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Tourism planning and planning theory: Historical roots and contemporary alignment



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ABSTRACT

The timelines of planning theory and the approaches to tourism planning are compared from the early twentieth century to the present. The researchers address two specific questions; what are the links between these two timelines and what are the contributions to tourism planning knowledge? Unlike general planning theory, a distinctive business and profitability ethos influenced foundation tourism approaches until the impacts of the sector prompted attention to the need for more stakeholder communication and attention to sustainability concerns. Now, communication based planning and sustainability imperatives tend to co-exist in both domains with strong roles for stakeholder involvement and compartmentalized plans in tourism. Disciplinary contributions from geography and politics are more marked in general planning theory, while business and marketing orientations infuse the tourism perspectives. Tourism planning knowledge is usefully contextualized and advanced by considering generic planning theory, but remains very substantially influenced by tourism industry issues and shocks.

1. Introduction

Planning can be conceived as a set of ideas and principles that seek to control the spatial distribution of human activities over time (Gunn & Var, 2002; Hall, 2008; Inskeep, 1991). In the present work, attention is directed to the origin and ongoing development of tourism planning in relation to the broader field of planning theory. In broad terms, tourism planning can maximize the benefits of tourism for the local communities and economies and promote the sound use of resources (Ampong, 2018; Gibson, 2009). Further, effective tourism planning can assist in dealing with the negative consequences of the sector, notably environmental and community impacts (Almeida, Costa, & da Silva, 2017; Bianchi, 2018; Lew, 2017). Several broad questions shape our interest in the evolution of tourism planning. Is tourism planning theory evolving in the same way as more general planning theory? Further, how do external forces and academic disciplines shape planning theory and tourism planning? The researchers seek to address these kinds of questions by providing an overview of the temporal phases of planning theory and locating tourism related efforts within that broader context.

In one of the few studies to address the origins and forces shaping tourism planning, Dredge and Jamal (2015) propose that the disciplines

of urban and regional planning influenced the development of tourism planning and development. Some studies have suggested that tourism planning was born from the need to grow business opportunities (Bianchi, 2018; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2009; Lohmann & Netto, 2016). In this view, planning is seen as the key process to maximum long term profit for travel businesses (Bianchi, 2018; Gibson, 2009). Arguably, much tourism planning with a business focus has been largely projectoriented and directed towards a development growth model that fails to respond to social issues and change (Lew, 2017). If indeed tourism planning is strongly based on problem solving, such planning practices should be able to offer conceptual insights due to the value of considering contextual issues. Inskeep (1991), Hall (2008) and Goeldner and Ritchie (2009) all acknowledge that the development of tourism theory built on basic principles, models, and planning techniques was weak up to the 1990's. At the turn of the century, Costa (2001) suggested that that the growth of tourism planning had not matched the advance of the actual phenomena and tended to be sluggish so that planning theory did not contribute much to the development of tourism science. Nevertheless, the exact forms of influence have not been widely addressed by scholars. The debate about which disciplines first influenced tourism planning and development forms a part of the current

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investigation. Further, the roles of the industry itself rather than academic contributions need to be included in such discussion.

Belhassen and Caton (2009) explain that power, institutionalism and social context are the external factors that shape the construction of knowledge. Scholars in tourism who seek to build tourism knowledge are very much influenced by external factors such as researcher personhood and positionality, disciplinary norms, and broader societal ideologies (Tribe, 2006). In outlining the methods researchers use and the topics to which they pay attention, the expression axiology can be usefully employed; it refers specifically to the assumed good of the researchers' goals (Jennings, 2010). In accord with these perspectives, accounts of tourism knowledge creation have recognized a division for a long time; there is both work done for business goals and studies carried out to direct attention to social, cultural and environmental issues (Jafari, 1990, 2005). An awareness of the orientation of individuals within their disciplinary groups to issues and topics is a relevant consideration in determining the relationship between planning theory in general and tourism planning.

1.1. Caveat

An important caveat must be immediately raised as a framework for the current discussion. The academic literature in English is the main source of ideas used by the researchers. This limitation is of some importance as it excludes approaches in other destinations that have their own cultural and political as well as linguistic borders. For example, in China the top down processes of tourism planning are seen as markedly different from approaches prevailing in many western countries (Wan & Pinheiro, 2014). Much of this work is published in Mandarin in such journals as Tourism Tribune and Human Geography (Wu & Xu, 2010; Zhang, Lan, Qi, & Wu, 2017). Similarly, there have been local influences on tourism planning in other non-English language speaking countries with emphases on such distinctive traditions as social tourism or focused regional plans in France, Spain and elsewhere (Baidal, 2004; Diekman & McCabe, 2016). Nevertheless, the English literature does permeate into these other planning approaches and offers an important window for the assessment of the ongoing evolution of tourism planning globally (Sharpley & Telfer, 2015).

1.2. Theoretical style

The term theory as used in this paper, both in the title of the work and in the substance of the text, requires some specification. As Smith, Xiao, Nunkoo, and Tukamushaba (2013) explain, there are many ways the term theory is used in the tourism and hospitality fields. They identify seven uses of the word theory and to some extent bemoan the dilution of the word as it is used with a seemingly wider range of meanings. In specifying the uses of the term, Smith and colleagues suggest that the word theory is now increasingly used simply to capture a set of factors with some indicative relationships. Employing theory in this way does not require that the users follow rules of evidence, examine data statistically, link to existing social science approaches, build inductive models or offer epistemological or moral stances. Instead this specific use - designated as Type 4 theory - is equivalent to the term model or framework. In this paper the expression planning theory is used in this way. It is useful to think of the review of planning and tourism planning theories that follow as approaches or frameworks within a zeitgeist, each phase stressing the prevailing dictates of their times.

1.3. Structure of the paper

The structure of this paper follows the two planning timelines. Following a brief introduction to this kind of literature, a succinct appraisal of the phases of planning theory are offered. This review is then followed by an analogous appraisal of tourism planning approaches. The heart of the paper lies in the juxtaposition of these two timelines

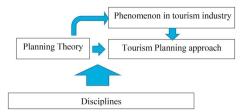


Fig. 1. The process of knowledge production in tourism planning.

and this comparison assists in addressing two specific aims. The researchers seek to determine the alignment of the development of planning theory with the evolution of tourism planning. A second aim lies in noting the disciplinary contributions to these phases of planning and tourism planning. Fig. 1 portrays the links that are involved in documenting these interests and issues. (See Fig. 2.)

2. Evolution of planning theory

Cities and towns as well as leisure settings have been planned in various ways and with explicit systems for centuries (Blainey, 2004). Both in the ancient world and beyond, the structured layout of space for human uses has been revealed through studies in archaeology and architecture (Diamond, 2005). As Rykwert (1988) suggests, once the classical cities of Rome and Athens had been cast in their specific way, they become the planning exemplars for all the other towns and outposts in their era. While these approaches are not directly relevant to modern writing and planning theory, some elements of these classical and historical designs including grid patterns and segregated districts permeate the ideas of contemporary thinking (Banerjee & Southworth, 1990). Two main phases in the development of the writing on planning can be identified. The first phase, the modern era, comprises the city beautiful movement, city scientism movement, and incrementalism/ non-planning. The second phase, the post-modern era, consists of radical/progressive planning, the sustainable planning approach and several variants of stakeholder engagement that together make up communicative planning (Allmendinger, 2017).

2.1. The modern era

2.1.1. City beautiful movement (1890–1900s)

The city beautiful movement occurred as a response to the urbanization issues in European cities, particularly in the United Kingdom. The troublesome issues included city congestion, public health concerns, and crime. This period has been identified as the birth of urban planning theory (Campbell, 1996; Taylor, 1980). The city beautiful movement emphasized the aesthetics, order, and the use of controlled designs in the belief that the places resulting from such plans would affect morale, social order, and the quality of life of urban communities (LeGates & Stout, 2015). As with much of the thinking in this early planning era, a philosophical position of environmental determinism underpinned the movement (Næss, 2016). Additionally, the aesthetic approach of the city beautiful movement had strong elements of subjectivity, thus revealing that planning theory was scientifically weak (Taylor, 1998). The movement can be perhaps be better seen as a forerunner to rather than the actual start of planning theory.

2.1.2. City scientism movement and rationalism (early 1900s - 1945)

In this period, the functioning of the city was seen as more dynamic and the incorporation of geographic and economic considerations into urban spatial planning were viewed as necessary. During this time, location theory developed (McCann, 2001). The ideas were pioneered by Johann Heinrich von Thünen who had developed a highly rational "scientific" patterned model of settlement in the nineteenth century based on transporting agricultural commodities (Peet, 1969). The

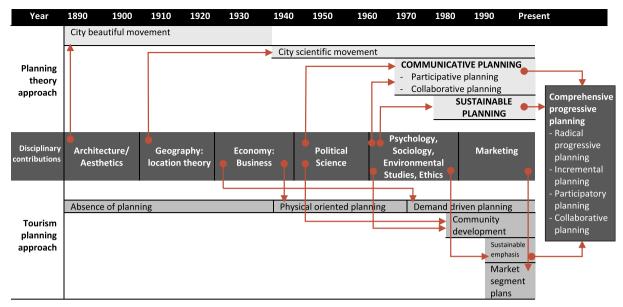


Fig. 2. A trajectory of planning styles and influences.

comprehensive Rational Model (CRM) reinforced the scientific planning model. CRM was originally a town planning model with a physical approach, where decisions were made from options proposed by the planner who was at the heart of the planning process (Faludi, 1973). This classic town planning concept was, however, considered difficult to implement. Criticisms of this theory arose. Planners were regarded as experts whose work was based on theory and idealism, but they were seen as not being able to understand the social complexity around them (Innes, 1995). In this work, economic dimensions, physical considerations and geographical factors were given the greatest weight, while social and cultural considerations were largely overlooked.

In the early years of the 1950s, CRM as a systematic planning form began receiving criticism due to its inability to manage challenging urban issues. Lindblom (1959) wrote a paper entitled "The science of Muddling Through" in response to the limitations of the CRM model. He argued that the approach was too conservative and theoretical. It was noted that, in reality, planners often made decisions based on limited resources: they had limited information and little time for analysis, so many plans were developed in a "muddling through" manner. Recognition of such bounded rationality became the basis for the emergence of incrementalism in building public policy (Lindblom, 1959). In this modern era, the government's ideology influenced decision making, making planning subject to the influence of power. The incremental planning model highlighted the incorporation of political considerations into planning theory (Maguigad, 2013). The incremental model was widely adopted across the United Kingdom and the United States of America (Alexander, 1992).

These early movements, variously characterized by subjectivity, rationality, then adaptation to political and resource issues, followed by incrementalism, summarize the early pathways of planning theory as knowledge. While they are not paradigms in the formal scientific sense of the term, they can be considered as analogous phases or shifts in styles of thinking (Kuhn, 1962; Taylor, 1998). Similar shifts also occurred in term of the planning profession. Planners began to be considered more as facilitators offering guidance as to how the city should be managed into the future, instead of technical experts skilled only in the features of urban design. Davidoff (1965) (in Lim, 1986) explained that "the skills of interpersonal communication and negotiation are seen to be central to a non-coercive, 'facilitator' model of town planning". The stakeholders' involvement, social elements, and political influences colouring the planning process developed at that time. These were elements that would grow in subsequent eras.

2.2. Post-modern era

2.2.1. Radical/progressive planning (from the 1960s)

Goodchild (1990) describes the advantages of post-modern thinking in the planning realm as recognizing the limitations of uniform standardized thinking and responding to the nuanced voices and characteristics of specific communities and situations. The post-modern thinking was heavily influenced by Marxist notions, where institutional transformation is the key for planners to overcome problems (Conyers & Hills, 1990). A more radical and politicized approach to planning emerged with the spirit of change that characterized these global movements in social life in the 1960s and beyond (Blainey, 2004). In this approach planners through their ideological orientation and their communication processes can fight for what is considered appropriate in the context of the community (Alexander, 1992). In short, the postmodern approach embraced diversity by attending more directly to the needs of the poor and marginalized groups. The work of Whyte (1996) on street life further developed the centrality of sociological considerations in urban spatial planning.

2.2.2. Communicative and participatory planning (from the late 1960s)

The communicative approach to planning evolved through academic discussions and challenged the systematic model of planning. The integrative power of a strong communication approach was viewed as bridging the needs of the public/community and political interests (Innes, 1995). Forester (1982), one of the initiators of the communicative planning model, argued that in order to produce effective planning, a public planner will experience a dichotomy between being a professional who fights for public interests, and being required to follow political will. One challenge here for planners lies in changing mindsets. Communicative planning diversified as several different streams or styles were developed (Innes, 1995). The collaborative planning model was a solution to complex problems, where diverse stakeholders tried to build consensus and formulate solutions through networking (Ruhanen, 2009). This model encountered several obstacles during its implementation, in particular the challenge of defining and involving appropriate stakeholders (Margerum, 2002).

An offshoot of the communicative approach was participatory planning. The main objective was to involve the community in the planning process by accommodating ideas, needs, and interests (Alexander, 1992). Planning with a participatory approach was carried out by involving all stakeholders in development. The philosophy of

community participation in planning represented a shift in the nature of social planning: from for people to by people. But the new form was often politicized by decision makers as a vehicle to legalize their programs. Therefore, in the 1990s the implementation of participatory planning was harshly criticized by many parties (Legacy, 2017). Davidoff (1965, 2003) proposed and continued to argue for the advocacy planning approach which positions planners as representatives of people's voices and champions their interests so that they are accommodated in planning. This approach began to flourish in the late twentieth century in response to discrimination against minorities in terms of their access to valued urban infrastructure.

2.2.3. Sustainable planning approach (from the 1990s)

Towards the end of the twentieth century the deteriorating quality of the environment and the plight of poorer communities led to a sustainable development movement in planning. The publication of key documents such as the Brundtland report formed the supporting ideas for sustainability directions in planning (Brundtland, Khalid, Agnelli, Al-Athel, & Chidzero, 1987). The concept of sustainable development has had a major influence on the development of planning theory in the post-modern era, giving rise to such concepts as green city, resilient city, and eco-city (Campbell, 1996; Conyers & Hills, 1990; Wong & Yuen, 2011). The value of the concept has continued to be a topic of debate both in the field of science and planning. The complexities of measuring and monitoring actions and interpreting their effectiveness are continuing challenges (Jepson Jr, 2001; Mascarenhas, Nunes, & Ramos, 2015). Nevertheless, sustainability concerns have become a bedrock for planning and policy development in contemporary times, with many of the world's leading cities and events vying for accolades in their attempt to develop and implement best practice sustainability guidelines (Madu, Kuei, & Lee, 2017).

The preceding literature review, which has succinctly noted the stages and phases of key approaches in planning theory, reveals that architecture, geography, economics, sociology, politics, and environmental science are foundation disciplines. Political and sociological considerations have been to the fore in the postmodernism period, as seen in the development of communicative planning (LeGates & Stout, 2015). The role of the community in participating in planning has emerged as an ideal but is not always addressed (Bramwell, 2010; Innes, 1995). Further, an awareness of scientific research and the significance of sustainability and climate change globally has led to the incorporation of these mainstream ideas into planning theory in the twenty first century (Madu et al., 2017; Wong & Yuen, 2011).

3. The development of tourism planning

The idea that tourism was a key part of the economy and community life took a long time to emerge in the planning literature. As one economic activity among many, explicit planning attention to the needs of multiple stakeholders to unsure successful tourism was slow to develop (Dredge & Jamal, 2015). The local forms of tourism development greatly influenced the type of planning that was adopted – sometimes there was minimal effort, at others a laissez-faire approach was employed, and in few places an organized strategy was quickly built to seize the opportunity for growth (Costa, 2001; Harrison, 2015). Tourism researchers began to develop their own perspectives on planning and several discernible phases can be specified. Through a search of journal articles and tourism planning books, the evolution of tourism planning can be explained as follows.

3.1. The era without explicit tourism planning (1900–1940s)

In its early development until the 1940s, many scholars have contended that tourism grew without palpable planning (Inskeep, 1991; Pearce, 1989; Tosun & Jenkins, 1998). Tourism was developed based on market mechanisms, and tourism planning was an infrequent activity.

Choy (1991) cites the example of many Pacific islands, where by 1970 around 25 years of development had taken place without very much planning. Similarly, Yang and Wall (2008) note that before 1980, there was very little attention to planning theory and practice in China. Although tourism was growing, the needs of the sector and its stakeholders did not receive any special attention when planning for the needs of communities (Ruhanen, 2009). In Europe a few early approaches can be detected: German publications regarding hospitality management, first by Beloti in 1919 and then by Glucksmann in 1935, addressed the infrastructure needed for tourism growth (Lohmann & Netto, 2016). In several countries, tourist activities were often identified as occurring in peripheral places - beaches, mountain retreats and islands. In the 1930s Walter Christaller in his central place theory of economic growth noted the peripheral locationsof such development. He viewed such tourism sites as an exception to the prevailing trends for communities to grow based on their centrality in a network of other communities (Von Böventer, 1969). As a consequence of this marginality, any planning for tourism as a peripheral node for growth was outside of mainstream plans and the likely development of core settlements. The disruption to tourism caused by the Second World War also halted any incipient planning for this emerging industry.

3.2. The planning era oriented towards physical aspects and tourist facilities (starting in 1940s)

The prevailing ethos for research and management in the middle of the twentieth century was built on positivism and scientific methods (Getz, 1986; Gunn, 1988; Inskeep, 1991; Jafari, 1987). There was a prevailing hegemonic view that the industry was "smokeless" in contrast to development built on large scale manufacturing plants and production processes (Farrell, 1982; Pearce, Moscardo, & Ross, 1996). Unfortunately, the rational scientific method and hegemony of government only represented the interest of the homogeneous middle class and public officials (Inskeep, 1991; Leiper, 2008; Mill & Morrison, 1985); thus not all community aspirations were accommodated (Dredge & Jamal, 2015).

Additionally, the type of planning as well as those whose interests were being served had a special focus. Murphy (1983) and Choy (1991) noted that the development of tourism planning was initially focused on physical and economic aspects until the 1960s. At that time, tourism was not yet seen as a system, but only an activity controlled by private business. The focus of tourism planning was on building physical facilities for tourists, such as hotels, restaurants, communication, and transportation systems. The endorsement and incentives for the construction of hotels in Asia by various governments represents a typical example of this facilities-first approach to tourism growth and planning (Pearce & Thanksooks, 2016). Tourism growth was driven by the marketing of these facilities in existing and new destinations. Governments rapidly developed strong tourism marketing bodies and departments but the planning arms of such new administrative units were largely minor players in the rush to benefit from new income (Morrison, 2019).

3.3. Demand-oriented planning era (starting in 1960s)

In the post war period, the role of the government shifted from simply serving the community to becoming a facilitator and enabler of economic activities (Dredge & Jamal, 2015). Indeed, tourism instead of being considered a peripherally located sector, somewhat marginal to the mainstream interests of planners and government development personnel, started to gain attention as a driver of regional economies. The mass tourism model was established, most notably in Spain, so the tourism planning approach began to consider tourist demand and its outcomes (Archer & Cooper, 1994).

Bramwell (2011) and Hall (2011) argued that in this era, the government shifted its role from public administration to public management as characterized by an increase in public-private partnerships, collaborative planning and policy development, and shared

government-business power. Planning and policy were the result of negotiation and compromise between the public and private sectors (Dredge & Jenkins, 2010; Hall, 1994). Hence, the public's needs were often sacrificed by the government to encourage business growth in line with neoliberalism that placed an emphasis on corporate prosperity and economic growth (Dredge & Jenkins, 2010).

As Jafari (1990) noted, the platforms for representing tourism and describing it as a phenomenon developed from a base of pure advocacy to alternate views examining impacts. Tosun and Jenkins (1998) reported that criticisms about a purely physical approach to planning theory emerged, especially in non-western countries. The impacts of tourism on the physical aspects of the city created a sense of urgency for planning, especially as the 1960s was marked by such rapid tourism growth. The time was ripe for a broader approach to planning and the global attention to capacity issues and sustainability provided the context for a new phase in tourism planning to commence.

3.4. Tourism carrying capacity

After World War Two and in the euphoria of cheaper travel for mass markets, the arrival of large numbers of people crowds was initially considered as a marker of tourism success (Young, 1973). Doubts about the infinite growth of tourism were, however, raised in the 1970s and led to a significant and enduring body of work on the topic of carrying capacity (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Butler (1980) provided a model that has been cited repeatedly. In this approach, the peak of the growth curve of tourism that charts rising tourism numbers is seen as the point where resource issues emerge and overcrowding for communities becomes a problem. At this peak or crisis time, there is a subsequent need to refresh the forms or approach to tourism; acts which require substantial planning. As a side issue, it is noteworthy that these concerns were prescient; many such issues surfaced in Europe under the journalistic label of over tourism in the period 2015–2020 (Dodds & Butler, 2019). In line with the evolution of social emphases in planning theory in the 1970's, early carrying capacity studies in tourism also considered the social capacity of host communities (McCool & Lime, 2001). Researchers addressed such topics as how to calculate the desirable number of visitors, the preferred or acceptable levels of development, levels of use and the social and physical impact of tourist behaviour on destinations (Butler, 1996). Later on, the carrying capacity concept developed into variety of planning frameworks, such as Visitor Activity Management Planning (VAMP) (Nilsen & Grant, 1998), Visitor Impact Management (Graefe, Kuss, et al., 1990), Limits of Acceptable Change (McCool, 1994) and the Tourism Optimization Model (Miller & Twining-Ward, 2005). This theme of carrying capacity penetrates most tourism planning phases and continues to have a currency in contemporary times.

3.5. The era of sustainable planning (1980s to the present)

Getz (1986) reports that the large environmental, cultural, and social impacts of tourism invited interest from governments, researchers, and NGOs, and created a call for sustainable tourism development. During this period, there were many studies and research planning guidelines produced. Finding ways to utilize natural resources for tourism while considering community welfare and environmental conservation were the noble goals (Ampong, 2018; Dredge & Jenkins, 2010; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2009; Maguigad, 2013). However, in practice the concept has often been hard to implement and has created conflicts in policy making (Dredge & Jamal, 2015; Sæþórsdóttir & Hall, 2019). Budeanu (2005) observed that tourism policy and planning have often struggled to manage conflicts between the environment and the social dimensions. Key points for the difficulty of building sustainable planning schemes include specifying what to measure and how to measure key indicators. Further, the triggers of the rapid change in tourism systems are complex and substantial investment is required to maintain such monitoring systems (cf. Hughes, Newsome, & Rodger, 2018). The sustainability approach has co-existed with a community orientation to tourism planning. The latter has placed great emphasis on involving the community and stakeholders in planning, while core sustainability approaches tend to use triple or quadruple bottom line guidelines to build a framework for planning (Elkington, 1997).

3.6. Community engagement and participation era (1990s to the present)

Postmodernism highlights the important role of institutional and social processes in tourism planning (Healey, 1997). Giddens (1984) stressed that post modernism prompts attention to knowledge, especially that born from the community's experience; such additions to the thinking about planning enriched the base of planning knowledge. Dredge and Jamal (2015) explain that since the 1990s, stakeholders have been increasingly taken into consideration in tourism planning, notably in the context of the interrelationship between the government, business, and society. This community engagement perspective has intensified with the development of sustainable tourism and requires effective planning that considers environmental goals, social issues, and economic justice. The collaborative and participatory models in tourism planning are viewed as able to increase the effectiveness of stakeholders' relationships (Bramwell, 2010; Dredge & Jamal, 2015; Jamal & Getz, 1996; Tosun, 2000). In practice, the relationships among the government, business and local communities are often strained. These stresses support the need for wide-ranging participation as advocated by the political, justice, and ethics approaches to tourism planning (Forester, 2000). Many local examples reveal that self-interest and a lack of trust among stakeholders can derail many tourism planning and collaborative efforts (Pearce, 2019).

The community orientation marks the consolidation of advocacy planning that gives voice to the minority groups and local businesses against the forces creating mass tourism (Butler, 1992). The sustainability approach has, arguably, triggered a tourism paradigm that supports local communities, protects the environment, and encourages regional development (Ampong, 2018; Bianchi, 2018; Saarinen, Rogerson, & Hall, 2017). Following the pioneering work of Murphy (1985), the model of tourism community development that has been proposed in various studies seeks to develop tourism with a bottom-up approach (Sharpley & Telfer, 2015). Through these processes there is a belief and hope that tourism will be the key to reducing poverty (Rahmafitria, Putro, & Rosyidie, 2019). In this kind of literature, ecotourism, niche tourism or village based tourism are often featured heavily as examples of good sustainability planning and community engagement practice, though the bigger challenge is dealing with the larger scale of impacts and growth in many tourism regions (Novelli, 2005; Wearing & Schweinsberg, 2018).

4. The influence of planning theory on tourism planning

Building on the material reviewed, two targeted aims of this paper can now be specified in more detail. Firstly, the researchers seek to align the stages in the development of planning theory with the phases of tourism planning. The central questions being answered in this process are what are the links, delays and compatibilities in these two timelines? The material is presented in Table 1.

The highlights of Table 1 reveal that the industrial revolution motivated a movement to improve the urban environment (City Beautiful Reform), which marked the inception of the rational comprehensive approach. The industrial revolution also had a strong influence on the development of transportation technology, thus encouraging more tourism trips. City development has grown hand in hand with efforts to control such growth. While city planning theory was emerging, tourism, the new economic sector, developed through the accessibility of transportation technology; at this early stage it appears appropriate to conclude that tourism developed with no explicit planning.

 Table 1

 The influence of planning theory on tourism planning development.

Era	Year	The development of			Links between planning theory and tourism
		Planning theory	Tourism industry a	Tourism planning	Pianning
After industrial revolution	(1890–1900s)	City beautiful reform (Physical planning approach)	 The first travel agent (1822) in England and the growth of travel agent Leisure was dominated by high class citizens 	No explicit planning Tourism growth with minimum planning and iust followed the market mechanism.	Planners were not encouraged to conduct tourism planning, considering the phenomenon of tourism travel was still new and urban planning was more
Modern era	1900–1945	City Scientism Movement The beginning of the Comprehensive Rational Model (CRM)	Mobility era (the growth of technology in transportation and development of accommodations) Leisure for middle class		needed more by local communities.
	> 1950	Incrementalism (a counter to CRM)	Mass tourism era	Physically oriented planning Tourism was viewed in the context of private	The era of citizen participation did not contribute much to the development of tourism planning due
		Radical/ progressive planning (the involvement of citizen participation in planning)	The first holiday for workers increased their opportunities to travel in group Leisure travel increased rapidly for middle class and low class	business, and not seen as a system. Planning was needed to develop infrastructure and physical facilities for tourists.	to the government's strong focus as a planner for economic growth and the importance of investment in tourism.
Post-modern era	> 1970	Communicative planning	Rapid tourism expansion	Demand oriented planning Planning was demand-oriented since the need to	Tourism planning was still largely influenced by the interest in economic growth. Public and
		- Rational model failed to meet the	- The first theme park "Disneyland" was built	construct new destinations was increasing.	political interests were still the priorities of
		necess or predecting paraming - Communicative planning became an approach to bridge the needs of nublics and notificial ocals		markets	equans conounc points. In accordany or arc era was influential in matching facilities to consumer needs.
	> 1980	Sustainable Planning Approach environmental. equity and economic	Individual mass tourism	Integrated planning approach The incrementalism has influenced this	Sustainable development was quite influential in reshaping the direction of and approaches to
		growth has led to concern in sustainable planning.	 Small groups tourists become choices to travel to regarding the personal comfortability The born of special interest tourist segments known as niche tourism. 	approach since the master planning approach has failed in planning practice. The role of planner as social agent grew because of negative impacts	tourism planning. The impact of tourism on natural and social environments caused planners to start considering all factors comprehensively.
				The negative impact of mass tourism has encouraged the emergence of physical carrying capacity studies in tourism.	
	> 1990		Niche tourism was thriving, specified into tourism groups such as ecotourism, agritourism, cultural	Community engagement and participation era	Planning theory became increasingly influential in tourism planning. Some concepts in planning
			tourism, religion tourism, gastronomy tourism etc.	Collaborative and participative approach to tourism planning was able to produce a specific tourism model based on specific interests.	theory developed in the early post-modern era were used as new approaches in developing tourism.
	Contemporary	Co-existence of integrated planning approaches and continuing development of sustainability themes	Continued growth of multiple tourism markets with a surge of new waves of tourists from China Overtourism becomes an issue in Europe and beyond and	Multiple planning portfolios While an overall Master plan may exist detailed plans for specific aspects of tourism, such as	Planning theory and tourism planning grow together. Sustainability concerns underpin many contemporary tourism plans. Some destinations
			community reactions matter	events and market segments supplement the vision of the one comprehensive plan	follow the generic planning integrated models while others have plans for specific parts of the system

^a Source: Authors' summaries.

Entering the 1950s, an incremental approach to planning theory appeared in response to the overly dominant physical planning. At that time too the development of mass tourism in several European countries occurred. The availability of holiday rights for workers increased people's leisure time, and tourism became increasingly widespread. Simultaneously tourism planning began to emerge, albeit not yet as a comprehensive system but focused on the perspective of supply, how to prepare tourist attractions and build facilities for tourists.

In the 1970s, when planning theory entered a new era with the communicative approach, the tourism industry was also experiencing rapid development. This was marked by the construction of purposebuilt tourist areas in many cities that began with Disneyland in California. The tourism sector was expanding through urban and coastal renewal projects as well as attractions and the need for planning to satisfy consumers and entrepreneurs was to the fore (Leiper, 1990).

Approaches to tourism planning as a complex system began in the early 1980s. By then the phenomenon of mass tourism had created a strong understanding of the driving factors shaping tourists' destination choices. Higher demand and growing numbers affected the development of transit areas as well as destinations. At the same time, planning theory grew substantially stronger, and early considerations about capacity and sustainability were developed.

In the early 1990s, the sustainable development concept began to influence generic planning theory. In the tourism industry, the same patterns applied. The stakeholder and community involvement became even stronger in planning. And planning theory along with tourism planning flourished through emphasizing and employing more integrative approaches. From these historical markers it can be suggested that tourism planning as a form of knowledge began to emerge in 1970s, when the rationality approach helped tourism development decisions. Nevertheless, such rational pathways in planning were readjusted by politics, demand and local economic needs. Subsequent advances were shaped by the very growth of tourism and its outcomes together with the work done on the multi-faceted impacts of the arrival of so many tourists. This evolution reveals that (social) science and broader community realities were dual components in the development of tourism planning knowledge.

5. Discussion

In addressing the first aim of this study the material reported in Table 1 indicates some but not total alignment between the development of planning theory in general and approaches to tourism planning. A close tie exists between the early stages of planning theory and the investment in physically oriented planning views in tourism. At times, there has been a lag between the ideas developed in planning theory and the take-up of these perspectives in tourism planning. One illustration of this time lag lies in the relatively slow adoption of community perspectives into tourism planning. By way of contrast, some strong distinctive trends in tourism planning appear. For example, the impetus to develop economic benefits for business reflected in the demand driven approach to tourism planning does not have a clear parallel in general planning theory, although arguably the tourism perspective is a specific version of the comprehensive rational approach of the 1950s and 1960s. As a globally important zeitgeist, sustainability had strong influences in both planning theory and tourism planning perspectives in the 1990s; this influence continues into the present. The differentiation of tourism planning for a destination into multiple plans is a reaction to the growing complexity of heterogeneous markets and changing demands. This kind of development is allied to incremental planning more generally, which is a reaction to the failure of the big comprehensive plans in the wider disciplinary area.

A second specific aim of this research lies in noting the contributions of ideas from the various disciplines to these phases of planning and tourism planning. Fig. 2 assists in interpreting these pathways.

An examination of the disciplinary and academic contribution of

ideas to planning theory and tourism planning, as portrayed in Fig. 2, adds to the understanding of the relationship between tourism planning and the activity as exercised in its wider frame for whole communities. By examining the figure from the left to the right it can be seen that the early phases of tourism planning have roots in geography and economics. Here, it is important to note that economics as discipline is a contributor but it is the economic push for community jobs and the serving of business interests that strongly shaped the demand driven approach to planning (cf. Jafari, 1990). The planning for tourism in this part of the figure relies in part on business and management studies (Costa, 2001; Yang & Wall, 2008)). However, business and management science are not considered influential in the development of planning theory.

The sociological and psychological emphasis were the discipline drivers of the community directions with concerns about equity and fairness dominant in this push for assessing the views of multiple stakeholders. Later, the contribution of environmental sciences forged the background for highlighting sustainability. Fig. 2 reveals that the phases of the city scientific movement and the rational planning approaches were dominated by aesthetic geographical, spatial and architectural influences. The city scientific movement and the beautiful cities approaches comprise these early drivers. In common with the tourism planning developments, the incorporation of sustainability perspectives and community consultation appear in later phases of the development of planning theories. Here the disciplines of business, psychology and sociology influence the planning theories and approaches while the environmental sciences together with the ethics from philosophy build sustainability directions.

Communicative planning, is indeed the most powerful contemporary planning theory. Politics and sociology strongly influence this theory, contributing to its development both substantially and procedurally. It has subdivisions and facets –progressive, participative collaborative and incremental. The incremental approach is also reflected in part in tourism planning in response to the failures of the comprehensive planning. The direction in the tourism planning space lies in the greater specification of tourism plans for compartmentalized markets and activities (Lohmann & Netto, 2016). A feature of these more specific plans is that they may be stand-alone shapers of action or be sub–sections of a more general planning process for tourism (Morrison, 2019; Sharpley & Telfer, 2015).

Meanwhile, the influence of planning theory on tourism planning can be seen in the form of approach used. All of the tourism approaches have associations with a particular planning theory (Fig. 3). For example, Rational Comprehensive Planning underpinned the evolution of physically oriented tourism planning.

Nevertheless, prior to 1970, the gap between tourism planning and planning theory was still wide. Tourism planning just focused on economic goals and tended to ignore other (social) scientific rationalities. Thus, little knowledge was generated through a specific tourism planning approach. The interplay between planning activities and feedback into theory from practice action was not well-developed (cf. Tribe, 2006). The Sustainable Development (STD) movement narrowed the gap between planning theory and tourism planning. The power of sustainable development stimulated by the highly negative impact of unplanned development was able to forge a common base for similar endeavors. Knowledge production was thus enhanced by a close consideration of empirical phenomena (Belhassen & Caton, 2009). There is also a link here to post modernism which directs attention to pluralism and diversity in tackling problems; thus community perspectives now play a role in both forms of planning and the knowledge production process.

6. Conclusion

It can be concluded that the development process of tourism planning as a form of knowledge was substantially influenced by tourism

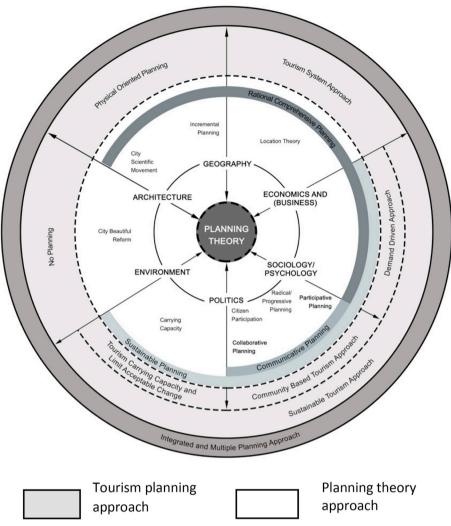


Fig. 3. Forces linking planning theory and tourism planning

industry evolution. Unlike planning theory in general, the power of business interests, in concert with governments seeking to build the tourism industry as a regional or national powerhouse, not only shaped the growth, but also influenced how the planning for the industry was developed. Metaphors such as tourism as the engine of growth or as a new kind of sugar prevailed, and the ideas of a smokeless industry were advocated with widespread enthusiasm (Farrell, 1982; Pearce et al., 1996). Planning in this context was viewed almost as a restriction on growth, and certainly not a benefit to the key business stakeholders (Dredge & Jamal, 2015; Murphy, 1985). Faced with these powerful economic views, the role of governments in encouraging the construction of broadly based plans to serve communities took some time to develop (Sharpley & Telfer, 2015). The timelines reported in this paper reveal that the need for tourism planning was only highlighted when the results of inadequate planning were felt to be detrimental to the community and/or the environment. As these realizations of the potential destructive powers of unfettered tourism emerged, planning for the sector began to take on many of the characteristics of generic planning theory. In particular greater efforts to communicate with a wider range of stakeholders emerged and the utilization of sustainability measures and approaches defined a new era. Now in contemporary times, tourism planners can be the intermediaries for the improvement of social justice within the local communities and the de facto protectors of the natural resources on which much tourism depends (Lohmann & Netto, 2016). These imperatives have also seen the rise of specific plans for market segments such as Chinese outbound

tourists, and well-defined activities including ecotourism, cultural tourism, events and other specific drivers of development.

This study has been built at a generic level and, as noted already, focused on western planning traditions. More insights can potentially be generated by assembling a series of case studies, selected strategically, to compare the evolution of planning and more specifically tourism planning in comparable locations (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Such systematic research on different destinations may reveal similarities and differences that are more nuanced than provided in this overview. The tourism planning studies must also recognize the special role of management and business studies; these disciplinary influences are not a part of the heritage of planning theory more generally but have been shown to be powerful drivers of how tourism plans are developed. Further lines of research could direct attention to the integration of tourism with other sectors such as health and agriculture; and importantly, assess harmony with these components. Planning theorists too, can make tourism a research subject, so that they can accommodate the complexity of the sectors' problem in formulating their influential work.

Authors' contributions

This is to state that the order the authors are based on the individual contribution of each author in writing the paper as well as in generating the ideas. It can be concluded that the first author contributes around 40%, the second author 30%, the third author 20%, the fourth author 10%.

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