et al., 2001; Saxena & Ilbery, 2008).

According to the Cambridge dictionary, 'partnership' is defined as 'when two people or organizations work together to achieve something'. In the literature on tourism, the term partnership often refers to the consideration of citizen's rights and the engagement of local residents in the policy decision-making process. In addition, the term collaboration is often used alternatively instead

of 'partnership' when referring to 'working together'. Many studies deal with these issues, each with a slightly different focus. 'Partnership' and 'collaboration' are frequently seen as terms which investigate inter-organisation collaboration in tourism planning. The scale of and the actors involved in this 'partnership' and 'collaboration' differs in every case. Some research focuses on the partnership in the planning process (Jamel & Getz, 1995; Bramwell & Lane 2000), and others emphasise the initiation of community-based tourism (Murphy, 1980; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Murphy et al., 2004; Hall et al., 2005; Dredge, 2006; Simpson, 2008) or business cooperative marketing strategies (Selin & Myers, 1998). This research highlights two major concerns; the extent of involvement in and the benefit on local actors from the tourism development (Timothy, 1999). Discussions in relation to community-based tourism have been covered in the previous chapter (chapter 2 section 3). Therefore, this section only focuses on issues related to the benefits of tourism partnership, key factors and barriers of effective tourism collaboration and the implementation of issues in participatory implementation identified in the literature.

The reasons why partnership and collaboration are encouraged in tourism development, in addition to being in the spirit of sustainable development and that it is the public right of people, are that it contributes a number of important benefits. The most frequently suggested benefits are the reduction of conflict, sharing information as well as resources for business uses, and involving local voices in the tourism decision making process (Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Roberts & Hall, 2001; Hall et al., 2003; Hall et al., 2005). Bramwell and Lane, (2000) summarise some potential benefits of collaboration in tourism planning in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Potential Benefits of Collaboration and Partnership in Tourism Planning

- There may be involvement by a range of stakeholders, all of whom are affected by the multiple issues of tourism development and may be well placed to introduce change and improvement.
- Decision-making power and control may diffuse to the multiple stakeholders that are affected by the issues, which is favourable for democracy.
- The involvement of several stakeholders may increase the social acceptance of policies, so that implementation and enforcement may be easier to effect.
- More constructive and less adversarial attitudes might result as a consequence of working together.
- The parties who are directly affected by the issues may bring their knowledge, attitudes and other capacities to the policy-making process.
- A creative synergy may result from working together, perhaps leading to greater innovation and effectiveness.
- Partnership can promote learning about the work, skills and potential of the other partners, and also develop the group interaction and negotiating skill that help to make partnerships successful.
- Parties involved in policy-making may have a greater commitment to putting the resulting policies into practice.
- There may be improved coordination of the policies and related actions of the multiple stakeholders.
- There may be greater recognition of the importance of non-economic issues and interests if they are included in the collaborative framework, and this may strengthen the range of tourism products available.
- There may be a pooling of the resources of stakeholders, which might lead to their more effective use.
- When multiple stakeholders are engaged in decision-making the resulting policies may be more flexible and also more sensitive to local circumstances and the changing conditions,
- Non-tourism activities may be encouraged, leading to a broadening of the economic, employment and societal base of a given community or region.

source: Bramwell and Lane, 2000, p.7, Table 1

As these potential benefits of tourism participation have been gradually

acknowledged by both the academic and the public sectors, much research has

examined the extent of the effectiveness of participation in tourism (Jamal &

Getz, 1995; Selin & Myers, 1998; Vernon et al., 2005).

Jamal and Getz (1995) provide a theoretical foundation for the key

characteristics of successful collaboration between actors from both the public

and private sectors, in tourism planning. The first attribute is that the

interdependency between stakeholders and with the natural environment

should be acknowledged in tourism planning and management process. Second,

the benefits of tourism, both mutual benefits of the destination and individual

benefits for particular actors, should be recognised. The mutual benefits

include the improvement of tourism development in both aspects of

effectiveness and efficiency, and the competitiveness and improved

sustainability of the destination. Individual benefits refer to effective

representation, access to better resources to influence planning results, lower

investment risks, reasonable public resource allocation, and the satisfaction of

the majority of local population. Third, the participants should perceive that

the outcomes of the collaboration are effective. This can stem from the

inclusion of the key stakeholders external mandate, a clear common goal, and

adequate resources to implement the collaboration process. Fourth, collaboration in tourism planning should involve diverse stakeholders in order to represent their views of local tourism development. These stakeholders include local government, other related authorities, tourism industry associations, community organisations, social agencies (e.g. school, hospitals) and special interest groups. Fifth, *'a convener (leading actor) is required to initiate and facilitate the tourism collaboration (p.198).'* This leading actor could be a government authority or a powerful business firm or a special interest group, and the responsibility of the leading actor is to identify key stakeholders and bring them together to provide the sensitive allocation of resources, and have the ability and specificity to cope with emerging problems. In the tourism destinations, local government is suggested as an appropriate leading actor in this process for they are more familiar with the locality than regional and central governments. Finally, the need to formulate a consensus vision of desirable tourism development by stakeholders can contribute to longer-term planning and tourism participation process without being disrupted by elections or oneoff grant projects. Jamal and Getz (1995) suggest that with the understanding of the above characteristics, this approach can be

applied in evaluations of tourism participatory projects or in the design process of these programmes.

In addition to contributing to our theoretical understanding of tourism collaboration, Selin and Myers (1998) also conducted relevant empirical research. It was in the form of a survey of one regional alliance, the Coalition for Unified Recreation in the Eastern Sierra in the US, to understand from alliance members' perception what are the important components of an effective collaboration. The findings indicate that it required a forum to foster administrative support, trust, conversation, the establishment of collaboration, and promoting and facilitating personal benefit to establish the partnership. In addition, good working relationships, team building, a clear vision, goal accomplishment, strong leadership, give and take, inclusion, the importance of the issue and clear objectives (p.93) were also recognised as key factors in effective tourism collaboration. The barriers in collaboration were found to include lack of time and tangible results, and problems with time consuming and frequent meetings (p.91). Of particular concern was the lack of effective outcomes of the collaboration which it found hindered further participation.

Therefore, how to maintain participants' enthusiasm in collaboration processes was identified as a major challenge.

With the emphasis on sustainability in tourism development, the evaluation of effective participation is more difficult, because the perspective of environmental change is involved. Three perspectives are suggested in the evaluation by Long and Arnold (1995, cited in Bramwell & Lane, 2000, p.11). These examine whether tourism partnerships contribute to improve the quality of the environment; in addition to the physical environment, Long and Arnold (1995) suggest that direct benefits emerge from tourism and the process of collaboration work should also be examined, when evaluating tourism partnership.

A critique of existing collaboration theory is provided by Vernon et al. (2005) in their research on the evaluation of sustainable projects at a local district scale in Cornwall, UK. In collaboration theory, the leadership of the public sector is highly stressed, as mentioned by Jamal and Getz (1995) and in Selin and Myers (1998). However, according to Vernon's et al. (2005) findings, in practice,

unless the private sector is convinced of the potential benefits obtained through a more responsible approach towards the environment, the implementation of sustainable tourism development cannot be achieved; in addition, the collaboration process is, in fact, temporal and dynamic. The role of the partner in collaboration changes, since the abilities and willingness of members and the objectives and issues of the tourism collaboration, shift over time. Vernon et al. (2005) suggested that the allocation of responsibilities and expectations of each member and the improvement of the individual profits in tourism collaboration should be flexible and adjustable in order to sustain the partnership between tourist businesses. According to their findings, new opportunities for holistic and innovative tourist services have been recognised beyond the area of local government boundaries. Therefore, tourism collaboration should be encouraged to extend beyond both departmental and geographic boundaries; in other words, the cross-district and cross-departmental initiative collaboration should be formulated, so as to improve the potential outcomes (Vernon et al., 2005).

In addition to the discussion regarding the key characteristics and factors of effective participation, a problem with the level of participation has also emerged in some studies. In early studies, the higher the level of participation, the greater effectiveness is perceived (Arnstein, 1969; Mog, 2004). Arnstein (1969) in her article, *'A Ladder of Citizen Participation'*, defined different levels of citizen participation by an illustrative eight rungs on a ladder. From non-participation to citizen power, the ladders are 'manipulation', 'therapy', 'informing', 'consultation', 'placation', 'partnership', 'delegated power', and 'the highest 'citizen control'. Arnstein believed that participation is a form of citizen power which enables citizens to be included in the political and economic process to determine how policies are set and to share the benefits from the process (Arnstein, 1969, p.242). As discussed previously, participation is also highly valued in tourism planning. Some tourism participation studies, however, argue that the participation in tourism planning is not fully feasible in every destination because of the different socio-cultural context and the level of community capacity. Due to the fact that the concept of the participatory approach originates in the developed world in a democratic social, economic, and political context, the implications of this approach in places with

less familiarity with practicing citizens' rights should be carefully adjusted based on the location-specific characteristics (Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2000; Ying & Zhou, 2007). As Ying and Zhou's (2007, p.105) empirical studies in two villages in China pointed out, there are two key concerns in community participation: The first concern is a lack of democratic awareness and insufficient abilities for rural residents to participate in planning. A second concern is a crucial fact that 'making a living' is the main priority of people's concerns. Rural residents would rather engage in activities which provide direct economic benefits than spend time in practicing their citizen's rights. Therefore, in countries such as China, local residents do not often acknowledge the concept of participation and even if they did, it is important not to ignore the key issues of the lack of ability or resources to participate. In addition, reaching a single opinion towards tourism development is rare, and the existence of the silent majority in the participatory process should be acknowledged (McMinn, 1997; Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Hall, 2000; Simpson, 2008). In respect of these emerging issues, Simpson (2008) suggests that the emphasis should focus on transforming the maximum benefit to the locality instead of over emphasising the community involvement process.

Collaboration initiatives in tourism development can be led by governments, non-profit organizations, the private sector, or local communities, rather than be constrained by an over emphasis on community participation.

3.4 Tourism Policy in SRD

In section two of this chapter, policy was identified as one of the key components of sustainable rural tourism development. This, in more detail, involves policies, plans and strategies that government has provided in order to develop and guide tourism development.

Inskeep (1991) identifies the terminology for these:

> *'Policy refers to the development approach applied to guide and determine decision-making; plan refers to an orderly arrangement of parts of an overall system that reflects the policy, and strategy refers to the means of accomplishing the policy and plan recommendations* (Inskeep, 1991, p.31).'

In other words, by providing policies, plans, and strategies, governments are able to provide tourism development with guidelines from the principle concept of the development approach, to a more detailed arrangement for implementation with stated specific times and locations, and then to actual action plans or campaigns (Inskeep, 1991, p.31; Wilkinson, 1997, p.25). Hall (2008) summarises this as the process of *'whatever governments choose to do or not to do with respect to tourism'* (p.10).

A wide range of levels and types of tourism policies and plans are involved in the tourism development process. For Inskeep (1991), the levels of policy and plans included international, national planning, regional planning, subregional planning, development area land use planning, facility site planning, facility design, and special studies (p.34-38). At the international level, the contents of policy involved international transportation services, overseas promotion programmes, and visa permissions. At the national, regional, and subregional levels, promotions, identification of major national tourism sites and tour routes, major infrastructure considerations, and legislation and investment policies, tourist, and overall tourism marketing

tended to be the focus. At the urban or town level, land use plans indicated the specific locations for hotel or other tourist facilities, such as parking, open space, shops, roads, water supply and other infrastructure based on the predictions and evaluation of tourism demands and impacts in order to prevent the conflict of uses. Facility site planning is specific planning for indicating the actual location of buildings, recreation facilities, parking, and other uses, and facility design refers to the architectural, landscaping, and infrastructure designs and engineering designs of the former planning/arrangement of uses. In addition to the above various levels of planning, Inskeep identified special studies which can be applied as part of a comprehensive plan or separately, addressing a specific tourism type, such as health or youth tourism. This special form of plan can contribute to the consistency of the existing planning and the integration between policies and planning (p.38).

Within this wide range of tourism policy, Jenkins and Henry pointed out five general areas of concern (1982, p.506, cited in Wilkinson, 1997, p.35). These included foreign exchange earnings, attracting foreign investment, increasing

local employment in tourism, land use policies for management tourism impacts, and establishment of air transport and tourism. These diverse issues of tourism policies require a wide range of government authorities, from central to local level, to cope with these different perspectives and objectives of tourism development (Hall & Jenkins, 1995, p.26). However, due to the expectation of economic benefits from tourism, policies in relation to rural tourism development predominantly focus on the stimulation of visitor numbers, such as strategies of marketing and the accessibility of visitors to the countryside (Butler, 1999). In respect of this, policy for rural tourism is underdeveloped, whereas for policies which specifically incorporate rural leisure activities they are even less developed (Butler, 1999, p.226). This inadequate situation regarding tourism policy and planning at the local government level resulted in tourism being developed and operated within the regional and national policy context (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006, p.1281).

In addition to the lack of the existence of rural tourism policy, some government authorities do not acknowledge their responsibilities for tourism plans at all (Pigram, 1993; Butler, 1999). The problem with this is that the

nature of tourism involves so many different industries, for example, tourism cannot be represented solely by the accommodation industry or the transportation industry (Wilkinson, 1997). It is difficult for any individual government authority to take the whole responsibility for appropriate tourism policy or plans. In order to achieve the goal of sustainable rural tourism development, the public sector needs to acknowledge the complexity of tourism policy provision, which is beyond the economic-centred concerns as has been recognised in many studies (Butler, 1999; Butler, 2002; Robinson, 2008). The establishment of an institutional framework, which enables the policies and plans from different government sectors to be implemented in a collaborative approach is required (Pigram, 1993; Butler, 1999; Hall & Jenkins, 1995; Wilkinson, 1997; Simpson, 2008).

The complicated nature and wide range of issues in tourism policies and plans is referred to above. This section reviews the literature regarding the policies identified in section 2 of this chapter, such as development policy (Wilson et al., 2001; Mog, 2004; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006), environment-related management and regulation (Mog, 2004; Ko, 2005; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006), and government

support to local communities (Mog, 2004; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006). The issue regarding the institutional framework has been covered in section 3 of this chapter which focused on the participation and collaboration between different tourism actors, including inter-government collaboration. Whereas in the beginning of this section the theoretical understanding of tourism policy has been discussed, the following will focus on the policy and plan implementation and the government's support of tourism.

While there are few studies addressing the implementation of tourism policy in the real world context, Dodds's (2007) studies in Calvia, Spain, provide an insight into the implementation of and the barriers to sustainable tourism policy. The study used questionnaires and interviews to obtain the public, private and NGO's attitudes towards the effectiveness of STD policies. According to the results of the questionnaires, the overall perception of the respondents to the effectiveness of the implementation of each STD policy line is at a fair level of success (p.310) (the average score is 3.36 in 5 with 1= not at all successful and 5= very successful). According to the respondents, the key factor which affected the level of successful policy implementation was

whether the policy had addressed its implementation approach when it was

inactivated. Several barriers of STD policy implementation (Table 3.4) were

identified in the study.

Table 3.4 Barriers in STD Policies Implementation

Common barriers identified	% (of total respondents)
Economic priority (short term economic focus wins over long term social and environmental concerns)	78
Lack of previous planning/ initiatives were not enough to attain sustainability	52
There was a lack of overall stakeholder involvement	52
Lack of integration with regional and national frameworks and policies	43
Lack of accountability of politicians to implement	39
Lack of coordination with other government parties (political clash)	35
People didn't see what had been done (felt more talk than action)	30
Change of government	30
Lack of speed to implement vision	22
Lack of long term vision (sustainability takes 10-20 years to achieve, not five)	22
Power of private sector/ construction	19
Lack of money	13
N=23	

source: Dodds, 2007, p.311, Table 5

The major obstacles included a focus on short-term economic benefit rather than on long-term sustainable development, which is more concerned with social and environmental issues; a lack of previous planning which resulted in negative impacts that had existed already; limited stakeholder involvement in the implementation process which often has been emphasised in the policy formulation process; the inadequate collaboration between policies at a local government level with regional and national levels; politicians who prefer to put efforts to gaining votes rather than dealing with unpopular issues, and the change of government in elections which diverts attention from the long term vision towards STD policies.

Krutwaysho and Bramwell's (2010) study in tourism policy implementation in Ohyket, southern Thailand, provides a further insight in to policy implementation with a specific consideration of the socio-cultural context. The evaluation is based on key stakeholders' (from both governments and tourist businesses) perceptions and beliefs. Three policies were investigated, namely the 1996 Entertainment Venues policy, the 1992 Enhancement and Conservation of National Environmental Quality Act, and the third was a

beach safety scheme. Their findings confirmed the economic priority in policy

implementation. This economic issue caused tension between groups with

different interests, for example violations of environmental regulations for

pursuing business profits. The complex policy process was identified as

another obstacle. The plans and projects required the approval from central

government down to local government. This process is very slow and this

results in perceptions that the effectiveness of policy implementation is

sluggish and this was true of both the public and private sector interviewees

(p.683). In their research, two of the investigated policies were central

government policies, but the beach safety scheme was a local initiative. They

suggest that their approach which integrated top-down and bottom-up

perspectives of policy approach has the advantage of providing a fuller

understanding in evaluations of policy implementation. The reason is that, in

practice, policy implementation involves specific and contingent interactions

between actors, such as conflicts, negotiation and bargaining. Therefore,

observing these can reflect the socio-economic, political, governance and

cultural context in tourism policy implementation (p.689). In addition, when

there are more top-down approach policies, the power relations between

central and local government showed tensions. This was evidenced by the reluctant attitude of Phuket local government toward applying national policies for the reason that it undermined its legitimacy and election support (p.687).

Although civic participation and collaboration between key tourist stakeholders is believed to be crucial in both policy formulation and implementation for the goal of SD (Dodds, 2007; Krutwaysho & Bramwell, 2010; section 2 and 3 of this chapter), the use of social networks has been identified as being problematic in policy enforcement by Krutwaysho and Bramwell's case study. They found that the contributions of having a friends network between actors can result in either encouraging or corrupting policy implementation. Particularly in a patron-client view of relations, the client side actor has an expectation of receiving assistance or favouritism based on their personal relationships, social networks, or the prevailing attitude of the society. For example, when local people felt that the particular policy caused negative influence on their livelihood, they went to politicians to solve the problem rather than take a legal approach. This finding reflects the influence

of social value systems on policy implementation, and only when the social-economic context is taken into consideration is research able to explain the problems of policy implementation in practice. This relationship between actors, it is suggested, requires further investigation (Krutwaysho & Bramwell, 2010).

The continuity and accountability of policy implementation is emphasised in pursuing the goal of SD (Dodds, 2007). The failure of enforcing a policy will lead to distrusted attitudes of actors toward policy. The corrupting of tourism policy implementation by social relationships or the change of government is recognised in Dodds (2007) and Krutwaysho and Bramwell's (2010) research. Long-term tourism development policies are suggested in order to provide a stable on-going policy implementation process. A source of long-term financial resources for sustaining policy implementation is also required to be in place (Dodds, 2007). In respect of this, the public sector should explore or identify possible financial sources, such tax charges or funding parties, in order to ensure stable support when the original budget is facing a shortage.

While development policy and planning generate more opportunities for rural tourism, the balance of the demand and the capacity is essential in order to minimise conflicts and utilize and maximise potential (Pigram, 1993, p.172). The consequence of a lack of tourism planning for destinations is recognised in the Calvia area (Dodds. 2007). The unplanned and overwhelming development resulted in significant negative environmental impacts due to the fact that zoning and planning for destinations had not been legislated for early on in the development (p.316). Williams and Shaw (2009) stress the relationship between tourism activities and land use. They consider this to be a symbiotic relationship for the reason that tourism activities are sensitive to the physical environmental quality (Williams & Shaw, 2009, p.327). For rural areas, the landscape and distinctive architecture associated with agricultural land is even more essential for attracting tourists' visiting the area (Lane, 1994; Garrod et al., 2006). By applying regulations and legislation, the public sector can ensure the sustainability of destination development, and tourist businesses and communities also benefit by these policies which contributes to the sensible accommodation of residents, tourists and resources (Simmons, 1994; Gunn & Var, 2002).

In order to achieve this, several means are suggested in the literature, such as zoning and regulation (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; Dodds, 2007), land use planning (Inskeep, 1991; Williams & Shaw, 2009), and town planning (Dredge & Moore, 1992; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006). These different planning approaches are generally established according to the respective planning systems which differ from country to country. For example, the zoning system in the United States was criticized by Gilg (1998) for consuming natural resources and promoting a car-centred development pattern. In the British planning system, on the other hand, due to the limited resources and space on a small island, the culture is prone to accept the collective good rather than individual freedoms (Gilg, 1998, p.206). Since the planning approach in each country is established according to its government system and the prevailing cultural values of the country, the research focus on tourism planning should be based on the understanding of the place and interpretations of the emerging features and problems of the implementation of the tourism phenomenon.

The need for comprehensiveness is one key feature emerging from these studies. Planning needs to incorporate the diverse demands of tourism

development together, such as transportation, accommodation, attractions and services (Inskeep, 1991; Gunn & Var, 2002; Dodds, 2007; Williams & Shaw, 2009). In a destination, the land use coexists with local residents' and tourists' activities. The land use plan and management for the tourism-related land use and non-tourism-related land use is another issue. Williams and Shaw (2009) suggest that this management needs to be sensitive to the multiple uses of tourism destinations. In addition, in rural areas, more restrictions are suggested to be placed in order to conserve and protect the sensitive environment. The balance of increasing rural tourism development and the conservation of the environment should be considered in tourism planning.

In addition to policy and plans, the support from government is also considered influential in SRTD (Wilson. et al., 2001, Long & Lane, 2001; Choi & Sorakaya, 2006; Briedenhann, 2007). In Briedenhann's (2007) empirical study in Britain and South Africa, 92% of the respondents concurred on the importance of public support in rural tourism development. Training and building the capacity of the local community and businesses is required for the reason that local residents should have the right to determine how their area is developed.

In order to enable local residents to be more engaged in tourism business, the training required ranges from employment training in tourism businesses to the development of entrepreneurial skills. The role of local government was seen as key in order to provide this support. Local government is expected not only to be responsible for the skills training, but also to facilitate local residents' participation in decision-making and guarantee a fair distribution of benefits (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006).

A high level of tourism awareness of local residents is of considerable importance in sustainable rural tourism development. Pigram (1993) stated that the enhanced public awareness and participation in the planning process contributes to effective and appropriate tourism policy both in the process of policy formulation as well as implementation (Pigram, 1993, p.173). Briedenhann (2007) points out that this awareness enables local residents to have a realistic perception of tourism and an understanding of the benefits and impacts of tourism on the community. In respect of this, the government needs to put efforts into building local residents understanding of tourism.

However, providing training for increasing the awareness of tourism is problematic for government, because even the government officials do not have an understanding of the complexity and realistic perception of tourism development (Briedenhann, 2007, p.586). On the other hand, the lack of funding is a chronic problem in rural tourism development, particularly for governments at the local level. This prevents local government from delivering the expected training courses, capacity building programmes, and the required infrastructure and service provision (Pigram, 1993; Butler, 1998; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; Briedenhann, 2007).

3.5 Place

Place is the third key component identified in section two in this chapter. Many studies stress the importance of 'place' to tourism development by emphasising the significant natural and socio-cultural resources inherent within areas (Inskeep, 1991; Ray, 1998; Roberts & Hall, 2001; Oliver & Jenkins 2003; Garrod et al., 2006; Gezici, 2006; Cawley & Gillmor 2008; Robinson, 2008; Saxena & Ilbery 2008). The natural resources of a place are

considered to be the foundation of tourism (McMinn, 1997), which the tourist activities should be based on and be developed according to its capacity (Gezici, 2006). Another factor representing a place is socio-cultural resources, in which many aspects are involved. For example, local residents can be seen as the most direct part of socio-cultural resources. Their value to the promotion of tourism was noticed in the manner of the hospitality, friendliness and community atmosphere they create. These are seen as the nucleus of the tourism product (Simmons, 1994).

In the context of rural areas, Garrod et al. (2006) consider these resources as countryside capital, an asset of the rural tourism industry. In simplified terms, this 'capital' refers to *the fabric of the countryside, its villages, and its market towns'* (Countryside Agency, 2003, cited in Garrod et al., 2006, p.118). It consists of the tangible and intangible resources of a place, such as the landscape, wildlife, biodiversity, geology and soil, air and air quality, hedgerows and field boundaries, rural settlements, historical features, tracks and roads, streams and lakes, water and water quality, wood and plantations, distinctive local customs, food, traditions and customs, and ways of life (p.119).

The interactions between countryside capital, tourism industry, and the tourists represent the context of rural tourism in an area. A model suggested in Figure 3.1 clearly shows a high inter-dependency between rural tourism and countryside capital through the use of resources and the impact or investment from tourism activities. This dependency of tourism on countryside capital highlights the need to ensure the sustainability of these resources for further development.
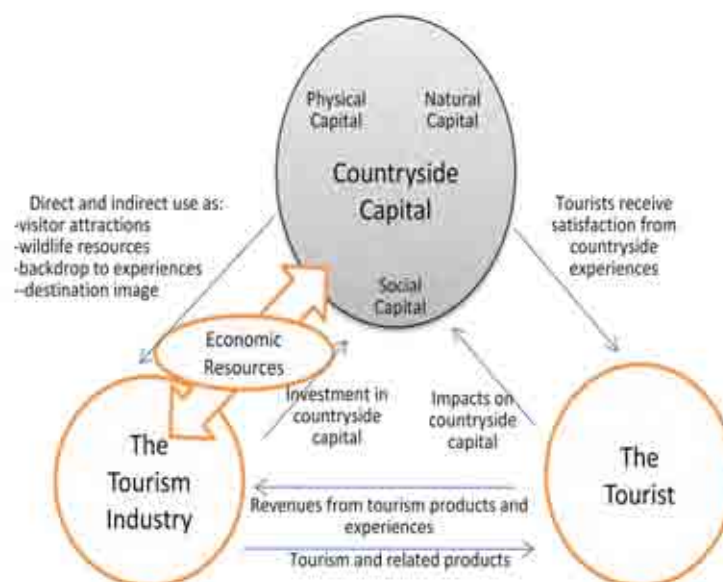
Figure3.1 A Model of Countryside Capital and Rural Tourism
source: Garrod et al., 2004, cited in Garrod et al., 2006, p.121

In order to achieve the goal of sustainable development, the balance between the environment and tourism development should be managed sensibly. Butler et al. (1998) stress the importance of identifying and recognising the

characteristics of the particular place in the planning process in order to arrange a suitable foundation for successful tourism development. For sustainable rural tourism development, the specific context of the locality, including the economic, environmental, social, and political components, must be involved (Verbole, 1997).

In other words, sustainable rural tourism is required to be embedded in the fabric of a place, integrating countryside capital, the characteristics and the specific context of a place (Verbole, 1997; Butler et al., 1998; Long & Lane, 2000; Hall et at., 2003; Garrod et al., 2006). Wilson et al. (2001) agree with this integration concept of rural tourism, and suggest that in order to achieve SD, the integration should include not only the natural or man-made resources but also the human ones. The individual businesses and communities surrounding the place should be involved in the process of tourism development. In this respect, the development trend can be decided by local stakeholders. At the same time, problems caused by conflicting interests can be avoided. As Gezici (2006) describes that *'when activities could not be controlled by the local community, environmental and socioeconomic integration problems appeared*

in the destination areas (p.452)', local control contributes to the positive

perceptions and satisfaction of local stakeholders towards the changes brought

about by tourism development, and it is valued according to the principle of SD.

The influential role of the concept of place in sustainable rural tourism

development has been shown above. The recognition and allocation of local

resources as well as the concept of local control are two critical issues in the

notion of 'place'. The former can be delivered in a well-designed policy and

planning framework, as discussed in section 3 of this chapter. The latter issue,

local control, which has been highlighted as part of sustainable development

earlier in this chapter, can be practised through citizen participation in the

decision-making process (section 3 of this chapter) and in the policy

implementation process (section 4 of this chapter). However, in these sections,

the notion of 'place' was blended into discussions around the implementation

mechanism and the emerging barriers. The acknowledgement of place should

be stressed here.

The unique countryside capital contributes to distinguishing one destination from another. Rural tourism and 'place' are closely linked through images or identities of places (Ray, 1998; Lee et al., 2005; Garrod et al., 2006). These are applied as tourism products for marketing purposes, for example, advertising the idyllic landscape as a strategy appeals to tourists visiting the countryside (Garrod et al., 2006), or in some studies, this countryside capital is considered as relating to the rural or cultural economy (Ray, 1998; Roberts & Hall, 2001).

By adopting local cultural resources, rural development can manifest itself through the local identity, which is produced by local community and territory (Ray, 1998). This cultural image and identity of a rural area integrates culture with the physical environment, and produces landscapes or retains local indigenous culture to form a sense of a place. Using this image, rural areas have an advantage over urban areas when promoting tourism and other products related to the place, such as local food, handcrafts, historic sites, or traditional festivals. For example, Roberts and Hall (2001) consider local cuisine to play an important role in rural tourism because it can strongly link to the agrarian rural economy and represent it as a tangible product to appeal

to the tourist experience. By this approach, local resources can be seen as part of the cultural economy, which localises economic control and contributes to direct benefits to the local communities.

At the same time, Ray (1999) stressed the value of this identity. Based on this identity, an endogenous development can be placed. In addition, a sense of identity can be established for local communities' psychological needs, and this shared identity will foster trust and collaboration (Ray, 1999). The case study of a partnership organisation in the Lake District conducted by Garrod et al. (2006) provides empirical evidence for this. A partnership organization has been established, in which various stakeholders in the area participate in investing the local resources (countryside capital) financially or physically (non-financially). This mechanism contributes to simulate and support investment in countryside capital, and moreover, provides a framework for matching the needed projects and sponsors. For example, in the 'Our Man on Top' scheme, the repairs of footpaths were funded by a small group of accommodation providers (p.125, p.127). Their conclusion indicates that the sense of place encourages local tourism businesses to have a sense of

responsibility for the local resources and to acknowledge the fact that successful tourism business development is based on the maintenance of secure and sustainable countryside capital. In order to facilitate this, the capacity of local communities and businesses, particularly referring to social capacity, is highlighted. Lee et al. (2005) suggest that this capacity building work can enhance local people's confidence, knowledge, skills, and ability to work together (p.280). This capacity building work has been considered as the part of the responsibilities of government's support, and the discussion regarding this has been presented in section 4 that dealt with the policy.

The idea of the close linkage between tourism and place was raised in many studies as presented in the above discussion with respect to the emphasis on the local community and the use of local resources. A conceptualised and theorised 'integrated rural tourism' (IRT) approach was introduced in an EU research project, entitled 'Supporting and Promoting Integrated Tourism in Europe's Lagging Rural Regions' (SPRITE). This approach aimed to analyse and develop the potential for IRT with selected lagging rural areas in six

European countries, and several articles have been published based on this

project (Oliver & Jenkins, 2003; Saxena et al., 2007; Cawley & Gillmor, 2008b;

Saxena & Ilbery, 2008&2010)

The primary concept of the IRT is defined as:

'(tourism) is explicitly linked to the localities in which it takes place and,

in practical terms, has clear connections with local resources, activities,

products, production and service industries, and a participatory local

community' (Oliver & Jenkins, 2003, p.293).

Seven key characteristics are identified as the key to successful promotion of

IRT: '*an ethos of promoting multidimensional sustainability, the empowerment*

of local people, endogenous ownership and resource use, complementarity to

other economic sectors and activities, an appropriate scale of development,

networking among stakeholders, and embeddedness in local systems (Cawley

& Gillmor, 2008b, p.319).' Emerging from these, two features are recommended

by them as being crucial: the diverse stakeholders and the resources (p.329). In

this respect, identification of these stakeholders and resources as well as the involvement of them are essential elements for authorities in promoting sustainability in rural development. Cawley and Gillmor (2008b) suggest that through the observations, the changes of attitudes of stakeholders toward the changes of the resource can be clearly reflected in the level of sustainability in rural development due to tourism. Saxena and Ilbery (2008; 2010), on the other hand, stress the concept of networks, which encourages tourism stakeholders to jointly develop social, cultural, economic, and environmental resources, and according to the findings, they also point out that the local socio-cultural context has a profound influence on the nature of networks and relationships (Saxena & Ilbery, 2008, p.249). Thus, ideally, in the IRT, the network should be embedded (resources, activities and relationships are directly linked or formed in specific locations) and endogenous (the development is built according to local distintive features), and empowering the local community in decision-making processes. However, the findings show that the embedded and endogenous network do not necessarily result in the empowerment of the local community. The integration with tourism policy and key stakeholders remained limited, particularly for the local businesses. Local

business owners and even the resource controllers had neither seen a tourism plan nor knew of its existence (p.248).

The IRT model sets a pioneer example of theorizing the concept of integration between stakeholders and local resources within the place-specific context. The integration concept has also been stressed in other dimensions. Roberts and Hall (2001) state that the term 'integration' in tourism development applies to two levels. We should concern ourselves, first, with how to integrate tourism development into a wider rural development planning framework and second, with how collaboration and cooperation in both the horizontal (e.g. within local community) and vertical dimensions (e.g. cross regional and local) can be established, for these are crucial to ensure that tourism thrives (p.226).

The integration with policy and rural development planning are frequently suggested when pursuing SRTD (Keane, 1992; Butler, 2002; Dodds, 2007). The empirical evidence in Dodds's (2007) study showed that in Calvia, the local economy depended largely on tourism, which affected a wide range of sectors, including transportation, urban development, social education and health.

Therefore, tourism *'must be integrated within all policy frameworks (p.317)'* in

order to maximise its contribution to local development (Keane, 1992, p.44).

The partnership and collaboration focus is a more recent concern in the notion

of integration tourism in the 2000s (Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Robert & Hall,

2001; Hall et al., 2005; Cawley & Gillmor, 2008b; Saxena & Ilbery, 2008).

Roberts and Hall (2001) stated that building partnerships is the most effective

way of mobilizing and coordinating the resources required to develop a

distinctive rural identity (p.225). These studies share a similar idea of

integration tourism but discuss it from different perspectives which are

perhaps, to some extent, overlapping. Nevertheless, this all highlights the

important role of the 'place' to sustainable rural tourism development.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature in relation to tourism in sustainable

rural tourism. Three issues clearly emerge as key components to enhance the

potential for tourism development to contribute to sustainable rural

development: participation, policy and place.   These components have been

addressed from both theoretical and practical perspectives and explored in sections 3 to 5 of this chapter.

The primary aim of participation is to deliver benefits to the local actors; for example, working together can create better business opportunities for business owners and local communities; for the public sector, encouraging citizen participation is considered an approach to satisfy the needs of local people and to practice the principle of sustainable development. Three main barriers to the participation were identified in section 3, namely the participants' lack of capacity to participate in and make decisions, the problem of reaching an agreement between various interests of participants, and the existence of a large silent majority. In this respect, building the capacity of local businesses and communities is a critical issue that needs to be addressed. The public sector is expected to provide support to improve this capacity. Skills courses or clear collaboration mechanisms are potential ways to enhance communication between stakeholders and increase local involvement and enhancing the possibilities of reaching a common consensus.

This expectation of government support and needs of preventing unsustainable outcomes of tourism from happening lead to the emphasis on policy. The extent of a wide range of tourism related policies has been discussed in section 4 of this chapter. The diversity of policies involved shows again the need for collaboration, even within the public sector in order to provide coordinating policies and effective planning for sustainable tourism development. However, the literature reviewed argues that there are few policies and far less planning that have been formulated for tourism development, nor does government understand their responsibilities in relation to tourism development (Pigram, 1994; Bulter, 1999). While Dodds (2007) and Krutwaysho and Bramwell (2010) provide insights into tourism-related policy implementation of mass tourism destinations, the understanding of tourism policy implementation in rural areas remains rather limited. In rural areas, tourism-related policies and planning are often underdeveloped. Tourism development mainly follows short-term programmes and funding arrangements. In addition, local governments in rural areas often suffer from financial difficulties. Tourism policies and planning seems to be problematic in delivering their expected functions in promoting sustainable rural development.

Section 5 stressed that tourism strongly depends on local capital, which includes natural/ human resources and investment, to thrive. This place-specific feature as well as the multi-faceted nature of tourism suggests the importance of an integrated approach in tourism studies. In fact, this integrated concept has been separately covered and supported by the three key components from section 2 of this chapter as integrating local stakeholders with an emphasis on community (participation), being coordinated between various policies and planning (policy), embedded in the local socio-cultural context and resources of place. These three components and their close inter-relationship therefore become the basis of the approach of this research. Discussion regarding the formation of the research framework and the research questions of this thesis will be presented in the beginning of the next chapter, and then followed by addressing the methodological approach taken in this research.

Chapter4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The literature review in Chapters 2 and 3 has provided a fundamental

understanding of tourism in sustainable rural development. Chapter 2

focused on the literature in relation to the current rural crises and explored

the role of tourism in sustaining rural areas. Chapter 3 provided further

discussion of the extent to which tourism can contribute to sustainable

rural development.

This chapter addresses the methodological issues of this research. Section

2 presents a proposed research framework. This is based on the notion of

sustainable development and follows the concept of integration which has

emerged in the literature and been discussed in chapter 3. Three sets of

research questions follow this research framework in order to explore the

role of tourism in sustainable rural development in Taiwan.

Sections 3 to 7 explain the methodological approach adopted in this thesis

and the research methods that follow. It begins by explaining the decision

to adopt a qualitative approach in a multiple-case study in section 3.

Section 4 outlines the criteria and the selection of case study sites; three

townships in Taiwan are selected, namely Puli, Yuchih, and Renai, and the

profiles of these three case study sites are reviewed in section 5. Section 6

discusses the specific data collection methods adopted in this study, and

section 7 explains the process of data collection and analysis. In section 8, a

consideration in relation to the methodological issues which might emerge

from the research process is given. Section 9 concludes this chapter by a

brief explanation of the following chapters of this thesis, which is arranged

according to the research design which has been discussed earlier in this

chapter.

4.2 Analytical Framework and Research Questions

It was evident from the literature review that the three components,

participation, policy, and place, are considered essential to tourism in

sustainable rural development. The concept of participation included

issues of resident participation and the degree of partnership working and

collaboration between the key stakeholders. Policy encompasses a wide

range of various tourism-related policies and planning in terms of its

influence and effectiveness. Place stresses the characteristics of local resources which provide tourism development and are in turn affected by it.

As concluded in chapter 3, there is a close inter-relationship among the components. For example, the concept of partnership[1] is not limited to just collaboration among stakeholders. This is also valued in involving all stakeholders in policy formulation and implementation. In terms of embedding tourism into a site (place), the satisfaction and perception of the local community on tourism development is a fundamental consideration of sustainable development.

Policy is the means to manage the level of tourism development and to coordinate potential conflicting activities within a place. Appropriate tourism policies and planning should include a sensible allocation of local resources. This should be established based on a comprehensive understanding of the place. The implementation, on the other hand, has

---

[1] The term 'partnership' in this research refers to a general sense which includes engagement with communities (participation) and collaboration between stakeholders (partnership).

been found to be influenced by the socio-cultural context of the place (Krutwaysho & Bramwell, 2010). In addition, policy also affects the effectiveness of participation by its provision of appropriate participatory mechanisms, and government support for capacity building for potential participants. These interrelationships between participation, policy, and place suggest that tourism research should indeed adopt an integrated approach.

The 'integrated rural tourism' (IRT) approach introduced in the SPRITE projects (see discussions in chapter 3 section 5) presents a strong linkage between tourism development and place. In these projects, the local stakeholders and local resources are stressed. The collaboration among these stakeholders and their perceptions of local resources which have been affected by tourism development, were considered as an indicator of sustainable development. This IRT approach provides a successful example of the integration of tourism and place. However, the IRT approach is not designed to explore the interrelationships between policy, participation and place. The literature review in chapter 3 suggests that policy has a close correlation with participation and place. A lack of policy in investigation in

tourism research would lead the analysis to fail to interpret the reason

behind the participation and changes of place due to tourism development.

Meanwhile, sustainable development also emphasises the interdependence

of the multi-faceted issues involved. The holistic or systematic concept has

often been mentioned in studies regarding sustainable development (see

discussions in chapter 2 section 3). As mentioned previously, the concept of

Murphy's (1985) tourism ecological system is considered as an effective

approach in this research in order to present the relationship of

participation, policy and place. In Murphy's tourism ecological system,

tourism development has been symbolised as the constant interaction

between visitors (the consumer) and places (the producer). In order to

sustain this dynamic ecological system, planners should maintain a

balance between the consumption and feedback between tourist activities

and the resources of the place.

Based on this tourism ecological system concept and the three key

components identified earlier, a research framework is proposed. Figure

4.1 presents the concept of the dynamic ecological system in the research

framework; in which, 'Partnership' represents all tourism activities of

tourism stakeholders, including governments, tourist businesses, community organisations and interest groups, and residents, as their activities are all linked altogether. This feature has been stressed in the tourism literature which has shown (in chapter 3 section 2 and 3) that none of these actors can develop tourism in isolation. 'Place' is the foundation of tourism development. The resources available in a place determine which elements of tourism develop here. Policy is a means to support and control the level of tourism development. If these interactions between 'policy', 'partnership', and 'place' can keep the consumption and feedback in balance, tourism per se grows and this tourism ecological system is sustainable.
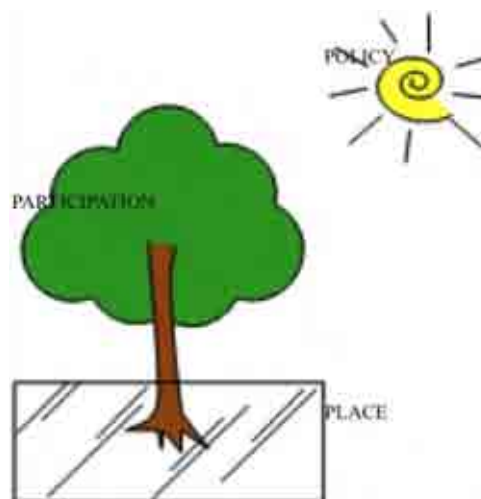
Figure 4.1 the Concept of the Research Framework
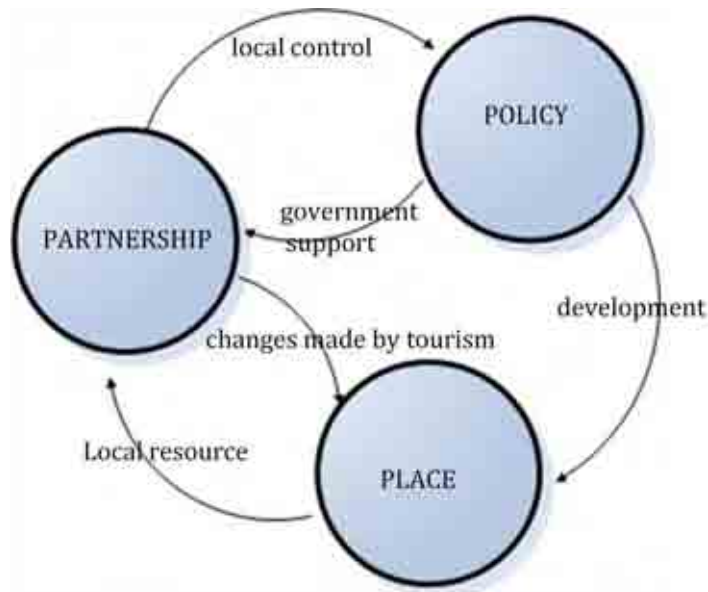
Figure 4.2 Research Framework

Figure 4.2 presents the proposed research framework developed for this thesis. The integrated tourism model consists of three parts (participation, policy and place). The linkages between them are their potential interactions, which have been found in the case studies explored in the literature review.

Since 'partnership' includes the concept of key stakeholders' working in collaboration, the investigation in this part aims to elaborate on the issue of how tourism development thrives by stakeholders from various sectors working together. Therefore, this involves the participation and

collaboration between vertical levels (e.g. from local to central) as well as horizontal level (e.g. within a community).

In the policy part of the framework, a wide range of tourism-related polices and planning activities should be examined in terms of their content and the degree of government support provided for tourism development. The effectiveness of these is assessed by the perceptions of key stakeholders. As they are the people who enforce (e.g. governments) or are affected (e.g. communities) by these policies, their perceptions can reveal the extent and problems of current tourism policies in promoting sustainable development.

The last part, place, aims to understand how local capital affects tourism development. Local capital, such as the natural environment, tourist facilities and the very atmosphere of a place, affects the attractiveness of the place to tourists. This characteristic of a place is particularly important to rural tourism development because tourists often visit the countryside for images of a rural idyll (chapter 2 section 2 and chapter 3 section 5). The investigation in this part includes the tourist characteristics of a place, and

changes of a place including improvement or degradation due to tourism development. Another task of this part is to identify the barriers of current tourism development when considering sustainable development, and the relationships between these barriers and the characteristics of the place.

Overall, the nature and content of the investigating enquiry from the above research framework provides a way to get a comprehensive understanding of tourism in sustainable rural development, strengthens the capacity to meet the main objectives of this study, and gain deeper insights into specific patterns of sustainable rural tourism development in empirical studies.

Research Questions

Based on the research framework discussed above, research questions can be seen as three main groups of questions, each relating to one of the core objectives outlined in the research framework; Question 1 concerns the tourism-related 'policy', question 2 addresses the broad issue of 'partnership', and Question 3 relates to the concept of 'place'.

Research question 1： What are the effects and outcomes of the current tourism-related policies and planning on tourism development as well as sustainable rural development in Taiwan?

The purpose of this part of the research is to investigate policies and planning which relates to sustainable development and tourism development at the national, regional, and local scale, and to examine whether it can provide clear guidelines for tourism development, and effectively manage the consumption nature of tourism and keep the rural areas developing sustainably.

1) National Context: What is the extent of the vision of tourism / rural sustainable development in the national context?

2) Regional Context: What is the extent of tourism / rural sustainable development in the regional context? Can it respond to the characteristics of the individual regions?

3) Local Context:
   a. What is the extent of tourism / rural sustainable development in a local context?
   b. Have current tourism policies and planning helped to promote tourism development in a sustainable way?

c. Have government authorities provided support such as relevant skill training to local communities, adequate financial support or tourism promotion?

d. Can these policies ensure that the community benefits from tourism development?

Research question 2: How and to what extent do tourism partnerships affect sustainable rural tourism development?

This research question draws directly from existing tourism research which points out that one of the fundamental mechanisms which supports thriving tourism and helps it to develop sustainably is the participation and collaboration between key stakeholders. More specifically:

1. What is the extent and character of partnership, participation and collaboration between key stakeholders in the case study sites?

2. How effective is the current interrelationship between key stakeholders at various levels:

   1) between government authorities

   2) between the public and the private sectors

a. What is the level of participation that local residents and organisations have in tourism relevant decision making and promotion processes.

b. In what way do the local community benefit from tourism development, and are the opportunities equally open to the all?

3) between local businesses

4) between community organisations

Research question 3: To what extent does the place affect and be affected by tourism development?

The third research question addresses the special features of each case study site and their relationship with current tourism development. In this part, it investigates to what extent has tourism development changed the case study sites? Does tourism development contribute to the sustainability of local development or cause negative impacts to the locality?

4.3 Qualitative Research in a Multiple-case Study Approach

Tribe (2004) argues that tourism is a field rather than a discipline. This is because from examining tourism studies which have been accumulated so far, it has been highlighted that tourism consists of two discernible fields of study; one is tourism business, such as tourism marketing, strategy, and management, and the other is non-business studies, which includes the rest of the tourism-related studies, such as environmental impacts or the social and cultural influences of tourism (Tribe, 2004; p.49). The multi-disciplinary nature of tourism studies has resulted in various approaches being taken to investigate this field.

Therefore, epistemologically speaking, all the existing tourism literature is based on various methodologies due to the researchers taking the perspectives of various disciplines. As Boyer argued *'tourism has always fallen under the influence of various disciplines which have attempted to control either some of or all its aspects* (cited in Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p.57)'. The existing tourism research foci have been mainly based on the perspectives of business or environmental impacts (see chapter 2

section 3 and section 4), that has resulted in tourism research being predominately quantitative in nature.

However, the research inquiries of this research differ from the previous studies. This research investigates the role of tourism in sustainable development and with an emphasis on the concept of integration. More specifically, it examines the contents of and interrelationships between three components of tourism to sustainable rural development, namely 'participation', 'policy', and 'place'. Due to the fact that these research inquiries are highly influenced politically, historically, and locally, a qualitative approach appears to facilitate the collection of a greater variety of responses (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p.40). In addition, Krutwaysho and Bramwell (2010) suggest that through understanding the perceptions of key stakeholders, the interactions between them, such as negotiation, cooperation, conflicts or other activities, are able to be reflected within the social-cultural context of the place. In respect of these, a qualitative approach appears to be appropriate to this study, which aims to understand the interrelationships among the three sets of research

questions identified earlier and to provide the explanation of thes interrelationships between them.

In addition to a qualitative research approach, the research is conducted on a case study basis. Methodologically, a case study is a strategy which is adopted in order to understand the 'how' and 'why' of proposed events or phenomena (Dentin & Lincoln, 2003, p.30-38; Yin, 2003). Yin (2003) defines a case study as '*a research strategy which investigates an individual, or an organisation, a group of people or an event by adopting multiple research methods* (p.1).' According to the definition provided by Yin (2003), there are two elements that consist of a case study research approach, the research inquiries and the boundary of the case. Another similar definition suggested by Holliday (2002, p.19) identified the case study approach as consisting of 'data systematized in context' and a 'bounded social group'. Therefore, in terms of research inquiries, a case study approach focuses on contemporary phenomena within some real-life context with an emphasis on the understanding of truth and the reason why it emerges (Yin, 2003). On the other hand, in terms of the boundary, the research subject of a case study approach could be an individual, an

organisation or an identified geographic place. In this research, the inquiry

of the complex role of tourism in sustainable rural development is at the

core of, or in other words, the subject of the case study, and the boundary

of the case is the smallest government administration unit of Taiwan, a

township.

In addition, choosing between a single case study and the multiple-case

study approach, this research adopts the latter. The reason for this is that,

in chapter 2 section 2, the discussion regarding definitions of rural areas

presented the complex nature of this concept. There is a huge diversity in

the nature and type of rural areas and this research is intended to reflect

this. The rural continuum concept suggested by Lane (1994) and OECD

(1994) has been decided as being appropriate to this research. Therefore,

three case study sites, which respectively represent a 'remote' area, an

'intermediate' area, and an 'economically integrated' area, will be selected.

Through a multiple-case study approach, this research can obtain a deeper

understanding of the relationship of tourism and the characteristics of the

locality from three case study sites, and based on these three case study

sites, this research intends to contribute to further theoretical deliberation in integrated rural tourism research debates.

4.4 The Rationale of Selection of Case Study Sites

Choosing representative cases is fundamental for achieving a better understanding of the research inquiry. Especially in multiple case study approaches, the selection of cases is more purpose-oriented rather than sampling (Stake, 2005; Yin, 2003). Stake (2005, p.451) points out that the selection of a case should not only provide some typicality but a *'leaning toward those cases that seem to offer opportunity to learn.'* As the research intention of this study is to clearly examine the role of tourism in sustainable rural development, the cases selected for the research should represent rurality and have potential for tourism development.

The section below explains the rationale of the selection of case study sites in this thesis. It starts from the explanation of choosing Taiwan as the research area, and then the logic of selecting the three specific case study sites.

From the literature review, it was evident that the predominant studies in both the notion of sustainable rural development and tourism development were demonstrated through cases in western countries or developing countries, such as Australia, Canada, the Philippines, Spain, Thailand, South Africa, UK, and USA (Dredge & Moore, 1992; Pigram, 1993; Selin & Myers, 1995; Butler, 1998; Mog, 2004; Vernon et al., 2005; Briedenhann, 2007, Doos, 2007; Krutwaysho & Bramwell, 2010).

As the research framework of this study is informed by the concept of integration, the EU research project SPRITE, which introduced a conceptualised and theorised 'integrated rural tourism' (IRT) (chapter 3 section 5), provided a considerable influence in terms of the theoretical foundation for this research. The six case studies in the SPRITE project cover UK Greece, France, Ireland, the Czech Republic, and Spain (Saxena et al., 2007). As a newly emerged research concept, further empirical studies in different case sites are encouraged by these IRT studies.

In addition, as the concepts of citizen participation or community-based tourism are valued in the sustainable development approach, chapter 3 section 3 has pointed out that this 'western-origin' concept might not fit

countries outside the western world (Timothy, 1999; Ying and Zhou, 2007).

For example, Ying and Zhou's (2007) study in China shows that the effectiveness of community participation is considerably lower due to the lack of democratic awareness and capacity for participation.

Due to the very limited number of research studies and publications regarding ITR as well as concerns in participation in non-western societies, it is hoped that this research will contribute to the current limited knowledge in this field.

In practical terms, tourism development is a relatively new issue in Taiwan, and is seen as a current favoured policy focus by the Taiwan government due to the acknowledgement of the great benefits that tourism could bring and consequently it has invested a considerable amount of resources into tourism development. Due to the inadequate academic debates regarding tourism policy in Taiwan to support further policy formulation and the promotion of tourism as a key part of sustainable development, this research considers Taiwan as an appropriate research object for current academic and practical needs.

The criteria for case studies should be directly linked to the research framework and research questions. In chapter 2 section2, rural areas in this research have been defined as areas with a primary agricultural economy and less population. Following the rural continuum concept suggested by Lane (1994) and OECD (1994), three areas are identified according to their population density from low to high, in order to represent a 'remote' area, an 'intermediate' area, and a 'economically integrated' area. In addition to the rural characteristics, these sites should have considerable potential for increased tourism activities in order to facilitate the research discussion in this thesis.

The geographical condition is an additional criterion applied in the process of this selection. The three case study sites are selected within the same county which share the same regional regulations, similar social backgrounds, and are geographically close to one another. At one level, this can contribute to a regional perspective understanding of the issue. For another, with the advantage of location, it makes this research more feasible under the time and budget constraints of PhD research. In terms of the boundary of the case study site, it will be defined based on the

administrative division for the purpose of using national statistics data, and the 'township' is the smallest administrative unit in which records are kept in Taiwan's national statistical data; therefore, three townships are going to be selected as the case study sites.

The process of case study sites started by choosing one county out of all the counties in Taiwan, and then identifying three townships in the selected county which relate to the three features of rural areas, one remote region, one intermediate region, and one economically integrated region.

The criteria adopted in the selection of the case study sites in this research included: population density (lower density), the structure of employment (in the agricultural sectors and service sectors), and its rural characteristics (the percentage of farmland and forestry). Based on these criteria, the sites which can represent the features of rurality and tourism development (which belongs to service sector) are able to be identified.

Table 4.1 lists the statistical figures regarding the area, population, the employment and rural characteristics in physical terms of all the counties in Taiwan. From Table 4.1, Yilan county, Nantou county, Hualien county

and Taitung county have the lowest population density among all counties in Taiwan. Examining the structure of employment among these four counties, Nantou county has 18.27% employment in agricultural sectors, 51.24% employment in service sectors; Taitung County has 20.78% employment in agricultural sectors, 53.9% employment in service sectors, and both have relatively low employment in the industrial sectors. This shows that these two counties are largely 'rural' in nature, and from the percentage of the workforce in the service sectors, it could imply that tourism businesses are relatively active in these areas.

It is important to examine the rural characteristics in physical terms to ensure the county selected can represent all the three types of case study sites in this thesis. With all these factors in mind it is considered that Nantou County is a more appropriate case study site than Taitung County. Comparing these two counties, in Nantou the percentage of farmland is more and the forestry area is less than in Taitung county; this can ensure that there are more cultivation activities in Nantou county, and it can represent all the characteristics from a economic integrated area to a remote area; as regards Taitung county, it is a more peripheral

environment.

Table 4.2 provides the information for the identification of three townships in Nantou County. After ruling out Nantou city (urban) and Sinyi County (Yushan National park), three case study sites are selected. Puli township is selected as an economically integrated area, Yuchih township is selected as an intermediate region, and Renai is selected as a remote region. The criteria of selection includes the ranking of population (the No3, No8, and No12), and the location. These townships are geographically located next to one another; moreover, in the aspect of social context, these three and Guosing Township are considered as one sub-region for the locality.

To summarise, three townships of Nantou county in Taiwan, Puli, Yuchih, and Renai, are selected as the multiple-case study sites in this thesis, for the purpose of building upon previous research with the insights from the Taiwanese case studies, and helping to formulate tourism and regional development policy which is required to respond to the changing trends of tourism development in Taiwan.

4.5 The Profile of Puli, Yuchih and Renai Township

This section presents a basic profile of the three case study sites, townships of Puli, Yuchih and Renai based on current and archival documentation such as comprehensive development plans, statistical data, and the respective township websites.

Taiwan is an island in East Asia off the coast of China, south of Japan, north of the Philippines, and west of the Pacific Ocean. The total land area is about 36,000 km² (about 14,000 square miles). The population in Taiwan was about 23 million in 2006 (National Statistics, 2006).

Nantou County is located in the centre of Taiwan (Figure 4.3), and it is the only county in Taiwan which does not have a coast line. The townships of Puli, Yuchih, Renai and Gousing comprise a sub-region of northern Nantou County, and Puli township is the social-economic centre of this sub-region. Table 5.1 provides a profile of the three case study sites, and the descriptions below provide further details of the townships of Puli, Yuchih, and Renai.

Nantou Facts

- Location: Center of Taiwan; the only country without a coastline. Bordered by Taichung, Changhua, Yunlin, Chiayi, Kaohsiung, and Hualien counties.
- Size: 4,106.4360 square kilometers; 95 kilometers north to south, 72 kilometers east to west.
- Population: 537,448 (July 2005)
- Administrative districts: One city, four towns, eight townships.
- Annual average temperature: 23 degrees Celsius in the flatlands, 20 degrees Celsius in the mountains.
- Annual average rainfall: 1,750 millimeters in the flatlands, 2,800 millimeters in the mountains. Rainy season April-September, dry season October-March.

Figure 4.3 The Profile and Map of Nantou County and Townships on Nantou County Government's website
source：Nantou County Government, 2011 (note: not to scale)

Table 4.3 Basic Profile of the Case Study Sites

	Puli	Yuchih	Renai
Area (km²)	162.22	121.37	1273.53
Population (people)	86415	17342	15454
Density person/km²	534.35	143.54	12.17
Geographic features	Basin (380-700 m height)	Basin (600-700 m height)	Mountain (500-3000 m height)
Indigenous people population	3453	507	12134
Indigenous population ratio (%)	4%	2%	79%
Type of rural area	economically integrated area	intermediate area	remote area

source: Nantou County Government, 2007a, organised by the author

Puli Township

Puli is defined in this research as the economically integrated region. Puli had been inhabited by indigenous tribes since the early eighteenth century, the Han people (the dominant majority ethnic group of China and overseas Chinese) immigrated to this area, and with the agricultural development by the Han people in the late nineteenth century, Puli became the life centre of the area (Nantou County Government, 2002; Puli City Hall, 2009).

The landscape of Puli is dominated by a basin (162.227 km2). The altitude of Puli ranges from around 380 meters to 700 meters (Puli City Hall, 2009). To the east and north-east side of Puli Township is Renai Township while to the south is Yuchih Township. The flat area in the centre of the basin (42 km²) is the social-economic integrated heart of the nearby region (including townships of Yuchih, Renai and Gousing) which provides key township

services including retail, markets, financial services, post offices, and major coach stations.

Outside the town centre, there are several local factories and farmland in the surrounding hills of the basin. Due to this geographic feature, the connections with outside cities rely on the only two provincial highways (No. 14 and No.21). Consequently, the economic development of Puli has always been slow. Agriculture remains the main economy of the town, and the main produce includes rice, tea, flower radish, mushrooms, granadilla, sugar cane, and water bamboo. The industry development in Puli was dependent on local resource or labour force. The main industries in Puli are four large scale paper factories, the Puli brewery, plant nursing fields, and others such as family-run small-medium agricultural food processing factories (Nantou County Government, 2002).

The earthquake in 1999 made a significant impact on the recent development in Puli, known as the 921 earthquake, which measured 7.3 on the Richter scale, and the epicentre was in Nantou County. There were 2,455 people killed and more than 11,305 people injured by the earthquake and the aftershocks. In total 5,638 houses collapsed, and 391 houses were damaged in the Puli township (921 Web Museum). The three case study sites of this research were all severely affected by the 921 earthquake. After this devastation, there was a major programme of reconstruction; substantial funding and donations were poured into these areas to

contribute to the rebuilding of roads, primary and high schools, a community empowerment programme as well as tourism development.

The landscape of Puli   the provincial highways No. 14 in Puli

Figure 4.4 Photos of Puli
(photos were taken by the author)

Yuchih

Yuchih is defined in this research as the intermediate region. Yuchih is an upland basin at an altitude of between 600-700 metres. It is located at the foot of the Central Mountain Range in Taiwan, and includes the famous Sun Moon Lake at the heart of the area. The latter is the only basin lake in Taiwan with a total land area of 5.5 km² (Yuchih Township, 2009).

Similar to the development of Puli, Yuchih was inhabited by the indigenous tribes until the eighteen century when the Han people began to settle there. During the Japanese colonization (1895-1943), the indigenous tribes were forced to relocate due the construction of the Sun Moon Lake power plant. Now there is only one tribe (the Thao) still

inhabitating the Yuchih township. The way of life and industry of Yuchih has remained relatively unchanged from the late nineteenth century through to the twenty first century.

Agriculture is the main economic activity for the remaining eleven villages in Yuchih; except three villages near Sun Moon Lake, which rely on tourism service businesses. The local speciality agricultural products include mushrooms, orchids, and black tea. Since the late 1980s, the income from agriculture has been too low to support basic living standards, so the young people have moved out to other major cities in search of jobs.

The devastation of the 921 earthquake resulted in large-scale injuries and the collapse of many buildings in Yuchih township. After this severe 921 disaster, the Tourism Bureau defined the Sun Moon Lake area as a National Scenic Area and established the Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area Administration which has been particularly responsible for tourism and environmental management affairs. With finance and human resources from central government, the surroundings of the Sun Moon Lake have received much more resources and advantages in tourism development than other nearby destinations.

The Sun Moon Lake

the provincial highways No. 21 in Yuchih

the town centre of Yuchih

Figure 4.5 Photos of Yuchih
(photos were taken by the author)

Renai

Renai is defined in this research as the remote region and is the second largest township in Nantou County with a total area of 1273.53 km². The geographic feature is mountainous (ranges from 400-3,599 metres height) from the west (connect with Puli township) increasing the height to the East as a part of the Central Mountain Range of Taiwan, more than half of the area is more than 1500 metres high. Therefore, due to the limits of this geographic feature, the population of Renai is very small (15,454 people, and the population density is 12 people/km²). The development of Renai follows the provincial road No.14, which is the only road that connects Puli and the Renai townships. Other

transport connections in Renai are low quality mountain roads that are only used by local residents to connect to farmlands or remote villages.

As a result of minimal access, the Renai township has been home for Taiwan's indigenous people. There are six to seven tribes[2] who have settled in the Renai township which is estimated to represent 79% of the total population. In addition, there are indigenous people[3] from the southwest border of China, which joined Kuomintang's army to resist Communism and then retreated to Taiwan, and were settled in the Cingjing Veterans farm since 1961. This results in a diverse socio-cultural feature in Renai.

Agriculture is the main feature of the economy in Renai. The produce is more distinguished temperate fruits (such as apples, plums and Chinese pears), and finer vegetable and tea produce due to the cooler climate (Nantou County Government, 2002). According to National Statistics (2006), there was no factory registered in Renai. The service industry is also less developed in Renai; it has only retail, restaurants, two post offices, one petrol station, and hotels and B&Bs in the tourism hot spots. Other services rely on the Puli township.

Renai was also affected by the 921 earthquake; when 304 houses collapsed and 418 houses were damaged, and road connections were cut off with the outside.

---

[2] There are four major tribes indentified inhabiting in the Renai area, and others small tribes that have yet to be finalised according to anthropography category
[3] These indigenous people are from eight different tribes in the southern China. Currently there are approximately 200 households in the Cingjing area.

The dangerously steep terrain results in the Renai township being prone to natural hazards, such as earthquakes, as well as typhoons and floods.

the provincial highways No. 14 in Renai which damage by typhoon in 2008 summer

the Cingjing Veterans farm

the Wanda reservoir in Renai

B&Bs

a village in Renai

Figure 4.6 Photos of Renai

(photos were taken by the author)

4.6 Research Methods

Adopting several data collection methods is a special feature of the case study approach. For a case study, it is not necessary to choose between qualitative or quantitative approaches, and it is also acceptable to adopt both according to the nature and context of the research. In the previous section, the rationale of this study which takes a qualitative multiple case study approach has been clearly stated and explained. This section addresses the data collection methods adopted in this study.

Within this overall approach, the more specific research methods include a review of documentation and archival records, semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders involved in the case study sites, direct observations, and a vox pop survey to obtain the opinions from the ordinary residents on the street.

Semi-structured, face-to-face interviews constituted the primary method of data collection in this research. Interviews with key stakeholders in the public and private sectors were undertaken in order to provide a wealth of information regarding the history of local tourism development, the degree of collaboration among public-private agencies and the support networks in tourism, and stakeholders' perceptions of tourism and sustainable local development. The semi-structured interview is an important data collection method in this research

because small rural town authorities do not always have written formal policy documents. In this respect, the semi-structured interviews can make up for this deficiency in the review of policy documents. The selection of interviewees is discussed in the next section, and there were four topic schedules (see Appendix 1) designed for interviewees from the different sectors.

Second, a review of documentation and archival records included the local spatial planning documents, tourism-related conference/ seminar reports, and the policy documents and official reports from key government authorities, and newspapers or articles regarding tourism activities in each of the case study sites.

Third, the direct observation method is adopted in this research to obtain the relevant information of case study sites by letting the researcher immerse herself in the case study sites for a better understanding of the sites in terms of the social-economic background and the geographical characteristics of sites, and the direct observation method can contribute to the interpretation in the later analysis process. Additionally, photographs were taken during the observation in the field work to keep a visual record of the scenes that the author has seen, and helps the reader to understand the atmosphere of the case study sites that go beyond what words can express.

Finally, a vox pop survey was carried out to hear the voice of the local residents in the three case study sites. This is used as additional support evidence which helps the researcher to grasp the views of the local residents in relation to the tourism impacts, both positive and negative, on their lives, and their general opinions about their expectations of tourism development (see Appendix 2, for the questions of vox pop survey).
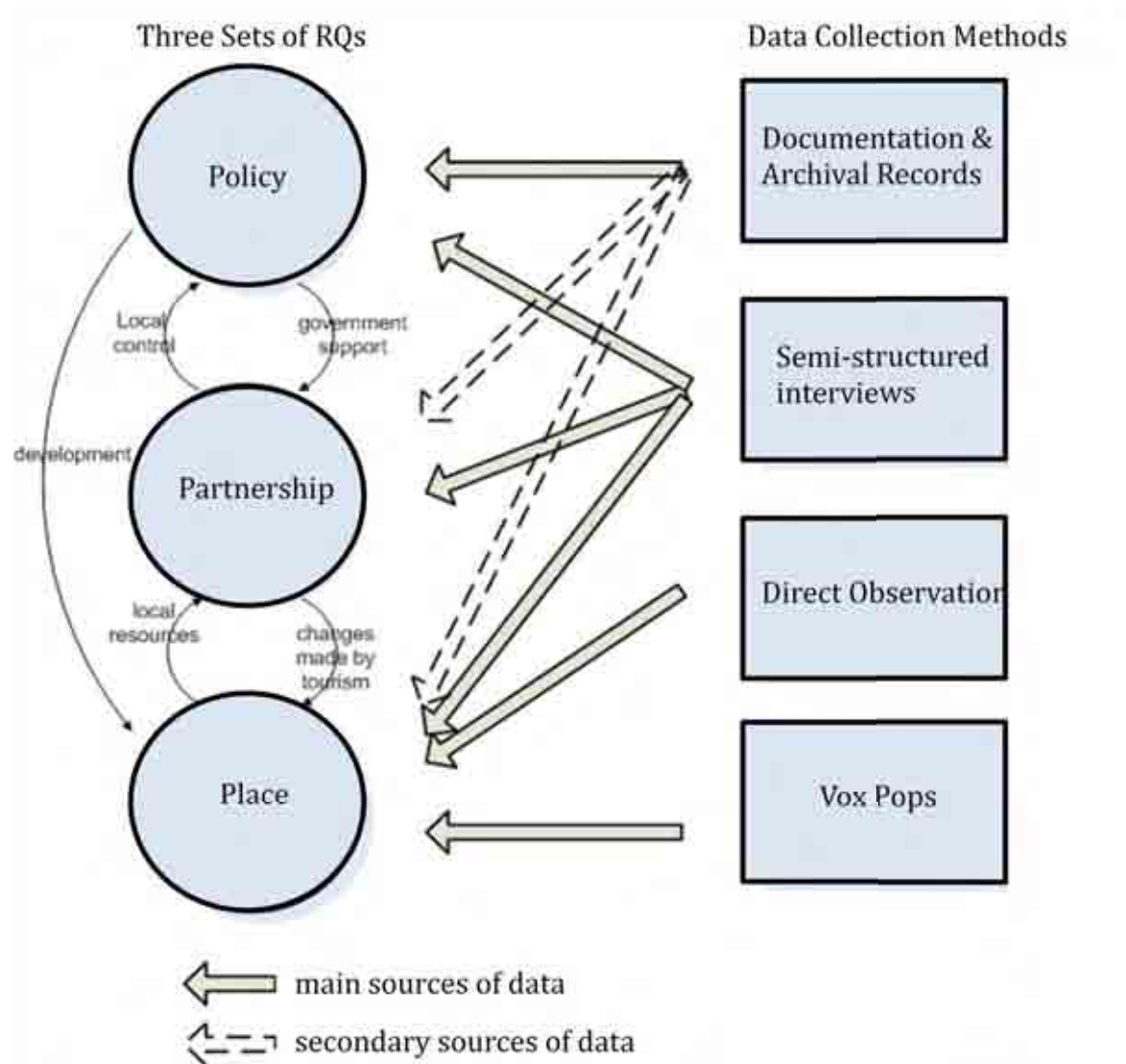
Figure 4.7 The Research Questions and the Data Collection Methods

Figure 4.7 illustrates the relevance of the data collection methods adopted in response to the three sets of research questions. Each method is adopted in accordance with the nature of the research questions. For example, in order to understand tourism-related policies, the documentation and archive review method seems to be most appropriate. In addition, interviews of public sector employees will help to obtain information regarding government tourism-related administration (RQ1. policy). The interviews with key stakeholders, on the other hand, provide an understanding of the policy implementation and how they assess tourism-policies as well as the participation mechanisms based on these policies (RQ2. participation). In addition, the interviews give an insight into how the stakeholders feel about how tourism development impacts on their lives (RQ3. place).

4.7 Data Collection and Analysis

In the previous section, it was identified that a qualitative case study approach has been chosen to conduct this research. With respect to engaging this methodological approach, it is essential to produce neutral and non-personal research. Phillimore and Goodson (2004) suggest that the reliability of qualitative research can be enhanced by researchers who clearly justify their choice of approach and make visible their data collection and analysis procedure (p.38). In

section 4 of this chapter, the rationale of selection of the case study sites has been explained, and section 5 has addressed the choice of data collection methods. Presenting a transparency of data collection and data analysis process, therefore, is the purpose of this section. By presenting the findings from interviews and the process of analysis, this will enable readers to picture and judge the quality of the research as well as provoking further discussion (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p.38). In order to increase the legitimacy of the research findings and to stimulate further discussion in relation to this debate, this section demonstrates the process of fieldwork, the selection of interviewees and the nature of the data.

Fieldwork process

The field work involved three visits to the three case study sites for this research, the townships of Puli, Yuchih, and Renai.

The pilot phase of the field work was conducted in April 2008. This involved meetings and discussions with key actors from government authorities and research institutes with a perspective on relevant aspects of tourism policy and trends in Taiwan. The purpose of the discussion in the pilot visits was to obtain background information on the case study sites and government policy documents, relevant academic materials and to identify contacts. In addition, through interviews with the key government officers in both central and local authorities

and research institutions in the field visits, the potential interviewees in both the public and private sectors were identified by the snowball method. Before the second visit, the preparation work included topic schedules and contacts with potential interviewees.

The second fieldwork phase was undertaken by the author during a one month intensive data collection in Puli during December 2008 to January 2009 to conduct interviews, and undertake direct observations in the three case study sites. In the second visit of the fieldwork, the focus was on the stakeholders at the local scale, which included local authorities, businesses, and community organisations. The interviews used sector-specific topic schedules which were appropriate to particular interviewees from different sectors. In some cases, several interviewees that were visited in the first fieldwork were interviewed for a second time, for example, tourism departments in local authorities, to clarify issues raised in the first instance. In addition to the interview work, the author also conducted a vox pop survey to obtain residents' opinions regarding tourism development.

The final visit was in May 2010. The main purpose of this short final visit was to secure feedback of the interpretations and clarification issues which had emerged when analysing the previously collected data. This helps to improve the validity of the findings and the credibility of the research outcomes.

The interviewees and the topic schedules

The initial interviews involved discussions with key tourism relevant government authorities, and then by snow balling, more individuals and tourism business operators were identified for the second visit. The snowball method is considered a useful means of identifying core stakeholders from other stakeholders' views at the local level (de Araujo & Bramwell, 1999, p.359). The targeted interviewees are from four groups. The first and second groups include the central and local government offices dealing with tourism affairs. The third group is tourist businesses, which include tourist businesses such as restaurants and bed and breakfasts (B&BS), and non-tourist businesses with tourism-related business ventures, such as paper factories. The fourth group is community organisations. The perceptions of normal residents are, however, obtained through a random vox pop survey method.

In order to maximise the credibility from the interviews, all interviewees are the heads of the government offices or the owners of the businesses, or people who work in a relatively important position in an office or organisation recommended by the snow balling method from other interviewees. Appendix 3 lists all the interviewees' represented institutions. For reasons of confidentiality, the names and accurate positions of the interviewees are protected. A capital letter is used in the thesis when a citation of content of a particular interview is stated.

The topic schedules (Appendix 1) shared a common research framework for the four sectors, including central and local government authorities, local businesses and community organisations; in addition, this included some sector-specific questions. The focus of the topic schedules was designed in response to the three sets of research questions, which includes the interrelationship among key stakeholders, the effectiveness of tourism policy, and the identities of the place from their point of view.

Data analysis process

The data analysis process of qualitative research is different from quantitative research (Bryman & Burgess, 1994). The data analysis process of qualitative research starts when the data is being collected rather than when the data collection has been finished. The simultaneous process of data collection and analysis contributes to '*build[ing] on the strengths of qualitative methods as an inductive method for building theory and interpretations from the perspective of the people being studied* (Ezzy, 2002, p.65).' Additionally, showing the process of research working is also necessary in terms of the accountability of qualitative research (Holliday, 2003, p.23, p.47-68).
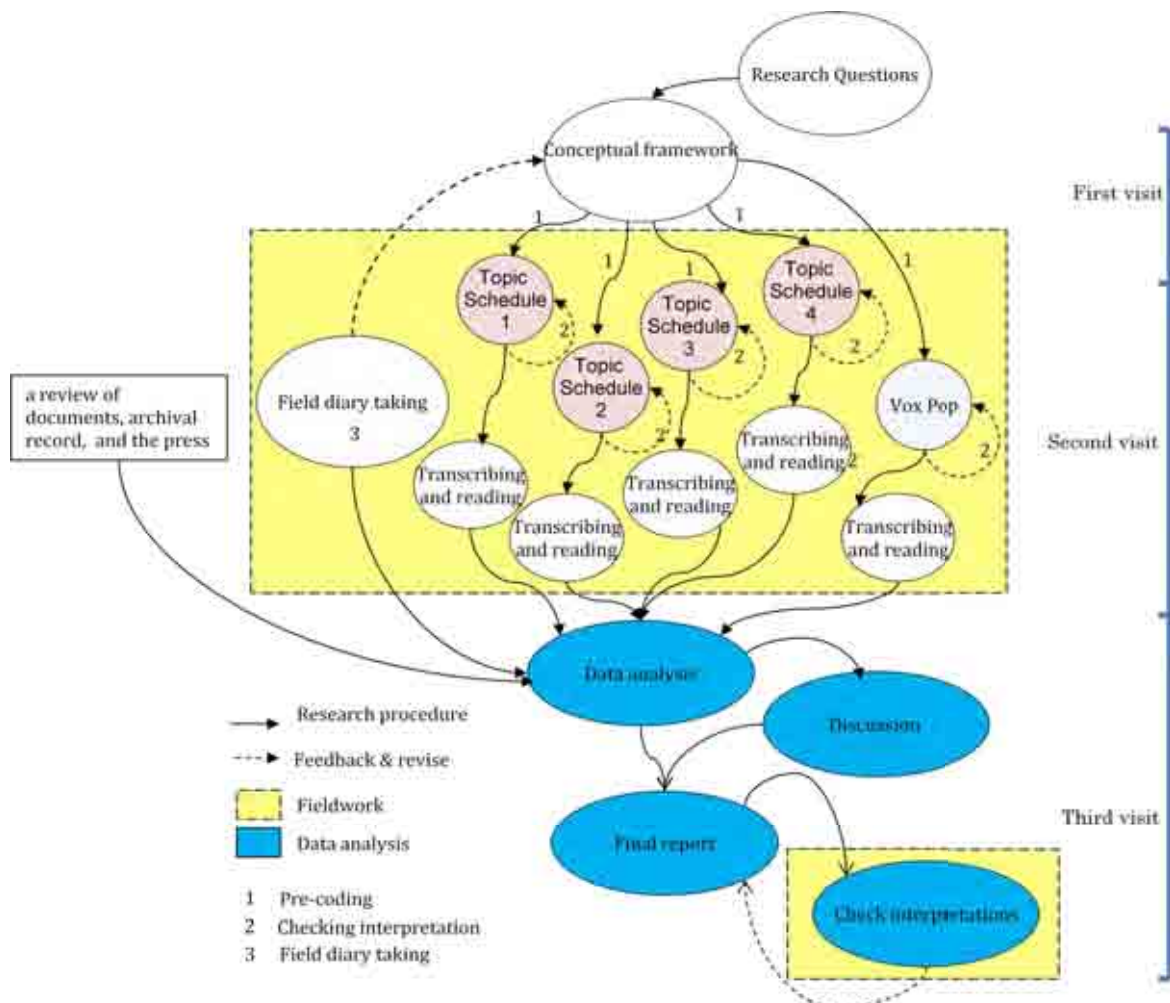
Figure 4.8 Data Collection and Analysis Process of this Study

(inspired by Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.308, Figure 13.1)

Figure 4.8 shows the process of data collection and analysis in this study. The topic schedules are set according to the stakeholders who are from the case study sites and belong to different sectors; this includes central governments, local governments, local businesses, and non-profit/ community organisations. Based on the research framework, all questions are pre-coded according to three set of research questions for further interpretation.

In the fieldwork process, all the interviews were tape-recorded and notes were kept, and the records and notes were reviewed right after the daily fieldwork. The purpose of the review was to help the researcher to grasp a clear understanding of the case study, to seek feedback on the topic schedules and to adjust the interview questions. The transcription work was undertaken after the fieldwork was conducted. In addition to the semi-structured interviews, a vox pop survey was undertaken during the field work in order to obtain the voice of the local residents and a field diary was also kept for recording the information which was obtained from the direct observations for further interpretation work.

4.8 Issues regarding Reliability, Validity and Ethics

This section addresses the methodological issues of this research including process reliability, contextual validity, data validity, and ethical issues. The section then concludes with an outline of the chapters that follow.

The Procedural Reliability, Contextual Validity and Data Validity

Generally, a good study is valued for its objectivity and validity. According to Ryan et al., (2002) reliability refers to '*the extent to which evidence is independent of the person using it*', and the validity means '*the extent to which the data are in some*

sense a "true" reflection of the real world' (p.155). However, these criteria do not seem to be appropriate in evaluating qualitative research. Instead of just considering the objectivity and internal/external validity which is often adopted in quantitative research, a qualitative case study should consider more issues of procedural reliability, contextual validity and theoretical generalisation (Flick, 2009, p.385; Ryan et al., 2002).

Procedural reliability can be accessed by evaluating if the researcher has adopted appropriate research methods and procedures (Ryan et al., 2002). Previous sections of this chapter have clearly specified the connection of the research questions and data collection methods, the approach of data collection, and the process of analysis in order to enhance the procedural reliability of this study. With the transparency of the procedure of this research, this research is conducted and supervised by peer researchers, panels, and a supervisor. This also contributes to the procedural reliability of this research.

Contextual validity indicates the credibility of the case study evidence and the conclusions that are drawn from it (Ryan et al., 2002). In respect of this, this study collects multiple sources of evidence, including the main sources from conducting document reviews and semi-structured interviews of key stakeholders in different sectors, and other sources such as the vox pop survey and direct observation.

The transferability of this study is to seek theoretical generalization. By taking the concepts of policy and place into rural tourism research instead of the conventional 'tourism-centred' consideration and applying the integrative tourism research approach in an East Asian context, this study intends to provide a theoretical generalisation in terms of a comprehensive integrative rural tourism research approach for future tourism and rural development investigations.

Ethical Issues

A key ethical concern in this research is the confidentiality of the interviewees. As has been explained in section four of this chapter, the names of interviewees and their specific positions in the institutions or businesses are protected. In the following chapters, when opinions are quoted in the paragraphs, these quotations will be presented in capital letters, for example, *interviewee A*, instead of being directly identifying the interviewee.

4.9 Conclusion

In the previous chapters, the literature review identified the three key components of partnership, policy, and place as important components of sustainable rural tourism development. Moreover, the concept of integration also arose in the literature review, which emphasises that tourism should be embedded in the

locality (place) as well as closely linked to the policy and planning framework. Based on these principles, this chapter proposes a research framework, which is specifically designed to investigate the role of tourism in sustainable rural development. The proposed research framework is a conceptualised ecological system in tourism, which is developed based on Murphy's (1985) tourism ecological system as well as IRT theory; the original concept of these models consists of two key elements, visitors (consumer) and the place (producer); due to the strong influence of policy on the other two elements and the purpose of exploring complex interrelationship in tourism, this research proposes an additional focus on policy in this model. Along with this framework, three sets of research questions are set to clarify the intentions of each component of the research framework.

A qualitative multiple case study approach is adopted in this research, because the intention of this research is to understand the interactions among partnership, policy, and place, and a qualitative approach appears to serve the nature of this research, which seeks explanations and interpretations of current rural tourism development. The perceptions of key stakeholders towards the issues regarding participation, policy and place are a main source of the findings of this research due to the fact that they can reflect tourism development and problems in the current socio-cultural context (section 3). Other data collection methods, including archival and documentation reviews, direct observations, and a vox pop survey, are additional research methods to inform findings (section 6).

Three townships in Taiwan, Puli, Yuchih and Renai, are selected as the sites for the empirical work. The selection of these case study sites has served two methodological purposes. First, in order to contribute to the limited research regarding the concept of integration in tourism research and civic participation in the non-western world, and in an East Asian context in particular, Taiwan is chosen. Second, three case studies are selected in Taiwan to present a range of experience from a 'remote' area, an 'intermediate' area, and an 'economically integrated' area in the rural continuum concept. Three case study sites at different levels of rural development help to facilitate more discussion in relation to the influence of 'place'.

In order to provide a rigorous outcome of this research, sections 6-8 present the data collection methods (section 6), the process of data analysis (section 7), and a discussion regarding issues of reliability, validity and ethics (section 8).

In addition, the presentation of findings and analysis has also contributed to enhancing the reliability and validity of this research (Holliday, 2002). The following chapters are arranged consisting of the findings (data) in chapter 5 to 8 and the analysis (argument) in chapter 9. The first part is more exploratory in nature, which examines the key stakeholders' perceptions of local tourism development and faithfully presents the perspectives of interviewees from the interviews conducted. This begins with chapter 5, a review of documentation and

archival records, which aims to provide an insight into current rural tourism development and the policy and planning implementation in Taiwan. Chapters 6 to 8 are the findings from fieldwork, which are based on the three sets of research questions, respectively focusing on tourism policy, tourism cooperation, and effects of tourism on the locality. In each chapter, findings are presented according to categorised issues emerging from data collection process, mainly interviews. This is in order to picture the context of rural tourism development in response to the research questions. Chapter 6 presents the findings regarding tourism policy implementation at the local level. Chapter 7 addresses the participation, partnership and collaboration among four groups of key stakeholders in tourism. These include government (both the central and local), private tourist businesses, and community organisations as well as ordinary residents. Chapter 8 presents the findings of the effects of tourism development on the three case study sites in terms of the sustainability of local development. Following these findings chapters, chapter 9 is an explanatory chapter which analyses the findings from chapter 5 to 8 and a cross-case analysis is undertaken here. Finally, chapter 10 concludes this thesis with a brief review of the main findings and provides a discussion of the limitations and suggestions for further research in rural tourism.

Chapter 5 Tourism Policy in Taiwan

5.1 Introduction

Based on the research design of this thesis outlined in chapter 4, chapters 5 to chapter 8 presents the data and findings of this research in order to inform the discussions in chapter 9. This chapter reviews archival and contemporary documents in relation to tourism policy and planning in Taiwan, and chapters 6-8 present the findings obtained from the fieldwork, including interviews, the vox pop survey, and direct observation respectively in response to the three sets of research questions. The research framework of this thesis set up in chapter 4 suggests that tourism policy and rural planning are essential tools for guiding development along a sustainable path, particularly considering the potentially unsustainable nature of tourism itself. The documents reviewed include an examination of a discussion of current rural tourism governance structure (section 2), and major tourism policy at the national level (section 3) as well as at a local level (section 4). The aim is to understand current tourism-related policy, the government system, the nature of statutory plans and rural management mechanisms in order to

provide the necessary background information on tourism in Taiwan. Section

4 concludes this chapter with a summary of key issues emerging from this

chapter. These issues will provide the basis of the analysis presented in

chapter 9, particularly in response to the first set of research question.

5.2 The Taiwanese Governance and Planning System in Tourism

As emphasised in the literature review and the methodology chapter, tourism

is a multi-disciplinary discourse in both academia and business. This multi-

disciplinary nature is reflected in government authorities. In chapter 3 section

4, the review of tourism policy clearly indicated the wider range of tourism

policies and planning at various levels (Inskeep, 1991). From central

government to local authorities, various different government authorities are

responsible for various missions, all of which have connections with tourism

development. In order to clarify which government authorities, policies and

planning are relevant to this research this section examines the current

government system and the planning system of Taiwan. The review of current

policy will be presented in the following two sections of this chapter.

The Taiwanese government system consists of both central and local levels.

Figure 5.1 displays a simplified government organisation system. On top is the

Executive Yuan, under the Presidency, which is the highest administrative

organ of the state (Office of the President Republic of China, 2006). Under the

Executive Yuan, there are eight ministries, eleven councils, and other additional offices that make up the administrative organ of central government referred to as the first tier authorities. In the first tier, the government authorities have major role in tourism development including the Council of Agriculture, and the Council of Indigenous People, and in the second tier, the Tourism Bureau, and Construction and Planning Administration. Under these central government departments, there are county/ city and municipality cities, known as local government authorities. The three case study sites, the townships of Puli, Yuchih, and Renai, are under Nantou County[1]. According to the Local Government Act (1991), local government can establish sections or offices for the purpose of self-government in matters of organization and administration, finance, urban planning and construction...etc. [2]. The three townships all have established sections in relation to tourism and planning. A review of documents and plans from these local government sections will be presented in section 4 of this chapter, as they represent tourism-related policy at the local level.

---

1 In Taiwan, the local governments consist of nineteen counties, and each county consists of townships. There is no regional government actually existing, but there are four Regional Plans (North, East, South, and Middle Regional Plan) as the blue prints for the regional development.

2 Local Government Act (1999)(English version source: http://www.lawbank.com.tw/index.php)

- The self-government matters of counties/cities are as follows: organization and administration; finances; social services; education, culture, and sports; labour administration; urban planning and construction; economic services; water resources; health and environment protection; transportation and tourism; public safety; operations and management of businesses; other matters as required by laws and regulations (Article 19).
- The self-government matters of townships/cities are as follows: organization and administration; finances; social services; education, culture, and sports; environmental sanitation and health; construction, transportation, and tourism; public safety; operations and management of businesses; other matters as required by laws and regulations (Article 20).

Executive Yuan[1]

- and others...[2]
- Ministry of Interior
  - Construction & Planning Administration
  - others
- Ministry of Transport & Communications
  - Tourism Bureau
    - National Scenic Area Administration eg: Sun Moon Lake
  - others
- Council of Agriculture
  - Soil & Water Conservation Bureau
  - others
- Council for Cultural Affairs
- Council of Indigenous People

Centrally Administered Municipalities (Taipei City & Kaohsiung City)

City / County government (total numbers 23)
- Townships (totle number 319)

- authorities in central level
- authorities in local level

[1]The Executive Yuan in the Taiwanese Government organ is under the Presidency, and with other four Yuan, which are Legislative Yuan, Judicial Yuan, Examination Yuan, Control Yuan

[2]In addition to the authorities in this figure, there are 34 authorities listing here

Ministries: Economic Affairs, Education, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Interior, Justice, National, Defense, (Transportation and Communications)

Councils: (Agriculture), Atomic Energy, Aviation Safety, (Cultural Affairs), Hakka Affairs, (Indigenous Peoples), Economic Planning and Development, Labor Affairs, Mainland Affairs, Science, Sports Affairs

Commissions: Communication, Consumer Protection, Election, Financial Supervisory, Fair Trade, Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs, Overseas Compatriot Affairs, Public Construction Commission, Research, Development and Evaluation, Veterans Affairs, Youth

Agencies: Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Coast Guard, Environmental Protection, Government Information, Health, Personnel

Other bodies: Central Bank, National Palace Museum

Figure 5.1 Tourism-related Government Authorities in the Taiwan Government System

167

Whilst the review of the Taiwanese government system has provided an insight into the variety of government authorities related to tourism development, an understanding of the Taiwanese planning system enhances further investigation of this research in the identification of key plans which are relevant to the nature of this research. Figure 5.2 presents the current planning system in Taiwan.
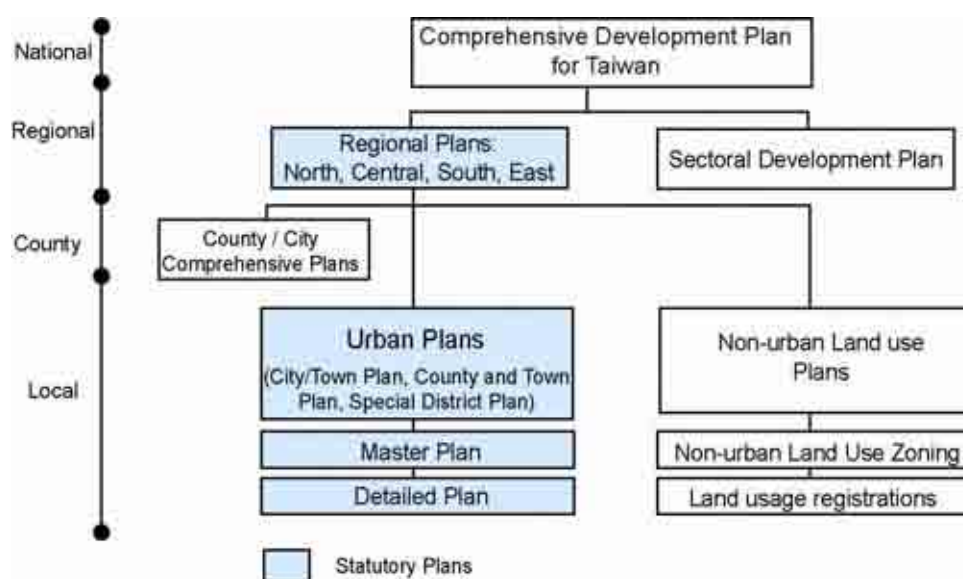
Figure 5.2 The Hierarchy of Planning System in Taiwan
source: Ng, 1999, p.43, modified by the author

The planning system in Taiwan consists of four tiers, including the Comprehensive Development Plan for Taiwan, Regional Plans, County/ City Comprehensive Plans, and Urban Plans (Ng, 1999, p.42-44). The highest spatial plan in this planning system is the National Comprehensive Development Plan (1981; revisited in 1993). This plan aims to provide guidance for improving the utility of land use, the conservation of natural resources, the balance of regional development and the quality of the physical

environment. However, the non-statutory status of the National Comprehensive Development Plan results in limited effectiveness, and it often requires strong political will to support its implementation.

In the second tier, Regional plans are statutory plans, and they were announced under the stipulations of The Regional Plan Act (1974), and follows the regulations in The Rational Plan Act Implementation Details (1978). Four Regional Plans cover the whole territory of Taiwan, which are the North, Central, East, and South Regional Plan, and aim to increase the utilization of land and natural resources, a reasonable distribution of population and production activities; acceleration of all-round economic growth and improving the living environment and social welfare (The Regional Plan Act, 1974, Article 1).

Urban plans are the most fundamental plan at the local level. These accord to the criteria of Urban Planning Law (Article 10-12) (Table 5.1) which define areas as 'urban land'. Once an "urban land" is identified, there is a statutory requirement for a 'Master Plan' to be produced, and land use zoning is applied in order to ensure all facilities for urban life, such as economic activities, transportation, public hygiene, security, education, leisure, are planned and developed.

Table 5.1 Criteria of the Identification of Urban Land Urban Area

Article	Purpose	Criteria
Article 10	Political purpose	The above identified areas should have Urban /Town Plan: capital city, municipality, city (under the jurisdiction of provincial government or county), town, or other areas assigned by Ministry of the Interior, county/city government
Article 11	Population density approach	When there is a township office in an area, or the population had been up to 3000 residents five years ago and increased a third within five years, or the population is up to 3000 residents with 50% population employed in the industry or business sectors
Article 12	Special District Plan	for the purpose of industry development, landscape maintenance, or other special purposes, the "Special District Plan" can be drawn up, and the area is delimited as a "Special District", which is the third type of "urban land

source: Construction and Planning Agency (2010), based on the author's translation

Between the regional plans and urban plans, there are the county/ city comprehensive plans. These were introduced in the early 2000s and aim to link the vision of regional planning (regional plans) with land use zoning (urban plans). However, due to their lack of statutory status, the effectiveness of these is questionable.

Among these plans, county/ city comprehensive plans and urban plans are more related to this research than the National Comprehensive Plan for Taiwan and Regional Plans whereas the information in the latter is addressed at a national scale and this is too broad and vague to assist the investigation of this research. Therefore, the former two plans will be part of the review in section 4 of this chapter that explores the policies at the local level.

The sectoral development plan identified in Figure 5.2 refers to the policies and plans from central government departments, for example the Council of

Agriculture, the Tourism Bureau (under the Ministry of Transportation and Communications), and the Ministry of Economic Affairs (which is responsible for water resources and geological surveys). A review of these will be presented in the next section (section 3) of this chapter.

5.3 Tourism-related policy at the international and central level

In the previous section, the Taiwanese government system has been identified as consisting of two levels, central and the local government. This section explores the policies and planning in relation to the three case study sites from the international level to the central level, and the next section (section 4) focuses attention on the local level.

The most influential tourism-related policy at the international level is the 'Tourism Policy of Mainland Tourists' produced in the latter half of the year 2008. In 2009, for example, this policy was credited with generating seventy thousand tourists from mainland China visiting Nantou County (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 The Nationality of International Tourists Visiting Nantou County

	Japan	Korea	China	Europe, USA, AU, NZ	South Asia	Others	Total
2006	9,937	2,747	205,356	3,537	1,260	10,573	233,410
2007	12,569	2,615	185,690	5,368	27,356	171,634	405,232
2008	14,541	4,147	140,457	9,606	87,001	221,224	476,976
2009	14,033	1,850	718,392	9,733	87,930	784,643	1,616,581

source: Nantou County Government, 2010

At the national level, the Executive Yuan announced development strategies for six key emerging industries (May, 2009), which included tourism, medicine and health care, biotechnology, green energy, culture and recreation, and high-end agriculture. As tourism is recognized as one of the six emerging industries which the nation relies on to boost the competiveness of Taiwan, the Executive Yuan approved the 'Best of Taiwan Tourism Development Plan', calling for the investment of NT$30 billion (around six billion GBPs) from 2009 to 2012. Accordingly the Tourism Bureau of the Ministry of Transportation and Communications will initiate further plans for implementation, including 'Best of Taiwan Action Program' for the participation of local government, and a 'Foundation Building Action Program' for industrial and employment transformation into tourism. It demonstrated that tourism development is a central objective for the Taiwanese government, and consequently, various directly and indirectly tourism related authorities are engaging in tourism work.

Several first tier authorities are responsible for affairs which are related to tourism development. These include the Council of Agriculture, and the Council of Indigenous People, and in the second tier, the Tourism Bureau, and Construction and Planning Administration (section 2). These authorities and other central government offices that have a role in relation to tourism development as well as an indication of their particular policy focus are presented in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Tourism-related Central Government Authorities and Their Current Policy Focus

Authorities	Tier	objectives	influence
The Council of Agriculture	1	• **The development of leisure agriculture** The COA develop leisure agriculture by assisting farms to transform into leisure farms in terms of the legal provisions, holding agriculture related tourism events, and providing handicrafts or cooking training courses for rural residents • **Farming Village Rebirth Programme and the Regulations Governing Rebirth of Farm Village** In total 20 billion NT dollars (equal to 400 million British pounds) are provided to improve environment and infrastructure and undertake land reformation. • **The promotion of agriculture produce to Mainland China market and tourists**	Strong ★★★★
The Council of Indigenous People	1	• **Expand indigenous economic activities, take lead in sustainable development** To advocate indigenous community businesses and to undertake road improvements and construction projects for communities. • **Restore land rights of indigenous traditional territories and rights to utilization of natural resources** • **Promote indigenous cultures, Develop indigenous media and information technology sector**	Medium ★★
Council for Cultural Affairs	1	• **Local Culture Museum Building (99-102³ mid-term policy, May 2009)** Through the participation of local residents, organize local cultural resources, such as traditional building, history, agriculture, and local handicrafts in order to form a local community centre and promote tourism. • **New Hometown Community Building (2004 Cultural Policy White Paper)** Focus on the creative use of community resources to improve the cultural environment, and revitalize local cultural industries, cultivating community building talent	Medium ★★
Tourism Bureau, Ministry of Transport & Communications	2	• **The major tourism sites and 13 National Scenic Area Administrations** Dealing with the environment management and invests in those places in terms of environment and facilities improvement in the identified tourism routes and the 13 National Scenic Areas • **The Top-notch Tourism Plan (2009-2015)** 300 billion NT dollars funds is to be invested in the construction of major tourism sites and funding tourism development projects which are being developed by local	Strong ★★★★

³ The 99-102th year of the Republic of China is year 2010-2013 AD

		authorities • **Holding international tourism exhibitions and tourism events.**	
Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, Council of Labour Affairs	2	• **'Tourism Industry Personal Training Programme'** Provided subsidy for local government or tourism-related organisation, and colleges to hold tourism skill training courses.	Little ★
Industrial Development Bureau, Ministry of Economic Affairs	2	• **'Factory Tour' programme** Assisting factories with potential in tourism, culture, education to transform into tour factories.	Little ★

source: Council for Cultural Affairs , 2004; Council for Cultural Affairs, 2008; Council of Agriculture, 2008; Industrial Development Bureau, 2005; Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2009; Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2008; based on the author's translation

- Note: the column of influence was given according to the responses of interviewees' perceptions of current tourism policy which related to them. And the meaning of this column and this table is not only to provide an insight of current tourism-related policy but also to reflect the diverse nature of tourism in policy.

In Table 5.3, the Council of Agriculture (COA) and its subsidiary, the Soil and Water Conservation Bureau are responsible for agricultural development and rural village development. The Council of Indigenous People which engages in the affairs of indigenous people plays an important role in rural tourism, as a consequence of the remote rural areas are generally home to the indigenous people and with abundant natural resources for tourism development. Developing tourism in indigenous communities is a policy focus to improve the economic prospects and opportunities of these communities. The second tier authorities, however, take a more direct responsibility for tourism work. The Construction and Planning Administration is responsible for the construction work and spatial planning which define the land use of urban and non-urban lands. The Tourism Bureau of the Ministry of Transport and Communications

is the highest authority in tourism affairs. Under the Tourism Bureau, there are thirteen subsidiaries, called National Scenic Area Administrations, directly located in identified scenic areas for it tourism promotion and environment management. The Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area, for example, is one of these located in the Yuchih Township.

Among these central government policies, most of the schemes provide funds for the local authorities, tourist businesses or communities to apply for. For example, rural community organisations can apply for funds from the 'Farming Village Rebirth Programme' in the Council of Agriculture, in order to improve the physical environment and regenerate rural villages. This policy implementation approach between central government and the recipient actors (local governments, tourist businesses, or community organisations) will be explored in more detail in chapter 7 (sections 2 & 3), and the discussion of this approach will be addressed in chapter 9 (section 3).

In addition, several recently provided transportation services are also of considerable importance to tourism development (Table 5.4). These include the launch of high speed rail in 2006, and the newly finished No.6 motorway in 2009. Even though, the nearest stop of the high speed rail is approximately 55 km away from Puli township, with the connection by this new motorway, the journey can be reduced to within one hour by car. In addition, since 2010, there are bus links provided between the high speed rail stop to the three case study sites. This is also considered as an important to tourism development in the

three case study sites.

Table 5.4 Important Transportation Services

Transportation service & the launch year	Impacts
High Speed Rail (2006)	One hour by HSR, from Taichung station (the nearest stop to the case study sites) to Taipei or Kaohsiung.
Motorway No.6 (2009)	Link to the major motorway NO.1 and 3 as well as HSR Taichung station. Travel from Taichung to Puli takes less than one hour.
Bus service (2010)	Buses between high speed rail to the case study sites

source: organised by the author

In addition to these central government policies, at local level, county governments and the township offices are directly responsible for managing local development and enforcing the policies given by the central government authorities. This part will be discussed later in the next section of this chapter and in chapter 6.

5.4. Tourism-related Policy and Planning in Puli, Yuchih and Renai

Although the role of local government is stressed in tourism policies, planning and provision of government support is clearly identified in the literature (chapter 3 section 2), this research found that there is no tourism-specific policy or plans formulated by the local authorities. This lack of formal policy or plans also evidences the situation described in the literature regarding the absence of tourism-specific policy at the local level, particularly in rural areas (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; see discussions in chapter 3, section 4). Instead, the governance of rural towns primarily relies on the administration from the central government as well as short-term programmes to develop tourism, and

chapter 6 will address this part of the findings. With the absence of formal policy regarding tourism at the local level, this section reviews several plans in relation to local development, including the Nantou County Policy White Paper (2008) and the Nantou County Comprehensive Plan (2002), and several urban plans.

The Nantou County Policy White Paper includes development plans for its 13 townships. Table 5.5 provides details of the plans for the townships of Puli, Yuchih and Renai. The development of each township accords to the Nantou County Comprehensive Plan (2002-2013) and has been updated and revised based on current need by the Nantou County government. Due to the fact that the Nantou County Comprehensive Plan was conducted during the 921 earthquake, this plan was largely concerned with the the post-construction works. In addition, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Nantou County Comprehensive Plan is not a statutory plan. The implementation of this plan relies on the current government's political will. Therefore, a review of the White Paper is considered as appropriate and practical in terms of demonstrating the implementation of the plan.

In Table 5.5, tourism is identified as a primary development in each of the case study sites; in the White Paper Puli is considered as 'the tourism town', Yuchih is 'the town of water' and Renai is 'Landscape appreciation, hot spring and indigenous culture'. In order to achieve this, new tourist facilities have been provided, such as a cycling path in Puli, and a leisure park by Sun Moon Lake.

Tourism development programmes identified in the White Paper, such as long-stay tourism (Puli), agri-tourism product development (Yuchih), and the provision of tourist events, such as the flower festival or the cherry blossom season (Puli, Yuchih, and Renai) will be addressed in more detail in chapter 6.

Table 5.5 The Nantou County White Paper (the part of Puli, Yuchih, and Renai)

Puli: the tourism town
• To Establish and promote international elderly long-stay villages • To develop Puli as a town of flowers • To establish a tourism research department in the National Chi Nan University for assisting local tourism development • To hold annual 'Nantou flower festival' • To build a cycling path alongside provincial highway No. 21 • To develop an large scale water recreation resort by NanHun stream • To provide tourist facilities alongside the Liyu lake and improve it tourist service in the evening
Yuchih: the town of water
• To attract the international funds to build a tennis centre • To co-host annual cherry blossom festival with the Formosa Aboriginal Culture Village in order to create tourist business opportunities • To build a new road to connect provincial highway No. 21 for alleviation of traffic • Development local special agriculture produce, orchid industry and mushroom industry • To establish waterside leisure park around the Sun Moon Lake
Renai: Landscape appreciation, hot spring and indigenous culture
• To develop Lusan into a high quality leisure hot spring resort, and hold annual hot spring season in winter. • To develop tourism in the Cingjing area with the characteristics of indigenous culture, and to hold annual event during summer season. • To set emergency medical service stop for tourists in weekends and holidays • To assist indigenous people running Bed and Breakfast business

source: Nantou County Government, 2008

In addition to the White Paper, urban plans are another source of local government documents in relation to tourism development. Table 5.6 lists all the current urban plans in the three case study sites. Among these, there are three specifically planned to address tourism development (The Sun Moon Lake Special District Plan, Tsuifeng Scenic Special District Plan, and the Lusan Scenic Special District Plan).

Generally speaking, urban plans are produced in order to ensure harmony between different land uses and to ensure sufficient infrastructure is in place for economic activities, transportation (road system), public hygiene, security, education (primary schools and high schools), and for leisure facilities (parks and open space). For special purposes, for example, tourism development, an area can be delimited as a tourism special district, such as the three scenic district plans in Table 5.6[4]. In these tourism special districts, there is a greater focus on the use of land for recreational uses in addition to the general necessity of land uses for urban life. For example, there is a water recreational area in the Lusan Scenic Special District Plan, and a tourist information centre zone in the Sun Moon Lake Special District Plan). As a zoning system is applied in the urban planning of Taiwan, with the awareness of recreational land uses within these tourist special plan areas, tourist development as well as tourist activities are able to be arranged and allocated in advance. Apart from these additional concerns in tourist land uses, these plans are not much different to other urban plans.

Table 5.6 Current Urban Plans in the Townships of Puli, Yuchih, and Renai

Township	Urban Plan	Announced Year	Revisited Year
Puli	Puli Urban Plan	1955	1968, 1970, 1976, 1980, 1984, 1986, 1989, 2001, 2003, 2005
Yuchih	Yuchih Urban Plan	1973	1976, 1986, 1997, 2001
	The Sun Moon Lake Special District Plan	1972	1977, 1984, 1986, 1994, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009
Renai	Wushe Urban Plan	1967	1986, 1998, 2005
	Tsuifeng Scenic Special District Plan	1980	1986, 1996, 2004
	Lusan Scenic Special District Plan	1986	1994, 2004

source: Nantou County Government, 2010b

---

[4] See the Urban Plan Act in Table 5.1, section 2 of this chapter.

5.5 The Complex Nature of Rural Tourism Management

Sections 2 to 4 of this chapter have reviewed current tourism relevant policies and planning policies from the national to the local scale. The large variety of levels of government and their policies involved in tourism development leads to the governance in rural areas being a significant challenge in terms of co-operation due to the diverse and overlapping issues involved. This section examines this complicated governance structure of rural areas in Taiwan (see Figure 5.3).

As demonstrated in section 2 of this chapter, the Taiwanese planning system consists of both spatial plans and sectoral plans. The territory of the whole nation contains seven national parks, approximately 450 areas designated as urban land, and also areas classified as non-urban land (Figure5.3, Graph 1). The National Parks are identified for the conservation of the precious natural environment, and National Parks are controlled strictly under the National Park Acts' (1972). Urban land refers to a place identified as an urban development area, and the development of this area should follow its 'Urban Plan' (Master Plan) and the strict zoning regulations (Table 5.1 in section 2). An area that is neither a National Park nor urban land is categorised into non-urban land, and it follows the regulations stated by the Regional Planning Act. In terms of the responsible authorities, the Construction and Planning Administration is responsible for the spatial planning system, including

National Parks, Regional plans, and urban plans regarding planning, building regulations, and the other relevant public affairs. The authorities at the local scale in relation to practicing spatial planning are the counties and/or cities. The urban plans are under the planning department/ sections of the county / city offices, and the non-urban land affairs are the responsibility of the land office of the counties/ city offices.
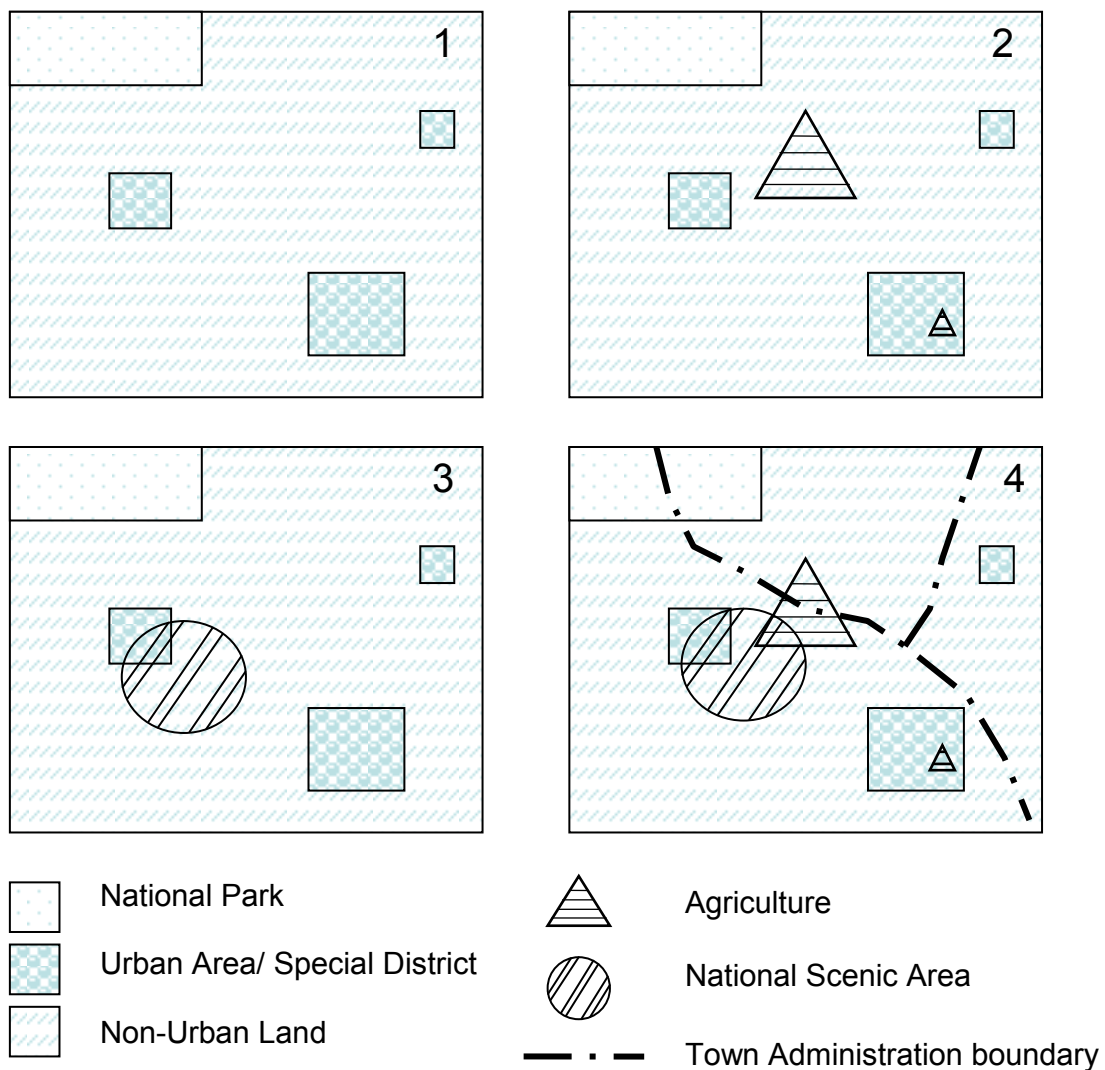
Figure 5.3 the tourism-related governance in rural area

In addition to these spatial plans, several sectoral plans also engage in rural land management and are related to rural tourism development (section 3 of this chapter). For example, the Council of Agriculture (COA) plays an essential role in rural areas in relation to agriculture, forestry, fisheries, animal husbandry and food affairs in Taiwan (Council of Agriculture, 2008). Recently, as the consequence of agricultural decline and the notion of agricultural transformation, the village rebirth programme and the development of leisure agriculture has become an important policy focus of the COA. In terms of rural land management, all the lands which are in farming or forestry are governed by the Council. Although the lands still follow its urban/ non-urban status on zoning in principle, all changes to land use still require getting permission from the Council of Agriculture (Figure5.3, Graph 2).

The Tourism Bureau is another important sector in rural tourism development. The Tourism Bureau is in charge of international tourism promotion, and the major tourism site investment, and the planning and administration of the thirteen National Scenic Areas. Therefore, the administrative areas of the Tourism Bureau overlap with the urban areas / non-urban areas or both (Figure5.3, Graph3).

In this research, the case study sites are selected as the administrative division of the township, for the reason that a township is a basic unit for statistical data and the lowest level in government authorities (chapter 4 section 4). However, it should be acknowledged that although the selected

three townships all represent rural areas, that a rural township still consists of both urban-land and non-urban land. Usually, a town centre or a special district (e.g. the Sun Moon Lake scenic area) can be defined as urban land and fall under the management of its urban plan (as Table 5.6), and the surroundings of town centre still remain in agricultural usage or retain its original landscape, for example Puli Township.

In terms of governance, urban land is directly under the county office's and townships' management, but in terms of farm land where agricultural produce is going on, both in urban land or non-urban areas, the Council of Agriculture is also involved. Moreover, the Tourism Bureau is also a key actor in rural areas, especially in those major tourism sites and the National Scenic Areas. If other less direct issues in relation to tourism development are included, such as water resources management, river management, road constructions...etc, are also included the governance structure in rural tourism becomes very complex (Figure 5.3, Graph 4). In fact, the situation of the large number of various government departments involved in rural land management as well as tourism development was highlighted in the literature review in chapter 3. The conceptualised diagram in this section not only supports the evidence in the literature but also shows the reasons for this. In respect of this potential problem in rural tourism governance, the concerns in relation to the nature of partnership and the levels of collaboration between tourism-related governments emerge here, and the findings of this research regarding the

partnership and collaboration between governments will be addressed in chapter 7, and further explored in chapter 9.

5.6 Summary and Discussion

This chapter has reviewed archival and contemporary documents in relation to tourism policies and planning. According to the planning system in Taiwan as demonstrated in section 2, it can be found that there are a considerable number of government bodies which have exhibited an increasing interest in rural tourism. These various governments departments involved in promoting rural tourism suggest a need for an effective coordination mechanism, or the need for positive leadership to promote effective collaborative working.

Section 3 explored tourism policies at the central government level, and section 4 focused on policies and planning at the local level. It is apparent from this that a strong central-oriented governance approach has appeared in current tourism development in Taiwan. For example, there are six central public agents (see Table 5.3) responsible for at least one or more programmes in response to rural tourism development, whereas at the local level, tourism policy or statutory planning policies are almost non-existent. In the Nantou County White Paper (see chapter 5, Table 5.5), for example, there are only 7 objectives and actions stated in 7 sentences in relation to tourism development for the township of Puli, 5 for Yuchih and 4 for Renai, but without any details of how to implement or resource these objectives and actions. The absence of clear policy and planning at the local level, particularly the lack of financial

resources, results in local government being almost totally dependent on central administrative and financial support.

In terms of the spatial planning system, the nature of the overlapping system means it takes a considerable time to apply for any changes in terms of land use or new development plans, which are required to obtain permission from each government department being responsible for rural development. This again suggests the need for better coordination between government departments as the current planning system appears very complicated in its governance arrangements.

The next chapter carries out an exploration of the perspectives and strategies from local government in relation to the fact that there is not any formulated policy at the local level, and consequently that tourism promotion work is based largely on events or short-term programmes. An analysis drawing from the findings in chapters 5 and 7 will be addressed in chapter 9 section 3 regarding tourism-related policy.

Chapter 6 Tourism Policy in the Local Context

6.1 Introduction

After the review of documentation in chapter 5, chapters 6 to 8 present the findings obtained from the interviews and the direct observations from the fieldwork. Chapter 6 focuses on the findings in relation to the policy and strategy in the local context. Although chapter 5 and chapter 6 both present findings related to tourism policy, chapter 5 is an examination of official documentation, such as central government policies and plans related to the three case study sites, and chapter 6 presents the findings based on the information obtained in the interviews, press, and direct observations. This is because, in practice, the nature of the policy and strategy in the local context is a succession of decisions or short-term government activities that take place in the context of government policy. Therefore, data can only be obtained through in-depth interviews with government officers and reviews of news/press releases from local authorities. Chapters 5 and 6 provide the data to address the first set of research questions in the analysis part of this thesis.

Chapter 6 starts with an examination of tourism development of the local authorities. Section 2 of this chapter explains current implementation of tourism policy at a local level. Further to this practical implementation situation, section 3 elaborates on the two main approaches taken by local

authorities for tourism development. These two common approaches in the case study sites included promoting agri-tourism products and holding tourist events. In addition to these main approaches, section 4 addresses the venture of 'long-stay' tourism which has taken place in the township of Puli. Section 5 illustrates the support provided by the local authorities regarding tourism development. Section 6 provides a summary of the findings of this chapter.

6.2 The Emerging New Public Responsibility for Tourism Development

Tourism development as a government responsibility is a relatively recent phenomenon. A senior government officer highlighted the fact that '*unlike other tourism nations, such as France, Spain, and Thailand, Taiwan has never been a popular destination country in international tourism'* (interviewee Z). Developments such as the concept of 'weekend holidays' for Taiwanese people has emerged as a result of the two days off weekend policy which started in 2001; since then, the numbers of domestic travelling has started to increase. Since tourism has just started developing, unsurprisingly, the corresponding resources and budgets that have been put in place to promote tourism development in the public sector still remain very limited.

In the past, the only government authority specifically designed in response to tourism affairs was the Tourism Bureau of the Transportation Ministry in central government (see chapter six, section two), and the main obligation of the central Tourism Bureau was monitoring domestic tour agents and hotels

(according to interviewees B & Z). At the local scale, the establishment of tourism specific sections in the county and township governments is even more recent. For example, the Tourism and Culture Section of the Renai Township and the Agricultural Section (which has a Section of Tourism and Culture) of Yuchih Township were both established in 2006. Therefore, as for government authorities, particularly for the local authorities, dealing with tourism development affairs is relatively a new responsibility, and the experience of that is still in its early stages. As interviewee T said 'we are still learning...', so there is no surprise that the tourism relevant policy or strategy have not yet been fully established, not to mention the ability to cope with tourism development in the real world (interviewee B).

Since dealing with tourism development affairs is rather a new notion for local authorities, the county office gave the priority to introducing the notion of tourism development to the townships and encouraged the cooperation between inter and intra townships. The Nantou County Tourism Bureau delivered its mission by arranging township mayors and government officers from tourism relevant sections to visit rural communities that were successful in tourism development; hoping that through this fieldwork, these tourism related government officers would be able to obtain the experience of successful tourism development cases, and to use them to help formulate tourism policy.

According to representatives of local authorities (*interviewees A, B, and T*), the role of the township office in local tourism development is defined as the role of assisting rather than direct development. It was claimed that *'what the government can do is to assist them (tourist businesses) and hold tourism events...'* and *'the private businesses are expected to work on their own...'* (interviewees A & T). Currently, the policy in the local government authorities is simply to focus on promoting the identity of the destination areas and their local agriculture products. The discussion regarding the general promotion of agriculture produce tourism is addressed in section three; apart from the general agri-tourism approach, Puli township is adopting the 'long-stay' tourism approach, which is also addressed in section three.

The newly emerged awareness and the lack of tourism governance experience may be an obstacle to formulate appropriate tourism policy and the lack of resources in local authorities directly limits the local authorities' performance in tourism development. *Interviewee B* argued that:

> *'The township offices are not fully empowered in terms of governing. Local governments do not have resources...particularly the financial resources; thus, at the local level, there is no clear tourism development policy as the consequence of the lack of resources. Even though we have our vision in local governance, it still should follow the aims that are set by the central government, or we are not able to get the funding. Without the funding, we cannot do anything.'*

This, again, stresses the difficulty of local authorities, particularly the townships, as the basic administration unit, in providing better planning and in playing a leading role in local tourism development.

6.3 Agri-tourism Products and the Events Holding Approach

Nantou County is considered as a major resource for tourism development, because of its magnificent landscapes and diverse agricultural produce for every season. Since the dependence on agriculture, using the existing resources to promote tourism development as well as local agriculture produce has always been a main focus of county hall. Currently, the local authorities promote it in a manner of holding agriculture related events, such as the flower festival and the black tea season and encouraging the creation of innovative agri-tourism products, and these two main approaches are further discussed below.

The Event Holding Approach

Event holding is the predominant approach in tourism for the majority of destination promotion activities. According to the interviewees from the public sector, the reason for the event holding tourism approach is that the financial situation in the local authorities is really difficult and holding events is seen as appropriate and efficient. It costs less money than building facilities and it attracts numerous people to visit the area.

In Nantou, the focus is on local agriculture produce as the main theme of the events, for example, the annual Nantou flower festival is one example (since 2004) and another is the annual Yuchih black tea festival (since 2003). Apart from these major events, small scale events are constantly held by local authorities and agricultural related organizations. These small scale events are similar to farmers' markets, and generally with a selected theme of agricultural produce and its processed products. These events are held when it is the season of the selected local agricultural produce, due to the lack of funds that are available though, these events are not necessarily held regularly. There is the water bamboo festival in Puli, black tea festival in Yuchih, and the plum festival in the township of Renai. If these events are popular, they could become an annual activity. The black tea festival in Yuchih is one successful case of this approach.

Black tea has been promoted as a Yuchih speciality by Mayor Laio in Yuchih since 2002. Yuchih used to be a main black tea production location in Taiwan, but in the recent two to three decades, the black tea trees have been replaced by other high value agriculture produce, such as betel nuts. Since 2002, Mayor Laio has been committed to re-introducing black tea cultivation back in Yuchih, and since 2003 started to hold black tea seasons annually in order to promote both the tea produce and tourism. After seven years of work, 'black tea' has gradually became a symbol of Yuchih in Taiwan, and today the price of

black tea is several times, even up to ten times, higher than it used to be (according to interviewees M & R).

In addition to the agriculture related events, the county hall and township offices also hold seasonal events occasionally to attract tourists. For instance, the New Years Eve event in Renai and the Mid Autumn Festival in Yuchih (by Sun Moon Lake), the local authorities hope that through these events it will attract more tourists, but it is also known by the authorities that it is hard to bring long-term effects on locality development through single one day events (interviewee T).

However, there are some shortcomings of this approach. For example, in terms of the evaluation of the event approach, it is hard to evaluate its effectiveness by the amount of revenue generated by an event. Take the black tea season held in December in 2007 as an example. The Yuchih township office invested 5,000,000 NT dollars (equal to approximately 77,000 British pounds, according to currency exchange rate in December 2007) to hold this event, but the local stores might have only received 200,000 NT dollars income in return (equal to approximately 3,100 British pounds; *according to interviewee N*). If the outcome of this event is only evaluated by looking at the financial figures, it can be assumed that the event was a failure. However, the potential profits are not always visible, which might include the nationwide promotion of the local agriculture produce and the destination itself. Thus, from the perspective of a local authority, the event tourism approach is considered appropriate

(according to interviewee N). Although the effectiveness of the event cannot be necessarily supported by the revenue of money that has been invested, it still can be demonstrated by increasing of numbers of international tourists. As mentioned above, there was a 221% increase in terms of the numbers of tourism from 2006 to 2007. The dramatic increase in the numbers of tourists in one year was believed to provide evidence of the effectiveness of current policy, according to a respondent from the Nantou County government (interviewee Z).

However, from the perspective of tourism related businesses, the events approach is not seen as effective. The reason for this perspective is that they do not really get involved in these events. The interviewees claimed that they were aware of the events, but as a result of the small scale nature of the events, there were a relatively limited number of spaces available and an appropriate role in the events could not enable or appeal to private businesses to get involved. Moreover, due to the lack of revenue generated from those events, it created an impression of the ineffectiveness of this policy approach from the private businesses' perspective.

The Concerns of the Sustainability of the Event Holding Approach

In terms of sustainability, the current predominant event holding approach is not considered sustainable. First of all, it only attracts visitors during the event. As interviewee M argued *'if there is no event, there are no visitors, and we can not have events in every month.'* Next, these events are not guaranteed

to be held annually. It might be greatly successful this year but there may not be enough money in the budget or there could be changes of policy to support the events being carried out the following year. If this were the case, it would be difficult for the tourist market to become familiar with these events, making it difficult to attract tourists, not to mention international tourists (according to interviewee T). Since there is not a statutory tourism plan for a longer-term vision, approach and development, all the policies are highly influenced by current main political influences. For example, the election of mayors is every four years. A new mayor could have different thoughts or ideas about the focus of tourism policy, the tourism development approach would not be consistent, and the event which used to be held no longer exists. Thus the potential of the inconsistent nature of current tourism policy at the local scale might affect sustainable local tourism development, particularly for the small, less well-known rural destinations.

However, this presumption has not been proved. Until now, putting the focus on tourism development in these three case study sites has only been recent. The events mentioned in section 3, for example, the Nantou flower festival and the black tea season, have only been held since 2007. There is not enough evidence to prove that political elections threatens the consistency of current tourism policy approach or further influences sustainable local tourism development. Conversely, both the mayors of Puli and Yuchih have been

successful in their second elections, and the success of the second elections was accredited to their political views on local tourism development.

Issues of the Combination of Agriculture and Tourism

Promoting local agriculture produce is another current focus of the Nantou authorities as well as a key feature in the academic debates. In the literature, the term agri-tourism and/ or farm tourism is always mentioned as a means of alleviating the decline of agriculture. However, from the interviews and direct observations, it is apparent that this way of thinking still remains questionable.

First, farmland can be dangerous to tourists. The agriculture machines and tools in the field could cause visitors to get injured. In addition, the use of chemical fertilisers or pesticides is also potentially harmful to visitors' health. The potential of spreading diseases (from livestock to humans or spreading between farms through moving tourists) is another serious concern of this approach (Sharpley, 2003; Kozak, 2009).

Moreover, opening farms to tourists is not a guarantee to increase income. One example in Renai shows a negative result. In Renai, due to the mountainous geographic landscape (up to 4000 meters), the agricultural produce in Renai is defined as 'high quality and high value' by the Council of Agriculture and Renai township. Due to the cooler climate of the mountain area, the

vegetables and/ or fruits that are produced are unique. This produce can be sold at a really good price without any promotion (Nantou County, 2002). Interviewee X stated,

> *'once we held a plum festival…The plum farms were open for tourists to pick up the fruits…. the incomes for the plum farm, including the entrance fee and the plums they sold in the farms, was approximately 140 million NTDs which was one million NTD less than it was supposed to be sold at directly to the market (estimated 240 million NTDs). We noticed that we cannot control tourists' behaviour that they were eating at the farm without paying for that, and they did not know the technique for plum picking so many plums got damaged and could not be sold anymore… Therefore this experience made us consider the possibility of cooperation among different sectors, especially with fine agriculture sectors…'*

Thus, whilst promoting 'agri-tourism', whether the focus is on tourism or on agriculture should be clarified; because as mentioned above, the uncontrollable human behaviour can damage fruits which are expected to be sold in a higher price, this approach is clearly not sustainable. Tourist behaviour seems not always to be compatible with agricultural activities. In addition, although there was little evidence of serious damage (e.g. spreading diseases) or injury cases in the findings, the government needs to be aware of the potential dangers of this approach. Particularly when you consider that this approach is

broadly adopted by both the central and local governments[1] (chapter 5 section 3, Table 5.3).

6.4 Long-Stay Tourism

Due to the fact that the predominant domestic tourism has obvious peak and off-peak times on weekends and week days in terms of the numbers of tourists, international tourism can potentially provide a balance of these extremes in domestic tourism. The peak and off-peak times in international tourism is not on a weekly basis as with domestic tourism. It could be school vacations, national holidays, annual holidays, or even long-term stays. In order to use this feature of international tourism to make up for the shortage in domestic tourism, Nantou County government came up with the new approach of 'long-stay' tourism, in recognition of the potential of the retired population in the tourism market.

The term 'long-stay' is a Japanese term which refers to the kind of tourism that involves retired populations spending longer periods (months) in a place; usually, it is a place where the weather is warm and the living cost is low. Interviewee A explained the idea of promoting 'long-stay' tourism:

---

[1] The Development of Leisure Agriculture, is one of the key policy foci in the Council of Agriculture (chapter 5 section 3, Table 5.3).

'Promoting 'long-stay' tourism is a manner of development for the whole town. Welcoming people to come here to live [for a longer period of time] is a business for everyone. It includes the living costs, food cost, and the grocery shopping that every business can benefit from. As for us, we treat "long-stay" tourists living here in the same way that other residents do rather than being isolated from the everyday life here.'

Puli was selected as the first destination to promote long-stay tourism as it has all the advantages of fine weather, good environmental conditions, and good location in the regional centre., The Japanese retired market was the first target, because the Japanese retired market is familiar with the concept of 'long-stay' tourism, it is only a short flight between Japan and Taiwan and some of the senior population in Taiwan can speak Japanese. Consequently it was felt that Puli could have the potential to appeal to the Japanese retired population.

Currently, the local authorities promote long-stay tourism by holding press conferences and contacting long-stay tourism related associations and agents in Japan to initiate this tourism approach. In addition, in order to deliver the goal of 'developing the whole town,' and becoming more attractive to the long-stay tourists, the local authorities need to do more specific improvements in terms of the local quality of life, which could include improving both public transportation and the cleanliness of environment in order to become more tourist friendly. The township office has promoted the idea of hospitality

through workshops held in communities in order to enable residents to host international guests. Now, the residents in Puli have generally heard of or are becoming aware of the development of long-stay tourism.

Furthermore, in addition to the improvement of public services, a more comprehensive spatial plan (for example, Urban Plan) is considered necessary (interviewee A). The current Puli master plan was produced more than half a century ago (see Table 5.6, chapter 5) and it is no longer able to cope with current developments. The township office is optimistic that the revised Puli Urban Plan can provide clear guidance on further spatial development, because it addresses the concept of tourism development. The revised master plan has already been drafted and it is currently in the legislative process. However, due to the required procedure of processing plans, it might take a long time to bring this into practice.

In practice, Nantou County government and Puli township office initiated the preparation for long-stay tourism at the end of 2004, and the first Japanese guests came in 2006. Since then, Puli 'long-stay' tourism has gradually become better known by local residents and tourists. The county hall attempts to expand this approach to wider areas, such as Yuchih as the next extended destination of Puli, but until long-stay tourism can be initiated further, this still requires a lot of effort to introduce this concept to the locality. Meanwhile, the local authorities believe that once the 'long-stay' tourism approach becomes more popular, it can also appeal to the domestic retired population, industry or

school trips, and to guests from nearby locations such as Hong-Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia.

The Effects and the Conflicts of Long-stay Tourism

Since the introduction of long-stay tourism in 2002 Puli has been attempting to develop itself as a place for living as well as welcoming the retired population to stay. Until now, there have been several observable benefits as the result of this policy, which includes the benefits from international interaction and increasing housing prices (according to interviewee A & Z).

In terms of sustaining local development, long-stay tourism is considered to contribute more than other types of tourism. Since the guests live in the town for at least several months, they have cost of rent, food, groceries, transportation, and trips to surrounding areas. Consequently, the contribution to the local economy is greater than tourists who only stay for one or two days.

Moreover, generally speaking, the long-stay guests are retired and skilled people. Currently, the majority of long-stay guests in Puli are retired teachers or former civil servants. They have much spare time while visiting Puli and are willing to share their knowledge with local residents. One example of this is that a retired Japanese veterinarian introduced a surgery of treating milk cows' inflamed fourth stomach to save milk cows from being sold as meat (according to interviewee Z). The annual productivity of a milk cow is worth

100,000 NT dollars, but once the cows get infected, the price of being sold as meat is only 20,000 NT dollars. In Lioujing (in Tainan County), hundreds of infected cows were saved by this surgery. It contributed significantly to economic productivity, and the more valuable contribution of the advancement of surgery skill in this area. A senior government officer in Nantou County (interviewee Z) stated that this unexpected positive outcome encouraged the local government to promote long-stay tourism in Nantou County.

The other benefit from promoting long-stay tourism policy is that it has solved the problem of the spare unoccupied apartments in Puli. After the severe earthquake on 21st September 1999, there had been much re-construction undertaken in Puli. However the need of housing was over estimated. The supply of housing was more than the local demand that resulted in the problem of many unoccupied apartments. At the same time the township and county hall implemented their long-stay tourism approach, they used the spare apartments of one of these buildings to arrange the first arrivals of long-stay guests. This arrangement resulted in all the unoccupied apartments in the building being let or sold. Additionally, this attracted construction companies' interest to invest in Puli.

Although the long-stay tourism seems to have provided lot of advantages to the locality, a major conflict happened in early 2006. When the first long-stay guests came, one guest couple made a complaint about the cleanliness of streets and the air pollution (due to the waste of dogs not being cleaned up),

and it was released in the press and published nationwide[2]; for example, the Broadcasting Corporation of China News Network reported on an article regarding the long-stay guest felt the living environment does not meet their expectation, and they plan to leave; and, the Liberty Times reported the anger of the local residents due to the offence generated by this complaint from the long-stay guest. The local residents were hurt by this because the good quality of environment had been something that they were always proud of and considering the hospitality they had shown, local residents were not pleased to be criticised through the media. This unpleasant experience resulted in some damage in terms of attracting new long-stay guests. One private business owner (interviewee F) said since this incident, he has not seen a long-stay guest to come to his business. However, the residents' awareness of keeping the environment clean has been raised after this incident. Residents automatically cleaned up the living environment; and the Department of Health of central government subsidised Puli Township street cleaning trucks in response to this incident. Although this was an unexpected consequence from the introduction of long-stay tourism, it did, however, bring positive impacts.

---

[2] Including BCC News Network (13 March2006); ETtoday (17 March2006); Liberty Times (17 March2006); CNA News (17 March2006).

6.5 Public Sector Support

While Puli promotes long-stay tourism in addition to the agri-tourism products and events approaches, the townships of Yuchih and Renai also have their own visions of future tourism development. Yuchih considers that community-based tourism is an appropriate approach for its thirteen villages. Renai, due to the majority of indigenous population, identifies indigenous culture as a key focus of tourism promotion (according to interviewees M, N, T & U). The findings from the fieldwork, however, could not find any specific policies or strategies formulated that responded to these visions. The townships of Yuchih and Renai still very much depend on the agri-tourism products and event holding approaches which were presented in section three of this chapter. Additionally, township offices provide support for local tourist businesses in enhancing skills and promotions. This section outlines local authorities' support which has been identified in the fieldwork. This includes the provision of training courses and improved tourist information on the townships' websites. For example, Figure 6.1 shows the website of Puli township, which provides tourism information and is available in three languages (Chinese, English, and Japanese).
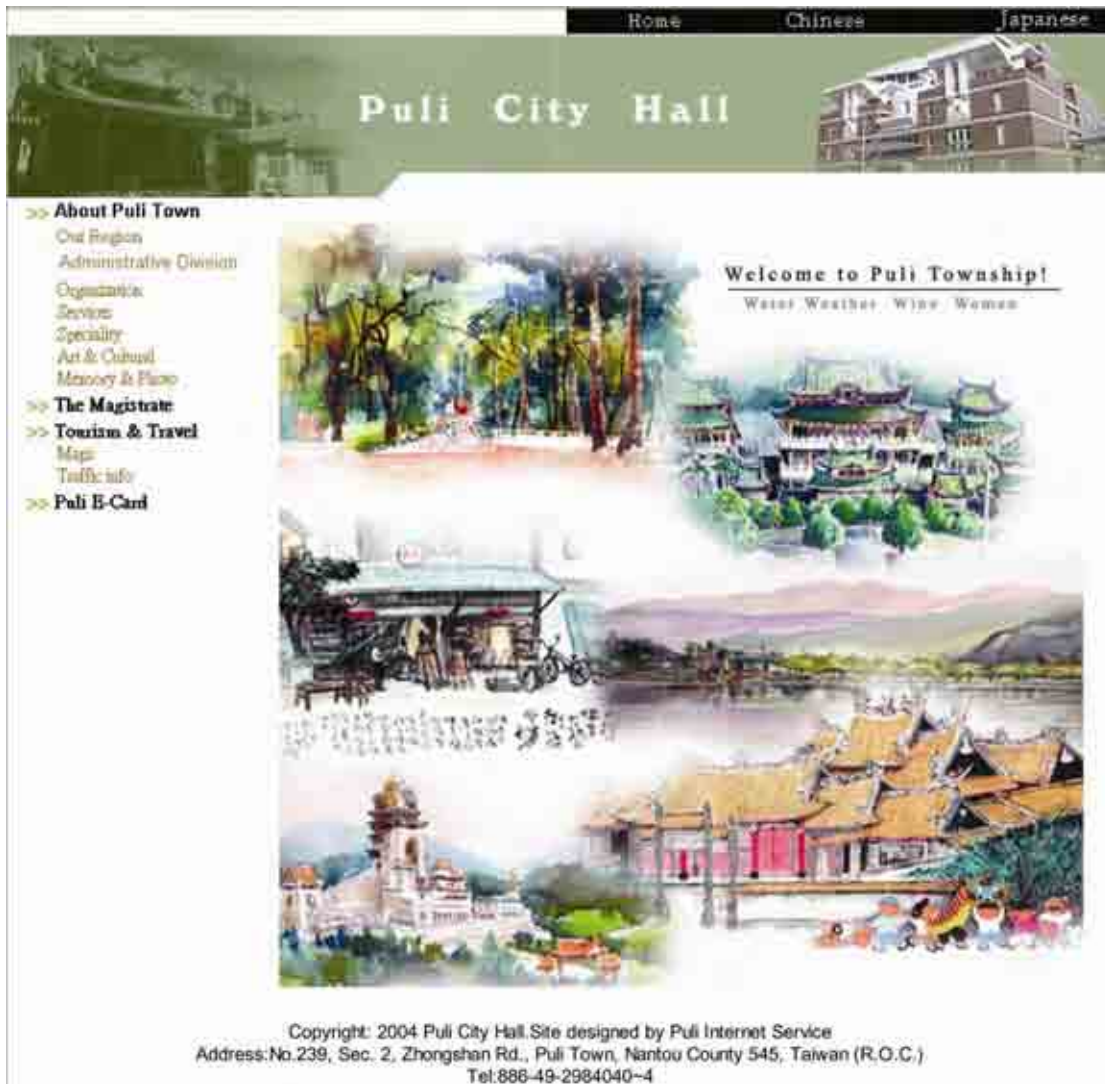
Figure 6.1 the English Website of Puli Township Office
source: Puli City Hall, 2009

Due to the lack of resources in the local authorities, the support from the government authorities tends to be related to the provision of training courses rather than constructing tourism facilities. The Puli township office claimed that there was tour guide skill training provided, but they were not able to provide other forms of training. The Renai township said that they provide various training courses including handicraft workshops (for example dried flower painting), restaurant and/ or B&B service training, or tour guide skill

training. These training courses are only held when funds are available; therefore are not provided regularly. Thus, it is possible that, sometimes, there is no training support available. In terms of funding for training courses, generally, it is from various central government projects (chapter six section two), and both local authorities and community organisations are eligible to apply. Community organisations can directly apply for support from central-government-projects instead of from local authorities, and this has become a major approach in which private actors access public sector support.

Information provision is another form of support from local government. The county government and township office websites contain information about recent events, tourism hot spots, and the contact information of local tourist businesses. Sometimes, tourism leaflets are also provided by government authorities for tourism promotion.

Consequently, training courses and being an information platform are the current predominant forms of public support. Though the government authorities claimed that they have done their best to provide the necessary support, the responses from the private businesses is different. Some interviewees from small businesses claimed that they have received very limited, or, even worse, have not received any support from government authorities. The unsatisfied interviewees said although sometimes, they were aware of the training courses available, they did not feel that these courses met their needs due to the generalized nature of tour guiding skills. On the

other hand, a manager in a local factory (interviewee E) argued that they still cannot find skilled employees in terms of tour guiding. He explained that because training courses are open to all the public, the participants, generally, are people who have spare time to attend, such as retired people and students. The intention of attending these courses for these people is not to engage in tourist business but is to attend for personal interests. This leads to a waste of public resources and despite the provision of training the private sector still cannot find the sort of skilled personnel.

6.6 Summary and Issues

Chapter 6 has presented current tourism policies and strategies adopted at the local level of the three case study sites. Due to the fact that tourism is a rather new concept in local government, and the lack of financial and human resources (section 2), the local authorities primarily take short-term approaches instead of adopting long-term plans. The local authorities promote tourism through holding events or a combination of local agricultural products promotion and tourism in general (section 3). The effectiveness of these policy approaches, however, is considered difficult to estimate, because several intangible benefits cannot directly be reflected in the revenue streams from those events. The lack of private sector engagement mechanisms results in the businesses' dissatisfaction with the current policy in terms of the level of participation and the ordinary residents' indifferent attitudes toward tourism issues.

Chapter7. Partnership and Collaboration of Tourism

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the field work regarding the second set of research questions relating to partnerships in tourism development. It is agreed in the literature that this is an essential component in tourism development. This chapter provides an insight into the extent to which these relationships exist and how they contribute to sustainable local tourism development. The second section of this chapter explores the current relationships between different government authorities. Section 3 explores the public-private relationships. Section 4 presents the supporting networks between local businesses, and section 5 examines the interrelationships within rural community organisations as well as the degree of competition between them. Section 6 presents the results of the vox pop survey regarding local residents' perception of tourism development and its impacts on their daily life. Finally, section seven summarises the findings of this chapter and provides an outline of issues and problems emerging from these sections, and these findings will be further analysed in chapter 9.

7.2 Coordination between Levels of Government

As discussed in chapter 5, the governmental system of Taiwan consists of sectoral departments in both central and local government (chapter 5 section 2). Each department has its own sectoral plan and policy and in the local government authorities there are corresponding sections or departments. For example, in terms of tourism development work, the Tourism Bureau is the sectoral central government body, and at the local level, there is the Tourism Bureau of Nantou County and Sightseeing Section of Puli township. In Taiwan, the government is still running as a top-down hierarchy. Both central government and local authorities work according to central initiatives and guidelines as well as interactions through formal and informal meetings, phone calls and e-mails (according to interviewees A, B, & T). Local authorities are generally considered as having a purely implementation role. The county government still has some resources to formulate and implement its own policy, but townships are more concerned with policy delivery. However, tourism work is related to diverse government authorities (chapter 5 section 4). Often when it comes to reaching agreement among authorities, too many meetings are required and this results in a time consuming bureaucracy.

In addition to the daily administration interaction between central and local authorities, running projects for central government is an additional and important means of co-operation between local and central authorities. Due to

the lack of resources in local government, central government has become an important grant donor for them as they have sufficient funds. These projects include physical environment improvements, road maintenance, and organising tourist events (interviewees A, M, N, T, Z, & AB). Therefore, there lots of negotiation meetings between both levels government based on the projects, but the donors opinions on the projects still predominate in this relationship.

Based on the top-down administration and the donor predominant partnership, the effectiveness of this collaboration between government departments was viewed differently by the interviewees from both levels of government. Some interviewees viewed this as normal and as a matter of course, particularly from the perception of central government. On the other hand, in terms of the perceptions from local authorities of this partnership, some local government interviewees were grateful for the grants from central government that helped them to hold tourist events, but some argued that due to less power being embedded at the local authority level that this potentially leads to several concerns, such as the loss of local identity.

7.3 The Public-Private Relationship

This section examines tourism collaboration between the public and the private sectors in the three case study sites. This includes perceptions from the private tourist businesses, community organisations, and the local residents regarding public-private relationships in relation to tourism development. Interviewees from these three groups agreed that the interactions between the public and the private sectors in tourism development in Taiwan were mainly established through two approaches in terms of citizen participation, which related to policy consultation and engagement in tourism-related projects (interviewees A, M, N, Q, R, W, X, & Y).

Policy consultations were the most mentioned means in terms of citizen participation by interviewees. These include policy formulation/ explanation seminars and workshops, in which the public, academic and the private sector representatives express their opinions and engage in discussions around emerging issues in relation to current local tourism development or their visions of it. The perceptions of the effectiveness of this form of participation in the case study areas varied among the interviewees. One interviewee from a local government authority said that he thought it was effective. One interviewee in a community organisation claimed that *we did say what we wanted to say, but I don't know whether they [the government representatives] were listening in those workshops*; and another interviewee said *these [workshops] were more like a means for the government authorities to explain*

their policy'. One interviewee from Yuchih township had a more positive view of civic participation involving the Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Administration; he mentioned that in a policy seminar he attended, the government did acknowledge their opinions and then adopted them into the content of a new regulation. This participation approach seems to satisfy some participants but not others. With regard to this, explanations were gathered from the fieldwork. One interviewee said:

> *'It [the effectiveness] really depends on the government officers. For example, a current officer in the National Scenic Area administration is really good. He listens and responds to our opinions. When we talk to him, it is effective, but it is hard to have every government officer like that.'*

In addition to this explanation, another interviewee from a community organisation added *'the effectiveness of this kind of seminars or workshops really depends on who you are talking to. It is sometimes kind of like relying on your personal relationships.'*

Government funded projects is another means to formulate the collaboration between the public and the private sectors. As mentioned in chapter 5 section 3 and in the previous section of this chapter, there are various central government authorities who provide projects for promoting tourism. According to the resource providers (central government authorities), the aims and

objectives of the tourism or rural development related projects are varied. For example, the Council of Culture provides funds for Local Culture Museum Building and community empowerment programmes; the Council of Agriculture provides funds for holding flower festivals, assistance of leisure farm transformation, agriculture produce improvement, and the infrastructure improvement in rural villages. Similar to the project-based co-operation between local and central authorities that has been presented in the previous section (7.2), the project-based approach has become a predominant feature of public-private partnerships. The potential recipients, such as private businesses or community organisations, can apply for projects with corresponding purposes or aims. Awarded recipients are responsible for reaching these targets and are under contract to report regularly to the donors. During the procedure of the project, there are formal and informal meetings and conversations, such as telephone calls and e-mails, between the public and private actors.

It has been found from the fieldwork in the case study areas, that this project approach involved private businesses or relevant business associations applying for funds to promote their businesses, such as holding tourism events or performances, and community organisations were usually awarded grants for the improvement of the community's physical environment, the conservation or creation of the local identity or local speciality, or the training of local residents in tourism-related skills such as tour guiding or catering (interviewees Q, R, W, X, Y).

7.4 Support Networks between Businesses

This section addresses the partnerships between tourist businesses themselves. Twelve tourist business owners or managers in three case study areas were interviewed to explore the level of co-operation between them. According to the findings, five out of twelve interviewees from local businesses noted that co-operating with their peers in the tourism sector is a common strategy; it is known as 'horizontal co-operation' *(interviewees D, E, F, N, W, and AC)*. This was in response to the need of tourist market that the visitors like the idea of a package trip that helps tourists arrange several options and leisure activities with a good price (interviewee F and O). Restaurants, leisure activities, transport, and accommodation are often integrated as part of support networks between local tourist businesses. They are usually part of promotion strategies of packaged trips, which might include meals and accommodation provision, and one or two activities. For example, Figure 7.1 is a flyer from a hotel in Yuchih which advertised a package trip, including accommodation, the entrance ticket to a local theme park, a cruise tour on the Sun Moon Lake, a dinner and a breakfast, a DIY pottery activity, a SPA treatment, free bicycle rental and firefly[1]-seeing. This flyer says that the whole package was originally 5000 NT dollars, but now it is offered at 2980 NT dollars. This method of horizontal co-operation was more often adopted by accommodation providers. Local industries and businesses, such as the paper factory or leisure farms, prefer to work with coach companies; this was similar to the package

---

[1] firefly or lighting bugs, a bioluminescent beetle

trips that coach companies arrange; trips to local industries for experiencing

the actual process of production, such as paper making or farming. This helps

local industries with no tourism or leisure activities to branch out into tourism.

Figure 7.1 A Flyer of a Hotel
source: photo was taken by the author

In terms of the establishment of tourism partnerships, it was found that there

was no formal mechanism to establish a business support network in Yuchih,

but the process relied on the business operators negotiating for themselves.

Therefore, how effective the support networks are depends on how deeply the single operators engage in negotiation work. In rural areas, the businesses are rather small in scale, and they have usually been established for a long time; thus, they are generally familiar with each other; in this case, whether or not to cooperate is based on the business operators' attitudes and the understanding of the potential benefit resulting from the cooperative relationship. Figure 7.1 showed that a hotel managed to co-operate with several different tourist businesses, providing leisure activities. Therefore, a bargain price can be offered to attract tourists to promote local tourism together. Meanwhile, in the same area, two B&Bs owners argued that *we do not think it is necessary to co-operate with others;'* and 'we believe that *running this business to be dependent on ourselves rather than others'* (interviewees S & V). These opposed perceptions show that businesses of different scale have different ways of perceiving the value of business support networks in rural tourism.

In Puli, a special case of a supporting network between businesses exists, called the Puli Industry Tourism Promotion Association (PITPA) (interviewees E, F and Z). In the 1990s local industries suffered from the rising costs of labour and raw materials, and many of the local industries decided to relocate to countries with lower labour costs. The establishment of the alliance was suggested as a self-helping strategy by the Puli brewery[2], a state-own alcohol

---

[2] Puli brewery is a state-owned alcohol factory under the Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Corporation (TTL). The TTL was established as a government agency during Japanese colonial rule (1922), and was renamed the

factory, operating under the parent company called the Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Corporation (TTL). The latter held monopoly rights over the sale of alcohol in the country until 1987, when an open policy towards import of foreign alcohol products was announced. Under the impacts of this policy and the external economic environment, the Puli brewery planned to close down in 1995, and around 400 members of staff were facing job losses. In other words, about 400 families in Puli would be affected. It was a serious crisis for a small town. One staff member of the brewery suggested in an internal report that the brewery should transform itself into a 'tourist brewery' and collaborate with neighbouring industries to promote local tourism. This suggestion was taken up by the brewery and then was supported by the Tourism Bureau (of the Ministry of Transport and Communications). The Puli brewery established contact with the nearest industry, Puli paper factory, and then involved a local art resort (stone artistic carving) and an insect museum, to set up a tourism offering. Gradually, a restaurant and two hotels were invited to join their networking events, and this became the original informal structure of the local business network. The formal organisation, the Puli Industry Tourism Promotion Association, was officially established in 1999, after the 921 earthquake.

Taiwan Tobacco and Wine Monopoly Bureau in 1947. Between 1947 and 1987 it had a monopoly over all alcohol, tobacco, and camphor products. In 2002, Taiwan joined the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and it began the process of privatisation of TTL. Though, the decision of privatisation of the TTL had made since 2002, so far (2009), the TTL and the Puli brewery are still a state-own manufactory. Therefore, before 2002, the formal appointed staffs in the Puli brewery were civil servants; after it had been reorganised, new staffs of the brewery are through open exam of the TTL.

Since its formation, the network has been working as a single window to represent all members to participate in tourism exhibitions and as a contact point for tour agents. The network provided services in customising package trips for the special requirements of the clients, for example, a tour might include visiting a hand-made paper factory in the morning; enjoying a meal in a member restaurant at lunchtime; visiting the art resort in the afternoon; and (perhaps) staying in a member hotel for the night. This trip service was popular with tour agents and schools. As a result, this network successfully united different businesses to extend their original scope to tourism activities at the early stages of tourism development in Puli.

The collaboration was not limited to tourist activities. It also included the development of new innovative tourist products. Shaohsing rice wine is one of the most famous speciality products of the Puli brewery, and it was a popular alcoholic drink at weddings and/or other occasions. However, in recent years, it had become to be considered as old fashioned. With the help from the Nantou County Tourism Bureau, the Puli brewery and a local restaurant (Jing-Du) cooperated in creating the 'Shaohsing rice wine banquet', which used Shaohsing rice wine as the main ingredient or seasoning to make a theme banquet. The Shaohsing rice wine banquet is now very popular with tourists. Even the Discovery Channel came to film this banquet in one episode of the 'Fantastic Food the World' programme in 2006. The price of a bottle of Shaohsing rice wine is 160 NT dollars (around three GBPs); usually, the banquet costs around 4000 NT dollars. The operation was considered

successful as it added value to a local speciality and created business for the restaurant. Additionally, both the Puli Brewery and the Jing-Du restaurant have become more popular attractions as a result of the growing fame of Shaohsing rice wine banquet. This successful case of commercialising a local speciality into an appealing tourism commodity has became a model for both the County and businesses to develop other creative tourism products; and further to the rice wine banquet, there have been a succession of other Shaohsing rice wine products that have been created, such as Shaohsing rice wine eggs, and it has led to further co-operation between different sectors (Figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2 Shaohsing Ricewine Banquet
source: photos were taken by the author

note: on the left is the Shaohsing rice wine banquet. The beautifully decorated dish (right) is the result of cooperation between Jing-Du restaurant and a local artist.

Meanwhile, through the Puli brewery's public connections with government authorities, this tourist business networking activities were acknowledged by other related government authorities, including the Tourism Bureau of the central government and other local authorities. The central Tourism Bureau and local authorities provided assistance in providing connections with tour

agents as well as contact with the press to promote the 'industry tourism' of Puli.

With the strong partnership between members of the association as well as the assistance received from government authorities, tourism development in Puli has attracted domestic tourists, according to interviewees from Nantou County government & Puli township, and members of PITPA (interviewees A, F, Z & AI). More recently, however, since members have become familiar with tourism-related affairs and now are capable of working independently, the effectiveness of the PITPA has been weaker than it used to be. A member of PITPA explained (interviewee AI):

> *'Because there were too many tourists coming, each member has been busy with their own businesses and could not put effort in the collaboration work as we did before. The relationships within PITPA remain cooperative and function in a different way.'*

Given the wider sphere of influence emerging from this network, members have realised the benefits of this co-operation, so new forms of co-operation between members or actors outside the alliance has been gradually developed built on agreed objectives, such as a new tourism product development. The positive contribution of this partnership has been recognised by local businesses, and attempts are being made to extend this form of partnership

from the Puli local area further afield to involve actors in the surrounding townships.

7.5 The Interrelationship within and among Community Organisations

The Establishment of Community Organisations and Tourism Development

Taiwan was struck by a destructive earthquake on the 21st September, 1999 (known as 921 earthquake) (see chapter 4 section 5), and all three case study sites of this research were all severely affected by this. After this devastating disaster, there were major programmes of reconstruction and considerable funding and donations were poured into these areas, including the townships of Puli, Yuchih and Renai.

The five community representatives interviewed in this research were all recommended by the local tourism authorities. These community organizations are well-known in the local areas who are interested in developing tourism. These organisations were all established in 1999 as a consequence of the earthquake, except for the 'Newhomeland' organisation, which was founded earlier in the same year (February 1999). After the 921 earthquake, they began dealing with the reconstruction and provided support services in the affected communities. Since the earthquake the recovery work has gradually been completed, so the focus of these community organisations has been to put more attention on the tourism business as a new local industry. Therefore,

tourism is quite a new venture for these community organisations in the last two to three years.

Each community organisation interviewed in this research represents one village. Therefore, the following discussion regarding the co-operation between community organisations also represents the co-operation between these rural villages. In addition, in rural areas, community organisations generally have an additional function which sometimes is similar to the function of local small businesses associations, particularly with respect to tourism development, due to the fact that all the members of the rural community organisations are local small business owners or farmers.

For example, in the Renai township, the Cingjing Tourism Association (CJTA) was established in 2002 to facilitate community empowerment. Since the earthquake as noted earlier, the recovery work has gradually been completed, so the focus of the CJTA has shifted more on tourism as the new local industry. After several years of development, when tourism had become stronger (from 12 businesses to around 130), in 2007 the CJTA was transformed into a tourism association, and moved its community affairs to another newly established organisation, to focus more on tourism and mediation between local businesses. In 2008, the CJTA consisted of 61 local accommodation providers and other tourist firms, and every member contributed a fee to help meet the costs of operating network activities (CJTA, 2008).

Co-operative Local Relationships

In a rural community, tourism-related business is generally small scale and family-run providing an extra income for the rural families who were normally dependent on agriculture. For example, using spare rooms to provide B&B accommodation or selling home-made meals are common ways for a rural community to participate in tourism (interviewees R, V, S, & Y).

Within a rural village, the residents have been neighbours for a long time, and tourism is not their major source of income. As a result, the competition among those small businesses still remains friendly and co-operative. Since in the community, all these family-run tourist businesses are small scale with low capacity, they co-operate to host tourists together, when a large group of tourists book a tour with the community organisation. The community organisation needs to arrange the accommodation and meals for the group with local tourist businesses to accommodate the tourists in several different B&Bs.

This friendly atmosphere in rural communities was suggested as the consequence of the strong tradition of co-operation based on the nature of rural areas (interviewees U & Y) as well as the fact that co-operation is necessary for the small scale business in the rural villages to promote tourism in their community (interviewee R). Apart from the nature of rural tradition and

tourism, the 921 earthquake also had a certain influence on promoting co-operation within a community. Interviewee R noted in his community, after the 921 earthquake, residents felt blessed that they survived the devastating earthquake; they were willing to contribute their personal property to public use. Therefore, there were tourist facilities, such as shelters and public lavatories, built on private land without rent or purchase. This solved the problem of lack of tourist facilities in the community that was always difficult for other villages, and this generous behaviour and friendly co-operation was considered as one of the key reasons that tourism developed more successful here than in other areas.

The establishment of the community organisation has contributed to enhance the collaborative relationship in the village. A representative of the CJTA claimed that the organisation played a mediating role between local businesses, and provided an important information platform for the public and private sectors. He said that:

> 'there used to be more than one thousand accusations in a year made by local businesses against each other, but since we have started to mediate between businesses last year, not one has accrued so far.'

The organization can reduce conflicts between local businesses, and save both the government and the organisation time spent on prosecutions. The partnership is expected to gradually strengthen, once a common objective has

emerged. In addition to this role, the CJTA also serves as an information platform on events, contacts tour agents, participates in tourism exhibitions and surveys potential markets. For example, provision of tourism incentives to the employees of large companies and industries was the recent target market explored by the CJTA. In addition, the organization is also actively involved in tourism-related public issues, which includes participating in policy and legislation formulation seminars and contributing and donating to tourism related events, such as the New Year's Eve fireworks display.

Limited Co-operation between Villages and the Barriers

However, the co-operation beyond a community organisation was limited. According to the findings, the co-operation between the rural community and other tourism actors indicated a relatively weak partnership with a strong influence based on geography location. Several interviewees said that they only co-operated with the community organisations or the tourism hot spots that were nearby (interviewees Q, X, & Y), and the co-operation was generally restricted to having tours or meals in the nearby communities. The level of co-operation was relatively low, and it was highly localised.

One reason for the weak co-operation between community organisations and the slow tourism development in community-based tourism development is insufficient human resources in the rural areas (interviewees Q, J, & Y). Having experienced many years of outward migration, only the more elderly

remain engaged in agriculture in the rural community, and this is a common fact in all the three case study sites.

This crisis results in the lack of agricultural labour, which is the major income in the rural areas, not to mention putting additional efforts into tourism development. With respect to this, interviewee J explained:

'It [co-operating with other organisations or businesses] really depends on our ability. We only have these many human resources to deal with current work. Therefore, in the short-term, we do not seem to extend the co-operation further.'

In addition to the concern of losing population, there were also issues of an aging labour force and the lack of capacity in tourism work in these rural communities. The aging labourers in rural communities often did not have the relevant skills to host tourists and promote tourist businesses. For instance, it was mentioned by interviewees in the public and business sectors as well as community organisations that the aging community residents needed to improve their skills in cleaning and organising their business environment and developing the business courtesy in greeting tourists. Moreover, for the rural community, the Internet is the main way of marketing community-based tourism, but the aging residents lacked skills to enable them to access the Internet. Currently, community tourism promotion work currently relies on community organisations and/ or the head of village, who are also from local

families with no special skill training. It was impossible to completely rely on community organisations to deal with the complex range of tourism activities. As interviewee Y admitted *'we really do not have enough ability to cope with various tourism businesses.'* Therefore, as a result of limited input, the profit from tourism to the community would be restricted (according to interviewees Q, R, Y). The main reason of this lack of capacity is due to tourism development being a relatively new agenda for community organisations. This is a general problem that also happens to government authorities (chapter seven section two) and tourist businesses (chapter eight section four) when they deal with tourism activities. Additionally, in terms of the communities' physical capacity, the facilities are still deficient in providing tourists parking space, shelters and/ or proper width roads.

Another reason for the lack of co-operation is the level of competition for projects and funding from central government authorities. The major funding source for local communities is central government's projects (see chapter 6 section 3, and chapter 5 section 3). Because these projects follow the 'One Town One Product' policy principle and the limited resources available, generally only one actor of each township can be awarded grants. This leads to a competitive relationship between community organisations. As interviewee P argued:

> *'If we know that village (another famous village in the township) is applying for one particular project, we do not bother to apply for that*

one. It would be just a waste of time, and we do not have any hope to

compete with them.'

Furthermore, since domestic tourism is the mainstay of rural tourism, the lengths of trips are generally for only one night. The community organisations have to face the fact that tourists will choose one village, the most famous or unique one, to stay for short weekends. In respect of this, the competition between villages provides even less motivation for co-operation between villages.

Quality is another concern of not co-operating with other communities. Although, sometimes, when the numbers of tourists are too much for one community's accommodation capacity, the community might still not introduce the excess of guests to the nearby community for fear that it might be a negative experience. *Interview R* said:

> *'Currently, we do not co-operate with other communities. Because in here, the [tourism services and environment] development is very good, if we co-host tourists with other communities which do not have equally good quality, we would make a bad impression of tourists for us. So, co-operation [with other communities] is certainly not good for us'*

In short, the competitive nature between villages has became a barrier to stop communities co-operating with each other, and the lack of capacity and human

resources are other factors that hold back the community in both developing their own tourist businesses and establishing partnerships with other tourist actors.

7.6 The Perception of Tourism Development from the Residents

According to the opinions gathered from the street by the vox pop method, the attitudes of normal residents who are not interest groups show a high degree of indifference about tourism development. The most frequent (18 out of 30 people) responses regarding the impacts of tourism indicated that it had very little impact. The further explanation from residents is that except for the traffic in peak times (generally refers to big scale events) there are not many tourists visiting; therefore, local residents do not feel any potential issues and problems caused by tourism. In terms of participation, residents tend not to be involved. Since residents are not interest groups, they do not directly have access to the local authority; unlike tourism businesses who would be invited to meet local authorities by formal and/ or informal meetings; not to mention they actually do not think that it is necessary to participate in policy making processes; only occasionally, they might join the events as their own leisure activities like tourists. Finally, regarding the question 'what could be done to improve the sustainability of tourism and local development? Out of the 30 residents, the only suggestion mentioned by a few of them was to improve the traffic, and building more car parking spaces was pointed out specifically. Most of them said they do not have opinions or do not know about it.

7.7 Summary and Issues

This chapter has examined current tourism partnerships both at the vertical (from central to local) and horizontal (between various businesses) levels. Discussions began with the public sector (section 2), the public-private relationships (section 3), the business networks (section 4), and then down to the community level and the perceptions of local residents.

In the public sector, it has been demonstrated that the advantage of basing co-operation on central initiatives and guidelines is that government responsibilities are clearly delegated and that the vertical links are clearly established. Due to the fact that there are too many government authorities involved in tourism-related work, the negotiations between them is generally complicated, and sometimes, it becomes ineffective and bureaucratic. The use of government projects, however, has helped to free up resources from central government, which was held back by the complex responsibility allocation in the various government authorities. This enables project donor government departments to quickly implement policies by financially supporting recipient actors, such as local government or businesses.

In terms of public-private relationships in tourism, citizen participation was evident through public policy consultations, seminars, and workshops held by the public sector. The perceptions of local businesses and community

organisations showed that the influence of citizen participation through this means in tourism public affairs was still generally considered limited. On the other hand, the grants from central government projects had great influence on local tourism development, particularly when the main actor in rural areas was small scale in nature who had need for resources. In contrast to the citizen participation approach, the project-based relationship made a strong linkage between the donor central authority and the recipient private actor.

In terms of the tourist businesses, the benefits of co-operation was acknowledged by most of the business and adopted into various co-promotion strategies, such as providing package trips together. The successful case of Puli Industry Tourism Promotion Association contributed to keeping the Puli brewery from closing which could have put 400 local families into financial difficulty as well as assisting the transformation of several local non-tourist industries to engage in tourism business activities. Though PITPA appeared not as effective and united as it used to be, this co-operation model was believed to have inspired further formal and informal initiation of tourism partnerships in Puli area.

At the community scale, it was apparent that the relationship within a community was generally co-operative, but due to the limited resources from the public sector, the relationship between local communities was competitive in nature. This could be perceived as one negative outcome of the project-centred tourism policy approach.

The issue of the lack of capacity of the private actors was recognised as the main barrier in the literature regarding citizen participation, and it also appeared to have been raised several times by interviewees in the fieldwork. It seems that capacity building is still an important activity for the public sector, and there could be a need to re-evaluate and adjust the current training courses provided.

The tourism literature suggests that partnership is the key to the successful tourism development. Based on the findings from the fieldwork, this statement was proved by the case of business sectors. However, in terms of the partnership between the public-private sectors, and between communities, it seems problematic due to the fact that it is driven by government projects. The competition for resources decreases the motivation of establishing partnerships between community organisations, what can be done to motivate this partnership in the long term needs to be examined in further discussion.

The indifferent attitudes to local tourism issues from the ordinary residents could suggest that tourism did not directly benefit or impact on them or that the important role of tourism to local sustainable development to the locality was not understood.

Finally, the linkages between tourism and current partnerships, and the impacts of these on local development will be the subject of further discussion in the next chapter.

Chapter 8 The Effects of Tourism on the Locality

8.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters, the findings regarding the issues of the first and second sets of research questions have been presented through the perceptions of the key actors involved in tourism. This chapter focuses on their perceptions of sustainability issues as a consequence of local tourism development. Similar to previous chapters, this chapter presents the findings from the three case study sites based on issues. The three main elements in the debate on sustainable development, include the aspects of socio-culture, economy, and environment, and form the main body of this chapter.

In order to provide a better understanding of the findings in the following sections of this chapter, Table 8-1 provides the basic background information about the three case study sites presented in previous chapters.

Table 8.1 Tourism in Puli, Yuchih and Renai

		Puli	Yuchih	Renai
Social-cultural Aspect	Population (people)	86,415	17,342	15,454
	Density (person/km²⁾	534.35	143.54	12.17
Economic Aspect	Represent the type of rural area	economically integrated region	intermediate region	remote region
Environmental Aspect	Area (km²)	162.22	121.37	1,273.53
	Geographic features	basin (380-700 meters height)	Basin (600-700 meters height)	mountain (500-3,000 meters height)
Tourism Policy focus of the Local Authorities		Long-Stay Tourism Town Tourism	The Combination of Tourism and Agricultural produce Community Tourism	Sight-seeing Tourism Events Tourism Indigenous Tourism
Tourism Hot spot		Industrial tours (in the PITPA)	The Sun Moon Lake (National Scenic Area) The Formosa Theme Park	Cingjing Farm Lushan hot spring resort

In Table 8.1, the basic information of the tourism policy focus of the local authorities was obtained from the respondents who represented local authorities, and the detailed content has been presented in chapter 6, and a more detailed description of the case study sites can be found in chapter 4. Puli is located in the centre of Taiwan and is surrounded by many popular tourism attractions. This places Puli in an advantageous integrated position in relation to regional development and tourism development. As mentioned in chapter 4 and chapter 7, the special local industries play an important role in Puli's economic development as well as in tourism. The local tourism business network, PITPA was founded in the mid 1990s, and has gradually promoted

tourism in the small town. From the perceptions of local business operators, 'industry tourism' is the special form of the tourism development in Puli (chapter 7). In addition, local authorities have initiated long stay development in Puli since 2004 (chapter 6). The Japanese retired population is the current target market, and the local authorities intend to gradually expand this to a much wider market including both international and domestic retired markets.

In the township of Yuchih, the unique landscape of Sun Moon Lake provides a clear image for its tourism development. The establishment of the Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area administration in 2000 brought sufficient resources into tourism development, which benefits the identified national scenic area and the surrounding area (chapter 4). Apart from the Sun Moon Lake, the township office has been devoted to combining local agriculture and community-based tourism (chapter 6). The re-introduction of Yuchih black tea is a successful case in point. They expect that by developing community-based tourism, the numerous Sun Moon Lake tourists will also visit the surrounding villages; this will financially benefit local families.

The whole of Renai Township is in a mountainous area with significant natural resources and landscapes, which has always been a popular nature-based sight-seeing destination, particularly the Cingjing and Lushan areas (chapter 4). Recently, Renai township has started to highlight the characteristics of the diverse indigenous culture and combines this culture and the magnificent mountain landscape to promote tourism. In 2006 the first tourism specified section of the township office was established. Until now, there has been only a few years' effort in promoting indigenous culture as a tourism focus. Consequently, the identity of Renai's indigenous tourism is still not particularly notable (chapter 6), whereas the two hot spots of Cingjing and Lushan still remain the symbol of popular tourism destinations in Renai.

After the brief review of the information regarding current tourism development in the case study sites, sections 2 to 4 of this chapter present the findings from the perceptions of the key actors obtained in interviews regarding the sustainability of the case study sites influenced by tourism development. Section 2 focuses on the social-cultural aspect, the economic aspect is the subject of section 3, and section 4 presents the environmental

aspect. Section 5 addresses the barriers of applying tourism in contributing to sustainable local development, and then section 6 concludes this chapter by highlighting some key emerging issues that leads into the discussion in the next chapter.

8.2 The perceptions of Social-Cultural sustainability

Much of the tourism literature argues that tourism often brings more negative impacts on social-cultural sustainability, particularly in relation to the concern of losing traditional rural life styles and changing social relationships (Gossling, 2003; McMinn, 1997; Verbole, 1997). This section addresses the findings from case studies which are quite different from that suggested in the literature. This includes the key actors' perception of contributions to the traditional rural culture conservation and confidence building in local communities as a result of recent tourism development.

The Impacts on Traditional Culture

Due to the potential profits that accumulate from tourism, local people have more motivation to learn about the traditional culture or agricultural products in order to making a selling point to appeal to visitors. This approach is taken by both local authorities and the local businesses, and can be found in all the case study sites.

In Puli, this cultural conservation contribution of tourism development can be found in the case of PITPA. PITPA considered their original trade (such as brewing, hand-made paper making and farming) as the core value of its tourism promotion strategy. Take the hand-made paper factory for example, they believed that the traditional skills in making Xuan paper is a cultural heritage which needs to be preserved. Tourism provides an opportunity to introduce this traditional culture to tourists and the income from tourists helps towards maintaining the factory, as emphasised by one of the respondents (interviewee E). The original trade, selling paper, is still the main source of income, he said, and he pointed out that only when the industry is

still 'alive' that tourism is meaningful, otherwise it is just a 'performance' and eventually loses its attractiveness to tourists.

Similar cases can also be seen in Yuchih in the local tea producing and pottery handicrafts. Yuchih township was the major place of black tea production in Taiwan, but it had been replaced by betel nut production for decades. After the 921 earthquake, the betel nut tree was considered less advantageous in the conservation of water and soil. Since 2002, the mayor of Yuchih town has been working on re- introducing black tea back to Yuchih for its potential of providing competing profits to replace betel nut produce, and building black tea as a representative product of this township. With eight years of effort in the re-introduction and promotion of black tea, black tea fields can been seen as a part of the landscape of the Yuchih area, and black tea products have become a famous local speciality of this township. A community representative *(interviewee R)* said that the black tea and pottery were 'the things that we always had here'. With the help from both central and local authorities in providing professional consultants and financial support, they have regained the lost traditions, and the scenes of picking tea in terms of the image of idyllic rural life has returned to Yuchih.

There are high expectations from the public sector that tourism will assist the conservation of the indigenous culture in Renai. As the majority of the population (seventy percent) in Renai are indigenous people, the indigenous culture has been considered as the focus for local tourism development. In fact, the indigenous tribes in Renai have had serious risks of traditional culture extinction because each tribe has a small population (two to five hundred population) and each tribe has its own distinctive language and culture. With a considerable number of indigenous people marrying outside their tribes and too many varieties of languages and cultures, it is difficult to pass on those traditions through family inheritance (according to interviewee U). Tourism provides a motivation for sponsors (from both government authorities and local tourist businesses) to support the conservation of these important traditions (according to interviewees T, X, & AD). As traditional indigenous dance is a popular performance with tourists, the only primary school in Renai has been given support to teach school children indigenous dance. Through the learning in school and the arranged performances to tourists, these children are able to learn their traditional dance as well as that of other tribes, the costumes made and the music used for each dance reflects the different traditional costumes

and languages in each tribe. In this way, it contributes to passing down some of the traditions through school education and it is also expected to provide inspiration to the next generation in strengthening cultural conservation.

Moreover, in order to promote Renai as an 'indigenous' tourism destination, the township office provides training course in handicrafts and skills of hosting tourists, for indigenous communities to develop tourism activities. A representative from the local authority (interviewee T) noted that in addition to the purpose of these courses, which is for tourism-related skills to be met, it also strengthens the self-esteem of the indigenous tribes. He said '*through consistently listening to these training courses or just talking to visitors about our own stories, we realise our past, so we get more faith in our traditions.*' One indigenous community representative (interviewee Y) agreed that '*when we see so many people visit us and like our culture, we know that we have to work harder to keep this treasure.*'

The findings suggest that due to the motivations provided, tourism contributes to the conservation or re-establishment of local traditions in the case study sites.

The Issue of Local Identity

While the findings provide the evidence of the contribution to culture conservation, the issue of the lack of clear local identity was articulated by the interviewees. The respondents from Puli all have a concern of what is their identity in terms of the local culture and for tourism development. During the interviews, the responses as to what is the key characteristic of tourism in Puli varied (interviewees A, C, E, G, I, and K). A respondent from a farming related business suggested that it should be flowers, while the PITPA members believed that local special industry tourism[1] was the answer. The respondents who had art interests considered art as the characteristic of Puli (because there are several artists living in Puli). The government authorities were promoting 'long-stay' tourism, so from their point of view 'long-stay' and 'town' tourism was the image of Puli. Other respondents suggested that because there were around 400 temples in Puli, that religion should be a key emphasis in tourism. None of the above suggestions were agreed by every respondent to be the unique image/ symbol of Puli; but many respondents pointed out the

---

[1] the term 'special industry' is according to the description of the Puli Comprehensive Plan's to introduce the local industries in Puli; it was also mentioned by the respondents in the interviews.

fact that because there were so many, there is not one that can be chosen as the representative image of tourism in Puli. This finding also can be found from the theme of events held in Puli. The annual Nantou flower festival (see chapter 6 section 3) and the water bamboo festivals held by the public sector, the religious celebrations held by temples, there were just too many small scale tourist activities happening in every season in Puli. The respondents were concerned that the lack of an identity for tourism in Puli would mean that Puli was not able to develop a deeper content for tourism, and eventually, it would not be able to distinguish itself from the other rural towns in Taiwan and potentially lose its competitiveness in terms of tourism.

In Yuchih, the clear image of identity is provided by the magnificent landscape, Sun Moon Lake. In addition, in recent years, the local authority has promoted Yuchih as a hometown for black tea. The respondents from Yuchih all consider these as the essential characteristics of Yuchih. Down to the community scale, the villages which engage in community tourism also try to find their own identity. For example, pottery and black tea are the symbol for one community,

and another community is still trying to promote one of their agriculture products to be their potential speciality.

Similar to Yuchih, the mountainous landscape also provides Renai with an identity in terms of sight-seeing tourism. In the last three years, the local authorities actively promoted indigenous culture as it is the culture of the majority of the local residents and the fact that this is a main source of funding from central government via the Council of Ingenious People (chapter six). However, in the last century under the strict control of habitation by a Japanese colonial government and the influence of the Han culture as well as modernisation, there are not many tangible attractions left to attract tourists. As one indigenous community representative (interviewee Y) argued that

> 'We were under the strict control and forced to move [from our original settlement] to here [the current village] … we do not have much [tangible] indigenous things that can be seen (such as traditional houses). We (the village) look more like an average [Han] rural village…'

Meanwhile, other non-indigenous respondents suggested that still a lot of effort should be made to enable this indigenous culture to be expressed more fully.

According to interviewee W, she argued that the indigenous culture has not become the dominant identification of Renai township. She said '*currently the characteristic for the home town of the indigenous people has not been recognised.*' and interviewee V argued that '*although there are many tribes here, but I do not see what is the content of their culture that they want to express to the tourist...the only story (about the indigenous culture here) we have kept telling tourists is the history tragedy[2], I think we need something more appealing for developing tourism here.*'

The current situation is that there are several totems on some public buildings and occasional indigenous performances, but is still not enough to impress tourists and make it the key image of the place. The need for deeper 'content' for local identity was identified in all the case study sites.

---

[2] Wushe incident; in 1930-1931, there bad been battles between the tribe Seediq and the Japanese colonial empire due to resisting the colonization by Japanese. It resulted in that, there were only 298 Seediqs survived, and then were moved in a restricted settlement. Now, there are a monument and a museum established for remember this and preserving the historic documents.

8.3 The Economic Impact

Jobs Generation and Increase of Income

A positive economic impact is always a major rationale for tourism development. The expectations of economic benefits includes job generation, increase of income, increase of tax income for the government and the attraction of investment.

Respondents pointed out that in terms of job creation, securing the current level of jobs is a more accurate description for Puli; in Yuchih and Renai, there were more respondents who confirmed that there were more job opportunities than before when there was only the agricultural economy.

The first evidence for sustaining current jobs was found in the case of the PITPA. The transformation of non-tourist businesses to tourist businesses prevented the Puli brewery from closing (chapter eight), which secured 400 jobs in the small town. Then with the successful tourism promotion developed by the PITPA, some member industries could save their business and

gradually increase the scale and level of employment, and were able to sustain

the original business (interviewees C, D, E, F & I). Though none of the

respondents directly conceded the extent they benefited from tourism, but from

the conversations between the author and them regarding this issue, they

provided other members as examples to support the idea of tourism having

positive effects on their businesses. One respondent who represented a local

industry which is not a member of the PITPA affirmed the success of PITPA

and said that their factory followed the example of the 'industry tourism'

approach by investing in their second factory for tourism purposes. It was

equipped with an exhibition centre and seminar rooms to provide for tourist

uses. Through these tourist activities, the factory can market their brand, and

through observing tourists' behaviour (toward their products), they can see

things that need to be changed of themselves. *It is the idea of transforming

from pure manufacture to services'* said interviewee E.

In Yuchih, the Sun Moon Lake and the Formosa Aboriginal Culture Village (a

theme resort located by the Sun Moon Lake which was established in 1986)

have always been popular destinations in Taiwan. The average number of

visitors to Sun Moon Lake is one million annually (according to a representative from SNSAA) and there are 1 million to 1.2 million persons a year visiting the Formosa resort (according to ticket sales, said interviewee P). As the amount of visitors coming to Yuchih is high, the tourist service sector is prosperous around this area. The restaurants in this area are the ones that have directly benefited as day trips are still the main length of stay, but in the recent years, with the re-construction work after the 921 earthquake (in 1999) and the new tourist facilities provided by the Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area administration, there are gradually increasing numbers of tourists staying overnight in this area (according to interviewees O, P, and AF). During the 921 devastation, most of the hotels by the Sun Moon Lake collapsed. Respondents representing hotel and B&Bs owners agreed on the economic effects of tourism and said that 'we feel our businesses are gradually increasing every year since we have rebuilt our property after the 921' (interviewees O & S).

The economic effects of tourism can be also reflected in the increasing numbers of B&Bs in the Cingjing area of Renai. Due to land management restrictions,

areas classified as 'non-urban land' do not allow hotel uses. Accommodation services can only be provided through residential houses providing 'bed and breakfast' facilities. In 2002 there were only twelve B&Bs in the Cingjing area, but in 2008 the number of B&Bs had already reached 120 (interviewee X).

Does Tourism Benefit the Locality?

The concerns on 'whether or not tourism directly benefits the local residents' is a key criterion in sustainable local development. The findings point toward a positive picture in terms of local employment.

In the three case study sites, the respondents that represented the business sector pointed out that they are all long term local residents. The family-run small businesses, such as B&Bs and restaurants, and the employees in larger industries or hotels are all local residents. The lowest presence of local employment in the findings was 80% in a hotel. This is because they required more professional employees who they cannot find from local residents, but the rest of the findings indicate that other businesses have at least 95% to 100% of

local employees. Interviewee D pointed out that in their farm resort, 95 % employees are local women. The community representatives (interviewee R and Y) also confirmed that tourism development in their villages provided job opportunities for middle aged and elderly women who usually cannot find jobs in their communities. With the development of tourism in their villages, these women can earn extra income whilst they can still look after their families. There is a variety of jobs for women in rural villages generated by tourism, which includes running B&Bs, catering for pre-booked tourists, selling agricultural products from their own farm, and selling handicrafts, particularly in the indigenous communities. The respondents said that tourism does not bring a lot of wealth for their families but it certainly improves their financial situation (interviewees Q, S, and Y). Interviewee R said that '*thanks to tourism development, the annual income of the whole village is two to three times more than before.*' Interviewee Y from another community said:

> '*it really depends on the personal value to the money (from tourism), someone thinks it is enough, as a extra income while they still live on agriculture, someone might want more…But in a indigenous community, it (tourism development) is already considered a good start.*'

In terms of barriers to local benefits, the importance of having community industries was stressed by community representatives (interviewees R and Y). Interviewee Y said that there is a need of developing community small industry, and the community expects support from government to invest and develop it. Only by helping a community develop their own small industries can tourism guarantee to bring more direct economic benefits. In addition to this, *interviewee R* explained that

> '*Although a community is very beautiful and attracts numbers of tourists, it does not have its own industries, how could it make money from tourists; and what do these tourists do as leisure activities in the community.*'

Interviewee R's concern was that the community cannot make profits from the physical environment. He argued that only running accommodation (B&Bs) businesses in a community is not enough to profit residents more widely and certainly not enough to attract tourists. As accommodation services have only limited opportunities for local families to benefit from this activity, developing

diverse community industries allows for more opportunities for them to engage in tourism business. In addition, a community industry can provide an identity for the community and tourist activities such as shopping or experience of local economic activities. The black tea industry in his community is considered a successful example of this approach, said interviewee R.

The Promotion of Local Agriculture Products and Other Broader Influences

There is also a broader influence on the local economy that was raised in the interviews. This includes the promotion of agriculture products and the benefit of retail expenditure in town centres, and an unexpected result in solving the problem of unoccupied apartments in Puli as noted previously.

The promotion of local agriculture products was through tourism to provide tourists a personal experience of the products. Interviewee I pointed out that tourism promotes the agriculture produce in a way that allows outsiders to get familiar with the products and then they become potential buyers. Interviewee R said that since they have tried the approach of promoting the combination

of tourism and black tea, the price of tea product from this village, at times can reach ten times more than it commanded before.

Tourism development also increases the incomes of the local stores. According to the results of the vox pop survey, the small stores in the town centres (not the tourist hot spots) in three case study sites all benefited from tourism. Particularly when events were held, numerous visitors coming for it would generally stop in the town centres, and this provided additional business for these stores. This could indicate that the current tourism development directly benefits the local residents and not just the large investors, such as large hotels or resorts, but including rural small stores. In this respect, it could be considered as contributing towards local sustainable development.

.

8.4 The Environmental Impact

The Minor Impacts on Locality

From an environmental perspective, since there have not been scientific reports of the carrying capacities of tourism development in the three case areas (except for Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area), the perception of key stakeholders provides a useful source for understanding the current situation regarding tourism impacts.

From the perceptions of interviewees, the traffic during the peak season and the refuse produced by the tourists were the most mentioned problems emerging from tourism development (interviewees G & O). In the rural areas, the development is always along the main roads. In Yuchih, the only main road is the provincial road No. 14, and in Renai, the main road is the provincial road No.21 in certain parts of the latter road there are narrow single lanes. During the tourist peak times, unsurprisingly, this causes traffic problems. However, a hotel manager in Yuchih (interviewee O) said '*it seems*

tourists still can bear it as not many complaints are heard from them.' A

township officer in Renai (interviewee T) explained that because local

residents know alternative country roads to commute from home to work and

they expect tourism to help the local economy, there are not many complaints

about the traffic problems from the local residents either.

The respondents stated that because tourism in these case study sites is still

in the early development stage, serious environmental issues have not yet

been experienced. According to the result of the vox pop survey, 18 out of 30

responses obtained indicated that tourism has had very little negative impact

on the locality. The further explanation from the residents is that except for

the traffic at peak times (generally when there are big scale events) there are

not many tourists visiting; therefore, local residents are not generally affected

by them.

The representatives of community organisations also agreed that they can

tolerate the traffic and refuse problems which have been happening in their

communities. They added that occasionally, the unpleasant behaviour of

tourists, such as stealing or damaging farms, bothers the community residents (according to interviewees Q & R). A community representative (interviewee R) explained:

> *'if tourists visit [the community] without being accompanied with a tour guide* from *us, they, sometimes, pick vegetables from farms or the flowers from someone's garden…but except for these things, everything is fine. It has not decreased the willingness of our community to develop tourism.'*

The responses from the three case sites all concur that tourism does not cause major negative impacts on the locality or on the daily life of the residents, and this indicates that from the perspective of environmental sustainability, the three case study sites are considered sustainable.

The Current Environmental Management Strategy

In order to develop tourism, the local authorities invested in street cleaning for

both the local residents and tourists, and they claimed that the cleaning was much better than before (interviewees A). The efforts made by these townships were also acknowledged by the Nantou County overall cleanliness competition in 2006. The township Puli and Yuchih were awarded 3.3 million NTDs (around 66,000 GBPs) for the environmental cleanliness in the communities (Nantou County Government, 2007b).

In addition to the efforts in street cleaning, due to Puli being identified as a "tourism town' in the Nantou County White Paper (chapter 5 section5), tourism is the focus of future development, which requires a good quality of physical environment, so all new factories with potential pollution are not permitted to be built in the township (*interviewees A & J*).Consequently it would appear that tourism development in Puli provides a significant positive effect on environmental conservation.

In the Sun Moon Lake area in the township of Yuchih, due to its National Scenic Area status, the environmental quality is monitored and investigated by the Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area Administration (SNSAA). This

includes monitoring the quality of lake water, geological and geographical investigations, and the biodiversity of the lake and insects, the vegetation and animals in the surrounding areas. In addition to the scientific environmental monitoring, since its establishment in 1999, the SNSAA has brought considerable resources into this area in terms of tourist facilities, such as the walking paths around the lake, parking, and promotional activity, such as holding several events and international promotion commercials. The physical environment has been improved and has become more appealing to tourists. A hotel manager (interviewee O) said:

'in the past, it could take 10 to 20 years for tourists to come and visit again, but now, I feel that the numbers of repeat visitors is increasing...The physical environment and the facilities are being improved every year, they (tourists) are more willing to come back'

Meanwhile, the largest tourism resort in Yuchih claimed that instead of damaging the environment, tourism contributes to it by means of the environmental planning of the resort. A representative of this resort said (interviewee P) that the resort was built according to the original landscape

and they have made efforts in water and soil conservation and gardening. The sight of cherry blossoms is an outcome of its gardening. In response to this cherry blossom theme, the Yuchih township also selected cherry trees as the main street trees to extend the scene to the whole town with the hope of creating an image of the season.

Natural hazards are the main environmental concerns for Renai. In the Renai area, due to the mountainous landscape, the tourism activities and facilities, such as accommodation and stores, are mainly in agglomerations in the Lushan, Wushe and Cingjing areas. As the steep slopes are the natural geographic feature of Renai, the fragile environment is prone to natural disasters. Take the year of 2008 for example, in the autumn several typhoons hit Taiwan that resulted in severe damage to the road No.14 reaching the mountain area in Renai; one tourism hot spot, Lushan ,was severely damaged by mud, the flood and the soil slide brought by the typhoon Sinlaku. The township office stated that in terms of tourism development for the following year the reconstruction work (of Lushan and the road No.14) was the major focus (according to interviewee T). Although other hot spots, for example the Cingjing area, in Renai have remained safe, due to the scenes of the damaged

the road NO.14 and the Lushan area being reported by the media, the number

of visitors since then has been decreasing (December 2008, when the

interviews was conducted) (according to interviewees T, X & AD, and the

responses from the vox pop survey). The Renai township stressed that the

current environmental management strategy is the management of the

amount of permissions of construction licences in the Cingjing area '*in order to*

prevent Cingjing from being the next Lushan', according to a representative

from Renai township office (interviewee T).

The Concerns of the Future

Due to the fact that tourism development in the localities with natural

resources is in its early stage, the overall responses from the interviewees and

the results of the vox pop survey suggest that the current tourism development

in the three case study sites is considered sustainable. However, there are still

several barriers to the future development of tourism and concerns for the

future.

In terms of the barriers to developing tourism from the physical environmental perspective, it was often mentioned by the business operators that there was limited land available to expand the businesses in Yuchih and Renai township. In Yuchih, the land around the Sun Moon Lake is very expensive. Interviewee O pointed out that a square meter of land costs 605,000 NTDs (around 12100 GBPs), which is four times more than it was five years ago (2003), and the land by the lake is almost wholly developed. It is therefore hard to expand the businesses any further (interviewee O) .

In Renai, the steep slopes and the fragile environment provide less space for tourism facilities, for example, the need for parking space. During the peak times, cars park along the side of the province road No.14 which results in the congestion becoming worse. In addition to the limited land for further development, the mountain weather and potential natural hazards have always significantly impacted on local tourism. Particularly, when the summer season is supposed to be the peak season, it is also the season for typhoons. This influence of the natural hazards put more uncertainties in tourism development in Renai. In addition to threats from natural hazards, the water

supply and sewage disposal in the mountainous areas are other concerns. In 2008, the water supply system was replaced, but to date, the sewage system has not found the resources to build (interviewee W & X).

In Puli, the poor quality of the road signs was mentioned several times by the business sector (*interviewees E, I and J*), and the township office in response to this issue said that they were aware of this issue and had already started to deal with this problem. As Puli is identified as a leisure town, the township suggested that the improvement of the landscape of the town centre and the designs of buildings requires further planning and regulation (interviewees A & B). Interviewee A suggested *'I think expanding the identified area of the current urban plan could contribute to this, and we have drafted the plan already.'* The B&Bs owners in Yuchih and Renai (*interviewees S & V*) also expressed their worries regarding new buildings in their neighbourhoods which might destroy the wholeness of the landscape due to poor construction quality or too unique architectural styles.

In terms of environmental management of tourism development, the current

approach taken by the authorities does not provide a clear vision or a comprehensive plan for further development. '*It (current environmental policy) merely deals with problems when they emerge*', a respondent from a local farm said (interviewee AD). There have been several problems that have emerged as a consequence of tourism development. For example, unplanned development can be seen in all case study sites, particularly in the tourist hot spots in Renai. Unplanned and unpermitted accommodations and tourism facilities development in the Lushan and Cingjing areas have caused considerable problems to the local authorities in terms of over-development, environmental management, and legal enforcement (interviewees T & Z). On the other hand, the unclear plan and regulation and weak government legal enforcement has also caused problems for the private investors, which includes the lack of infrastructure, such as roads, water supply and waste management as well as creating negative impressions to the media and tourists (interviewee X). In addition, these illegal tourist facilities allow themselves to be exposed to natural hazards and threaten the health and safety of the guests.

8.5 Conclusions

In summary, current tourism development in the case sites is considered to provide more positive results than negative. Particularly, in terms of providing the motivation for cultural conservation and the provision of direct benefits to the rural female employment that contributes significantly to improving the local sustainability of social-cultural and economic perspectives. In terms of the contribution to the local economy, it should be noted that much of the contributions identified in this research indicate that tourism can only ease the pressure of rural decline, rather than make great impacts on the growth of the local economy. The findings of case study sites might provide some useful lessons particularly in relation to innovations can be applied to sustainable development, such as the examples of Xuan paper conservation and the black tea reintroduction.

From the perspective of environmental sustainability, although there have not being many negative impacts emerging, the issues of the lack of a clear planning framework for tourism and local development as well as environmental management could become problematic. This is particularly

important to the township of Renai, where the environment is prone to natural

hazards. For the longer term, a comprehensive tourism development plan is

suggested which should include a clear land use plan and an environmental

management mechanism, and the corresponding environmental monitoring

and law enforcement to ensure the sustainability of the local development.

Chapter 9 Tourism and Sustainable Rural Development

9.1 Introduction

Following the discussion of the findings from the fieldwork and archive documentation in chapters 5-8, chapter 9 is an analytical chapter, that explains and draws contextualised explanations from the emerging issues in the previous chapters, and seeks to more explicitly address the three sets of research questions, and based on this analysis, examine the role of tourism in achieving sustainable rural development in Taiwan.

Section 2 of this chapter provides a brief review of tourism development in the last two decades in the three case study sites. The information presented in this section mainly draws on the discussion from chapters 5-8 and additional statistical data from the Tourism Bureau.

Section 3 addresses the discussion in response to the first set of the research questions around tourism policy. According to the findings presented in chapters 5 and 6, current tourism-related policy clearly lacks the necessary long term planning at the local level and involves a wide range of central government agents all promoting tourism. As a result of this, the approach of collaboration within the public sector is one issue which is addressed in this section. Moreover, due to the lack of resources as well as a lack of administrative experience in developing tourism, local government is highly

dependent on central government projects. Therefore, enforcing the central government's agenda has become a major approach of partnership and collaboration within local and central government. Issues that emerged from this are addressed in section 4 of this chapter.

Section 5, in response to the third set of research questions, provides an examination of the perceptions of key stakeholders to interactions between tourism development and the concept of 'place', and addresses key issues in relation to sustainable development. Finally, section 6 reviews the above findings and concludes the chapter by considering and re-evaluating the role of tourism in facilitating sustainable rural development.

9.2 The Changes of the Three Case Study Site in the Recent Ten Years

Tourism in the three case study sites is considered a recent development. Despite a few tourism hot spots having sight-seeing activities since the 1980s, tourism development on a large scale has only emerged in the last decade. A summary of the major events which have influenced recent tourism development in the case study sites is provided in Table 9.1.

Although Nantou County has been a popular tourism destination (for example, Sun Moon Lake in the Yuchih township and the Cingjing area in the Renai township) the numbers of tourists remained relatively consistent (around 3 million tourists a year) until 1999 (Table 9.2). The earthquake on the 21st

September, 1999 made a significant impact on the recent developments in each of the case study sites. The three case study sites were all badly damaged by the earthquake and Puli was the worst affected area (see chapter 4 section 5). The tourist numbers dramatically fell from 3.3 million visitors in 1998 to 1.4 million in 2000 whilst the post-earthquake recovery work was underway (Table 9.2).

Table 9.1 Major Tourism Related Changes and Events

Year	Puli	Yuchih	Renai
1960s		Several tourism facilities established around the Sun Moon Lake	Cingjing Veterans farm established
1995	Puli Brewery transformed into tourist Brewery		
1999	21 Sep 1999 earthquake Major reconstruction work and community empowerment programmes begin		
1999		The Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area administration established	
2001	2 days off weekend policy		
2003	The establishment of the tourism section in Puli township	Annual black tea festival	
2004	Long-stay tourism Nantou annual flower festival		
2006		The establishment of tourism section in Yuchih township	The establishment of tourism section in Renai township
2007			New Years Eve fireworks display
2008	"opening up to Mainland Chinese tourist arrivals" policy		

source: based on the data from chapters 6-9 and organised by the author

The initiation of the 'two days off' weekend policy and the promotion of domestic tourism by the government in 2001 were also critical turning-points. The practice of a two-day-off weekend policy has contributed to significantly

increasing the numbers of domestic tourists. From 2001 to 2002, the numbers had grown from 3.3 million to 6.6 million. As Lane (1994) explained the growth of tourists is due to many factors. These included rising disposable incomes, longer paid holidays, shorter working hours, better education and a rapidly improving transport and communications network. In addition to the two days off weekend policy, the GDP and disposable income in Taiwan have also increased and have consequently contributed to increasing tourism demand (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2008). In 1995, the GDP was 273,792 million US dollars and the average disposable income per household was 811,338 NT dollars. In 2007, the GDP rose to 384,768 million US dollars and the average disposable income became 923,874 NT dollars. This encouraged the growth of domestic tourism in Taiwan.

The most recent major influential tourism policy is the 'Tourism Policy of Mainland Tourists', which was introduced in the latter half of 2008. In 2009, for example, this policy was credited with generating more than 97,000 tourists from mainland China visiting Taiwan. Among these, there were 70,000 tourists visiting Nantou County (Table 9.4, and Table 5.5 in chapter 5 section 3).

The demand is increasing but, on the supply side, the corresponding policy, planning implementation and tourist facilities have not been put in place. Since 2006, public transportation in Taiwan has been undergoing a transition period (see chapter 5, Table 5.5). Several major improvements in public

transportation have been implemented during the past five years, such as high speed rail (2006), motorway No.6 (2009) and bus links to the three case study sites (2010).

 In addition to the improvement of transportation, there have emerged several changes in terms of tourism governance. Due to the fact that tourism has only recently gained the attention of the Taiwanese government, tourism development in the public sector can still be considered in the early stages of development (chapter 6 section 2). Take the establishment of tourism-specific sections/ departments in local government as an example, the Puli township established its first one to deal with the needs of local tourism development in 2003; and the Yuchih and Renai townships established tourism related sections in 2006. Several tourism programmes and strategies have emerged from them in recent years, such as, the annual flower festival (since 2004), the black tea festival in Yuchih (since 2003) the long-stay tourism programme in Puli (since 2006), and the New Years Eve fireworks display in Renai (since 2007).

There are a number of issues emerging from this gap between the rapid growth of tourism demand and the early stage of tourism development in Taiwan that will be further explored according to the perspectives of policy, partnership, and place in the following sections of this chapter.

Table 9.2 The Number of Tourists Visiting Nantou County (1994-2010)

year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1994	222,721	279,954	180,726	241,980	194,014	177,069	278,761	161,179	237,472	277,165	306,975	261,647	2,819,663
1995	268,645	452,081	191,483	318,079	193,987	224,317	309,592	297,663	292,687	325,750	370,456	319,273	3,564,013
1996	255,573	336,763	218,782	235,291	165,463	186,761	280,276	149,483	192,082	241,836	250,335	262,478	2,775,123
1997	184,025	376,003	244,349	256,470	167,803	141,111	227,192	205,935	207,894	299,838	297,258	233,054	2,841,382
1998	333,830	335,417	210,872	285,418	235,523	184,157	297,889	364,279	209,425	231,514	359,310	299,277	3,346,911
1999	346,117	336,046	202,361	293,387	216,765	200,692	252,707	282,612	120,853	2,525	14,319	55,060	2,323,444
2000	53,015	298,322	123,511	128,102	87,799	34,726	51,329	60,211	75,411	127,337	143,905	238,390	1,422,058
2001	598,165	347,686	236,377	252,429	206,691	236,493	448,438	83,211	60,569	155,328	227,044	460,092	3,312,523
2002	283,212	823,035	811,087	589,350	468,091	409,906	617,671	640,955	427,543	537,631	504,836	509,264	6,622,581
2003	359,597	1,044,881	601,529	441,793	324,119	428,851	894,386	893,646	580,551	661,226	613,555	515,812	7,359,946
2004	796452	1,114,230	619,221	1,696,140	991,544	726,684	594,800	1,084,666	607,185	812,968	877,933	760,717	10,769,274
2005	599,904	1,366,243	686,503	1,050,283	1,198,457	898,151	988,386	843,647	552,085	839,746	836,487	841,338	10,701,230
2006	884,858	1,569,257	741,762	741,589	570,623	441,287	841,172	992,604	737,726	1,263,703	1,435,174	1,410,719	11,630,474
2007	508,841	1,497,364	719,572	941,221	619,888	553,945	947,031	567,072	1,148,746	597,944	725,119	768,482	9,595,225
2008	663,326	1,550,365	939,344	859,663	665,591	619,579	836,712	1,098,216	548,723	1,220,308	757,922	741,929	10,501,678
2009	1,524,149	1,458,586	1,083,538	1,101,687	1,228,657	1,404,671	858,426	723,510	891,374	1,089,082	1,404,671	1,067,555	13,835,906
2010	1,448,560	2,241,105	1,665,921										

Source: Nantou County Government, 2010a

1. Data based on the sampling data in tourism routes in Nantou County
2. Shaded Cells are the months after the 921 earthquake
3. Bold figures represent months after Typhoon Toraji

Table 9.3 International Visitors Arrivals (1991-2009)

Year	Total	
	No. Of Visitors	Index (1991=100)
1991	1,854,506	100.00
1992	1,873,327	101.01
1993	1,850,214	99.77
1994	2,127,249	114.71
1995	2,331,934	125.74
1996	2,358,221	127.16
1997	2,372,232	127.92
1998	2,298,706	123.95
1999	2,411,248	130.02
2000	2,624,037	141.50
2001	2,831,035	152.66
2002	2,977,692	160.57
2003	2,248,117	121.22
2004	2,950,342	159.09
2005	3,378,118	182.16
2006	3,519,827	189.80
2007	3,716,063	200.38
2008	3,845,187	207.34
2009	4,395,004	236.99

source: Tourism Bureau, 2010

Table 9.4 International Visitors Arrivals-The Nationality of International Tourists (2004-2009)

		2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Asia	Hong Kong. Macao	417,087	432,718	431,884	491,437	618,667	718,806
	Mainland China	-	-	-	-	329,204	972,123
	Japan	887,311	1,124,334	1,161,489	116,380	1,086,691	1,000,661
	Korea	148,095	182,517	196,260	225,814	252,266	167,641
	India	16,305	17,512	18,047	19,976	19,976	18,555
	Middle East	12,654	13,534	12,799	13,487	12,524	12,217
	Malaysia	92,760	107,549	115,202	141,308	155,783	166,987
	Singapore	116,884	166179	184,160	204,494	205,449	194,523
	Indonesia	44,161	88,464	90,870	95,572	110,420	106,612
	Philippines	87,005	92,074	79,993	85,030	87,936	77,206
	Thailand	103,089	93,568	95,643	90,069	84,586	78,405
	others	350,572	360,548	435,573	449,102	122,281	141,348
	Asia Total	2,275,924	2,678,997	2,821,920	2,982,669	3,085,783	3,655,084
America	U.S.A.	382,822	390,929	394,802	397,965	387,197	369,258
	others	11,188	11,763	12,410	13,852	13,836	12,640
	Total	444528	457,156	461,033	468,996	461,269	442,036
Europe	Total	164,945	172,494	172,777	186,483	200,914	197,070
Oceania	Total	50,958	55,732	52,019	61,802	68,555	66,173
Africa	Total	9,755	9,201	8,911	8,607	8,499	7,735
Unstated		4,232	4,538	3,167	7,506	20,167	26,906
Grand Total		2,950,342	3,378,118	3,519,827	3,716,063	3,845,187	4,395,004

source: Tourism Bureau, 2010

note: The international visitors arrivals includes foreign labour (hold working visa) (mainly from Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, and Thailand). The number of these in 2009 is 212,713 visits; in year 2007 is 219,094 visits; in year 2005 are 236,850 visits

9.3 Policy, Tourism and Sustainable Rural Development

This section explores key issues in relation to policy, the first set of research questions (see chapter 4 section 2).

Research question 1: What are the effects and outcomes of current tourism-related policy and planning on tourism development as well as sustainable rural development in Taiwan?

The focus of this section includes a discussion regarding the effectiveness of current policy of both central and local levels in Taiwan, and issues and challenges in connection with current policy and planning implementation.

The current tourism related policy and strategy in Taiwan has been presented in chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis. Because tourism is an important national development focus (the Executive Yuan, 2009) and a recent popular concept in government authorities, it has been applied in policy by various central government authorities (chapter 5 section 3), and directly or indirectly has effects on rural tourism development. For example, the Council of Agriculture promotes the development of leisure agriculture as well as the rebirth of farm villages, and the Industrial Development Bureau assists factories to establish exhibition centres for expanding tourist businesses (see chapter 5, Table 5.4).

On the other hand, at the local level, due to the lack of resources and experience in tourism affairs (chapter 6 section 2), there is an absence of

long-term policy and planning which are specifically devoted to tourism development. There are only a few objectives and actions stated in the Nantou County White Paper (see chapter 5, Table 5.6) regarding tourism development and in the three scenic special Urban Plans which apply tourist land-use in zoning control (one in Yuchih and two in Renai) in the three case study sites (chapter 5 section 5). Instead of formulating long term planning, in recent years, the three township governments have gradually established their own visions of local tourism development and have begun to initiate corresponding programmes. These visions and programmes have been discussed in chapter 6 (section 3 to 5) and are listed in Table 9.5. The predominant approach taken by the local authorities is to hold agriculture-related events in order to attract tourists, such as the annual Nantou flower festival (since2004), and the Yuchih black tea season (since 2003) (chapter 6 section 3). The respective vision of the townships of Puli, Yuchih, and Renai is long-stay tourism, black tea and community-based tourism and indigenous tourism. Take Puli for example, the township office has been implementing a long-stay tourism policy since 2004 (chapter 6 section 4), and has held workshops in hospitality (chapter 6 section 5) and a street cleanliness campaign (chapter 6 section 4) has been launched to enhance the hosting skills of the residents and retailers in the Puli area.

Table 9.5 Local Tourism Visions and Policy Implementation in the Case Study Sites

	Puli	Yuchih	Renai
vision	• long-stay tourism • Town tourism	• community-based tourism	• indigenous tourism
Support to the private actors	• tour guide skill training	• pottery workshop	• handicraft workshops (for example dried flower painting) • restaurant and/ or B&B service training • tour guide skill training
activities	• cleanliness campaign • farmers'markets	• annual black tea festival • farmers'markets	• New Year Eve fireworks display

source: based on data from chapter 7 and organised by the author

The Effect and Outcomes of Policy Implementation

Although the local authorities lack resources and experience, the Tourism Bureau of the Nantou County government still considered their efforts on promoting tourism as positive. In order to gain a better insight of the effectiveness of these local policies, a senior officer in Nantou County suggested a comparison of the international tourists in Nantou County between the years 2006 and 2007.

Table 9.6 Tourist Numbers in 2006-2008

Years*	Tourists visit Nantou County		Total overseas tourism arrivals to Taiwan[3]
	Total[1]	overseas tourists[2]	
2006	11,630,747	233,410	3,519,827
2007	9,595,225	405,232	3,716,063
2008	10,501,678	476,976	3,845,187

source: [1,2] Nantou County Government, 2010a; [3] Tourism Bureau, 2010

In Table 9.6, the number of overseas tourists visiting Nantou County from 2006 to 2008 shows a significant increase by 104% (from 233,410 to 476,976) whilst the total number of overseas tourists in Taiwan grows

slowly by 9% (from 3,519,827 to 3,845,187). Meanwhile, the total tourists to Nantou County in the three years remain fairly constant. Several interviewees from the local authorities (interviewees Z & T) claimed that this was because of the fact that domestic tourism has been adversely affected by the financial crisis since 2007. However, due to the increasing number of international visitors, the total tourist numbers in Nantou County was able to remain fairly stable. This increasing numbers of international visitors provide evidence of the positive effectiveness of current tourism promoting strategies adopted by the Nantou County government (interviewee M).

At one level, this increased figure could be evidence which demonstrates the effectiveness of the current local tourism policies, but at another level, there is a clear mismatch between the townships' vision of local tourism development and the activities in local policies (see Table 9.5). Take the township of Renai for example, the vision of local tourism development is to promote indigenous culture. Their annual major event is the New Years Eve Fireworks display. It could be argued that this does not contribute to enhancing the indigenous identity to tourists. This mismatch between the aims (developing indigenous cultural tourism) and the actions (holding the New Year Eve Fireworks) results in the ineffectiveness of building a clear image for the place. This problem was highlighted by several respondents from local businesses as noted in chapter 8. They mentioned in the interviews that the indigenous culture has not been used well in

establishing a clear image for the destination. As one local business said *'although there are many tribes here, but I do not see what is the content of the culture that they want to express to the tourist...'* (according to interviewee V, in chapter 8 section 2). This ineffective outcome in terms of promoting indigenous tourism in Renai highlights a need for more comprehensive long term policy and planning at the local level in order to clarify the vision of the place and the requirement of corresponding resources and actions that could provide more effective outcomes.

As various aspects of tourism development are covered in central government policy, interests from actors in both the public (such as local authorities or NGOs) and private sectors are encouraged to participate in tourism development work through applying for central government resources (chapter 5 section 3). In addition, due to an absence of clear policy and planning at the local level, particularly a lack of financial resources, local government relies on central administrative and financial support. A strong central-oriented governance approach has appeared in current tourism development in Taiwan according to the findings of this research. Under this approach, the dependency on central government funding is a key factor. Several interviewees from local authorities reported the heavy reliance of local government on various central government funds (chapter 5 section 3 and chapter 7 section 2). In terms of the private sector, applying for central government funding is one major means of accessing public resources (Chapter 7 section 3). However, as

pointed out in the conclusion of chapter 5, among these various central policies and plans, there does not exist a coordinating body or a mechanism which is responsible for assisting collaboration across the horizontal or vertical levels in the government system of the hierarchy to enhance the effectiveness of implementation.

In respect of the lack of coordination mechanisms between government authorities, the Tourism Bureau of the Ministry of Transport and Communications, the highest tourism-specific authority in Taiwan, responded in its recent *Important Tourism Spot Mid-term (2008-2011) Development Plan*. It states:

> '*as government authorities have respective budgets and responsibilities, the co-operation and responsibilities in the development of tourist hot spots are in accordance with the government administration system, and based on the partnerships which were built in previous alliance mechanisms and unspoken consensus (p15).*'

Although the Tourism Bureau suggested that the responsibility allocation in terms of tourism work should be according to the original respective responsibilities of each government agent, this still leaves an unsolved challenge in coordination issues in tourism policy implementation. The tourism-related policies remain fragmented and the planning still overlapping (as demonstrated in chapter 5 section 5). Also, the

ineffectiveness of policy formulation or implementation has previously happened due to the confusion of the responsibilities of respective governments (Pigram, 1993). In this respect, the response from the Tourism Bureau, which suggests that the collaboration should be according to the original government system or the unspoken consensus, does not seem to be able to clear this confusion between related government agents nor to improve the effectiveness of coordination among them.

In addition to the problematic coordination mechanism at the central government level, several subsequent issues in terms of local identity, temporary partnerships, and the missing role of local government are addressed below.

As previously stated, in Taiwan, local tourism development basically relies on funding from central government. This first requires approval from the central government funding body, next from the county government level, and then finally from the township office. Therefore, the process can be very slow, and as a consequence of this, the effectiveness of the implementation can decrease, as Krutwaysho and Bramwell (2010) found in their case study in Thailand (see chapter 3 section 4).

According to the findings from the fieldwork, the financial dependence on central government also results in a lack of comprehensiveness and inconsistency in local tourism development. As explained by a senior

township officer (interviewee B), when a local authority is awarded funds from the agricultural department of the central government, it initiates agricultural related tourism development, such as farmers' markets. Alternatively, when it is awarded resources from the construction department of the central government, it may, for example, go toward improving road construction. *'Resources (financial resources) we received are a bit from here, a bit from there... It is difficult to formulate a comprehensive or longer-term tourism plan at a local authority level'*, argued interviewee B.

The dependency on central government funding has also brought some potential issues, including the unreliability of available funding as raised in chapter 6 section 3, and the limited cooperation between villages as a consequence of competing for funds (chapter 7 section 5). This inconsistency of available funding continues if the event is held annually (interviewee M), and the potential of cutting off funding in the next year reduces the willingness of residents to take part in government programmes (interviewee Y). The latter finding corresponds with Dodd's (2007) conclusion that the continuity and accountability of policy implementation is the key to success or failure of pursuing sustainable development (chapter 3 section4).

Loss of Local Identity

The potential danger of losing local identity is another issue in the current trend of tourism policy implementation. With the current tourism policy implementation approach, the research findings found that it is difficult to reflect the characteristics of local development. Central-government-granted projects generally come with conditions, universal aims and requirements to all recipients. It is necessary for the project donors to monitor the quality of project implementation and audit the use of money. However, without fully engaging with local actors before the project is designed and decided, it is hard to provide a project with aims and requirements that can actually meet the needs of different localities. In the example of the provision of grants from central government for street sign improvement (including road directions and store signs, see chapter 8 section 2), recipients were required to follow the principles in terms of the design of the signs. As a consequence, every place that took part in that project began to look very similar. In an interview, a senior local government officer in Puli *(interviewee A)* argued that *'if we follow this policy, there will be fewer and fewer local characteristics left in Taiwan'* and *'you cannot look into local problems from Taipei's perspective (interviewee A).'* This suggests a risk of losing the identity of the rural areas, whilst the identity is considered an important element of local capital, or more specifically the cultural economy, in promoting rural

tourism development which has been discussed in chapter 3 section 5 (Ray, 1998; Roberts & Hall, 2001; Midtgard, 2003; Garrod et al., 2006).

Moreover, the research findings discovered that the current policy implementation approach results in a project-based partnership between a resource donor (a central government department) and a recipient, along with several additional concerns that need to be addressed. These include the temporary nature of the project-based partnership, the threshold size of tourist operators, and the missing role of local government. These factors will be examined in turn.

The temporary nature of the project-based partnership

Participation through projects and workshops may provide a quick means to involve private actors in public issues. This approach can be a response to the current needs of society, and arrange resources to fit in quicker than a formulated long-term policy. Thus from the government's perspective, this quick win approach is considered appropriate. Bates (1981) points out several reasons why a project approach was commonly used: *'A project allows selection on a geographic basis, which often neatly corresponds to prevailing division in politics…Their generally short time frame may also fit in with the politician's need for quick results'* (Bates, 1981, cited in Shepherd, 1998;p120).

Although projects provide advantages in providing quick results and meeting current needs, there were some issues which emerged from the research findings. From the Puli case, this approach was used since it offers easier and quicker implementation under the current complicated tourism related administration in the rural areas of Taiwan. However, it was found that this project-based public-private interaction has not been a consistent relationship, existing only during the contracted period of the project. This cannot contribute to the long-term trusted partnership and understanding between partners that is a key element in sustainable development. In addition, there is a lack of flexibility in the funding provision; these projects are usually provided with a single purpose or goal for implementation; for example, funds for community building cannot be used in promoting agriculture leisure tourism. According to the findings of the fieldwork, those issues are hard to separate, particularly for small rural communities engaging in tourism development.

Interviewees from two community organisations also raised another important issue regarding the use of funding, which is, in order to promote affairs in community or tourism, they need financial resources for their staff; however, generally, the government does not budget for this (interviewees J & Y). It is felt that due to the potential inconsistency of funding discussed earlier in this section and the limitations of the use of the grant, the effectiveness of government projects will be limited.

Second, due to the nature of government projects, once the political focus changes, which often happens alongside elections, the funds could potentially be no longer available, and the community organizations or businesses will be in financial difficulty, particularly small community organisations relying wholly on government funds. This could make it even more impossible to sustain public-private partnerships.

The threshold size of tourist operators

In addition to the temporary nature of the partnership discussed above, the issue of threshold size of tourist operators emerged in practice making the original aim of providing government funds questionable. According to two responses from small B&B operators, it was claimed that they were not informed of the possibility of participating in projects nor assisted by government authorities in terms of promoting their businesses. It was found that there is effectively a threshold size issue that means that only actors with certain capacities, for example, the ability to produce a proposal or to run a project, can access the better partnership arrangements with government authorities.

In rural areas, the scale of the local business or community organisations is often very small. They are often not skilled enough to win the grants from government projects, or even acknowledge or recognise the benefit of the project, so they are unlikely to be able to engage in this project-based partnership to assist tourism development. Besides, the findings from

fieldwork showed that the financial process of the government' project could be an additional barrier to small rural actors. It was mentioned by several community representatives in interviews that in the governments' projects, the claim of the grant generally happened after the project was finished. Thus, if an actor does not have the financial capacity to operate the project on their own to get through the period before the grant is claimed, it could be difficult to sustain the regular operation of the small scale actor. On the other hand, the findings from fieldwork also indicate that once an actor is familiar with the way of government project functions, they can obtain more government resources than any other actors who are not familiar with the system.

The large scale actor is another extreme example of the threshold dimension of the project-based relationship. A large scale operator with adequate capital and skilled employment, for example the Formosan Aboriginal Culture Village, also does not have a strong partnership with government authorities. Since most of the government's projects often involve holding small scale events or providing public infrastructure improvements in certain government identified tourism routes, the large tourism entrepreneurs are usually not interested in getting involved. Since getting funds from government projects means that they should follow exactly the aims stated by the authorities and follow the unavoidable perceived red tape procedure. Consequently, if the entrepreneurs are financially capable of developing tourism business

activities on their own, they would rather not get involved in this kind of partnership with government authorities.

Although the project-based tourism development approach seems to provide equal opportunity to the applicants, there is still a threshold of the application that results in only actors with adequate capacity that are able to win and run projects. This can lead to an inequitable distribution of resources and prevent groups in need of financial support from obtaining it. Either the threshold or the familiarity with the process to access public resources all indicated that the current financial-based public-private relationship is problematic.

The missing role of local government

It was also found that the role of the local government is generally missing in this project-based partnership. The project donors are central government authorities who have resources to provide the funding for tourism development work. In this exclusive project-based partnership, it results in a situation where local government is not part of this negotiation process. A respondent from a township office described the current situation of local government in terms of providing resources to local businesses and communities in tourism works and the use of projects: 'we are not able to provide further support (due to the limited budgets)…they (the private actors) should rely on their own. They can apply (for projects) themselves, since we cannot do it for them.'

The role of local authorities in providing training support, facilitating participation, as well as providing good leadership are considered key factors for successful rural tourism development (Wilson et al, 2001; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; see chapter 3 section 2). The above findings from the fieldwork indicate that the current project-based partnership resulted in the role of local authorities being missed, and this suggests that the project-based partnership could be potentially problematic if the local government fails to deliver the expected role in promoting sustainable rural tourism development.

In summary, as to the first set of research questions, the current tourism-related policy on the sustainable tourism development is believed to have positive outcomes according to the interviewees from the public sector, who highlighted the dramatic increase in the numbers of tourists since 2006 which potentially indicates a successful result of current policy in promoting tourism (Table 9.6).

The strong role of central government in tourism planning results in a dependence of local government on central government's administration and financial resources. This affects the partnerships between the central governments (project donors) and the private actors or local governments (project recipients) as discussed earlier, in that they are temporary partnerships and depend on the threshold size of tourist operators. In addition, the strong central government role in tourism planning also

shapes local identities due to its inflexible principles. Moreover, it neglects the views of local government.

From a theoretical perspective, the above examples indicate that the policy framework, including the extent of individual policy as well as the coordination between them, do not just lead to expected outcomes: the policy framework also has other impacts; in the case studies, the unexpected project-based public-private partnership is an example of this. In this regard, the role of policy in the concept of integrated tourism has strong interrelationships with tourism partnerships as well as the place, which has not been considered in previous integrated tourism studies.

9.4 Tourism Partnership and Collaboration

Tourism incorporates various actors, including a range of government agents and businesses which provide services such as transport, accommodation or entertainment for people who are on holiday. Due to this, the extent of collaboration between tourist stakeholders affects the success of businesses and local development. The second set of research questions below, therefore, explores the influence of tourism partnerships on sustainable local development.

Research question 2: How and to what extent do tourism partnerships affect sustainable rural tourism development?

This research question draws directly from existing tourism research which points out that one of the fundamental mechanisms which support thriving tourism and help it to develop sustainably is the participation and collaboration between key stakeholders within this broad question this research explores two further key issues:

1. What is the extent and character of participation and collaboration between key stakeholders in the case study sites?

2. The effectiveness of the current interrelationship between key stakeholders:

The perceptions of partnership and collaboration between key stakeholders was presented in chapter 7. In the previous section of this chapter, the strong influence of current policy implementation on partnership and cooperation between the government departments has been shown, and it also highlighted the challenging outcomes of the project-based nature of the partnership between central government (donor) and local government, businesses, or community organisations (recipients). This section focuses on the local support networks in the three case study sites, and investigates the interorganisational forms and the operations, and their influence, and then the discussion provides a suggestion regarding a feasible formula of tourism networking in rural areas.

Tourism cooperation in the three case study sites

In order to provide a better comprehensive picture of rural tourism, this research selected three case study from Nantou County that respectively represent three different types of rurality in terms of economically integrated, intermediate, and remote regions (see chapter 4 section 4). Under the same central policy and the administration of Nantou County, the local support networks and the physical environment are essential factors that influence the individual tourism development in each of the case study sites. This section explores the effectiveness of the support networks in each of the case study sites.

The findings in chapter 7 highlighted three different partnership approaches in the three case studies. As demonstrated in chapter 7 section 4, the economic crisis in Puli in the 1990s stimulated collaboration between local industries. The establishment of the Puli Industry Tourism Promotion Association (PITPA) has contributed significantly to extending non-tourist industries into tourism and has promoted further local tourism development. In Yuchih, because tourism development around the Sun Moon Lake has been established for more than three decades, cooperation between local businesses in terms of providing package services is a common marketing strategy applied in tourist promotions (chapter 7 section 4). After the 921 earthquake, the Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area Administration (SNSAA) was established in 2000 to be responsible for tourism reconstruction and recovery work, and assists in facilitating

civic participation. In Renai, the Cingjing Tourism Associations (CJTA) is a local tourist business network. The CJTA was transformed from a community organisation to a tourism promotion network (chapter 7, section 5), which mediates conflicts between local businesses, promotes local tourism and participates in policy formulation.

Table 9.7 summarises the information in relation to the partnership approaches as well as the contributions in order to provide a basis for understanding for the following discussion.

Table 9.7 Tourism Collaboration and Partnerships in the Townships of Puli, Yuchih, and Renai

Township	Puli	Yuchih	Renai
Leading actor in the collaboration	Puli brewery	SNSAA	CJTA
Role	• was a state-owned brewery	• Central government office	• Community organisation
Resource	• Financially supported by the TTL[1] • shared by the 8 members	• Central government funds	• Memberships fee
Members	• 8 local non-tourist industries	• No formal memberships.	• 61 local tourist businesses
Contributions	• Retain original trades of local industries • Promote local tourism	• Provide tourist facilities • Manage physical environment	• Reduce the conflicts between local businesses

source: chapter 5, section 2; chapter 7, section 4 and 5; chapter 9, section4; CJTA, 2008

The Role of Leading Actor

Comparing these three cooperative approaches, it has been shown that the role of the initiator in each network is different. They can be both government and private actors; for example, PITPA is a network

---

[1] Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Corporation (TTL)

consisting of one state-owned brewery and seven local industries; SNSAA is a government administration leading the tourism development and assisting civic participation in the Sun Moon Lake area; CJTA is an association which represents local affiliated tourist businesses, in the interaction with the public sector. These examples illustrate different styles of initiation and operation of tourist support networks. Below is a discussion of the three types of leading role that were played by a directly involved public actor, a partially involved public actor, and a community actor.

-A directly involved public actor

The case of the SNSAA provides a good illustration of the benefit of directly involving a public actor. Due to the fact that the identified National Scenic Areas are a major policy focus in the central Tourism Bureau, SNSAA has provided financial resources [2] and adequate professional personnel to assist the process of civic participation in tourism development work in the Sun Moon Lake area (see chapter 7 section 2; chapter 8 section 3 and section 4). This provides the SNSAA with greater financial advantages than any other local authorities. The SNSAA are able to invest directly in the need for tourism facilities and environment management whilst other local authorities look for and depend on grants from other departments.

---

[2] Take the year 2008 for example, the budget is approximately 56 million NT dollars. (SNSAA, 2010)

As a tourism-specific authority, SNSAA employs skilled personnel to deal with the various professional tasks of the development of tourism, such as environmental planning and management, spatial planning, provision of tourist facilities, and promotion. Additionally, the SNSAA is located in the Sun Moon Lake area itself, thus possessing an understanding of the locality in terms of the needs of the businesses and the environment. This helps to overcome the shortcomings of the local authorities, who lack the resources, and the central authorities, who lack the understanding of the locality, and it further improves the effectiveness of the cooperation with the private sector. A local business operator indicated, in an interview, that he felt their opinions were valued by the SNSAA during the consultations; other interviewees claimed that they always participate in meetings held by the SNSAA or cooperate with the SNSAA on tourist events. This could suggest that the SNSAA plays an important leadership role in tourism networking in the township of Yuchih, and the effectiveness in terms of the public-private interaction encourages civic participation of the local community.

-A partially involved public actor

In the case of PITPA, the state-owned Puli brewery played a key role in this network. First, with the financial support from its owner, the Taiwan Tobacco and Wine Monopoly Bureau, the Puli brewery was able to build an exhibition centre for tourist use in the following year of the establishment of this network; and new wine-processed products, such as

new flavoured wines and wine marinated eggs etc., were also developed for attracting tourism. The exhibition centre and new wine-processed products were a new venture for the Bureau as well as the first seen in Taiwan; which provided an attractive context for the network to promote their products. The result of the tourism-oriented Puli brewery was rated as positive by its superior Bureau. Consequently, this approach pattern was included in the Bureau's future development strategy for its other breweries.

The connection with government authorities was also seen as an advantage along with the Puli brewery being involved as a member. In the second year of the establishment of the network, the Puli brewery was identified as one of the 'top 10 tourism routes of Taiwan' by the central Tourism Bureau. This brought considerable attention from the media to report this policy in the press, which promoted this area without charging the members any advertisement costs.

The difficult access to public resources and the risks connected to investing in tourism were often a crucial barrier, for small rural businesses, to effective network collaboration. The direct initiation and the involvement of the SNSAA and the Puli brewery contributed to reducing these barriers. Therefore, direct public sector involvement is suggested by this research as one of the key factors for the success of tourism collaboration.

-A community initiative leading actor

In Renai, no strong public sector partnership has emerged, as the PITPA case has demonstrated. However, the collaboration of Cingjing Tourism Association (CJTA) and its interactions with other stakeholders can be considered as a major tourism cooperation network.

As the members are tourist businesses, the reliance on tourism development is much stronger than in the PITPA example. A representative of CJTA (interviewee X) believed that tourism development in the Cingjing area is sustainable, because all businesses have invested a considerable amount of money; he stressed 'we *cannot afford to fail.*' In respect of this, the CJTA is actively involved in tourism related public issues. These include participating in policy and legislation formulation seminars and contributing and donating to tourism related events, such as the New Year Eve fireworks display (see chapter 7 section5). CJTA has showed a positive model for a tourism partnership initiated by a community organisation.

A Clear Common Consensus between Members

Drawn from the experience of these three approaches, a clear common consensus between members is the key component of a successful tourism partnership. In the case of PITPA, the network was established at a critical time for all the participants with a shortage of financial resources. They were having long meetings almost every day after work in order to

identify practical approaches to sustain their businesses. In this way they managed to reach a clear common consensus about their goal as well as the allocation of responsibilities to each member.

First, the goal was to diversify and branch out into tourism while at the same time maintaining their original trade (such as brewing, paper manufacture and farming). The emphasis was on their core values which set them apart from others, who might have abandoned their business plans in favour of alternative tourism activities. Second, as the members were from a broad range of businesses, it was necessary to allocate responsibilities. This impacted on the manner of collaboration and prevented the network from parting. The network took advantage of the various backgrounds of the members to provide a whole holiday package service, for example, the tours in the brewery or the paper factory, as well as the provision of meals and accommodation. This offered customers a comprehensive and convenient service, made the stays of customers in Puli longer, and every member had its own specific responsibility and rewards. The clear goal helped the collaborative activities stay on track, and the sensible responsibility allocation set in place guidance of how and what to do for each member to keep the support network running.

A clear common consensus between the members of CJTA, in seeking a surge of tourism business in the Cingjing area, contributed to reducing conflict between trade operators (chapter 7 section 5). This state of affairs saved potential resources which might have been needed for lawsuits, and

which were used instead on the improvement of the physical environment. For example, in 2008, the CJTA successfully proposed that the resources from the government be invested in the maintenance of roads and the supply of water (interviewee X).

The Further Influence of PITPA, SNSAA, and CJTA on Tourism Development

Being the first tourism network in Taiwan, and also including members not directly involved in tourism, PITPA created a further significant influence on tourism collaboration at a broader scale. After an effort of more than ten years, the collaboration pattern of PITPA has been applied to include the creation of new innovative tourism products, and the formulation of a larger scale partnership.

The collaborative content of PITPA was not just limited to the comprehensive holiday service. They also took the advantage of having various members to create new products. The member brewery and the member restaurant co-created a 'Shaohsing rice wine banquet', a theme banquet using Shaohsing rice wine (the speciality of Puli brewery) as the main ingredient or seasoning. This banquet is now very popular with tourists. The price of the banquet is twenty times the price of a bottle of Shaohsing rice wine, which is believed to be a successful value-added product in business and tourism terms. This example provides an idea of the potential of collaboration which could be also applied to create innovative products between different businesses. New elements of

collaboration have started to be established between PITPA members and actors from outside the network. The paper factory cooperates with local artists on new paper products, for example, post cards, or further collaboration with a local restaurant to create an art decorated dish.

The success of the PITPA is acknowledged by both the public and private sectors. Since 2009 a larger scale tourism partnership has emerged in the Puli area. Due to the fact that the Sun Moon Lake is the most-visited site in Nantou county, particularly due to the significant increase of Chinese tourists (Table 9.3), as well as the Cingjing area that is also well-known by domestic tourists, further collaboration aims to extend the scale of collaboration to the surrounding townships, and the members include local businesses, a university (Chinan University), Nantou County and the Puli township office. In December 2009, there were a series of seminars co-hosted by the university and local authorities. The businesses from the surrounding townships (including the townships of Yuchih, Renai, and Gousing) as well as academic experts were invited to discuss potential tourism collaboration opportunities in the 'Great Puli Area'. These seminars provided networking opportunities and aimed to seek out common interests/ issues for expanding partnerships, but it is too early to judge whether they will have an impact as this is a very recent development.

A number of key issues have emerged from the previous discussion. Direct support from the government is important for a destination's

development. Jamal and Getz (1995) point out that the important role of 'a convener (leading actor)' is to initiate and facilitate tourism collaboration, which is one of the key characteristics of successful synergies, between actors from both the public and private sectors, in tourism planning. This leading role can be played by a government authority, a business firm or a special interest group. As it emerges from the findings, the three case studies have shown three different types of leading actors in the collaboration network: an onsite tourism-specific central government agent (SNSAA) in Yuchih, an industry alliance (PITPA) in Puli, and a tourism organisation (CJTA) in Renai.

The case of SNSAA provides a positive example of the direct involvement of a central government office, in the area, to invest in and manage tourism development, contributing effectively thanks to the advantages of adequate finance and professional personnel. Additionally, the fact that SNSAA is located on site and has frequent interaction with local businesses and residents it can avoid the potential problem of losing local identity, when tourism development strongly depends on central government. Regarding the PITPA, the Puli brewery, as a state-owned public actor, brought many intangible advantages to the success of the area, such as the capacity to access public resources and the connection with government authorities. This is another example of the benefits of government intervention.

Furthermore, regarding the role of government authorities in tourism development, this research suggests that public sector members should not be seen only as resource providers, controlling managers or information platforms, but as active participants, equal to other participants in the whole collaboration process, from setting goals to taking action. On the other hand, the role of an interventionist government can also be played by a non-government actor. In the case of CJTA, the ability to reduce the conflicts between its members and participate in public affairs has already been demonstrated. This suggests that if an organisation, such as an NGO or a private company, is capable of accessing financial resources and employing professionals in tourism, it may also deliver a similar function as the SNSAA and PITPA, in terms of tourism collaboration.

However, the role of the local government appears negligible in the three case studies, even though such a role in this type of collaboration is often stressed in the literature (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006). This might be a consequence of their need for the financial resources necessary to initiate collaboration work, or because of the dependence on central government administration and funds. Another explanation for the passive local government role registered in local collaboration networks could be a fear of showing preference for any particular private business. Two local authority interviewees mentioned that if they actively promoted a public-private partnership with any particular private operator, providing

government support without a statutory policy or plan through project, this might lead to criticism stemming from a lack of neutrality, as they do not treat all businesses equally. However, as indicated in the interview responses, this might be further proof for the inadequate flexibility of policy enforcement, and the fact that local governments do not acknowledge their responsibilities for the development of tourism (Pigram, 1993; Butler, 1999).

In conclusion, tourism incorporates various players, including a range of government agents and businesses, providing visitors with services such as transport, accommodation or entertainment; the extent of the collaboration between tourism stakeholders clearly affects commercial success and local development. This section provides empirical evidence of tourism partnerships in certain rural areas in Taiwan; their effects have been shown, such as sharing resources or information between partners and exploring new markets. Particularly, the introduction of PITPA avoided the closure of a local factory and provided new economic opportunities. Not only did this prevent further serious rural decline, but it also contributed to sustaining local development.

Thanks to the examples of SNSAA and PITPA, the advantages of involving a public actor in promoting local tourism have been stressed. However, local authorities are yet to actively enhance public involvement with local businesses, because of scarcity of financial resources and fear of criticism. This shows that the public sector has not acknowledged the

potential of the promotion of sustainable rural development; therefore, the attitude of the public sector and the formulation of tourism policies do not constitute a basis or a framework that allows related authorities to pursue further public-private collaboration.

9.5 Place

After the consideration of issues of tourism policy implementation and the partnership between stakeholders in relation to sustainability, this section aims to focus on the third set of research questions, issues in relation to place.

Research question 3: To what extent does the place affect and be affected by tourism development, and how these relate to SRTD?

This section addresses the special features of the three case study sites in terms of contributions or obstacles to sustainable development, according to perspectives of economic, environmental, and socio-cultural dimensions. In addition, as discussed in the literature review (chapter 3 section 5), in order to achieve the goal of sustainable development, tourism development should be integrated with place, policy and partnership; issues regarding the integration of these elements are explored in the latter part of this section.

Based on the review of literature in chapter 3 section 5, the discussion of place contains the issues of the recognition of local capital and its

interdependent relationship with tourism development. Local capital refers to both natural and socio-cultural resources. The natural resources, for example, include the natural or idyllic rural landscape; in the case study sites of this research, the Sun Moon Lake in Yuchih and the mountainous landscape in Renai possess a highly recognised identity of place in promoting tourism. The socio-cultural resources which have been recognised in the fieldwork include invested tourism resorts (e.g. The Formosa Aboriginal Village), the use of local special culture (e.g. the indigenous performances in Renai), or local speciality products (e.g. the Shaoshing rice wine products in Puli), events and festivals (e.g. the annual black tea season in Yuchih and the Nantou flower festival), or policy outcomes (e.g. long-stay tourism or the factory tours). In addition, the issues of local sustainable development are assessed according to the perception of stakeholders as suggested in the literature (Garrod et al., 2006; Saarinen, 2006; Cawley & Gillmor, 2008b; Krutwaysho & Bramwell, 2010). Table 9.8 provides a brief outline from the findings, which demonstrates local resources for tourism development, tourism impacts and barriers to sustainable development in the three case study sites for developing discussions of the interrelationship between place and issue of sustainability. A comparison draws from these data and aims to demonstrate and conceptualise the different features of tourism in relation to sustainable rural development in the context of different local features.

Table 9.8 The Matrix of Local Capital and Tourism Development

	Local Capital		Outcomes of Tourism Development (organised from chapter 8)		
	Natural Resources	**Socio-cultural resources**	**Contributions**	**Impacts**	**Barrier**
Puli		-special local industries industry tourism -annual flower festival -long stay tourism	-cultural conservation -maintaining local industries -no official planning permission granted for polluting factories	-traffic problem during tourism peak times	-the lack of a clear local identities -the need of tourism facilities
Yuchih	-Sun Moon Lake	-tourism theme resort (Formosa aboriginal culture resort) -the black tea season	-promotion of tea products -generating extra incomes for small businesses (B&Bs and restaurants)	-traffic problems during tourism peak times	-the lack of community tourist businesses -the lack of tourism activities -limited land for expanding tourist business by the Sun Moon Lake
Renai	-mountainous landscape -hot springs in Lusan	-Cingjing farm -indigenous culture performance/ products -the New Year Eve event and the display of firework	-generating extra incomes and job opportunities (B&Bs and restaurants) -cultural conservation	-traffic problem during tourism peak times -unplanned development in environmentally fragile areas	-the lack of community tourist businesses -the threats of natural hazards -the lack of clear indigenous identities -the lack of tourism activities -natural Hazards -the need of tourism facilities -limited land to expanding tourism businesses

source: derived from chapters 6, 7and 8

Comparing the townships, as we move from the economically integrated areas (Puli) to the remote areas (Renai) of this spectrum, we can see that the amount and the variety of economic activities gradually decreases while the dependence on natural resources gradually increases. According to the findings, the more remote areas have less human development and more undeveloped landscapes, which contributes to providing a clear image of the locality for tourism marketing; for example, the Sun Moon Lake and the mountainous landscape of Renai are cases in point, whereas Puli, due to lack of a distinctive landscape, still struggles to identify one single iconic image to represent its various tourist resources.

A distinctive local identity is believed to contribute to marketing the rural areas (Ray, 1998; Roberts & Hall, 2001); however, in order to profit from tourism, there are many investments required. These investments include infrastructure development, provision of tourist facilities, retail shops and leisure activity services. Due to the fact that the available local capital is different in the three case study sites, tourism development in the more remote rural areas also means that there is a need for more investment in developing tourism. In the case studies, policy mainly provides local tourism development with tourism events, such as the annual flower festival (in Nantou County) or the black tea festival (Table 9.8). The public sector in the interviews claimed that this is an easily attainable approach to promoting local tourism, when the source of financial support is not in place. Meanwhile, the responses obtained from the private sector and

residents show dissatisfaction with the provision of tourist facilities as well as its poor quality, which many interviewees considered as obstacles to current sustainable rural development (see chapter 8, and Table 9.7). This relates to all parts of the rural continuum spectrum, and particularly stressed by the interviewees from the more remote areas, such as Renai. This shows that the possession of natural resources does not guarantee the effective promotion and profits of tourism development. There is still need for sufficient investment from both the public and the private sectors.

In addition to the effect of place on tourism, the discussion on the effects of tourism on place is a further focus in this section. Chapter 8 has presented these effects according to the concerns of the environmental, economic, and socio-cultural aspects of sustainable development. These findings show that local stakeholders perceived minor negative impacts of tourism on place. Traffic problems during the tourism peak times was the only concern raised in all the interviews in the three case study sites. In addition, due to the natural geographic features, Renai is sensitive to natural hazards (chapter 8 section 4). This underlines the fact that the implementation of spatial planning or strategies, and environmental management is crucial to environmentally sensitive areas where tourism is expected to develop. However, these planning or strategies still remain largely absent in current tourism policy and planning frameworks according to the documents reviewed in chapter 5.

In terms of economic concerns, as indicated in chapter 8 section3, tourism

in the three case study sites has a major effect on sustaining rural development, through job generation, increasing incomes and facilitating local employment opportunities, and promoting local products. Consequently, tourism is seen as directly benefiting local people (chapter 8 section 3). However, the findings also show that the amount of profit that has been generated by tourism can only improve the financial situations of rural families and cannot contribute significantly to the growth of the local economy. In the three case study sites, interviewees from Renai and Yuchih are more positive about the economic benefits and confirmed that there are more job opportunities generated by tourism in Yuchih and Renai than in Puli. This research suggests that tourism contributes to local economy in the three case sites, but the scale of the contribution is limited; additionally, the findings also suggested that the economic benefits to rural families is more significant in the more remote areas, which have been in a more difficult financial situation, than in the more economically integrated areas which have more functional and diversified economies to support its development.

In terms of the socio-cultural impacts, the findings show that interviewees in the three case sites generally all have positive attitudes. As shown in chapter 8, the business opportunities brought by tourism provides a motivation for the government authorities and businesses to provide financial support or expert consultancy in cultural conservation work. The cases of Xuen paper production skill in Puli, black tea and pottery in

Yuchih, and the indigenous dance and handicrafts in Renai are all cases in point (chapter 8 section 2). Therefore, the findings indicate that with the contribution of tourism, the traditional industries are able to be sustained, and this prevents traditional skills from disappearing.

Generally, the literature raises concerns about socio-cultural impacts of tourism development including the change of value systems, original lifestyles, and social relationships (see chapter 2 section 4). Surprisingly, none of the responses in the interviews expressed concerns over these issues (chapter 8 section 2). The interviewees noted that changes have emerged in their daily life, such as the way of making a living or the use of internet, but they do not perceive these as the consequences of tourism development. Some respondents explained this is because of the fact that under the influence of globalisation and advanced technology which connect everywhere through the internet or via short commuting time, it is hard to maintain a 'traditional' lifestyle (interviewees T, U & Y). With respect to the more frequent and quicker way for people in rural areas to interact with the outside world, this could be a positive impact 'opening up the possibility of interactions with other places and reducing the social isolation' (Hall et al., 2003, p.6; see discussions in chapter 2 section 4). The promotion of long-stay tourism in Puli (see chapter 6 section 4) is an example that clearly supports this positive outcome resulting from the increasing interactions with the outside world due to tourism development. According to the perceptions of the interviewees, rural buildings as well as

the life style of rural areas have gradually changed with the progress of time. These changes just happen to rural areas as they happen to any other place in the world. In Renai, the indigenous community representative (interviewees U & Y, chapter 8) argued that there are other factors such as government interference[3], a continuing outward migration for job opportunities and the majority culture influence in addition to the general evolution of the society, that has led to changes in their traditional life style, including the style of housing and dress and their way of life during the past century. Consequently, their village is not distinct from other ordinary rural communities. In this regard, this research suggests that the socio-cultural changes found in the case studies areas are the consequence of various external and internal factors, rather than solely resulting from tourism development.

In the three case study sites, tourism development appears predominantly dependant on the efforts of local small businesses and community organisations. The local tourism alliance, for example, CJTA which promoted collaboration among local tourism businesses and public sector, and PITPA which developed specialised local tourism industries, has contributed a significant influence on local tourism development. In addition, many community organisations, which were established due to the needs of the reconstruction work of the 921 earthquake in 1999, have gradually moved the focus from recovery work to tourism development

---

[3] The whole village was forced to relocate for the government control reason (chapter 8 section 2).

(chapter 7 section 5). The positive attitudes of local stakeholders towards further tourism development and the strong level of local involvement in tourism development that has been shown in the findings is often emphasised as a crucial element in achieving sustainable development. In this respect, although there have been significant changes in traditional lifestyles and physical environments, this research finds it is difficult to conclude that tourism development in the case study sites has made any significant negative impacts on socio-cultural sustainability. From the local stakeholder's perceptions of tourism, these changes mean progress, in which most of them enjoy the benefits brought about from the continued growth of their daily lives, whereas conversely for people from outside these areas, the preservation of original 'idyll' of rurality might be more preferable. This finding accords with Wheeller (2005, p.226) regarding the difficulties in achieving 'true' sustainable development due to the fact that people tend to selectively place their own values on sustainable development. Different values between people results in controversy over perceiving the sustainability of the same thing. As there are different interests or concerns between people, this difficulty in assessing SD can be found particularly in assessing the socio-cultural perspective of SD.

The assessment of environmental issues seems more tangible than the socio-cultural perspectives, although, there are also controversial points of view between people that still remain a challenge. This can be found in the tourism literature that identifies many concerns over environmental

exploitation, whereas the empirical findings showed that local people currently are only concerned about the traffic congestion due to the development of tourism rather than any broader concern about environmental exploitation. In respect of this, policy and planning frameworks are expected to provide a scientific understanding of the environmental capacity and a sensible allocation of resources and development in areas in order to achieve sustainable local development. In particular policies and planning framework at the local level should address these issues in detail. However, as the review of current tourism-related policies and planning in chapter 5 indicate there is still a gap between current policy and this expectation. The planning at the local level merely sets several tourist specific land uses in its zoning plan but still lacks any consideration of the limits of development and the concerns of potential of natural hazards, and the enforcement of government power when new development takes place that is contrary to the plan (chapter 5 section 4). Therefore, some local stakeholders are concerned that unplanned development and natural hazards, such as typhoons, will potentially have major impacts on tourism development in the case study sites, particularly in the more sensitive environment, such as Renai. Furthermore, due to the complex nature of rural tourism management as demonstrated in chapter 5 section 5 and the drawbacks of the current policy framework as discussed in chapter 9 section 3, this research suggests that local planning should provide a coordination mechanism in

order to overcome the overlapping and complex issues in rural management.

This section has examined the interdependency of tourism development and place in terms of the use of local capital and the effects of tourism. The natural resources of place contributes to providing attractions for tourists and a distinctive local identity for tourism marketing; but in order to profit from tourism, the investment in providing tourism facilities, leisure services, or tourism products are the means for achieving this. The effects of tourism in terms of sustainable tourism development in the three case study sites generally showed positive contributions and only very minor negative impacts, according to the perceptions of key stakeholders. This positive perception of tourism and local sustainability could be the consequence of a high level of tourism development initiative by local businesses and communities.

Furthermore, this section also has examined the interdependency between tourism and place, the involvement of the local community, and policy that controls the use of resources and the level of development. This understanding, along with the previous discussions on the project-based public-private partnerships (section 3) and three types of business support network (section 4), provides a contextualised understanding of integrated tourism, and explains the correlations between the three key components, policy, partnership and place, in sustainable rural development, known as the 3 Ps concept of integrated tourism .

9.6 Rural tourism and Sustainable Rural Development

Based on the findings and the discussion demonstrated in the previous chapters and earlier in this chapter, this section draws on discussions from the three case sites and considers the effects of tourism development on rural areas.

A review of the literature in chapter 2 highlighted that the crisis in recent rural development, for example, agricultural decline, demographic change, and the emerging conflict between environment development or preservation. During the fieldwork, interviewees from rural communities and local authorities expressed their concerns regarding the crisis pertaining to rural development, particularly on the issue of population loss and demographic change. A community representative stressed that she had an expectation of local tourism in terms of the generation of jobs, which she considered as an essential element of sustainable rural development. *'Only (if) the young generation stays (in the community), can the pressures of elderly care be alleviated and the cultural traditions be passed down to subsequent generations'* (interviewee Q).

The economic downturn is a key consideration that results in the working age population migration. The economic contribution of tourism has been demonstrated in the findings section through the perceptions of key stakeholders in the case study sites. Although tourism contributes to the securing of current jobs (in the Puli case), generating jobs (in the Yuchih

and Renai case), and creation of female employment in rural communities (in all case study sites), and these contributions are improving the financial situation of some rural families, and from the PITPA case, tourism may decrease or stem rural decline. However, the main economy in the three case study sites still remains based on agriculture. This finding has come from Puli, Yuchih, and Renai, the rural towns which already have certain levels of tourism development. In other rural towns which have less tourism development, the expectation of tourism as a new economy to solve the current rural crises is much less realistic.

Table 9.9 provides a summary of the findings of the contributions of tourism, which the local key stakeholders considered as positively contributing to sustainable rural development (according to findings presented in chapter 8), and in the other column are the perceptions of the current rural crisis that emerged from both the interviews and the secondary data review. Comparing the contributions and the current rural crisis, it shows a gap between them, which suggests the limited level of influence on solving rural problems by developing tourism. For example, the current rural crisis from the socio-cultural perspective is the loss of working age population, whereas the contribution of tourism is on successful traditional conservation. From the economic perspective, tourism contributes to securing current job opportunities and generating new ones. According to the responses obtained in fieldwork, they did not feel that the scale of this job generation by tourism can compensate for the

loss due to the scale of economic decline in rural areas. In terms of the environmental perspective, tourism development contributes to some minor improvements in say for example street cleanliness in the case study sites, but this does not ease the serious problems caused by the potential of natural hazards.

Table 9.9 Issues in tourism development and the sustainable rural development

	Contributions of tourism to SRD	Current issues in Sustainable rural development
Socio-cultural	- Financial support for cultural and traditional skill conservation	• Demographic change • Population loss
Economic	- Jobs generation - Extra income of original trade (for local industries) - Extra income for leisure farms - Valued-added agricultural products -	• Economic decline • Agricultural decline
Environmental	- The cleanliness of streets/ communities - Landscape engineering	• Natural hazards (typhoons, and floods, mudslides

Since the main economy in rural areas remains in agriculture, and the findings of this research indicate that rural tourism development still largely depends on the images and products of agriculture, which in turn implies that tourism cannot replace the original trade. In order to promote sustainable rural development, the focus perhaps should be on improving the agricultural sector or seeking diversification of the rural economy rather than solely promoting tourism, otherwise linking tourism and sustainable local development can just be a form of wishful thinking as the real problems in rural area will still remain (Butler, 1998; Hall et al., 2003). Therefore, even though the perceptions of key stakeholders showed positive viewpoints on the contribution of tourism to sustainable rural

development, this research provides a warning regarding the over expectation of tourism and the underestimation of the contribution of agriculture in promoting sustainable rural development.

Another aspect of rural crisis suggested in the literature (Verbole, 1997; Butler et al., 1998, Hall et al., 2003) was conflicts between stakeholders regarding the development and preservation of the rural environment; however, this was not found in the three case study sites. Perhaps this could be considered a consequence of a high level of community involvement and/or the collaboration between businesses in tourism development, that local communities have reached a common consensus in developing tourism or by directly benefiting from tourism. Or it might be because tourism development is still in its early stages and serious negative impacts have not yet emerged. Or that the economic priority still takes over other considerations while rural residents struggle to make living.

Among these considerations, this research suggests that tourism can be an answer to rural development, particularly when the focus is on a destination development, as the findings indicate several possible contributions, such as new job generation and the selling of local agricultural products. Nevertheless, tourism is not the sole answer to sustainable rural development in response to the scale of the current rural crisis. A broader concern of sustainable rural development considers the level of tourist economic activities in the whole economy and the issues of

316

the irreplaceable role of agriculture and the natural environment in developing rural tourism. Sustainable rural development requires more research and planning in seeking a balance between human development and natural environmental preservation; the emphasis on agriculture, and perhaps, also the collective decisions made by the people who are responsible for the environment.

Chapter 10 Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

This thesis has aimed to provide an understanding of the state of current rural tourism development in Taiwan, and has analysed issues in relation to tourism and sustainable rural development from both a theoretical and empirical perspective. In order to obtain a theoretical understanding on this topic, this research proposed a model, which consisted of three key factors in promoting sustainable rural tourism development, namely policy, partnership, and place. In this model, the three elements are connected by their interactions; the contextualisation of these sustainable development components and the interrelations between them forms the body of this research. Three case studies in Puli, Yuchih, and Renai in Nantou County in Taiwan provide the empirical evidence to illustrate the nature of contemporary tourism development in Taiwan and issues around sustainable development.

This final chapter is designed to do three things; firstly to summarise the conclusions of this research topic by drawing on some of the main findings of the research; secondly to consider the potential contribution and limitations of this research; and finally, to conclude by considering the implications of the findings of the thesis and providing some suggestions for further investigation in this important area of study (section 4).

10.2 Main Findings

As noted in this research, due to the interdependence of various stakeholders and the multifaceted nature of tourism, understanding tourism in promoting sustainable development in rural areas is a complex task. In order to overcome this difficulty, this research suggests an investigation approach, which considers policy, partnership, and place as three key components of promoting sustainable tourism and local development, and based on this, this research has examined tourism development in Puli, Yuchih, and Renai towns in Taiwan to obtain the necessary empirical evidence.

The findings show that current tourism development in the case study sites has generally facilitated local development and appears to contribute to sustainable development. These positive outcomes of tourism development that have been found in the fieldwork include providing the motivation for cultural conservation and generating job opportunities which have contributed to improving local sustainability from a social-cultural and economic perspective. From the environmental perspective, in order to promote tourism, local authorities and residents have both contributed to improving the quality of the environment. Due to these positive effects of tourism, all the key stakeholders in the interviews expressed that they perceived current tourism development as improving local development. Meanwhile, several barriers of achieving sustainable rural tourism development also emerged during the

investigation. These included the lack of clear local identity, the need for tourism facilities, the provision of tourism services, and the threats of natural hazards.

The examination on policy, partnership and place in this research provides an understanding and suggestions on current rural tourism for dealing with these barriers and improving the level of sustainable development. Tourism-related policies and planning in Taiwan show a strong central government influence on local tourism development. At one level, this appears to indicate a high level of interest of central government in promoting tourism. As long as the private sector or local authorities are familiar with these policies and are able to cooperate with central government, the current policies have supposedly provided sufficient support in terms of local tourism development. At another level, the strong role of central government affects the collaboration approach between central government (the project donors) and the private or local government actors (the project recipients), which only appears to facilitate temporary partnerships and the effectiveness of these is dependent on the threshold size of tourist operators. Moreover, it was found that the dependence on central government funding limits innovation and cannot contribute to building distinctive identities of place due to the strong control from the centre.

In respect of the second element, partnership, particularly between the tourism businesses themselves, appears to be cooperative and positively impacts on commercial success and local development. Three main tourism

networks, the PITPA, SNSAA, and CJTA, in all the three case study sites have been examined, all of which contribute to tourism development by sharing resources or information between partners and exploring new markets. The role of local authorities in partnerships and collaborative arrangements, however, was found to be weak because of scarcity of financial resources and the fear of criticism due to a perceived lack of neutrality in governance. This indicates a need for local authorities to be aware of their responsibilities in developing local tourism, particularly with respect to promoting sustainable development.

The investigation on place suggests the need for local tourism planning which sensibly allocates investment and indicates the limits of development of place. The findings from the perspective of place show that both the use of natural resources and the investment of place are crucial to sustainable tourism development, particularly from a local economic consideration; because although natural resources can provide attractions for tourism development, in order for local communities to profit from tourism, it is important to invest in tourism products or leisure services. On the other hand, in terms of the effects of tourism on place, as mentioned previously, most of the stakeholders perceived tourism as contributing more positive outcomes than the negative ones. The supportive attitudes towards tourism development from local communities and the absence of tourism planning highlight a concern if the economic priority takes over in future development.

Meanwhile, there are still doubts about the positive outcomes of tourism in terms of sustaining rural development, when considering the extent and scale of current rural problems, such as the decreasing population or agricultural decline that have been found in the case study areas, the contributions of tourism to sustainable rural development remained limited overall.

From a theoretical perspective, a strong interrelationship between the factors of policy, partnership and place in tourism development has also appeared in these discussions. For example, tourism policy affects tourism development approaches, the pattern of tourism partnership, and even the iconic images of the place. Meanwhile, in order to promote sustainable development, several forms of partnership are required, including business networking, community involvement and public-private sector collaboration. In respect of enhancing the level of local control, government support, training and a clear collaboration mechanism are expected to be provided by tourism-related policy for increasing the capacity of tourist businesses and communities in tourism collaboration. In addition, policy and planning also need to ensure a balance between the use of local resources and future development. These influential correlations between policy, partnership, and place that emerged from the empirical findings evidently support the integrated tourism concept proposed by this research, and the 3 Ps (the policy, partnership and place) concept has provided a investigation approach for future studies to understand the correlation between tourism and sustainable local development.

10.3 Contributions and Limitations of the Thesis

This thesis has examined and analysed the characteristics and issues in relation to current tourism in three rural towns in Taiwan, and has examined the relationship between tourism and sustainable development. The discussions are addressed based on the empirical findings from the fieldwork, using a qualitative approach. The use of a qualitative case study as well as the analysis of the perceptions of the key stakeholders, helped to provide an interpretation that can reflect the socio-cultural and political context in which tourism development takes place. It is considered an effective means to address the research questions of this thesis, because this reflects the background context and enhances the explanation of characteristics of rural tourism in Taiwan. As there has been little research investigating rural tourism in Taiwan from a sustainable rural development perspective, this research contributes to the literature in providing the first empirical understanding of rural tourism in Taiwan.

In addition, by extending the existing integrated tourism concept, this research seeks to contribute to the literature in identifying the 3 Ps (policy, partnership and place) concept of integrated tourism. This model enables research to analyse and interpret the complex causes and effects between these key factors (the 3Ps) in promoting sustainable rural tourism and local development. In this regard, this research contributes to the literature from both empirical and theoretical perspectives.

A limitation of the research here is that the discussion is predominantly addressed at the local level. Although this research examined tourism-related policies and planning from local to national levels in Taiwan and obtained responses from interviewees in central government authorities and two non-localised organisations (see appendix 3), the analysis in this research still mainly relies on the perceptions of local stakeholders. The notion of sustainable development is centred on the local-global nexus; however, tourism studies often address the issues from a destination perspective (Saarinen, 2006; p1125&1133; Wheeller, 2005). This generates a challenge to this research in the discussion regarding evaluation of tourism outcomes to sustainable development. The perceived successful sustainable local tourism may be not also be successful in contributing to sustainable development at a higher spatial level, such as a global scale. Whilst the data collection was basically obtained from a local, destination scale, reflecting or linking these findings and addressing them at a higher level, such as a national or global nexus, is a key limitation of this thesis

10.4 Research Implications and Suggestions for Future Research

This research has clear implications for policy formulation. Based on the examination of various tourism-related policy and planning mechanisms conducted as part of this research, it was found that the sector-specific policies in Taiwan have been well developed in terms of promoting tourism; for example, the Council of Agriculture and its leisure tourism policies. However,

there is a need to establish a better coordination mechanism at an organisational and policy level, particularly between the central and local level, to clarify the responsibilities, to increase the effectiveness of policy implementation, and to enhance the operation of tourism partnerships. Additionally, once tourism has been considered as a main development focus of a place, there is a need for the establishment of long-term planning, which identifies local resources and indicates the limits of development with the consideration of needs in tourism and the principle of sustainable development.

In terms of the theoretical implications of this research, the 3 Ps integrated tourism model used in this research has provided a contextualized understanding of this new investigation approach. This research suggests that the more research can contribute to the implementation of this model in terms of conducting case studies with different geographic and socio-cultural features in order to enhance understanding of the use of this model as well as obtaining insights of the interactions between the 3 Ps. Research which adopts quantitative methods is also encouraged by this research in order to further develop the 3 Ps integrated tourism model as a concept of investigating tourism and sustainable development.

In addition, observing the tourism development in the three case studies, particularly the three separate partnership approaches, it has shown that each was affected by contingency rather than being planned and informed by policy. The use of a qualitative case study arrangement, as well as the analysis of the

perceptions of the key stakeholders towards their partnership, helped the present work to provide an interpretation that can reflect the socio-cultural and political context. A continued observation of these three case studies is suggested, as it is advisable to explore their further development, when the partnerships are about to enter the next phase of collaboration and the changes in tourism development in the case study sites, particularly with regard the impacts of the soaring numbers of Chinese tourists since 2009.

Table 4.1 The Area, Population and Employment Statistic in 16 Counties of Taiwan

County	Area	Population		Employment				Rural characteristic in physical terms		
	Area	Population	Density	Employed	Structure of employment			Percentage of	Percentage of	Farm +
	km²	Population	per km²	Population	in Agricultural	in Industry Sectors	in Service Sectors	Farm Area	Forest Area	Forest
				(*1000)	Sectors (%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Taipei	2052.5667	3767095	1835.31	1776	0.64	37.56	61.8	15.57%	67.98%	83.55%
Yilan	2143.6251	460426	214.79	214	6.18	32.64	61.17	12.73%	76.44%	89.17%
Taoyuan	1220.954	1911161	1565.3	876	1.75	46.29	51.95	31.62%	34.59%	66.21%
Hsinchu	1427.5931	487692	341.62	214	3.74	52.51	43.75	20.70%	68.32%	89.02%
Miaoli	1820.3149	559986	307.63	256	5.68	45.87	48.45	18.87%	67.09%	85.96%
Taichung	2051.4712	1543436	752.36	715	5.27	47.42	47.3	24.33%	52.31%	76.64%
Changhua	1074.396	1315034	1223.98	596	9.91	45.17	44.92	59.58%	5.52%	65.10%
● Nantou	4106.436	535205	130.33	250	18.27	30.48	51.24	16.21%	72.65%	88.86%
Yunlin	1290.8326	728490	564.36	335	21.72	32.13	46.14	62.61%	12.29%	74.90%
Chiayi	1901.675	553841	291.24	260	22.45	32.3	45.25	39.34%	43.81%	83.15%
Tainan	2016.0075	1106690	548.95	531	12.83	41.98	45.18	45.66%	20.40%	66.06%
Kaohsiung	2792.6744	1245474	445.98	598	7.14	42.56	50.3	17.85%	61.80%	79.65%
Pingtung	2775.6003	893544	321.93	400	16.61	28.64	54.74	26.81%	52.88%	79.69%
Taitung	3515.2526	235957	67.12	108	20.78	25.32	53.9	13.63%	79.72%	93.35%
Hualien	4628.5714	345303	74.6	161	10.73	23.8	65.47	10.00%	77.72%	87.72%
Penghu	126.8641	91785	723.49	36	6.62	18.94	74.44	45.48%	1.66%	47.14%

source: National Statistics 2006

Table 4.2 The Population and Agriculture, Industry statistic in Nantou County

		population			Agriculture										Industry	
	Area (km²)	People	Density person/km2		Paddy Field	Upland Field	Cultivated Area	Cultivated land/total km² (%)		Rice produce (metric ton)		Tea Produce (metric ton)		Fishing	Factory Density factory/km² N/km²	
				*					*		*		*			*
Nantou city	71.6	105506	1473.5	1	769.02	2681.98	3,451.00	48.20	6	3116	3	373	5	9	9.36	1
●Puli	162.22	86684	534.35	3	3053.65	4195.75	7,249.40	44.69	7	736	5	35	11	1,279	1.26	3
Caotun	104.03	99752	958.85	2	2915.51	2131.96	5,047.47	48.52	4	17714	1	3	13	48	3.35	2
Jhushan	247.33	59415	240.22	6	1755.9	3131.57	4,887.47	19.76	11	2959	4	2728	2	39	1.06	5
Jiji	49.73	12216	245.66	5	473.17	2109.6	2,582.77	51.94	3	99	9	11	12	63	0.3	7
Mingjian	83.1	41910	504.36	4	1348.71	4053.37	5,402.08	65.01	1	3278	2	4900	1	11	1.07	4
Lugu	141.9	19761	139.26	9	789.88	2119.72	2,909.60	20.50	10	600	6	1565	3	52	0.06	10
Jhongliao	146.65	16763	114.3	11	416.4	8344.64	8,761.04	59.74	2	-	-	64	10	4	0.02	11
●Yuchih	121.37	17422	143.54	8	1146.27	1868.92	3,015.19	24.84	9	-	-	368	6	1,758	0.19	8
Guosing	175.7	21776	123.94	10	1022.1	7456.61	8,478.71	48.26	5	23	10	265	7	18	0.07	9
Shueili	106.84	21273	199.11	7	403.63	3339.13	3,742.76	35.03	8	112	8	94	9	79	0.33	6
Sinyi	1442.42	17222	12.11	13	569.11	3033.51	3,602.62	2.50	13	-	-	261	8	42	0	12
●Renai	1273.53	15505	12.17	12	481.49	6952.15	7,433.64	5.84	12	371	7	966	4	103	0	-

source: National Statistics, 2006　　(*ranking)

Topic Schedules

These topic schedules were designed according to the three main groups of research questions that were devised for this research. Four different topic schedules below (No1-No4) were produced for interviewing the four different types of actors, i.e. central government, local government, business owners, and community organisations & NGOs.

Topic schedule (No.1)	for central government authorities

1. Introduction:
    - Give a brief introduction of my thesis and an explanation as to why the questions will be asked
    - Advise that this interview will be only for my PhD and all information given will be treated in confidence
    - Request permission to record the interview

2. The role of your office in relation to tourism development
    - What affairs are you responsible for in relation to tourism development (eg. events holding, funding farmers, tourism policy formulation)?

3. Views on tourism policy
    - What is your office's main focus in current tourism policy (eg. Funding farmers to run tourism business? Visa issuing? International tourism promotion?)
    - Do you think current tourism policy has a clear vision for tourism development? Does it have implementation strategies? Does it contribute to sustainability? Please give specific examples (eg. successfully increasing the numbers of visitors)?
    - In your view, what are the barriers of current policy in terms of

sustainable tourism and local development?

- In your view, what can be done to improve current policy in terms of contributing to sustainable tourism and local development?

4. Views on cooperation and networking
   - What mechanisms are used by your office to cooperate with local authorities?
   - Does your office provide clear mechanisms or legislation to cooperate with local authorities?
   - What could be done to improve the mechanisms?

5. Views on environmental impacts
   - What is your view on tourism impacts (positive and/or negative) on the destination area? *(only answer it if your position is responsible for this issue)*
   - Do you think current policy or strategy can limit negative impacts and manage the quality of the destination area effectively?

6. Views on tourism industry
   - Do you think current tourism development in rural areas is sustainable? Why?
   - What could be done to improve the sustainability of tourism and destination development?

7. Final thoughts
   Is there anything else you wish to add?

END OF INTERVIEW

1. Introduction:
   - Give a brief introduction of my thesis and an explanation as to why the questions will be asked
   - Advise that this interview will be only for my PhD and all information given will be treated in confidence.
   - Request permission to record the interview

2. The role of your office in relation to tourism development
   - What affairs are you responsible for in relation to tourism development (eg. events holding, funding farmers, B&Bs, tourism policy formulation)

3. Views on tourism policy
   3.1 *(tourism policy)*
   - What is the main focus in current tourism policies that you are responsible for?
   - Do you think that current tourism policies have a clear vision for tourist destinations in terms of identity or future development?
   - Do these policies have an implementation strategy? In your view, can these policies and/or strategies improve the sustainability of this town? Please give a specific example (for example, successfully increasing the numbers of visitors)?
   - In your view, what are the barriers of policy implementation in terms of sustainable development
   3.2 *capacity building*
   - Does your office support individuals, communities, or organizations to run affairs in relation to tourism? In which way? (eg. providing an information platform, skill training, funding, infrastructure improvement?)
   - Do these activities effectively improve tourism development? Please give examples.
   3.3 *participation*
   - Does your office work together with residents or any organisation in terms of promoting tourism? In what way (eg. in decision making/event holding)?
   - Do you feel that this collaboration helps tourism development? If it does, please tell me how? If not, please tell me why?

3.4
- What is the mechanism which your office adopts to cooperate with central authorities?
- In your view, do central authorities provide clear mechanisms or regulations to cooperate with local authorities? And what could be done to improve the effectiveness of cooperation?

4. Views on environmental impacts
    - What are the characteristics of this destination (eg. Natural resources/culture/atmosphere) in terms of tourism development? (eg. local identity, the intrinsic value of the area)?
    - Do you think tourism development brings benefits to local communities? In what ways?
    - What are your views on tourism impacts (positive and/or negative) on the destination?
    - In your view, what are the impacts (positive and/or negative) of tourism development on the destination?
    - Do you think current policies or strategies can limit negative impacts and manage the quality of the destination effectively?
    - Do you think current tourism development in Puli (Yuchih/ Renai) is sustainable? Why?
    - What could be done to improve the sustainability of tourism and local development?

5. Final thoughts
    Is there anything else you wish to add?

END OF INTERVIEW

1. Introduction:
    - Give a brief introduction of my thesis and an explanation as to why the questions will be asked
    - Advise that this interview will be only for my PhD and all information given will be treated with confidentiality
    - Request permission to record the interview

2.
    2.1 Running a business in Nantou county (Puli/ Yuchih/ Renai)
    - How long have you run your business in Nantou county (Puli/ Yuchih/ Renai)
    - Which characteristics (eg. natural resources or historical factors...) of this destination made you decide to run a business in Nantou county (Puli/Yuchih/ Renai)?

    2.2 Running a tourism related business
    - What made you convert your business into a tourism related one?
    - When did you convert your business into a tourism related one?

3. Views on cooperation and networks
    - Are local residents involved in your business? In what way? *(partnership)*
    - Does your tourism business cooperate with other businesses/ tour agents? In what way? *(partnership)*
    - Do you feel these partnerships (with other business/tour agents...) help your business grow? *(partnership)*
    - What could be done (and by whom) to help build a supportive network?
    - Do you think tourism development benefits the destination? In what way?

4. Views on tourism policy
    - Do you get any support from the government for your business? In what way (subsidies/ tax reductions)?
    - Does current policy affect or relate to you? In what way? Does it benefit or limit your business? *(control)*
    - Have you participated in any form of decision making processes? In what way?
    - Was your participation effective?
    - In terms of policy, what do you think can be done to improve the sustainability of tourism and development?

5. Views on environmental impacts
    -   What are the characteristics of the destination (eg. natural resources/culture/atmosphere) in terms of tourism development?
    -   Can these characteristics attract tourism development? Or limit tourism development? What are the barriers to tourism development? (eg. a lack of space for activities/ the limitation of development?)
    -   What kind of tourism impacts does your business have?
    -   Does your business impact on the destination in term of sustainable development?
    -   In your view, is current tourism development sustainable? Why?
    -   What do you think can be done to improve the sustainability of tourism and local development?

6. Final thoughts
    Is there anything else you wish to add?

END OF INTERVIEW

1. Introduction:
   - Give a brief introduction of my thesis and an explanation as to why the questions will be asked
   - Advise that this interview will be only for my PhD and all information given will be treated in confidence
   - Request permission to record the interview

2. Establishing a community organization (or a NGO) in Nantou county (Puli/ Yuchih/ Renai)
   - How long has this community organization been established?
   - In general, what does the community organization do?
   - Who are the members of this organization? (From where? Numbers of people?)

3. Views on cooperation and network
   - Does this community organization engage in any form of tourism related activities or business? In what way? *(partnership)*
   - For what reason has this community has started to engage in tourism related activities or businesses? In what way? And since when?
   - Do you feel this partnership contributes to tourism development?
   - What could be done (and by whom) to build a supportive network?

4. Views on tourism policy
   4.1 *capacity building*
   - Do you get support from the government on organizational affairs in relation to tourism? In what way? (finances/ skill/ subsidy on infrastructure improvement?)
   - Is the support effective?
   4.2 *participation*
   - Have you participated in any form of decision making processes in relation to tourism? In what way?
   - Was your participation effective? In what way? What sort of benefits emerge from this partnership?
   4.3 In terms of policy, what do you think can be done to improve the sustainability of local development?

5. Views on environmental impacts
    - What are the characteristics of this destination (natural resources/culture/atmosphere) in terms of tourism development?
    - Do you think these characteristics attract tourism development? Or limit tourism development?
    - What are your views on tourism impacts (positive and/or negative) on the destination?
    - Do you think current policies or strategies can limit negative impacts and manage the quality of the destination?
    - In your view, is current tourism development sustainable? Why?
    - Do you think tourism development bring benefit to local communities? In what way? *(eg. economic sustainable development?)*
    - What do you think can be done to improve the sustainability of tourism and local development?
    - What do you think government authorities can do to improve the sustainability of tourism and local development?

6. Final thoughts
    Is there anything else you wish to add?

END OF INTERVIEW

Vox Pop Survey

Vox pop survey was applied to gather a quick understanding of local residents' point of views. The topic schedule for the vox pop method:

Introduce myself and seek permission to ask four questions.

1. Are you resident here?
2. Do the impacts of tourism (positive or negative) influence your life?
3. Have you been involved in any tourism activities?
4. What do you think can be done to make local tourism development more sustainable? Who is responsible for making this happen?

Appendix 3

List of Interviewees and Their Organisations

Puli Township

A. Puli City Hall

B. Puli City Hall , Sightseeing Section

C. Tai-Ti Ecological Educational Leisure Farm

D. Tai-Ti Ecological Educational Leisure Farm, tourist activities section

E. PuliPaper Factory Tours

F. Taiwan Paper

G. Puli Farm Organization

H. Puli Farm Organization, Information Section

I. Rich Year Farm

J. NewHomeLand Foundation

K. National Chi-Nan University, General Affairs Office

L. National Chi-Nan University, Department of Leisure Studies and Tourism Management (also President, National Association for Rural tourism in Taiwan. Secretary-General, National Association for B&B in Taiwan)

AI. Puli Library (a former member of staff in the Puli Brewery)

Yuchi Township

M. YuChih Township Office, Agricultural Section

N. YuChih Township Office, Construction Section

O. Harbor Resort Hotel

P. Formosan Aboriginal Culture Village, Planning Department

Q. Toushe community organisation

R. Seshui community organisation

S. Lu-Yuen B&B

Renai Township

T. Renai Township Office, Tourism and Culture Section

U. Renai Township Office, Civil Affairs Section

V.   Local B&B

W.   Emmanvel Farmhouse
         (also Renai township representative)

X.   C.J Tourism Association
         (also YuHauYan restaurant)

Y.   Gulanrudan (Cinglio community organisation)

Nantou County Hall

Z.   Nantou County Government, Tourism Bureau

AA.   Nantou County Government, Economic Affairs Bureau, Urban Plan
         Section

Central Government Authority

AB   Tourism Bureau

AC   Veterans Affairs Commission Executive Yuan, Fourth Dept Deputy

AD   Cingjing Farm

AE   Council of Agriculture Executive Yuan

AF   SunMoonLake National Scenic Area Administration

NGOs

AG   National Training Institute For Farmers' Organizations, Division of
         International Cooperation

AH   Taiwan Leisure Farming Development Association