



Tourism Policy: A Strategic Review

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About the author

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Introduction

This review is arranged in four main sections. This first introduction will provide the reader with an orientation to the paper, its aims, importance, methods, structure, delimitations and scope. It will then provide a 'mapping' of the field using two analytical structures; the first is the policy cycle, and the second is based on the three different approaches to the analysis of policy (scientific, institutional and social). After these two sections, the paper reviews the methodology of tourism policy, followed by some conclusions, then a discussion of areas for further research, and finally an extensive reference list.

Why is it important to study tourism policy? Hall (2008a, p. 10) provides three reasons to study policy: to understand the shaping of policy decisions and their impacts (the policy cycle approach); to provide information about solutions to practical problems and to then feed this information into the policy process (scientific approach); and to understand the interests and values involved in policy and planning processes (associated with the social approach). These are general reasons for the study of policy, but do not provide a justification for the study of policy related to tourism in particular.

Tourism policy is an important area for study because of its practical and theoretical importance. Tourism is of practical significance as international travel requires government cooperation in, for example, bilateral airline negotiations, decisions about provision of facilities and services, interactions with other sectors, use of publicly 'owned' resources such as national parks as attractions, the issuing of tourist visas and in the funding of marketing of particular destinations (Ahmed & Krohn, 1990).

"It is only governments which have the power to provide the political stability, security and the legal and financial framework which tourism requires. They provide essential services and basic infrastructure. It is only national governments which can negotiate and make agreements with other governments on issues such as immigration procedures or flying over and landing on national territory" (Elliott, 1997, p. 2).

Governments have control of factors such as the amount of paid holidays and the application of currency restrictions (Wanhill, 1987), international affairs, border security, social and community development. Governments policy in agriculture (David Leslie & Black, 2005; Williams & Ferguson, 2005), security (Blake & Sinclair, 2003), and health (Zeng, Carter, & De Lacy, 2005). This government involvement is pervasive and can be at national, provincial and local levels with some authors considering that 'good' policy requires involvement of all three (Kerr, 2003, p. 17). Reasons for government involvement and policy formulation include market failure (Fayos-Sola, 1996, p. 410; Smeral, 1998), governments seeking to understand and mitigate the cultural, social and environmental effects of tourism, use by tourism of public goods, and the spatial nature of tourism that requires land use planning (Kerr, 2003).

Governments are interested in tourism due to the magnitude of its economic, social and environmental impacts, as tourism is generally considered to provide around 10% of the world's economy with consequent effects on the communities and natural environments with which it interacts. Perhaps tourism policy would not be so important if these economic benefits were only available for particular countries or tourism was a closed system where the potential for collateral impact and damage from external shocks, crises and disasters was less. Instead most governments have an involvement in tourism, although the existence of formally stated and

publicly accessible national tourism policies (in 1988) is by no means universal (Baum, 1994). Government tourism policy may also be indirect, whereby government actions influence tourism as a by-product of an interest in some related area; or direct whereby governments actively seek to influence tourism or some aspect of tourism in pursuit of a policy objective (Airey, 1983). In general, governments consider tourism as a source of economic development, increasing its priority especially for developing countries.

Tourism is also an interesting context in which to apply theories and concepts from other disciplines. It is a service industry, often considered to be based on hedonistic discretionary activity, and therefore distinct from the agricultural, resource extraction, or manufacturing sectors that have traditionally been the focus of government economic policy. Operationally it is complex, involving often simultaneous cooperative and competitive behavior, by stakeholders both with a destination, as well as across the globe. The stakeholders themselves are ill-defined, including dependent on the view taken, tourism operators, cooperative organizations, government bodies, networks of people and organizations, the community, non-government organizations, and so on. Indeed tourism is an open system that in some ways is a microcosm of wider society. For this reason it is an important context where theories developed in more traditional areas may be tested.

This review

This paper seeks to provide a *strategic* review of the academic tourism policy literature such as that provided by Ambrosie (2010) which arranged policy research along a social versus rational continuum. Its purpose is to provide integrative frameworks with which to organize a 'diverse and fragmented literature' (Coles, Hall, & Duval, 2006, p. 296) about which there is 'little agreement about how [it] should be studied and the reasons underpinning such studies' (Hall & Jenkins, 1995, p. 2). As such the review seeks broad classificatory schemes that help to make the literature more accessible, and to provide examples of papers within each theme. It does not seek to be exhaustive in categorizing each paper under the headings to which it may belong.

An alternative to this strategic approach is to provide a discussion of the literature on tourism policy and its sub-topics, theories and evolution, an approach that would require a substantial book, and indeed a number of discussions of this type are available in books on 'tourism policy' and 'tourism policy and planning' (Bryden, 1973; Burns & Novelli, 2007; de Kadt, 1979; Dredge & Jenkins, 2007; Edgell, 1990, 1999; Edgell, Allen, Smith, & Swanson, 2008; Elliott, 1997; Hall, 1994, 2000, 2008b; Hall & Jenkins, 1995; Jeffries, 2001; Kerr, 2003; Richter, 1989; Telfer, 2009; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008; Veal, 2002). An example is the focused review of Connelly (2007, p. 85), which arranged the literature as a series of subject areas relevant to his topic area (urban tourism competitiveness policy), such as tourism governance and state intervention, public/private partnerships, and regimes of accumulation and modes of regulation. The *focused* approach examines the particular streams of theory and practice of a topic but does not address the overlaps and interconnections between topics. However:

"Studying public policy is a difficult task that comprises analysis of numerous decisions made by numerous individuals and organisations that have often been shaped by earlier policies and may be linked closely with other seemingly unrelated decisions" (Wray, 2009, p. 673).

A second alternative would be to focus on current issues or particular streams of theory or methodology which, while perhaps more complete within its boundaries, would have excluded a recognition of the complex interplay of theory and practice, evolving ideas and action, that the tourism policy literature represents. A third is that taken by Ambrosie (2010) is to use one theoretically based a continuum from rational to social paradigms on which to arrange the tourism policy literature. However:

‘The nature of the policy-making process in any nation-state varies over space and time, and varies among policy sectors or policy communities. Attempts to analyze policy are made complex not only by decisions, actions, and events, but by the knowledge that there is no coherent or universally accepted theory of public policy processes, and no single means of explaining events’ (Hall & Jenkins, 2004, p. 527).

Thus, while a continuum approach based on paradigms has advantages in simplicity, in this paper two dimensions or classificatory tools are used. These are: (1) the policy development sequence, or policy cycle; and (2) ideology and values implicitly or explicitly adopted, and which is similar to the paradigmatic dimension of Ambrosie (2010). This approach is appropriate to deal with the complexity and fragmentation of a literature that draws on and contributes to theories from economics, geography, politics, policy studies, sociology, management and business.

Difficulties in the study of policy

There are a number of reasons why the study of tourism policy is difficult. A first reason is that tourism policy, explicitly or implicitly involves beliefs and values, about what is good and bad. Policy concerns goals and allocation of resources in situations, and to social problems, sometimes called ‘wicked’ problems (Rittel & Weber, 1973), where there is no clear answer. An example is the:

‘very real quandary (of a social and economic significance unlikely to be faced by academic observers) that the Minister [of Tourism for Eritrea] confronted in comparing the ‘social and ecological dangers posed by large-scale development’, with the ‘desperate need of foreign investment and the foreign exchange earnings some of which could be generated through tourism’ (Burns, 1999, p. 343).

A consequence of the ‘messy’ nature of policy is that there will be differences in opinions concerning ‘appropriate’ policy to deal with a particular problem with each outcome resulting in ‘winners and losers’.

...development policies and activities are exactly like any other policies and activities in this crucial respect: there is little or no likelihood of positive-sum outcomes with gains to all participants (Goldsworthy, 1988, p. 508).

Policy is seen as complex (McDonald, 2009) requires system and complexity thinking (Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2005), and is best dealt with as a complex adaptive system. The discussion that surrounds the dilemma of the Minister of Tourism for Eritrea is common highlights another difficulty in studying policy, and is reflected in debate concerning ‘tourism as industry vs. tourism as problem’ debate (Ritchie, Burns, & Palmer, 2005, p. 3), and of the contrast between tourism policy advice as the immediate outcome of an academic study, versus policy as the object of

study. In many policy-related papers there is a 'tourism as industry' perspective that may, for example, examine how destinations can secure a competitive edge in increasingly global consumer markets (Ritchie & Crouch, 2000). This perspective is considered by Bramwell and Lane (2006, p. 1) as 'distinctly positivist and empirical in outlook; it leaves the impression that it is dealing with objective, value-free or neutral knowledge'. The alternative is to consider tourism policy as a domain for examination of concepts such as trust, collaboration, social identity, the exercise of power, and so on; and best viewed through a variety of disciplinary and ideological 'lenses', that are becoming increasingly diverse, especially as researchers work at, and sometimes cut across, different levels (macro, meso, micro) of analysis' (J. Jenkins, 2001, p. 70).

The 'industry led' perspective is underpinned by the rapid growth in tourism as a source of economic development that has led to a 'staggering expansion' in the scale of tourism around the world and a consequent need for theories and academic advice. '[T]ourist studies has simply tried to track and record this, producing an enormous record of instances, case studies and variations' (Franklin & Crang, 2001, p. 5). In combination with the recent development of tourism as a specialist field of study, this rapid growth has led to an 'unconsolidated' literature dominated by 'policy led and industry sponsored work so the analysis tends to internalize industry led priorities and perspectives' (Franklin & Crang, 2001, p. 5). Studies of tourism public policies provide useful insights into who gets what, when, and why in the tourism policy process, and might also make a contribution to better informed government decision-making and policy-making. (Hall & Jenkins, 2004)

The literature of tourism and policy

Reviewing and integrating such an unconsolidated literature is a daunting task and studies of policy, planning, and analysis of tourism are difficult to delineate. Many journal articles include 'policy' in their list of keywords on the basis that their findings may be of interest to policymakers, and papers may discuss the policy implications of their work in the conclusions section. The inclusion or exclusion of papers that provide policy implications in a discussion that is otherwise about marketing, consumer behavior, economics, sociology, biology, and so on, may explain why there is disagreement over the size of the tourism policy literature. Some authors have argued that the tourism policy literature is limited, while a recent review using 'public' and 'policy' as search terms in a search of 18 journals over the period 1980-2007 has identified over 400 articles (Ambrosie, 2010). Indeed, based on the pervasive government involvement in tourism, and its interest in the impacts of tourism, it is arguable that all tourism research is policy research.

This review selected 608 articles that included 'policy' in the title, keywords or abstracts using databases or journal websites searches up to the end of 2009. These articles were then scanned and 391 selected for closer examination. The remainder excluded covered book reviews and articles not significantly related to government or public tourism policy. For a policy to be regarded as public policy, at the very least it must have been processed, even if only authorized or ratified, by public agencies (Hall & Jenkins, 1995). The primary journals containing tourism public policy related papers were *Annals of Tourism Research* (108), *Tourism Management* (77), *Current Issues in Tourism* (55), *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* (55), and *Journal of Travel Research* (19), with 15 other journals containing the remaining 87 papers.

The earliest paper examined (in journals only) was from 1974 and discusses the social impacts of tourism development (Butler, 1974). From this year, the number of papers grows steadily, increasing to over 30 published in each of 2008 and 2009 (Figure 1). The most common keywords used across all papers selected (apart from policy and tourism) were develop (ing, ment, etc), manage (ment, ing, etc) and sustain (able, ability etc). A large number of keywords were used only a few times, perhaps indicative of a fragmented literature.

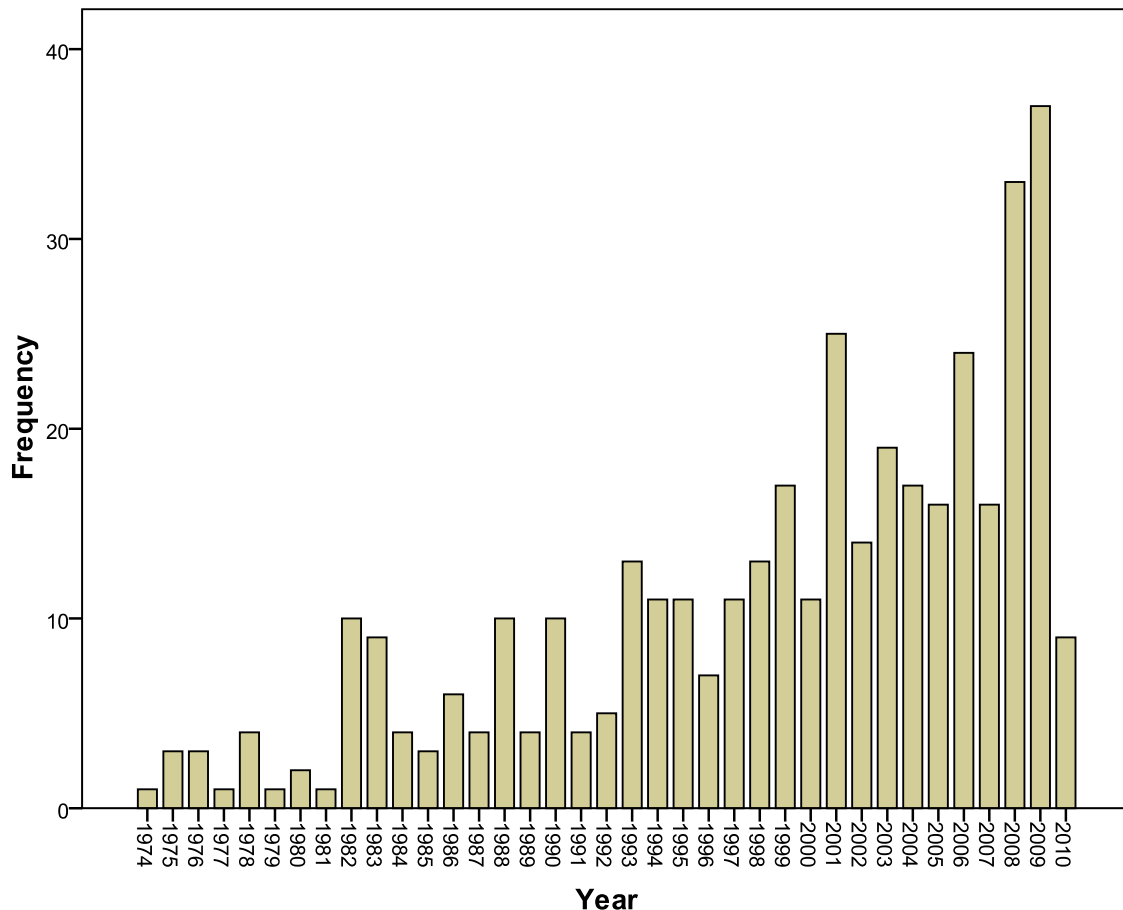


Figure 1: Number of selected references to policy by year

Definitions of policy

Another indicator of a fragmented literature is that the concept of policy has been interpreted in many different ways. 'Policy' is derived from the word 'polis', denoting a city-state of ancient Greece, from which the terms 'politics', 'polity' and 'police' are also derived (Colebatch, 2009, p. 63). One way of defining policy is as a 'handle on the way we are governed, a concept which we use to make sense of what we do' (Colebatch, 2009, p. 63) or 'whatever governments choose to do or not to do' (Dye, 1992, p. 2). In this sense policy is a name to describe the general actions and outcomes of government. However, as governments are complex and produce many outcomes, such a definition may be considered summative only (Dubin, 1976), useful as an introduction to a complex phenomena but which requires further elaboration.

In order to better define the concept of public policy, we may examine its characteristics as discussed by various authors. As may be seen in Table 1, one of the characteristics of many definitions is that it involves some sort of decision, either expressed as a process or an outcome. Thus

policy is a 'web of decisions and actions that allocate values' (Easton, 1953, p. 128). However, while policy involves 'making decisions', tourism policy has a may be included or excluded as a domain about which governments may make decisions. Richter (1983b, p. 318) found that in many developing nations such as the Philippines, tourism is a 'chosen' policy, and that policy includes government action, inaction, decisions, and non-decisions as these all imply a deliberate choice between alternatives.

The introduction of choice and the notion that public policy involves choices about both whether to develop a policy and what type of policy choices need to be made suggests that 'public policy is more than what governments do' (see Table 1). Tourism policy making is seen by Hall (2000, pp. 10–15) as first and foremost a political activity, influenced by the economic, social and cultural characteristics of a particular society, and by the formal structures of government and other features of the local political system. Policy involves consideration of the 'political debate about what the agenda is, what the issues are, who is involved or affected, and the alternative courses of action to address the problems' (Dredge & Jenkins, 2007, p. 10). This debate may extend beyond government and include 'policymaking tourist organizations (national tourist organizations, information offices, consumer associations) and the tourist industry (hotels, restaurants, tour operators, travel agencies); even pressure groups might have a say in the policymaking processes' (Van Doorn, 1982, p. 155). Stock suggests a political motive (as well as economic) for the development of tourism.

...[in Israel] development of policy is based on the values of the stakeholders who develop it, and from this perspective policy is an expression of what is believed to be right by those in government. Thus the tourism policy of Marxist governments, such as those of China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam, was that foreign visitors were initially tightly controlled on the basis that 'some Communist party leaders [felt] that Western-style tourism might introduce moral pollution' (Elliott, 1997, p. 56).

If we extend this argument, we find that policy involves ideological beliefs and political philosophy.

Managers operate within the ideological beliefs and political philosophy of the government. The ideology of a government is important, for it can determine whether tourism development will be supported and how much financial support, if any, will be available; it can set the style of tourism, and the nature and extent of government involvement. Normally the ideology reflects the national political culture and political parties (Elliott, 1997, p. 56).

As these ideologies changes, a government's tourism policy 'will differ in forms and means in relation both to the form of political economy that prevails in the country and to the degree of development reached' (Sessa, 1976, p. 238). Thus policy and the policy process will change over time, and what is 'good' policy must be determined by argument not scientific information although science has an important role to play in policy development. A number of the dominant or well accepted ideological paradigms have been identified. One important recent example is termed corporatism:

a dominant ideology in Western society which claims rationality as its central quality and which emphasizes a notion of individualism in terms of self-interest rather than the legitimacy of the individual citizen acting in the democratic interest of the public good (Hall, 1999, p. 274).

Table 1: Policy definitions

Author	Definition/Source
(Colebatch, 2009, p. 63)	...policy is a handle on the way we are governed, a concept which we use to make sense of what we do.
(Goeldner & Ritchie, 2003, p. 413).	Tourism policy can be defined as a set of regulations, rules, guidelines directives and development/ promotion objectives and strategies that provide a framework within which the collective and individual decisions directly affecting long-term tourism development and the daily activities within a destination are taken
(Goeldner, Ritchie, & McIntosh, 2000, p. 445)	a set of regulations, rules, guidelines, directives, and development objectives and strategies
(Greenwood, et al., 1990, p. 54)	...policy is a complex, dynamic ambiguous phenomenon, with inputs at a number of different levels: at a macro level, it contains issues of the relationship between economic power and political power 'the deep rules of structure formation'; at the middle-range level, organizational inputs in policy formulation are important, with a focus on negotiation and bargaining over policy issues; and at a micro level, individual policy detail such as objectives receive attention. The implementation of policy involves interaction between all three levels (Ham & Hill, 1997).
(Hall & Jenkins, 2004)	...whatever governments choose to do or not to do (Dye, 1986).
(Hall & Jenkins, 2004)	Policy, then, involves conscious choice that leads to deliberate action - the passage of a law, the spending of money, an official speech or gesture, or some other observable act - or inaction" (Brooks, 1993, p. 12).
(Hall & Jenkins, 2004)	government action, inaction, decisions, and non-decisions as it implies a deliberate choice between alternatives. Seen in this way, public policy is a process (Hall & Jenkins, 1995).
(Hall & Jenkins, 2004, p. 527)	Public policy is more than what governments do. Policy-making is a political activity, influenced by (and constitutive of) the economic and social characteristics of society, as well as by the formal structures of government and other features of the political system.
(L. C. Jenkins, 2000)	Tourism policy provides a framework to guide tourism development actions and it is a strategic declaration of intent within which tourism is expected to develop
(Kerr, 2003, p. 30)	'Public policy is an intentional course of action with an explicit end goal its objective, which as it strives to integrate with complementary policies is open to a number of different interpretations, and influences.'
(Lawrence & Dredge, 2007, p. 7)	Policy is defined as a position, strategy, action or product adopted by government and arising from contests between different ideas, values and interests.
(Richter, 1983b, p. 318)	Policy is described then as something one must make decisions about.
(Richter & Richter, 1985)	...web of decisions and actions that allocate values (Easton, 1953, p. 128).
(Wray, 2009, p. 675)	Policy formulation can, therefore, be conceptualised as a process of issue identification and management where multiple issues are being simultaneously identified, framed, prioritised and de-prioritised (Lawrence & Dredge, 2007).

Policy has also been seen as a social process that involves and is influenced by the institutional context, issue drivers such as macro-environment factors, actors, agencies and networks, policy dialogues, and events, as well as space and time (Lawrence & Dredge, 2007, p. 16). An increasingly important view associated with the ideology of neo-liberalism is that policy communities or networks of interested stakeholders play an important part in the development of issues and policy formulation processes. Thus some authors stress that policy making is a 'soft' human process rather than a rational scientific process. Stevenson (2008, p. 744) indicates 'tourism policy is essentially about communication'. Policies are formulated and implemented in dynamic environments where there is a complex pattern of decisions, actions, interaction, reaction, and feedback. Extending this argument even further, we may argue that policy cannot be separated from implementation although this may also be interpreted as defining effective policy – that is, policy is enacted.

The resultant highly generalized policy outcome reflected these conflicting pressures; the Board's aim was to 'conserve and enhance the best of Wales's tourism resources', while at the same time aiming to 'develop viable new products to fill gaps in provisions and to capture new markets.' Such an ambiguous strategy effectively meant that policy outcomes would depend largely on policy implementation – especially at lower levels in the policy chain (Greenwood, Williams, & Shaw, 1990, p. 55).

The policy implementation process may also require a number of other steps such as administrative coordination and policy coordination (Hall, 1999, p. 278) as well as support from effective legislation. Policy implementers require the power to 'make and enforce decisions which are binding upon their members'; they have responsibilities which are interpreted by ideologies in shaping objectives (Elliott, 1997, p. 56). Swain (1999, p. 1008) suggests that the study of policy and power in tourism 'includes a broad range of concepts from ideology to exchange rates and visa control'. Thus policy involves the exercise of power (Marzano & Scott, 2009).

In summary then, there are a broad range of characteristics which identify policy. Policy involves actions, decision, politics, values and ideological beliefs, social processes involving communication, outcome such as legislation and implementation.

Policy is not planning or politics

One area of dispute in tourism is the extent to which policy and planning overlap and indeed much tourism policy development occurs in the context of the planning processes. Some authors separate planning from policy development...

Planning is a process that occurs up to the point of decision making. Policy denotes the formal adoption of a position by government (Dredge & Jenkins, 2007, p. 10).

Planning is the basis of policymaking (Van Doorn, 1982, p. 155).

...while others consider that the output of the policy process is an overall strategy for tourism development (Ritchie & Crouch, 2003, p. 147) that presumably leads to development of a plan; and that policy may not be stated separately but must be inferred from plans developed, often at national level. Others consider policy and planning overlapping but distinct:

Policy is concerned with the ongoing principles and broad goals that guide the actions of a government body. Thus a government might have policies concerning equity among social groups, or a policy to support mass participation in sport rather than élite sports, or to promote long-stay visitors rather than day-trippers. Planning, while, in practice, overlapping considerably with policy-making, is seen here as the process by which decisions are made as to the optimum way to implement policies and achieve goals (Veal, 2002, p. 5).

In the tourism literature there is a sense that policy is different from politics and is the outcome of some political process:

Decisions affecting tourism policy, the nature of government involvement in this industry, the structure of its organizations, and the nature of development all result from such a political process. Lack of political consensus leads to problems of policy' (Altinay & Bowen, 2006, p. 944).

Thus politics has a formative impact on tourism policies (Matthews & Richter, 1991; Richter, 1983b) but is a distinct process.

Tourism is, without doubt, a highly political phenomenon which extends beyond the sphere of formal government structures and processes if politics is conceived as being essentially about power relations, and it is thus an underlying and indirect theme in much tourism research (Henderson, 2003, p. 98).

We may conclude that policy and planning overlap in tourism. This may be due to assumptions among governments that tourism will happen, and is a form of development that requires planning and implementation rather than serious ideological and political debate. This section has highlighted the need for this review, some limitations of the literature relating to policy, the scope of this review, definitions of policy and how policy overlaps with planning and politics. In the next section, this review looks at the creation of public policy using an adopted similar to that of the policy cycle model as a structure. The policy cycle model is an analytical perspective which simplifies the tourism policymaking process by segregating it into formal stages (Pforr, 2001), typically agenda setting, formulation, decision making (grouped here as development of the aim), implementation, and evaluation. In addition the section will examine 'development' as one dominant aim of tourism policy.

Creating Public Policy

'..... from a political perspective, the nature of state involvement in and policies for tourism is dependent on both the political economic structures and the prevailing political ideology in the destination state.....' (Sharpley & Knight, 2009, p. 242).

'Key factors that shape these interactions are the extent of organised interests, the nature of competition within the industry, state capacity, the 'ideology' held by the agents within the planning process, as well as path dependency and organisational innovation.' (Treuren & Lane, 2003).

Britton (1982) 'called for the theorisation of tourism as a predominantly capitalist activity, driven by the inherent social dynamics of that system, with its attendant production, social and ideological relations' (Bramwell & Lane, 2006, p. 2).

As may be seen from the three quotations above, many factors affect the development of policy. In this section we analyse policy firstly in terms of a government's aims or objectives and in particular tourism *development*. This is pervasive in the literature of tourism, and we find it in other terms, such as sustainable development, alternative development (Weaver, 1995), and so on. After discussing the concept of development, this review examines a range of other policy objectives found in the tourism literature.

Policy Aims and Objectives

Government policy objectives reflect its responsibilities and ideology. Objectives can be formal or informal, stated or unstated (Elliott, 1997). *Formal* objectives are normally consistent with the aims laid down in the national constitution or in the party policy documents or manifesto. The dominant *informal* objectives may be to achieve certain stakeholder aims, to hold on to or to increase power, and to stay in office. Jenkins and Henry (1982, p. 501) describes various types of government involvement in tourism; 'active involvement is seen as a deliberate action by government, introduced to favour the tourism sector. Conversely, *passive involvement* occurs where government undertakes an action which may have implications for tourism, but is not specifically intended to favour or influence tourism'. Traditionally, government involvement in tourism has largely been a product of wider policy aims such as the national balance of payments, or regional economic development targets (Kruczala, 1990; Smyth, 1986).

Early reasons (*objectives*) for government involvement in developing countries in the post second world war period were development of foreign exchange earnings; foreign investment; employment in tourism; land use policies; and air transport and tourism (C. L. Jenkins & Henry, 1982). These objectives may be distinguished from the means of achieving these objectives; Richter and Richter (1985) list five *policy options* for South Asian countries (in 1985): public versus private tourism development; domestic versus international tourism; class versus mass tourism; centralization versus decentralization; and integrated versus enclave tourism.

Development as a Policy Aim

A central theme in the literature concerns development of tourism as an instrument of economic policy (de Kadt, 1979; Harrison & Schipani, 2007; Peters, 1969; V. L. Smith, 1977); as a tool developing countries has been a focus of research in tourism studies since the 1970s (Hall, 2007). Numerous books and journal articles have examined tourism development (Aramberri & Butler, 2005; Bryden, 1973; Burns & Novelli, 2008; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1974; Peters, 1969) (de Kadt, 1979; Lea, 1988; D. Pearce, 1989; Sharpley & Telfer, 2002; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008), and papers (Airey & Shackley, 1997; H. Alipour, 1996; Bhanugopan, 2001; R. Bianchi, 1994; Clancy, 1999; Dieke, 1992, 1993; Gartner, 2004; Hall & Michael, 2007; Khadaroo & Seetanah, 2007; Khan, 1997; Lea, 1993; Lickorish, 1988; Lindberg, Andersson, & Dellaert, 2001; Lindberg, Andersson, Dellaert, & Dellaert, 2001; Nilsson, 2001; D. Pearce, 1988; Pieterse, 1996; Puppim de Oliveira, 2003; M. Reid & Schwab, 2006; Richter & Richter, 1985; Rosentraub & Joo, 2009; Sessa, 1988; Sharpley, 2009; Stobart & Ball, 1998; Telfer, 2002; Tosun, 2001b; Tosun & Jenkins, 1996; Tsartas, 2003; Turegano, 2006; Wilkinson, 2001). A 1982 *Annals of Tourism Research Special Issue* (Volume 9, Issue 3) placed tourism in the context of development theory and planning.

The literature has focused on creation of jobs, develop backward linkages with agriculture and other economic sectors, create opportunities for young people and women, encourage local entrepreneurial activity, and improve the quality of life of the poor through funding basic utilities, training and education (de Kadt, 1979, pp. 11–12). The 'industrialisation first' strategy in less developed countries has economic development as a priority compared to the alternative 'social enrichment' approach (Burns, 1999). Such choices between different development strategies illustrate the importance of ideology in determining policy choices; ideological beliefs provide the 'guiding principles that set the tone and pace of development' (Burns, 2004, p. 62). Thus 'development theories, policies, plans and strategies consciously or unconsciously express a preferred notion of what development is and these preferences, in turn, reflect values' (Sharp-ley & Telfer, 2002, p. 13) and ideology (Sharp-ley & Telfer, 2002, p. 38).

Definition of Development

Despite its centrality and importance however, the concept of development appears to defy definition (Whitford, 2009). In the early policy literature, tourism was seen uncritically as a form of economic development. Tosun (2001a, p. 290) considers that 'development implies a process that makes an effort to improve the living conditions of people'. Wight (2002), in the context of sustainability, distinguishes between growth and development. Economic growth is an increase in quantity, while economic development is an improvement in the quality of life without necessarily causing an increase in quantity of resources consumed. Further, 'development can be understood as a process towards self-reliance In this sense, self-reliance entails awareness of full potential and the agency to achieve it' (Lepp, 2008, p. 1206). Goldsworthy (1988, p. 507) writes that:

Development is an idea of extraordinary potency. Like the primal idea of growth, and indeed of life itself, it haunts the imagination and stirs strongly felt responses. The properties which invest it with this potency are simply stated, Development is an idea which combines the moral with the material. It is a moral idea in that it is about human betterment, fulfilment, the enrichment of lives through the expansion of choice; and a material one in that it is about overcoming material poverty through the creation and optimal distribution of wealth. Not surprisingly, it is usually treated as if it denoted an unalloyed good. No one can be against development. Yet development policies and activities are exactly like any other policies and activities in this crucial respect: there is little or no likelihood of positive-sum outcomes with gains to all participants.

Thus development involves policy choices and some stakeholders may benefit from it while others lose.

Development Paradigm Changes over Time

Early attempts at proactive development intervention in developing countries were subject to a number of criticisms, notably those discussed in dependency theory. Britton (1982, p. 334) defines dependency as 'involv[ing] the subordination of national economic autonomy to meet the interests of foreign pressure groups and privileged local classes rather than those development priorities arising from a broader political consensus'. It has been claimed that the outcome of the race to modernize results in internal elites and leads to concentration of power and dependency (Steiner, 2006), and the erosion of 'political and social autonomy of the destination

area' (Macnaught, 1982, p. 377). A more sophisticated view is that dependency results from the failure to improve the social and political institutions as modernization occurs (Dieke, 1993). Similarly, Turegano (2006) rejects dependency as inevitable in favour of path dependency, or the outcome of a sequence of events over time.

Based on the 'failure' of early tourism in developing countries and the lessons learned, a number of other development theories evolved, and at one time may have been dominant or prescribed. Azcairate (2006) lists these as modernization, dependency theory, human development and post-development. Harrison and Schipani (2007) provide a historical sequence of the changes from 'simplistic models of modernization', to the reaction evident in dependency theory, to alternative tourism, the inclusion of social and environmental protection, and community based approaches (Hall, 2007; Hawkins & Mann, 2007). A similar sequence is found in the four platforms of Jafari (1989) - (advocacy, cautionary, adaptancy and knowledge based) that reflect ideological and policy changes (Swain, et al., 1999). Weaver (2001) has summarised the relationship between tourism platforms, paradigm shifts, tourism structure and ecotourism status in Western societies. Along with these successive changes in development paradigm, the focus of tourism policy has changed from pure promotion, to product development, to maintaining competitiveness (Fayos-Sola, 1992a, 1996). Most recently, post-development studies have understood development as a global discourse resisted by local 'Others' although this discourse may be considered a two way process mediated by powerful local actors (Azcairate, 2006).

Aims and Roles of Tourism Policy

Each of the paradigms discussed above emphasises different aims and roles for tourism that represent 'the substance of policy' (Kerr, 2003). Each is connected with or emphasises functional roles for government such as: coordination, planning, legislation, entrepreneurial support, stimulation, promotion, social tourism, and public interest protection (Hall, 2000). Examples of literature related to each type are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Policy aims and roles

Economic development

Generate foreign revenue/ assist balance of payments; provide employment nationally; improve regional/local economy; create awareness about country; provide employment regionally/ locally (Baum, 1994, p. 187)

Researching and disseminating information on future market trends, strengthening the image of the destination, securing effective market access and providing helpful business advice and support.

Competitiveness

To ensure the viability and competitiveness of tourism destinations and enterprises, so that they are able to continue to prosper and deliver benefits in the long term (B. Ritchie & Crouch, 1993).

Mandatory tourism quality and classification systems could therefore become voluntary and be put into the hands of the private or voluntary sector (Fayos-Sola, 1996, p. 410).

Local prosperity

To maximize the contribution of tourism to the prosperity of the host destination, including the proportion of visitor spending that is retained locally. Policies to strengthen the prosperity of the local destination should focus on reducing leakages away from the local economy, through using local labor and local produce in the tourism sector. Linkages between tourism and other local activity, such as agriculture, should be strengthened, and tourism enterprises should be encouraged to work together in networks.

(Fuller, Buultjens & Cummings, 2005) examines tourism as a source of opportunity for aborigines.

Creation of tourism jobs in Crete (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2004)

Contribution to infrastructure development (Baum, 1994, p. 187).

Employment quality

To strengthen the number and quality of local jobs created and supported by tourism, including the level of pay, conditions of service and availability to all without discrimination by gender, race, disability or in other ways.

Too often tourism is seen as a sector offering poor pay and conditions. Policies should seek to strengthen year round trading that supports full time jobs, to ensure that international labour standards are adhered to, and to encourage effective training and opportunities for career progression.

Social equity and pro-poor tourism

To seek a widespread distribution of economic and social benefits from tourism throughout the recipient community, including improving opportunities, income and services available to the poor (Chok, Macbeth, & Warren, 2007; Hall, 2007; Harrison & Schipani, 2007; Scheyvens, 2007; Schilcher, 2007; Spenceley & Goodwin, 2007; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007) includes an examination of neo-liberal governance (Schilcher, 2007).

This involves introducing policies and actions that specifically seek to channel tourism spending and income towards disadvantaged people and the poor. Action may include helping poor people participate in the tourism supply chain and supporting enterprise formation within poor communities (Hall, 2007; Shen, Hughey, & Simmons, 2008; Steiner, 2006; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007)

Social tourism (Shaw, Veitch, & Coles, 2005).

Visitor Fulfillment

To provide a safe, satisfying and fulfilling experience for visitors, available to all without discrimination by gender, race, disability or in other ways.

Providing people, including the domestic population, with a fulfilling recreational and educational experience from travel and tourism should be seen as an aim in its own right that is available without discrimination. This is partly about issues of accessibility, safety and security as well as the overall quality of experience; social exclusion (McCabe, 2009)

Social Tourism for low-income groups, in terms of the benefits it can bring both in the short term and in the medium term. It has shown that for a modest investment in terms of time and money, holidays can facilitate significant increases in social and family capital for the participants (in terms of family relations, confidence, social network and a changed perspective on life) (Minnaert, Maitland, & Miller, 2009)

Local Control

To engage and empower local communities in planning and decision making about the management and future development of tourism in their area, in consultation with other stakeholders.

Many of the principles of sustainable development involve avoiding the imposition of decisions on local communities from above. Local communities should be provided with good information and empowered to take decisions about tourism development that may affect their future.

Community-driven tourism planning(Prentice, 1993).

Community Wellbeing

To maintain and strengthen the quality of life in local communities, including social structures and access to resources, amenities and life support systems, avoiding any form of social degradation or exploitation.

This is about careful planning to ensure that the local community does not suffer from tourism, for example through traffic congestion, noisy and disrespectful behaviour, and competition for vital resources such as water. More positively, it is about strengthening, through tourism investment and income, the availability of local services for local people.

Development leads to social disruption and crime (Park & Stokowski, 2009).

Cultural Richness

To respect and enhance the historic heritage, authentic culture, traditions and distinctiveness of host communities.

There are many ways in which tourism income can be used to support the conservation of cultural and historic heritage sites and traditions, but at the same time tourism development and visitor behaviour should be controlled to ensure cultural richness and authenticity is not lost (Shackley, 1995)

Physical Integrity

To maintain and enhance the quality of landscapes, both urban and rural, and avoid the physical and visual degradation of the environment

Maintaining the physical quality and appearance of the environment is critical to the future well being of the tourism industry as well as to local people. Key to this is the siting and design of new structures of all kinds, and good upkeep of open spaces such as reduction of litter.

Biological Diversity

To support the conservation of natural areas, habitats and wildlife, and minimize damage to them (D. Leslie, 1986).

National parks and other protected areas provide a hugely important resource for tourism, and spending by visitors is increasingly seen round the world as an essential component of income for conservation. Management for conservation and for tourism need to go hand in hand.

Resource Efficiency

To minimize the use of scarce and non-renewable resources in the development and operation of tourism facilities and services.

This concerns inputs to the tourism sector: encouraging forms of tourism and management

systems that are efficient, promoting alternative energy sources and encouraging a 'reduce, reuse and recycle' mentality.

Environmental Purity

Need to include tourism emissions from aviation in considerations of governments (Gossling & Michael Hall, 2008).

To minimize the pollution of air, water and land and the generation of waste by tourism enterprises and visitors.

This is about outputs from the tourism sector: minimizing pollution in the interests of both the global and the local environment. Some key issues for tourism include promoting less polluting forms of transport and minimizing and controlling discharges of sewage into sensitive environments.

Sustainability

Protection of environment and social/cultural systems (Krippendorf, 1982) (Briassoulis, 2002, p. 1080)

Approaches and definitions of sustainability (Saarinen, 2006).

Government response to actual or potential investments in tourism development in terms of strategies for environmental management (Puppim de Oliveira, 2003).

Knowledge management approach to bridge knowledge-practice gap (Ruhanen, 2008). (Denman, 2006, pp. 18-24)

Difficulty in coordination and implementation of sustainability policy (Helmy, 2004).

Neo-liberalism and the politics of sustainability (Dredge & Thomas, 2009, p. 250).

Indicators for sustainability of destinations (Castellani & Sala, 2010 In Press).

Carbon neutrality (Gossling & Schumacher, 2010)

Climate change (Belle & Bramwell, 2005) (Amelung, Moreno, & Scott, 2008; Buckley, 2008; Gossling & Scott, 2008; Nicholls & Holecek, 2008; D. Scott, Jones, & Konopek, 2008; Wolfsegger, ssling, & Scott, 2008)

Adapting to climate change (R. Dodds & Kelman, 2008)

International politics and goodwill – peace

Peace (Kim & Prideaux, 2006)

International goodwill (Baum, 1994, p. 187)

Based on WTO (2005) and authors work.

Policy 'Problem Areas'

Tourism is a complex domain (Grant, 2004, p. 221) that touches upon a wide ranges of 'problem areas' such as aboriginal rights, aviation, biodiversity, disability and access, domestic tourism, events, health, innovation, knowledge and learning, development/land use, national parks, place identity, political legitimacy, regional development, rural tourism, safety/crisis management, training and human resources, recreation, urban development. Each of these numerous related domains is the subject of a specific literature and various policy prescriptions leading to a view of policy as 'an outcome' rather than 'a process' (Colebatch, 2009). From an outcome

perspective each of the problem areas is subject to expert opinion on the best 'solution', a view that diminishes the political debate and ideological beliefs.

Table 3: Policy Domains

Aborigines	Dilemmas for aboriginal people in Australia (Altman, 1989) Authenticity and commodification (Cohen, 1988a). Joint management of national parks (Wearing & Huyskens, 2001) Indigenous policy (Whitford, Bell, & Watkins, 2001) Need for cultural understanding (Parker, 1999) (Robinson, 1999; Simonsen, 2006)
Aviation	Policy for aviation in the expanded European Union (Wheatcroft, 1988) Failure of Ansett (Leiper, 2002) Government aviation policy (Henderson, 2009)
Biodiversity	Setting priorities for intervention (Van Der Duim & Caalders, 2002, p. 750)
Disability and access	Access and social inclusion, alongside debates within UK society on disability rights (Shaw, et al., 2005).
Domestic tourism	Need in Turkey (Seckelmann, 2002)
Events Policy	(Whitford, 2002) Examination of policy in various countries. For example (Kerr, et al., 2001) discusses the policy of changing structure of tourism organization in Scotland Policy formulation can, therefore, be conceptualised as a process of issue identification and management where multiple issues are being simultaneously identified, framed, prioritised and de-prioritised (Lawrence & Dredge, 2007) A model of policy development in the context of events (Whitford, 2009) A model of the sport-tourism policy process (Weed, 2006)
Health	Policy-making dilemmas posed by the threat of AIDS in Thailand, a destination with a developed sex industry (Cohen, 1988b).
Innovation	Innovation policy (Hjalager, 2010, pp. 9-10). Innovation networks (Romeiro & Costa, 2010).
Knowledge and Learning	The knowledge management approach for innovation and related to sustainable tourism (Jim Macbeth, et al., 2004). Achieving competitive advantage (Stamboulis & Skayannis, 2003).
Development/land use	Provision of land and marketing efforts (Reed, 1997, p. 570) Conflict over land use (McKercher, 1992; Mortazavi, 1997)
National Parks	User fees (Buckley, 2003) Environmental policies, territorial conflicts and efforts to control tourism (Kent, 2006). Protected areas (Moore & Weiler, 2009)
Place Identity	Contentious policy issue (Dredge & Jenkins, 2003a). Singapore (Saunders, 2004). The promotion of national identity can be an ideological concern of tourism (Kavoura, 2007).
Political legitimacy	(Burns, 2008)
Regional policy	Regional policy in regard land use and access to fishing lakes in Canada (McKercher, 1992) European Union regional development fund (Pearce, 1992) Regional distribution of tourism (Tosun, Timothy, & Ozturk, 2003) Japanese government investment in local tourism projects (M. Cooper & Flehr, 2006).
Rural tourism policy	Rural tourism-agriculture policy conflicts (Sharpley & Craven, 2001). Rural tourism (Mair, 2006).

Safety/Crisis management policy	Crisis management policy – issues and problems (de Sausmarez, 2004). Safety of tourists (Pizam, Tarlow, & Bloom, 1997; Walker & Page, 2004) Foot and Mouth Disease in UK (Williams & Ferguson, 2005).
Training and Human Resources	Opportunities for training of staff in Australia (James, 1990) Tourism jobs in Crete (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2004)
Tourism and recreation	Sports-tourism policy (Weed, 2006)
Urban policy	Events for urban development (Reid, 2006)

Political Ideology

Mathews (1975) discusses politics and hence policies as influenced by ideological arguments about tourism, especially in developing states. Whitford (2009, p. 681) writes that it is important to understand the ideological basis for policy development in order to obtain insight into workings of government.

There are many different ideological positions that are taken when developing policy. O'Neil (2007, p. 47) discusses the characteristics of four different types of political economic systems; liberalism, social democracy, communism and mercantilism. These differ in terms of the role of the state in the economy (i.e. liberalism: little involvement; minimal welfare state, social democracy some state ownership and regulation; large welfare state); the relative importance of the market; how policy is made, and the type of policies that are acceptable. In many countries one ideology may be dominant, and may vary over time. Whitford (2009, p. 675) considers that tourism policy in Australia has increasingly been underpinned by a neo-liberalist ideology, and a similar approach is found in New Zealand (Shone & Ali Memon, 2008). Indeed, this position has been suggested as influencing development policy in provincial rural communities in Canada (Mair, 2006, p. 39) and in Peru (Desforges, 2000) and many other countries including the United Kingdom and The United States of America.

Neo-liberalism is 'a theory of political economic practices which proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, free markets and free trade' (Harvey, 2006, p. 145). Duffy (2008, p. 329) considers it a 'process by which market-based regulation is expanded, the role of the state is reduced, and a complex array of public-private networks operate'.

Benington and Geddes (1992, p. 456) consider that tourism has benefited from this:

'A feature of market-led neo-liberal economic strategy during the 1980s has been a shift away from policies of support for declining industries to explicit or hidden support for growth sectors. This has involved either the active promotion, or at least passive acceptance, of the shift away from manufacturing toward the service and consumption sectors. In relation to local economic development this orientation has been reflected in the restructuring of many local economies previously dependent on primary or manufacturing industries'.

Some key features of neo-liberalism are competition, profitability, performativity, progress, entrepreneurship, individuality, economic rationality and a free market environment. Neo-liberalism has been associated with the commodification of nature (Duffy, 2008).

Geographic Level of Policy

Apart from the aims and ideology of policy, policy in tourism has been studied at a number of geographic levels. This may range from global, multi-country national, regional, local government or indeed be multi-level.

Transnational policy

Many of the issues that affect tourism transcend borders. For example Wheatcroft (1988) examines development of policy for aviation in the expanded European Union. Globalization is a factor that has influenced the development of multi-country policy (Hannam, 2002; Hjalager, 2007; MacLeod, 2001; Sugiyarto, Blake, & Sinclair, 2003), as it emphasises coordination across national boundaries. The development of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is an example of how transnational policy and processes are affecting tourism (Edgell, 1995).

Multi-country policy is also becoming more important (Church, Ball, Bull, & Tyler, 2000). Examples of such policy processes include: the formation of regional economic and trading blocs such as the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) (Rodriguez & Portales, 1994), the European Union (Akehurst, Bland, & Nevin, 1993; G. Robinson, 1993), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, and in the Caribbean (Zagris & Emery, 1988). Such multi-country policy is involved in the growth of *virtual regions* through the development of economic ties between border regions, or in growth regions (Hall & Jenkins, 2004). The Lome IV process provides an indication of how international agencies “transmit” policy to other countries (G. Lee, 1991).

National, regional and local policy

A number of country specific policy studies are given in Table 4. Interestingly there are significant differences between Australia and USA and countries such as Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam in tourism laws. In Australia for example tourism does not have its own ‘law’ while these have been developed in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. Government policy towards industry in the UK is an amalgam of general policies which apply to all industries (at least in manufacturing), or specific policies applicable only to particular firms or industries (Hughes, 1984).

Policy studies have been criticized as insufficiently addressing

“‘Non-Western’ practices and industries”.....[and] the ongoing rise of Asian tourism[thus] the field of tourism studies is institutionally and intellectually ill equipped to understand and interpret the new era we are now entering. (Winter, 2009, p. 21).

At the local authorities level, policy making is often constrained by higher levels of government (Human, 1994). Tovar and Lockwood (2008) examines local attitudes to the effect of tourism on community in Tasmania. There is often also an interaction between levels of policy due to the need for collaborations between levels of government policy makers, such as Federal and State governments in Australia (Dredge & Jenkins, 2003b). Greenwood (1990, pp. 55-56) argues that there may be “distortion of policy objectives as it passes through implementing agencies could be regarded, at a crude level of abstraction, as akin to a process of ‘Chinese Whispers’”. In the European Union, policy is needed at three levels, European Union, national and local that should be compatible with a degree of consultation if not cooperation, between the levels (Greenwood, et al., 1990).

Table 4: Policy studies by country

Country	Topic/Reference
Australia	Regional level in New South Wales (Dredge & Jenkins, 2003a);(Dredge, 2006b) Territory level Australia (Pforr, 2006) History of federal/State policy on tourism (Dredge & Jenkins, 2003b)
Brazil	(Puppim de Oliveira, 2003)
Canada	Regional level (Ritchie, 1999; Ritchie, Hudson, & Timur, 2002) Planning for a small town (Reed, 1999) Pricing policy in national parks (Van Sickle & Eagles, 1998)
China	Development of tourism (Uysal, Wei, & Reid, 1986) (Chow, 1988; Choy & Yao Yue, 1988; Dichen & Guangrui, 1983) (King & Tang, 2009) (Zhang, Chong, & Ap, 1999) (Yan & Bramwell, 2008; Zhang, Chong, & Ap, 1999; Zhang, Chong, & Jenkins, 1999) Government perspective on ethnic tourism (Yang, Wall, & Smith, 2008) Socio-political changes on tourism and tourism policy (King & Tang, 2009). Comparison of China, Korea and Japan ecotourism policy (Suosheng, Jinmoo, Naoko, & Suk-Tae, 2009). Mechanism of the making of tourism policies (Hanqin Qiu & Qi, 2009). Identification with the policies of Deng Xiaopeng (Richter, 1983a). History and cultural understanding (Choy, 1984). Links between Taiwan and China (Chen, 2010). Influencing national and international politics (Matthews & Richter, 1991; Var, Brayley, & Korsay, 1989). Rate of growth of visitor arrivals (Choy, Dong, & Wen, 1986).
Egypt	sustainability policies in a developing country (Helmy, 2004)
France	Role of French state (D'Hautesserre, 2001)
Germany	(Bramwell & Meyer, 2007);(Godau, 1991)
Greece	(Buhalis, 2001; Tsartas, 2003)
Iran	Institutions and a need for ideological consensus (Habib Alipour & Kilic, 2005)
Ireland	(Deegan & Dineen, 2000)
Japan	(Funck, 2000)
Jamaica	(Chambers & Airey, 2001)
Korea	Tourism development and peace.(Kim & Prideaux, 2006)
Mexico	(Truett & Truett, 1982)
New Zealand	Changes in government policy (Zahra & Ryan, 2005) (Simpson, 2003)
Peru	(Desforges, 2000)
Poland	(Augustyn, 1998; Ostrowski & I, 1985)
South Asia	Policy options chosen by India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, the Maldives Republic (Richter & Richter, 1985). Policies in three South Asian Countries (Brown, 1988).
Spain – Balearic Islands	Stakeholder attitudes to a new tax policy initiative (Cantallops, 2004)
Sub Saharan Africa	(Dieke, 1991, 1992; Sinclair, 1992)
Tunisia	Economic liberalization policies (Poirier, 1995) (Poirier, 1997)
Uzbekistan	(Airey & Shackley, 1997, p. 206)
USA	(Inouye, 1976) (Edgell, 1982; G. Smith, 1999) (Ahmed & Krohn, 1990; Ronkainen & Farano, 1987) (Edgell, 1983) (Edgell, 1993; Richter, 1985) (Airey, 1984)

Inter-sector policy

A 'whole-of-government' approach to tourism policy adopted in New Zealand is discussed by Zahra and Ryan (2005). In general this approach is difficult to implement as the broad inputs and effects of tourism policy leads to conflicts between government departments. Pearlman (1990) for example discusses macro-policy conflicts between social tourism subsidised by the state for domestic tourists and international tourism as well as difficulties with central planning of the economy. Richter (2003) notes that there is a lack of coordinated policy making in the area of health and tourism across countries. Pearce (1998) discusses the development of tourism in Paris as significantly related to urban planning and policy. Tourism policy is often driven by a broad policy agenda and action in other spheres rather than particularly targeted at tourism (Church, et al., 2000, p. 316). Tourism policy also may in turn affect other policy domains with Expo events policy affecting housing (Olds, 1998). It is also used to rationalise other interests, such as a desire amongst enthusiasts to see trams in Christchurch, New Zealand (Pearce, 2001).

Policy Making Process

The policy cycle approach examines the process of making policy, hence moving the focus from particular policy aims, ideology, outcomes, countries and levels of government, and towards recognition of the complexity of policymaking. Hall (2002) suggests that a five stage pattern of policy attention to emergent issues will be followed: pre-problem stage, alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm, realisation of the cost of significant progress, gradual decline of intense public interest and the post-problem stage. However this can only be a first approach as it does not recognise the complexity of policy development. Instead policy making is a complex process of identification and attention. Weed (2006, p. 238) describes it as a "continuing iterative process" in whichfactors are interpreted and reinterpreted, thus further influencing the perceptions of policy makers.

'Policy formulation is better conceptualised as a process of issue identification and management where multiple issues are being simultaneously identified, framed, prioritised and de-prioritised' (Wray, 2009, p. 675).

Issues can be further influenced by events, personalities, pressures groups and institutional failure, as well as scale and time (Lawrence & Dredge, 2007). McCoy (1982, p. 277) considers 'public policy formulation is a process of conflict and compromise; a matter of mediating between competing factions with "private interests" and defining the "public interest" or the "national interest"' which Bramwell considers path dependent (2009). It is essentially a social process, involving communication and negotiation between people in the context of wider change (Stevenson, et al., 2008). Thus there is general agreement that policy making is complex and more of an art than a science, involving communication, negotiation, interests and issue framing.

The issues considered in policy may be 'national' interests and be considered important by all the population. Ritchie (1988) argues for consensus policy formulation in tourism through surveys of resident attitudes. However policy development is often considered as controlled by elites (Yasarata, Altinay, Burns, & Okumus, 2009) or power blocs; with a dominance of dominance of close business-government ties (Craik, 1990; Hall, 1999).

Policy Implementation

There has been increasing examination of the effectiveness of tourism policies in achieving their stated aim (Andriotis, 2001). Policy implementation can be considered part of the policy process, and requires the development of skills and competences (Henry & Jackson, 1996), and may involve vested interests (Thomas & Thomas, 1998). Barriers to implementation of sustainable tourism policy include; economic priority (short term economic focus wins over long term social and environmental concerns); lack of planning (too much damage was already done and initiatives were not strong enough to apply to already damaged areas); lack of stakeholder involvement; lack of integration with regional and national frameworks and policies; lack of accountability of politicians (lack of political will); and lack of coordination with other government parties (political clash) (R. Dodds, 2007). Dodds and Butler (2010) indicate that self interest is a barrier to implementing sustainable tourism policies. Ioannides (1995, p. 591) found that to avoid a failure of sustainable policy implementation, it is important to maintain effective dialogue between communities and policy makers, and that one way to achieve this is through community visioning workshops whereby different interest groups in the host locality express their fears and aspirations. Means to avoiding conflict in tourism development may be grouped into three main categories: power-coercive; empirical-rational; and normative-educative (Prunier, Sweeney, & Geen, 1993). Backward mapping (Greenwood, et al., 1990, p. 55) is another technique for policy implementation.

Policy Outputs and Instruments

Policy outputs, i.e. policy statements or plans, need to be distinguished from policy outcomes, the actual effects of policies, as policy outcomes may be unintended even if policy itself is rational choice in action (Hall & Jenkins, 2004). There may be a hierarchy of interacting policies for example to stimulate tourism, such as 'exchange rates and interest policy, income policy, and the structure of investment promotion' (Smeral, 1998, p. 376).

A policy output may be a statement on an issue, a non-decision, or the creation and use of an instrument. Logar (2010) discusses the effects of policy instruments for sustainable tourism on identified tourism impacts and issues in Crikvenica, Croatia. Van Der Duim and Caalders (2002, p. 754) write concerning sustainability policy that there is a bias towards:

.... social instruments and voluntary regulations, which seems related to an emphasis on feasibility of interventions. Two, it appears that activities do not trickle down to the operational level, or only in the form of ecolabeling and seals. Three, the aspect of legitimacy, in terms of equal distribution of benefits, is lacking from the discussion. Four, effectiveness of social and voluntary instruments is questionable; in cases where tourism causes more severe impacts on biodiversity, legally binding compulsory instruments should receive more attention.

There are a range of instruments to implement policy (Puppim de Oliveira, 2003) including government legislation, directives and guidance, fiscal and monetary measures, to the creation of special bodies (Airey, 1983); investment incentive 'which will in some way contribute, directly or indirectly, to the profitability of a project' (Ward, 1989, p. 241) and eco-taxes (Cantallos, 2004). Government intervention in tourism includes the regulation of tourist guiding in terms of licensing, certification, training, pay and benefits, marketing and conducting tours, and the

organization and professional ethics of guides (Dahles, 2002). In Hawaii, non-tourism jobs must be created for every hotel room (in 1994) (Mak, 1993). Indeed:

There may be as many 'instruments as there are targets of policy. These policy instruments may be classified in several ways. One approach is to group the policy instruments along a continuum in terms of the degree of influence which the state seeks to exercise over micro-economic factors whereby the various disciplines diversify according to the criterion in which they function. Some suggestive examples of the types of policy instruments which fall into these categories are legal; financial; organisational; and personal' (Kerr, 2003, p. 33).

Pearce (1988) discusses the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), a financial instrument used in implementing a community regional policy. Policies and instruments developed by Turkey to encourage tourism:

'were formalized in The Tourism Promotion Bill (1987) which offered incentives that included low land rents, import duty exemptions, tax rates and provision for the repatriation of profits (Lockhart, 1994, p. 377).

Another instrument is a non-decision (Reed, 1997, p. 572) where no decisions are taken or necessary, as well as when conscious choices are made to do nothing, to thwart demands for change, or to adopt plans that are imperfectly implemented.

Policy Outcomes

Governments and their critics have become more aware of and interested in the study of the process, outcomes, and impacts of tourism public policies. Deegan (2000) reviews successes of tourism in Ireland and considers there is a need to study the causal links between policy and performance. Baretje (1982) suggests that tourism's outcomes should be measured properly to ensure correct policy decisions. Hence, the evaluation of government decisions, actions, and programs, and therefore of tourism public policies, is receiving growing recognition (Hall & Jenkins, 2004). However, this may be difficult.....

'Precise causal explanations of the links between public policy and [policy such as] tourism development [can] not be provided because of the influence of a number of other factors, chief among which are external issues such as the economic climate in the major source markets' (Chambers & Airey, 2001, p. 95).

Odularu (2008) uses economic analysis to understand the outcomes of tourism in Africa. He concludes that economic performance in West Africa can be enhanced through sound tourism development policies that support economic openness with greater emphasis on liberalization policy. Bull (1990) evaluates different policies for foreign investment on Australia tourism.

Policy outcomes for various types of tourism have also been evaluated. Ecotourism has become an important means of tourism development, protected area management and community development. Its success is mixed however, and probably most successful as a political process (Buckley, 2009). While outcomes may be measured in terms of economic growth (Lee & Chang, 2008) other measures such as protection of public interest have also been discussed (Dredge & Thomas, 2009).

Analysing Policy

The approaches to analyzing public policy have been grouped into four types; rational choice, socioeconomic, institutionalism and networks (John, 1998; Tyler & Dinan, 2001a). The rational choice or scientific approach focuses on providing factual knowledge and analysis rather than an intrinsically political view, and in the same way, each approach is based on a particular view of the world and how it operates, and incorporates theories and concepts, but which may overlaps with other approaches.

Scientific Approach

A number of researchers claim that dominant approaches to understanding public policy have developed from the rational paradigm (Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004; Kerr, Barron, & Wood, 2001; Pforr, 2005; Russell & Faulkner, 1999; Stevenson, et al., 2008). Early tourism policy was developed at a time when no strong evidence base existed for the dilemmas caused by tourism or indeed any recognition that negatives existed. Tourism was seen as a source of development “The challenge facing tourism planners in Zambia is the optimum development of the industry” (Teye, 1988). Much criticism is done with the benefit of hindsight. An example of this scientific view:

The scientific study of tourism policy aims at reaffirming the need of studying the various problems from a rational point of view, beyond any particular political considerations; it stresses the need for a rational choice of objectives to be achieved in the light of an impartial analysis of a given situation; and it emphasizes the fact that the study of tourism and the science derived there from go hand in hand, inseparable in their unity and their various degrees of theoretical abstraction (Sessa, 1976, p. 247).

Examples of a scientific approach include writers such as Swart, Var and Gearing (1978) and the use of operational research for policy formulation, Sadler and Archer (1975) using cost benefit analysis, utilization of goal programming for determining government NTO organizational targets (Seely, Iglarsh, & Edgell, 1980), the features necessary for avoiding the environmental impacts of tourism (Inskeep, 1987), the tourism policy model (Mill & Morrison, 1985), satellite accounts used for sustainable tourism policy development (Pham, Dwyer, & Spurr, 2009), CGE modelling for policy formulation (Dwyer, Forsyth, & Spurr, 2004), and public choice analysis as a model to analyse government policy decisions (O’Fallon, 1993), and to investigate calls for market intervention (Michael, 2001). Mowlana and Smith (1990) provide a policy analysis model for examination of tourism as international relations. Bull (1990) discusses a model allowing assessment of policy options for Australian tourism investment decisions based on economic analysis. Treuren and Lane (2003) discuss the difference between rational versus contingent planning.

The rational approach can be seen in a strategic planning approach to Valencian tourism development with programmes arising from detailed planning (Fayos-Sola, 1992b). The scientific choice model has been used to analyse; the effect of state subsidization of small tourism businesses (Fleischer & Felsenstein, 2000), and policy alternatives for access to private land in Sweden (Mortazavi, 1997). Policy design (see (Colebatch, 2009, pp. 84-85) is an associated term and is used by Blake and Sinclair (2003) for analyzing the effect of September 11. A similar approach is taken by Sugiyarto, Blake and Sinclair (2003) in looking at the effects of globalization

on Indonesia. Cohen (1988b) adopts a rational approach to the study of policy dilemmas posed by AIDS in Thailand, a major tourism destination with a developed sex industry. However the use of rational models for policy design has been criticised.

Even if these models are “technically and technically feasible, it may not be feasible in terms of ‘politics’. In other words, decision-makers may not accept such a model since it may be contrary to their interests. Any planning model should be both politically acceptable and desirable in developing countries if it is to be implemented (Tosun, 2001a, p. 300).

Critics claim that a scientific approach is ‘reductionist, producing thin description that ignores the dynamics within the environment and have not provided the analytical tools to investigate context’ (Stevenson, et al., 2008, p. 733).

“Description, analysis, and explanation, and the use of appropriate theory to help explain events, are necessarily influenced by the researcher’s ability and desire to manipulate data, and by his or her intellectual bias. Different theoretical perspectives - for example pluralist, elitist, Marxist, corporatist, or pluralist, public choice, and Marxist - while not mutually exclusive, conceptualize the policy process in distinct ways” (Hall & Jenkins, 2004).

The rational choice model is based on the concepts of personal choice and maximisation of individual benefits as basis of policy action or inaction (Tyler & Dinan, 2001a). It appears that this approach provides inputs into policy development but does not analyse policy development and does not address the issue of politics and “win-lose’.

Institutional Approach

An institutional approach focuses on the organizational powers, rules, investment incentives and constraints that influence policy development and implementation (Dieke, 1993; Sofield, 1993). The term institution refers to many different types of entities, as well as the rules used to structure patterns of interaction within and across organisations (Kerr, 2003). This highlights that tourism is strongly influenced by (reliant on) government and therefore highly institutionalised, for example in examining public policy for tourism in Northern Island:

It can be seen that given the factors above, (lack of coordination between tourism organizations) no coherent policy towards tourism is likely to evolve until some powerful, and integrative institution is created (Smyth, 1986, p. 126).

Institutional analysis considers that public policy is predominantly made within political and public institutions, and has been criticized for underplaying the political and social processes (Stevenson, et al., 2008). Institutional approaches have been used by Dredge and Jenkins (2003b) in studying Australia State – Federal relationships, and by Zahra (2005) discussing National Tourism Organizations. The development of policy and changes to their roles and responsibilities can have ‘profound influences on the NTO and the development of the tourism industry in that country’ (Zahra & Ryan, 2005, p. 22). Hannam (2004) studied the power relationships of Indian State organizations and how this affects tourism policy. Mowlana and Smith (1990, p. 317) developed an integrative model of how ‘global tourism infrastructure such as communications and financial services is an important component of international relations’.

Institutions, in effect, are the arena, within which policy-making takes place. They possess distinctive characteristics; their structures influence policy battles; and they succeed through incrementalism. They also have cultural rules giving collective meaning to particular entities and activities, integrating them into larger schemes, and include the political organisations, laws, and rules that are central to every political system. However, they also exclude political participants such as interest groups in public decision-making.... (Kerr, 2003, p. 35).

A number of theories are related to the institutional approach including regime theory (Healy, 1994; Long, 2000; Russo & Segre, 2009), city/urban growth machine (Molotch, 1976), and regulation theory (Mair, 2006). The regime framework (Stone, 1989) considers that property regimes (institutions) affects tourism development options (Russo & Segre, 2009). Healy (1994, p. 596)....

'describes three property rights regimes for managing such resources: privatization, management by government, and common property regimes. All three regimes are widely found in the case of tourism resources, and mixtures of regimes are frequently encountered. Common property regimes, which involve community control or reciprocal actions among individuals, appear to be the least common; yet such arrangements have interesting potential for addressing common pool problems'.

Regulation theory:

is 'concerned with investigating the ways in which capitalism (as an institution) has realigned and redefined itself after the economic crises of the 1970s. This transformation has been delineated as a movement of capital out of what is commonly understood as Fordism (a regime of accumulation as it was a stable- period of relatively uninterrupted economic growth, within the West at least) through a period of great uncertainty and restructuring through to the current- era of 'post-Fordism' or 'neo-Fordism'. Notably, this includes a shift in government- from a period of relatively centralised regulation and administrative- control to a somewhat different, more governance-oriented role' (Mair, 2006, p. 9).

The urban growth machine developed by Molotch (1976) and the urban regime seek to understand 'the power and role of business interests in urban policy, and the emergence of coalitions involving business and other interests' (Church, 2004, p. 562). This theoretical framework discusses the idea of local groups that vie with each other as determining policy towards tourism in a city (Madrigal, 1995).

Most recently, there has been renewed interest in institutions through the work of Ostrom's theory of collective action (Ostrom, 1990), and especially the design principles for robust management of common pool resources (Haase, Lamers, & Amelung, 2009).

Community based tourism may be considered a form of institution theory as it examines the importance of addressing host community interests and involving host communities in public policy decision making (Thyne & Lawson, 2001). Murphy (1985) discusses involvement in community planning on the basis that the community should decide how tourism will be developed, as it may be an instrument for dispute between local people and central authority as in South America (Kent, 2006).

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and interest groups are other types of institutions that have been found to influence tourism policy (Greenwood, 1993; Lovelock, 2003). Lovelock

(2003) discusses the tactics NGOs use to gain legitimacy such as media, advocacy and litigation. NGOs are also seen to be important stakeholders in policy development (Jamal & Getz, 1999; Kousis, 2000; Singh, 1999). In many countries the open nature of tourism leads to a number of interest groups that seek to

‘contribute to public policy-making and implementation in the tourism domain. Although there have been recent attempts to create “one voice” structures, there is a limit to the degree to which such mechanisms can produce a single political voice’ (Greenwood, 1992, p. 255).

Interest groups are associated with client politics ‘typical of policies with diffuse costs and concentrated benefits. An identifiable group benefits from a policy, but the costs are paid by everybody or at least a large part of society and that tourism policy is one such area’ (Hall, 1999); see also (Craik, 1990).

The application of ethics to policy can be considered as fitting into a number of perspectives but here is considered as exemplifying a particular type of shared value or institution. Early interest in ethics is embodied in a study of development of tourism (Lea, 1993). A broader interest in ethics has been stimulated by the need to implement sustainable development principles (Macbeth, 2005). Bramwell and Lane (2008, p. 1) write:

A truly sustainable society is one where wider questions of social needs and welfare, and economic opportunity are integrally related to the environmental constraints imposed by supporting ecosystems and the climate.

Environmental ethics are an important requirement for policy (Holden, 2003) and need to be embedded in the market economy (Holden, 2009). Further Bramwell and Lane (2008, p. 1) argue that there is a move to focus on “just sustainability”, and involve concerns about social justice. Corruption leads to a deterioration of social justice and is a failure of ethics (Church, 2004). It is argued that the legacy of uneven development, and the entrenched power of regional economic and political elites, is likely to undermine the prospects for a just model of sustainable tourism (Bianchi, 2004).

Social Approach

The social approach includes a focus on the arrangement, actions and interactions of individual people or organizations. ‘Tourism policy-making is seen as a social activity with the focus being placed on examining how actors (institutions, groups, organizations, individuals) relate to each other, or on the factors that influence perceptions of policies’ (Bramwell & Lane, 1999).

‘Until recently, the formal process of establishing regulatory frameworks – typified by the creation of enforceable provisions governing the behaviour of tourism organisations – has dominated the tourism planning literature In recent years, this interest has been supplemented by a growing focus on the role of stakeholder involvement in the planning of appropriate and sustainable tourism and the resulting politics involved with negotiation and interest recognition’ (Treuren & Lane, 2003, p. 7).

Collaborative policy development may involve conflict resolution, problem solving and capacity building processes (Lovelock, 2001, 2002).

Some authors have a more holistic approach and focus attention on the collaborative environ-

ment, the interaction between different initiatives, the networks and communications between the people involved in the process and the political nature of policy making (Stevenson, Airey, & Miller; Bramwell, 2006; Dredge, 2006a; Dredge & Jenkins, 2003a; Tyler & Dinan, 2001a; Tyler & Dinan, 2001b; Laing, Lee, Moore, Wegner & Weiler, 2009).

There is an evolving body of theory of collaboration and partnerships (Hall, 1999), along with criteria for assessing the effectiveness of collaborative projects and practical guides for their initiation and management (Vernon, Essex, Pinder, & Curry, 2005). In this context policymaking becomes collaboration.

The emergence of collaborative policymaking across the globe is part of a broader shift in the role of the state from “provider” to “enabler”. The public sector’s traditional “top-down”, centralized and managerialist approach, in tourism, assumed responsibility for infrastructure provision, planning control, marketing and promotion, and proactive development for the perceived public good. It has been replaced partially by a more “bottom-up”, decentralized and inclusive form of governance in which local communities and businesses are being encouraged to take more responsibility for management (Vernon, et al., 2005, p. 327).

Collaboration involves a number of stakeholders working interactively on a common issue or “problem domain” through a formal cross-sector approach. Typically, this process involves an exchange of ideas and expertise and/or pooling of financial resources (Vernon, et al., 2005). Yasarata, Altinay, Burns, and Okumus (2009) highlight how elite controlled networks and access to power lead to control of politicians who create a favourable investment climate policy that leads to planners implementing physical planning and activities. Collaboration involves the concept of power, social exchange theory and resource dependency (T. Jamal & Getz, 1995). The identification of shared values is a basis for collaboration (Reed, 1999).

Relational Approach

The relational approach emphasizes increased participation by “stakeholders” in the planning and operation of tourism organizations (Hall 2000). A stakeholder approaches highlight the “plurality of organizational interest groups and the political nature of organizational goal setting and policy implementation” (Treuren and Lane 2003:4).

Long (2001) adopts an actor-oriented approach to examine agency, structures and social change. Bramwell (2006), and Bramwell and Myer (2007), following Long (2001) adopt this actor oriented/relational approach to study of power, policymaking, and related debates associated with tourism development. The later paper focuses on relations between actors and structures, seeking to break down the unhelpful dualism between agency and structure using an island in former East Germany as their case. Dredge (2006b) adopts a network to examine the development and delivery of policies. See also Verbole (2000).

Network approaches to policy development focus on “policy communities” made up of people who interact within networks. Here ‘policy emerges as a result of informal patterns of association’ considering the dynamics of “complex relationships” by examining them “as they shift and change” (Borzel, 1998, p. 260; John, 1998, p. 1; Stevenson, et al., 2008). Network theory helps to “explain the complexity of the policy arena and the multi-dimensional nature of it” (Tyler and Dinan 2001b:243). Policy networks have, therefore, emerged as powerful organising perspectives to understand relational conceptions of policymaking (Wray, 2009).

Networks have been used to examine environmental governance (Erkus-Ozturk & Eraydin, 2010), interest groups in England (Tyler & Dinan, 2001a, 2001b), public-private partnerships, stakeholder's involvement and the role of networking and collective learning (Vernon, et al., 2005). Denicolai, Cioccarelli and Zucchella (2010) interpret the tourism network approach by analysing four dimensions: knowledge sharing, formal agreements, degree of integration of local services, and trust. Scott, Cooper and Baggio (N. Scott, Cooper, & Baggio) discusses the structure of networks. Pforr (2006) discusses using policy network approach (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007; Dredge, 2006b). One feature of networks are bridging organizations (T. Jamal & Getz, 1995, p. 191), which span the social gaps among organizations and constituencies to enable coordinated actions.

Governance

Borzel (1998, p. 259) considers that governance is

‘the pattern of linkages and interaction of a policy network as a whole unit of analysis. She argues that “rather than focusing on describing the context of, and factors leading to, joint policymaking, the concept of networks as inter-organisational relationships examines the structure and processes through which joint policymaking is organised, that is on governance.’

The concept has been used to study regional institutions (Church, 2004; Church, et al., 2000; Reed, 1997, p. 570; Timothy, 2003), decentralization in Turkey (Uksel, Bramwell, & Uksel, 2005), networks (Uksel, et al., 2005), develop principles of good governance (Eagles, 2009), and to examine protection of the public interest (Dredge & Thomas, 2009).

Social capital

Social capital refers to the bank of resources built up through interpersonal networks and associations upon which individual members of a community can draw. While there is some disagreement about the origin of the term ‘social capital’, there is no doubt that it is a concept which has gained prominence over the last decade due mainly to theory development by Pierre Bourdieu, Robert Putnam, James Coleman and the World Bank (Macbeth, Carson, & Northcote, 2004). Social capital is about networks, about relationships and about reciprocity (Macbeth, et al., 2004).

Power

As Richter (1983b, p. 318) writes ‘tourism development, then, is a policy area only if political elites decide it will be’. A number of studies aim to study who tourism power-holders are, the sources of their power, the values and interests that are served by the exercise of power (Church, 2004; Hannam, 2002). In the 25 year review of articles in *Annals*, Swain, (Swain, et al., p. 1008) writes “a policy-power category [in the literature] includes a broad range of concepts from ideology to exchange rates and visa control. Marzano and Scott (2009) examine the exercise of power in destination branding, while Church (2007) discusses the power of military in Panama.

Doorne (1998) argues that the study of power should be contextualised within particular environments and from particular perspectives, and acknowledges that there is no singular objective ‘truth’ in the analysis of politics, policies and power. Bianchi (2004) argues that the entrenched power of regional economic and political elites, is likely to undermine the pros-

pects for a just model of sustainable tourism, and to consolidate inequalities across the region. A number of other authors write in this area (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Hollinshead, 1999; Fallon, 2001; Goldsworthy, 1988).

Policy narratives

The precise agendas and discourses adopted by the various interest groups, amidst contemporary concerns about sustainability, would appear to be crucial to the success, or otherwise, of their arguments (Markwick, 2000). Attempts to influence growth policies are examined for their discourses, knowledge frameworks, and relative influence on the government (Bramwell, 2006; Cousin, 2008) notes that the discourse of tourism has symbolic value and can act as a means of unifying elites.

Methodology for Policy Studies

“Understanding public policy is both an art and a craft” (Dye 1992: 17)

Compared to the theoretical discussion of policy, there is only a small methodological literature concerning tourism policy. There is some agreement that the study of tourism policy involves complexity, dynamism and change, and as a result Stevenson, Airey and Miller {, 2008 #7539} recommend the use of multiple approaches to understand policy making, and the use of grounded theory development. There is a need for awareness of the researcher’s ideological beliefs and values as these may direct or constrain information sources, methodology, analysis, and findings (Hall & Jenkins, 1995).

The case-study approach is the predominant research strategy used in studies of tourism policy is and indeed Hall and Jenkins (1995) consider this overused. They recommend use of thick description to improve understanding of policy in a specific context rather than attempting to develop universal models. Such an approach can consider the wider political context within which decisions are made (Stevenson, et al., 2008). Jenkins (1996) discusses interviewing and data collection for policy studies.

A number of methods have been used to examine tourism policy mainly concerning identifying and analyse the relationships and interactions between stakeholders. Stakeholder mapping considers these relationships as well as differing interests and powers, and has been used for planning strategies and establishing political priorities in terms of managing stakeholder relationships (Markwick, 2000, p. 522). Greenwood, Williams and Shaw (1990, p. 55) discuss backward mapping as a data collection approach:

Backward mapping starts with the problem which demands a policy, and works backwards through each implementing level, assessing the behaviour and reactions of implementers, and highlights the importance of discretion and bargaining in the policy process

Social network analysis (SNA) methods are increasingly being adopted to study policy networks (Pforr, 2002). SNA involves collecting data concerning relationships between stakeholders (termed nodes). These are mapped using mathematical techniques with results displayed visually in network diagrams and network attributes quantitatively measured (Scott, et al., 2008a; Scott, Cooper, & Baggio, 2008b). Such a quantitative approach has been criticised as positivist and ignoring the changing nature of relationships (Rhodes, 2002). SNA provides

information on structural properties of the network as a whole that supplements the study of the relationships among individual stakeholders. A second differentiating characteristic is that it does not a priori define groups and structures within the destination (N. Scott, et al., 2008a). Baggio, Scott, and Cooper (2010) have further developed these methods and the techniques for the study of complex adaptive systems and provided an example of their application, the case of a tourism destination. Use of futures studies for developing longer term policies has also been recommended (Van Doorn, 1982).

Conclusions

This review has set out to provide a strategic view of the study of policy in tourism. It has provided two ways of classifying the literature, based on the policy cycle as well as the analysis approach used. These two classificatory dimensions appear useful for seeking to integrate and synthesize a complex and fragmented literature. The review has highlighted the importance of the concept of development to tourism policy; in fact they are almost synonymous. The academic literature of tourism has over time moved from a simplistic view of tourism development based on contribution to central government macroeconomic policy to embrace sustainable development. It is arguable however that the practice of policy development in many countries has not followed the same pattern. Based on an examination of the literature, policy has been characterized as involving actions, decision, politics, values and ideological beliefs, social processes involving communication, outcomes such as legislation and implementation. Tourism policy involves collective action and how collective choices are made, implemented and enforced in and for a society (Buhrs, 2000).

It also appears that policy research has moved from particular political or ideological perspectives to a more sociological perspective looking at concepts like power, collaboration, and governance. Thus, generalist theories have been replaced with development of policy in the context of local actors' power. That said tourism policy seems set within ideologies (mostly) with little questioning of boundaries. It seems to be about optimization of a particular approach or choice of policy options within a policy ideology. Additionally public tourism policy is increasingly seen as the study of parts of governments – rather than government as a whole.

Areas for further research

As discussed above, the tourism policy field is broad and fragmented and one first area for research is the writing of comparative studies. Some authors may say that such an approach ignores the complexity of policy contexts that frustrate comparisons between regions, countries or policy areas. However, it does appear that, for example, there is some commonality of policy instruments used around the world and thus comparison between their implementation and outcomes may prove useful, for examples in development of regions. In particular cross-country comparisons using examples of non-Western policy development may be useful. Certainly there is a need for monitoring and evaluation of policy after implementation (Bramwell & Lane, 2006). Policy evaluation studies are a possible short cut to information about the effects and efficiency of various specific interventions (Hjalager, 2010). A conclusion of some studies is that government tourism plans have little probability of influencing market forces to achieve economic success in destination areas and some indication of the effect of government poli-

cies would be extremely useful (Choy, 1991).

Areas for further research also include tourism laws - in countries such as Vietnam Cambodia and Laos – a tourism law is being developed and this holds interesting policy implications for its study. Perhaps there is a need for separate discussions about implications of industrialized and non-industrialized country destination planning, in that residents from the former have more flexibility in responding to development pressures than residents of the latter countries (Burns, 1999, p.344).

A second developing areas found in the literature is the adoption and examination of the sociological perspective and concepts, such as the use of power (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007; Cheong & Miller, 2000; Markwick, 2000, p.522), tourism policy networks, governance of tourism, tourism destinations as a commons (Ostrom, 1990, 1998, 2005) and especially the design principles for robust management of common pool resources (Connelly, 2007; Haase, et al., 2009). Hall and Jenkins (2004) suggest a need examination of the linkage between power, ideology, values, and institutions. Another area is the interaction of policy from other sectors on tourism, such as between terrorism and tourism (Richter & Waugh Jr, 1986).

It would also be of interest to study the transfer of policy around the world and the role of various types of organizations in doing this (Hawkins & Mann, 2007). Burns (1999) alludes to this problem in the South Pacific.

There are a number of issues in disentangling different types of tourism policy modes. Firstly the same approach may be applied in different parts of the world at different times. Thus a focus on visitor number increases, found in 'the first Fiji Master Plan is to be found almost two decades later in the Solomon Island Tourism Development Plan' (Burns, 1999, p.333).

This is an issue related to knowledge management (Cooper, 2006).

This paper has not dealt particularly with particular types of policy aims and roles (Table 2) or policy domains (Table 3). Clearly the domain of sustainability is of critical importance but there is a need to distinguish between policy ideal and practice. For example Ioannides and Holcomb (2003, p.40) consider that upmarket tourism an "unrealistic long-term option for sustainable tourism development" and that there is a need to determine how to create sustainable tourism when it is dependent on an unsustainable transportation system. Policy research remains a critical area for further research.

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Glossary

Community based approaches: The involvement and empowerment of the destination community in the planning and management of tourism in their community.

Dependency Theory: A theory from the social sciences that states that resources flow from the underdeveloped countries to the wealth of the Western world. The countries are kept in dependency due to power structures and systems.

Market Failure: The failure of market forces to account for the total costs and/or benefits of an economic activity.

Non-Governmental organisations (NGOs): Organisations that are not affiliated or connected with the government.

Organization stakeholders: Individuals, groups, companies or individuals that have a direct or indirect stake in a particular organisation. Stakeholders can include owners, investors, employees, the community and unions.

Policy: A plan of action by an individual, group, company or government that guides decisions.

Policy Cycle: A conceptual tool used to identify and trace the development of a piece of policy. It assists in the understanding of the shaping of policy decisions and their impacts.

Policy communities: Small networks consisting of governments, pressure groups, and other experts that are involved in shaping policy.

Policy implementation: The practical realisation of policy through legislation, planning and the involvement of non-state actors.

Policy instruments: The regulatory and economic tools used to measure policy

Public Good: A public good is a non-rivalrous good, one that if consumed by one individual the availability of that good to others is not reduced. It is also non-excludable, thus no one can be excluded from consuming the good.

Public/private partnerships: Public-private partnerships (or PPP, P3 or P³) refer to a government service or private venture that is a partnership (funded and operated) between a government and a company in the private sector.

Tourism Development: An increase in material prosperity due to tourism. This usually refers to some country or region.

Tourism Policy: Policy involves actions, decision, politics, values and ideological beliefs, social processes involving communication, outcome such as legislation and implementation carried out under the coordination of public administrations related to the processes of analysis, attraction, reception and evaluation of the impacts of tourism flows in a tourism system or destination.