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Research paper

# Designing tourism governance: The role of local residents

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#### 1. Introduction

New literature has emerged that focuses on the importance of design for tourism development (Fesenmaier & Xiang, 2017; Peters, 2017). Previous research around tourism primarily discussed spatial design, such as physical planning and land use (Dredge, 1999), but did not address integrating social systems as well as tourism planning through design in detail (O'Leary & Fesenmaier, 2017). Additionally, studies that focus on tourism governance have not sufficiently evaluated the growing role of the design of social and tourism systems or addressed the importance of participatory governance and their implications (Bets, Lamers, & Tatenhove, 2017; Keyim, 2017; Malek & Costa, 2014; Pechlaner, Herntrei, Pichler, & Volgger, 2012). This is surprising since tourism governance research is an established research stream with systematic reviews (Borges, Eusébio, & Carvalho, 2014; Ruhanen, Scott, Ritchie, & Tkaczynski, 2010), special issues (Pechlaner, Raich, & Beritelli, 2010) and edited books (Laws, Agrusa, & Richins, 2011; Pechlaner, Beritelli, Pichler, Peters, & Scott, 2015).

The widely accepted understanding of governance concentrates on private and public actors (Beritelli, Bieger, & Laesser, 2007; Flagestad & Hope, 2001; Nordin & Svensson, 2007). Research findings also noted a shift towards integrating government, business and community affairs into tourism governance to foster transparency, efficiency and accountability (Bramwell & Lane, 2011; Del Chiappa & Presenza, 2013; Moscardo, 2011; Presenza, Del Chiappa, & Sheehan, 2013). Several previous contributions highlight the importance of community, for example, the participation of residents, consensus-building for decisionmaking and co-management arrangements (Arnstein, 1969; Green & Hunton-Clarke, 2003; Timothy, 1999). In the tourism governance context, Eagles (2009) reported high levels of consensus orientation and (public) participation. However, despite the success of governance, previous literature argued that tourism governance was not fully able "to enhance the social and economic well-being of the residents who live within its boundaries (destination)" (Bornhorst, Ritchie, & Sheehan, 2010, p. 573). It is noted that local residents felt excluded from tourism planning or were perceived to be ill-equipped (e.g. lacking resources, time and motivation) to participate in tourism governance (Presenza et al., 2013). This paper argues that participation in tourism governance is particularly relevant since the negative effects of tourism mostly manifest on the destination level as a burden for local residents (Joppe, 2018; Timothy, 1999).

Since previous research only provides a limited overview on the development of tourism governance research in the last years (Borges et al., 2014; Ruhanen, Scott, Ritchie, Brent, & Tkaczynski, 2010), this research provides a systematic literature analysis of tourism governance literature and pays attention to the diffusion of participatory approaches in tourism governance (Arnstein, 1969; Green & Hunton-Clarke, 2003; Timothy, 1999). A systematic literature analysis is a structured, replicable and transparent approach (David & Han, 2004) to summarize and categorize existing knowledge (Fisch & Block, 2018). This paper highlights the important role of local residents as future actors of tourism governance and expands the current understanding of tourism governance from private and public bodies (Beritelli et al., 2007; Ruhanen et al., 2010) to including local residents in order to improve the future design of tourism destinations, regions and systems.

## 2. Theory

## 2.1. Definitions and characteristics of tourism governance

In general, governance focuses on processes and structures (Pechlaner, Kozak, & Volgger, 2014). From a horizontal perspective, tourism governance can be local, national or global (Bramwell, 2011) and includes political, economic and administrative affairs (Eagles, 2009). From a vertical perspective, governance is linked with management and interwoven with civil society (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). As a result, governance accounts for a polycentric constellation that involves multiple relatively autonomous actors (Denters, 2011). Definitions of tourism governance represent an issue (Bevir, 2011; Denters, 2011), but several characteristics can be distilled: governance is broader than government, concerns the way of governing, ruling or steering societies and can include multiple actors (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). Additionally, two major research streams have been identified that contributed to tourism governance. The corporate stream states that governance is "the system by which companies are directed and controlled" (Cadbury Report, 1992), while the political stream is concerned about decision making and power (Eagles, 2009). In the political context, Rhodes (1997), defines governance as "the self-organizing

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inter-organizational networks characterized by interdependencies, resource exchange, rules of the game and autonomy from the state" (p. 17). The corporate and political definitions also add to the understanding for the tourism context. Coordination and collaboration of different players is essential for the management of tourism destinations (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Wang & Fesenmaier, 2007), but due to the interrelated and interdepended structure of tourism (e.g. interactions between visitors, tourists and service providers) powerful actors and groups have emerged that dominate tourism development (e.g. by land use concessions). As a result, the previous definitions of tourism governance concentrated more on the role of the public (e.g. levels of government, DMOs) and private sector (e.g. hotels, restaurants, travel agencies), which includes their networks and intermediaries (Beritelli et al., 2007; Flagestad & Hope, 2001; Nordin & Svensson, 2007).

Based on these previously established definitions, Presenza, Abbate, and Micera (2015) condensed the aim of tourism governance to "coordinate local stakeholders to design and develop destinations ... fostering different valuable forms of commitments, synergies and collaborations between public/private actors and assisting policy-makers to implement sustainable development (...)" (p. 480). Although the responsibility of governance is frequently seen with the government or destination marketing organization (DMO) (Bramwell & Lane, 2011), the shift towards design thinking in tourism highlights the possible roles of multiple actors in tourism governance (Fesenmaier & Xiang, 2017). This paper aims to highlight the role of local residents in the design of tourism destinations. For example, new developments in information technology, such as virtual platforms (Lalicic, 2018; Pikkemaat & Peters, 2016) or social innovations that foster social responsibility (Zenko & Sardi, 2014) underpin the importance of including public, private and community aspects into tourism governance. Previous research has addressed tourism governance from an industry perspective and focused on best practices (e.g. strategies, determination of actors), however it has paid little attention to the role of local residents in tourism governance.

### 2.2. Participation of local residents in tourism governance

Tourism governance is based on the idea of a corporate or community model that shows different characteristics (Flagestad & Hope, 2001): the main difference concerns the ownership structure (e.g. diverse ownership structures vs. dominating firms), but several other differences emerge (e.g. transaction costs, power asymmetries, trust/control, knowledge and informal/personal connections) (Beritelli et al., 2007). In this context, governance spans the responsibility for policymaking across the public and private sectors (Dredge, 2006). However, providing space for public, private and community actors in tourism governance can result in wicked problems (Buchanan, 1992; Simon, 1973) in a setting that aims to steer and rule societies (Bramwell & Lane, 2011).

From a theoretical perspective, some scholars (Eagles, 2009; Ruhanen et al., 2010) argue that governance is already focused on the participation of multiple actors. However, more scholars have challenged the current understanding that local residents are sufficiently considered. They have noted that local residents and communities are the least involved stakeholders in tourism governance (Bornhorst, Ritchie, Brent, & Sheehan, 2010; Moscardo, 2011), when compared to external experts (Hall, 2005) and internal influential and powerful stakeholders (Aras & Crowther, 2009; Beritelli & Bieger, 2014; Cooper, Scott, & Baggio, 2009; Peters & Strobl, 2015). This is controversial since residents are best informed on what works under local conditions (Tosun, 2006) and represent key actors in sustaining the offered tourism product (Hardy, Beeton, & Pearson, 2002). Frequently, local residents are perceived as a part of the user community (Bets et al., 2017), a form of labor supply (Hall, 2005) and are often excluded from making decisions about the design of destinations (Hatipoglu, Alvarez, & Ertuna, 2016). As stated by Joppe (2018), private citizens are at best consulted and requested to provide feedback to proposals that are reasonably well advanced. Nonetheless, the concept of community is complex and characterized by various facets (Dredge & Jamal, 2013; Gill & Williams, 2011), but research has explored the development of spatially bounded entities through definitions that emphasize common sets of beliefs and characteristics of identity (Bets et al., 2017; Dredge & Jamal, 2013). As a result, these approaches were reduced to account for 'difference' and 'unity' at the same time (Malek & Costa, 2014).

The participation of local residents is vital as tourism enhances democratization (Tosun, 2006) and secures investments (Malek & Costa, 2014) since it adds an important missing link to the design of tourism places that "must reflect the environment within which it exists, and further, the underlying processes which stimulate or support tourism experiences at one level scalable from small to large settings" (Fesenmaier & Xiang, 2017, p. 7). In the tourism context, the environment is frequently characterized by community-oriented structures where participation of stakeholders supports cooperative behavior and improves the tourism value chain (Peters, 2017).

This paper adopts the view of the community as an interdependent, interactive and exchangeable entity (Nordin & Svensson, 2007), with participation as an "indispensable instrument" to achieve effective tourism governance (Malek & Costa, 2014, p. 284). The paper also argues that well-informed and engaged local residents are vital to ensuring the effective design of tourism destinations (Joppe, 2018).

## 3. Methods

This paper follows the systematic literature analysis approach of David and Han (2004), which provides a systematic, replicable and reliable way of analyzing previous contributions. Systematic approaches are often used in other disciplines (Mari & Poggesi, 2013; Newbert, 2007; Wilding & Delbufalo, 2012) and were recently also applied to tourism research (Fu. Okumus, Wu. & Köseoglu, 2019; Gomezelj, 2016; Marasco, Martino, Magnotti, & Morvillo, 2018). This analysis creates, evaluates and synthesizes existing literature with the aim to summarize and categorize knowledge (Fisch & Block, 2018). David and Han (2004, p. 42) condensed it to "synthesizing existing evidence in this way can be a powerful tool in the building of knowledge, and can be as important as conducting new research." Importantly, systematic literature analysis implies several benefits compared to literature review that is a key aspect of journal publications (Webster & Watson, 2002). It aims to assure transparency and replicability of the analysis (David & Han, 2004) as well as provides an indepth overview of the existing research and concepts (Fisch & Block, 2018). A systematic literature analysis can also be used to reveal existing research gaps that demand future research (David & Han, 2004). Additionally, this analysis requires a process-oriented procedure that includes several restrictions (Table 1):

- (1) Peer-reviewed, published full articles were considered for analysis since they were subject to a review process, which reduced flaws and enhanced quality (Feldman, 2016). The four major databases ABI/Inform Global, Business Source Premier, Econlit and Web of Science were used for gathering the information. The data was acquired during the observation period from 1992 (release of the Cadbury Report) to June 2018 (research period) and duplicates were omitted. The systematic literature analysis also requires the definition of search terms (David & Han, 2004). It is important to note that tourism governance can also be understood as broader concepts, e.g. stakeholder participation, participatory planning or community-based development (e.g. Cleaver, 1999; Mansuri, 2004; Reed, 2008 for reviews). Given the research objective and in order to keep the task manageable, the understanding of tourism governance in this paper focuses on 'governance' and 'tourism' (including word roots) in the abstracts.
- (2) Journals that published multiple articles on governance were

**Table 1**Steps for systematic literature analysis.

Feldman (2016); Cadbury Report (1992)
David and Han (2004); Borges et al. (2014)
David & Han (2004); Newbert, 2007
Collins & Fauser (2005); Newbert, 2007
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considered relevant (David & Han, 2004; Newbert, 2007). In this respect, a minimum of three articles per journal (between 1992 and 2018) was required for initial assessment. This threshold reduced the articles from 503 to 241 articles (and from 249 journals to 31 journals).

- (3) The derived sample was double checked for relevance by reading title and abstract, resulting in the exclusion of articles with a missing scope. Articles were excluded if it was determined that tourism governance was not a key theme of the paper and research, or focused for example, on value/supply chain governance (Erkuş-Öztürk & Terhorst, 2010; Song, Liu, & Chen, 2012) or sustainability (Wang, Cater, & Low, 2016). These specifications decreased the number of publications to 105 articles from 30 journals. The identified articles were fully read and reassessed for fit, resulting in the final sample consisting of 69 articles from 15 journals.
- (4) The following information was assembled for each article: article information (e.g. author, journal, year and location), methods, aspects of participation addressed and affiliation to research stream. Research streams were assessed using keyword analysis (VOSviewer software, Van Eck & Waltman, 2011). The thematic analysis focused on the context and scope of the study (conceptual frame, actors involved, context, issue and implications for tourism governance) and the participatory elements of the corresponding tourism governance literature. In this context, literature that contained aspects of participation was considered for this step of analysis (Table 3). Based on earlier typologies (Arnstein, 1969; Green & Hunton-Clarke, 2003) the contributions were categorized into context categories of limited - average - and increased opportunities for participation. These context categories were identified because they show common patterns (Macnaghten & Myers, 2005). The derived categories provide insights into the research context, dimensions and issues that emerged in tourism governance literature over recent years.

## 4. Results

The final sample included 69 articles (see Fig. 1), which was obtained through a systematic literature analysis (David & Han, 2004). The first contributions to governance emerged in the 1990s (Cadbury Report, 1992; Pierre, 1999; Rhodes, 1996), but reached little attention until 2001 (Flagestad & Hope, 2001). The first tourism governance paper was published in 2002 and focused on residents' satisfaction with public sector governance (Andriotis, 2002). Through the work of Flagestad and Hope (2001) and later Beritelli et al. (2007), contributions to tourism governance increased steadily and reached a maximum of 12 publications in 2011.

A closer examination of data highlighted the most influential journals between 2002 and 2018 (Table 2). The 'Journal of Sustainable Tourism' published 27 papers and 'Tourism Review' contributed 11 papers in the observation period (Table 2).(

Further assessment showed that the 'Journal of Sustainable Tourism' published a well-distributed worldwide collection of papers, whereas 'Tourism Review' focused on tourism governance in established destinations in Europe. In this context, the research methods include qualitative approaches (55%), mixed method (21%) and

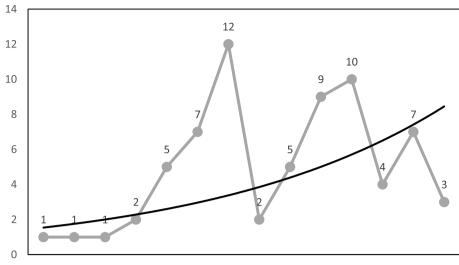
quantitative approaches (21%). It is important to highlight that most of the study sites are located in Europe (48%), and further data analysis showed that this tourism governance research is concerned about the local level (58%). Research in Australia focused on qualitative approaches (73%) and built on strong theoretical foundations (see Section 4.3), whereas the focus there is on a regional level (64%). Quantitative methods in tourism governance research experienced limited diffusion and fell short of designing common measures and scales. For example, Eagles (2009) applied nine items to assess tourism governance, Hall (2011b) measured tourism governance along 12 items and Fernández-Tabales, Foronda-Robles, Galindo-Pérez-de-Azpillaga, and García-López (2017) used a catalog of 43 items. As a result, several difficulties arise about the comparability of quantitative tourism governance studies.

Aspects of community participation were addressed in 72.5% of the papers and 27.5% did not provide further evidence of community participation (Table 3). Systematic literature analysis yielded 17 conceptual papers (25%) that aimed to improve theories or provided new concepts (e.g. Hall, 2011b; Ruhanen et al., 2010; Wan & Bramwell, 2015). Some articles provided classifications of tourism governance (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Beritelli et al., 2007; d'Angella, De Carlo, & Sainaghi, 2010; Eagles, 2009; Hall, 2011b). With regard to the research streams, VOSviewer analysis of keywords<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 2) revealed three different research streams that focused on the management sphere (destination management, sustainable tourism, tourism planning), the community sphere (community concerns, conservation and protected areas, partnerships) and the public sphere (government, policy, networks).

### 4.1. Thematic analysis

The three derived context categories distinguish by several dimensions that relate to informative, consultative and decisional participation (Green & Hunton-Clarke, 2003). The context category of limited participation opportunities (references see Table 4) contains articles that reported on limited opportunities for participation and that did not promote further resident participation. In this context, decisions are taken without community consensus orientation and concentrate on informative practices. The involved actors were frequently limited to public and private actors and exclusive to community and residents. The context category of average participation opportunities (references see Table 5) distinguishes by increased involvement of local residents but lacks, e.g. platforms for participation and limited possibilities to influence decisions. The context category of increased participation opportunities (references see Table 6) exhibits examples that show awareness of the importance of local residents participation. It shows strong theoretical foundations and highlights successful examples of local residents participation in project and strategic development.

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  Layout attraction and layout repulsion parameters were set to 2 and 0; clustering resolution and minimum cluster size parameters were set to 1.00 and 1.



2002 2003 2005 2007 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018

Fig. 1. Publication development by year, 2002-2018 (n = 69).

**Table 2** Distribution of articles by journal.

Journal	No. of articles	Qual.	Quan.	Conc.	Mixed		(%)
Local Environment	1		1				1.0%
Journal of Cleaner Production	1				1		1.0%
Tourism Management Perspectives	1				1		1.0%
Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality & Tourism	1	1					1.0%
Global Environmental Change	1			1			1.0%
Tourism and Hospitality Research	1		1				1.0%
Annals of Tourism Research	2	2					3.0%
Journal of Destination Marketing & Management	3	2	1				4.0%
Journal of Travel Research	3	1	1		1		4.0%
European Planning Studies	3	3					4.0%
Tourism Geographies	4	3		1			6.0%
Tourism Management	5	3	2				7.0%
Tourism Planning & Development	5	3	1		1		7.0%
Tourism Review	11	4		5	2		16.0%
Journal of Sustainable Tourism	27						39.0%
	69	15	2	6	4	100.0%	

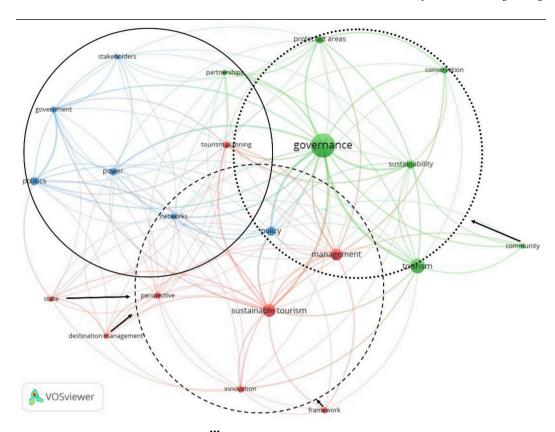
**Table 3** Sample characteristics.

Criterion	Number of articles per criteria	(%)
Location of study		
South America	1	1.5%
Africa	2	3.0%
North America	3	4.5%
Asia	5	7.0%
Oceania	11	16.0%
No location	14	20.0%
Europe	33	48.0%
Research stream		
Management sphere	31	45.0%
Community sphere	14	20.0%
Public sphere	24	35.0%
Participation		
Yes	33	48.0%
Partially	17	24.5%
No	19	27.5%
Method		
Quantitative	9	13.0%
Mixed	9	13.0%
Conceptual	17	25.0%
Qualitative	34	49.0%

## 4.2. Limited opportunities for participation in tourism governance

This context category is characterized by market-driven approaches (Slocum & Everett, 2014) and expansion-oriented governance arrangements (Wan, 2013; Yüksel, Bramwell, & Yüksel, 2005) that aim to secure development via top-down management approaches. In this context, the involvement of actors in decision-making is limited to a few actors (Paddison & Walmsley, 2018; Wan, 2013). The category shows examples where governance is performed by the state, exerting direct control through funding and policy actions (Wan, 2013) or indirectly by shifting responsibility to state near influential private actors (Yüksel et al., 2005). These actors have power because of formal networks and government support. The literature highlighted that growth-oriented destinations frequently pay insufficient attention to awareness creation and knowledge diffusion within local communities (Farmaki, 2015). The findings also show that new public management approaches do not improve participation. Shifting power from the state to public-private or private partnerships increased centralization of activities around DMOs and local elites and resulted in democratic deficits (Paddison & Walmsley, 2018). As a result, difficulties arise when power shifts from public to private entities.

On the local level, stakeholders were able to strengthen cooperation through knowledge sharing, personal contacts and self-initiative (Stoffelen, Ioannides, & Vanneste, 2017). This is important since



- - - management approaches, "community concerns, — public sphere

Fig. 2. Research streams based on supplied keywords (21 items, 3 clusters, 126 links, 238 total link strength).

research found that "limited stakeholder participation" can lead to undesirable developments that resulted in formal institutions withdrawal (Zahra, 2011, p. 543) and exclusion of under-resourced stakeholders (frequently residents, NGOs and underfinanced firms). On the national level, difficulties arise when diverging governance systems intersect at and across borders; this often prevents cooperation and ultimately participation (Stoffelen et al., 2017).

Previous tourism governance research has shown interest in developments that aim to improve sustainability (Andriotis, 2002; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2011; Zahra, 2011). Valuable opportunities for participation are presented in the context of national parks: Dinica (2017) stated that in national park governance there are "across all layers public and stakeholder engagement processes, ensuring that citizens and stakeholders have input in the design of legal and policy frameworks, and collaboration with businesses/NGOs/communities for the implementation of objectives and instruments" (Dinica, 2017, p. 1813). National parks use concessions to operationalize governance, but frequently achieve unsustainable outcomes because of the embeddedness in neo-liberal environments (Dinica, 2017). Additionally, Higgins-Desbiolles (2011) observed a "death by a thousand cuts" in the implementation and execution of governance for sustainable tourism.

## 4.3. Average opportunities for participation in tourism governance

This context category provides valuable insights into the transmission process of destinations from low to improved opportunities for participation (Table 5). A change in governance arrangements was observed for destinations that previously focused on top-down approaches to achieve growth and secure legitimacy (Wan & Bramwell, 2015). These examples foster participation (Wang & Bramwell, 2012), while ensuring efficiency and equity (Wan & Bramwell, 2015). For example, it was recognized that "in a society that has increasingly

diversified demands the government sees the need to include wider public views ... although the Chief Executive still has the ultimate power to control the final plan-making decisions" (Wan & Bramwell, 2015, p. 326). This shift is congruent with the shifts from shareholder to stakeholder perspectives (Garnes & Grønhaug, 2011) that targets the balance between economic and sustainable interests (Wan & Bramwell, 2015).

Hybrid governance arrangements are linked to improved participation, but decision-making in this setting is still determined by topdown organized institutions (Hatipoglu et al., 2016; Wan & Bramwell, 2015). Findings of Mihalič, Šegota, Cvelbar, and Kuščer (2016) showed that coordination and cooperation are important aspects of tourism development. Vertical and horizontal integration is a theme that emerged elsewhere throughout the analysis (Grönholm, 2009; Mihalič et al., 2016). Integration can be strengthened by governance arrangements that improve the political environment since this contributes to resident satisfaction and ultimately in support for tourism (Komppula, 2016). Additionally, governance needs to integrate dispersed actors on a horizontal and vertical level in order to enhance coordination and cooperation (Garnes & Grønhaug, 2011; Pechlaner, Herntrei, et al., 2012). The complexity of the involved actors was observed as an exemplary issue for this context category (Airey, 2015; Franch, Martini, & Buffa, 2010).

Franch et al. (2010) highlighted that destinations where demand was successfully established, have lower interest to enable resident participation and share tourism benefits. The literature provided examples of communities that perceived tourism as an important income source of livelihood (Keyim, 2017). According to social exchange theory, community members adjust their commitment to the benefits derived from collaborations (Bets et al., 2017). Research has shown that self-governance is effective under government monitoring (Bets et al., 2017), but often participatory structures are perceived idealistic as well

 Table 4

 Low levels of participation opportunities in tourism governance

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Authors	Method	Conceptual frame	Subjects	Context	Issue	Tourism governance
Andriotis (2002)	Quantitative Wellbeing	Wellbeing	Community	Satisfaction/dissatisfaction with public sector	Successful public policies need acceptance	Approval of policies is key for local community support
Yüksel et al. (2005)	Qualitative	(De-)centralized governance	Public sector, private sector, NGOs, local people	Centralized governance in coastal resort destination	Enclave development and centralized power	Centralized actor dominates tourism development
Henriksen and Halkier (2009)	Qualitative	Institutionalist perspective	Tourism managers	Change of tourism policy from local to regional	Locally-based, on-site and service- oriented approach	Network-based approach with mutually dependent actors
Higgins-Desbiolles (2011)	Qualitative	Sustainable development	Public sector, private sector, NGOs, local people	Governance and development approval process of an ecolodge	Trade-offs between protection and economic benefits	Forced public-private partnership achieve trade-offs
Zahra (2011)	Qualitative	Subsidiarity	Private sector, public sector, RTO/ DMO actors	Understanding RTO governance	Contributions of RTOs intangible	RTO address private, public and community
Wan (2013)	Qualitative	Political economy framework	Public sector, academia	Executive-led and top-down administration	Balance between top-down and participation	Integrate different stakeholders in decision-making process
Slocum and Everett (2014)	Mixed	Three generations of tourism policy theory	Tourism businesses, tourists and tourism officers/workers	Market-driven driven approach driven by powerful stakeholders	Unable to manage tourist expectations or community development issues	Lack of efficiency and support structures
Farmaki (2015)	Qualitative	Network approach	RTO/DMO actors, private sector, NGOs, academia	Evaluating the effectiveness of regional tourism governance	RTOs dependency on foreign tour operators limits effectiveness	Network governance-related challenges interact with region-specific characteristics
Dinica (2017)	Qualitative	Framework approach	Public sector, private sector, advisory boards (representing community)	Use of concessions for tourism business	Circumstances of concessions	Neo-liberal governance unsustainable
Stoffelen et al. (2017)	Qualitative	Scalar power relations	Public sector and private sector	Destination governance in transnational/within-country borderland	Institutional alignment problems and power issues	Fluid borders facilitate governance
Paddison and Walmsley (2018)	Qualitative	New public management	Public sector, private sector	Outsourcing of destination management	New public management hinders democracy and reduces accountability	Local elite dominating the decision- making process

as strongly depend on the institutional design of the destination (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010). As a result, a participatory network is not necessarily responsive and traditional forms like council-led networks are not per se top-down (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010). This context category exemplified the struggle between efficiency vs. inclusiveness, internal vs. external legitimacy and flexibility vs. stability (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010).

### 4.4. Increased opportunities for participation in tourism governance

The context category of increased participation opportunities (Table 6) draws on solid theoretical foundations from participatory theory (Jamal & Watt, 2011), political economy (Bramwell, 2011), leadership theories (McGehee, Knollenberg, & Komorowski, 2013; Pechlaner et al., 2014) and critical approaches to tourism (Bramwell & Lane, 2011; Dredge & Jamal, 2013). These approaches support the notion of interrelated economic and social spheres (Bramwell, 2011), thus highlighting the importance to include social spheres in the design of tourism governance.

Empowering residents and understanding them as "users and choosers" (Malek & Costa, 2014, p. 282) is an important principle. Jamal and Watt (2011) argued that participation is an avenue of citizen education that leads to collaborative governance arrangements that build on consensus and rational principles. For example, the destination of Whistler, Canada, represents a destination in transition from a progrowth and investment-driven destination towards a more democratic, community-driven destination that acts according to sustainable principles (Gill & Williams, 2011). An example from Europe is the Cittaslow movement (Presenza et al., 2015), which aims to improve quality of life using collaboration, integration and commitment of local stakeholders.

In some of the studies there is a discussion about who holds the responsibility to initiate and arrange participatory governance. Eagles (2009, p.231) illustrated that "governance involves the state, but transcends the state because it involves corporations, nongovernment organizations and individuals". In this context, leaders of rural tourism are becoming important as they are used to coordinate different actors and balance multiple interests across the destination (McGehee et al., 2013). They make sense of different forms of leadership (McGehee et al., 2013) and often act as ambassadors to promote the participation of local residents. Pechlaner et al. (2014) stressed the importance of this leadership, which motivates, encourages and inspires actors by setting long-term values and directions. Leadership also influences the potential goals achieved by bottom-up processes (Valente, Dredge, & Lohmann, 2015). State involvement in governance is usually justified with the empirical fit between the state and the responsibility to care for collective community interests (Bramwell, 2011). Hall (2011a) used the notion of first-, second- and third order change to raise the question of whether incremental changes will be sufficient to redesign future destinations, or whether radical adjustments are necessary.

The call for local residents participation in tourism governance is incomplete when no attention is paid to the limits of the participatory processes. Following Presenza et al. (2013), limitations to participation can be reduced to the "lack of financial resources, investment capital, know-how and the competencies needed to take the initiative in developing tourism, apathy, and a low level of awareness within the local community" (p. 30). It was also found that gatekeeping can be a serious concern for the increased participation of local residents (McGehee et al., 2013). As a result, participation can be a significant problem in some cases and can increase the exclusion of residents because of the complex engagement opportunities and horizontally dispersed communities (Hewlett & Edwards, 2013). Increased participation underlines the necessity for a well-informed community, as highlighted by Jamal and Watt (2011), in order to understand the need for regulations in order to achieve sustainability (Presenza et al., 2015). When the goal of increasing the participation of local residents in tourism governance is to foster democracy, accountability, transparency and legitimacy, an

 Table 5

 Average levels of participation opportunities in tourism governance.

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Authors	Method	Conceptual frame	Subjects	Context	Issue	Tourism governance
Beaumont and Dredge (2010)	Conceptual	Network approach	Tourism managers	Council-led-, participant-led-, LTO-led	Lack of knowledge how different	Networks show different trade-offs
				network	governance forms perform	
Franch et al. (2010)	Mixed	Network/stakeholder	Tourism managers, public sector,	Power characteristics of stakeholders	Identify primary/secondary stakeholders	Exogenous demand less
		theory	private sector			involvement
Grönholm (2009)	Quantitative	Adaptive management	Community and private sector	Rather centralized form of national	Lack of (possibilities for) involvement	Knowledge imbalances in adaptive
				park management		management
D'Angella et al. (2010)	Qualitative	Destination governance	Public sector, private sector	In-depth study of 13 destinations	Broad involvement of stakeholders	Archetypes of destination
(1100)	O	Observed and section to be a lide		To a civilization of the class of the confirmation of	20 Loods : : :	governance
Garnes and Grønnaug (2011)	Quantanve	snarenoider/stakenoider	board of directors	explore the fole and responsibilities of directors	snarenoider perspective instead or stakeholder nerspective	Snarenoider view is replaced with stakeholders
Pechlaner, Herntrei, et al.	Oualitative	Regional innovation	Public sector	Regional public management	Contributions of regions to companies'	Innovation systems must recognize
(2012)		system		organizations as regional innovation	competitiveness	residents, tourists, companies
				system.		
Wang and Bramwell (2012)	Qualitative	Political economy	Public sector, private sector, tourism managers, community	Policy-making for heritage protection or development	Selective policy choices drive tourism development	Powerful policy community starting to enable participation
Eagles (2014)	Conceptual	Sustainable tourism	Public sector	Research gaps in park tourism	Park management determined by	Building public support
					governance structure	
Halkier (2014)	Qualitative	Destination governance	Public sector	Decreasing market shares and number	Limited priority to innovation-oriented	Localism and short-termism limit
				of visitors	improvements to improve attractiveness	development
Pforr, Pechlaner, Volgger, and	Quantitative	Path dependence/social	Public sector, private sector	Merger of two tourism regions	Improve competitiveness and implement	Governance of informal
Thompson (2014)		network analysis		affecting communication and	functional perspective	communication
				collaboration		
Airey (2015)	Conceptual	Political dimensions	Public sector, tourism managers, private sector and informed observers	Evaluation of tourism policy	Complexity of involved stakeholders	Role of policy-makers
Wan and Brammell (2015)	Onalitative	Political economy	Government miblic sector	Influence of nolitical economy on	Diversified community demands and	Combination pro-growth and
Wall ally Dianiwell (2019)	Quantanve	ronnear economy	dovernment, public sector	modes of tourism governance	ruling legitimacy	pluralist elements
Mihalič et al. (2016)	Quantitative	Sustainability concept	Local community	Influence of perceptions of tourism	Underestimated importance of political	Six factors for governance
				impact on support	environment	assessment
Komppula (2016)	Qualitative	Stakeholder theory	Private sector, tourism managers,	Highlight role of individuals,	Contribution of individual actors to	Leadership is attributed to
			government, public sector	entrepreneurs and others for	leadership	individuals
				development		
Hatipoglu et al. (2016)	Mixed	Sustainable planning	Government, NGOs, private sector, academia and public sector	Barriers to stakeholder involvement	State-centric perspective in strategy process	Context-specific barriers to stakeholder participation
Bets et al (2017)	Onalitative	Sustainable tourism	Dublic sector tourism managers	Collective self-governance for	Community development often viewed	User community as intermediary
			private sector, NGOs, academia and local community	sustainable development	in isolation	for governance
Fernández-Tabales et al	Onantitative	Sustainable tourism	Experts tourism managers, public	Territorial governance indicators for	Numerous attempts to develon indicator	Ouality of participatory process
(2017)			sector, private sector	tourism destinations	systems of sustainability in destinations	consideration of the constant
Keyim (2017)	Qualitative	Collaborative approach	Private sector, community, public	Rural tourism in peripheral	Struggle to formulate governance	Limited benefits because of
	ı	:	sector	community destination	approach	inadequate involvement

 Table 6

 Increased levels of participation opportunities in tourism governance.

	14	0				
Authors	Method	Conceptual frame	Subjects	Context	Issue	Tourism governance
Eagles (2009)	Mixed	Governance criteria	Public sector, NGOs, private sector, community	Application of governance criteria to eight management models	Great number of management approaches and models	High involvement achieves better fit to good governance
Bramwell (2011)	Qualitative	Political economy	Public sector	Governance by state organizations affects whether tourism is more or less sustainable	State has primary influence on governance but is dependent on relationships	Research can benefit from use of social theory in the governance context
Bramwell and Lane (2011)	Conceptual	Governance	Academia	Tailored and effective governance is required for sustainable tourism	Manifold use of the concept of governance	Participation can improve democratic processes
Gill and Williams (2011)	Qualitative	Path dependency	Public sector, community	From growth-orientation to evolving forms of governance	Locked-in to the pro-growth model of governance	Tenets of path dependency affect governance form
Hall (2011a)	Conceptual	Sustainable tourism	Public sector	Sustainable tourism is a success and a policy failure	Continued growth of environmental impacts	Role of policy failure and learning to sustainable tourism and governance
Jamal and Watt (2011)	Conceptual	Human action by Hannah Arendt	NGOs, private sector, community	Emerging participatory action in a mountain resort	Enable informed tourists and engaged resident	Public interest governed by multiple civic participants (stakeholders)
Moscardo (2011)	Qualitative	Social representations theory	Public sector, private sector, community	Summarizing tourism planning models in literature	Dominant social representation in which residents are excluded and externals dominant	Direct role of communities in tourism governance
Dredge and Jamal (2013)	Mixed	Sustainable tourism	Private sector, public sector, community	Implications of mobilities for destination governance	Spatial restructuring of destinations, pluralization of destination management and re-envisioning of community	Balance competing demands of business, government and 'liquid' community
Hewlett and Edwards (2013)	Mixed	Community engagement	Community	Management of national parks as destinations	Collaboration in management is complex	Top-down view of participation or non- participation is inadequate
Presenza et al. (2013)	Quantitative	Destination governance	Community	Development of a mature beach destination	Engage local community in development process	Community participation changes top- down governance
McGehee et al. (2013)	Qualitative	Leadership theory	Public sector, private sector	Leadership of rural tourism leaders	Coordination and management of fragmented, numerous actors	Social capital contributes to success of rural leaders
Malek and Costa (2014)	Qualitative	Sustainable tourism	Public bodies, private sector	Framework for implementation of community participation	Enable involvement and enhance responsibility and responsiveness	Need for collaborative initiatives and system perspective
Pechlaner et al. (2014)	Conceptual	Leadership theory	Academia	Advance leadership theories in relation to governance	Destinations rely on leaders that carry out strategies and efficient, inclusive actions	Human factor is crucial for management and governance
Panyik (2015)	Quantitative	Social exchange theory	Community	Factors that influence rural decisionmakers' support for tourism	Attitudes of rural governance policy-makers towards tourism	Participation, integration and empowerment influence rural develonment
Presenza et al. (2015)	Qualitative	Slowness perspective	Public sector	Contribution of cittaslow to governance of destinations	Sustaining economic development, social wellbeing and environmental sustainability	become and the state of the sta
Qian, Sasaki, Shivakoti, and Mixed Zhang (2016)	Mixed	Sustainable tourism	Public sector, tourism manager, private sector	Effective governance under community-based (CBT) and lease-operation scheme	CBT as more efficient, equitable, accountable and adaptable governance system	Advantages of community-based tourism governance

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issue that can arise is the blurring of borders between residents, communities and stakeholders (Dredge & Jamal, 2013).

#### 5. Discussion

Previous literature stresses the importance of design, designing or design thinking for tourism (Fesenmaier & Xiang, 2017) and states that design is not just about physical artifacts, but also about processes, symbolic systems and human activity systems (Tussyadiah, 2013). Tourism design can be understood better by the phases: "understanding and discovery, proposing solutions, evaluation and redesign" (Fesenmaier & Xiang, 2017, p. 12). These phases can be found in the identified context categories, for example, several contributions show that tourism governance is often thought deterministic and led by strong normative approaches (Table 4). Joppe (2018) indicated a focus of tourism governance on networks and communities. In this sense, the derived context categories provide additional insights. For example, increased participation of multiple actors can result in difficult situations, where steering becomes an issue (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). This is especially relevant in the context of tourism governance that addresses processes and structures and poses the question of how to, e.g. organize, coordinate or govern (Pechlaner et al., 2014). Nevertheless, governance research needs to provide successful examples and destination role models (Gill & Williams, 2011) that illustrate the feasibility of increased participation and the benefits derived for enterprises, community and public bodies (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999).

The findings highlight that the intended level of destination growth affects tourism governance arrangements and ultimately community participation. In general, destinations and countries focusing on tourism growth allow less stakeholder participation and therefore frequently exclude residents as potential actors of tourism governance. This fact was pointed out for high-growth destinations in Asia (Wan, 2013; Wan & Bramwell, 2015) and appeared as a legacy of maturing destinations (Gill & Williams, 2011; Wray, 2014). It was observed that tourism governance is often embedded within a market-based view that aims to increase competitiveness, secure benefits while balancing environmental and social issues (Table 4). The research findings have shown that governance is frequently centered around powerful actors (Paddison & Walmsley, 2018; Yüksel et al., 2005) that influenced tourism development and policies. In line with the shift towards more collaborative and community-oriented structures in destinations (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999), several examples emerged where other stakeholders were integrated in the decision-making for tourism development (e.g. formulation of a tourism strategy) (Bets et al., 2017; Pechlaner, Herntrei, et al., 2012; Wang & Bramwell, 2012). The studies show that tourism governance should not be viewed outside of the economic and social context of the macro environment (Wan & Bramwell, 2015).

The findings also emphasize the potential of local residents as important actors of tourism governance, showing that participation is considered in tourism governance, but research and management are still lacking approaches to handle participation. Several approaches used in these studies provide valid guidelines to improve participation in tourism governance, revealing that the perceived importance of participation changed over the last few years (Gill & Williams, 2011; Wan & Bramwell, 2015). Social innovations also altered the way of how societies deal with problems (e.g. environmental issues or social injustice) and match with the idea of paradigm shifts in tourism (Dredge & Jamal, 2013). Malek and Costa (2014) offered a framework for community-integrated planning that builds on social innovation processes. This approach aims to incorporate public organizations, private sectors, community groups and local residents. In general, process-oriented approaches can facilitate the design of opportunities for participation as they address all stakeholders involved in the process. It also provides three strategies that can be implemented to secure participation: networks, direct participation and survey instruments (Malek &

Costa, 2014). Innovation-centered approaches highlight the importance of learning processes to realize new ideas, share knowledge and provide information (Hall, 2011a). These processes improve creativity and offer solutions to wicked problems that emerge from participation processes (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Buchanan, 1992). The results serve to emphasize the role of policy-makers and local leaders for enabling participation (Jamal & Watt, 2011; Moscardo, 2011), as well as question which actors and entities have the responsibility to initiate and progress participation of local residents.

Leadership approaches (Beritelli & Bieger, 2014; Pechlaner et al., 2014) also offer a starting point. While tourism governance focuses on providing direction for destinations by structures, processes and norms. destination leadership highlights the importance of personal vision and motivation (Pechlaner et al., 2014). Critical components of destination leadership are factors, such as inspiring, encouraging and motivating human actors as well as setting values (Pechlaner et al., 2014). Destination leadership aims to involve all actors within a destination and does not limit the scope to formal institutions and organizations. It requires leaders that can navigate political environments by use of leadership (Verbole, 2000), to improve resident participation from the bottom-up. According to Beritelli and Bieger (2014), a systemic perspective of leadership in tourism destinations is well placed on incorporating communities, networks and regions (2014). The fundamental principles of governance (Pechlaner, Volgger, et al., 2012; Ruhanen et al., 2010) fit well with the idea of destination leadership, which builds not only exclusively on elites and managers, but also on all who share on it, including local residents (Beritelli & Bieger, 2014; Hristov & Zehrer, 2015). As a result, destination leadership has important implications for the design of destinations that should incorporate the existing environment (Fesenmaier & Xiang, 2017). Social theories, such as political economy, regulation theory, post-structural theories, offer a starting point for an advanced understanding of how destinations are designed. These theories account for horizontal and vertical heterogeneity of interests and allow diverse ontological positions for exploring destinations (Bramwell, 2011; Mosedale, 2011). The social theories align well with the idea that participation is more than binary participation or non-participation (Hewlett & Edwards, 2013), determined by "pay to play" (Joppe, 2018, p. 203). It is also argued that after consultation and shared decision making, tourism governance needs to consider how participation provides local communities the opportunity to decide against further development of tourism and reject tourism as a development option (Li, 2006). In this case, design thinking (Cross, 2011; Tussyadiah, 2013) can lead to creative and alternative solutions to generate competitive advantages for tourism destinations. Beritelli and Laesser (2017) offer a structured approach how this design process can be handled by: (1) understanding the past development and the current state, (2) articulate challenges and identify possible solutions and (3) prioritize feasible and useful projects and initiatives (Beritelli & Laesser, 2017).

These findings enable a better understanding of how governance and its responsibilities are understood in varying settings, for example in emerging destinations, established destinations and rejuvenating destinations. Additionally, the literature analysis showed the valuable, but frequently underrepresented position of local residents compared to private and public actors. Based on the increasing importance of community-based developments (Mansuri, 2004), stakeholder inclusiveness (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999) and the notion that "everyone can – and does – design" (Cross, 2011, p. 3) it is important that governance arrangements reflect better on the underlying structures and incorporate the environment that enables tourism (Fesenmaier & Xiang, 2017). Although increased participation can lead to significant issues (Buchanan, 1992; Simon, 1973), it is essential to collaborate with local residents to design structures, processes and to assign responsibilities to entities capable of steering tourism governance.

# **Table 7**Recommendations for future research.

Conditions for destination design

Examine perceived roles and responsibilities of local residents in destinations.

Consider the crucial role of destination managers and policymakers in fostering participation and involvement of local residents.

Explore critical resources that enable local residents to participate in tourism development. Explore the effect and influence of institutional designs on leadership and social capital

Evaluations of destination design

Develop a tool for assessing participatory governance structures in tourism destinations that allows evaluating integration, involvement and consensus orientation in the broader community under varying governance settings. Challenge the nexus between tourism, the state, economy and society from a political economy perspective and consider spatial and temporal changes of microscale agency, macro scale structures and dialectical relations

Implications of varying governance settings

Examine the role of path dependency for tourism destinations that establish new governance structures and consider the influence of past legacies (culture, social structures, certifications schemes). Investigate the necessary institutional and social structures that allow for participation and support of the civil society

Jamal & Watt (2011); McGehee et al. (2013); Moscardo (2011); Panyik (2015); Pechlaner et al. (2014); Valente et al. (2015)

Bramwell (2011); Eagles (2009); Fernández-Tabales et al. (2017); Hall (2011b); Wan & Bramwell (2015); Wang & Bramwell (2012)

Bramwell (2011); Gill & Williams (2011); Malek and Costa (2014); Pforr et al. (2014); Presenza et al. (2013); Presenza et al. (2015); Qian et al. (2016); Wan & Bramwell (2015)

## 6. Conclusion, implications and future research

This paper provided a structured overview of the tourism governance literature and examined the extent of participatory aspects in this literature in order to determine the dissemination of participatory elements and how it cultivated the idea of local residents' participation (Arnstein, 1969; Green & Hunton-Clarke, 2003). These findings highlight three context categories: limited, average, and increased, with distinctive characteristics of participation opportunities in tourism governance. The analysis revealed that the understanding of tourism governance was often normative, top-down and focused on economic activity, rather than enabling participation. However, the context category of increased participation (Table 6) shows different patterns. Opportunities for participation can be increased by innovation centered approaches and destination leadership. In addition, discussing the responsibilities for designing participatory structures is important in order to secure implementation (McGehee et al., 2013). The findings add substantially to our understanding of tourism governance actors and show that local residents are a critical element for effective tourism governance. This paper showed that design-related approaches that acknowledge that everyone can act as a designer (Cross, 2011) can improve tourism governance arrangements by considering local residents as important actors.

The analysis showed the demand for improved coordination between institutions in charge of planning (e.g. policy-makers, destination management organizations) and addressees of planning (e.g. local residents) (Beritelli, 2011; Dredge & Jamal, 2013). It is crucial to design platforms in destinations that provide spheres for discourse (Dredge & Whitford, 2011; Lalicic, 2018) and improve communication between community members (Malek & Costa, 2014). Direct participation and resident engagement fit well with tourism destinations that have progressed in the destination life cycle and seek rejuvenation (Pikkemaat & Weiermair, 2007; Presenza et al., 2013; Weiermair, Peters, & Schuckert, 2007). These destinations offer the potential to act as role models for participatory and collaborative tourism governance and can offer local residents a platform to collaboratively design and plan destination development (Lalicic, 2018). However as discussed, providing participation opportunities for local residents can result in wicked problems (Buchanan, 1992) for tourism governance, which primarily aims at providing direction and setting boundaries (Pechlaner et al., 2010, 2015). Tourism governance is confronted with complicated and changing community structures and local residents that may disagree with development intentions. However, this gives priority to consider the role of local residents in the processes of destination design and examine the possible contribution of education facilities and universities to train destination managers and potential leaders in design thinking

## (Dym, Agogino, Eris, Frey, & Leifer, 2005).

More research is needed to explore the opportunities for local residents participation. Specifically, future research should enable residents to be well informed about local conditions, have ideas for desired developments and be able to participate in the design of destinations. This can be achieved through sharing knowledge, offering workshops, volunteering opportunities and developing shared goals, which aim to improve the commitment of local residents (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Dredge & Whitford, 2011). Future research should also enable destination managers and leaders to have special roles in destinations (Garnes & Mathisen, 2013) through interacting with all spheres of public bodies, local communities and businesses. Through this role, leaders have shared responsibility to design opportunities for participation. Additionally, future research needs to address the institutional design and the nexus between faced challenges and the low decision-making powers of actors involved in tourism governance. Overall, the literature analysis identified several knowledge gaps that future research should address (Table 7):

Despite identifying future areas of research, the systematic literature analysis had several limitations. The analysis focused primarily on scholarly peer-reviewed papers and did not include edited books or industry literature. Another limitation resulted from the narrow selection of the search terms. However, these terms were in line with previous research (Borges et al., 2014), and were carefully selected and discussed beforehand. Finally, the thematic analysis and interpretation is context-dependent and subjective to the researcher. In this context, the used typology (Green & Hunton-Clarke, 2003) can be problematic as more nuances may exist (Hewlett & Edwards, 2013).

## Declaration of competing interest

There is no conflict of interest with any financial organization or among authors regarding the content of the manuscript.

## Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2019.100389.

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