TOURISMSCAPES

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TOURISMSCAPES

An actor-network perspective on sustainable tourism development

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Preface

Preface

In this book I introduce the concept of 'tourismscapes' to indicate complex processes of ordering people and things into networks. This book itself is the result of a similar process of ordering – and I should like to mention and thank those who played a role in it.

As people, too, are networks – the 'artful arrangements of bits and pieces', as John Law (1994) puts it – this book is the product of the heterogeneous resources of my body. Although we do not have much direct control over and do not know much about vital parts of our body, if these parts fall apart we are in dire trouble. As a consequence of this falling apart, I have lost some dear friends and relatives over the last few years. This book is dedicated to the memory of these people, that is, to my father and mother, without whom I would have never been able to order anything at all; to Harry, with whom I travelled to Costa Rica a couple of times; to my dear friends Maria and Johan; and to the late Professor Sindiga of Moi University, who invited me to join the MHO project and who first opened the doors to Africa for me.

These deaths reminded me that each of us is a fragile arrangement and if we count as people rather than as organisms, this is because we have a lot of other bits and pieces – our clothes, car, house, words, moods, friends, colleagues and relatives – over which we may have at least some control. For example, my bureau (thanks Jos!) and office at home, as well as my new computer with its fast Internet connection, 'afforded' me to work efficiently from my house. I enjoyed the months of seclusion, which were possible only because of modern communication techniques. The numerous books, articles and conference papers (thanks Wieske and Gerard!) also provided me with the material to widen and order my thoughts. Airplanes took me many times to Costa Rica, Kenya, Tanzania and South Africa. The TESO ferry connected Texel with the 'other side' (which is how the islanders regard the Dutch mainland). Tante Truus' cottage provided me, as well as others involved in the process, with shelter while doing research on Texel.

And there were numerous others involved in the process of ordering. It was through them that I realized this book. First of all I am greatly indebted to Janine Caalders, who joined me on several trips to Costa Rica and in various projects within the Sustainable Development Agreement between Costa Rica and the Netherlands. Working with Janine was always both inspiring and pleasant; our cooperation undeniably and significantly contributed to the ordering process. Together with Janine (and of course her colleagues Nanda, Anneke, Herma and Joost at Buiten Consultancy), I managed to collect the data in Costa Rica and on Texel that underlie this book. In Costa Rica, I worked together with many 'Ticos' and other 'Latinos'. To name just a few: Allen Cordero, Luisa van Duynen Monteijn, Giovanni Beluche, Gonzalo Aguirre, Marieloz Bonilla Moya and Antonio Alfaro of Fundecooperacion. Fundecooperacion and Ecooperation financed the projects we executed in Costa Rica and on Texel. Along the way, I always kept in contact with Marinus Gisolf, who introduced me to some of the particularities of tourism. As for Africa, I am greatly indebted to Bob Wishitemi and John Akama, as well as to other staff members of the Department of Tourism of Moi University, with whom I worked so closely – and, eventually, successfully – for over nine years. On Texel, I had the pleasure to talk to many islanders who at all times, in one way or another, playfully reminded me that I am from the 'other side'.

The writing of this book is also part of the research agenda of our department. Many colleagues and students also contributed to the ordering process. It was with Jan Philipsen that I first travelled to Costa Rica and Kenya to investigate the opportunities, which turned out to be much more promising than we had hoped or expected. Jan also initiated me into the peculiarities of the Texel 2030 project. Karin Peters sheltered me by taking over many of my duties during my absence, and Lianne Boomars and I had many inspiring discussions about work and non-work while sitting in traffic jams between Wageningen and Nijmegen. I am also grateful to Henk de Haan for introducing me to some interesting theoretical avenues, to Stu Cottrell for his pleasant cooperation in joint course work, and to Jaap Lengkeek for facilitating and at all times trusting me in this process of ordering. And, last but not least, Carla, who was all ears during our many coffee breaks together. I really enjoyed the talks with the increasing number of PhD students closeted behind the spring-loaded doors lining our corridor. Numerous students did fieldwork in Tanzania, Kenya, Costa Rica and on Texel, and provided some of the data I was not able to gather myself. Ramona van Marwijk greatly supported me in one of the final stages of the writing of this book.

Nico Visser, John Hummel and Stephen Wearing are just a few of my many colleagues outside the University who played a role in the process. Gerard Verschoor 'acted at a distance' through his book intriguingly titled *Tacos, Tiendas and Mezcal*. With Frans de Man I had many discussions worthy of note – in Costa Rica, Quebec, on the train from Nijmegen to Amsterdam and in many other places along the road. Jeremy Rayner corrected the English, Ans Wilders designed the cover and Dia Hopmans kindly did the layout of this book.

Finally, there were many friends and relatives who once in a while carefully inquired about the progress I was making and kept faith that there would be a conclusion at some point. Marian allowed me to work on Wednesdays as well, by tenderly taking care of the children. And, of course, Bart and Jo were always there to look after their grandchildren when we were up to our necks in work. Last but not least, my partner Elize and our children Daniël and Eveline provided me with a warm and bustling nest in which to do my work.

All these and many other 'bits and pieces' were part of my process of ordering. As such, the ordering is incomplete, and by necessity much escaped me, and I take full responsibility for any oversights in this book. The writing of it was not only my work, but also my privilege and pleasure.

Table of contents

Table of contents

Chapter 1

Introduction: the Legacy of César Manrique

1 Introduction: the Legacy of César Manrique

> Those of us born of you [Lanzarote], those of us who know about your magic, your wisdom, the secrets of your volcanic structure, your revolutionary aesthetics; those who have fought to rescue from your enforced historical isolation and the poverty which you always suffered, begin to tremble with fear as we see how you are destroyed and submitted to massification. We realize just how futile our accusations and cries for help are to the ears of speculators in their hysterical avarice and the authorities' lack of decision that sometimes tolerates and even stimulates the irreversible destruction of an island which could be one of the most beautiful and privileged on this planet.
> (César Manrique in: Gómez Aguilera, 2001: 118-119)

Lanzarote is the most easterly of the Canary Islands. Its 300 volcanoes, which erupted continuously between 1730 and 1736, make the island's landscape unequalled. A part of the island has been designated as Timanfaya National Park. The combination of the Montanas del Fuego ('Mountains of Fire'), the beaches and the seven creations by the artist César Manrique forms a unique island and a unique tourism product, which however has been subject to challenges and changes.

In the early 1960s, a close friendship between the President of the Island Authority, José Ramírez Cerdá, and the artist César Manrique led to a tourism development on the island, which retrospectively could be labelled as 'sustainable'. In close cooperation with local communities, the island authorities created an airport, roads, an installation for the purification of water and the conditions for a limited number of hotels and apartments, as well as seven Centres for Art, Culture and Tourism (Jeukens, 1999). The two friends, together with the Vice-President of the Island Authority and the Director of Public Works, formed the Group César Manrique and created the Manrique model, namely a philosophy of limited growth, respect for local architecture, and tourist attractions in which tourism, nature and culture were architectonically integrated in seven distinct creations. A local newspaper (*Antena*) played an important role in the public debate about the pros and cons of tourism development on the island. As César Manrique explains:

> On Lanzarote we have worked with utter devotion, in close contact with its geology, understanding its composition and its volcanic essence, achieving the miracle of a new aesthetics, to create a greater capacity for art and to integrate all its facets into an all-embracing symbiosis, which I have described as: LIFE-MAN-ART.
> (César Manrique in: Gómez Aguilera, 2001: 114)

Until the 1980s, Lanzarote exemplified an 'environment-led' type of tourism development (Hunter, 1997; see also Chapter 7). However, the close match in the 1960s between culture and nature and between spatial practices, spatial representations by authorities and planners and the way Lanzarote was conceived and lived by its 43,000 inhabitants (Lefebvre, 1991) was increasingly challenged in 1980s. Investors from other Canary Islands, the Spanish mainland and other European countries, engaged and supported by local elites and authorities (see Bianchi, 2002b), 'discovered' Lanzarote, and shifts in the Island Authority as well as conflicts between island and local authorities created a free port for neo-liberal expansion. The fishing village La

Tinosa became Puerto del Carmen and new resorts like Playa Blanca and Costa Teguise were developed, neglecting most of the ecological and socio-cultural values that so prominently dominated the pre-1980s development (Jeukens, 1999).

In the mid 1980s, Manrique's influence began to dwindle. Commercial interests gained the upper hand and increasingly influenced the decisions taken by the island's government and the various local governments (Maslonka and Wassiljewski, 1993). Although the Group César Manrique broke up, a local interest group, El Guincho, later supported Manrique. In 1986, Manrique presented a manifesto in Madrid. The manifesto attracted a lot of attention, but it was not enough to stop the new trend:

> On this day [21-04-1986] I want to state in the most vehement terms my condemnation of this urban chaos and the architectural barbarities being committed; I want to make my attitude and my behaviour clear in relation to what Lanzarotians have done and all that I have created on this island, any possible negligence being out of the question.
> (César Manrique in: Gómez Aguilera, 2001: 121).

Local protest demonstrations in 1988, combined with an economic crisis and hence a drastic decrease in the number of visitors to the island in 1989-1991, created a new awareness of the possible detrimental effects of tourism development on the island. A territorial development plan for the island ('Plan Insular del Ordenacion del Territorio'), the 1993 declaration by UNESCO of Lanzarote as a Biosphere Reserve, the 1995 World Conference on Sustainable Tourism (which attracted more than 1000 participants from over 75 countries) and its subsequent Charter for Sustainable Tourism, and a recent 'Ley de Moratoria' (a moratorium on further construction on any of the Canary Islands) are just a few illustrations of a newly emerging consciousness. However, plans are contested. For example, the Territorial Plan was opposed by local councils in whose areas tourism is concentrated, claiming that it violated 'municipal autonomy' (Bianchi, 2002b: 9).

Moreover, thousands of planning applications were approved by local councils literally days before the moratorium took effect. Furthermore, the moratorium did not affect the 92,000 bed spaces that had already received planning approval from local councils. As Bianchi (2002b: 10) maintains, ironically nearly 50% of these approvals were related to Fuerteventura and Lanzarote (where accommodation capacity currently stands at 53,000 bed spaces), both of which sell a distinctive brand of more up-market tourism[1]. In his 'SOS for Lanzarote' (1978), César Manrique already foresaw that 'if anything at all deteriorates the island [of Lanzarote], no matter what its source is, I shall never have anything to do with it' (in: Gomez Aguilera, 2001: 108). And indeed he did not: César Manrique died in 1992 in a car accident on the island.

The case of Lanzarote is not only an example, but also underlies some of the main issues dealt with in this book. Throughout this book tourism is seen as a product of the intersections of people and things. Lanzarote as a tourism destination is a particular effect of 'processes of ordering' of human and non-human materials. As we have seen in the above, this effect materializes over time, but is conditional and is never achieved forever.

More generally, tourism development is not only performed by humans, but also transpires from 'non-human' things, like seas, mountains, flora and fauna, cultural artefacts and

technologies. Tourism materializes through cars, planes, roller coasters in Disney theme parks, computer reservations systems and global distribution systems, the Internet, roads, railways and airways. However, this technology is never purely technological; it is also social. Tourism also emerges from the social: people, institutions, entrepreneurs, organizations, beliefs and values. However, the social is never purely social: it is also technological. Much of our language and many of our practices reflect a determined, culturally ingrained propensity to treat the two as if they were quite separate from one another (Bijker and Law, 1992). But, as I shall argue, the world of tourism is materially heterogeneous.

Similarly, tourism is never purely 'global' nor 'local', nor purely 'nature' or 'culture'. As regards the last two, the seven creations of César Manrique show how nature and culture fused in tourism attractions like Jameos del Agua, a restaurant and concert-hall situated in a part of a cave seven kilometres long. It reflects ideas and values, as well as the materials of which Lanzarote is made. And referring to the global-local nexus, simplistically one could argue in the case of Lanzarote that 'global forces' (tour operators, hotel chains, investors with international speculative real estate capital) have conquered local resistance. However, the reality is more complex. For example, as Bianchi (2002b: 17) explains, the situation on Lanzarote is far more complex than a simple trade-off between local-global power suggest. As the evidence in the Canary Islands indicates, placing certain planning powers in the hands of local (municipal) governments (e.g. the ability to grant construction licenses for tourism) has been at the heart of the problematic attempts to control the pace and nature of tourism development in the region. Conversely, the effectiveness of a coalition of local activists – the Lanzarote Forum (Foro Lanzarote) – faced with the intransigence of the regional government and the reluctance of the national government to intervene in regional affairs, has been increased by appealing directly to the European Union to put a halt to the destructive construction activities of developers (Bianchi, 2003). Even the influence of César Manrique during the 1960s and 1970s stems from his ability to position himself as an 'obligatory point of passage' (see Chapters 6 and 7) between the local and global networks constituting tourism development on Lanzarote. His close friendship with José Ramírez Cerdá linked him to political and international economic networks; being both from Lanzarote and an international artist, he also connected the local and the global. As Maslonka and Wassiljewski (1993) explain, 'he felt deeply bound to the people and nature of Lanzarote, but he also breathed the air of international society and did not forget it. Experience of life, artistic maturity and urbanity all blended with his love for the island that had shaped his childhood'.

Therefore, in studying tourism we have to position ourselves at the midpoint where we can follow the attribution of both human and non-human properties, where we can look at the intermediary arrangements that are much more interesting than the two extremes, namely nature and culture or local and global (Latour, 1993: 122). In this book I shall attempt to do so as I seek to understand how it is that in tourism, people and things, nature and culture, the 'global' and the 'local' work together, how they shape one another and how they hold one another in place.

1.1 Objectives

Actor-network theorists like Latour, Callon and Law have claimed to offer a method to follow this process of attribution. In order to establish the relevance of actor-network theory for the study of tourism, in this book I shall take actor-network theory out of the realm of the sociology of science and technology. In the Netherlands, actor-network theory has already passed from the sociology of science and technology to, for example, rural sociology (see e.g. Bruin, 1997; Roep, 2000; Ploeg, 2003) and development sociology (Verschoor 1997a and b.). There it has changed, become diverse. However, actor-network theory has not yet entered tourism studies. This book translates and performs actor-network theory in the province of tourism studies. It is therefore part of the diaspora of actor-network theory (Law, 1999a: 10).

However, it is not a theoretical exegesis of actor-network theory, but an attempt to further tourism studies by scrutinizing tourism from an actor-network perspective. It performs rather than summarizes, although it sometimes has to summarize to be able to perform. A first objective of this book is therefore:

> **To develop a distinctive account of tourism that is grounded and informed by actor-network theory.**

But in this book I shall attempt to do more. There is another reason to progress with this work: 'until now, man has crassly dominated and violated nature. However, the consequences of this irrational abuse can no longer continue' (César Manrique in: Gómez Aguilera, 2001: 122). Or, as Röling (2000) explains, people have always created their own world according to their shared enthusiasms. During the age of religion, they built cathedrals, mosques and temples. In the industrial age, they embraced science through the emergence of actor-networks replicating on a societal scale. Our current enthusiasm is to transform the whole world into a global, competitive marketplace dedicated to satisfying consumptive needs. Tourism exemplifies this pursuit. Each year, tourism becomes more pervasive, as the case studies in this book illustrate. Never before it has brought so many benefits in terms of income and employment, 'progress' and 'modernization', cosmopolitanism and the like. However, never before has tourism had such potential for causing damage – and this potential is increasingly being realized.

The depletion of natural resources, transformations of landscapes, exclusion of regions and people – all these are consequences of the processes of ordering we label tourism. But who or what should be blamed for the hole in the ozone, or for global warming or for deforestation? Similarly, where does the blame lie for the over-development of Lanzarote and the other Canary Islands, and the exclusion of people and regions and the transformations of space? It does not help to look for a scapegoat like 'capitalism', 'power', 'ruling classes' or the 'global', not in the least as these are not causes but effects, the consequences of a set of heterogeneous operations, strategies and concatenations (Bijker and Law, 1992: 292).

Instead, we first need to understand the characteristics of hybrids like tourism and the way they generate externalities and inequalities with respect to access to resources, capital, and information, as well as the way they create disparity in the enjoyment of the benefits of tourism.

And secondly, we have to look for new ways of ordering in tourism and the conditions hampering or facilitating this reordering of tourism. For that reason, the second objective of this book is:

To analyse the prospects for sustainable tourism development.

In this book, I shall discuss the way the set of ideas on sustainable development entered the realms of tourism and analyse a selection of innovations in sustainable tourism development.

1.2 Organization of this book

The writing of this book required two expeditions, namely theoretical inquiries into actor-network theory, and physical journeys to Kenya, Tanzania, Costa Rica and – last but not least – Texel. As a result, this book consists of three parts. The first comprises three case studies on Manuel Antonio/Quepos in Costa Rica, Texel in the Netherlands and the area around Arusha and Amboseli in, respectively, Tanzania and Kenya. Each chapter details specific and disputed states of affairs in one of the countries visited. The purpose of these empirical descriptions is to incite theoretical elaboration, as well as to ground, inspire and illustrate that theoretical work. The writing of this book was therefore an iterative process of ordering.

The first steps in the process, which eventually led to the writing of this book in 2003 and 2004, started around 1995. Looking for empirical cases with which to study the relation between tourism and sustainable development, Costa Rica proved to be the perfect place. First, the presence of institutionalized contacts with, for example, the Universidad Nacional in Heredia, a Wageningen University research centre in Guapiles and the start of the Sustainable Development Agreement (SDA) between Costa Rica and the Netherlands, paved the way for establishing linkages and executing bilateral projects within the framework of MHO (*Medefinanciering Hoger Onderwijs*) of NUFFIC and the Sustainable Development Agreements.[2]

Second, tourism developments in Costa Rica revealed interesting insights into the probabilities of reconciling tourism with sustainable development. In Chapter 2, I shall analyse tourism developments in Costa Rica in general and in Manuel Antonio/Quepos in particular.

One of the projects also addressed the state of affairs on the island of Texel. Following a previous study by Lengkeek and Velden (2000), we conducted a household survey, expert interviews and workshops to assess the road to sustainable tourism on Texel (see Duim et al., 2001). I shall discuss the main findings in Chapter 3.

Apart from the Sustainable Development Agreement, during the last nine years a project funded within the framework of MHO of NUFFIC focused on the institution-building and educational strengthening of the Department of Tourism at MOI University, Eldoret (Kenya). Although this project primarily was education oriented, research output was obtained along the way, especially through participation in Atlas-Africa conferences (see Duim et al., 2005a and 2005b). Chapter 4, which deals with community participation and power, takes Maasai villages in Kenya and Tanzania as the starting point.

The three case studies illustrate the ongoing struggles and negotiations between the numerous actors involved in tourism development and the subsequent ordering effects, which are always halting. To be able to better read the state of affairs in the case study areas and to theoretically underpin the relation between tourism and sustainable development, I studied recent theoretical debates. Starting off with a brief inspection of the recent debate on globalization, especially the contributions of Urry (2000 and 2003) hinted at the work of Law (1994) and via Law at other actor-network theorists like Callon and Latour. Their body of knowledge and some of the translations of it by Dutch rural sociologist like Ploeg (2003) and Bruin (1997) and development sociologist Verschoor (1997a), underlie this book. Therefore in Part II, I shall review and elaborate the three case studies in terms of tourismscapes and underlying 'modes of ordering'. In the second part of this book I shall develop a distinctive account on tourism founded on insights from actor-network theory.

Chapter 5 introduces actor-network theory and the concept of tourismscapes. As we shall see, tourismscapes are the actor-networks within and across different societies and regions connecting people and organizations, transport, accommodation and facilities, tourism resources, and technologies. Tourismscapes consist of the relations between people and things dispersed in time-space specific patterns. In Chapter 6, I shall elaborate the way tourismscapes are performed and introduce the concept of 'modes of ordering' (Law, 1994), which underlie tourismscapes. Modes of ordering will be discussed by referring to the ordering work of tour operators and to the role of small-scale entrepreneurs in tourism.

Part III of this book deals with the relation between tourismscapes and sustainable development. In Chapter 7, I shall first address the issue of externalities and then briefly present the historical roots of the discourse on sustainable tourism development. I shall then review the concepts of sustainable tourism and sustainable tourism development. Chapter 8 presents a discussion of innovations towards sustainable tourism development. In line with the conceptualization of tourismscapes in Chapter 5, innovations will be seen as new patterns of coordination between people and organizations, and technologies and environmental phenomenon (Leeuwis, 2003: 9).

Innovation aimed at sustainable tourism development is working towards and implementing new ways of ordering of tourismscapes. In this chapter, I shall discuss ways to mitigate some of the externalities of tourism, and avenues to reconcile tourism with sustainable development. In order to do so, I shall argue that tourismscapes must change, materially as well as socially. This reordering of existing socio-material relations in tourism obviously is characterized by struggles, unpredictability and even backlashes. The final chapter (Chapter 9) presents a summary of the main findings and a new paradigm for tourism research.

Notes

[1] A few months later, a dispute (initiated by developers) over a legal technicality forced the regional government to suspend the first decree and to pass another in May 2001. Two months later, the second degree became law. It contained a far more rigorous set of restrictions, in particular the temporary suspension of all existing plans and the suspension of licenses for tourism-related development granted before 1995, but which had not been built. However, a number of significant exemptions downgraded the seemingly radical turn in the direction of tourism development policy, reversing years of laissez-fair development (Bianchi, 2002: 11).

[2] See for example Buiten Consultancy (2003), Caalders et al. (1999 and 2003), Duim et al. (2001 and 2002) and Duim and Caalders (2000, 2002 and 2003).

Part I

Chapter 2

Ecotourism at crossroads: the case of Costa Rica

2 Ecotourism at crossroads: the case of Costa Rica

In 1993, Costa Rica's Minister of Tourism was awarded the Green Devil prize at the International Tourism Fair in Berlin (ITB) for the hypocritical ecotourism policy of the Costa Rican government. Despite his appeal for ecotourism, a luxury hotel had been built in Nicoya on the west coast of Costa Rica, even though there had been legal infringements and a long list of ecological objections (Berkel, 1994).

This incident illustrates that ecotourism in Costa Rica is at crossroads. Costa Rica has reached what is classically described as the early mass tourism stage where the volume of tourists and the development in tourism supply can no longer be categorized as niche, eco or nature-orientated tourism (see also Lumsdon and Swift, 1998). As a consequence, the contributions of tourism to nature conservation are contradictory. On the one hand, it cannot be denied that tourism provides a very significant financial contribution towards maintaining both national parks and private nature reserves. Ecotourism has motivated the private sector to conserve or even restore natural environments. In this sense, ecotourism has to a very important extent contributed to halting the large-scale deforestation that has led to the disappearance of two thirds of Costa Rica's tropical forests since the 1950s. On the other hand, tourism development in the immediate vicinity of these nature reserves has led to impacts on nature and the environment and has given rise to serious concern. These impacts cannot be adequately countered because of a lack of effective physical planning and legislation or the failure to implement such. The Costa Rican government does not seem to have made a clear and strategic choice for ecotourism. In this respect, as Hagenaars (1995) notes, the Costa Rican economy is equivocal. Sustainable development is promoted in national and strategic plans. In practice, as a consequence of the dominance of neo-liberal policy, tourism emphasizes economic growth with the assistance of foreign capital and investment instead of developing a policy that aims at strengthening the micro-entrepreneurial sector.

In this chapter, I shall examine the case of Costa Rica by focusing on tourism developments in Monteverde and Manuel Antonio/Quepos. I shall first sketch the context, namely tourism development in Costa Rica, and then highlight the case of Monteverde. I shall then focus on the development of Manuel Antonio/Quepos in a historical perspective and, in doing so, portray some of the ways in which the local and the global intersect and sustainability issues have emerged.

2.1 Tourism developments in Costa Rica

In order to get a picture of tourism in Costa Rica, it is important to present a brief overview of the way in which tourism has developed in that country. The emergence of international tourism in Costa Rica can, to an important extent, be attributed to the interest displayed in the natural resources of Costa Rica by biologists, geologists, soil scientists, geographers and other scientists. This interest has increased steadily since the 1970s and has led to initiatives in the field of nature conservation. Over the past three decades, more than a quarter of the surface area of Costa Rica has been designated as protected, either as a national park or as a nature reserve. In this way, a

large number of tourist attractions have been created. In addition, the results of scientific research have spread, for example, through stories, newspaper articles, television programmes and such magazines as National Geographic. This circulation of information has generated considerable interest amongst tourists in other parts of the world. Each year, about 250 researchers arrive in Costa Rica to make use of the facilities provided by the Tropical Research Studies Institute (OTS). More than 2000 articles, doctoral theses and dissertations have been produced as a result. The research carried out by the Costa Rican National Institute for Biodiversity (INBio) is also well known throughout the world. These are amongst the main reasons why Costa Rica has assumed a market position as one of the most important ecotourism destinations (Inman, 1998; Laarman and Perdue, 1989; Rovinski, 1991).

At first, the growth of tourism in Costa Rica was impressive. The number of international arrivals tripled in the period 1985-1995 from 261,000 to 785,000. The number stagnated in the period 1996-1998, but in 1999 more than 1 million visitors came to Costa Rica. The current annual number of visitors is around 1.1 million. In recent years, tourists have been coming from increasingly diverse countries. Before 1989, most tourists came from Central America, but since 1989, North America (especially the United States) and Europe have become particularly important. However, as Costa Rica became increasingly well known as a holiday destination, more and more tourists with rather a different profile began to arrive. Whilst originally 60 per cent of the tourists who came to Costa Rica stated that they wanted to visit one or more of the national parks (Boo, 1990), those among them who want their visit to contribute to a sustainable society are the exception rather than the rule. As Lumsdon and Swift (1998: 164) observe: 'market expectations have shifted from a scenario where the visitor feels that he or she is making an eco-pilgrimage, to one where the destination is perceived as a centre for activity and adventure in a tropical paradise.' Research projects amongst visitors to the Manuel Antonio National Park and the Monteverde Private Reserve (Cramer and Lierop, 1995), for example, have identified the type of tourist who alternates a pleasant beach holiday in an unusual environment with visits to the national parks.

Heykers and Verkooijen (1997) and Heyden and Vierboom (1997) also show that most of the tourists are in search of a combination of beach, nature and recreational activities (see also Elands, 2002). The fact that many of the tourists who were interviewed in Costa Rica stated that they were looking for more information about nature and culture opens up an important avenue for achieving ecotourism goals. However, conclusions from these research projects show that the increase in charter flights from Europe also attracts another type of tourist, one that is far less concerned with the future of Costa Rica. This development seems to be diametrically opposite to Costa Rica's official tourist strategy as once expressed by former Minister Castro Salazar, who envisioned: 'Tourism for the few who are prepared to pay more.'

Apart from the fact that this strategy has been adopted by a large number of mainly less-developed countries, it also gives rise to practical problems and questions of principle. The issue is whether keeping ecotourism small and expensive is socially and politically compatible with the fact that an ever-increasing number of people want to experience nature in another part of the world and particularly in a region which researchers have lavished with so much praise. It is questionable how long a society will support international nature conservation if it is only the new middle class which is able to enjoy it (Urry, 1990, 1992; Duim and Philipsen, 1995).

In practical terms, it is difficult to channel developments in supply and demand in the field of ecotourism. An important obstacle to developing effective guidance in ecotourism is that the market itself is developing in an unpredictable way. The growing popularity of Costa Rica amongst ecotourists is the result of such factors as the country's enormous biodiversity, its political stability and the establishment of reserves and national parks. However, other more coincidental issues also play a role, such as the Nobel Prize awarded to President Arias for his prominent role in the peace process in El Salvador and Nicaragua, and the media's sudden interest in the activities of the Organization of Tropical Studies or the National Biodiversity Institute (INBio). The preference of ecotourists for certain destinations that offer nature-based activities is only to a very small extent influenced by ideas of nature conservation. Equally important is the introduction and development of recreational facilities and services, such as four-wheel-drive vehicles, mountain bikes and advanced equipment for sea fishers, climbers and deep-sea scuba divers. In addition, advertisers and other media focus attention on outdoor sports and this has influenced the way preferences have developed. Many ecotourists are searching for a 'Camel Trophy-type' of experience (Duim and Philipsen, 2002).

2.2 Nature as a tourist attraction: the case of Monteverde[1]

Generally speaking, Costa Rica's competitive advantage lies in the fact that high biodiversity is located just a short distance from the beaches, which makes the attractions easily accessible to tourist. The most visited parks in Costa Rica are Vulcan Poas and Manuel Antonio (about 200,000 visitors a year each). The Monteverde Private Reserve is the most visited private reserve in Costa Rica (around 50,000 visitors a year) and therefore an excellent illustration of the history of Costa Rica as an ecotourism destination.

The genesis of Monteverde can be traced to the 1950s when Quaker settlers from North America acquired 1200 ha for agricultural purposes and allocated 554 of these for watershed protection (Honey, 1999). In 1972, a Costa Rican NGO – the Tropical Science Center (TSC) – acquired the first 328 hectares of forest for a reserve. In 1974, TSC reached an agreement with the Quakers to manage their 554 hectares and the two properties became the original Monteverde Private Cloud Forest Reserve (MPCFR). As a result of several very successful fund-raising campaigns, the MPCFR now protects over 10,500 hectares of forest (Baez, 1996; Honey, 1999). The Monteverde reserve has very good facilities compared to the public national parks (Rovinski, 1991). For eight US dollars foreign tourists get access to well-kept trails. Information brochures are available and for 15-20 US dollars well-educated guides show tourists around. Equipment can be rented from the souvenir shop. In Monteverde, only 2 per cent of the reserve is open to the public. Around 90 per cent of it is not even open for research purposes. The maximum number of tourists allowed to visit the reserve at any one time is 120 (Honey, 1999). The idea behind the limited access is that not only the ecological but also the experience value of the reserve would be in danger if a larger number of tourists were to use the limited facilities. The only practical way to prove that these measures are effective (that is, without causing ecological damage) is to support this precautionary principle.

When tourists visit Monteverde, their expectations are often very high. The reserve is well known from television documentaries and magazines. In general, tourists have far to high an

expectation of the experience that the reserve can offer. Often the visit is a disappointment because the golden toad that figured in the National Geographic documentary has now been declared extinct and a meeting with the quetzal (one of the most colourful birds in Costa Rica) is very much a matter of chance. Because the reserve is small and its paths have been thoroughly surfaced, human intervention and management is clearly visible. Tourists who want to experience a wilderness will probably get more out of the 35 kilometre route that leads to the park, which is particularly difficult to negotiate in the rainy season. This route, in fact, gives the reserve an air of remoteness and inhospitality.

Income from tourism plays a very important role in the Monteverde area. At least 70 per cent of the income in the area comes from tourism, leaving agriculture far behind. Tourism revenues pay for almost 100% of the reserve's maintenance costs. In 1992, tourists spent some USD 37 million in the Monteverde region. Thirteen per cent was spent on the development of the reserve; the remaining 87 per cent went to the local community, that is to say, the residents of Monteverde including foreign businessmen. In 1995, tourists spent about USD 50 million, of which 90 per cent went to the local community. In this way the average income from tourism in Monteverde is three times as high as from other sources, such as agriculture. Echeverría et al. (1995) show that, when the contingent valuation method is used, the per hectare economic value of the Monteverde reserve appears to be significantly higher than it would be were it to have other user functions such as agriculture or cattle husbandry. Monteverde's overall contribution to the economy was calculated at approximately 18 per cent of Costa Rica's total tourism revenues (Baez, 1996).

Using the travel cost valuation technique, Tobias and Mendelsohn (in: Inman, 1998), using a 4 per cent real interest rate and assuming that the real value of the site remains constant over time, calculated the present value of the Monteverde Cloud Forest Biological preserve at between USD 2.4 and 2.9 million. In another study, Menkhaus and Lober (1996), using a sample-derived travel cost model, calculated that the average US tourist placed a value of USD 1150 on a trip to Monteverde, when all expenses involved in the trip were taken into consideration. Extrapolated to all US visitors to Monteverde, this means that the Reserve accounted for USD 4.5 million of the total tourist expenditures in Costa Rica. The explosive growth of tourism has also had an important effect on employment: it has been estimated that more than 400 full-time and 140 part-time jobs in the tourism sector have been directly generated, not to mention those created indirectly. In 1993, the Monteverde Cloud Forest Reserve employed 53 people, at a total annual salary of USD 400,000 (Baez, 1996). Commerce has been stimulated and women have the opportunity to set up cooperatives to produce craft products. According to Baez (1996), the tourism industry in Monteverde has led to the creation of some 80 different businesses, of which a significant number are locally owned.

Despite these economic returns, people in Monteverde have the feeling that they no longer have any control over developments. Monteverde has not escaped one of the most common problems associated with tourism development, namely the increase in land value and the cost of living. According to Baez (1996), one square metre of land sells for USD 10-20, which is comparable to the price of land on the outskirts of San Jose, the capital city of Costa Rica. The same holds true for the cost of living. According to Vargas Leiton (1995), Monteverde has always been a close and democratic community in which the local population was closely involved in decision-making.

People often work together in cooperatives in order to realize projects in nature conservation, health, food production, road-building and education. There used to be general agreement about the speed at which change should take place in the local community. The explosive growth of tourism (between 1985 and 1995 the number of tourists increased from 6,000 to 60,000 per year) gave the local population the feeling that developments were no longer in their own hands.

The growth of tourism was coupled with a local growth in population from 3,000 to 6,500 between 1985 and 1995. It appeared that more and more cooperatives were necessary to organize everyday life in Monteverde. Tensions emerged between various organizations. Towards the end of the 1980s, an umbrella organization – Monteverde 2020 – was created with the objective of formulating a common vision on the future. It was a failure. It no longer seemed possible to reach an agreement about the pace of development. Part of the community would benefit if tourism were to continue to develop at the same rate, whilst other sections put up resistance because of the negative effect the increased tempo had on life in the area (e.g. long lines at banks, traffic congestion, rising prices, the disappearance of local solidarity). According to Chamberlain (1995), the social capacity of Monteverde has been reached with the arrival of 50,000 visitors. At the moment, an attempt is being made to stabilize the stream of tourists at that level. Here, maintaining the poor condition of the access road to Monteverde plays a key role.

2.3 The case of Manuel Antonio/Quepos[2]

Whereas the Monteverde Reserve has souvenir shops and well-posted walking paths, the Manuel Antonio National Park has very few facilities for visitors. Two routes have been laid out for walkers and a few information boards have been provided. However, visitors have to rely on local guides from Quepos if they want to enjoy all the riches that nature has to offer. The visitor's centre is minimal because of a lack of money, and the park rangers provide little information. Despite this, Manuel Antonio Park exerts a strong attraction. On the one hand, it has a number of very beautiful beaches, and as Luft and Wegter (1993) note:

> The water is blue, clear and cool. If a top-ten was to be drawn up of the most beautiful beaches in the world then those of Manuel Antonio would certainly be among them.

There is also a great variety of flora and fauna for visitors to enjoy in those areas of the park that are open to the public (i.e. 10 per cent of the total surface area).

Tourism development in Manuel Antonio/Quepos came after centuries of global interconnectedness as well as isolation. This interconnectedness did not start with tourism. In the sixteenth century, the Spanish frequented the region. Before that time, various tribes of Indians lived in Quepos. The Spanish recorded the existence of a native ethnic group when they arrived in what today is Quepos. Juan Vásquez de Coronado visited the region in 1536 and estimated that the population amounted to 1500. Life for indigenous populations was harsh, as a result of difficult labour conditions, physical abuse and relocation. By 1718, only eight native families remained in the area. Twenty-eight years later (1746), the last Indians were taken to Boruca, which is 200 kilometres from Quepos. 150 years of seclusion then enveloped Quepos. There are no historic chronicles

from the middle of the eighteenth century until 1907. At that time, accounts were made of about 300 people living in the area between the rivers Savegre and Parrita (Largaespada, 1976).

The modern history of Quepos (see Largaespada, 1976) begins with banana production and the founding and operation of the Pirris Farm and Trading Company. Mr Aghathon Lutz, who was of German origin, managed this company, which had been founded mainly with Costa Rican capital. In 1927, 'Pirris' was responsible for the first transport of bananas from Parrita-Quepos. This consisted of a shipment of 19,000 racemes (stems bearing bananas) to Los Angeles and San Francisco. Since then, Quepos has been linked to the world economy. The Pirris Farm and Trading Company owned 900 hectares of cultivated land and recruited approximately 1000 workers from both Panama and Nicaragua. In 1937, Pirris sold its operation to the United Fruit Company, since reorganized as the Banana Company of Costa Rica. This company resumed the banana production in this region of the country. The 'Compañía', as the local and Costa Rican people called it, was responsible for the introduction of important economic and social changes that affected the area. In 1938 the company signed an important contract – the Cortés-Chitenden contract – with the government. This led to the construction of a railway and the complementary infrastructure.

Banana production peaked between 1938 and 1945. Four thousand hectares (representing 90% of the land of the future Quepos Canton) were cultivated. This generated approximately 1200 jobs. However, immigrants from 'outside' Quepos held most of these jobs. Many were from Guanacaste or Nicaragua. After 1945, a process of production diversification started with the plantation of African palm. In 1955 the banana cultivation stopped entirely; the last shipment took place in 1956.

The decline of banana production coincided with the strengthening of the Costa Rican government. The national government was filling the void left by the Banana Company of Costa Rica. Important parts of the social and economic institutions that operate today in Quepos are post-1948. In 1950 the National Bank of Costa Rica was created. In 1955 the National Council of Production was established in Quepos, and in 1972 ownership of the pier was transferred from the Banana Company of Costa Rica to the government. During this period, services such as health, schools, water and electricity were transferred to the government.

The very last contract between the Banana Company of Costa Rica and the government was signed in 1964. However, this was part of an exit strategy, since the document officially arranged the transfer to the government of various administrative buildings like the pier, the airport, *comisariatos* (little grocery stores selling cooking oil, tinned food, corn, liquor, etc.) and many farms.

In sum, Manuel Antonio/Quepos has been connected with the rest of the world since the sixteenth century. After an indigenous period, the Spanish colonized the region. Colonization lasted until 1746. After that Manuel Antonio/Quepos was again isolated from the rest of the world. From 1746 until the beginning of the twentieth century, Manuel Antonio/Quepos was economically and culturally cut off from global affairs. The founding of a banana production company intensified and extended the relations of Manuel Antonio/Quepos with the rest of the world. This period lasted from 1927 to 1964. The state intervention period began in 1964 and continued until the first structural adjustment plans in the early 1980s. By then, tourism had developed.

2.3.1 Tourism Development in Manuel Antonio/Quepos

Tourism development in Manuel Antonio/Quepos began in the 1960s. Even in the late 1950s, regular communication with the rest of the country was not easy. Roads and telecommunication facilities were almost non-existent. There was a small railroad between Quepos and Parrita, and at low tide small airplanes operated by Alpa Airline could land on the beach in front of Main Street. Tourists, almost exclusively Costa Rican, visited the area from January to March. During the 1960s, a road was built from San José to Quepos and a seven-hour bus connection between the two was established. The area around Quepos soon became recognized as one of the most beautiful places in the country. In 1972, the national government created the Recreational Park, thus preserving one of the few remaining areas of natural coastal vegetation on the Pacific slope. People began to come to Manuel Antonio Park to camp on the beaches and to enjoy the ocean. Quepoans with money started hotels and restaurants. Several years later, the area was reclassified as a National Park in an attempt to protect it from further damage caused by agriculture and tourism.

Meanwhile, tourism rapidly developed, facilitated by communication, production and financial networks. In the 1980s, Americans started building homes and businesses in Manuel Antonio. The tourist industry at that time consisted of a 'gringo bar' called El Barba Roja, a few luxury villas at La Mariposa, some rustic cabins and a beachfront bar called the Mar y Sombra. Soon the growth of the tourist industry accelerated. The road from Quepos to Manuel Antonio was paved in 1980 and shortly thereafter electricity, water and the telephone became available. Also in 1980, Sansa Airlines began servicing the area with DC3 airplanes. More people began to arrive to open businesses such as hotels, restaurants and shops, and the number of visits to the park began to increase (Mundis, 1997: 8). Tourism grew from about 31,027 visitors in 1980 to 128,287 in 1989 (Hicks, 1996: 47). In 1985, the Ley de Incentivos (Incentive Law) stimulated foreign tourism development through tax exemptions of as much as 50% for certain tourism companies during their first ten years of business.

Quite suddenly, a primarily agrarian economy, in an area with little or no infrastructure and a population with little or no education in marketing and business management, had to contend with over 100,000 tourists a year. By 1993, tourism had increased by another 50%. Visits to Manuel Antonio National Park reached a record 181,947. 1993 is commonly referred to as the year that tourism 'boomed'.

The 70 hotels, pensions, cabins, etc. in Manuel Antonio/Quepos provide approximately 1100 rooms, excluding the informal sector. Although some tourists call Manuel Antonio/Quepos the 'Benidorm' of Costa Rica, accommodation is provided by small-scale businesses, each of which has on average fewer than 20 rooms. Tourism development in Manuel Antonio/Quepos is scattered and there is no adequate planning, as there is a general lack of government assistance, the locals are inexperienced in business and there is an influx of foreign investment (Hicks, 1996: 47).

The Espadilla beach has been the focal point of numerous land-use conflicts. In recent years, the public zone of Espadilla Beach has been overrun by more than two dozen tourism enterprises, like hotels, restaurants, and fruit and handicraft sellers. However, in August 2000 a revised Regulating Plan for Espadilla Beach was approved. According to local organizations, such as the Environmental Council and the Comité de Lucha, the environmental law upholds this new regulating plan. However, they are continuing to dispute irregularities. Downtown Quepos has expanded as well. The town, which was built and occupied by the Banana Company, is now home to

a variety of restaurants, bistros, bars, coffee shops, boutiques and souvenir shops. Nevertheless, it remains a port; in fact, fishery is still an important economic activity in the region.

2.3.2 Employment and income

Having been overwhelmed by the Spanish conquest, by banana and later palm production, and then state intervention in the 1960s and 1970s, Manuel Antonio/Quepos is now overwhelmed by tourism. Although locals have tried to get a piece of the cake, the real tourism boom was introduced and nurtured by people from the Central Valley and by foreigners (from the United States and such European countries as Germany).

Today, the seven-kilometre road from Quepos to Manuel Antonio is extensively developed. According to the Chamber of Commerce, visitors can choose from approximately 70 different accommodation facilities, such as hotels, cabins, and guest houses, and more than 80 restaurants, 60% of which are owned by foreigners (Hicks, 1996: 47; see also Cabout, 2001). Of the 59 kilometres of coastline, 50 are in the hands of people from outside Costa Rica (Fundevi-ICT-SPN, 1993: 12). The dichotomy between local and non-local is reflected not only in the ownership of land and facilities: also access to international flows of capital and information is unevenly distributed. Small local entrepreneurs lack financial resources, access to the Internet and central reservations systems, and are not part of the international and national networks that are largely responsible for the distribution of tourist accommodation (Cabout, 2001).

A second significant change induced by tourism is the employment situation. Prior to our survey (see Duim et al., 2001), data on employment in tourism in Manuel Antonio were lacking. In our research, the labour market was divided into three sectors. This division not only relates to the economic history of Manuel Antonio/Quepos, but also reflects its present economic structure (Cordero, 2001; Duim et al., 2001). The traditional sector includes agriculture, fishery, paid housekeeping, the informal sector and work in organizations with a maximum of two workers. The formal sector includes employment generated by the government and by businesses with three or more employees. The third, relatively new sector is tourism, which comprises work in the hotel and catering industry and in leisure services.

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, the traditional sector generates 46% of the total employment, the formal sector 24% and tourism 30%. However, these figures refer to direct employment. In terms of indirect employment, dependency on tourism can be expected to be considerably higher. For example, taxi drivers derive a considerable part of their income from tourism, most of the fish consumed locally comes from the local fishers, and many local shops also benefit from tourism. On the other hand, linkages between tourism and agriculture are limited.

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, women make up more than one third of the tourism labour force. This figure reflects more general trends related to gender and labour. Worldwide, women are concentrated in clerical, sales and service jobs. Nearly half of all female employees in developing countries work in these segments. Women in most developing regions have been shifting out of agriculture and into services, especially the lower-paying jobs in a community, social and personal services and in trade, restaurants and hotels (Mehra and Gammage, 1999).

The income of employees in tourism does not differ very much from those working in the traditional sector. However, income is also related to the number of working hours. People

working in the traditional sector work more hours a week than people do in other sectors. The following hourly wages were calculated based on table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Employment in Manuel Antonio/ Quepos

Manuel Antonio Quepos	Traditional (n=189)	Formal (n=100)	Recreation & tourism (n=125)	Total (N=414)
Sex (%)				
– Male	81.2	70.0	60.8	72.4
– Female	18.8	30.0	39.2	27.6
Age (average)	35.4	36.8	34.7	35.5
Education (average in years)	6.9	9.6	7.7	7.8
Monthly income (USD)	337.00	419.62	346.67	360.03
Working hours (per week)	61.4	54.2	54.4	57.5
Number of years working (average)	6.8	9.4	2.9	6.3

Source: Duim et al., 2001

Table 2.2 Average wages in Manuel Antonio/Quepos

Sector	Wage per hour in CRC (colones)	Wage per hour in USD
Traditional sector	432	1.37
Formal	611	1.94
Tourism sector	501	1.59
Total	**495**	**1.57**

Source: Duim et al., 2001

Finally, the income of people working in the tourism sector in Manuel Antonio/Quepos is directly related to years of education. Costa Rican respondents with secondary education or less earn half as much as people who completed secondary school followed by higher education.

In sum, the influx of Costa Ricans and (later on) foreigners and their economic capital, combined with the subsequent connection of Manuel Antonio/Quepos to the global tourist market, has fundamentally changed the local economy.

2.3.3 Political turmoil

Economic transformations are also reflected in local power relations. Whereas local entrepreneurs very much depend on local knowledge and networks, foreign entrepreneurs have easy access to global communication, financing and distribution networks. Contrary to the attitude of the local government, some of the foreign entrepreneurs have taken a genuine interest in and have contributed to the sustainable development of the region (see Arts and Gudden, 2002; Blanco and Lipperts, 1995; Cabout, 2001). Especially in the period 1998-2002, many locals perceived the local government only as a partner of particular global interests.

As a consequence, local parties have joined together in their disputes with the local government. 1999 saw the foundation of the Fight and Defence Committee of the Aguirre Canton

(Comité de Lucha). The Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Tourism (ASOPROQUEPOS), the National Infancy Patronage, and the Woman, Family and Community Association of Quepos (ASOMUFACQ) are among its members.

The Comité de Lucha is seen as the most belligerent in Quepos. In November 2000, it occupied the municipal building and managed to stop plans to build a new harbour in Quepos. This project by the Spanish firm Marinas Canarias S.A. was to welcome as many as three cruise ships and 800 boats at a time, and provide some 5000 jobs in the area. Organizations like ASOPROQUEPOS and the Comité de Lucha protested against this development. In September 2000, the Marinas Commission of the Instituto Costaricense de Turismo (ICT; the Costa Rican Ministry of Tourism) had lodged objections, as the plans violated the Marine Zoning Law because of possible environmental destruction. Earlier that year, according to a decision by the Puntarenas Tribunal, a hotel, bar and restaurant, located near the port of Quepos and valued at USD 131,000, were demolished. According to the public prosecutor, the construction of the hotel was another example of violation of the Marine Zone Law and a clear case of municipal corruption (Pashby, 2000a and 2000b).

Consequently, confidence in the local government and its policies is low. In the household survey, only 6% of respondents valued local politics positively. But perhaps even more important, many people were ignorant or uninterested. When asked their opinion on tourism policy, more than 40% did not know or did not give an answer. Although more than three quarters of the people believed that local policy should change, more than half believed that opportunities for participation in local policy making were lacking. They also believed that 'external influences' on local politics were too strong. The main reasons for dissatisfaction were the 'passivity' of the municipality, corruption and the failure to support community development (Duim et al., 2001; see also Cordero, 2001).

Nevertheless, in 2002 a new political party – Partido Accion Quepena (PAQ) – was launched. PAQ gathered most of the opponents of the former local government. In the February 2002 elections, the party won two of the five seats for aldermen, representing a small earthquake in local politics. The results of this change in the political arena are visible. However, this development partly reflects the process of decentralization in Costa Rica. Since the middle of the 1990s efforts have been made, as part of the state reform process, to decentralize the public administration in Costa Rica. In spite of the complexity of the decentralization process, one of the specific and accepted consequences of decentralization is municipal strengthening. In practice, the financial aspects of decentralization (namely the collection of territorial taxes) have received much more attention than the organizational and political dimensions have (Cordero, pers. com.). Studies by Fürst and Hein (2002) in three regions of Costa Rica (Santa Cruz, Golfito and Osa) reveal that local and regional administrative and political institutions are not yet fit to coordinate and control tourism developments. They petition a process to strengthen the institutions of the local municipalities in Costa Rica. According to Fürst and Hein, a certain political, administrative and legal substantiality is needed in order to guarantee an effective supervision of the rules regarding the construction and management of tourist facilities. Only with an active civil society can the local population reach satisfactory agreements with international investors, which are almost always economically dominant.

In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, political turmoil is also clearly reflected in land-use conflicts. These conflicts converge in long-lasting disputes about the National Park and the adjacent beaches. Although the National Park is one of the main tourist attractions, it is endangered by the impact caused by visitors. While in 1980 some 31,000 people visited the Park, in 1993 some 182,000 people did so. In 2000 the number decreased to 157,000, due to management interventions. In the high season, the park limits the number of visitors to 600 a day, and on Mondays ('Monkeys Day') the park is closed. However, the rubbish produced and the food given especially to monkeys are still causing a lot of problems.

Even more critically, land ownership is still debated. Until 1968, Manuel Antonio National Park was a farm owned by a Costa Rican. Various activities on the farm have damaged nature. In 1968, the farm was sold to foreigners, who limited access to the area. This provoked a lot of angry outbursts from the local and national community. As a result, it was decided at a meeting in Quepos to accept the initiative of turning Manuel Antonio into a National Park. However, financial compensation was not settled. Almost half (46%) of the park's original 683 hectares are still in the name of the original owners – some of whom have already reasserted their rights to their land – because the government has not paid its debts on seven expropriated properties. Despite the creation in 1997 of a trust fund for the purpose of paying off this debt, the fund remained untouched due to a conflict between the municipality and the Ministry of Environment concerning the representation of the board managing the fund. The real issue at stake is who will have the majority of vote over the 50% of revenues from ticket sales that are now being deposited in the trust fund (Dulude, 2000; Wolkoff, 2000). However, in October 2001 a national law settled the issue of representation: a new organization called Fideicomiso is now officially in charge of paying off private persons and organizations for the land purchases in Manuel Antonio National Park. A special tribunal in Puntarenas establishes the value of the land.

Once the land purchases have been paid off, the money will be used for improving the conservation, sustainability and ecological qualities of the park. This means that the money can be used for the maintenance and innovative use of the existing lands, as well as for buying new pieces of land to increase the sustainability of the park and the fauna's habitat (Arts and Gudden, 2002).

Finally, the National Park is threatened by overdevelopment. At the root of the problem, critics claim, is once more a local government that openly flouts the law and turns a blind eye to violations. According to Escofet (1999):

> ... in the hills, overlooking Espadilla beach at Punta Quepos, prized for its spectacular views, dynamite has been used to carve out a niche in a partly-forested hillside to build a luxury house to entertain Hollywood stars (...). The most glaring evidence of recent development is two half-built three-story blocks of apartments on a former wetland, immediately adjacent to the border of the National Park and 250 meters from its entrance.

Although in Manuel Antonio/Quepos two spatial land-use plans ('Plan Regulador') for the beach area have been made, they are much disputed.[3]

2.3.4 Tourism and daily life

How do these developments affect daily life? In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, tourism development is widely discussed. These discussions focus on questions of liveability and local identity.

Although often used to demarcate the 'quality of life', the concept of liveability is not well defined (see Spyskma, 1996; Boomars and Hidding, 1997; Lengkeek and Velden, 2000). Various options for characterizing liveability are viable by, for example, means of objective criteria that are affirmed and monitored by politics, or by looking at opinions and perceptions, as in our research. In the latter approach, liveability relates to the feeling of losing control and infringement of values and norms[4].

For example, more than three quarters of the respondents in Manuel Antonio/Quepos believe that tourism has considerably changed their daily life. Only half of the respondents consider this change to be positive or very positive, while one third are neutral. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, close to 10% of the population has a negative or even very negative feeling about these changes. Moreover, a lot of people in Manuel Antonio/Quepos believe that tourism is the cause of many problems: more than 45% believe that tourism is causing many problems, and only 28% disagree or totally disagree with this statement. Drug abuse and prostitution are considered to be problematic or very problematic by more then three quarters of the respondents.

The reasons for some of the dissatisfaction are more noteworthy than the percentages. An important variable is the 'appropriation value' (Lengkeek and Velden, 2000). People 'confiscate' and become familiar with a place; thus it becomes 'their' place. Members of a community gain their self-esteem and self-assurance by comparing themselves with others, especially in a wider context. Although complaints about gringos or Nicaraguans or tourists have been heard throughout time, such complaints need to be acknowledged. A good understanding of the grounds for discontent is the first step towards solving problems, even if such discontent reflects the frustration of only a few. As Lengkeek and Velden (2000: 15) state, part of the solution is the recognition of the problem and the creation of trust in the process of resolving the problems. It is exactly because trust was lacking in Manuel Antonio/Quepos that the Comité de Lucha opposed the municipality in a belligerent way.

Closely related to the issue of liveability is the concept of local identity. Local identity consists of localized forms of knowledge and assumed privileges based on some notion of attachment to place and people. Local identity, however, is not given, fixed or essential. To think of communities as homogeneous entities is to assume that everyone in a specific locality has the same sense of place. However, while some people may have a clear sense of attachment, others may not (Meethan, 2001: 140-141). Not surprisingly, during workshops community leaders of Manuel Antonio/Quepos perceived Manual Antonio/Quepos as a 'town without identity'. They observed the population not to have a strong cultural identity like people in Cahuita, the Caribbean eastern side of Costa Rica. According to Largaespada (1976: 32), Quepos is a place without a distinct local culture. However, more accurately, in Manuel Antonio/Quepos the line between inside and outside, between local and global, became blurred long ago (see also Lanfant, 1995). Spanish conquerors, *bananeros*, gringos, Nicaraguans and now tourism entrepreneurs and tourists: the recent influx of tourists is just another stage in the social and cultural life of Quepos, which has been characterized by discontinuity and mobility. Various localized forms of knowledge, and claims to identity based on some notion of attachment to place and people, have been produced

through constant processes of interaction, which had both internal and external dynamics. As Meethan (2001: 142) asserts, the representational spaces of lived experience, consisting of localized forms of social knowledge, are multivocal. They present a horizon of possible meanings. As tourism requires the commodification of space, culture and people, for some it constitutes a threat. However, it also acts as another resource through which identities are created. Especially the younger Quepoan already are part of a new 'tourist profile' of Quepos. In this way, little by little, global and local knowledge and symbols are merging, as a consequence of the transformations of the subsistence base of Quepos through tourism.

2.4 Conclusion

Tourism in Costa Rica, and specifically in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, is a result of particular configurations of people and things. Specific processes of ordering combined entrepreneurial projects, natural resources (e.g. beaches and the National Park) and technological, socio-economic and political developments. As a result, in the second half of the twentieth century tourism became the most important economic sector. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, tourism generates 30% of all direct employment, and it is very possible that more than 50% of the 'other' employment depends on tourism. Nevertheless, economic benefits are unevenly distributed at the local level, as foreigners own more than half of the enterprises and most of the land in the coastal area.

Although the Spanish and the bananeros had gained access to Manuel Antonio/Quepos long before tourism, it was through tourism that the local and the global were again linked in a common space in a way that did not exist before. Distant others were drawn within close reach, while others close at hand became surprisingly distant. Indeed, as I shall clarify in Chapter 5, what is 'local' and what is 'global' is not so much a question of physical distance as one of interconnectedness and simultaneity between material, heterogeneous actors. Thus, in order to comprehend the state of affairs in Manuel Antonio/Quepos as well as in other case study areas, in Part II I shall examine the processes and mechanisms that facilitate or hamper the creation of such shared spaces.

Tourism developments in the area also create significant problems. In Manuel Antonio/Quepos, the rapid and largely unplanned and ad hoc way of development – which is often the result of speculative entrepreneurship and a lack of democratic control and processes – have led to serious land-use conflicts and issues of liveability. The Comité de Lucha and the founding of the Partido Accion Quepena are the clearest expressions of the attempts of community fractions to gain greater control over the forces that influence their lives. But so far, Manuel Antonio/Quepos lacks a clear local political response aimed at, for example, strengthening the position of local entrepreneurs, sharing sources of power or protecting of the environment. Indeed, as I shall discuss in Part III, this case study clearly illustrates that reordering tourism to bring about sustainable tourism development is difficult at the very least.

Notes

[1] This part of Chapter 2 was written in close cooperation with Jan Philipsen. See also Duim and Philipsen (2002).

[2] This part of Chapter 2 is based on a bilateral research project (see Duim et al., 2001). I should like to acknowledge the contributions of Luisa van Duynen Montijn, Allen Cordero, Nanda Ritsma and Janine Caalders, as well as the financial assistance provided by Ecooperation and Fundecooperacion. I should also like to thank Yanory León Jara, Erick Blanco, Juan Carlos Bejarano, Carlos Grajal, Kenneth Núnez, Dunnia Bejarano, Mauren Bejarano, Ricardo León, Miguel Grajal, Asdrúbal Chacón and Ronald Barboza for executing the household survey in Manuel Antonio/Quepos. To assess the local development of tourism in Manuel Antonio/Quepos and in Costa Rica, a household survey was performed in early 2000 to measure the perceptions and economic importance of tourism development. The Costa Rican sample was taken out of 2625 households living in the area. A total of 328 people were interviewed in the district of Quepos, which includes Manuel Antonio (Cordero, 2001; see also Duim et al., 2001). In addition to the household survey, various notes, reports of organizations and political institutions and such newspapers as Tico Times were reviewed, and interviews were held with administrators, entrepreneurs, politicians and representatives of interest/pressure groups to reveal perceptions and practices (see Cordero, 2001 and Duim et al., 2001). After the fieldwork, the results were discussed in a workshop with local stakeholders. Local interest groups in the region have been included in the project from the start to guarantee public participation in the research process. Hence, their definition of the situation guided the research process.

[3] In 2002 a new spatial plan (Plan Regulador) for the whole area of Manual Antonio/Quepos was published, perhaps marking changes for the better based on the results of the elections held in the same year.

[4] See also the discussion on liveability on Texel in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3

Islanders and ‘other-siders’: the case of Texel

3 Islanders and 'other-siders': the case of Texel

Coastal tourism is immensely popular not only in Costa Rica and on Lanzarote, but also in the Netherlands. However, coastal attractions may turn into a fatal attraction for the environment or the liveability on the island (Duim and Lengkeek, 2004). Islands constitute a particular variation on the theme of coastal tourism, being bounded by coastal areas and separated from the larger spatial context of the mainland (Briguglio et al., 1996). The coastal attraction of islands cannot be isolated from other qualities, such as nature and cultural heritage. Islands also tend to be inwardly directed, both socially and culturally, which often creates a specific political context for solving problems of sustainability related to coastal tourism. Tourism is all-pervading on islands, as Zarkia (1996) suggests in her report on tourism development on the Greek island of Skyros.

This chapter[1] is focused on tourism developments on the Dutch island of Texel. I shall first portray the current state of affairs on the island and the way that accelerating tourism developments have changed daily life. I shall then analyse the impacts of tourism in terms of liveability. Here, I define liveability in relation to the construction of space as a multi-layered reality. Third, I shall argue that liveability is not primarily encroached by the perceived impacts of tourism itself, but by the way these perceptions are dealt with in the context of politics, policies and planning.

3.1 The island of Texel

Texel, an island of approximately 160 square kilometres, is situated in the Waddenzee (the Dutch shallows) in the northwest of the Netherlands. In physical-geographical terms, these shallows are part of a more elaborate wetland area, which includes the Wadden islands located north of Germany and west of Denmark. Texel is the westernmost island of this group. The island has a permanent population of 13,450 (Duim et al., 2001). The main village is Den Burg (pop. 7000). Other villages include Oosterend (1400 inhabitants), Oudeschild (1275), De Cocksdorp (1250), De Koog (1220), Den Hoorn (965) and De Waal (400). Nature and landscape on the island are varied. Much of the dune area in the western part has been designated as a national park (approximately 4300 hectares). The rest of the island is mainly used for agriculture (dairy cows, sheep, bulbs and some arable farming).

The name 'Insula Texel' appears for the first time in writings from the early middle Ages, when mainly farmers and fishermen inhabited the island. Later, Texel became an important port of call for ships heading to or arriving from towns located around the former Zuyder Zee, such as Amsterdam. The Dutch Golden Age (seventeenth century) brought prosperity not only to Holland but also to Texel. The ships of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) left from Amsterdam for Asia, calling in at Texel on their way. In this first phase of globalization (Waters, 2001), local places like Texel were incorporated into the space of a global economy and the global economy was articulated through a series of connected places (Short, 2001:28). However, the bankruptcy of the VOC in 1799 and the construction in the nineteenth century of the North Sea Canal (which connects Amsterdam directly to the North Sea) marked the end of the Golden Age for Texel. Fishing and agriculture, especially in the polders constructed in the middle of the eighteenth century, became the dominant spatial practice for nearly a century.

In 1907, Texel's Steamboat Company took over the services of a shipping company based on the mainland. The increasing transport of people and goods, which was now in the hands of a Texel entrepreneur, facilitated economic growth, especially through tourism. The island became culturally, economically and politically more and more related to the rest of the Netherlands, and tourism became the island's main source of income. In 1896, a beach pavilion was opened in De Koog and two years later the first *Guide for Texel* was published. In 1908, a beach hotel in De Koog opened its doors and local residents founded a tourist information office (Barnard and Rommets, 1998; Ginkel, 1995). After the Second World War, the tourism sector grew tremendously, especially in the 1960s, when the number of visitors as well as the number of tourism beds on the island boomed (Hpart, 1990). Between 1960 and 1970, the number of registered beds increased from approximately 14,000 to 33,000 (Hpart, 1990:5). An increase in the number of campsites was mainly responsible for this growth. The current number of beds is around 43,000.

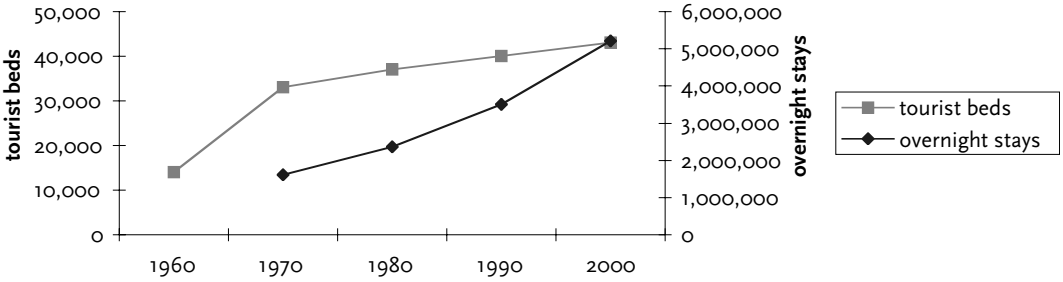

Figure 3.1 Number of tourist beds and overnight stays on Texel 1960-2000

The levelling out of the growth of tourism beds does not imply stability in tourism development in general. The importance of the sector in terms of turnover rate and employment has continued to grow. Since the second half of the 1980s, the number of overnight stays on the island has increased. From 1985 to 1990, the numbers grew from 2.37 million to 3.5 million (Grontmij/BCI, 1994). This represents an increase of nearly 50% in just five years. Current overnight stays are estimated to amount to approximately 5.7 million (EIM, 2001). According to EIM, nearly 1.14 million people visited the island in 2000; of these, 828,000 were tourists. The average length of stay is seven nights. However, other sources report only 4 million overnight stays on the island (Texelse Courant, 2003).

Growth has been possible as a result of, among other things, a change in accommodation types: bungalows have replaced accommodation capacity in campsites. In 1987, campsites provided approximately 59% of tourism beds and bungalows/summer houses about 30%. In 2001, the percentages were 43% and 44%, respectively (Texelse Courant, 2003). Geographically, tourist accommodation is concentrated in De Koog – which is situated halfway along the island's west coast – and in De Cocksdorp, which is located in the north. Smaller bungalow parks, campsites and hotels are scattered all over the island. Currently, tourism directly employs approximately 25% of the population. However, it is generally acknowledged that the indirect impact and dependency on tourism is much higher. According to some sources, about 75% of the population is dependent on tourism (Duim et al. 2001; Grontmij/BCI, 1994). In terms of gross turnover,

tourism accounts for about EUR 90 million, compared to 55 million for agriculture and 32 million for fisheries (WLTO/KAVB, 2000).

Agriculture is the second source of income on the island and occupies half of its area. By contrast with agriculture in much of the rest of the Netherlands, the intensive livestock breeding industry is almost non-existent. In line with developments in the rest of the country, employment in this sector is decreasing: the number of farms decreased from 160 in 1985 to 112 in 2000 (WLTO/KAVB, 2000). Fisheries have a long history on the island; like agriculture, however, they are currently under pressure, as a result of catch restrictions and increases in scale. The fleet currently consists of 27 North Sea fishing boats, employing nearly 160 people.

The future of Texel is highly uncertain. The agricultural sector has economically, culturally and politically dominated the island for centuries. However, external influences – such as climate change (rising sea levels), EU policies (especially on agriculture) and the possible loss of control over developments as a result of mainland entrepreneurs taking over businesses – are causing uncertainty.

The future of agriculture is particularly disputed. As a result of climatic change, a sea level rise of 25-75 centimetres is expected between 2000 and 2030. Because of this and an anticipated lowering of the soil level as a result of the compaction of clay layers, it is projected that Texel's most important polders will become more and more brackish. This would have important consequences for soil fertility and, subsequently, yield per acre. In addition, agriculture is strongly affected by the opening up of the European market and by substantially reduced subsidies. The agricultural sector also faces land claims from housing, nature conservation and tourism (Gemeente Texel, 2002). Parts of the island have already been designated as a National Park; economic activities in other parts are restrained by international policies and regulations on nature conservation. Moreover, tourism has both claimed land and changed the character of the island.

3.2 Tourism development, local identity and liveability

Two recent surveys (Lengkeek and Velden, 2000 and Duim et al. 2001) clearly reflect the feelings of uncertainty on the island. In sum, the following issues were discerned:

- Tourism is considered a blight as well as a blessing. Tourism leads not only to more people, more traffic and more turmoil on the island, but also to more income, more jobs, more services and services of a better quality;
- Tourism is threatening agriculture as it legitimizes the conversion of agricultural land into nature as well as land claims for extension of tourism businesses;
- Tourism impinges on local distinctiveness in terms of culture, identity and architecture, although it also reasserts some of the same characteristics;
- Relatively small tourism-related conflicts over policy enforcement illustrate a more general mistrust of the role of the local government and its ability to cope with external influences and changes on the island.

The different opinions on blessings and blights are rooted in a variety of localized forms of knowledge and claims to identity, each based on different notions of attachment to the island and its people. Generally speaking, people from Texel are proud of their island. Green-black flags and stickers on the back of cars symbolize a 'Texel feeling', just as all kinds of local traditions, museums and folkways do. More modern ways of expression are used to distinguish Texel from the 'other side'[2] (the mainland). This includes the marketing of products from Texel as a 'real Texel product' and the founding of a local party called Texels Belang ('the Interest of Texel') – which predominantly represents the interests of the agricultural sector – and of a local action group called Ten for Texel, which voices the issue of liveability. All are expressions of the wish to preserve and strengthen local identity.

However, just as in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, the idea that people from Texel have a homogeneous local cultural identity can be considered a well-preserved myth (Ginkel, 1995). To think of communities as homogeneous entities is to assume that everyone in a specific locality has the same sense of place. However, while some people may have a clear sense of attachment, others may not (Meethan, 2001:140-141). On the one hand, in reference to 'other-siders', the islanders indeed display unity. But at the same time, many types of symbolic borders have been created on the island. For example, there are different kinds of farmers: those who intensify their farming, those who combine farming with (subsidized) nature conservation or small tourism services, and those who are phasing out. There are also different kinds of entrepreneurs, working in local or franchised companies, looking for genuine sustainability or for a short-term return on investment. There are many associations representing this variety of interests on the island, such as the Texel Association of Entrepreneurs (TVO), the Texel Association for Accommodation Owners (TVL), the Texel Branch of Horeca Nederland, the Texel Tourism Board (VVV), and the Foundation for a Sustainable Texel (see Duim et al., 2001). There are representatives of various national nature conservation organizations as well as local associations. There are different political parties ranging from Green Left, the Labour Party and the Christian Democrats, through right-wing Liberals to the local party Texels Belang. There are genuine islanders with roots going back several generations, there are people who have lived on the island for decades, and there are the new inhabitants and the owners of a second or a weekend house. However, this categorization is continuously contested and used at convenience. There are differences among the residents of the various villages. Every village has its own character and mentality. De Koog appeals to the tourists, Oudeschild claims to be a fisherman's village, Den Hoorn considers itself predominantly an agricultural community, Oosterend is considered devout (five churches for 1400 inhabitants) and Den Burg is the administrative and commercial centre. Even within villages, symbolic borders have been created, based on kinship, class, occupation, religion, political party, sex or place of origin (Ginkel, 1995). Texel is a blend of people, opinions and interests. Therefore, on Texel localities are continuously shaped and hybrids of the newly arrived and the previously there are constantly reconfigured through flows of people, values and ideas (see Short, 2001:117). For example, more and more other-siders (including retired people) are coming to live on the island. Although regarded as 'imported' people, they share with a lot of the locals the nostalgic feelings of living on an island, while at the same time introducing values, norms and lifestyles from elsewhere. The result is a cultural fragmentation that at the same time is a search for identity. As Ginkel (1995:52) states:

> There is unity in variety, but still unity. To outsiders, people from Texel exhibit a harmonious picture of their island society, although it is a façade. Social and symbolic boundaries are always created relative to 'significant others'. Members of a community gain their self-esteem and self-assurance by contrasting themselves with others, especially in a wider context. However, those who are not faithful to the island, will never be accepted or feel at home. (author's translation)

Not surprisingly, there is opposition to as well as support for tourism development on the island. Just as in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, discussions concentrate on the desired quality of life or liveability on the island. These discussions also reflect more general issues of sustainable development, but most islanders (as well as tourists) are not able to define 'sustainability'. [3] Sustainability predominantly is a theoretical concept or ethical principle that is used primarily in political and scientific discourses.[4] Therefore discussions are framed in terms that islanders (and tourists) can understand, perceive and evaluate, however ambiguous the term 'liveability' may be. Interview results show that more than 75% of the respondents felt that tourism has changed their daily lives, while only 50% valuated this change as positive or very positive. According to half of the population, tourism causes many problems, such as an economic over-dependence on tourism, more hustle and bustle, and an increase in traffic (Duim et al, 2001). These results from recent research show that despite the blessings of tourism, intrusion in daily life is perceived. Some islanders feel that their individual freedom of action is limited by the presence of around 43,000 beds and almost 1 million tourists against 13,500 local inhabitants. Especially in July and August, the occupancy rate is nearly 100%. In the last decade, most of the growth in tourism has been in the low season (Texelse Courant, 2003).

These feelings are reflected in discussions on particular issues. For example, the construction of new bungalow areas for tourism is considered to be out of balance with the regular housing market, which is hardly developing. Many islanders do not think that the new tourist bungalows fit into the 'local style'. Other debated issues are, for example, the number of camping places on farms, the future of the local airport and local museums, the traffic jams and the crowding on the island. On the other hand, such plans as those to decrease auto mobility on the island are also disputed. All these issues mirror more fundamental ones.

First, many people regard tourism as providing a dominant but vulnerable basis for the island's economy. Second, the municipality does not provide an unequivocal framework for tourism policy; as a consequence, feelings of safety are disturbed and control over developments is considered more restricted (Duim et al., 2001; Lengkeek and Velden, 2000). Therefore, the reasons for some of the dissatisfaction are more noteworthy than the actual percentages found in research projects in which locals were interviewed. As we saw in the previous chapter, an important variable is the so-called appropriation value (Lengkeek and Velden, 2000). People appropriate or confiscate and want to become familiar with space, to transform it into *their* place, *their* island. And this transformation process of space into place includes demarcation, exclusion and containment (Short, 2001:15). In other words, tourism is both creating and undermining the construction of place. Tourism constructs space through time-space convergence and processes of homogenization. But tourism also creates places. In this respect, the concepts of spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces of Lefebvre (1991) are particularly illustrative.

Spatial practices refer to production and reproduction, and are the realm of the social, cultural and economic objectives. This dimension of space is created and lived in interaction. As we have seen, on Texel there is a shift from agriculture to nature conservation and tourism as the principal spatial practice. Representational spaces are conceived as imagined spaces, which are mental constructions within the realm of the life world and can provide the focus for identity. The increasing dominance of tourism in the production of the place called Texel strengthens processes of commodification on the island. In more recent years, however, conceptualizations of the nature of commodities have broadened from a focus on the production and consumption of material goods to encompass non-material or symbolic elements. In the creation of tourism places, more intangible qualities of places are being utilized (Meethan, 2001). These intangible qualities are represented in certain forms of narratives that encapsulate selected readings of the environment, as in tourism promotional literature and brochures. These meaning, narratives and symbols, which are the raw materials that are commodified to produce tourist space, are however derived from lived experiences. At the level of imagined spaces, therefore, struggles over the symbolic construction of space 'are struggles to objectify meanings, to impose upon, or appropriate from the environment a particular order, a dynamic process of contestation and appropriation through which particular interests are maintained and legitimised' (Meethan, 2001:37). Represented spaces are conceptualizations of space in terms of policies and planning, and thus are the spaces of politicians, planners and technocrats. It is the realm in which organizations on the island and from the mainland conceptualize, discuss, organize and plan the future of the island.

Assessing the impacts of tourism on liveability should acknowledge this 'multilayeredness' of space. There is a clash between spatial practices and between spatial practices and representational space on the one hand, and the represented space on the other. At first sight, many discussions on liveability address the consequences of particular spatial practices. Tourism facilities are, or are perceived to be, built in the wrong places, tourism creates crowded places and traffic jams before getting on or off the island, and tourism developments, nature conservation and environmental regulations obstruct agricultural development. However, this realm of minor complaints (which the local *Texelse Courant* tends to inflate) reflects more profound struggles over the symbolic production of space. Complaints about other-siders and tourists have been heard throughout time and divide them from us, here from there, the vernacular and the universal. Nevertheless, these complaints need to be acknowledged. More generally, one could even propose that tourism rather than being the agent of change, is indicative of other processes (Meethan, 2001:169). Perhaps local residues of economic, cultural and political globalization processes or the influx of other-siders buying first or second houses on the island equally affect the feelings of loss of control and sense of identity – in other words, the quality of life.

3.3 Politics, policies and planning

The feelings of loss of identity and control are directly related to the policies and politics of recent decades. From the mid 1970s to the mid 1990s, tourism first had to find its niche in local policies at the expense of agricultural interests. The Texel 2030 project in 1999 accelerated this process

(Philipsen et al., 2003). The results of this project were translated in 2002 into a new policy vision on the island (Gemeente Texel, 2002) and in 2003 into a Policy Document on Recreation and Tourism (idem, 2003). These policy documents illustrate that on the one hand the planning horizon is lengthening, but that on the other hand aspects of liveability are still insufficiently acknowledged and dealt with.

Against the background of booming tourism, in 1974 the Municipality of Texel issued its first Recreation Blueprint, which stipulated the maximum number of tourism beds as 47,000. This figure is still used by all parties on the island as a reasonable ceiling for tourism growth. The 2003 Policy Document on Tourism and Recreation on Texel (Gemeente Texel, 2003) once again affirmed this upper limit. The number of tourism beds currently amounts to approximately 43,000. This maximum is not an unambiguous criterion for limiting tourism growth. Many households unofficially offer beds, with or without breakfast. Also, the island's tourist season now lasts 12 months. A main reason for this is the growing significance of nature-oriented tourism, which does not depend on warm weather. Official statistics give no decisive answers to the question of volume and growth. The consequence is that the assessment of tourism growth is under permanent debate and exemplifies the importance of the imagined state of affairs.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the political climate of Texel did not reflect the need to extend the planning horizon or to cope with uncertainty. Generally speaking, due the small scale of the island, municipality and people were and still are closely tied. However, this has its disadvantages. First, the interdependence between political parties, local administration, civil servants and population possibly influences integrity and objectivity. The Lindeboom Overleg (a regular meeting held in the Lindeboom restaurant) exemplifies this interlacing of interested parties. In this informal gathering of mayor, aldermen and some major stakeholders, issues concerning the future of the island are explored and discussed. The meetings, however, are closed and membership is restricted (Duim et al., 2001: 59). Remarkably, the 2003 Policy Document proposes the establishment of a comparable 'Tourism Platform' for the tourism sector, aldermen and civil servants. The current intention is to exclude from the platform organizations other sectors and those opposing tourism developments.

Second, the weave between people and administration on Texel, and the specific local culture, have another consequence: they promote a focus on minor issues and the neglect of long-term planning. Many locals complain about the municipality's lack of vigour (Duim et al., 2001). The traditional island way of 'back-room decision-making' paradoxically does not support a defensive attitude against tourism growth. On the contrary, while key entrepreneurs with tourism interests often publicly complain about not being acknowledged, they in fact easily find their way to local political representatives in order to further their interests – and the proposed Tourism Platform will sanction this. An opposing attitude is found among islanders who do *not* take part in the tourism production and among other-siders who have pro-environmental attitudes. They are suspicious about the commodification of space, and are considered 'progressive'. For them, not only does the more traditional political system support the growing domination of tourism, but tourism development is associated with inadequate and uncontrollable policy-making.

A comparison of 13 policy documents from between 1989 and 2000 (see Lengkeek and Velden, 2000) shows that only four pay some attention to liveability. In the Recreation Blueprint (*Recreatie Basis Plan)* of 1989 (Gemeente Texel, 1989), liveability is an abstract and rather unspecified subject. The planning document aims at recreational zoning and at saving vulnerable nature areas. The document states that recreational developments may not have negative effects on liveability. It is unclear, though, what criteria should be used to assess negative impacts. Other recreation planning documents (Gemeente Texel, 1998a and 1999a) pay attention to the consequences of growth in tourism, but they analyse the developments that are taking place rather than provide a strong policy perspective. They raise the issue of liveability incidentally without specifying it as a policy target. In the development plan for the municipal countryside (Gemeente Texel, 1996 and 1998b), issues of liveability do not appear. In three documents on safety and liveability (Gemeente Texel, 1991, 1999b; Grontmij, 2000), liveability is defined according to specific problems such as noise and other hindrance around cafes and discos, criminality, employment, provisions for the elderly, and day nurseries (see Lengkeek and Velden, 2000).

In Texel, liveability as a feeling – which is often hardly specified – is very much related to a feeling of loss of control over a changing situation. These feelings have much to do with a lack of citizen involvement in decision-making. Nevertheless, seven more recent documents have been produced with the involvement of local participants (Lengkeek and Velden, 2000: 23-27). This involvement can be understood as an aspect of liveability, but involvement is limited to organizations and does not include individuals. In their research, Lengkeek and Velden (2000:35-36) demonstrate a gap between the issues dealt with in policy documents and the issues raised in interviews with locals. The policy documents present spatial issues such as multiple land use, housing, the quality and diversity of the landscape, as well as such economic and social-cultural measures as improvements of agrarian nature management, subsidies for historical landscape elements and the improvement of the tourist product and local provisions. In the interviews with local people, however, many more aspects pop up. Respondents raise issues concerning the identity of the villages, the one-sidedness of the tourist population (i.e. predominantly rich tourists), a growing scepticism about 'real Texel products', the importance of the local newspaper and local traditions, and the influence of citizens and their commitment to local politics and policies. Although the 2003 Policy Document on Tourism and Recreation (Gemeente Texel, 2003) acknowledges liveability aspects, these aspects give no direction to the policy document or course of action for the coming ten years. They are bypassed in favour of village development plans, which have to be prepared by village development committees as, according to the municipality: 'liveability is only a picture at a given moment of time of which only citizens are able to acquire knowledge' (Gemeente Texel, 2003: 35; author's translation). The active participation of villagers and village development committees has become one of the main issues of local policies (Gemeente Texel, 2002). This is a significant change in the approach of local policy. However, the biggest village on the island (Den Burg) does not have a village development committee. The democratic role of village committees is also discussed. Recent research shows that despite the small size of the villages, the members of these committees are not well known and most people were either ignorant of or were not enthusiastic about the functioning of these committees (Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek, 2001).

In sum, feelings of discontent are not adequately represented in terms of policy and planning, or at least they are not perceived as being adequately represented. To overcome the distrust of local politics by certain groups, the most recent policy document once again stresses the importance of promoting participation and strengthening the social infrastructure (Gemeente Texel, 2003). Also important is the way Texel is conceptualized by people and institutions on the other side, because it creates commotion and confusion. Texel is impinged upon by governmental policies at the provincial, national and European levels, by certain principles of nature conservationists and by the practices of tourism entrepreneurs from the 'other side'. The rather strict national planning system with its particular focus on the protection of the Wadden Sea area, the implementation of guidelines for the conservation of birds and habitats, and the possible inclusion of the Wadden Sea on UNESCO's list of World Heritage Sites are just a few of the developments Texel is facing. But the drawbacks or advantages of the building of new restaurants and a discotheque in De Koog and the construction of bungalows by companies from the mainland, and rumours about the possibility of competition from or even the take-over by 'other-side' companies of the TESO company (the Texel ferry company, which is largely owned by shareholders living off the island) are also enlarged upon in the *Texelse Courant*.

As discussed in chapter 2, a good understanding of the grounds for discontent is the first step towards solving problems. As Lengkeek and Velden (2000:15) state, part of the solution is the recognition of the problem and the creation of trust in the process of resolving the problems. It is exactly because trust in local politics has been lacking on Texel that sometimes local actors take over the roles of the municipality, as in the case of the 1999/2000 exercise in scenario-building for assessing the future, called Texel 2030. The Texel 2030 process, which was instigated by the Texel Tourism Board (VVV), was formally aimed at making a contribution to the public debate and decision-making on a new Tourism Master Plan for the island. However, it also served to increase the power of the tourism sector in local policies (Philipsen et al., 2003). The process was meant to develop scenarios for the future of Texel. It included a 'search' conference in 2000 to discuss possible future developments for Texel. A key role in this discussion was played by tourism. The conference brought together a range of experts (e.g. environmental planners, nature conservationists, tourism experts, farmers, representatives of cultural institutions) from both the mainland and the island. The conference resulted in four different scenarios for the future. These were presented to and discussed with the local community of Texel during a 'choice' conference (also in 2000), at the end of which the local community was asked for their preferences. The Texel 2030 process was aimed at producing an integrated portrayal of the future of Texel. The result was turned into a new, fifth scenario called 'Texel: Unique Island'. It was intended to give more direction to short-term planning and policies (Philipsen et al., 2003; see also Sidaway, 2005).

The project seemed very promising in terms of participatory planning. It certainly had its merits in terms of creating an understanding of the future of Texel and in terms of joint learning and innovation. This is well illustrated by the fact that the scenarios, as well as nine representations of individual opinions on the character and future of Texel, are now permanently on show in Ecomare, which is the island's most visited attraction (over 300,000 visitors in 2002). However, in other respects the Texel 2030 project was not as successful as once presumed (Philipsen et al., 2003). Although islanders, especially those in the tourism sector, initiated the project, experts

from the mainland dominated it. Political, scientific and technocratic discourses prevailed. For many of the islanders, the issues at stake were too abstract, the scenarios were too extreme and the time frame (2000-2030) was too long (Duim et al., 2001; Philipsen et al. 2003; Sidaway, 2005). Although a considerable number of islanders were involved in the process, including students from secondary schools, it was not perceived by everyone as a process 'owned' by them. This was confirmed by the results of the research performed by Duim et al. (2001). Even though the local newspaper and television announced the Texel 2030 events for weeks, only half of the people interviewed were aware and informed of this process. Only 17% answered the question whether their voice was heard. Two thirds of this group felt that their opinion was not taken into account. An additional problem was the inability of participants to disconnect the overall development perspectives from their direct interests: some of them felt strongly threatened by some or even all of the perspectives.

Furthermore, the municipality, as anticipated, was ambivalent and did not take a leading role, as it was used to a more ambiguous political process. According to Philipsen et al. (2003), on the one hand the municipality facilitated the process by its membership of the Board of the Texel Tourism Board and seemingly supported the need for a balanced and integrated vision on the future of the island. On the other hand, it re-adopted the existing policy of divide and rule the moment resistance emerged from farmers and, to a lesser extent, from Ten for Texel. Both separately submitted a report to the municipality in which they questioned the results of Texel 2030. Ten for Texel particularly voiced the issue of liveability. As a result, the municipality had to take seriously the reports of the Texel 2030 process, as well as those of the farmers and Ten for Texel, and it contracted a consultant from the mainland to make a new vision for the island. This vision was published in 2002, once more after an extensive process of consultation, meetings and discussion (Gemeente Texel, 2002).

3.4 Conclusion

Just as in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, the development of tourism on Texel is a result of an intricate interplay between people and things: tourists, tourist accommodation and the owners of the accommodation; TESO and its ferries; the Texel Tourism Board and its board members, brochures, flyers, documents and Internet sites; restaurants and their cooks, food and beverages; the National Park and its management; farmers and their land; the beach and its facilities; Ecomare, the seals and its staff; islanders and mainlanders; *Juttertje* (the local liqueur) and its distillers; and Texel sheep, lambs and recipes. All these and other people and things perform tourism in an ever more pervading way. Tourism product development in Texel is gradually dominating spatial, cultural and economic practices on the island. It is becoming all encompassing. Consequently, smaller and larger tourism-related problems and conflicts increasingly are exposed in the *Texelse Courant* or in formal and informal processes of negotiation, such as the Texel 2030 process.

But certain community fractions and coalitions on Texel are increasingly trying to address especially environmental and, to a lesser extent, liveability issues by searching for innovative solutions so that tourism on the island, with its limited space and resources, will meet the parameters of sustainable development. As I shall discuss in Chapter 8, especially the work of

the Foundation for a Sustainable Texel is trying to reorder the heterogeneous materials of tourism into sustainable tourism development, which is a promising but time-consuming process of trial and error. As it rarely is located within a single entrepreneur or organization, on Texel it also results from alignment work of a variety of sometimes conflicting actors and the embedding in a wider programme of interrelated and mutually reinforcing developments. But, just as elsewhere, these are contingent processes.

Notes

[1] This Chapter is based on a research project executed in 2000 (see Duim et al. 2001). Twenty-two interviews and a random sample of 300 households provided the data for this research. Preliminary results were discussed during a workshop on Texel and at a meeting with the Foundation for a Sustainable Texel. The methodology is accounted for in Duim et al., 2001, especially in Appendices 1 to 3. I would like to acknowledge the contributions of Janine Caalders, Allen Cordero, Luisa van Duynen Monteijn, Nanda Ritsma, Liesbeth Kelder and Wies Buysrogge. Parts of this chapter have also been published in Duim and Caalders (2004) and Duim and Lengkeek (2004).

[2] Othersiders are in Dutch: *Overkanters*, literally: 'those from the other side', referring to people from the mainland.

[3] Recently, Cottrell et al. (2004) measured sustainability indicators amongst tourists on Texel as well as among tourists in Manuel Antonio/Quepos. The concept of sustainability was explained in terms that tourists can understand, perceive and evaluate. Moreover, tourists cannot contend with all the problems and issues encompassed by the concept of sustainability and sustainable tourism (development) in a brief interview, and thus a more practical approach had to be taken. Therefore, measures examined tourist perceptions of the ecological, socio-cultural and economic aspects of sustainability following Swarbrooke's (1999) conceptual framework including three-dimensional aspects of sustainable tourism.

[4] See especially Chapter 7.

Chapter 4

Cultural tourism in African communities

4 Cultural tourism in African communities

This chapter presents case studies of community tourism projects in Kenya and Tanzania. These case studies illustrate how, over the years, communities in developing countries have embraced tourism and thus become part of the ongoing practices and processes of tourism development in the rest of the world. Community tourism projects are currently being undertaken among the Maasai people of Eastern Africa. The Maasai, as an ethnic community, are widely dispersed in Kenya and Tanzania. I shall use the case studies to examine the existing linkages and power relations between the tourism industry and the host communities. The cultural tourism projects are a conglomerate of cultural manyattas (special Maasai homesteads where tourists can see, hear and experience Maasai culture) situated in areas adjacent to Amboseli National Park in southern Kenya, and the Cultural Tourism Programme (CTP) near Arusha in northern Tanzania[1].

The latter is seen as a good practice in the domain of community-based tourism. As part of the larger debate on innovations aimed at promoting sustainable tourism development (see also Chapters 7 and 8), I shall analyse both the way the CTP progressed and its distributed effects. This analysis will be based on premises concerning the complexity and heterogeneity of communities. In this regard, communities in the developing world (just like those on Texel and Lanzarote) are not seen as possessing common elements of self-contained characteristics (Meethan, 2001: 15), nor are they seen as passive victims of the global tourism industry: instead, communities are perceived as dynamic and interactive. Thus, the chapter deals with the concept of community as a complex and sometimes fluid notion that evolves and changes over time (Crehan, 1997; Liepins, 2000a. and b.). I shall also examine the consequences of ubiquitous power relations in communities (Cheong and Millar, 2000), as well as the division of power between and/or within communities, tourism enterprises and intermediary organizations.

4.1 The Cultural Tourism Project in Tanzania and Cultural Manyattas in Kenya

Although the development of tourism in the African continent lags far behind that in for example Asia, countries such as Kenya and Tanzania are well connected to the global flow of tourism. Particularly communities around important tourism nodes – such as Amboseli National Park and Maasai Mara Game Reserve in Kenya, and the Arusha region in northern Tanzania – have recently become part of the global tourism industry. These communities have taken advantage of existing transport infrastructure and communication systems, the abundance of tourists visiting adjacent wildlife parks and existing tourist agencies in the tourism nodes, as well as powerful, albeit stereotypical images of the Maasai to promote and enhance their involvement in tourism.

In conventional tourism circles, the Maasai have traditionally been represented as a unique and esoteric community that represents the essence of real Africa, namely as people who have managed to resist Western influence and to retain their exotic culture. As a consequence, overseas tour operators and travel agents often market the Maasai as one of those extraordinary, mysterious indigenous African communities that have managed to remain untouched by Western influence and other forces of modernization. These forms of touristy images are usually represented as ideal for tourists, particularly Western tourists, who are keen for exoticism and

adventure in the manner of the early European explorers. In most instances, international tourists, and particularly those from North America and Europe, want to see the Africans and the African landscape in the same way as they saw it during the formative years of image-moulding, when images of Africa were usually based on information dating back to the colonial period (Wels 2002: 64). Therefore, Europeans long for pristine African landscapes dotted with picturesque huts topped by grass-thatched roofs. They also expect to hear the sound of drums the minute they arrive in Africa, and to see African natives rhythmically dancing to the ongoing cadence, representing real and quintessential Africa (Norton, 1996).

The establishment of cultural manyattas in areas adjacent to Amboseli National Park and in other parts of Maasailand is closely linked to the establishment of wildlife parks and the development of safari tourism in Eastern Africa at the turn of the twentieth century. The national parks and reserves were established in areas that were the traditional grazing lands of the Maasai pastoral community (Akama, 2002). Initially, at the start of colonial rule in Eastern Africa in 1897, the Maasai pastoralists were moved from their expansive lands in central and northern Kenya and were eventually confined in selective native reserves in southern Kenya. After this spatial relocation, the colonial government went a step further and declared the whole of southern Kenya (an area covering 27,700 sq. km) as a protected game reserve. As a consequence, the Maasai were lumped together with wildlife and were supposed to share their land with the diverse array of savannah flora and fauna. Further, in order to protect the wildlife and to promote organized safari tourism, in the 1950s the government enacted legislation for the establishment of specific wildlife parks in Maasailand, such as Maasai Mara and Amboseli. As a consequence, the establishment of the cultural manyattas was an off-shoot of the creation of the wildlife parks. Due to displacement from their grazing lands and diminishing livestock numbers, the Maasai people in various group ranches collaborated to establish cultural manyattas in areas adjacent to wildlife parks, as an alternative source of livelihood. Currently, there are several cultural manyattas adjacent to Amboseli National Park, including Olgulului, Lolavashi, Kimana, and Tikondo.

The manyattas stereotypically reproduce the image of dome-shaped mud houses encircling a cattle enclosure, where

> ... women plaster their roofs with dung, while the elders wait for the cattle to come home. Tourists see the herdsman leaning 'one-legged' on his staff. They hear the sound of tinkling cowbells and watch girls and warriors dance bedecked in red ochre and coloured beads. (Berger, 1996: 178)

As Ongaro and Ritsma (2002: 131) further explain, the procedures for receiving tourists are more or less the same among the existing Maasai cultural manyattas. Community representatives visit lodge owners or talk to local guides and drivers in order to attract tourists. Guides and/or drivers receive a commission (around 10% of the entrance fee paid by tourists) for bringing tourists to a particular cultural manyatta (Ritsma, pers. com.). Upon arrival, each tourist pays an entrance fee of around USD 10. As they enter the compound, the tourists are welcomed with songs and dances performed by Maasai women. A community representative presents the Maasai culture and the manyatta's set-up, and takes the tourists around the manyatta. The tourists are also given demonstrations of several aspects of Maasai life, such as warriors making fire by rubbing a stick against a small log, and women making bracelets or necklaces and plastering a mud hut with cow dung. Towards the end of the visit, the warriors perform a dance; during this, the visitors

are permitted to join in and even to take pictures of each other dancing with the warriors. In the end, the tourists are led to a designated market place within the cultural manyatta where Maasai beadwork and other handicrafts are sold to them as souvenirs (Ongaro and Ritsma, 2002).

Compared to the cultural manyattas in Kenya, the village tourism project in northern Tanzania is relatively recent. In 1994 the SNV Netherlands Development Organization and the Maasai initiated commercial activities around Amboseli. A group of young Maasai asked the SNV also to assist in developing tourism activities in the region. A pilot project in 1994 near Loliondo showed the possibilities for local people to benefit from tourism. With limited resources and inputs, an income of about USD 10,000 was generated (Leijzer, pers. com.). Based on these experiences, in 1995 the Cultural Tourism Programme (CTP) was launched. The SNV seconded an expert, took over the financing of the operating costs for the coordination office in Arusha and provided a few vehicles on loan. The concept for the CTP was developed, propagated and implemented by a six-member project team in close cooperation with the national Tanzanian Tourist Board (TTB) and the local population, until it reached the present stage, which now involves 18 projects. Every village offers a package of different visits. A half-day visit to the Ilkiding's village, for instance, typically begins with the provision of lunch consisting of local dishes, a walk through the village, a visit to the traditional craftsman and/or the traditional medicine man, the buying of local souvenirs, sightseeing near the local waterfall and, finally, a traditional dance performed by local dancers. In 1995, the tourism projects attracted 50 visitors; just five years later, the number had increased to over 5000. In 2001, there were 7500 visitors, mainly backpackers, organized travellers and expatriates (Verburg, 2004). Although more villages and communities tried to be connected to the CTP, others had to withdraw. For example, Syikilili (2002) documents the 'rise and fall' of Gezaulole, one of the CTP projects. The success of the projects differs: whereas between December 2000 and May 2003 the project in Machame received only 80 visitors, the one in Longido received around 1500 (Verburg, 2004).

The SNV controlled the expenditure and ensured that the budget provided was used only for earmarked purposes. Its staff in Arusha saw to it that the quality of the product was continually assessed. Moreover, they developed contacts with local agencies in order to promote the programme, and they took pains to open up additional communities to tourism and to continuously improve the products offered. The SNV also supported the training of the guides by the Professional TourGuide School (PROTS) in Arusha and coordinated all organizational tasks related to the arrival of tourists, apart from the product-marketing component, which was coordinated by the Tanzanian Tourist Board (Adler, 1999; SNV, 1999). In 2002, the SNV handed over the projects to local coordinators. The Tanzanian Tourism Board remained the custodian of the CTP.

A comparison of the cultural tourism projects in Kenya and Tanzania reveals similarities as well as distinct differences. In both cases, relatively well-developed transport infrastructure and communication networks already existed, thus enabling the development of the projects. Also, as from the 1960s, the use of jet planes for the efficient transportation of international visitors to Nairobi and/or Arusha and the use of relatively luxurious mini-buses to take visitors around Amboseli or Arusha, were decisive for the development of tourism in these regions. Furthermore, the recent introduction of mobile phones has enabled proactive project coordinators to link-up up with tour operators and international tourists arriving in Arusha; this in turn has enabled the projects to flourish and to attract more tourists compared to the projects that do not have this communication facility. For instance, the Gezaulole community project – which is located in a

relatively remote area and does not have any communication facility linking it to the outside world – has tended to lag behind; only a few tourists visit it.

Moreover, most of the cultural manyattas in Kenya and the CTP in Tanzania have, in essence, tended to link-up with and/or are connected to existing nature-based/wildlife safari tourism activities. Consequently, they form part of a well-developed tourism complex that combines specific nature-based attractions (Amboseli, Serengeti, Ngorogoro Crater, Kilimanjaro and Mt Meru National Park), the existing relatively well-developed tourist facilities (lodges, campsites) and the unique Maasai cultural attractions. In this regard, the existing mega wildlife attractions, Maasai culture and the famous Kilimanjaro are icons for international tourists, 'looking for exotism and adventure in the African wilderness' (Akama, 2002: 43). In reality, however, the cultural manyattas in Kenya are more like museums, as most of the activities are simulated and the villages are recent reconstructions. It can therefore be argued that the cultural manyattas both fit in with and exemplify the shift from cattle-based subsistence and the transition towards a profit-oriented diversified economy that is based on new forms of land tenure and the utilization of resources (Berger, 1996).

Although similar transformation processes are taking place in the various Tanzanian villages where the CTP is being undertaken, the initiation of various tourism activities is more or less embedded in the daily life of the local people, and the activities appear to be less staged (although the degree of staging varies from village to village). Consequently, tourism activities in Tanzania are integrated into already existing socio-economic and cultural activities. Furthermore, some of the villages are inhabited not only by the Maasai, but also by people from other tribes. For instance, although the CTP is often marketed and promoted using the powerful Maasai images, the villages of Gezaulole, Machame and Mto wa Mbu are inhabited by predominantly non-Maasai people. Other tribes such as the Chagga, Juhundi and Ujaama have recently established their own settlements in many parts of northern and central Tanzania. In fact, of the 18 cultural tourism projects, only four are located in areas that can be said to be original Maasai land (Leijzer, pers. com.)

In addition, compared to the CTP, cultural manyattas in Kenya have tended to mushroom in an uncontrolled manner and, as a consequence, most settlements near parks have grown into unplanned trading centres surrounded by zones of increasingly denuded landscapes (Berger 1996: 183). In Tanzania, the initiation of various tourism activities was properly planned within the framework of the CTP. In this regard, the cultural manyattas in Kenya lack a well-coordinated marketing and tourist distribution network, whereas the Tanzania Tourist Board coordinates the marketing and also facilitates the flow to and the distribution of tourists among the various cultural tourism projects. However, the situation does not always remain static. New attempts to coordinate tourism activities in cultural manyattas are currently underway with the creation of the Association for Cultural Centres in Amboseli Ecosystem (ACCA) as a coordinating body responsible for joint marketing and promotion (Ongaro and Ritsma, 2002). Inversely, in Tanzania currently the coordination of various initiatives within the CTP appear to be weakening after the withdrawal of SNV support. For instance, in February 2003, a local daily newspaper reported that the level of cooperation between various projects was noticeably deteriorating (Arusha Times, 2003). Furthermore, recent attempts to establish a new body – the Tanzania Cultural Tourism Organization – to coordinate the activities within CTP has failed to take off due to disagreement on functions that are to be undertaken by the organization.

4.2 Discussion: fractured communities and the development of tourism

Since the 1970s, the concept of 'community participation' in tourism has become an umbrella term for what is supposedly a new genre of tourism development strategy (Tosun, 2000). Since then it has been framed within discussions on sustainable tourism development. However, the concept of community participation is easy neither to define nor to accomplish in real-world situations (ibid.: 616). Furthermore, it has been believed that problems with community participation exist only in terms of the methods and techniques that are employed in the development process (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). The main problem with this concept originates from existing notions of perceiving a community as *the* natural social entity that has an identifiable reality. Existing heterogeneity and unequal access to resources of power in a community are therefore assumed away (ibid.: 214).

In this connection, most studies over the years have taken 'community' as a discrete, relatively stable and homogenous object that can be defined by territoriality or place (Liepins, 2000a). However, recent studies perceive 'community' as a more complex and fluid notion. Moreover, to think of communities as homogenous entities is to assume that everyone in a specific locality has the same wants, needs and expectations. In fact, although in any community set-up some people might have a clear sense of attachment, others do not (Meethan, 2001: 140). Furthermore, communities are also fractured along lines of gender, age, kinship, ethnicity and existing levels of wealth (Crehan, 1997). Thus, the cultural manyattas in Kenya and the communities partaking in the CTP in Tanzania should not be perceived as having distinct, homogeneous socio-political elements and/or collections of self-contained essential characteristics. Instead, most of the local people living in the various villages are usually caught up in a whole range of different groupings which are in themselves socially different, and which impact on one another in various ways. As a consequence, they are very much fractured communities.

Liepins (2000a and b.) proposes a framework of perceiving communities in both their material and imagined forms. This framework starts from the acknowledgement that both territorial and imagined communities do not exist in a vacuum, but occur within specific contexts that must be considered. Communities consist of people and things, which are perpetually being reproduced, sustained, undermined and reconfigured by cultural, political-economic and socio-ecological processes that occurred in the past and are still occurring in the present. As a consequence, communities are both temporal and location peculiar (Liepins, 2000b; Crehan, 1997). Therefore, a robust and dynamic understanding of 'community' should amalgamate aspects of community as a series of meanings, the diversity and heterogeneity of social life, the interconnections (and struggles) between identity, space and place, and the notion of fluidity and change. Thus, according to Liepins (2000a), communities should be discerned in four dimensions: people, meanings, practices and spaces. In the following section I shall use these four dimensions to illustrate the complexity and diversity in the cultural manyattas in Kenya and in the communities in the Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania.

First, the collective action and the enactment of 'community' by people predicate community as a social construct. People can therefore live within a community, but may also be multiply located in a range of positions, groups and networks that are situated beyond that community. For example, members of the cultural manyattas interlink with members of other Maasai villages and/or group ranches, with various government departments, ministries, the Kenyan Wildlife

Service, NGOs and the predominantly foreign-owned tour operators. Similarly, communities participating in the CTP in Tanzania are also made up of people who live and work in their respective villages and who also have contacts with outsiders – including such intermediary organizations as the Tanzanian Tourism Board, the Tanzania Cultural Tourism Organization and the SNV – and with the over 120 tour operators that are based in Arusha and beyond (which include the CTP in their various itineraries). As a consequence, the Maasai people in both Kenya and Tanzania are linked to various groups and institutions both within and outside their community, and they may also be involved in different roles, functions and activities. As Berger (1996: 176) asserts, the values and practices of many Maasai (at least in the case of the Kenyan Maasai) now have more in common with the culture and way of life of Kenya as a nation. They are intermarrying, adopting the languages and livelihoods of neighbouring communities, and participating in various national development activities. In the case of Tanzania, Honey (1999) lucidly illustrates this changing roles and functions of the Maasai:

> It was a classic African scene: A Maasai elder, caught in a time warp, entering his kraal, as his ancestors had done for hundreds of years. But there was a twist to this photo-perfect panorama. The Maasai was Moringe Parkipuny, former Member of Parliament, former college professor, and social activist, and his compound was a newly built Maasai secondary boarding school. (ibid.: 220)

The diverse functions, roles, positions, performances and relationships are therefore usually visible in a variety of identities that are mobilized by people within any given community (Liepins, 2000a). In any given situation and/or location, the same individuals may perform different and sometimes conflicting roles as locals, brokers and even tourists. Perceived relationships therefore work in many different ways, and usually take different forms and directions. These conflicting roles and functions performed by the same individuals in a given community defy the binary way of perceiving existing social structures as consisting solely of 'dominators' (i.e. tourism investors and tourists) and the 'dominated' (i.e. the host community).

Local coordinators of the CTP in Tanzania can, for instance, simultaneously participate in their 'community' (i.e. local network of interaction) whilst being connected to various extended tourism networks that have linkages extending to far-off external groups and international organizations (i.e. global networks of interaction). As a consequence, local project coordinators or local brokers greatly influence the tourism development process, since they act as agents transmitting various distinctions of the tourism products and tourist experiences. They influence what tourists can and cannot do, where they can and cannot go, and what they want and do not want to see in a given location. It can therefore be argued that, as agents, the local coordinators not only focus the tourist gaze, but also determine what is *not* to be seen or experienced by the tourists (Cheong and Millar., 2000).

Second, people will develop shared or contested meanings concerning their connectedness with their community and other neighbouring communities via local discourses and activities. Various tourism studies and other narratives have provided information that shows whether and, if so, how and when given beliefs and values have changed through the influence of connectedness with tourism. The underlying process is that tourism arguably encourages the 'commodification of uniqueness' (Meethan, 2001: 65). Certain cultural objects and practices (guiding, souvenirs, dances, food) are given a monetary exchange value (see also Crehan, 1997). However, according

to Meethan (2001) the nature of commodities cannot be reduced to the production of exchange value only, but is grounded in the social context from which they derive their symbolic value. As a consequence, the inclusion of communities in tourism networks also leads to the reassertion of more localized forms of culture, and the emergence of new hybrid forms of culture that are created for both domestic and tourism consumption (ibid.: 115). For example, the rich material culture of the Maasai simultaneously reflects the life and natural landscape of the community while providing the required income and tourism-related employment for the local people. As Berger (1996: 185) puts it:

> Maasai decoration is a rich tradition that can be recognized and encouraged to strengthen an appreciation of culture, develop local and national artistic talent, but also generates income from tourism. Maasai crafts are already a popular aspect of cultural tourism and enable Maasai women, in particular, to earn income directly from tourists.

Third, people will enact community relations and, discursively, construct their meanings about community based on a range of processes and practices that connect people with key activities, institutions and spaces. However, such practices will include both those exchanges that are commonly accepted and those that are contested. Akama (2002: 48) particularly illustrates the latter aspect by pointing at various forms of unwanted behaviour and the vices of mass tourism in cultural manyattas in Kenya, including incidents of prostitution, alcoholism, smoking and drug-taking.

Fourth, communities will be embodied through specific spaces and structures. In this way, the people, meanings and practices that construct a given community will take the material and political shape in the form of key sites and organizational spaces. For instance, by interlocking communities with tourism, particular spaces or landscapes, specific natural resources and (in the case of the CTP) even herbs and plants that are inspected by tourists become part of the symbolic space by and through which people create and recreate values, and hence the communities themselves (Meethan, 2001: 117). Indeed, as I shall discuss in Chapter 6, both community-building and tourism are a means of acting upon space.

Interlocking communities with tourism also maintains, defends or contests the key institutions that are established in communities. For instance, Ilmoran (young Maasai warriors) never used to stay in cultural manyattas. Traditional customary practices stipulated that they should live separately from the rest of the community in temporary encampments in surrounding areas (Ongaro and Ritsma, 2002:132). However, the advent of cultural manyattas attracted the warriors, who stage cultural dances for tourists, to integrate and become part and parcel of a sedentary community. Secondly, local management committees (consisting of a chairman, secretary-cum-treasurer and ordinary members) manage the cultural manyattas in Kenya. These committees are registered separately from existing group ranch committees. This administrative arrangement has introduced a new level of governance in the Maasai villages and created a leadership crisis among the Maasai (Knegt, 1998).

4.3 Community tourism and empowerment

Tourism and communities link up in various interactive spaces that are continuous processes in which different social values interact and new meanings are formed (Wearing and McDonald, 2002). In these interactive spaces, relations of power emerge as different social groupings and individuals are placed in distinct positions as regards various aspects of tourism developments. However, in most tourism studies, power is usually conceived either as something invisible or as something the existence of which is based on the assumption of the continual oppression of the local versus powerful external interest groups. It then follows that local people should be empowered in order for them to take charge of their destiny. In this line of thought, therefore, the usual stance is that the local community needs to be empowered to decide what forms of tourism facilities and wildlife conservation programmes they want to see developed in their respective communities, and how the tourism costs and benefits are to be shared among the different stakeholders (see Akama, 1996: 573; Scheyvens, 1999).

However, as the case studies of Kenya and Tanzania indicate, the actual situation is quite complex and may not conform to the tourism development paths as so often conveyed by the centre-periphery concept or dependency theories. Although one should not deny the history of the displacement of the Maasai as a people (see also Mowforth and Munt, 2003: 238), it should be recognized that through the initiation of various tourism activities the Maasai have over the years also acted as 'agents' (Cheong and Millar, 2000) able to influence the path of tourism development as an important source of livelihood within their respective communities. In other words, power is always omnipresent and relational, and host communities should not only be perceived as victims in predetermined 'global' development processes.

This line of thought, which will be elaborated in Chapter 6, therefore provides a contrast to the conceptualization that sees power as being a resource that can be obtained and be utilized to achieve specific objectives. As Wearing and McDonald (2002) state, power should be perceived as a specific kind of social relation that only exists through people's actions. Consequently, this understanding of 'relations of power' regards power not as possessed, nor as a structure or a force (see also Boomars and Philipsen, 2002; Allen, 2003), but as always being a negotiated and contested notion. The fluidity and relational character of power relations is illustrated by the continuous negotiations taking place between tourists and locals when the former are buying souvenirs, and by the negotiations between tour guides/drivers and local representatives of the cultural manyattas in Kenya. Furthermore, there is also the monopolization of resources by local elites at the expense of the majority of the people in the community, as exemplified by the current struggle over the legacy and ownership of the CTP in Tanzania since the withdrawal of the SNV, which has led to a new situation in which certain local people are becoming brokers and intermediaries (see also Verburg, 2004).

Therefore, in the current tourism discourse, the binary classification of the host community on the one hand and guests on the other should be discarded. Instead, the tourism process should be perceived as consisting of tourists, locals and brokers (Wearing and McDonald, 2002; Cheong and Millar, 2000). As the qualitative and quantitative relations between tourists, local and brokers continuously change, existing power relations in tourism are also dynamic and are constantly changing (Cheong and Millar, 2000). Moreover, in any community there are several categories of brokers that originate in the public sector (e.g. the Tanzanian Tourism Board and

the Kenyan Wildlife Services) and in the private sector (e.g. tour operators and hoteliers). In these interactions there are also NGOs (such as the SNV) and tourism media brokers and advertising agents. For example, in the cultural manyattas, the Kenyan Wildlife Services, local NGOs, staff at hotels, campsites or lodges, and driver/guides play a significant role in determining the quality of the overall tourism product and the forms of tourism development in the community. In the CTP in Tanzania, the Tanzanian Tourism Board, local tour operators, project coordinators and the SNV have all played a role in determining the nature of tourism development. It can therefore be argued that the success or failure of community-based tourism projects, particularly as regards project sustainability, usually depends more on the power of brokers and the local project coordinators than on the power of tourists and other external interest groups.

Differential access to knowledge is one of the constituent factors of this particular reality. To a large extent, the level of knowledge that various individuals and groups in the tourism relationship are able to utilize usually determines the exercise of power. Knowledge lays the foundation for new strategies and actions, which in turn creates new knowledge, as individuals obtain new experiences in the process (Wearing and McDonald, 2002). As a consequence, members of a community do not cease to have power because their way of governing is inspired by new forms of knowledge, but power is exercised in relation to the knowledge that is being obtained and transmitted. For instance, as specific tourism-related knowledge is not usually available and/or is not disseminated adequately, most of the cultural tourism projects in Tanzania are gradually becoming reduced to small enterprises that are managed by one coordinator or a small interest group within the community. It can thus be argued that with the departure of the SNV, there has been an increasing tendency not to share equitably the existing knowledge on project management within and between the various villages, and this has tended to enhance the power base of certain coordinators vis-à-vis other members of the community. As a consequence, the ownership of various tourism projects – and even the ownership and coordination of the CTP as a whole – is increasingly being disputed, as illustrated by the failure to institutionalize the Tanzania Cultural Tourism Organization as the overall coordinating body that should have taken over the management of the various projects after the withdrawal of the SNV. The successful implementation and management of the CTP therefore depend to large a extent on the existence of a proper communication network, the sharing of new ideas and information between project coordinators and the other community members, and the promotion of transparency and accountability, particularly with regards to the management of financial resources.

Similarly, in the cultural manyattas in Kenya, increasing conflicts among various interest groups and the emergence of local elites are the critical issues lying at the heart of the current problems the projects are confronted with (see also Buysrogge, 2001; Tosun, 2000). The local elites tend to monopolize leadership and to thwart democratic processes. As a consequence, the monopolization of knowledge and other resources of power by the local elites has tended to divide the community, and it is therefore not easy for the local people to unite, organize and claim what is rightfully theirs. In this regard, it is critical that for community-based tourism projects to succeed, development agents and other intermediaries should always be aware of existing and emerging conflicts within the communities, since a lack of understanding of existing social and power relations has greatly impacted on the success of community participatory processes.

Acknowledging the fluidity and relational character of power relations implies that empowerment is not the cause but the effect of dynamic processes in which communities (or

fractions thereof), tourists, tourist organizations and governmental as well as development agencies interact. Therefore, local participation and involvement on their own do not automatically lead to the empowerment of individuals. In this regard, it can be asked what forms of empowerment initiatives have evolved in the cultural manyattas in Kenya and the CTP in Tanzania.

First, the development of community tourism has the potential to bring economic gains to local people, and tourism can directly contribute to overall socio-economic development. For instance, in most of the cultural manyattas in Kenya, the tourism revenues have been used to improve piped water supplies and to construct primary schools and dispensaries. In the CTP in Tanzania, a compulsory Village Development Fee (VDF) is levied in all the projects. This enables the entire community to benefit from the tourism revenues. A substantial share of the revenue from tourism is allocated to community development projects, such as the construction of local schools and cattle dips. For instance, between 1996 and 2001, the CTP generated a total income of approximately USD 260,000, of which over 90,000 was allocated to various local community projects. In addition, it has been estimated that in 1999, over 100 local people received employment from the CTP (SNV, 1999). Similarly, it has been estimated that in just three cultural manyattas in Kenya, close to 1500 Maasai people receive direct or indirect income (Knegt, 1998).

Second, in terms of psychological empowerment, the self-esteem of some communities and participants in the CTP was enhanced because of the outside recognition of the uniqueness and value of their culture, natural resources and traditional knowledge (Scheyvens, 1999). The award to the CTP of the prestigious TO DO! 1999 prize (Adler, 1999), and the training of disadvantaged young people by the Professional TourGuide School, contributed to increasing both confidence and access to employment and cash. Certain fractions (e.g. local project coordinators and guides) from within the community became empowered as a result of establishing relations with tourists, drivers, tour operators and NGOs (i.e. SNV). However, in this process other fractions were left behind. Both in the Kenyan and the Tanzanian case study, there is serious concern regarding inequity in the distribution of the benefits and tourism revenues. There is also concern over issues of transparency and accountability in the management of the projects (Knegt, 1998; Buysrogge, 2001; Syikilili, 2002 and Verburg, 2004). As a consequence, as many people have not shared, or have not equally shared, in the benefits of the projects, there is also confusion and disinterest or even disillusion with the initiatives (Scheyvens, 1999).

Third – and related to the above – the empowerment of women is a principle ingredient in local community development. In most instances, there are inequitable power relations between men and women. For instance, in most of the cultural manyattas in Kenya the Maasai men tend to receive more of the tourism revenues than the women do. This is despite the fact that in most of the manyattas, the women are the main providers of services. Furthermore, due to increasing competition and rivalry among leaders (most of whom are male), there are frequent disagreements and quarrels. This has led to increasing divisions and fragmentation, as dissatisfied members move way from existing cultural manyattas to establish new projects. Consequently, there is a rapid mushrooming of these manyattas, which is resulting in the reduction of the quality of cultural attractions, the degradation of local habitats and the increasing impoverishment of women.

Also in the CTP in Tanzania there is inequitable distribution of the tourism revenue between men and women. Although it has been estimated that a significant 40% of the people who provide

services in the various cultural tourism projects are women, only 25% of the revenues go directly to women. Furthermore, the empowerment of women and gender parity should be based not only on the amount of revenue that goes to a particular group, but also on overall participation in the decision-making processes. Although both in the Kenyan and Tanzanian projects women play an important role in the delivery of various services, few women serve as brokers and few women are actually involved in the decision-making processes.

Fourth, in terms of political empowerment, the cultural manyattas and the cultural tourism projects have introduced new political structures both within and between the communities. As stated, in most of the cultural manyattas, a management committee was established to manage the projects. Before starting a cultural manyatta, local project initiators have to consult with the leaders of group ranches and also with the local chief. However, the management committees are usually registered separately from existing group ranch committees. As a consequence, this form of arrangement usually introduces a new level of governance in the local community. In addition, the recent establishment (jointly by the African Wildlife Society, the Kenyan Wildlife Society and the Ministry of Culture and Social Services) of the Association for Cultural Centres in Amboseli Ecosystem (ACCA) has a new political implication that will affect local governance. Apart from involvement in marketing and revenue distribution, ACCA also aims at relocating the cultural manyattas that are situated in critical wildlife corridors and dispersal areas. In other words, through ACCA the government and other interest groups are trying to control and reduce the haphazard development of cultural manyattas in areas adjacent to Amboseli National Park.

Similarly, the recent establishment of the Tanzania Cultural Tourism Organization (TACTO) to coordinator the activities of the CTP also has political implications. The main aim of TACTO is to coordinate the various initiatives subsequent to the withdrawal of SNV. However, TACTO has been a source of conflict among the various community projects ever since its establishment. Although personal and financial disputes were the immediate sources of conflict, in essence the main cause of conflict centres on the issue of ownership of the CTP. In this regard, most of the local people in the various villages do not see TACTO as *their* organization. A lack of trust and cooperation among stakeholders remains. Successful projects within the CTP do not feel responsible for the less successful ones, and the variety of organizational forms within the 18 projects also impedes cooperative action. As one of the stakeholders observed: 'TACTO is like a house hit by a storm. And sometimes it is easier to build a new one instead of rebuilding it' (in: Verburg, 2004). As the SNV has pulled out and the Tanzanian Tourism Board feels responsible only for the marketing of the projects, the CTP is about to fall apart in various projects; some are very successful, while others are almost out of business.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter provided an analysis of community-based tourism projects by presenting case studies of cultural manyattas in Kenya and especially the Cultural Tourism Programme (CTP) in Tanzania. The analysis illustrated the various complex ways in which tourism enters communities and how community fractions become entangled in the global tourism industry. I argued that we cannot understand various contexts of community-based tourism unless we grapple with this complexity and the various ways in which the key stakeholders (i.e. locals, tourists, intermediaries,

community fractions) interact both within and between multiple interlocked scales. In unravelling this complexity, the following issues prevail.

It is particularly important for studies on community-based tourism to move away from the static concepts of tourism that reduce complexity to a binary situation of either 'good' or 'bad' (and 'modern' or 'primitive', 'authentic' or 'inauthentic', 'global' or 'local'). We need to be prepared to undertake the laborious work of unscrambling the complicated interconnections of the local and the global, as well as the ways in which communities are fractured along lines of modernity and tradition, ethnicity or gender.

Hence, neither tourism nor communities should be dealt with as homogenous entities: they are complex, open, fluid and heterogeneous, and the relation between them is even more intricate. Therefore, studies on community-based tourism should commence with a critical investigation of the diversity of people and things that are, at least temporarily, indicative of a particular community and of tourism. In doing so, it is also important to consider the processes by which these elements are simultaneously constituting, translating and at times shaping or challenging each other. Communities and tourism are constantly built as actors sustain or reshape notions and practices of 'community' and 'tourism'. And these notions and practices mutually legitimate, circulate, embody, materialize and shape each other.

The interaction between tourism and communities evokes relations of power. Power should be dealt with as omnipresent, relational and at least potentially productive. Although subsequent relations of power may not be to everyone's liking, they are genuine and need to be acknowledged when studying tourism. The understanding of power underlies the rethinking of community-based tourism, as 'power in tourism can be negotiated, even mediated, but it cannot be denied' (Cheong and Millar, 2000).

Finally, the interweaving of a large number of organizations (governmental, business, non-governmental, community based) in the CTP and their particular ways of seeing and doing[2] progressed by trial and error and went through various stages of success and failure. At times the cooperation of many in the CTP converged, then faded away again and had to be repaired. It illustrates that tourism results from recursive processes and that a lot of effort is needed to understand how it is that tourism gets performed and performs itself into relations that are relatively stable.

This is exactly the task I have set myself for Part II of this book, namely to establish how tourism is performed, stays in place and then transforms. In the following two chapters, I shall introduce actor-network theory and the concepts of tourismscapes and modes of ordering, in order to develop a new outlook on the study of tourism, one that enables a better understanding of the processes found and addressed in the previous case studies.

Notes

[1] This Chapter is based on a literature review, field visits to some manyattas and villages participating in the CTP, and discussions with Nanda Ritsma, Marcel Leyzer and Vedasto Izoba. I should like to acknowledge the contributions of Karin Peters, John Akama, Stephen Wearing and Daniel Verburg. Parts of this chapter have previously been published in Duim et al. (2005a. and b.)

[2] In Chapter 6, I will discuss these particular ways of seeing and doing in terms of 'modes of ordering'.

Part II

Chapter 5

Tourismscapes

5 Tourismscapes

Tourism development in is confronted by important problems and issues in many parts of the world. The day-to-day realities in Costa Rica, Kenya and Tanzania and on Lanzarote and Texel show a lot of similarities in terms of blights and blessings. The blessings of tourism are manifested predominantly in terms of employment and income, as well as possible contributions to nature conservation – as in the case of Costa Rica – or the empowerment of particular community fractions, as in the case of Tanzania. The blights of tourism, whether in terms of environmental impacts or land-use conflicts (Lanzarote, Manuel Antonio/Quepos, Texel), the exclusion of other community fractions (Kenya, Tanzania), failing policies and politicians (Texel, Manuel Antonio/Quepos, Lanzarote) or perceived infringements of values and norms (as in all cases dealt with in Part I) evoke local protest. However, the efforts of Ten for Texel, Foro Lanzarote and Comité de Lucha (in Manuel Antonio/Quepos) not only reflect local interests and disputes, but also disclose more fundamental issues.

Since Rio '92, these fundamental issues have increasingly been framed in terms of sustainable development. Yet, all cases reveal how these sustainability issues can be conveyed in various ways and that the language used to convey these issues differs (Mowforth and Munt, 2003: 46-47). Whereas in Costa Rica the debate is framed in terms of a veiling concept like 'ecotourism' and in Tanzania in terms of 'cultural' or 'community-based' tourism, interest groups like Comité de Lucha and Ten for Texel, for example, have adopted and defend the issues of 'quality of life' and 'liveability' to communicate their case. In Chapter 7, I shall review the concepts of sustainable tourism and sustainable tourism development, and explain how the lack of agreement on the exact nature, content and meaning of sustainability has allowed groups and individuals with divergent ideologies and perspectives to band together as well as oppose each other around a common theme. Subsequently (in Chapter 8), I shall discuss the probability of innovations or even transitions towards sustainable tourism development, and the intricacies of new ways of organizing tourism.

But before doing so, however, it is necessary to rethink the way tourism is organized. Our case studies only partially revealed how the 'tourism state of affairs' transpired, how pools of relative order came about, what role technologies played in performing tourism, or how people and organization were allied. We have to look for additional theoretical insights in order to be able to pore over the processes of ordering tourism.

Tourism studies focused on the way that tourism is organized and performed have not excelled in enrolling the main theoretical debates in the social sciences. For example, Leiper's pioneering work on tourism production (1990) is based on the earlier work of MacCannell (1976), Urry's well-known *The Tourist's Gaze* dates back to 1990, and the Dutch contribution of Dietvorst in terms of the 'transformation model' dates back a decade[1] (Ashworth and Dietvorst, 1995). Recently, McKercher (1999: 425) argued that with the exception of a post-modernist examination of tourism emanating from Europe, there was remarkably little conceptual discussion about the organization and structure of tourism during the 1990s. McKercher even claims that it is ironic that during a period that has seen an exponential growth in the number of tourism journals, the intellectual discourse about what tourism is and how it functions seems to have ebbed: 'the

consequence is that much critical thought about tourism remains entrenched in an intellectual time warp that is up to 30 years old' (ibid.). Although this clearly is an overstatement, as for example a recent overview by Phillimore and Goodson (2004) illustrates, new theoretical avenues in tourism studies ought to be explored to improve our understanding not only of tourism, but also of its consequences and the ways these should be dealt with. I shall therefore reconsider in this and the following chapter the way tourism is organized and structured.

Our inquiries start by rethinking our case studies in terms of the globalization debate. I shall examine questions of interconnectedness and association between here and there, between the global and the local. As I shall show, the question is not only whether Texel, Manuel Antonio and communities in Tanzania have been overrun by global flows of people, money and images, or whether they have been able to localize these flows, but also – and more importantly – how the 'local' and the 'global' are interconnected and associated. To answer this second question, I shall turn to the insights of actor-network theorists and develop a topological rather than a geographical view of globalization, and argue that networks of heterogeneous relations connect the global and the local. As I shall elaborate further on, in actor-network theory 'globalization' (but also 'agency', 'power' or 'tourism') is not treated as a carrier of events or an outside force imposed upon us, but as a set of effects arising from a whole complex of heterogeneous network relations.

In this chapter I shall examine these network relations and translate actor-network theory into tourism studies. More particularly, I shall look at the way actor-network theorists treat humans and non-humans as equal; their focus on actor-networks and dissolving dualisms; and their emphasis on processes of translation and ordering.

These inquiries into actor-network theory underlie the introduction of the concept of tourismscapes, which lays the foundation for the remaining part of this book. I shall analyse the constituents and characteristics of tourismscapes, as well as the processes of translation by which actors form associations with other actors and actor-networks come into being. Tourismscapes will be unfolded in Chapter 6 by examining the 'modes of ordering' of, in particular, tour operators and small-scale entrepreneurs.

However, I shall first look once again at the complex relations between the global and the local, as touched upon in Part I of this book, and discuss the way global networks and flows are always materially produced in specific and local circumstances (Law and Hetherington, 1999).

5.1 The global-local nexus

During the last 20 years, the idea has settled in that interconnectedness has increased in all aspects of contemporary life worldwide, and thus also in tourism. Globalization is one of the catchwords of the late twentieth and the early twenty-first century. Tourism is seen as an important cause as well as a consequence of global transformations. Tourism as a cause is supposed to induce global flows of people, ideas, images and capital. Tourism as an effect results from an increasing global interconnectedness of economic, technological and socio-cultural transformations. Global flows of capital, information and values, and accelerating developments

in technology, have intensified, extended and speeded up the global distribution of tourism, as well as enmeshed the global and the local (Held et al., 1999: 15).

Although it is tempting to describe tourism developments in terms of this 'global talk', unfortunately in many cases it does not reveal how these global flows emerge or how the local and the global are interconnected (see e.g. Law and Hetherington, 1999; see also Appadurai, 2000). Moreover, it entails the risk of a dualism between or essentialist definitions of the global and the local in which the global is supposed to dominate the local, or vice versa. In other words, 'the terminology of globalization has the effect of folding or black-boxing the scope and scale of the reconfigurations it sets out to explain' (Verschoor, 1997a, footnote: 42).

One could all too simply argue that Manuel Antonio/Quepos (or Lanzarote, Texel, Kenya or Tanzania) has been invaded by global flows of people, money and ideas, which have subsumed the local in the global web of economy, culture and politics. As a respondent told me during a field visit to Manuel Antonio (see also Duim, 1997a: 42):

> We are currently confronted with the 'third cultural invasion'. After the Spanish conquest and the banana companies, now tourism is overrunning Costa Rica in general and Manuel Antonio in particular. The tourists are not the biggest problem, although their environmental consciousness leaves a lot to be desired. The biggest problem are foreigners who use Manuel Antonio/Quepos as a 'laundry', laundering their money.

However genuine and ubiquitous these feelings are, the process of globalization has to be reconsidered before making such far-reaching conclusions.

5.2 The globalization debate: a brief overview

Globalization is thoroughly contested both as a concept and as a subject (see for an extensive discussion Held et al., 1999; RAWOO, 2000, Scholte, 2000; Waters, 2001). Beyond a general recognition of a real or perceived intensification of global interconnectedness, there is substantial disagreement regarding how globalization is best conceptualized, how one should think about its causal dynamics, and how one should characterize its structural consequences, if any.

The political dimensions of this debate have attracted a lot of attention, cumulating in what has become known as the 'Battle of Seattle'. In Seattle in 1999, an unprecedented number of demonstrators participated in a debate on trade liberalization, which had been previously the monopoly of professional negotiators. In Seattle, however, more than 1500 NGOs had signed an anti-World Trade Organization declaration in advance. More than 770 NGOs were actually present. Among the demonstrators were environmental NGOs, labour unions, fair trade NGOs, extreme leftist groups, consumer organizations, farmer organizations, and human rights activist. They had a new, common target: globalization (see Mol, 2001).

Although tourism is an essential part of the liberalization processes under the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)[2], it has not yet received much attention in tourism studies.[3] For some, the linkage between tourism and globalization unlocks important avenues for development. Others seriously question this linkage, as 'tourism is not only an expression of globalization but also one of the most powerful driving forces towards progressive liberalization

of the global economy that creates far more losers than winners the world over' (Pleumaron, 2002a).

However important this political debate may be, in this section I shall concentrate on the empirical and conceptual dimensions of the debate. I shall start from two premises. First, globalization is to be conceptualized not as a singular condition or end-state (like a 'global economy' or 'global culture'), but as a highly differentiated process that finds expression in all the key domains of social activity, including tourism. Second, it favours not a mono-dimensional but a multidimensional account of globalization. Although most of the political debate about globalization concerns the economic dimension of this process, it is clear that the phenomenon also has interwoven political, cultural, technological and ecological dimensions (RAWOO, 2000). Among economists, the dominant way of thinking is to reduce globalization to trade, investment and financial statistics. These constitute the 'objective' of 'real' globalization, and all the rest is myth. This approach can be used to delimit globalization or to deny its importance, as sceptics do (see below). However, on the whole, sociological, technological, political and cultural perspectives tend to include complex understandings of globalization and to be more inclusive than economic perspectives (ibid.: 15; see also Waters, 2001). But even then the question remains whether globalization is a fact or fantasy, and if the former, when it started.

Fact or fantasy?

People often hold widely differing opinions regarding the actuality of globalization. For some it is a fact, for others a myth. In this respect, Held et al. (1999: 2-10) distinguish three broad schools of thought, namely those of the hyperglobalists, sceptics and transformationalists, respectively. For hyperglobalists, globalization defines a new epoch of human history in which people everywhere are increasingly subject to the disciplines of the global marketplace. They argue that economic globalization, including 'global tourism', is bringing about a 'denationalization' of economies through the establishment of transnational networks of production, trade and finance. In this borderless economy, national governments are relegated to little more than transmission belts for global capital or, ultimately, simple intermediate institutions sandwiched between increasingly powerful local, regional and global mechanisms of governance (ibid.: 3). Within this framework there is a considerable normative divergence between neo-liberals, who welcome the triumph of market principles over state power, and the anti-globalists, for whom contemporary globalization represents the triumph of global capitalism.

The sceptics argue that globalization is essentially a myth. In their eyes, contemporary history holds nothing novel or distinctive that could be called 'globalization'. Purportedly 'global' companies are in fact deeply embedded in their respective home countries, and their actions are thoroughly enmeshed in the logic of interstate relations. Globalization has not altered the role of the sovereign state and 'global' governance institutions have not exercised any power separately from their member states. According to sceptics, talk of 'global civil society' or 'global culture' is nonsense (Scholte, 2000: 18).

At the heart of the transformationalists' thesis is a conviction that globalization is a central driving force behind the rapid social, political and economic changes that are reshaping modern societies and the world order. However, the directions of change are uncertain, since globalization is conceived as an essentially contingent historical process that is inscribed with contradictions

(Held et al., 1999: 7). Rather than globalization bringing about 'the end of the state', it has encouraged a spectrum of adjustment strategies in which national governments reconstitute and restructure their role in response to the growing complexity of processes of governance in a more interconnected world (ibid.: 9). Table 5.1. summarizes the arguments.

Table 5.1. Three perspectives on globalization

	Hyperglobalists	**Sceptics**	**Transformationalists**
What's new?	A global age	Trading blocks weaker than in earlier periods	Historically unprecedented levels of global interconnectedness
Dominant features	Global capitalism, governance and civil society	World less interdependent than in 1890s	Intensive and extensive globalization
Power of national governments	Declining or eroding	Reinforced or enhanced	Reconstituted and restructured
Driving forces	Capitalism and technology	States and markets	Combined forces of modernity
Stratification	Erosion of old hierarchies	Increased marginalization of the South	New architecture of world order
Dominant motif	McDonald's, Disney, Madonna	National interests	Transformation of political community
Conceptualization	Reordering of the framework of human action	Internationalization and regionalization	Reordering of inter-regional relations and action at a distance
Historical trajectory	Global civilization	Regional blocks/clash of civilization	Global integration and fragmentation
Summary argument	The end of the nation-state	Internationalization depends on state support	Globalization transforms state power and world politics

Source: Held et al. (1999: 10)

Old or new?

A second debate on globalization concerns chronology: is globalization new or did it start centuries ago? Referring to our analysis of Manuel Antonio/Quepos, it is fair to say that global connectedness of this region began in the sixteenth century. Before then, Manuel Antonio/Quepos was part of a world that was divided into a series of different regions that existed in different worlds. There was no 'world system' (Law and Hetherington, 1999). But, as explained in Chapter 2, even after that, globalization processes have been contingent. Following an indigenous period, the Spanish colonized the region. The Spanish Juan Vásquez de Coronado visited the region in 1536. Subsequent colonization lasted until 1746 (Largaespada, 1976), after which Manuel Antonio/Quepos was again largely detached from the rest of the world. From 1746 until the beginning of the twentieth century, Manuel Antonio/Quepos was economically and culturally cut off from global affairs. The founding of a banana production company intensified

and extended the relations of Manuel Antonio/Quepos with the rest of the world. This period lasted from 1927 to 1964, when tourism started to develop (see Duim et al., 2001).

Sceptics could even take this example to essentially argue that there is nothing new. The Spanish conquerors' voyage by sea to Costa Rica *analytically* resembles Dutch tourists' travel by plane to Costa Rica and Manuel Antonio/Quepos[4]. Most hyperglobalists, however, would claim that globalization is an entirely new phenomenon, one resulting especially from new technologies that have dramatically increased the intensity, extensity and velocity of global exchanges, including tourism exchanges. However, most commentators stress the historical contingency of the globalization process, as well as a historically unprecedented explosion of global flows and networks in the last 50 years (Held et al., 1999; Castells, 2000).

Whereas Held et al. (1999) highlight four distinctive historical forms of globalization, each of which reflects a particular conjuncture of spatio-temporal and organizational attributes, Waters (2001) for example draws a threefold periodization of globalization. However, they, and many others (see for example Scholte 2000; Mol, 2001), emphasize a unique concurrence of social, political, economic and technological forces in the last half-century. As Mol (2001:20) argues:

> I am not denying elements of continuity, and I acknowledge that most social developments do not come in the shape of sudden radical changes. However, it should be emphasized that the forms and dynamics of interconnectedness and interdependence, which are so central to most notions of globalization, have changed fundamentally in the last 30-40 years.

According to Held et al. (1999), historical forms of globalization should be analysed in terms of both spatial-temporal and organizational dimensions. Referring to the former, global interactions have an increasing extensity, intensity and velocity. These may also be associated with a deepening enmeshment of the global and local such that the impact of distant events is magnified while even the most local developments may come to have enormous global consequences, and vice versa. In terms of the latter, there are four dimensions that map the specific organizational profile of globalization, namely infrastructures, institutionalization, stratification and modes of interaction.

Following these key dimensions of globalization, Table 5.2 illustrates the bond between tourism and globalization in historically distinct periods. The shift from pre-modern to modern tourism is marked by the year 1841. As Lash and Urry (1994: 261) remark, 1841 deserves to be remembered as representing the beginning of modern mass travel. It was the year in which the first national railway timetable was published, the first Atlantic steamship service started, the Wells Fargo Company (which became part of American Express) began, and most important of all, the very first 'tour' was organized by Thomas Cook. Cook was responsible for a number of innovations that transformed travel from something that was individually arranged and full of risks and uncertainty into one of the most organized and rationalized of human activities based on considerable professional experience (Peters, 2003: 263-264; see also Chapter 6 of this book).

Similarly, the shift from modern to contemporary tourism is symbolized by the introduction of jet planes in tourism, although obviously the shift was the result of a great number of interlocking cultural, economic, technological and political transformations, as well as of the way we got

locked into the mode of individualized auto mobility (Urry, 2003; see also Box 5.1). Although the jet plane gradually developed in the late 1930s, sponsored by the military (which increased research and development budgets in response to the threat of war), it took until the 1950s before the jet engine entered commercial aviation. Pan American Airlines wanted to use the jetliners in the niche market for long-distance intercontinental routes. The introduction in 1958 of the Boeing 707 and of the Boeing 747 in 1969 boosted travel for leisure. As Geels (2002) explains, the Boeing 747 was not simply a technical breakthrough, but also an economic one as larger aircraft allowed for scale economies and lower airfares. To fill the larger airplanes, airline companies tried to attract new user groups. They increasingly targeted the leisure market. In the mid 1960s, the cultural perception was that flying had become a normal way of transportation. The wide-body jet introduced a new functionality in flying: mass transportation for mass tourism. In the following decades tourism not only grew but also spread from Europe into other continents and diversified.

Table 5.2 Periodization of tourism

	Pre-modern tourism Pre-19th century	**Modern tourism 1850 - 1950**	**Contemporary tourism 1950 – 21st century**
Dominant modes	• Grand Tour	• Seaside tourism	• Highly differentiated
Extensity	• Minor flows, mainly trans-European	• Emerging flows within and between countries	• Global spread from Europe and Atlantic into East Asia
Intensity	• Low	• Increasing	• High
Velocity	• Low	• Low	• High
Impact	• Low	• Low and spatially concentrated	• High, spatially and globally stretched
Infrastructure	• Some road and sea networks and resorts • Inns	• Railways and roads • Seaside resorts • Hotels	• Jet plane and auto-mobility • Highly intensified road, communication and transport systems • Internet • A mixture of accommodation forms
Institutionalization	• Virtually non-existent	• Thomas Cook	• High, many types and forms
Stratification	• Only cultural centres and cultural elites	• Holidays as a marker of citizenship • Resort stratification[5]	• Democratization of the tourist gaze • Intricate processes of inclusion and exclusion of people and regions
Modes of interaction	• Personal and cooperative	• Competitive on a local and regional scale	• Competitive, increasingly on a global scale

5.3 Tourism and globalization

How does tourism relate to the globalization processes? Obviously, processes of globalization influence tourism. Accelerating developments in technology (jet aircraft, computer reservation systems, Internet), the global flow of capital, the distribution of information and values (as in the realm of 'leisure'), and the spread of consumerism have induced significant flows of tourists around the world. Although a cliché, it is nonetheless true that tourism has grown exponentially in terms of numbers, economic value and spread.

This process sped up dramatically in the last half of the twentieth century. New worldwide systems of transport and communications increased the potential velocity of the global diffusion of tourists. The intensity of tourism flows is well illustrated by the fact that international travel grew from 25 million tourists in the 1950s, via 307 million in 1985 to over 600 million in 2003. For 2010, almost 1 billion tourists are forecast. Second, tourism spending abroad grew from USD 200 billion in 1995 to more than USD 500 billion in 2000. Forecasts for 2010 indicate between USD 900 and 1000 billion (Buhalis, 2003a). International travel now accounts for about 8.5% of all world trade, and international and domestic tourism together account for 10% of global GDP[6] (Urry, 2000: 50).

As tourism itself involves global flows of people, capital, images and cultures (Meethan, 2001; see also Appadurai, 2000), it also accelerates globalization processes. For example, as highlighted in subsequent sections and chapters, the actions of social agents (e.g. tourists, tour operators, airlines) in one locale or centre have significant intended and unintended consequences for the behaviour of 'distant others'. In addition, tourism shrinks both distance and time. The flow of tourists around the world no longer seems to be constrained by either.

Tourism is also seen as part of the global processes of commodification through which material culture, people and places become objectified for the purposes of the global market (Meethan, 2001). Although territorially confined, they are also seen as detached from the logic of their territorial boundaries. Tourism contributes to the proliferation of social connections that are perceived as being at least partly, and often quite substantially, detached from their territorial logic. Tourism includes circumstances in which territorial space is substantially transcended. Tourists, by using their Visa card or MasterCard, drinking Coca-Cola, frequenting Internet cafes, partaking in karaoke parties or watching satellite television, increasingly seem to surpass the local. And would there be tourism at the current scale and intensity without 'global' airline networks, 'global' telephone connections and 'global' flows of finance? Lodges in Costa Rica or Masaai villages in Kenya or Tanzania and the tourists visiting them, seem to reside simultaneously in a local and a transworld space (Scholte, 2000: 48).

In his survey of global activities, Scholte (2000: 48-55) discerns eight significant dimensions of the rise of what he denotes as transworld space or 'supra-territoriality'. First, in terms of communication, a wide range of supra-territorial connections has been forged. Jet airplanes accomplish overnight transworld deliveries of tourists; the instant booking of hotels or lodges all around the world is possible through the Internet; and electronic mass media and magazines and books, which are distributed all around the world, show the 'exciting' or 'extraordinary' places worth visiting. Tourism contributes to global communications through the global flows and people and their subsequent flow of images and values. However, tourism also generates

communication networks, such as global reservation systems (GRS) and global distribution systems (GDS), to maintain both intra- and inter-firm links as well as producer-consumer relationships (Agarwal et al., 2002).

Second, tourism benefits greatly from the appearance of a global market. Tourism is an essential part of the liberalization of trade in services under GATS, and the liberalization of trade also enables tourists to purchase the same goods and services across the world, often under a single brand name like Coca-Cola or Kodak. As such, tourism is part of larger globalization processes, such as commodification and consumerism. Tourism has also considerably contributed to the emergence of global products and sales strategies, as illustrated by the example of the 'World of TUI'.

Therefore – and this is the third point – global tourism commodities are connected through transworld production chains: tourists, travel agency, tour operator, airline, incoming tour operator, car rental companies, accommodation providers and the like and their subsequent computerized reservation systems each can be situated in different regions and countries. Tour operators source globally as they draw the necessary inputs from anywhere in the world (Scholte, 2000: 52).

Fourth, globalization has also transpired in many areas of money and finance. Tourism travels have been made more easy not only by the US dollar and, more recently, the euro, but also by other forms of supra-territorial money, for example travellers' cheques, credit cards and electronic purses. It is now just as easy to extract money from an automated teller machine (ATM) in Amsterdam as it is in Eldoret (Kenya) or San José (Costa Rica). Supra-territoriality has also arisen in the way tourism investors (like pension funds and insurance companies) now operate global portfolios.

Fifth, tourism has been influenced by and has given rise to many global organizations. The rise of supra-territoriality transpired both in terms of the number of institutions that have a transborder network of offices and in terms of the degree of transworld mobility and coordination in their operations. Transnational and multinational companies account for about 70% of world trade and up to 30% of world output. The 100 largest among them employ about 6 million workers worldwide, account for 30% of the world sales of transnationals and multinationals, and control about 20% of global foreign assets (Martinelli, 2002). Generally speaking, they pressure national governments and international organizations like the World Trade Organization into removing barriers to their goods and services and to the free circulation of capital. But as we shall see in Chapter 7, the activities of such global organizations as the UN Environmental Program (UNEP), the UN Development Program (UNDP), The World Conservation Union (IUCN) and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) also affect tourism. The other way around, tourism has induced global organizations like the International Air Transport Organization (IATA), the World Tourism Organization and the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), as well as many multinational and transnational companies. These took different shapes. In the world of aviation, strategic alliances are ubiquitous. In September 2002 four major alliances shared more than 60% of the market. KLM had more than 25 partners in countries like Kenya, Japan, Malaysia, China and, of course, the United States (Steketee, 2002), and recently merged with Air France and its partners. Mergers and acquisitions are also rather popular in the hotel sector. Although the number of small, independent businesses prevails, by 1995 four international corporate hotel chains (Choice, Best Western, Accor and Holiday Inn) each owned and operated more than

1000 hotels, with Choice Hotels International in the first place with more than 3400 hotels. And their scale of operations is ever increasing (Shaw and Williams, 2002; see also Agarwal et al., 2002). Obviously, these processes lead to increased concentration, as in the case of the German Company Preussag.

Sixth, in contemporary history, social ecology – that is, anthropogenic (i.e. human-induced) ecological changes – has gained supra-territorial qualities as well (Scholte, 2000:54). Climate change, loss of biodiversity, depletion of tropical forests, and marine pollution have all been related to tourism. At the same time, tourism is able to contribute to a growing awareness of the value of nature (Urry, 1995; Duim and Philipsen, 1995) and, hence, to public support for the protection of our environment. These characteristics give tourism an ambivalent position in relation to our environment. Tourism, as I shall argue in Chapter 7, very much represents a double-edged sword for the socio-environmental movement, in that it is an activity that is both reviled and revered (Mowforth and Munt, 2003).

Finally, tourism both has been affected by and has induced global consciousness. In addition to holding microcosmic conceptions of 'society' as a village, region or country, many people now also hold macrocosmic notions, where the planet is regarded as a 'global village'. The planet is considered as a resource for our entertainment and holidays. Global languages (e.g. English and Spanish), global icons (e.g. Disney) and representations (e.g. the 'tropical beach'), global events (e.g. the Olympics) and global conferences (e.g. the 2002 Quebec Summit on Ecotourism, or 'Johannesburg' in 2002) induce millions of tourists to travel around the world (Scholte, 2000: 54). And tourism has contributed to a global reflexivity as tourists more and more orient themselves towards the world as a whole. The extent of global tourism indicates the extent to which tourists themselves conceptualize the world as a single place, one without internal geographical boundaries (Waters, 2001: 208).

5.4 Rethinking the global-local nexus

However, it is important not to exaggerate the extent of globalization. Clearly, tourism does not involve all people on earth. On the contrary: only 3.5% of world's population participates in international travel (see Bianchi, 2003). The share of domestic tourism is of course much bigger. In Europe, domestic tourism arrivals still comprise the majority (62%) of EU-plus[7] inbound tourism (Peeters et al., 2004: 16).

Moreover, territoriality still matters very much in a globalizing world. Evidently, tourists 'touch down' at territorial locations, and tourism service provision is per definition geographically localized. And in these localities, the economic interactions are organized, designed and shaped by extra-economic logics such as the local social, cultural, political and physical conditions, even if they engage with actors on the other side of the world (Mol, 2001: 212). Indeed, the analysis of Texel, Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Tanzania shows that realities are only partially explained by accounts referring to an all all-encompassing globalization. Most tourism production processes are still firmly linked to specific places.

Therefore, as Scholte (2000: 59) warns, tourism may bring about only a relative rather than a complete deterritorialization of social life. Although in some cases global relations through tourism may have substantially transcended territorial space, they have never done so totally.

Tourism may have become partly rather than wholly detached from territorial logics. Although territoriality places no insurmountable constraints on global circumstances, supra-territorial phenomena still have to engage with territorial places, governments and territorial identities. Much more globalization – more than is in prospect for a long time to come – needs to take place before territorial space will became irrelevant (ibid.: 60).

In sum, in terms of the globalization debate as portrayed by especially Held et al. (1999), I adhere to a transformationalist thesis *as far as* it stresses the reordering of inter-regional relations and action at a distance and accentuates the uncertain directions of 'global' change, since globalization is conceived as an essentially contingent historical process inscribed with contradictions.

Moreover and more importantly, as I shall explain below, processes of globalization should be framed within a *topological* rather than a geographical sense. Therefore, I shall refrain from globalization analyses that treat emergent global properties as too unified and too powerful (Urry, 2003: 40). Instead, a topological view stresses the complexity of the global-local nexus as an astonishingly complex arrangement, or rather a series of dynamic arrangements, a kind of 'orderly disorder' (ibid.: 22).

In a topological view, the question what is near and what is far, what is local and what is global, is not simply one of geometric measurement between fixed points; rather, it is a question of connection and simultaneity, as different groups and institutions mark their presence through interaction in all kinds of powerful and not so powerful ways (Allen, 2003: 192; see also Clegg, 2003).

Therefore, the question to be answered is how globalization (or power, agency and tourism) relationally emerges, is performed and enacted. What holds the local and the global together? We have to look for a common space that binds them together. Actor-network theorists pretend to offer a space that connects the global and the local; a network space based on heterogeneous relations[8]. Therefore, the following section deals with the relation between tourism and globalization from one particular point of view, namely actor-network theory and its concern with relational materialism (see Law 1994; Law and Hetherington, 1999).

5.5 Actor-network theory

This section takes the actor-network theory out of the realm of the sociology of science and technology and into the province of tourism studies. Actor-network theory has its origins in the sociology of sciences and became known through the writings of especially Callon, Latour and Law (see Law and Hassard, 1999). Actor-network theorists provide a means of understanding how everyday practices are transmitted into wider processes of social transformation, but without falling back on an all-encompassing theoretical order (see Thrift 1996: 23). Actor-network theory is the sociology of ordering rather than order (see also Law 1994).

This book is not a theoretical exegesis of actor-network theory, but an exploration of an actor-network perspective on tourism in general (Part II) as well as the quest for the sustainable development of tourism (Part III). The purpose is to re-conceptualize tourism in terms of actor-network theory. Particularly three elements put forward by such actor-network theorists as Callon,

Law, Latour and Murdoch are potentially particularly relevant to the study of tourism (see Woods, 1997; Murdoch 1997, 1998, 2001; Law, 1994 and 1999a). These three elements are 1) its principal of symmetry, 2) its focus on actor-networks and dissolving dualisms, and 3) its emphasis on processes of translation.

5.5.1 The symmetry principle

In his *Organizing Modernity*, John Law (1994) insists on the principle of symmetry. To insist on symmetry 'is to assert that everything, more particularly, that everything you seek to explain or describe should be approached in the same way' (9-10). It thus erodes distinctions (e.g. between global and local, between those that drive and the driven, between macro and micro or people and things) that are said to reside in the nature of things, and instead asks how it is that they got to be that way as a product or effect of processes of ordering (ibid.: 12).

One of the most distinctive but also debated features of actor-network theory is its adherence to the principle of symmetry between people and things[9]. By doing so, the theory grants things the possibility of actor status. As Jensen (2001) explains, actor-network theory employs a semiotic definition of an actor. Actors take their form and acquire their attributes as a result of their relations with other actors. An actor is anything that acts or receives activity from others. So the scope of actors is extended far beyond individual humans.

Actor-network theory stresses that it is the heterogeneity of actor-networks that allows them to remain durable in space and time; it is the seamless mixing of social, technical and natural objects within networks that ensures that they frame our interactions, shape our activities, and direct our movements (Murdoch, 1998: 367). As Law (1994: 10) explains:

> Why do we distinguish, a priori, between human actors on the one hand, and technical and natural objects on the other? Perhaps this sounds ridiculous. Perhaps these distinctions are self-evident. But the very fact that it sounds ridiculous should give us pause for thought. Why are we so convinced that these distinctions are given in the nature of things? What happens if we treat them, instead, as an effect, a product of ordering?

It means that one should try to seek a heuristic flattening of the differences between people and non-humans in order to understand the way things work together (Verschoor, 1997a: 25).

The principle of symmetry between human and non-human provokes not only fierce debates[10], but also specific questions related to tourism. The first question relates to the materiality of tourism: what is the 'stuff' of tourism? Law and Hetherington (1999: 2) imagine three kinds of materials. First, it is about bodies, for bodies are material. Thus it is about how bodies come to embody their conditions of leisure, display themselves in leisure clothes as objects of the tourist gaze, become suntanned or reactivated by performing adventurous activities or even extreme sports. Second, there are objects. A concern with materiality in tourism is a concern with cars and planes; restaurants, campsites and hotels and their supplies; and natural objects like seas, beaches, hills and lakes and the related flora and fauna. But it is also about the tourist attractions – the Eiffel tower in Paris, the pyramids in Egypt, the seals in Texel. Third, there are information and media. Texts such as travel guides, newspapers, images and photographs, CD-ROMs, maps, statistical tables and spreadsheets used by tour operators, train or airline itineraries, vouchers

and credit cards, architectural designs, websites and emails: all these are information, but information in material form (ibid.: 2). Of course, materials have been present in what is written about tourism, because it is so obvious that the world of tourism is made of materials. But at the same time, 'they have been absent from it, perhaps because it *is* so obvious that the world is made of materials that they have been taken for granted' (ibid.: 2).

The second question relates to the way people and things jointly perform tourism. There are two contrasting but also overlapping arguments, that is, they do so through the symbolic framing of material objects and they do so through the material framing of social relations (Pels et al., 2002). The first argument is rather familiar in tourism and underlines the fact that objects must be symbolically framed in order for them to acquire the status of a tourism sight (see e.g. Ashworth and Dietvorst, 1995; MacCannell, 1976; Leiper, 1990). The latter argument, however, stresses that social relationships in general and tourism practices in particular need to be materially grounded in order to acquire temporal and spatial endurance (Pels et al. 2002: 11). The distinction can be explained by referring to the 'transformation model', as developed at Wageningen University. This model portrays the interplay between producers and consumers, and between human (consumers and producers) and non-human entities (the resources on which leisure and tourism are built). It shows how resources are transformed, materially as well as symbolically (Ashworth and Dietvorst, 1995). The transformation model is first and foremost concerned with the human modifications of the non-human worlds. Although it accepts a materialist basis for action, it treats the material world as ultimately subservient to the social construction of humans (see Murdoch, 1997: 334). This basic idea stems from the classic work *The Tourist*, in which MacCannell (1976: 41) pointed at the representational action over the material order in the genesis of tourism attractions by defining a tourist attraction as an empirical relationship between a tourist, a sight and a marker (a piece of information about a sight). The central idea since then has been that an object (building, area, thing) turns into a tourism attraction not only because it has been made 'fit for use', but also because it is embedded in a particular narrative construction (see e.g. Lengkeek, 1994; Ashworth and Dietvorst, 1995).

Particularly informative in this respect is the concept of an affordance (Harré, 2002). In the original sense of the word, as coined by the psychologist Gibson (in: Harré, 2002), an affordance is a material disposition, the consequence of which is specified in human terms. The same material thing may have a great many different possible ways in which it can be used. Each is an affordance. Affordances are spatio-temporally located relative to well-identified material things and states of affairs. Thus, in the context of tourism, a mountain slope develops into a ski-slope that affords skiing, sledging, 'tobogganing' and such like. Similarly, a lake affords swimming, sailing, boating, canoeing, etc. But the same lake also may bestow anxiety, as the narrative presumes the existence of a monster. Since there is usually more than one narrative unfolding, material things as potential tourism attractions have multiple context-bound affordances, especially as tourism-related objects have not only a practical but often also an expressive value. As Harré (2002: 32) further explains, material things have a necessary place in the practical order, but also have a possible place in the expressive order. It goes almost without saying that the narratives with which these orders are maintained are very different. The ski-slopes of Veyssonaz are perhaps better for skiing than those in St Moritz, but skiing on the latter is a visible expression of wealth, style and so on[11].

However, there is more. Tourism is also held together by active sets of relations in which the human and the non-human continuously exchange properties. As Murdoch (1997: 327) emphasizes: 'through the use of certain material resources, interactions can be stabilized, summarized and extended through space and time'.

Here, the principle of symmetry meets the idea of relational materialism (Law, 1994; Law, 1999a). Relational materialism is centrally important for two reasons. The first has to do with social ordering itself: there would be no social ordering if the materials which generate these were not heterogeneous. Left to their own devices, human actions and words do not spread far at all. Human actions alone are not enough to create 'transworld spaces' or 'supra-territoriality' (Scholte, 2000). Other materials, such as text and technologies, definitely form part of any such an ordering. So ordering has to do with both humans and non-humans. They go together. It does not make sense to ignore materials and to treat them separately, as though they were different in kind: the characterization of materials is just another relational effect (see also Latour, 1993). But according to Law (1994), it is an important relational effect, because certain material effects, or combinations thereof, are more durable, or more easily transported, than naked human bodies or their voices alone.

This, then, is the first reason why Law (1994: 24) is pressing for relational materialism:

> I believe we need to include *all* materials in sociological analysis if we want to make sense of social ordering, but, symmetrically, I also take it that materials are better treated as products or effects rather than having properties that are given in the nature of things.

The second reason for adopting relational materialism is a specification of the first, and has to do with agency. If an agent is an effect, then how that effect is generated becomes an important topic in its own right. But in a relationally materialist sociology, an agent is an effect generated in a network of heterogeneous materials:

> Unlike many, I don't think that actors necessarily have to be people. I'm uncertain, but perhaps any network of bits and pieces tends to count as an agent if it embodies a set of ordering processes, which allows it (or others) to say 'It is an agent, an actor'. (ibid.: 34).

But the question whether it acts, or just relays messages and acts as an intermediary, is an empirical question, a matter for further investigation.

Following the principle of symmetry, exchanges between nature and society flow in two directions; by standing in the middle and working its way outwards, this approach sees modifications in both the social and the material realms (Murdoch, 1997: 334; Latour 1993). As a consequence, actor-network theorists see spatiality as being radically different from mainstream notions of time-space. Instead, they see time-space in terms of association of different actor-network topologies (Latham, 2002: 131).

As Law (1999a: 6/7) explains, topology is concerned with spatiality, and in particular with the attributes of the spatial which secure continuity for objects as they are displaced through a space. However, spatiality is not given or fixed. Instead it comes in various forms. For example, the Euclidean form of three-dimensional objects, which are imagined to exist precisely within

a comfortable three-dimensional space, or the form of regionalism. Here the idea is that the world takes the form of a flat surface, which may then be broken up into principalities of varying size. The central idea now is that the notion of 'network' is itself another topological system: 'in a network, elements retain their spatial integrity by virtue of their position in a set of links of relations. Object integrity, then, is not a volume within a larger Euclidean volume. It is rather about holding patterns of links stable' (ibid.: 6/7; see also Law, 2002).

Viewed topologically, time-space consists of multiple pleats of relations stitched together, such that nearness and distance as measured in absolute space are not in themselves important. Nearness and farness are the products not of distance (though that is in all sorts of ways built into relationships), but of performing actor-networks (Latham, 2002). Therefore, actor-network theorists refrain from any shift in scale, between say the global and the local; rather, we should simply follow the networks wherever they may lead: 'the role of the analyst is to follow the actor-networks as they stretch through space and time, localizing and globalizing along the way' (Murdoch, 1997: 224).

This topological view has important consequences for conceptualizing tourism objects as well as regions. To start with the latter, Graham (1997: 182), for example, demonstrates how technical networks like the TGV (the French system of high-speed trains), auto routes or air corridors support distant linkages, while always remaining local and always being embedded in space and place (see also Latour, 1993: 117). They may actually provide 'tunnel effects' that bring certain spaces and places closer together, while pushing physically adjacent areas further away. In other words, a topological view shows, inter alia, that networks constitute regions. Manuel Antonio/ Quepos is a tourism region as an effect of being linked (by infrastructure, communication networks, organizations and people) to other people and things in the rest of Costa Rica as well as elsewhere. Enterprises, the national park, beaches, tourists and all the other relevant entities are performed in, by and through these relations.

Objects, however, can also be imagined as networks. Cars, caravans, planes, hotels and restaurants are topologically multiple, inhabiting both Euclidean and network spaces[12]. They hold their shape, function and meaning if these are 'sustained within a stable network of relations with other entities' (Law, 2002: 95).

Let us take the example of a plane. A plane itself is a network (with an engine, wings, fuselage, trolleys, passengers, pilots and crew). However, the air corridor it is flying through, the air traffic control it is communicating with, the computerized navigation and the like can also be treated as a network. And on a larger scale the air transport system as a whole, that is, with its airports, airlines, passengers and international aviation organizations, can also be thought of in the same terms (see Law, 2002: 93). Therefore, planes are, as Latour argues, examples of immutable mobiles (see also Law, 1994 and 1999; Law and Mol, 2000). Planes are mobile, because there is movement from, let us say, Amsterdam to San José. And planes are immutable because they are objects that hold their shape as a network. Planes are invariant and materially heterogeneous networks, immutable because the different components hold another in place, at least in theory. But it also, and at the same time, implies a form of spatiality, a network space that renders possible the immutable mobility of an object, such as a plane travelling from Amsterdam to San José (Law and Mol, 2000). Here, then, as Law (2002: 93) explains, the network-ness of the immutable mobile works in two ways, at two levels of scale.

5.5.2 Actor-networks

So, actor-network theorists try not only to dissolve the dualism between human and non-human, but also to dissolve or even bypass dualisms between actor-structure, micro-macro and global-local. All these have been a recurring feature in the social sciences. Many attempts have been made to yield a unified theoretical perspective, as for example in the case of Giddens' structuration theory (see Poel, 1993). Whereas Giddens focuses on the amalgamation of actor and structure, actor-network theory also seeks to overcome the dualisms, which are of concern to Giddens, but it also puts the relationship between the social and the material at the centre of the analysis. Actor-network theory claims to deliver a non-dualistic standpoint by focusing on how things are 'stitched together' across divisions and distinctions (Murdoch, 1997: 322). It seeks to avoid any reification of nature and society, global and local, action and structure; it strives to retain a flexible viewpoint in what will be linked to what and how these linkages will be forged (ibid.: 334).

In actor-network theory, the concept of actor and network are concatenated and one cannot be defined without the other. The actor-network is reducible neither to an actor alone nor to a network. An actor-network is at the same time an actor whose activity is networking heterogeneous elements and a network that is able to redefine and change what is made of (Cordella and Shaikh, 2004: 4). Thus, the social[13] is 'nothing other than patterned networks of heterogeneous materials' (Law, 1992: 381).

The methodological result of this perspective is that no a priori assumptions will be made about who will act in any particular set of circumstances. Action will be the result of network construction, and networks are constructed out of all kinds of bits and pieces, some of which we might label 'social', or 'natural' or 'technical', and so on. In this fashion, actor-network theorists believe they are breaking down the dualisms that afflict so much sociological theorizing. Nature/society, actor/structure, global/local – rather than being determinant of particular phenomena, these divisions emerge from heterogeneously constructed networks. They are outcomes rather than causes. It is not that there are no divisions, as Law (1999a: 3) explains, it is rather that such divisions are to be understood as effects or outcomes. Actor-networks underpin the divisions that constitute our world (Murdoch, 2001: 120).

For example, what counts for tourism is an effect generated by a network of heterogeneous, interacting materials, human as well as non-human. Imagine a family travelling with a car and caravan to France. Although a nice holiday depends on good relations between the family members (the network based on kinship) and others they meet on the road (both tourists and workers), analytically[14] objects are just as important for a 'nice' holiday as the people. Lets take the car as example (see also Box 5.1). At first sight, it is a single and coherent object with relatively few apparent parts. However, when one of the parts breaks down, it rapidly turns out to be a network of components and human interventions. When it is whole and it moves, it (the combination of driver and car) travels networks of roads, highways and parking lots, and past patterns of landscapes, cultural artefacts, networks of petrol stations and restaurants, finally arriving at the destination, let us say a campsite (itself a particular combination of natural and human relations), which has been pre-booked through the Internet, again a network of heterogeneous,

interacting materials run by objects as well as people. Continuing their holiday, people and things enact in relational ways. Therefore, as we have seen, the topology of tourism is not only to be captured in a three-dimensional space, as the integrity of objects (car, caravan, road, camping) is not only about a volume within a larger Euclidean volume, but also about holding patterns of links stable and 'by their virtue of their position in a set of links of relations' (Law, 1992; see also Law, 2002).

Box 5.1 The automobile and actor-network theory

The relation between people and things is well explained by Callon (2001) in his discussion of automobiles[15]. According to Callon, the automobile's phenomenal success is probably due to the fact that it enables tourists to extend the range and variety of actions they can successfully undertake, freeing them to travel about without having to rely on anyone else. Thus, autonomous users endowed with the capacity to decide where they want to go, and to move about as and when they wish, are 'inscribed' in the automobile (Akrich, 1992 in: Callon, 2001). Paradoxically, the drivers' autonomy stems from the fact that the functioning of the automobile depends on its being but one element within a larger network. To function, it needs a road infrastructure with maintenance services, motorway-operating companies, the automobile industry, a network of garages and fuel distributors, specific taxes, driving schools, traffic rules, roadworthiness testing centres, laws, etc. and of course the inevitable maps and credit letters from the ANWB (the Dutch motoring organization). An automobile is thus at the centre of a web of relations linking heterogeneous entities, a network that consists of people and things.

This network is active, which justifies the term actor-network theory. Action and network are two sides of the same reality. Each of the human and non-human elements comprising the actor-network participates in a collective action, which the user must mobilize every time he or she takes the wheel of his or her automobile. In a sense, the driver then merges with the network that defines what he or she is (a driver choosing a destination and an itinerary) and what he or she can do. When the driver turns the ignition key to drive to a campsite in France: 'the driver not only starts up the engine, but also triggers a perfectly coordinated collective action. This action involves: the oil companies that refined the oil, distributed the oil, and set up petrol stations; the engineers who designed the cylinders and valves; the machines and operators who assembled the vehicle; the workers who laid the concrete for the roads; the steel that withstands heat; the rubber of the tyres that grip the wet road, the traffic lights that regulate the traffic flows, and so on' (Callon, 2001: 63). We could take each element of the actor- network to show that, human and non-human, it contributes in its own way to getting the vehicle on the road and the tourist to France.

According to Latour (in: Murdoch, 1997: 330), a human actor (or other relevant entity) may play many different 'actorial' roles. These roles emerge as effects once associations have been stitched

together. That is, as entities become enrolled, combined and disciplined within networks, they gain shape and function. Action and agency, and their shapes and forms, therefore emerge from association rather than from human agents (ibid.). They are not given properties. What actor-network theorists subsequently seek to investigate are:

> ... the means by which associations come into existence and how the role and functions of subjects and objects, actors and intermediaries, humans and non-humans are attributed and stabilized. They are interested in how these and other categories emerge from the processes of network building. (Murdoch, 1997: 331; see also Steins et al. 2000).

Actor-networks thus retain the main idea of what Callon and Law (1995) denote as a *collectif* of people and things (see also Verschoor, 1997a). The notion of 'collectif' differs from that of a 'collective' or 'collectivity', in that a collectif is not an assembly of people who have decided to join some form of common organization; rather, 'a *collectif* is an emergent effect created by the interaction of the heterogeneous parts that make it up' (Callon and Law, 1995: 485). In other words, 'it is the *relations* – and their heterogeneity – that are important, and not the things in themselves' (Verschoor, 1997a: 42). Entities in an actor-network achieve their form as a consequence of the relations in which they are located. But they are also performed in, by and through those relations: 'if relations do not hold fast by themselves, then they have to be performed' (Law, 1992). As a consequence, everything is uncertain and reversible, at least in principle. It is never given in the order of things.

However, 'network patterns that are widely performed are often those that can be punctualized' (ibid.: 385). Network patterns may become routines, taken for granted and unquestioned: black-boxed collectifs (Callon, 2001; Verschoor 1997a). This is because of relations and routines that can, if somewhat precariously, be more or less taken for granted in the process of heterogeneous engineering. In other words, they can be counted as resources, which may come in a variety of forms: agents, devices, texts, relatively standardized sets of organizational relations, social technologies, boundary protocols, organizational forms – any or all of these (Law, 1992: 385).

Nobody would travel with a car and caravan to France, let alone fly to Tanzania or Costa Rica, if it were not certain that at least most of these resources will work as predicted. Punctualized resources offer a way of drawing quickly on the networks of the social without having to deal with endless complexity. Nevertheless, 'punctualization is always precarious, it faces resistance, and may degenerate into a failing network' (ibid.). In that case, black boxes[16] burst open (Callon, 2001: 64). All of a sudden it becomes plainly visible who and what 'acts': war breaks out in the Gulf region and energy prices increase drastically, a plane crashes, a road collapses, borders are closed, viruses bring the Internet to a standstill, heavy rains in Costa Rica prevent travelling to certain destinations, a passport is lost[17]. All these times the collective action becomes visible and all the people and things that contribute to tourism are unveiled (ibid.).

As punctualization is a process – a verb and not a noun – it is a relational effect that generates and reproduces itself. The study of tourism therefore should consist of the concern with:

> ... how actors and organizations mobilize, juxtapose and hold together the bits and pieces out of which they are composed; how they are sometimes able to prevent those bits and pieces from

> following their own inclinations and making off; and how they manage as a result to conceal for a time the process of translation itself and so turn a network from a heterogeneous set of bits and pieces with its own inclinations, into something that passes as a punctualized actor. (Law, 1992: 386)

In the latter case, the collectif tends to convergence. The entities making up a collectif may converge or diverge, be more or less standardized, and their relationships may be long- or short-lived to different degrees. Convergence implies that the activities of actors in the networks can easily be linked to one another, as actors have sufficiently fine-tuned their activities so as to make them compatible with those of others from the same collectif (Verschoor, 1997a: 30).

For example, in one of the projects (which I shall refer to below as the 'chain project') in the framework of the Sustainable Development Agreements (SDAs; see also Chapter 7) between Costa Rica and the Netherlands, we tried to link up small-scale projects supported by the SDAs and UN Development Program (UNDP), through the intermediation of a Costa Rican incoming tour operator (Camino Travel) with a TUI-affiliated tour operator in the Netherlands, De Boer and Wendel (see Caalders et al., 2003). Of the 24 small-scale projects evaluated, only three could be included in a tour for Dutch tourists in Costa Rica. The reasons for not being included were partly related to people (e.g. a lack of adequate managerial and administrative skills, a lack of knowledge of common modes of operation in the tourism industry) and partly related to things (e.g. the quality and scale of the product; a lack of such communication facilities as telephone, fax and the Internet; inaccessibility). The mere presence or absence of a reliable telephone (or email) connection is already critical. Boer and Wendel and Camino Travel decided not to work together with 21 of the 24 projects, as it would not have been possible to perform the relations based on a relatively standardized set of organizational protocols. Knowledge, the product itself and the technology of these projects were insufficient. From the interaction between the other three SDA/UNDP projects, Camino Travel, De Boer and Wendel, and other tourism projects and providers (airlines as well), a temporary collectif emerged. However, the continuation of relationship depends on many different actors and continuously has to be performed. The feasibility of this venture (i.e. to organize a tour of Dutch tourists in Costa Rica, including visits to three projects supported by the SDAs) is not guaranteed. For example, if there are insufficient customers, De Boer and Wendel will withdraw and the project will end.

This simple example once again illustrates how actor-network theorists deal with the dualism between local and global. As we have seen, a topological view diverts attention away from the geographical scale at which, say, tour operators or small entrepreneurs are supposed to operate, and instead focuses attention on the relational arrangement of which they are part. In particular, a topology of social relations should help us to focus on their co-constitutive nature and the spaces and times they actively construct in the process (Allen, 2003: 192). As a consequence, as Verschoor (1997a) argues, the global and local should not be used in a geographical sense only, but in relation to the project under study. Consequently, global does not necessarily mean geographically distant, and local does not necessarily mean geographically close (ibid.).

Let us again take the projects sponsored by the Sustainable Development Agreements (SDAs) as an example. Their feasibility can be seen as a function of three interrelated factors (see also Law and Callon, 1992: 46), namely:

1. The ability of a project to construct and maintain a global network that is intended to contribute resources to the project (money, tourists, access to markets, information,[18] provided by first Fundecooperacion and UNDP and afterwards Camino, Boer and Wendel and others) in the expectation of an ultimate return (e.g. tourism-related services or, in the case of Fundecooperacion and UNDP, rural development).
2. The capacity of a project to assemble a local network (of people and things needed to provide the services) by mobilizing the means contributed by the global network, with the ultimate goal of offering a return of some kind to the different actors comprising the global network.
3. The degree to which a project succeeds in imposing itself as an obligatory point of passage between the global and the local network: 'this means that, if successful, the project should first have the ability to shape and mobilize the local network and that second, the project is able to exercise control over all exchanges between the local and the global network' (Verschoor, 1997a: 32). Many of the projects supported by the SDAs have not or not yet been able to impose themselves as such an obligatory point of passage. Either they have not fully or have not successfully shaped and established a local network (as they do not fully qualify in terms of skills, infrastructure, technology, etc.), and/or actors from the global network (e.g. De Boer and Wendel, or Camino Travel) do not trust and hence do not count on the promised return. Moreover, many SDA projects are more equipped to construct and preserve other global networks, by aiming at, for example, domestic tourists or students[19].

More generally speaking we cannot assume that we know the scale (global or local) or size (small or large) of an actor-network, but must attempt to trace out its various patterns of association through which it obtains certain effects of size or scale (Latham 2002: 132). As actor-networks in tourism grow, they extend their influence and reach beyond a single locale into other locales, tying these together in sets of complex associations. There is therefore no difference in kind between macro and micro, or global and local actors; longer networks can simply reach further than shorter networks can (Murdoch, 1997).

5.5.3 Translation

What actor-network theorists thus seek to investigate are the means by which associations come into existence and how the roles and functions of subjects and objects, actors and intermediaries, humans and non-humans are attributed and stabilized (Murdoch, 1997: 331). In sum: they are interested in processes of 'translation', that is, the methods by which actors form associations with other actors and actor-networks are established and stabilized.

Translation builds actor-networks from entities. It attaches characteristics to them and establishes more or less stable relationships between them. Translation is a definition of roles and the delineation of a scenario (Callon, 1986b: 25-26). It is the process in which actors attempt to characterize and pattern the networks of the social: the process in which they attempt to constitute themselves as collectifs (Steins et al. 2000; Law, 1994).

As Murdoch (1998:362) explains, translation refers to the processes of negotiation, representation and displacement between actors, entities and places. It involves the redefinition of these phenomena so that they are persuaded to behave in accordance with network requirements, and these redefinitions are frequently inscribed in the heterogeneous materials

which act to consolidate networks. The actor-network theorists have set themselves the task to explore the tactics of translation (Steins et al. 2000: 7).

The 'chain project', which was briefly described in the above, illustrates this translation process, which created a shared space that was not present before the initiation of the project. The translation process can be divided into four moments (see e.g. Callon, 1986a; Verschoor, 1997a; Clegg, 2003, Hillier, 2002; see also Chapter 8), although not every translation necessarily involves all four moments, and the moments may in reality overlap (see Woods, 1997). Therefore, translation is an endeavour: it may be achieved, but it always faces resistance and it can never be taken for granted (Callon, 1986b).

In the first moment – problematization – a project tries to become indispensable to other actors by defining the nature and the problems of the latter and then suggesting that these can be resolved by following the path of action suggested by the project. In this case, Buiten Consultancy and Wageningen University, indirectly representing the projects supported by the SDAs and the UNDP in Costa Rica, tried to convince first Fundecooperacion and Ecooperation as the SDA financing agencies, and subsequently Boer and Wendel and Camino Travel, to participate. Once approved, Boer and Wendel and Camino Travel were committed, also by excluding other probable alignments (e.g. other incoming travel agencies in San José).

According to Verschoor (1997a: 31), the second moment – 'interessement' – involves the methods by which the project attempts to impose and stabilize the identity of the other actors defined in the problematization. Actors exert influence over others via persuasion that their position is the best one (Hillier, 2002). In other words, interessement is the process of translating the images and concerns of a project into that of others, and then trying to discipline or control that translation in order to stabilize an actor-network. In this particular case, the criteria set by De Boer and Wendel and Camino Travel were used to evaluate the 24 SDA projects in Costa Rica. Only three of the 24 projects met these criteria and subsequently were enrolled in the process.

Interessement only achieves enrolment (the third moment) if it is successful. Through enrolment, actors lock others into their definitions and networks so that their behaviour is channelled in the direction desired by the enrolling actor(s) (Hillier, 2002: 89). It is the successful distribution of roles as proposed (and most probably changed) in the initial problematization. In this phase, Camino Travel and de Boer and Wendel negotiated about the terms of reference for the trip to be organized through Costa Rica, just as Camino Travel and the three SDA projects negotiated about their terms of cooperation. Buiten Consultancy and Wageningen University withdraw from the process, as they had no stake in these negotiations.

If enrolment has been achieved, then one can speak of the mobilization (the fourth moment) of the network of entities involved. Mobilization means the successful translation of a network of entities: the trip is part of the offer of de Boer and Wendel, it is included in their travel brochures and three SDA projects have joined up. However, the whole process was also aimed at exploring and testing ideas with respect to sustainable chain management in tourism. The ideas were applied in a specific process, circulated in the process during various workshops (with de Boer and Wendel, Camino, Buiten Consultancy and Wageningen University; as well as in workshops in Costa Rica where representatives of the 24 projects met with the travel industry) and disseminated in a publication (see Caalders et al., 2003) as well as in this book.

The example shows that processes of translation involve translators (Buiten Consultancy and Wageningen University), entities to be translated (Ecooperation and Fundecooperacion, TUI-NL, De Boer and Wendel, and Camino Travel, first 24 SDA projects and later three projects) and mediums in which the translation was inscribed (meetings, contracts, criteria set by De Boer and Wendel and Camino Travel, publications and leaflets, travel brochures, emails and, eventually, money).

The example also illustrates two other features of the translation process. First, it shows that translation may be more or less successful, may lead to convergence as well as divergence, and even after successful mobilization eventually may collapse.[20] As Murdoch (1998: 369) explains, there are those networks where translations are perfectly accomplished: the entities are effectively aligned and the network is stabilized; despite the heterogeneous qualities of any previous entities these entities now work in unison, thereby enabling the enrolling actors (i.e. first Buiten Consultancy and Wageningen University, and later De Boer and Wendel, and Camino) to 'speak' for all. On the other hand, there are networks where links between actors and intermediaries are provisional and divergent, where norms are hard to establish and standards are frequently compromised. Here, the various components of the network continually renegotiate with one another, form variable and revisable coalitions and assume ever-changing shapes. In both extreme cases, however, it is important to stress that network conformity and nonconformity is performative, an effect of processes of ordering (ibid.: 369).

Second, and related, some network configurations generate effects that, so long as everything else is equal, last longer than others. This translation aims, in general, at the construction of network arrangements that might last for a little longer. However, the question is: what tends to last longer? What tends to spread? First, as we have seen, actor-network theorists point to socio-technical innovations that generate new forms of immutable mobiles: writing, print, paper, money, credit cards, email. They are not simply a matter of technology, but of certain heterogeneous socio-technologies which open up the possibility of ordering distant events from a centre. They have, in other words, the potential effect of generating peripheries and centres (see Law, 1994: 103/104). Without these, small-scale entrepreneurs in Costa Rica or module coordinators of the Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania could never link up with distant markets in the United States or Europe. The second argument, according to Law (1994: 103), has to do with what happens at these centres. For any ordering centre – a centre of translation – strains towards reflexivity and self-reflexivity. That is, it monitors what is going on and acts on the basis of this monitoring. A centre of ordering – in this case, a tour operator or its agent in the country of destination[21] – is, or is likely to be, a place that monitors a periphery, represents that periphery and makes calculations about what to do next partly on the basis of those representations – through such monitoring, representation and calculation are themselves heterogeneous effects. In the following chapter I shall elaborate this second argument when discussing issues of power in the actor-networks of tourism. But first I shall turn to these actor-networks themselves by introducing the concept of tourismscapes.

5.6 Tourismscapes

> Tourismscapes are like sentences. Every element (like a word in a sentence) is connected to other elements (like other words in a sentence) in a syntax that unites people, artefacts and environments. Take out one word and the sentence is rendered pointless. Similarly, bracket beaches, mountains, museums, planes or automobiles, hotels or campsites and you obtain isolated, static human beings, not tourists or tourism entrepreneurs. Bracket human beings and you obtain an assembly worthy of a museum, but impotent to produce tourismscapes.[22]

This section re-conceptualizes tourism by incorporating ideas of symmetry, relational materialism and translation. It introduces the concept of tourismscapes. Analytically, these are the actor-networks within and across different societies and regions connecting together systems of transport, accommodation and facilities, tourism resources, environments, technologies, and people and organizations. Tourismscapes consist of relations between people and things dispersed in time-space specific patterns. They retain the main idea of what Callon and Law (1995) denote as 'collectifs of people and things', collectifs of materially heterogeneous bits and pieces (ibid.: 489). What are the constituents of tourismscapes?

First, tourismscapes include the people using tourism services or the people and organizations providing these services. To start with the latter, millions of people and organizations provide transport, accommodation, food, guidance and/or entertainment. As we shall see, tourismscapes rely on the performances of countless people working in big and small enterprises connected through complex processes of ordering. Indeed, the complexity of producing and reproducing tourismscapes is well mirrored by the heterogeneity of constituent firms and global as well as local networks of firms (Verschoor, 1997a). Obviously, tourismscapes also encompass tourists as they enact tourismscapes by consuming services, buying local products or situating things (caravans and tents, T-shirts, waste, their bodies) in the actor-network. Although their practices are ubiquitous and mandatory, this book barely addresses the specific role of tourists in the performance of tourismscapes.[23]

Second, tourismscapes encompass hybrid environments[24]; tourism spaces shaped by 'natural' and 'cultural' objects, human relics such as hotels, restaurant and entertainment facilities, and other resources that meet the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002; Ashworth and Dietvorst, 1995). For example, as we saw in the above, natural objects afford certain possibilities. Beaches cannot invite sunbathing, hills cannot provide viewing places, and so on. But they do – or rather they sometimes do – because of the particular way people, technologies and environments are embedded (see also Harré, 2002). Given certain past and present relations, particular 'objects' afford a range of possibilities and opportunities; nature and other physical objects owe certain 'affordances'. The interaction between resources and practices produces different 'natures'. These include: nature as the open countryside available for leisure; nature as a visual spectacle sensed through sketches, landscape paintings, postcards, photographs and the camcorder; nature as wilderness away from industry and cities, enabling spiritual and physical refreshment; and nature as undergoing 'global environmental change' rather than isolated localized changes (Urry, 2002).

Third, tourismscapes involve an array of networked objects, machines and technologies that extend tourismscapes in time-space. These include the networks of transportation of people by air, sea, rail and roads, as well as wires, cables, microwave channels and networks that carry phone or fax messages, pictures and images, money transfers and computer information. Obviously, the nineteenth-century development of the railway and the twentieth-century development of auto mobility and the jet-plane have been momentous for the development of tourism[25] (see Table 5.2).

Also important for increasing volumes of travel in the last two decades are computer reservation systems (CRSs), mostly developed by airlines, and global distribution systems (GDSs), which take the inventories of CRSs and distribute them via travel agents and other distribution outlets, such as the Internet (Vanhove, 2003). In the late 1990s, the four leading GDSs (Sabre, Galileo, Amadeus and Worldspan) yearly accounted for almost a billion flight segments booked through around 400,000 terminals around the world (ibid.: 138). However, bank cards connected to ATM networks, mobile phones, Internet cafés and global credit cards facilitating global travel, depend just as much on microwave channels and networks.

Material resources and technologies are much more than simply the outcrops of human intention and action. They structure, define and configure interaction (ibid.: 329). Tourists may be closely linked with the beaches of Manuel Antonio or Texel, the seven creations of César Manrique on Lanzarote or the cultural manyattas in Kenya. But take away the planes (or the Texel ferry), travel books and brochures, maps, timetables, the Internet, passports or international accepted ways of payments, and 'time-space decompresses immediately' (Verschoor, 1997a: 42).

The actors in tourismscapes define one another in the intermediaries they put into circulation (see Verschoor, 1997a: 35). Intermediaries connect actors into a network and define the respective positions of the actors within the networks. Through intermediaries, actors communicate with one another, and that is the way actors translate their intentions into other actors (Stalder, 1997). Generally speaking, in tourismscapes the intermediaries are services (guidance, transport, advice, food and beverage, hospitality) and, in return, money. However, in principle the list of intermediaries is endless. An intermediary is anything passing between actors that defines the relationships between them (Callon in: Verschoor, 1997a: 35).

For example, 'inscribed' materials – like passports, visas and other travel documents – play an important role in creating and sustaining actor-networks in tourism. Imagine oneself at the Kenyan-Tanzanian border without a passport and visa, and suddenly one starts to realize the role of tools like travel documents. Parker (2002; see also O'Bryne, 2001) therefore petitions analysing the principles of travel documents,[26] how they are processed and how they are allocated. According to Parker, in the specific field of passports, visas and electronic travel advisories, there is a plethora of official texts detailing the procedures and operation of travel documentation. Studying these procedures and texts could reveal how travel documents are used to order the potential chaos of global movements (ibid.: 19).

Or take the example of vouchers. What these documents put into writing is a contract that binds three types of actors: tourism firms, its employees and its customers. And when it goes from hand to hand, a voucher is transformed first into a promise, then into an overnight stay (or meal, or rental car) and finally into cash (Callon, 2002: 196 and 27; see also Appelman, 2004: 163).

Even more illustrative is the example of money. Obviously it provides a unit of account without which no calculation would be possible. However, as Callon (1998a: 21) explains, the essential is elsewhere. Money is required above all to delimit the circle of actions between which equivalence can be formulated. It makes commensurable that which was not so before. It provides the standard, the common language that enables us to reduce heterogeneity, to construct equivalence and to create a translation between, for example, tourism service providers and tourists. In tourism it can take the format of a voucher, a travellers' cheque, the US dollar and, increasingly the euro or a credit card, but all these are passed among the actors to assure a certain degree of convergence among them. This convergence allows the heterogeneous network to act in a coherent way, that is, to translate one actor's objectives through a number of different actors to achieve a goal (Stalder, 1997). Money is therefore an example of an intermediary, and intermediaries are the 'language' of the network.

Conceptualizing tourism in terms of tourismscapes thus implies an attempt to go beyond human/non-human and global/local dualisms. Starting from the angle of a small-scale entrepreneur in Costa Rica, the coordinator of one of the modules of the Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania or the Texel Tourism Board, pursuing actor-networks will disclose the way tourismscapes are performed. Entities (people, organizations, resources, spaces) in tourismscapes achieve their form as a consequence of the relations in which they are located. But they are also performed in, by and through those relations, and if these relations do not hold fast by themselves, then they have to be performed (see Law, 2001 and 2002).

In other words, tourismscapes result from recursive processes (Law, 1994). Tourismscapes are not just a lot of tourists moving around in cars and planes, staying in hotels, apartments or tents, which were put in place beforehand. Instead, tourismscapes are emergent phenomena: in its processes, tourismscapes shape their own flows, organizations and things. Tourism and the organization of tourism are not different. So, although tourismscapes may appear to be pools of order, they should be treated as ordering accomplishments. There is no backdrop of social, economic or technical factors that shape tourismscapes, but rather the backdrop is itself built in the course of building tourismscapes (see also Halsema and Wester, 1994).

We should think of tourismscapes as effects that have for a moment concealed the process through which they were generated. We should think of them as more or less precarious recursive outcomes (ibid.: 15). In other words, entities of tourismscapes not only achieve their form as a consequence of the relations in which they are located, but they are also performed in, by and through those relations (Law, 1999: 4). Consequently, everything is uncertain and reversible, at least in principle. It is never given in the order of things. Thus, a lot of effort is needed to understand how durability in tourismscapes is achieved. How do things get performed and perform themselves into relations that are relatively stable and stay in place? How do they make distinctions between, big and small, centres and peripheries, global and local or human and non-human? Analysing tourismscapes is an important step towards finding an answer to these questions, and particularly in Chapter 6 I shall make an effort to do so.

5.6.1 Characteristics of tourismscapes

Tourismscapes bear a resemblance to the Internet.[27] The latter involves millions of networks, machines, organizations and people. Tourismscapes also mix people and things in infinite

combinations and forms. The Internet is characterized by complexity and openness, and so too are tourismscapes (Urry, 2003: 42; see also Castells, 2001).

Tourismscapes are complex as they are not to be considered as structures, with a fixed centre, a vertical hierarchy or a formal or informal constitution (Urry, 1998: 4). Although some countries and regions (for example in Greece) historically depend on a relatively undifferentiated market controlled by a small number of tour operators, related tourismscapes still consists of a myriad of smaller and bigger organizations with different bargaining powers (Bianchi, 2002a: 282). In other regions (e.g. Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Texel), tour operators play a minor role in the distribution process (Duim et al., 2001).

Complexity is also mirrored by the fact that a relatively small country like the Netherlands (with 16 million inhabitants) has around 3000 retail travel agencies and 175 tour operators registered with the Dutch Association of Travel Agencies (Algemeen Nederlands Verbond van Reisondernemingen; ANVR). In the Netherlands, there are also 3000 hotels and pensions, 700,000 places to sleep at campsites and another 200,000 at holiday camps, and almost 40,000 restaurants and bars.[28] Similarly, Australia (with 20 million inhabitants) has 5000 retail travel agents, 600 inbound tour operators and over 45,000 individual tourism businesses (McKercher, 1999).

Tourismscapes also may create/recreate risks just as much as desires and opportunities, such as relatively cheap overseas travel, the ability to buy consumer goods and lifestyles from across the world, the possibility to participate in cultural events and the reinforcement of certain kinds of local identity. But they also produce risks, as in the case of AIDS and SARS, malaria, the tendency for the culture of different places to homogenize, and the like.

Tourismscapes may take uneven, emergent and unpredictable shapes. Actors (producers, consumers, things) align in tourismscapes, but they may 'escape' into even patchier configurations. Tourismscapes may also possess different properties of viscosity, being able to swiftly increase or decrease (as in the case of 9/11, the Bali bombings, the December 2004 tsunami in Southeast Asia, or SARS), or to shift according to certain temporalities, as the seasonality of tourism flows clearly shows. Moreover, tourismscapes may even plunge into chaos as a result of external natural disasters, global economic crises or terrorism, or because of rogues like pothunters in tourism (McKercher, 1999).

Finally, tourists and information enact tourismscapes in a non-linear and two-sided way. Tourists and images travel from tourism-generating regions (which are also destination regions) to tourism-destination regions (which also generate flows) and back, leading to what has been called the 'touristification of everyday life' (see Lengkeek, 2002: 21). Paradoxically, this mobility has generated spaces of immobility ('immutable immobiles'; Law and Mol, 2000), such as motels, airports, parking lots, international hotels, service stations, highways, bus and railway stations, and restaurants (Urry, 2003: 214-215).

Tourismscapes are also open. Actor-networks in tourism include interconnected nodes (Castells, 2000: 501). In tourismscapes, nodes are for example airports, destination regions, incoming tour operators, complexes of hotels and tourism facilities, and such like. Once tourismscapes have been established and actors are ordered and arranged in line with terms of enrolment, they still have to be continuously 'performed'. In this process, other individuals, destination regions and companies

will try to become connected to them, to become nodes within particular tourismscapes. For example, Manuel Antonio/Quepos in Costa Rica improved the road to Jáco in order to become better connected with the Central Valley, and has organized flights to Juan Santamaria International Airport in San José. Local entrepreneurs have plugged into the Internet to become connected with relevant tourismscapes. Community-based tourism projects in Costa Rica have developed an association (Cooprena) that is trying to be a node in the Costa Rican and global tourism networks (see Duim et al., 2001), just as TACTO was supposed to play a similar role in Tanzania (see Chapter 4). Principally, tourismscapes are open; they are able to expand without limits, integrating new nodes as long as they are able to communicate within the network, namely as long as they share the same communication codes and intermediaries (see also Castells, 2000: 501).

5.6.2 Boundaries of tourismscapes

This open character of tourismscapes leads to a question, namely: where do tourismscapes end and where does the 'environment' of tourismscapes begin? For example Woods (1997), analysing rural conflicts from an actor-network perspective, questions the demarcation of actor-networks and their environment. He argues that if particular entities (the state, financial institutions, magazines voicing public opinion, etc.) have an effect on the programme of particular actor-networks, they might as well have been included as actors in the network. As Woods (1997: 337) asks: where should we draw the limits, or do we accept the network as infinite?

The problem of defining which actors to include in the analysis is of course not restricted to actor-network theory, although its emphasis on the construction of network does make the issue significant. Furthermore, actor-network theory holds that each of the 'actants' is an actor-network in itself. This has considerable practical implications: where does the multiplication of networks end? (ibid.: 337)

For actor-network theorist like Callon and Latour, this question first and foremost should be addressed at an empirical level.[29] As actors and actor-networks are naturally embedded in open ranges of relationships, they cannot be artificially limited by the scope of any particular analysis (Cordella and Shaikh, 2004). As Latham (2002: 131) asserts, we cannot assume that we know how long an actor-network is, or at what scale it operates, until we have actually studied the relations through which it is made: 'we must take the effort to follow the path of the network and see where it takes us.' In this respect it is fruitful to see tourismscapes as 'autopoetic', entailing a process of self-making and self-producing in which the function of each component is to participate in the production or transformation of other components in the network (Stalder 1997; see also Urry, 2003: 28). Tourismscapes, then, include all the elements that are necessary to achieve and maintain their objectives. Environments are, then, all elements that influence the network but are not actively involved in maintaining it. In other words, the environment can only influence a network insofar as it is translated into the network by one or more components of the network. The place where this translation takes place is the 'logical' or 'functional' border (Stalder, 1997).

Hence, any element that is able to influence an actor-network but is not inside the network belongs to the environment. The network itself maintains the separation and connection between the two at the border. As a consequence, struggles and negotiations to separate that which is defined as context from that which is defined as content are crucial for each actor involved in the performance of tourismscapes (see also Chapter 7). As Verschoor (1997a) explains, the final (though temporal) outcome of these struggles and negotiations may sometimes incorporate the

institutional environment into the content of the activities. Innovation, product diversification, inter- or intra-division of labour, or – in the terms of actor-network theorists – the addition of new human and non-human beings to the collectif, the enrolment of people and things that initially challenged tourism development, a qualitative shift in the properties of the actors involved in the collectif: all of these are possible outcomes of these struggles and negotiations (ibid.: 231).

Since tourismscapes are interactively open, the environment can trigger these changes. The reason stems primarily from the fact that all actors participate in several, sometimes conflicting networks (see Stalder, 1997). In general, no actor is exclusively defined by one network. Indeed, every actor-network affects and is affected by the characteristics of the actors that have emerged from other networks to which they belong, because an actor can and usually does belong to more than one actor network at the same time (Cordella and Shaikh, 2004: 5). The case can be made even stronger: the reason why a particular actor is included in given or emerging tourismscapes is precisely because he/she/it brings along all the actors of other networks to which he/she/it belongs. In sum, networks develop because they are in inseparable interaction with other networks and self-production requires adaptation to an ever-changing environment (Stalder, 1997).

5.7 Conclusion

In order to fulfil the first task I set myself, in this chapter I re-conceptualized tourism in terms of actor-network theory and introduced the concept of tourismscapes. In the following chapter, I shall introduce the concept of 'modes of ordering' in order to make the concept of tourismscapes observable and to better explain the way tourismscapes are performed.

Before doing so, I shall summarize the argument by returning to Manuel Antonio/Quepos. Is tourism in Manuel Antonio/Quepos global or local? Obviously, it is both. To start with the latter, in terms of the core concepts of actor-network theory, tourism entrepreneurs in Manuel Antonio/Quepos continuously attempt to construct stable (i.e. self-sustaining) tourismscapes around particular technologies and environments. These tourismscapes can extend into the USA or Europe, but may be confined to the domestic or even local market. Because of the resources required both to build and sustain tourismscapes, a number of different actors (both human and non-human, local and global) have to be mobilized and become committed to this project in particular ways. These actors are domestic and/or foreign tourists, local entrepreneurs, suppliers of food or construction materials, the national park and its management, travel agents in San José, tour operators in the USA or Europe, transport companies in Costa Rica as well abroad, roads and airports, telephone, and Internet and email connections. For the construction and maintenance of tourismscapes, the various actors involved cannot rely solely on face-to-face interaction, but have to 'act at a distance' and the network has to facilitate this sort of action.

To assemble tourismscapes, a number of actors responsible for different sets of interrelated activities (lodging in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, distribution and selling, transport to and within the region, information and communication with and about the region and the facilities, tourism-related services, etc.) have to connect in such a way that their activities maintain the network. The distances between 'producers' and between 'producers' and 'consumers' require communication and interaction and immutable mobiles.[30] Amsterdam or New York and Manuel Antonio/Quepos

become part of the same space only when immutable mobiles – a network of elements that holds its shape – shuttles between the two. Without these, such actors as Dutch tourists and entrepreneurs in Manuel Antonio/Quepos do not exist in the same space. A common space results from the work of translation, which can be successful only if all the pieces in the network fit together. In this case, the tourismscapes will be provisionally closed and black-boxed. In other cases, however, the ongoing translation work results in networks that cannot be closed and eventually will dissolve.[31]

Similarly, we can also look at the 'global' side of tourismscapes. For example, what is the size of Boer and Wendel, Martinair or the world tourism market? These actors are certainly very large, since they mobilize millions of agents through processes of delegation. At first sight we assume that their amplitude must therefore stem from causes that absolutely surpass the small collectifs of the past.[32] We might depict them, as Castells (2000) does, as the 'networks of power' that extend across the entire world. But if we wander about inside De Boer and Wendel, if we follow the chains of command in Martinair, or if we study the processes of selling and buying in the world tourism market, we never leave the local level. So they are local in all points, yet they are global as they connect Manuel Antonio/Quepos with Amsterdam or Miami. Instead of either remaining at the local level, that of interpersonal contacts, or moving abruptly to the global level and dealing with decontextualized and depersonalized realities, we should look for what allows us to pass from the local to the global and back, and from the human to the non-human: the collectifs labelled here as tourismscapes. They are the processes of ordering in the middle of four different realms: the non-human and the human, the 'local' and the 'global'. But the non-human and the human do not explain tourismscapes, just as 'global' flows or 'local' interactions do not 'cause' tourismscapes. To the contrary, in studying tourismscapes we have to position ourselves at the midpoint, from where we can follow the attribution of both human and non-human properties, from where we can look at the intermediary arrangements that are much more interesting than the extremes.

Notes

[1] More recently Peters (2003) and Appelman (2004) significantly contributed to the body of knowledge in Dutch tourism studies.

[2] See for an extensive discussion on the relation between tourism and GATS the publication of Seifert-Granzin and Jesupatham (1999), and also Pleumaron (2002a), Fayed and Fletcher (2002) and Brown (1998)

[3] See Bianchi (2003) for a first account on the possibilities of relations between local anti-tourism activists and global activism

[4] See for example Law and Hetherington (1999), Law and Mol (2000) and Law (2002) discussing Portuguese vessels en route to India.

[5] See especially Urry (1992, Chapter 2)

[6] Clearly, statistics show that developed countries still receive the bulk of international tourists, generate the greatest number of tourists and receive the greatest quantity of income from them. Yet, long-haul travel is predicted to increase its market share from 18% in 1995 to 24% in 2020 (Vanhove, 2003: 127).

[7] EU-plus is the 25 European countries plus Bulgaria, Romania, Norway and Switzerland (see Peeters et al., 2004)

[8] The search for new theoretical avenues in tourism studies started with an inspection of the globalization debate (Held et al. 1999). However, especially contributions by Urry (2000 and 2003) showed us the way to actor-network theorists like John Law. Generally speaking, I considered the understandings of global mobility as provided by for example Castells and Urry too abstract to relate to the state of affairs in my case study areas. To the contrary, actor-network theory opened new avenues and understandings of the way tourism unfolds at particular locales as well as it consequences (see Chapter 7).

[9] See Latour (1993), Callon and Law (1995) and Murdoch (2001) for an extensive discussion on the principle of symmetry

[10] The principle of symmetry between people and things has met severe criticism especially from social constructionists who in their response to Latour and other actor-network theorists defend the special place of human actors as well as their agency and knowledge in their explanatory schemes. It is argued that 'these distinctions are so deep-seated and so much in part of our cultural heritage that the attempt to do away with them would make the resulting analysis utterly incomprehensible for its intended audiences' (Belt, 2000, endnote 30. In: Hebinck 2001: 124). In this light Hebinck (2001) suggests that it is probably more fruitful to emphasize how nature and society evolve together. Similarly, according to Murdoch (2001), it is worth considering a 'middle way', by assuming that, while humans are enmeshed within networks of heterogeneous relations, they retain their distinctive qualities as members of such a network. It should entail a way of combining an awareness of human distinctiveness – notably linked to language and culture – with a focus on the complex heterogeneous matrices in which this distinctiveness plays itself out. See for this discussion also Woods, 1997; Broek (in: Caalders, 2002); and Law (1999a) and Latour (1999) for rejoinders.

[11] Already in 1899, Veblen pointed at the significance of conspicuous consumption (Veblen, 1953).

[12] Objects are always enacted in a multi-topological manner; they are network objects, but they are also objects within Euclidean space. Paraphrasing Law (2002:97), a plane, or a car or a vessel is only an unbroken network shape if it is also an unbroken Euclidean shape.

[13] As we have seen, actor-network theorists claim that these networks are composed not only of people, but also machines, texts, money, architectures – any relevant material. So, as Law (1992: 381) argues, the argument is that 'the stuff of the social isn't simply human. It is all these materials too. Indeed the argument is that we wouldn't have a society at all if it weren't for the heterogeneity of the networks of the social' (see also Law, 1994: 23-24).

[14] According to Law (1992: 383), we need to distinguish between ethics and sociology. The one may – indeed should – inform the other, but they are not identical. To say that there is no fundamental difference between people and objects is an analytical stance, not an ethical position.

[15] See also Peters (2003) discussion of the creation of heterogeneous orders of 'American Passages'.

[16] As Brunori et al. (2004: 336) explain, the process of black-boxing originates from the progressive development of a network involving human and non-human elements until its 'closure' into an 'engine': a system of relations in which all elements of the network, even if motivated by different attitudes and expectations, are 'aligned' around specific goals.

[17] Or a leg is broken during a winter sports holiday – as in February 2005 in the case of my son. All of a sudden, ordering processes in tourism become plainly visible.

[18] Note that the objects and actors in both the global and local network are heterogeneous. In this case there are organizations related to tourism, research and development cooperation involved, as well as money, data on the SDA/UNDP projects gathered by Buiten Consultancy, Internet, skills, building materials, infrastructure and much more. See Law and Callon (1992:46)

[19] Interestingly, Cooprena – a Costa Rican NGO supporting these SDA projects in creating local and global networks – is aiming not only at national markets but also at international markets through their own incoming tour operator, Symbiosis Tours. By doing so they not only compete the existing incoming tour operators in San José that are already enmeshed in existing tourism collectifs, but also neglect the deficiencies in the local networks.

[20] Callon therefore introduced a 'fifth moment' in the process of translation: that of dissidence (see Woods, 1997).

[21] However, a 'small' entrepreneur obviously also 'translates' and 'orders' (see for example Verschoor, 1997a).

[22] Based on Latour (1995) and Verschoor (1997a).

[23] See the introduction to Chapter 6.

[24] Here, 'environment' is used in the broad sense as in the Dutch word *'omgeving'*; it includes not only ecological processes but also other spatial/socio-spatial processes and their effects.

[25] They all brought irreversible changes and instigated giant leaps in volume and types of tourism (Russel and Faulkner, 2004). For example, transport technology still significantly influences patterns of travel and changes thereof. O'Conner (2003: 88) reports that the share of all passenger movements through the top 10 airport cities (six of which are multiple airport cities) has been declining, along with the share recorded in the next group, while the two other groups of smaller cities have attracted increased shares of passengers. These shifts in traffic are likely to be related to the gradual deregulation of air travel and changes in the production systems of firms in a range of industries, as well as changes in aircraft technology (ibid.: 89).

[26] More generally, Parker (2002) petitions 'mundane' studies stressing the focus on everyday processes and operations. See also Law (1994) and Chapter 9. Callon (2002) provides a clear example of a mundane tourism-related study in his analysis of the role of writing devices in a company that organizes cruises on the Seine and a company developing meal vouchers to be bought by firms for their employees and to be used in restaurants of the employee's choice.

[27] The resemblance between the Internet and tourismscapes is illustrated by some of their shared characteristics. Both are not only complex and open, but also vulnerable, self-evolutionary and hard to rule (reflecting a paradigm of freedom, which however is contested), and both are cultural creations (see Castells, 2001 for these characteristics of the Internet). Latour (1999), however, discussing the nails in the coffin of actor-network theory, cautions us about this comparison as now the WWW exists everybody believes they understand what a network is: 'what I would call 'double click information' has killed the last bit of critical cutting edge of the notion of network' (ibid.: 15-16).

[28] These statistics come from various sources, gathered in a brochure distributed by the Netherlands Board of Tourism & Conventions (NBTC, 2004).

[29] For Latour, actor-network theory is primarily a method, not a theory (see Latour, 1999). See also Chapter 9.

[30] But as Mol and Law (2000: 8) explain, sometimes the immutable mobile becomes fluid, i.e. becomes a mutable mobile.

[31] See for example Kaghan and Bowker (2001) for similar arguments.

[32] See especially Latour (1993: 120) and section 6.3.

Chapter 6

Modes of ordering tourismscapes

6 Modes of ordering tourismscapes

We saw in the previous chapter how endless attempts at ordering, processes of translations and the accompanying tactics eventually produce tourismscapes. Tourism entrepreneurs, César Manrique, tour operators, the Texel Tourism Board, and guides and coordinators in Tanzania continuously try to assemble the bits and pieces, people and things, needed to build a coherent actor-network that might last for a little longer. To discover how they face and try to overcome resistance, how they try to conceal, define, hold in place, mobilize and bring into play the juxtaposed people and things we call tourism (Law, 1994), we have to render visible the analytical concept 'tourismscapes'.

How can we open up the collectifs of people and things we portray as tourismscapes? The answer is simple: through empirical research. The researcher's task is to unravel the:

> ... collectif under study, focusing on the linkages with material resources and less visible actors. The researcher leaves the boundaries open and closes them only when the people he follows close them, in other words, the researcher has to be as undecided as the actors he follows. (Steins et al., 2000: 8).

This means that one has to follow tourists, tour operators, incoming agents, hoteliers, taxi drivers and guides, and the intermediaries they bring into circulation. One should examine the production of relationships. Doing so will reveal certain patterns in this ordering work of hoteliers, tour operators, incoming agents, guides, airlines and the like. These patterns reflect not only the way they define tourism, but also how they perform it and the way in which they align people and things in order to make a difference. Following Law (1994), I shall label these patterns as 'modes of ordering'. Therefore, this chapter unfolds tourismscapes by examining 'modes of ordering' of, in particular, tour operators and small-scale entrepreneurs.

This unfolding, however, will be incomplete by necessity. It is especially here that we encounter two major limitations of this book. In performing tourismscapes, producers and consumers are brought about. Hence, basically one should also follow the tourists in their practices of consuming and producing[1] and observe their time-spatial behaviour. The study by Elands (2002) provides an example. Elands utilizes the concept of tourism complexes (see also Ashworth and Dietvorst, 1995), as a combination of time-space related attractions and facilities. According to Elands, the identification of complexes provides insight into (i) the temporal-spatial dynamics of a tourist area or tourism attraction, the so-called supply-oriented complexes and/or (ii) the temporal-spatial dynamics of specific tourist types, the so-called demand-oriented complexes. Elands' research focused primarily on the latter. Elaboration of her methods in terms of the heterogeneous materials tourists consume and produce in time and space at least partly reveals the shapes and amalgamation of tourismscapes. However, the implicit danger is that tourismscapes are reduced to patterns and trends veiling the processes of producing and consuming that define tourismscapes.

While acknowledging the role of tourists in performing tourismscapes, in this book they are mostly put aside. Although they are as important as other people and things, their motives, desires and practices comprise a specialized field of research and are beyond the scope of this

book. This chapter therefore illustrates the way to unfold tourismscapes without explicitly dealing with tourists (as 'consumers' and 'producers').

Even so, it does not fully fulfil the quest for ethnography, which is so typical for actor-network analysis (see e.g. Law, 1994 and Verschoor, 1997a). Empirical data for this book in general and this chapter in particular were mostly gathered from a bird's-eye perspective, which is rather out of the usual run of things in actor-network theory (see also Woods 1997: 338). In this sense the potentialities of actor-network theory for tourism studies are still not fully brought into play and the book is an invitation to follow this path of detection. This chapter consists of some 'stories' that have to do with the processes of ordering that generate effects such as tourismscapes. But these stories are more than just stories, as they are meant to be clues to the study of patterns that might be imputed to tourismscapes. This chapter invites readers to follow the path chosen and indicates some directions for doing so. In Chapter 9, I shall sketch a further research agenda for pursuing this route.

Which stories are told? First, I shall return to Kenya and Tanzania and to the Cultural Tourism Programme in particular and look again at how communities got locked in tourismscapes. By again looking at the way 'people' and 'things' constitute tourism, different modes of ordering will be revealed. Subsequently, I shall discuss and elaborate the concept of 'modes of ordering', illustrated by the way tour operators orchestrate their work. I shall then show that ordering produces power and hierarchy, and illustrate the way space is translated within tourismscapes. Finally, I shall again enlighten the concept of 'modes of ordering' by looking at the role of small-scale entrepreneurs in tourism. In particular I shall discuss some of the dimensions along which the ordering work of small-scale entrepreneurs unfolds. But first I shall return to Tanzania.

6.1 The Cultural Tourism Programme

How did the Tanzanian Maasai communities get locked into tourismscapes? First, as outlined earlier, tourismscapes are performed through networked connections between people and organizations. The development of modules of the Cultural Tourism Programme (CTP) is largely in the hands of local villagers acting as coordinators, guides, cooks and dancers. However, in the Amboseli region in Kenya, members of the cultural manyattas also interlink with members of other Maasai villages and group ranches, various departments of ministries and the Kenyan Wildlife Service, numerous NGOs (e.g. the African Wildlife Foundation) and predominantly foreign-owned tour operators (Berger, 1996; Buysrogge, 2001). Linkages with the latter are predominantly established by drivers-cum-guides. They have great leeway in selecting which cultural manyatta should be visited. They act as the brokers between the manyattas and the tourists, providing a linkage to the outside world. In some cases, drivers share their powerful position with leaders of the cultural manyattas. These leaders form a cartel with drivers in which they make deals on benefit sharing (Ongaro and Ritsma, 2002: 133).

The CTP in Tanzania also consists of people working in the 18 modules as well as organizations (Tanzanian Tourism Board, TACTO, SNV Netherlands Development Organisation, foreign tour operators, etc.) and around 120 tour operators (around 40% of which include in their itinerary villages participating in the CTP) based in Arusha or beyond, and financing organizations like

Oxfam Netherlands (NOVIB), the Interchurch Organisation for Development Cooperation (ICCO), the humanistic development organization HIVOS, Balance, Instituto Oikos, European Union and the Region of Lombardia. All these organizations had to be involved to make the CTP a feasible project.

Communities also link up with the outside tourist world through an array of networked machines and technologies that extend the manyattas in time-space. In the 1960s the utilization of jet planes to get to Nairobi or Arusha and of Volkswagen minibuses to tour around Amboseli or Arusha were decisive for the development of tourism in these regions. Obviously, those villages in the CTP that have easy access to Arusha or to the main roads connecting Arusha with nearby tourism attractions (e.g. Ilkidinga, Longido and Mto wa Mbu) are highly successful, whereas others lag behind. Furthermore, in the case of the CTP, mobile phones have recently enabled some villages and communities to link up with tour operators and tourists in Arusha, and this has made the CTP flourish[2]. For example, some coordinators of the modules use a mobile phone to communicate with potential customers. The technology becomes a tool of empowerment allowing the community to establish direct communication with the source of tourists and to negotiate an outcome.

Tourismscapes also encompass hybrid environments; complexes shaped by natural and cultural objects, human relics such as hotels, restaurant and entertainment facilities that match up with the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002; Ashworth and Dietvorst, 1995). The tourism space of the CTP is a typical combination of specific natural environments (Amboseli, Serengeti, Ngorogoro Crater, Kilimanyaro and Mount Meru frequented by the 'big five' operators), tourism facilities (lodges, campsites) and 'Maasai' villages. Without this specific environment there would be no tourism at all, as is the case in most other parts of Kenya and Tanzania.

All these actors in tourismscapes define one another in the intermediaries they put into circulation. As we have seen, intermediaries are the 'language' of the network. They connect actors into a network and define the network itself. Generally speaking, in the CTP the intermediaries are services (guidance, dances, food, souvenirs) and, in return, money. However, information and images are also important. In the case of Kenya, the Maasai and the Kilimanyaro are icons for tourists 'looking for exoticism and adventure in the African wilderness' (Akama, 2002: 43). Lastly, objects move across tourismscapes as well. Clothes (T-shirts and *shukas*) food and drinks, postcards and photographs, handicrafts and souvenirs are mobile as well (see Urry, 2000: 64-65).

Clearly, the CTP has been a remarkably successful project. It catalysed the creation of a new product demanded by the private sector, developed mechanisms for income generation and development projects in poor communities, and evoked valuable cultural exchanges between tourists and rural communities (see Kobb and Olomi, 2001). However, this success was a result not only of the particular way in which the SNV Netherlands Development Organisation and the Tanzanian Tourism Board orchestrated the CTP. The success stemmed from a particular interaction between various modes of ordering, which at least for a particular period of time converged. As Ploeg (2003: 28) asserts:

> What occurs as practice, as 'state of affairs', as material effect, at moment T and in place P will never be the unilinear effects of one mode of ordering, of one strategy, but rather the encounter, the interaction, the mutual influencing, conditioning, and often mutual transformation of several modes of ordering – i.e. several strategies – of several interlocking projects. (ibid.: 47).

For example, there are the concerns of tour operators and travel agencies looking for new products and experiences, which however draw heavily 'on a romantic discourse inherited from colonial contact with Africa, representing East African nature as primordial and its culture as primitive' (Norton, 1996: 368; see also Akama, 2002; Wels, 2002). There are the 'dreams' articulated by tourists, partly differing from those articulated through tourism marketing, which suggest that the circuit of culture is not simply a model of transfer of images and knowledge from producer to consumer (Duim et al., 2005b; see also Meethan, 2001). Moreover, the desired experiences differ greatly per type of tourist (Elands and Lengkeek, 2002).

There are 'definitions of the situation' and subsequent practices of nature conservationists and scientists from the developed world who suspected that pastoralism was responsible for environmental degradation and the decrease in wildlife numbers. These 'definitions' led to the displacement of the Maasai from natural areas, which are now frequented and 'possessed' by tourists (Mowforth and Munt, 2003: 237-240). Subsequently, new approaches to nature conservation and community participation were being explored, utilizing tourism as an instrument, with the aim of remedying some of the events of the past (see e.g. Knegt, 1998; Rutten, 2002).

Agencies such as the SNV usually order their work in terms of such criteria as poverty alleviation, gender equity or empowerment. In the case of Tanzania, the SNV and local actors jointly designed eight criteria for developing the CTP (SNV, 1999), to the extent that Tanzanian external evaluators in 1998 commented: 'SNV should not spend endless hours defining its purpose and thinking about terms. There is nothing worse than a large group of people financed through taxpayers' money debating the meaning of "development" or "peasant agriculture"' (Kob and Mmari, 1998: 4).

And last but not least there are the 'modes of ordering' of the Maasai and other ethnic groups that are either sharing or challenging values and meanings, based on a range of processes that connect or divide people by means of key activities, such as tourism. The CTP, for example, touched upon some 'real cultural reasons of gender imbalances', which however differed between various groups and modules (see e.g. Kob and Mmari, 1998; Cammen, 1997). But also other aspects of tradition – respect for elders, the recognition of lifelong leadership, and age group solidarity (Berger, 1996: 192) – are now facing other modes of ordering.

All these and other 'worlds' interlocked and, especially in the late 1990s, gained momentum. The interaction at that point generated a precarious pool of order and a project that was considered worldwide as being very successful. However, the institutionalizing of the CTP, which was necessitated by the foreseen withdrawal of the SNV, unfortunately revealed 'deep divides within the project' (Kob and Olomi 2001: 1). As the external evaluators concluded, after a successful period the 'situation we entered was characterized by mistrust and stagnation', which related to personal conflicts as well as to 'incorrect policy decisions, invalid assumptions and improper institutional arrangements' (ibid.: 2;) to the extent that 'the process of institutionalizing the CTP

has led to misunderstanding, mistrust, suspicions and divisions between TACTO and CTP as well as among the two institutions' (ibid.: 19; see also Verburg, 2004).

The main issues at stake were the extent to which the CTP should be commercialized and operated like a business, the ownership of the tourism programme within and between communities, the utilization of village development fees, donor-dependency, the lack of skills and of experience of the persons involved, and fears for politicization of the programme (see Kob and Olomi, 2001; Verburg 2004). As a consequence of this discord, neither TACTO nor a proposed company to take over the marketing and booking of the CTP ever materialized, which all in all endangers the sustainability of the CTP.

6.2 Modes of ordering

The case of the Cultural Tourism Programme tells us stories about interlocking, mutual reinforcing and, in turn, conflicting 'modes of ordering'. What are these modes of ordering? They are 'Foucauldian mini-discourses' (Law, 2001) that run through, shape and are being carried in the materially heterogeneous processes that make op tourismscapes and their constituent organizations[3].

In the Netherlands, especially rural sociologists like Bruin (1997) and Ploeg (2003) have taken up the concept of 'modes of ordering'. Following Ploeg's (2003: 111) portrayal of modes of ordering in agriculture (so-called farming styles), modes of ordering in tourism can be defined and researched at three different interconnected levels.

First of all, modes of ordering are to be seen as coherent sets of strategic notions about the way tourism should be practised. According to Ploeg (2003: 137), they are particular cultural repertoires. These repertoires enable calculation; they form a calculus. Every mode of ordering contains a calculus: a more or less explicit framework of interconnected concepts with which to 'read' the relevant empirical reality (in this case, tourism development and the tourismscapes in which it is embedded) and to 'translate' it into new actions. A calculus is, as it were, the backbone of a particular strategy and the related decision-making processes (ibid.: 137). It entails the way in which tourism entrepreneurs evaluate pros and cons; it entails their 'definition of the situation'. And as W.I. Thomas (see Coser, 1978) powerfully theorized almost a century ago, 'if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences'. As a result, these definitions not only organize experience but also perform tourismscapes.

Therefore, modes of ordering not only consist of a set of ideas, but also inculcate a certain set of practices. Modes of ordering entail particular practices, that is, internally and externally consistent, congruous ways of performing tourism, both informed by underlying definitions of the situation and providing the feedback that might modify these definitions. These practices might be an expression of or they might evaluate 'traditional and habitual ways of doing' as well as ad hoc emotional decisions. But even more they can also reflect and evaluate careful calculation of available means and attempts to foresee possible consequences, as well as a value rationality consisting of convictions, ideas, values or hopes about causes, which seems fundamentally good and hence is striven for[4]. Therefore, modes of ordering can reflect instrumental ends – such as economic sustainability, profit or even wealth – just as well as what are often economically regarded as non-rational ends, such as prestige, fair trade, social responsibility or related lifestyle goals.

Third, and most important for unfolding tourismscapes, modes of ordering imply particular ways of integrating with other projects and modes of ordering, as practices have to be realized through the interweaving of divergent projects[5] (Ploeg, 2003: 111). As we saw when analysing the Cultural Tourism Programme, in the late 1990s different modes of ordering (of the SNV, Maasai, tour operators, etc.) interconnected and, at a certain point, even generated a precarious pool of order. In order to do so, the SNV had to engage module coordinators, the module coordinators had to mobilize villagers to act as cooks or dancers, tour operators had to attract tourists, etc. Modes of ordering therefore also imply the tactics of translation, that is, the way others are enrolled and mobilized.

More generally speaking, in performing tourismscapes modes of ordering constitute each other and the interweaving of projects of tourism enterprises (tour operators, incoming agents, hotels, transport companies and the like) and of tourism enterprises and others (banks, governments, nature conservation organizations, locals, and suppliers) is fundamental for the development opportunities and directions of tourism enterprises as well as tourismscapes. Once again: coherence and congruence are ordering successes (Law, 1994: 110).

6.2.1 'Much for little' or 'fair trade'?

How do we search for modes of ordering? According to Law (1994: 20), sometimes these modes first become known in the form of simple stories, narratives or accounts. They tell us what used to be, or what ought to happen. Here, they are ordering concerns, procedures, methods or logics, dreams of order perhaps, but nothing more. On the other hand, they are also much more than narratives, if by these we mean stories that order nothing beyond their telling. This is because they are also, in some measure, performed and embodied in a concrete, non-verbal manner in network relations[6]. The following elaborates and illustrates the concept of modes of ordering by inspecting some of the dreams, practices and ways of interconnecting of Dutch tour operators.

Recently, Peter Langhout – a chief executive officer of a large Dutch tour operator – explained how his company grew from arranging a few bus trips to being the tenth largest tour operator in the Netherlands, with a turnover of 40 million euros and 150,000 passengers (see Erdogan, 2004):

> In the winter of 1987, I drove on a Saturday morning to Sauerland and went into a nice looking hotel. I calculated the price at the table in the hotel. I knew what a bus transfer cost and I targeted a bottom price of less than 100 Dutch guilders [around 45 euros]. I just shook hands and I had a deal. My first offer: a weekend in Sauerland for 99 guilders. It went like a rocket. All the buses were packed. (author's translation)

Thus, Peter Langhout translated a hotel, buses, Sauerland and Dutch tourists into a weekend trip to Germany. Soon after, however, apartments in the Costa Brava and, more recently, Turkey became part of his offer:

> The number of bus trips has decreased enormously. In 2000, I transported 45,000 people to the Costa Brava by bus, but this year only 10,000. The primary reason: cheap flights. Turkey is booming; it's replacing Spain. This year we'll be taking 25,000 people there; last year, the figure

> was only 9,000. It's luxurious and cheap. In short: 'much for little'. In fact, 'muchforlittle' [in Dutch: www.veelvoorweinig.nl] is one of our URLs. (In: Erdogan, 2004; author's translation)

So, 'much for little' is Langhout's principal vocabulary of the storybook of his entrepreneurial mode of ordering. It embodies Langhout's 'style of doing business' and strategy, its systematic and continuous attempt to create congruence within those domains in which Langhout as a firm has to operate (Ploeg, 2003: 101). Indeed, it is perhaps in the telling, as in the above, that they first become visible to the sociologist. But they are also, to a greater or lesser extent, acted out and embodied in all kind of technologies and materials too: advertisements in newspapers, websites, vouchers, transformed landscapes, money and planes. For example, the Internet and the technological networks that go with it play an important role in his strategy to sell 'much for little':

> In July 2004, we made 50% off our turnover by selling over the Internet. Half a year ago it was only 30%. If you have good systems, you could sign up the whole of Europe with just some cables and networks. (In: Erdogan, 2004; author's translation)

However, modes of ordering may not only characterize and generate different materials, but also have effects of size and produce patterns of deletion (see Law, 1994: 110-111). The latter stem primarily from the fact that Langhout's mode of ordering is not the only one in the domain of tourism in which the company has to operate. Others (bus companies, charter companies, hoteliers, local and national governments) with their specific modes of ordering are also involved. As a consequence of these interactions, some entities within the network can become prevented from acting in certain ways and, conversely, other entities may be empowered by certain specific and extended rights. As in the case of Langhout:

> Stories that I put other companies on the spot? Nonsense! Obviously in a relatively short time I took control of a large share of the bus market, while the owners of the bus companies thought they were in power. Well, envy is part of any business. (In: Erdogan, 2004; author's translation).

Thus enacting particular modes of ordering and the interactions between them may have hierarchical and distributional effects (Law, 1994: 25). But obviously, these effects are not given in the order of things but are always halting. Ordering processes and employing particular modes of ordering are not always successful or on the same pathway:

> There is no straight line to the top. Entrepreneurship is always uncertain and has its ups and downs. This year business shrank by 10%. (In: Erdogan, 2004; author's translation)

In other words, the effects of ordering processes are not identical to the initial strategy or mode of ordering as such. One has to be cautious not to take modes of ordering as essentials; they are only to be imputed to the ordering work of tour operators, hoteliers, guides or others performing tourism. As Law asserts (1994:108):

> Thus I'm still committed to the idea that the patterns of the networks of the social are unknowably complex. I'm still committed to the idea that ordering always experiences its limits. And I'm still committed to the idea that it is an uncertain process, rather than a noun that can be locked up in a box. So I still take it that patterns in the networks of the social change peter out, break down, and they are, in any case unknowably complex. This is why agency – and all other effects such as size – are unending processes and are not given in the order of things. And it's also why agents sometimes unravel. But, though all of this is true, some regularity – some patterned translation – is a sine qua non of agency. (ibid.: 108)

Whereas 'much for little' is Langhout's principal calculus, for ten Broeke – the director of a small tour operator called Multatuli Travel – 'fair trade' governed the character of agency and the nature of organizational relations. He tried to do business with the ambition to contribute to sustainable tourism development in general and to organize tours to such countries as Tanzania and Indonesia in order to benefit local groups (see Baaijens 2000a and 2000b; Nijenhuis, 2000). Therefore, with the assistance of, for example, SNV Netherlands Development Organisation and Oxfam Netherlands (NOVIB), he engaged local development organizations that targeted small farmers, fisherman or fisherwomen, local hoteliers and well-trained guides, and excluded local agents and other tourism intermediaries in order to decrease the rake-off. Obviously, it was not always simple to create congruence:

> It was not easy to exclusively work with development organisations in the countries we visited. They do not know the commercial tourism industry. They have to learn how to react fast and to calculate. But the advantage is that tourists frequent places they otherwise never would visit. (ten Broeke. In: Baaijens, 2000a; authors translation)

Evidently, Multatuli's modus operandi had other distributional and hierarchical effects than, for example, the work of Langhout or other similar tour operators. But Multatuli was not as successful in attracting tourists. Despite abundant free publicity, it proved hard to sell 'holidays with a good feeling' (Baaijens, 2000a). Even with changes in the way the products were communicated, stressing the uniqueness and pleasure of the trips, in 2000 Multatuli had to (at least temporarily) stop operations.

These examples symbolize probable modes of ordering of particular tour operators at a particular point of time. They illustrate how they define the situation, some of their practices and the ways in which they include or exclude others in their venture. They also raise many questions. For example: is a tour operator to be characterized by one particular mode of ordering, or is a tour operator a place full of orderings? And to what extent is a tour operator able to create congruence in tourismscapes by coordinating the ordering attempts of all those involved in the performance of these tourismscapes? What kinds of tactics are deployed? And how do these tactics of translation generate relations of power and enable the exercise of power?

Further, it raises the question whether and, if so, how space is translated into tourismscapes and the extent to which spatial arrangements reflect the way different modes of ordering collide and the subsequent emerging configurations of power. And finally, it provokes the question whether

or not the modes of ordering of hoteliers, tour operators, transport companies or guides are identical and whether there are underlying dimensions along which they operate.

Below I shall address these questions. However, we cannot be very sure about the answers until we have seen how modes of ordering perform themselves in practice. I have already indicated the limited ability to do so in this book. Nevertheless, here are some tentative answers.

6.2.2 Cowboys, civil servant, visionaries and professionals

The examples of Langhout and ten Broeke in the above might suggest that tour operators have a particular way of doing and that all employ the same strategies to perform tourismscapes. Historically seen, they indeed perform a role and employ strategies, as already set out by Thomas Cook. Tour operators play an important role in the performance of tourismscapes by creating passages,[7] connections between the material and immaterial elements in the heterogeneous order that enable swift transportation (Peters 2003: 325).

Starting in 1841, the first major travel agent and tour operator – Thomas Cook – organized excursions by train, first to destinations in England and Scotland, then later to other European cities and eventually all around the world. Cook initiated innovations and developments that served to produce what we have called here tourismscapes. For example, Cook initiated organized travel overseas beginning with visits to Paris, Brussels and Cologne. Moreover, Cook was responsible for a number of important innovations. His innovations included:

> ... the provision in advance of tickets from different forms of transport or for transport in different countries; the supplying of guides and other material indicating appropriate sites and scenes to view; the initiation of conducted tours, first to Britain and then in Europe and finally worldwide; the negotiation of block bookings and payment by a single bill for transportation and later for accommodation; the development of the railway coupon, paper tickets bound together so enabling passengers to book and pay for their entire journey in advance; the similar hotel coupon bought in advance in one's own currency and accepted by establishments approved by Cook; the initiation of circular notes which were exchangeable at hotels, banks and ticket agents and were an ancestor of travellers' cheques; the organization of luggage so that it was sent in advance and did not travel with the passenger across Europe; and the initiation of independent inclusive travel with an all-inclusive, modestly priced tariff and the itinerary organized in advanced. (Lash and Urry, 1994: 263).

So Cook prefigured today's tour operators, and his visionary work even led Lash and Urry (1994: 261) to suggest that twentieth-century organized capitalism might be better described as 'Cookism' rather than 'Fordism' (see also Franklin, 2001; Appelman, 2004). Moreover, as Peters (2003: 324) argues, Cook was a 'heterogeneous engineer' building his contingent orders (trips) by interlocking railways and trains, hotels and restaurants, steamboats and harbours, travellers cheques and vouchers, as well as teetotalism and colonialist presuppositions. Similarly, Langhout and ten Broeke are heterogeneous engineers. However, as we have seen, their definitions of the situation, their subsequent practices and the way they interconnect to others (people and things) differ substantially.

These differences result not only from the way their modes of ordering 'externally' support other modes of ordering, but also from the way particular modes of ordering 'internally' co-

perform. In other words, although at first sight an organization may have a single 'culture', as perhaps expressed in a 'mission statement' or in a less obvious way, in particular practices or the absence of them, a second look often reveals different views, interests and practices, even if they are based on shared assumptions of how things should work out. As Hirsch and Gellner (2001: 4) continue, despite a governing ethos, many organizations experience, at the same time, entrenched factional 'warfare' between constituent parts.

To exemplify this co-performance as well as warfare, I once again follow Law (1994; see also Bruin, 1997 and Ploeg, 2003). In ordering his book *Organizing Modernity*, John Law went to a single organization to investigate how different modes of ordering structure what goes on there. Organizing, he suggested, depends partly on ordering things – words, but also materials, desks, paperwork, computer systems – in an entrepreneurial manner, but vision or charisma are equally important, as are vocation and even administration. These various modes of ordering include, exclude, depend on and combat one another' (Mol and Law, 2002: 9). Following Law, one could argue that tour operators (but not only tour operators) consist of cowboys, civil servants, visionaries and professionals. Not that they are persons or personal attributes: they present strategies, different and often mutually conflicting principles and practices.

Enterprise (cowboys) tells stories about agency, which celebrates opportunism, pragmatism and performance and making pragmatic sense of all its components. Cowboys demand enterprising performances, pragmatism and successes. Enterprise tells of the need to scramble for resources and the need to perform these resources. It tells of competition, of the need to mount a performance that impresses those upon whom the enterprise depends (banks, shareholders, transport companies, hoteliers, etc.). In enterprise, people are practical. They make hard choices (see Law, 1994: 75 and 169), as for example ten Broeke did when he decided to defer further operations.

Talking with tour operators[8] reveals stories of 'small margins', 'fierce competition' and having a 'demanding job', of processes of horizontal and vertical integration, and of intense negotiations with airlines and hotels about prices, conditions and allotments. As one respondent stated:

> In the last couple of years increasing competition has considerably changed the rules of the game; price is the main instrument for competition. As a consequence we have to streamline our organization, take bold decisions, dismiss some staff members, negotiate hard with suppliers and – if possible – decrease the number of middle-men and agents.

Administration (civil servants) routinizes, picks over the details, worries about formalities, dilutes and diverts. It tells of and generates the perfectly well-regulated organization. It tells of people, files and machines which play allotted roles, it tells of hierarchical structures of offices with defined procedures of ordering exchanges between these offices; it tells of the organized and rational division of labour; and it tells of meticulous management as the art of planning, implementing, maintaining and policing that structure (ibid.: 77). The need for administration is clearly reflected in number of linkages a tour operator has with its suppliers. For example, a middle-sized Dutch tour operator with 26,000 clients reported that it has contacts and contracts with around 8,000 different accommodation owners.

Administration sustains itself in booking procedures, files, paperwork, vouchers, computer programs and travel organization schemes (TOSs). As one of the respondents recounted:

> We used to be a creative, innovative company. However, in order to cope with growth and complexity and to 'canalise our lunacy', at one time we decided to streamline our activities by filing all our travel products and schemes in a so-called TOS. It states exactly the sequences of actions to be followed in the process of selling and performing a trip and facilitated the workflow in the company. However, the TOS became an end in itself and a source of power for the bureaucrats in the company and hampered all innovations. If we wanted to quickly put a new product on the market, officialdom told us to wait until a TOS was produced.

So the TOS as a writing device, coordinating different actors, became inscribed with power and became a source of action. It indeed became an 'acti-gramme' (Callon, 2002: 1999). But in its absence it also became a source of inaction, as particular units within the company were unwilling to act in the absence of a TOS. And although the TOS has been replaced by more sophisticated computer systems with linked front and back offices, entering all the necessary data is still a specialized, time-consuming and complex task of 'administration', and administration and its devices, computer, booking and reservation systems generate obduracy as well as predictability.

Similarly, the half-yearly publication of the brochures configures the workflow in a tour operator and even the rhythm of product development and innovation. And as the printing, distribution and storage of brochures is expensive, every page in a brochure has to pay off, which leaves little room for experimentation. To overcome this rigidity, tour operators increasingly employ a mixture of strategies; obviously, more frequent use of the Internet, or a combination of an annual brochure (providing information about the destinations) and the Internet (providing specific information such as departure dates, prices and travel itineraries), as well as quarterly magazines containing the latest product news.

Vision (visionaries) tells of the charisma and grace, of the single-minded necessity, of the genius and transcendence (Law, 1994: 79) of the pioneers in Dutch tour operating, some of which still pull the strings. Vision tells of the way in which visionaries cut themselves off from mundane organizational matters, of the way in which practical matters are either immaterial or actively stand in the way. Vision is profoundly elitist (ibid.: 80) and can even take the form of exclusion. Vision embodies and performs a difference in quality, a difference between those who are graced and those who are not (ibid.: 118).

Although vision in tourism does not come up to the mark, respondents report visionaries in the form of early adaptors of, for example, the Internet, like Langhout or FOX Travel; experiments with new 'brands' like Robinson; and of a director of a tour operator who took over the role of product development and took his family on a bike tour through France, and discovered that families on a biking holiday cover relatively short distances and like to be taken care of. Others 'organize' vision. For example, one tour operator invited a Belgian trend watcher to discuss the future, while another started a think-tank to develop a vision on the travel agents of the future:

> TUI-NL came up with a plan for the future of travel agents and discerned three formats: expert (like the ones we know now), express (for ticketing) and experience (combined leisure, travel, experience, information and documentation). The third variant was tested in a pilot in Amersfoort: 'Central Station'. However, ideas were quickly overtaken by the introduction and diffusion of the Internet and Internet-based tour operators and travel agencies.

Clearly, not only Thomas Cook but also Langhout and ten Broeke were inventive. All three, however, could not perform without enterprise or administration[9]. And all three are criticized for being creative in their own particular way. Cook was criticized by the London establishment, which initially depicted Cooks' tourists as vandals, a vulgar mob, 'mental patients' or the 'hordes of Cook' (Peters, 2003: 92; Lash and Urry, 1994; 263). Ten Broeke got bad reviews for being too romantic; he was frequently accused of capitalizing on cheap sentiments by advocating his tours as 'fair' and 'sustainable' (Baaijens, 2000a), while Langhout is criticized for being too 'pert' and not being a member of the Netherlands Association of Travel Organizations (ANVR).

Vocation (professionals) tells about the proper character of certain kinds of work. The famous 'Men from Cook's' (see Peters, 2003) – local employees who helped travellers to solve their problems – already exemplified the way in which vocation is an expression of embodied skills (Law, 1994: 81), of the tacit knowledge acquired during the course of a professional training at one of the numerous training institutes scattered all over the world, which comes to shape both perception and action. However, vocation also tells that book learning is important, but so too is hands-on experience, practice and tacit knowledge. As a respondent explained:

> There is no training institute that can teach you how to get hold of accommodation. Buyers are bred in the company and have a lot of experience in the destinations. They are first and foremost negotiators.

So vocation also tells about personal skills, as in the case of John Kanafunzi, a local guide working in Tanzania for Multatuli Travel. Baaijens (2000b), who describes the last trip organized by Multatuli Travel to modules of the Cultural Tourism Programme, states that Kanafunzi:

> ... knows the Netherlands and the world of development cooperation and he is an important link between us and the people we meet on the road. It is not by accident that John is our guide; Multatuli insists that a local guides every trip. And not just a local, but a strong personality, someone familiar with tourism and development cooperation. If such a person is not around, there will be no trip. (Baaijens, 2000b; author's translation)

And although 'professionalism' in the tourism industry has been much debated, evidently all work is skilled in its own right. What eventually is sold by tour operators is a product of the ordering of vocational puzzle-solving, which is secured by the working of administration to make sure that the bills are issued and paid (Law, 2002: 5). Thus, tour operators are full of trained professionals: product developers and managers, financial officers, marketers, tour guides, buyers, telephonists and the like.

Obviously, we cannot be sure that there are four modes of ordering in tour operators. Perhaps there are more or fewer, as the imputation of patterns of ordering to complex empirical circumstances is always defeasible (Law, 2001: 6; see also Law 1994: 87). But we can be sure about multiplicity, about the coexistence of different modes of ordering or different styles of justification which may overlap and interfere with one another and reveal partial connection (Mol and Law, 2002).

For example, enterprise exerts pressure on vocation, as staff members are increasingly being held personally responsible for business results. Vision might inspire enterprise; enterprise or administration might impede creativity, but also channel creativity into a product that meets demand. Administration maintains professionalism and vice versa (see Law, 1994: 90). What is more, multiplicity allows continuity, which means that were a tour operator to depend on one mode of ordering alone, it would run the risk of annihilation. Vision, as we have seen in the above, needs to be backed up by administration and vocation if it is to guide ideas. Equally, administering requires vision in order not to expire.

Therefore, asking what a tour operator really 'is' does not help, as it is a network of different worlds and is full of places of ordering: bookkeeping, reservations, guiding, marketing, selling and buying, and managing the heterogeneity of ordering (ibid.: 43).

6.2.3 Tactics of translation

Thus, although tour operators continuously aspire to relative durability – a temporary order in a pool of disorder – they are always ordering and repairing, and continuously have to interweave modes of ordering within the organization and between organizations, as they depend on others to be able to perform. In doing so, numerous tactics of translation have to be brought into play.

This section illustrates some of the tactics of a local agent and operator, Ecole Travel in San José[10]. Ecole Travel started in 1993 and now employs 10 people as well as 13 (mostly freelance) travel guides. Whereas at first direct sales to tourists passing by accounted for 60% of sales, this figure decreased to 11% in 2003. It took some years before a degree of durability was achieved.

> In 1991 a major earthquake in the province of Limon (Costa Rica) blocked the route from Limon to Tortuguero National Park, which by that time was already an important tourism attraction in Costa Rica. Two entrepreneurs from Chile decided to open up an alternative route. They bought a boat and started to organize two- and three-day trips to Tortuguero. A Dutch guide, working for Thika Travel, decided to join them and in 1993 the cooperation was institutionalized in the format of Ecole Travel. For the first two years, Ecole Travel consisted of an eight square metre office and two freelance guides accompanying tourists to Tortuguero. (Gisolf, pers. com. 2003)

Ten years on, Ecole Travel is one of the most important agents in San José for Dutch tour operators. Operating local excursions is no longer its core business. In 1995, Ecole Travel executed 50 economic transactions per month; in 1993 this number increased to around 700 a month. Reservations, accounting and communication are now dealt with through 11 computers (there were only three in 1995) or by fax. Over a period of more than ten years, Ecole Travel consistently had to interest, sign up and mobilize other tour operators abroad as well as local suppliers in order to sustain and augment its business. Interestingly, however, the acquisitions of new clients like tour operators still occur primarily during face-to-face contact at international holiday fairs, such as the International Tourism Fair (ITB) in Berlin, the World Travel Market in London and the Holiday Fair ('Vakantiebeurs') in Utrecht. Thus, initially the building of relations is cemented together by virtue of face-to-face contact (see also Law, 1994: 182).

As many tour operators publish a travel brochure only once a year, the time between initial contact and results in terms of tourists travelling to Costa Rica can be considerably long (more than a year). As we have seen in the above, travel brochures and their publication dates co-

determine the speediness of implementing bonds between tour operators and their agents. Once contacts have been established and sustained, face-to-face contacts lose their prominence as contracts and contacts are settled by email or fax. Thus, just like the module coordinators of the Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania, Ecole Travel's power to act is built on relations developed by face-to-face communication, on the seduction, persuasion or even intimidation that goes with it, and on the company's ability to act at a distance by means of a succession of mediated relationships with hoteliers, guides and tour operators abroad.

The work of Ecole Travel entails unremitting struggles with actors who determine their existence. Ecole Travel is attempting to exert itself upon others through various human and non-human intermediaries. In order to survive the 'cut-throat competition' and to prevent being squeezed between tour operators who are 'always negotiating for the lowest prices', and Costa Rican hotel owners 'who also fight to the bitter end' (Gisolf, pers. com.), all kinds of 'translation tactics' are pursued. For example, to increase the control over supplying hotels in a boosting market (Ecole Travel signed up more tour operators than ever before), the number of hotels is not increased but decreased. Selling more to fewer hotels locks hoteliers into the network and channels the behaviour of hoteliers in the direction desired by Ecole Travel. Pre-payments can also bind hoteliers to the local agent, as can 'arrangements' to avoid the payment of VAT. A more subtle strategy to engage actors is to make them co-responsible: 'A local boy with a small car is now the proud owner of three brand-new Coaster buses and he also has some shares in the company' (Gisolf, pers. com.).

Through these and other tactics, Ecole Travel is trying to exert control over the network and to position itself as an inevitable connection with the network of tourists, hoteliers, guides, drivers and tour operators.

However, does Ecole Travel operate within a strong 'collectif'? Yes and no. Yes, because it has become an 'obligatory point of passage' for many tour operators, clients and Costa Rican entrepreneurs, such as accommodation owners, guides and bus drivers. These actors (local entrepreneurs, bus drivers and guides) and the tour operators and clients in the generating countries, can communicate through a set of heterogeneous materials, intermediaries that circulate between them and define their relationships, that is, money, vouchers, emails, faxes, telephone calls and personal conversations. Many of these networks patterns have become routines, 'punctualized' and to a certain extent have induced convergence[11]. As we have seen, punctualized resources offer a way of drawing quickly on the networks of the social without having to deal with endless complexity. Nevertheless, 'punctualization is always precarious, it faces resistance, and may degenerate into a failing network' (Law, 1992: 385).

For example, once Ecole Travel signs up hoteliers or guides, these hoteliers or guides are also empowered, and thus sooner or later they are able to make independent use of their new-found capabilities. Once hoteliers know the 'rules of the game', they are able to play local agents off against one another by preferential treatment. For example, they can give credits to local agents, they can play with the gap between the official rate (rack rate) and the negotiated rate (net rate) and the volumes they offer to local agents, or they can always confirm reservations from one local agent, while putting the reservations of the other local agents on a waiting list. Conversely, local agents are sometimes willing to pay a higher price in order to frustrate competitors, which often reflects rivalry between tour operators (in the Netherlands) working with different local agents

(in Costa Rica). In sum, both Ecole Travel and its suppliers have their own tactics and strategies to get the most out of their relations.

However, these relations are always precarious, as airlines (like Martinair) or tour operators pull out of Costa Rica, communication (like Internet) malfunctions or infrastructure networks (like bridges in Cahuita) break down, consumer preferences change or 'global risks' spread. All these and other events may eventually lead to dissolving networks, but only if they directly link to the exchange processes taking place.

6.2.4 The rise and fall of CANAMET

The uncertainty of networks is also well illustrated by the rise and fall of the Costa Rican Camara Nacional de Microempresarios Turisticos (CANAMET). CANAMET was founded in 1992 in order to compete with local agents, many of which are foreign owned, and to strengthen the position of small-scale entrepreneurs in Costa Rica vis-à-vis the international hotel chains and tour operators. CANAMET aimed at the institutional strengthening and marketing of the more than 70% of the tourist accommodation providers in Costa Rica that are characterized as small, usually family businesses with fewer than 20 rooms[12] (Duim, 1997a). In the early 1990s, neither the Ministry of Tourism ICT (Instituto Costaricense de Turismo) nor the National Chamber of Commerce for Tourism (CANATUR) showed a lot of interest in the development of small-scale entrepreneurs. They therefore started to organize themselves. As often is the case in tourism, networking started with a small group of women (see also Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1994). In Costa Rica, a small group of women provided *turismo casero* ('home tourism'). They founded the TURCASA association in February 1992. According to Shumaker (1995: 479), in 1993 about 225 affiliates throughout the country had a total of 400 rooms on offer for home stays. ACEPESA – an NGO carrying out economic and public health projects – provided TURCASA with an office. As the organization developed, long-term goals were amplified. These included diversifying and improving the quality of the services offered, establishing prices that reflect the differences in services offered by the various households, increasing the number of accommodation units and identifying new markets for the services offered. The last-mentioned supposes promotion and publicity. Therefore, the First National Meeting of Small Tourism Entrepreneurs was held in 1992. On that occasion the former Minister of Tourism declared the development of micro-enterprises to be one of the most adequate ways to 'democratise the tourist dollar' (ACEPESA/ICT, 1992: 3). Later that year, and as a result of the meeting, CANAMET was established. It was the first such organization in Central America, and embraced more than 25 regional associations (29 in 1996) and approximately 1300 micro-enterprises. Not only the owners of small hotels, pensions or cabins, but also bar (*soda*) owners, guides, craftsmen and even cab drivers became a member. These micro-enterprises founded JADETOURS, a travel agency to be owned by affiliates of CANAMET. JADETOURS would provide the individual businesses with a legal entity through which to operate and to serve as a central clearing house, providing advertising, access to financing and a centralized database of accommodation units available through TURCASA (see Shumaker, 1995).

Although the start and concept of CANAMET was very promising, it did not meet the expectations. After the preparations and subsequent founding of these organizations in 1992 and 1993, in the following years many of the objectives formulated in 1993 in CANAMET documents and by the International Labour Organization (in 1994) were not realized (Duim, 1997a). In 1996, the Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (BID) financed a diagnosis of micro-enterprises in Costa

Rica (CANAMET, 1996) and of the position of CANAMET in this field. The results showed that these enterprises and CANAMAT still had a lot of the weaknesses and still faced a lot of the threats that had been found four years earlier. For instance, 11 of the 29 regional associations were not functioning, and the number of members decreased from 1200 to around 840, of which some 50% were not active (CANAMET, 1996: 6).

In 1998, CANAMET received a USD 1.5 million grant from the Inter-American Development Bank (BID). For a period of two years, external advisers were appointed to assist CANAMET in their process of becoming a more professional organization. Although a lot of training was done and many marketing materials were produced (even a hallmark for small-scale entrepreneurs was developed), the grant was unsuccessful and by the turn of the new century CANAMET was practically non-existent. Some of the main reasons for this are that (Beluchi pers. com.; see also Duim, 1997a):

- The focus of the BID project was to strengthen the national as well as regional organizations. However, the latter were supported for only nine months, which is not long enough to produce any tangible result. Moreover, the proposal suggested that there were 22 regional associations active. In reality, however, by that time only 12 were carrying out activities. Another important obstacle was the lack of communication facilities between CANAMET and the regional associations and entrepreneurs. Adequate telephone connections, let alone computer networks, were largely absent. In sum, the BID funds were not sufficiently geared to strengthening regional and local associations.
- The relative large amount of money was donated in one go rather than in a phased way, like in the case of UNDP projects in Costa Rica, where successes in a first phase of a project are rewarded with the possibility of extra funding in a second phase. CANAMET lacked an adequate organization structure to handle these sums of money. Moreover, the quality of the board of directors and the CANAMET management prevented the efficient execution of the projects activities. Internal conflicts (e.g. with respect to the position of TURCASA) were common.
- A relatively large amount of money was spent on setting up an own tour-operating business. This effort was like carrying coals to Newcastle. Incoming tour operators in San José were and still are literally around the corner, but they were never adequately contacted and mobilized. Instead, CANAMET tried to reinvent the wheel by founding its own tour operator.

At this point, JADETOURS is not operational, the financial situation of CANAMET is critical, no information is being channelled between CANAMET and the associations, and the technical and professional quality of supply does not meet international standards. Despite the very successful engagement by the director of, for example, the Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo and the Sustainable Development Agreement in the project, which contributed a lot of money to CANAMET's activities, CANAMET never became successful. In sum, CANAMET never succeeded in becoming an 'obligatory point of passage' between local entrepreneurs in Costa Rica and the national/international tourism business. Neither CANAMET nor the heterogeneous materials (contacts, social relations, the hallmark that was developed, materials to enable entrepreneurs to act at a distance) it was supposed to dispense became a meaningful element in the networks of small-scale entrepreneurs. CANAMET as a project never gained momentum.

6.3 Centres of power

Although these could be ordered otherwise, tourismscapes also generate centres where power is exercised, places like Thomas Cook or Ecole Travel, and where surplus accrues. And although the intention of a tour operator or a local agent to 'rule and run' the tourism industry is not identical with its actual effects, it is still plausible that a tour operator is indeed capable of exercising power at a distance (Allen, 2003: 157-158). The question now is how these asymmetries between centres and the rest are generated. Law and Hetherington (1999) have a fourfold response, namely through delegation, the creation of obligatory points of passage, scale reversals and discretion.

As for delegation, in terms of tourism the relevant questions for 'centres' are: will the local operators act as the agent of the Dutch tour operator at a distance? Will they stay reliable? Will the relations in the tourism chain between consumer and local entrepreneur hold together? Or will the local entrepreneur turn traitor? As we have seen, immutable mobiles play an important role in the process of stabilizing and converging tourismscapes. Delegation 'is sending something out which will hold its shape – so that the centre does not have to do the dirty work itself' (ibid.: 6). Analytically, as already implied in Chapter 5, there is no difference between a Spanish king sending his troops to conquer an 'enemy' in Costa Rica (which rest on a series of delegations through heterogeneous materials) and a Dutch tour operator organizing a trip through Costa Rica. Organizing such a trip is an arrangement or 'passage' (Peters, 2003) in which the Dutch tour operator pushes the levers and something happens, that is, if the process of translation has been successful. Particularly delegation into more durable materials (faxes and emails, tickets and vouchers, money transferred through international banking systems) is often especially effective and opens up the possibility of ordering distant events from a centre, although there are no guarantees as the integrity of these materials is, itself, a relational effect.[13] Paraphrasing Law (2001: 3), it is the network of materials that turns 'Freek ten Broeke as a person' or 'Peter Langhout as a person' into a director of a tour operator. And the network includes buildings, computers, telephones, data, software, money, etc.

But, as Law and Hetherington (1999) continue, successful delegation, the successful creation of immutable mobiles,[14] the capacity to know and to act at a distance, has other asymmetry-relevant effects. It may create obligatory points of passage, central nodes in the network of delegation. A Dutch tour operator like De Boer and Wendel, Langhout or Multatuli Travel, or a local agent such as Camino Travel or Ecole Travel in San José, the Cultural Tourism Programme and the Texel Tourism Board (VVV), to take another example, are all centres of delegation, 'places of privilege'. When they issue orders, something happens. Notwithstanding their differences, modes of ordering have in common that they produce a return (Law, 2001). Local entrepreneurs, guides or the representatives of tour operators or tourists do not, for the most part, turn up in the rooms of product managers of Dutch or Costa Rican tour operators to receive their orders. Instead, immutable mobiles emerge from these obligatory points of passage; they are delegates that faithfully perform themselves across tourismscapes.

Thus, delegation and obligatory points of passage are crucial to the accruement of surplus and asymmetries. But, according to Law and Hetherington (1999), they are also a play around scale effects. Immutable mobiles passing to and from (and thereby creating) a centre also play havoc with scale. Just as a king has to delegate, a tour operator cannot do all the 'dirty

work' itself. The employees at the centre do not know all about everything that goes on within tourismscapes. Nevertheless, in some general sense they need to know about it. Knowing at a distance, then, 'necessarily implies pretty heroic simplifications and reductions. And it therefore also implies pretty heroic manipulations of scale' (ibid.: 7). This means that that which is large in a geographical sense, spread out over time and over space, gets reduced to a brochure, picture, graph, travel organization scheme, map or set of figures on a spreadsheet with booking results or turnovers, thus generating the capacity to see far from the privileged centre, to see what would otherwise not have been visible.

Discretion is the fourth and final configurational feature of asymmetrical tourismscapes. In terms of discretion, centres – which have become obligatory points of passages for a series of tributaries – differ from these tributaries, as the latter are peripheral because they have no choice. Conversely, because there are many tributaries to the centre, the centre correspondingly has many options (ibid.: 7). As Gisolf (pers. com.) explained:

> Obviously a large supply and the freedom of choice plays into a local agents' hand. In that case we can rule out particular overpricing hotels or even regions, as in the case of Chirripo. We little by little banned this region.

In terms of tourismscapes, tour operators or local agents are nodes or centres in series of tourismscapes, which gives them many alternative possibilities for acting at a distance. The centre thus enjoys the luxury of redundancy. If particular sectors or suppliers dispute the terms of their contract, others can replace them, unless they themselves have become obligatory points of passage. In the negotiations between tour operators and charter airlines, between incoming tour operators and small entrepreneurs, between small entrepreneurs and their supplier, discretion clearly is a relational effect.

6.3.1 Relations of power

Processes of delegation and discretion enable the exercise of power.[15] In other words, performing tourismscapes generates relations of power. Power in tourismscapes is associative, invested not in entities but in relations. Power in tourismscapes is a relational effect. The exercise of power depends on the actions of others; power is translated not diffused (Woods, 1997: 323). Therefore, an appropriate point of departure for an analysis of power would be not agency but the social relations that constitute effective agency. The key to understanding power in tourismscapes lies in thinking of power as a phenomenon that can be grasped only relationally. It is not a 'thing' nor is it something that people have in a proprietary sense: they 'possess' power only in so far as they are relationally constituted as doing so (Clegg, 2003).

Therefore, to talk of power as a resource is a misnomer (Allen, 2003: 105). We have to distinguish the act of exercising power from the resources and capabilities mobilized to sustain that exercise. Power is drawn from the manner in which resources are mobilized and deployed over variable spans of space and time. Money, ideas, contacts, ownership of land or goods, influence, knowledge or expertise are resources which may be mobilized. They are the media through which power is exercised. Power, unlike resources, is not something that is fixed, just as it never can be 'stored' like some permanent deposit. Of course, as Allen (2003: 116) explains,

it often seems as though power is located in some central figure or institution (like a tour operator or government), but that is principally because it is represented as such. What such representations actually point to is a resource base that has been stabilized over time; a capability or series of capabilities that have been produced through an ongoing process of mobilization. Resources, in short, are territorially embedded, but they are also mobilized through networked relationships. The two aspects – the fixture and fluidity of resources – may appear to be in contradiction, but it is the very tension between them that injects the dynamism into what would otherwise be a rather solid, staid power arrangement. So, when we say that certain prominent figures – such as module coordinators of the Cultural Tourism Programme, advisers of the SNV Netherlands Development Organisation, tour operators, the Texel Tourism Board, or even the Group César Manrique – have been or are 'powerful', what we actually mean is that they muster enough resources to have an effect. It is the effect that matters and, in the very least, is what we experience when power is exercised over and with others.

Asserting that power is mediated relationally does not imply that there are as many forms of power as there are types of relationships. That would be to lose sight of the different modalities through which power is exercised (ibid.: 100). Power is always power of a particular kind. As Allen (2003) further explains, modalities of power are not entities that can be understood by breaking them down into an endless stream of practices, which are then added together to realize the whole. The realities to which the modalities correspond should not be obscured by a worthy concern to delimit the multitude of practices and techniques that underpin the exercise of power. Something like seduction, for instance, does not begin and end its institutional life as seduction: to win over the hearts and minds of consumers in a new market like ecotourism in Costa Rica (see Chapter 2), for example, involves the mobilization of various materials and human resources by a range of economic agencies, the development of a strategy to raise the awareness of specific brands and products, the diffusion of certain lifestyle ideals that are presented as within reach, the targeting of certain groups, and so forth. The effects of such a campaign, however, may be experienced by certain consumers as manipulation on the part of untrustworthy companies, or as an attempt by an outside agency to impose its voice and authority on the people, or as an act of domination, where choices are quickly narrowed down by particular so-called ecotourism operators increasingly controlling the market (see Allen, 2003: 101 and 102).

Similarly, the 'power' of the tourism sector in general and of the Texel Tourism Board (VVV) in particular was increased in the Texel 2030 process (see Chapter 3) by mustering money, expertise and knowledge from the 'other side' (the mainland). Obviously they tried to seduce others into integrating tourism into the long-term planning of the island, an attempt seen by others (like farmers and Ten for Texel) as manipulation or even as an attempt to dominate the political state of affairs. Moreover, as a result of changes in the Texel 2030 process and the perceptions thereof, the notion of power shifted, perhaps unconsciously, from a means to facilitate joint action where all may benefit to an instrumental arrangement, a series of actions designed to make others act in ways which they otherwise would not act (ibid.: 123; see also Sidaway, 2005).

Apart from conceiving power as an instrumental arrangement, as a series of actions designed to make others act in ways in which they otherwise would not act (power 'over'), there is another way of thinking about power, which has to do with a productive nature of power and/or the formation of a common will (see also Goodwin, 1998: 10). The roots of this collective notion reach back to

an idea of power as a means to get things done or to facilitate action (power 'to'). In the former, the benefits are divided unequally, while the latter lends itself to a positive-sum scenario where all may benefit. In line with our discussion on 'tactics of translation', power seen as a strategic game is a ubiquitous feature of human interaction ordering the possible field of action of others. This can take many forms (advice, argumentation, persuasion, economic dependency, etc.), but does not necessarily mean that power is exercised against the interest of the other part of a power relation; nor does it signify that 'to determine the conduct of others' is intrinsically 'bad' (Lemke, 2000: 5).

Thus, power is not always used in a negative way, against a 'powerful oppressor', but can result in 'empowerment' or increased responsibility through the positive strengths of collaborative association (Allen, 2003: 124), as we have seen in the initial stages of the Cultural Tourism Programme. In Lanzarote, a particular configuration of people and 'things' converged at a particular period in the so-called Manrique model (see Chapter 1). This particular relation of power was not necessarily 'bad' either. To the contrary, it led to a way of ordering based on limited growth, respecting local architecture, and creating tourism attractions in which tourism, nature and culture were architectonically integrated. But as new actors appeared on and others disappeared from the stage, new configurations and relations of power emerged, which were again contested and disputed.

As we saw, some of these actors were from Lanzarote, while others were from the Spanish mainland or beyond. It illustrates that there is no spatial template for power. Nevertheless, spatiality is constitutive not only for power relations in general, but also in the particular ways in which different modes of power take effect (ibid.: 102). It means that proximity and reach do matter, but that there are no predefined distances or simple proximities to speak about in relation to an exercise of seduction, manipulation or domination (ibid.: 112). In other words, 'reach, proximity and presence are not givens; they make a difference to the exercise of power precisely because the many and various modalities of power are themselves constituted differently in space and time' (ibid.: 190). For example, the 'power' of module coordinators of the Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania rests on relations based on face-to-face communication and the seduction or persuasion that goes with it, as well as on the ability of these coordinators to act at a distance by means of a succession of mediated relationships with local agents, the Tanzanian Tourism Board and foreign tour operators. As a central node in tourismscapes, they place themselves precisely at points where everything that flows back and forth (like contracts, bookings, information, service agreements, money and tourists), and everything that is 'hooked up' to the tourismscapes (travel agencies, incoming tour operators, airlines, accommodations, infrastructure, attractions, tourists, etc.) has to pass through in some shape or form.

As we saw in the previous chapter, such a topological view diverts attention from the geographical scale at which, say, tour operators or module coordinators are supposed to operate, and focuses attention on the relational arrangement of which they are part. In particular, a topology of social relations should help us to focus on their co-constitutive nature and the spaces and times they actively construct in the process (see also Latham, 2002). What is near and what is far is not simply a question of geometric measurement between fixed points; rather it 'is one of connection and simultaneity as different groups and institutions mark their presence in all kinds of powerful and not so powerful ways' (Allen, 2003: 192). And if the ability to draw distant others within close reach is one side of the topological equation, the other is the ability of groups

and institutions to make the close at hand seem surprisingly distant. People move in and around one another, sliding across each other's lives in a more or less powerful fashion to make their presence felt. In this topology of places, what is near and what is far, who 'belongs' and who does not, may be distorted by the placement of forces and their relational ties, where the presence of others may be smothered, excluded, barred, threatened, enticed or simply constrained. Their tangled arrangements of power may produce a degree of remoteness and proximity in social relationships that owes much to other times and other places also being present (ibid.: 193; see also Lefebvre, 1991 and Lengkeek, 2002). Cultural tourism in Tanzania produces community fractions that are part and others who are barred from the benefits, similarly villages and regions are 'hooked up' with and others are disconnected from the tourismscapes deployed.

Thus, in conclusion, tourismscapes are to be seen as particular configurations of power, stabilized by the engagement of 'other wills by translating what they want and by reifying that translation in such a way that none of them can desire anything else any longer' (Callon and Latour, 1981. In: Allen, 2003: 133). It would then seem that the key to the success of this kind of arrangement is the ability to 'hook up' others in the process of circulation, that is, to draw others into the network of meanings in such a way that it extends and reproduces itself through time and space. However, the extension of tourismscapes involves more than the mere circulation of resources; it also involves a mediated exercise of power where distances are overcome by the successive engagement of others to form something akin to a single will. Then again, our cases demonstrate that establishing domination at a distance through the process of engaging, signing up and obliging others to adhere to a particular line of action does not always result in a successful translation strategy.

One could take for granted that it is possible to replicate controlled conditions, given the immutability of the many devices in circulation. If, however, we take a different view, namely that much of what is extended across a network is not replicable in a simple way, that the arrangements are more open than closed, less connected than is hoped for, more prone to leakages than is presumed, then power's successive reach is rather more hit and miss than controlling (Allen, 2003: 134). As we have seen, once for example local agents have engaged hoteliers, guides or the module coordinators of the Cultural Tourism Programme they are also empowered and able to make independent use of their new-found capabilities. And in a related way, the wider the dispersal of power, the more opportunity there is at the many points of intersection with other bodies for agents to mobilize other resources, other sets of interests, and to shift the line of discretionary judgement in unanticipated and unforeseen ways or even to break with it (ibid.: 134). Similarly successful modules in the Cultural Tourism Programme more or less dissociated themselves from the less successful and do not need TACTO or any other agency to sustain their relations with agents, tour operators and the like, and thus their power base.

6.3.2 Landscapes of power

> It seems utterly incredible that, despite the catastrophic alteration of the entire Spanish coastline, blurring the traits of each place with a complete lack of adaptation and the gratuitous introduction of a cold international standardization, we have failed to learn the lesson whereby we must stop and save what is.
> (César Manrique, in: Gómez Aguilera, 2001: 108)

Although tourismscapes unfold in a topological way, they also ground at particular places. Lanzarote's, Texel's or Manuel Antonio's space is at least partly translated into tourismscapes to allow tourists to bathe, bike and hike, stay overnight and/or enjoy the landscape. Tangible outcome in the format of forms of land use, buildings and infrastructure reflect the way particular actor-networks stipulate the organization and production of space through legal or extra-legal means (Harvey, 1989: 222; see also Murdoch, 1998). It is the result of spatial practices in which people and things relationally are pooled into hotels, attractions, airports and resorts, national parks become attractions and landscapes become 'leisure landscapes'.

Thus, space is constructed within tourismscapes, and tourismscapes are always a means of acting upon space. Spatial analysis is therefore also network analysis, as space is bound into networks and any assessment of spatial qualities is simultaneously an assessment of network relations (cf. Murdoch, 1997 and 1998).

Indeed, the particular ways space is translated into tourismscapes reflect the way different modes of ordering collide and the subsequent relations of power. In other words, modes of ordering define not only human-human but also human-spatial interactions. They are carried through by architectures, landscapes and transport infrastructures. Tourismscapes are embodied in a series of performances, a series of materials and a series of spatial arrangements. None of them is necessarily central, but 'if we take them together then they generate the effect' (Law, 1994: 143).

Referring to the three dimensions of 'modes of ordering' as depicted in the above, these modes contain notions about the way tourism should be spatially practised. It involves the way spatial practices in tourism are represented in mental constructions, consisting of values, facts or the desires of tourism planners, tourism entrepreneurs, tourists and locals (see also Harvey, 1989; Lefebvre, 1991 and Meethan, 2001). It entails the conceptualizations of what tourism 'should look like' held by tour operators, hoteliers, tourists, travel agencies and tourism offices. It is the 'imagined tourism space' [16] (Lengkeek, 2002) like that of the 'Mediterranean tourism landscape' as portrayed on postcards or in holiday brochures (see also Dietvorst, 2001) or the 'primary tropical forest' as depicted by, for example, *National Geographic*, which inspired ten of thousands of 'ecotourists' to visit Costa Rica.

But modes of ordering entail not only particular 'dreams' but also spatial practices, ways of performing tourism spatially. However, these practices are seldom the result of one particular mode of ordering. In other words, the spatial developments of tourism are the result of a diversity of interacting and sometimes conflicting modes of ordering. The Manrique model illustrates that different modes of ordering (of, in this case, an artist, local civil servants, tourism entrepreneurs and NGOs) can knit in a particular way of organizing space, which demonstrates, as Maslonski and Wassiljewski (1993) put it:

> What just one imaginative, tradition-conscious, nature-loving mind, dreaming and planning in four dimensions, is able to do: to overcome the dictates of money-driven modern civilization for a little while, if the circumstances are right.

As we have seen, 'circumstances' were only temporarily 'right' and Lanzarote, just like other places in the world, became the object of competing modes of ordering tourism. New actors came

into play, bringing in new resources (like money, ideas, contacts, property or land, possibilities to act at a distance) and engaging other political actors on the island. New coalitions replaced the Group César Manrique, and what was once known as 'alternative tourism' in Lanzarote succumbed to intense resort development (as in Puerto del Carmen and Costa Teguise) and the rise of what Bianchi (2002b) denotes as a typical 'coastal mode of tourism development', similar to that in other parts of the Canary Islands and in Spain and, more recently, Turkey[17].

The control by certain groups of particular resources (such as money, land, contacts or tourists) might even lead to spaces that, according to Lengkeek (2002), are 'possessed' (*bezeten ruimtes*). Here, particular power relations are consolidated and preserved by material objects and space. They might resemble what Zukin (1991) describes as 'landscapes of power' and Murdoch (1998) as 'spaces of prescription'.

Strongly converging networks, where particular modes of ordering dominate and subsequent translations are flawlessly accomplished, might configure 'spaces of prescription'. The preferred way of performing tourism is inscribed in architectures and spatial designs, which in turn act to consolidate the network. There is little room for conciliation. Spaces shaped by networks where the links between actors are provisional and divergent, where coalitions are variable and revisable, will be more fluid, interactional and unstable; they will be 'spaces of negotiation' (Murdoch, 1998).

However, prescription and negotiation are two sides of the same coin: one cannot exist without the other. As we have seen, modes of ordering are never ever-lasting, complete and closed totalities: they always generate uncertainties, ambivalences, transgressions and resistances. Therefore, rather than seeing orders and resistances as being in opposition, we have to identify how these two dimensions come to depend on another within particular sets of heterogeneous relations and, secondly, how these complex relations are woven into various spatial forms (ibid.: 364).

In the case of Manuel Antonio/Quepos, for example, we have seen how the protected status of the Manuel Antonio National Park, which is rather strictly directed by the Costa Rican National Park Service in San José, still is contested by all kind of claims from within (former landowners to whom the park is still indebted) and from outside (new tourism developments in and on the fringes of the park). The most glaring evidence of the latter are two three-story blocks of apartments on a former wetland, immediately adjacent to the border of the National Park and just 250 metres from its entrance (see Duim et al., 2001). Although a variety of tourism entrepreneurs – varying from hotel and restaurant owners, to fruit and handicraft sellers – translated Espadilla Beach into a tourism zone, the outcome is continuously challenged by local organizations like Comité de Lucha. Rather then seeing the National Park or Espadilla Beach either as 'spaces of prescription' or as 'spaces of negotiation', they are both. On the one hand, they are constantly aligned with the ordering work of, respectively, nature conservationists (and organizations representing them) and tourism entrepreneurs, while on the other hand this work of prescription and control is challenged and outcomes are continuously negotiated. Therefore, all spaces should be seen as complex relations between different modes of ordering and their subsequent forms of resistance (Murdoch, 1998: 364).

However, this interaction of different modes of ordering is not purely 'local' as it is also constituted and configured by 'distant others'. The work of prescription and negotiation also reflects the ability or inability of some (like the National Park Service, former land owners who left the region, and particular investors and entrepreneurs from Manuel Antonio, Costa Rica or even outside Costa Rica) to direct the course of events. Indeed, as Urry (2000: 140) explains, particular tourism regions can be understood as multiplex, as a set of spaces where ranges of relational networks coalesce, interconnect and fragment. Any such place can be viewed as the particular nexus between, on the one hand, propinquity characterized by intensely thick co-present interaction, and on the other hand, fast flowing webs and networks stretched corporeally, virtually and imaginatively across distances. These propinquities and extensive networks come together to enable performances in, and of, particular places.

6.4 Modes of ordering of small-scale entrepreneurs

The translation of space is ubiquitous in performing tourismscapes. Space is symbolically (in holiday brochures, photographs and images, by design and architecture) and materially translated within actor-networks. Space in tourismscapes is engaged not only by tour operators,[18] their local agents and other accomplices, but also by hoteliers, taxi drivers, guides and organizations like governments, NGOs or suppliers, each of which might represent other modes of ordering.

Although each of them enacts upon space, clearly this is insufficient for carrying out a successful project. Take the following example (see also Duim, 1997a):

> In Costa Rica in March 1996, a beautiful *albergue de montana* was opened, called Rio Chirripo Pacifico. The albergue was beautifully designed and the architecture fully harmonized with the landscape. Building materials and constructions were congruent with the natural environment. The owner, Rafael, a former farmer, had invested 30 million colones (almost EUR 50,000), half of which he had had to borrow. The interest and the instalment amounted to 0.5 million colones (EUR 800) a month. He needed almost 50% occupancy the whole year round to be able to pay this debt. I visited him three weeks after opening and he had still not received any tourists. He had built his albergue, but forgotten to promote it. Nobody knew it existed. And a Dutch entrepreneur, situated 10 kilometres further down the road, was not able to send any of his guests to the albergue de montana, as he couldn't confirm vacancies as there was no telephone connection between the two and the road was in such a bad condition that he could not send any guests to the albergue without prior notice. And colleagues, who visited the same place only four months later, discovered that Rafael had sold the place, as he was no longer able to pay the bank.

Was 'albergue de montana' a success or a failure? It was both. The albergue's architecture, location (near the entrance of a national park), facilities, quality of services and utilization of local products were all very successful. The entities of the 'local' network converged. However, the project was not successful in creating a 'global' network of close-by and distant heterogeneous elements, which although seemingly trivial were nevertheless important if the owner was to solve the main problem he was confronted with: a lack of clients (see Verschoor, 1997a). The owner

managed to get a permit and a loan, however at an excessive interest rate. Other heterogeneous obstacles like bad roads, heavy rainfalls, no telephone connection with the 'outside world', not being mentioned in guide books and travel brochures, and no regular contact with the regional tourism office also prevented the albergue from becoming an 'obligatory point of passage'. In other words, the albergue never became in tune with relevant tourismscapes.

However, millions of other small enterprises do, temporarily or permanently, become tuned in with relevant tourismscapes. And they are an enormous source of employment. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2001), the hotel, catering and tourism sector employs approximately 3% of the world's total labour force. If indirect effects are calculated in, its share rises as high as 8%. Direct employment in enterprises provides about 80 million jobs. Small and medium-sized enterprises employ at least half of the sector's workforce and represent a majority of its enterprises. Together, the travel and the tourism industry are estimated to provide close to 200 million jobs globally, or one job in every thirteen.[19] Similarly, based on an international review of small and medium-sized enterprises, Morrison and Thomas (2004) conclude that in all the economies presented in their review, small and medium-sized enterprises are seen as the backbone of the tourism industry and the drivers of social and economic transition.

In the following section, I shall examine and discuss the role of predominantly 'small-scale' enterprises in performing tourismscapes, and discuss their modes of ordering. However, the examination will be limited by necessity. Contrary to, for example, rural sociology, where over a period of twelve years numerous studies of modes of ordering in farming ('farming styles') have been executed, collectively comprising a programme (see Ploeg, 2003: 119 and Commandeur, 2003), a similar programme in tourism studies is largely absent.[20]

In the following I shall therefore restrict myself to some 'stories' of hotel (or pension) owners on Texel and in Manuel Antonio, supplemented with some evidence from other tourism literature, to illustrate the modes of ordering of small-scale tourism entrepreneurs. Thus, the result will not be a typology of small-scale entrepreneurs in tourism based on a careful examination of the way in which 'they' structure their work. One might even question the possibility and fruitfulness of doing so.

Instead, I shall project the probability of various modes of ordering by discussing various dimensions along which small-scale entrepreneurs operate (see also Ploeg, 2003: 116-117). These dimensions function as coordinate systems, that is, as multidimensional fields on which the heterogeneous modes of ordering of small-scale entrepreneurs can be projected and investigated. The emphasis will be on the dimensions of issue of scale (versus scope), patronage (versus brokering), formality (versus informality) and opportunity (versus necessity). Obviously, many more dimensions might emerge as research continues (see also Morrison, 2004; Morrison and Thomas, 2004).

The literature on small-scale entrepreneurs thrives on such dualisms as success or failure, small or big, and informal or formal. As we shall see, these are all rather essentialist categories. Therefore, before adding an actor-network perspective to these readings, I shall depict how small-scale entrepreneurs are generally understood in the tourism literature.

6.4.1 Small and big

Small entrepreneurs form a very heterogeneous category (Boissevain, 1997). There is a wide variety of concepts used for small-scale entrepreneurs, varying from small, micro or petty entrepreneurs, family business and self-employment to home and cottage industry. Clearly, the differences between these categories are considerable, demanding more precision as far as size, scope, organization of and the context within which an enterprise operates are concerned. For example, scholars are debating the maximum number of employees that defines an enterprise as a 'small' enterprise. Small, however, is a relative concept that varies between countries and between industries in countries (ibid.: 302). For some, a small-scale entrepreneur covers all economic activities or businesses deploying a labour force of no more than 10 people, while for others this number varies from 200 to 5000 employees (Dahles, 1999). In a European-wide context, a small or medium-sized enterprise is defined in employment terms as a company with a workforce of fewer than 250 employees, a definition that embraces the majority of the tourism businesses in Europe (Wanhill, 2000: 134).

Results from research in Costa Rica and in the Netherlands[21] also show the importance of small-scale enterprises. In her research in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, Cabout (2001) found that on average most enterprises employ one or two people. Only the more expensive hotels (prices starting at USD 100 a day) have provided work for a lot of employees, ranging from 15 to, in the case of the famous Hotel Si Como No, 120. Similarly, on Texel 32 of the island's 37 hotels are small-scale enterprises employing fewer than 10 people. Just one hotel (Hotel Opduin) belongs to the top-end category of Dutch hotels (Goudzwaard and Visser, 2003).

One should seriously argue the value of the continuous discussions about 'small' and 'big', just as one can dispute the usefulness of the distinction between 'mass' and 'alternative' tourism. As Latour (1998) argues, the notion of network allows us to dissolve the micro-macro distinction that has plagued social theory from its inception:

> The small scale/large scale model has three features which have proven devastating for social theory: it is tied to an order relation that goes from top to bottom or from bottom to top – as if society really had a top and a bottom; it implies that an element 'b', being macro-scale is of a different nature and should thus be studied differently from an element 'a' which is micro-scale; it is utterly unable to follow how an element goes from being individual – 'a' – to collective – 'b' – and back' (ibid.: 4).

Moreover, the scale – that is, the type, number and topography of connections – is to be left to the 'definition of the situation' of the actors themselves. For many 'small' entrepreneurs, their enterprise is 'big enough'. As one entrepreneurs on Texel stated (based on Goudzwaard and Visser, 2003):

> There are a couple of rules of thumb for building a hotel. Either you build between 15 and 20 rooms, or the hotel has to be much bigger. Increasing from 16 to 25 rooms implicates the need to hire a new member of staff, without a guarantee that turnover relatively increases as well. So the maximum number of rooms is approximately 20.

And another:

> I don't want to expand; that wouldn't be very clever. We've reached the limit of our abilities. Three or four rooms more would mean expanding the dining room and hiring a chambermaid.

Nevertheless, Shaw and Williams (2002) suggest four main types of firm characteristics, ranging from the highly marginalized self-employed category through the owner-director companies, where management and ownership are clearly separated (see also Boissevain, 1997). The few studies that have been undertaken (Caalders, 2002; Dahles and Bras, 1999; Duim 1997a; Shaw and Williams, 2002) suggest that most of the entrepreneurs in tourism fall into the first two groups as described in table 6.1. In this part of the tourism industry, which to a certain extent is 'traditional', the small independently owned establishments are frequently characterized by weak management skills and reliance on family labour. They are typified by low levels of capital investment and are economically marginal (Ioannides and Debagge, 1997; Shaw and Williams, 2002). Although often cited, it proves to be difficult to make the typology operational in empirical research (see e.g. Cela, 2001)

Table 6.1 Organizational structures and entrepreneurial characteristics

Category	Entrepreneurial characteristics
Self-employed	Use of family labour, little market stability, low levels of capital investment, tendency towards weakly developed management skills
Small employer	Use of family and non-family labour; less economically marginalized but shares other characteristics of self-employed group
Owner-controllers	Use of non-family labour, higher levels of capital investment, often formal system of management control but no separation of ownership and control
Owner-directors	Separation of ownership and management functions, highest levels of capital investment

Source: Shaw and Williams (2002: 161)

Despite the hazard of making another generalization, perhaps the most important characteristic of small enterprises is that they are family affairs. Family relationships are vital for the provision of labour, expertise, capital, public relations and general moral support (Boissevain, 1997: 304). As an entrepreneur on Texel stated:

> I mainly work in the kitchen, my mother at the reception and my father is a jack-of-all trades. My parents enabled me, by giving me starting capital to buy this hotel.(Source: interviews by Goudzwaard and Visser, 2003):

The question now arises whether we should assume one particular dominant mode of ordering per small-scale enterprise, especially where there is no separation of management and ownership, and where family labour prevails.[22] Or should we stick to the idea that even in these businesses, different modes of orderings collide?

Basically, I adhere to the latter. To recap the discussion in the above, modes of ordering cannot be defined in terms of persons or personal attributes. They are strategies, and strategies evolve,

change and conflict. As they all have their visions, but also try to properly organize their work and sometimes even have to make hard decisions, small-scale enterprises may deploy various strategies and use different 'tactics of translation' to make the enterprise successful.
Moreover, just like managing a tour operator business or a large hotel, running a small hotel, lodge or pension entails a wide range of tasks. It is all about providing services, food and beverage to guests, making beds, maintaining the building, taking reservations and keeping the books:

> I have a lot of duties. Of course, I am co-owner and make decisions together with my husband. But I also serve breakfast, administer and do the bookkeeping and reservations. (Source: interviews by Goudzwaard and Visser, 2003).

But it is also about getting banks, suppliers, local governmental agencies and entrepreneurial associations to do one's 'dirty work', as well as about maintaining good relations with family members, potential visitors, employees and the wider community. This broad set of tasks is to be considered as a project, which demands careful coordination in order to create congruence within the enterprise and to keep the enterprise in line with the tourismscapes within which it has to operate (see also Ploeg, 2003). And there is no reason to a priori assume that this ordering work differs between 'small' and 'big' companies.

6.4.2 Pre-Fordism, Fordism and Post-Fordism

Another rather common but essentialist[23] categorization is the distinction made between pre-Fordist, Fordist, post-Fordist and neo-Fordist modes of ordering. It is an essentialist categorization, as the ordering in terms of pre- or post-Fordist producers and consumers does not fit the ways the entrepreneurs themselves narrate their modes of ordering,[24] let alone fully encompass the complexities of the 'market' (see Verschoor, 1997a). Clearly, in my view, tourismscapes are to be seen as complex *mélanges* of pre-Fordist, Fordist, post-Fordist and neo-Fordist elements coexisting over time and space (see also Torres, 2002: 88; Ioannides and Debagge, 1997). Nevertheless, for a moment I shall employ the categorization as a clear distinction to illustrate the complexities of performing tourismscapes in a more general sense.

Historically, tourismscapes built on a pre-Fordist type of small-scale production network that targeted reduced markets through non-institutionalized, independently run, artisanal or patriarchal firms. Labour is intensive and family based and the independently owned establishments are frequently characterized by weak management skills and low levels of capital investment. Most often they are economically marginal (Ioannides and Debagge, 1997). In many less developed countries, it is still the dominant *modus operandi*.

In Manuel Antonio/Queopos and Kenya, a lot of hotels still resemble the pre-Fordist mode of production. However, they persist in Europe, too: family-run micro-enterprises (0-9 employees) make up 96% of hotels and restaurants, and contribute 22% of total turnover and 30% of total employment (Smeral and Evans, in: Bianchi, 2001: 258). Local 'social' networks are crucial for the functioning of these small enterprises, and while their basis for building up these networks varies (kin, caste, clan, ethnicity), their deployment turns out to be quite similar across regions (Rutten and Upadhya, 1997: 23).

In tourism, Fordism became associated with specific mass production characteristics. As we have seen, the nineteenth-century Thomas Cook and Son is the icon of mass tourism, in 1841 already taking charge of the travel of some 2 million people. Fordist performances of tourismscapes are typically characterized as a mode of tourism production by a small number of transnational corporations, like transnational tour operators, airlines and larger hotel companies, which initially introduced more rigid, uniform and standardized modes of service production. Linked to globalization strategies, they pursue increased market share and market concentration. Low wages, unskilled, specialized and seasonal labour, low levels of unionization and high labour turnover are the principal characteristics (Ioannides and Debagge, 1997; ILO, 2001). The dominant mode is 'vertical' networking through chains. Not seldom, enterprises that are part of such a chain are 'islands' within their local community: to ensure their continued existence, they do not link or have to link up with similar surrounding businesses. Further, the chain approach tends to see networks as being composed in line with particular relations of power and coercive sets of relations dominated by large-scale tourism firms like tour operators (Murdoch, 2000). Via branding, franchising, alliances, takeovers or other 'tactics of translation', smaller entrepreneurs increasingly became caught in processes of horizontal and vertical integration. Fordist elements of the tourism industry that exhibit flexibility, offer consumers a greater choice and are more likely to adapt than to disappear, are also depicted as neo-Fordist rather than post-Fordist (see Torrres, 2002)

Post-Fordist modes of tourism production – performing greater flexibility and variety, segmentation and diagonal integration – have increased in the last twenty or thirty years (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001: 378). Functionally flexible and skilled employees are doing their best to meet the demands of more experienced and independent travellers (see also Lash and Urry, 1994). New technologies are strategically used to create horizontal, vertical and diagonal network alliances. Complex networks of interlinked firms illustrate the pattern of industrial organization known as flexible accumulation. This shift in industrial organization has given rise to new opportunities for independent entrepreneurship by those who have relatively small amounts of capital to invest (Rutten and Upadhya, 1997).

The complexity of tourismscapes is well mirrored by this heterogeneity of constituent firms and networks of firms. Ioannides and Debagge (1997 and 1998) contend that rather than there being a chronological division between pre-Fordist, Fordist and neo- or post-Fordist activities, the tourism industry has 'permeable boundaries' and a diversity of 'linkage arrangements'. Tourismscapes, therefore, in essentialist terms, consist of a complex of coexisting multiple incarnations, ranging from pre-Fordist, 'craft'-oriented small-scale entrepreneurs, via more rigid, standardized, mass-market Fordist production processes, to elements of the tourism industry demonstrating post-Fordist characteristics, particularly based on new information technologies (Ioannides and Debagge, 1997 and 1998; Torres, 2002; see also Harvey, 1989 and Milne and Ateljevic, 2001).

6.4.3 Patronage and brokering

Recently, Dahles (1999), following Boissevain (1974), introduced the distinction between patronage and brokering. These are two distinct but closely related 'modes of ordering'. They actually constitute a safety belt that allows small entrepreneurs to operate in a relatively flexible

manner (Dahles, 1999). Strategic linkages between small entrepreneurs exploit two distinct types or resources, namely first-order resources and second-order resources. The former include the resources (such as land, equipment, jobs, funds and specialized knowledge) that the entrepreneur controls directly, while second-order resources consist of strategic contacts with other people who control first-order resources directly or who have access to people who do. 'Patrons' primarily control first-order resources, and 'brokers' predominately manage second-order resources. However, in both cases they drag people and things into tourismscapes – patrons by incorporating first-order resources, and brokers by acting as mediators. They bring people in touch which each other and with natural (or cultural) resources directly or indirectly, and they bridge gaps in communication between people (ibid.: 9).

Guides are a good example of brokers. They offer logistical as well as narrative support. They reveal the local network not only of people but also of things (souvenirs, food, historical buildings and sites, natural qualities and the like) and as such enact tourismscapes. Their activities can be regarded as mostly entrepreneurial in the sense that they sell images, knowledge, contacts, souvenirs, access, authenticity, ideology and sometimes even their body (Bras, 2000: 47). These are the intermediaries they put in circulation in order to receive money in return. An important factor in becoming a successful guide is the ability to turn one's social relations and one's narratives into a profitable business asset. The ability to do so rests on the art of building a network, monopolizing contacts, exploiting the commission and tipping system, and sensing the trends within tourism (ibid.: 47).

Thus, like 'size', patronage and brokering are relational effects and are defined relative to the actor networks at stake. 'Patrons' will have to act as 'brokers' as well, and brokers can act as patrons, as for example Bras (2000: 111) explains:

> Launching a home stay with bed-and-breakfast facilities, being an intermediary in large souvenir purchases, giving private English lessons and being involved in import-export of handicraft products are examples of the sideline activities that are carried out.

Therefore, hotel owners, who primarily patronize their resources, have to be brokers, too. They are truly 'network specialists', too, as they endlessly translate tourists, banks, staff members, distributors of food, beverage and furniture, other enterprises and legal and local rules into their project. Take the example of a German entrepreneur in Manuel Antonio. He had to rebuild his hotel to make it a successful project:

> When I took over the hotel it was in a terrible condition. I spent more than 15,000 US dollars; the whole second floor is new. I refurnished the hotel; tables, chairs, bamboo, electricity; all are new (...) But the hotel is not completely new; it still has its old charm. (Source: interviews by Goudzwaard and Visser, 2003)

However, renovation also required a lot of brokering:

> You have to know how deals are done. For example, I had to buy materials for reconstructing this place. Compared to the first offer that was made to me, I saved 60 per cent. Can you imagine?

> 60 per cent! ... The architect planning the reconstruction was an engineer from the municipality. He made the plan, got some money and gave me the permission. Then I reconstructed my hotel totally differently. When he came to see the reconstruction and made objections, I said: 'Let's drink a beer!'.

Thus, to make a project do well, human as well as non-human materials had to be utilized. In this particular, case even spaghetti played a part in attracting new customers:

> There was a restaurant offering 'pizza nights', during which you were allowed to eat as much pizza as you liked. So I did not get any guests at my place for dinner. So what did I do? I started a 'free pasta' night. Everybody who checked in could eat spaghetti for free. So then all the people stayed with me. Even more, I was repaid by the selling of beer, Coca-Cola and water. And you know what else? I was paid off by the fact that people stayed longer.

But all in all, brokering is a hard job:

> I tried to start a referral programme with taxi drivers, restaurants, stores and people in Quepos. Both nothing happened ... And there's that guy who contacts tourists as they get off the bus. I made contact with him, but he never used my cards ... So now we have to make contact with travel agencies, but we haven't yet set up agency commissions and stuff like that ... I will have to work on that ... (Source: interviews by Goudzwaard and Visser, 2003)

6.4.4 Informal and formal

A fourth common dimension in discussing small enterprises is the distinction between formal and informal. For decades, those who drew up official policies towards the informal small-firm sector took it as their task to replace 'tradition' with 'modernity' in order to achieve economic development. However, evidence from both the developing and the developed world clearly shows that development based on such discriminating policies is much too simple. To the contrary, according to Portes and Sassen-Koob (1987) much of the available information contradicts the assumptions that informal activities are essentially transitory and eventually will disappear. Informal arrangements continue to exist or even grow in contexts where they are believed to be extinct or in which they were expected to disappear with the advance of industrialization (Castells and Portes, 1989).

For example, in Kenya the rapid urbanization and modernization experienced after independence, with its accompanied poverty, unemployment and the growth of unplanned areas without social amenities, led to an increasing proportion of new job opportunities in the informal sector. The informal sector in Kenya operates in an informal space with very little shelter: it is therefore called *Jua Kall* (Kiswhali for 'hot sun'). Every year Kenya must absorb almost 500,000 new entrants into the labour market. For this to happen the formal sector would have to increase by 17% a year, instead of the actual annual growth of 3.6% over the past decade. The informal sector of Kenya therefore contains 95% of all entrepreneurial and technological business in the country and accounts for 37% of the total urban employment. The tourism sector increasingly provides an important portion of this employment. Experts reckon the percentage of people working in the tourism industry in a place like Malindi to be between 70 and 90% (Marwijk and Joosten, 2003: 21)

Similarly, according to Arroyo and Nebelung (2002), in Central America almost half of the non-agricultural employment is depicted as informal, and more than 75% of the non-agricultural employment takes place in small or micro-enterprises (of which 80% are self-subsistence enterprises, with very little potential for growth). Although specifications for the tourism sector are lacking, there are no reasons to believe that the situation in this sector differs fundamentally from that in other sectors (Beluche, pers. com). Tourism is increasingly providing jobs, especially in Costa Rica. For example, in Manuel Antonio/Quepos, tourism generates 30% of all direct employment. People working in the tourism sector in Manuel Antonio earn around 1.60 US dollars an hour (Duim et al., 2001; see also Chapter 2).

Although the informal sector in tourism absorbs a lot of new entrants to the labour market, the ILO (2001) is concerned about the quality of that labour. They especially point at the working conditions (often characterized by part-time or low-paid jobs, high staff turnover and irregular working hours), the position of migrant workers, and child labour.

The informal economy does not result from the intrinsic characteristics of activities, but from the social definition of state intervention. Castells and Portes (1989: 12) define the informal economy not as an individual condition but a process of income-generation characterized by one central feature: 'it is unregulated by the institutions of society, in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regulated.' As a consequence, the boundaries of the informal economy will substantially vary in different contexts and historical circumstances. Moreover, there is no clear-cut duality between a formal and an informal sector, but a series of complex interactions that establish distinct relationships between the economy and the state (ibid.: 31-32). Individual workers may switch between the two sectors, even during the same day. Therefore, to position two different types of economies – an informal or traditional, and a formal or modern one – within a single spatial setting, is not is a fruitful starting point (Verschoor, 1997a: 225).

Nevertheless, Dahles (1999) points at the coexistence of the 'traditional' and 'modern' in a 'dual economy' in which capitalist development does not absorb the traditional economy, but simply exists side by side in a dual system. However, in this idea of dualism, the informal sector is often erroneously branded as unorganized, underdeveloped and inert. It is often only the lack of an official license, and not its organization or functions, that classifies the activity. According to Dahles (1999: 8), household incomes may come from a variety of sources, as their individual members work in different sectors and change their working patterns many times during their lifetime or even on a monthly or daily basis. Unions or the state might not protect their labour, but often they establish protective organizations themselves that are tolerated by the authorities. It may therefore be more appropriate to present a local economy as a continuum with a formal and an informal end, whereas most business activities are characterized by a combination of formal and informal traits, depending on the specific context and the business under examination.

Bras (2000), for example, shows in the case of guides in Lombok that the focus on licenses is merely a policy through which governmental authorities hope to get a grip on one specific group of actors in tourism:

> This is a vain hope as the approach has proved to be ineffectual, because there is no specific attention paid to the underlying strategies and sources of capital which local tourists guides tend to use. The result is that unlicensed guides are branded as unprofessional and that some local guides are even stigmatized as the major source of annoyance upsetting host-guests relations (ibid.: 207).

However, to gain a good insight into the way local tourist guides operate it is important to focus on local guides' own perception of their activities. According to Bras, the availability or absence of a license has no bearing on which aspects of the job are emphasized or which elements of the culture are brought to the fore. It depends instead on the effectiveness of local guides' networks, their position within the tourism industry and their ties with the local community. Bras' extensive fieldwork among local tourist guides in Lombok revealed a formal-informal continuum, which included four categories of local guides: professional guides, site-related guides, odd-jobbers and network specialists. In most cases, overlap between informal and formal seems to be the rule rather than the exception.

6.4.5 Opportunity and necessity

There are many reasons for starting a hotel, lodge or other tourism business venture. Morrison (2004) suggests making a distinction between opportunity – where individuals perceive a business prospect and take advantage of it, either independently or from a position of employment – and necessity, where individuals become entrepreneurial agents, as they have no better alternative. In the latter case, starting an entrepreneurial project is, for example, instrumentally stirred by social and/or economic marginalization: a financial need to diversify from other, traditional spheres of economic activity or to support family members (ibid.: 10).

In the former case of relative opportunity and free choice, the entrepreneurial activity is often associated with lifestyle goals. Especially Ateljevic and Doorne (2000 and 2003) recently argued that an emerging cohort of 'tourism lifestyle entrepreneurs', who do not subscribe to the inevitable path of 'progress' as an end in itself, consciously reject economic and business growth opportunities as an expression of their socio-political ideology. Coincidentally, this rejection of an overtly profit-driven orientation does not necessarily result in financial suicide or development stagnation, but provides opportunities to engage with niche-market consumers informed by values common to themselves within rapidly segmenting markets (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2000: 381)

However, opportunity and necessity, *wertrational* and *zweckrational* action, lifestyle goals and strategic business objectives are not mutually exclusive. To the contrary, there are many trade-offs between the two and lifestyle goals are constantly evaluated in the light of commercial considerations, which are clearly essential for a continued existence of the enterprise. As an entrepreneur on Texel stated:

> Freedom, being accountable only to oneself: that's the advantage. However, one always has to work. Yesterday I was offered three tickets for a Rolling Stones concert. I had to say no. But in the winter I close the hotel for three months. That pays off. (Source: interviews by Goudzwaard and Visser, 2003)

Similarly, the American owner of a hotel in Manuel Antonio declared that the decision to move to Costa Rica was:

> ... both a choice and a necessity. I wanted to be my own boss rather than work for someone else. It was a necessity because I couldn't get a job; the economy in the US is bad and I had been trying to get a job for more than a year. ... Why Costa Rica? I want to live close to the beach. I want to live

> somewhere warm ... and Costa Rica is more stable than other countries, politically, economically, and it's close to the US. (Source: interviews by Goudzwaard and Visser, 2003)

So lifestyle can be defined relative to, for example, a sense and appreciation of place (Morrison, 2004: 15). As an entrepreneur on Texel stated: 'We live here fantastically ... Who in the world can say that he lives in a National Park?' (Source: interview with Roel Buijs in Texelse Courant, 24 July 2001)

Lifestyle can also be defined relative to leisure pursuits, domestic circumstances, an individual life and career cycle, and as an arbiter allowing access to a particular lifestyle. However, within different sub-sectors it may have very different connotations (see Morrison, 2004: 15). For example, although the work of the coordinators of the Cultural Tourism Programme is born out of 'necessity', they also take the opportunity to relate to more Western styles of life, including the frequent use of mobile phones and the wearing of particular clothes. And Dahles and Bras (1999) report in the case of Indonesia that tourism is even sometimes seen as a strategy to acquire a 'ticket to a better life' by romancing the tourists.

The close ties between choices and necessity means that managerial decisions are frequently based on highly personalized criteria. For example, several respondents in Manuel Antonio as well as on Texel reported that they had closed their restaurant and only continued hotel operations: 'Having a restaurant is slavery. In the high season you have to work until two o'clock at night. Running a hotel is not easier, but you have to do things you like.' Another reported: 'For ten years I also had a restaurant – but I also have a lot of children. To run a restaurant on your own – my husband died seven years ago – is very hard. So I closed the restaurant.' (Source: interviews by Goudzwaard and Visser, 2003.)

Further, entrepreneurs fully recognize the logic that without economic value creation, a particular lifestyle would be impossible and sometimes the latter is postponed by the former, as in the case of Harry Wuis, former owner-manager of Hotel Opduin, which is now Texel's top four-star hotel. He took over from his father when he was about 20. He expanded, renovated and ran the hotel for 40 years, and also chaired a number of local associations and committees, before he could finally start his study in art history and look after his gallery on the island (Wuis, pers. com., and Timmerman, 2001).

6.4.6 Small entrepreneurs in tourismscapes

In sum, in examining the ordering work of tourism enterprises we discussed five dimensions along which this ordering work may unfold. These dimensions function as coordinate systems along which heterogeneous modes of ordering of small entrepreneurs can be projected and investigated. However it is not very fruitful to start off with the assertion that an enterprise a priori is small or large, pre-Fordist, Fordist or post-Fordist, formal or informal. These notions are to be replaced by studying associations and connections that might produce effects of size, distance and proximity, informality or standardization and flexibility (Latour, 1998).

Moreover, an enterprise requires human and non-human materials for its composition, make-up, constitution, establishment, assembly and maintenance. Enterprises are to be analysed

as nodes in webs of connections mobilizing large numbers of human and non-human entities that actively participate in the entrepreneurial project. So, like tourismscapes, an enterprise is a hybrid reality composed of successive translations (Callon, 2001: 64). These translations do not follow a linear pattern in a 'stable system', but rather non-linear paths characterized by change and turbulence (see Russell and Faulkner, 2004).

Obviously, a tourism enterprise like a hotel, lodge or cabin is about owners, room maids, cooks, waiters and guests, but it is also about rooms, food and beverage, design and a lot of paperwork; the way they inscribe themselves in folders, websites, brochures and the like; as well as the intermediaries they put into circulation. As for the last-mentioned, money, food, drinks, brochures, permits, tax forms, faxes, emails and vouchers circulate between the enterprise, its clients, distributors of food, drinks and furniture, the municipality, the tour operators and all the others involved in the translation processes (see also Verschoor, 1997a: 104)

The role of small-scale entrepreneurs in terms of formal or informal, patronage or brokering, pre- or post Fordist results from the relations they are entangled in. The 'success' of the project of being a guide, hotel or restaurant owner, souvenir seller or taxi driver, rests on the ability to impose itself as a central node between the networks with which it is intertwined. Or to put it more simply, to become an indispensable part of tourismscapes.

6.5 Conclusion

Studying tourismscapes focuses the attention on processes of association of tourism entrepreneurs (like tour operators, hoteliers, middleman, guides, and drivers), governmental and non-governmental agencies, locals and tourists, technologies and environments. 'Small' and 'big' entrepreneurs, beaches and mountains, paperwork and computer programs all gain their observed properties through association with others.

Translation is the process and methods by which actors form tourismscapes, the processes of ordering which try to convert ordering into order, the processes in which a relative durability in tourismscapes is striven for. And indeed, some tourismscapes might last longer than others. Therefore, it is plausible to go out and look for fairly coherent and large-scale ordering patterns that generate, define and interrelate elements in relatively consistent ways. And that is what we have in mind when we talk of 'modes of ordering'. These modes of ordering define how to 'read' tourism, how to amalgamate people and things, how to constitute human-human as well as human-spatial interactions, and how to interact with other projects and their modes of ordering. Thus, these modes of ordering underlie the processes of association.

Hence, tourismscapes emerge from the encounter, the interaction, the mutual influencing and the conditioning of several modes of ordering. What occurs as 'states of affairs' on Lanzarote and Texel and in Tanzania and Manuel Antonio at a particular moment, emerges from particular constellations of various modes of ordering, interlocking in particular ways and collectively defining the apparent course of action and development opportunities.

Thus, unfolding tourismscapes implies probing the modes of ordering of hoteliers, tour operators, guides, taxi drivers, non-governmental and governmental organizations as well as others that define their outcomes. In doing so, first and obviously, the study of tourismscapes

needs to proceed beyond essential categories and dichotomies such as small versus big, formal versus informal, global versus local. Studies focusing on the role of entrepreneurs in performing tourismscapes should reveal the modes of ordering of entrepreneurs, the relations they are entangled in and their laborious processes of translation. They should avoid studying entrepreneurs in terms of pre-defined categories as 'formal' or 'informal' or 'patrons' and 'brokers', as they are relational effects. Instead we should analyse how the distinction is constructed and used in the process in which actors attempt to construct themselves as 'collectifs'.

Likewise, whether studying tour operators and their accomplices or other actors who perform tourismscapes, we should examine how they interconnect, and how these actor-networks diverge and converge as a result of processes of ordering and emergent power relations. As we have seen, some projects (Ecole Travel, some modules of the Cultural Tourism Programme) have been successful, while others (CANAMET, Rio Chirripo Pacifico, other modules) have been less successful. Success or failure is an ordering effect. A successful project is one that has been able to become an 'obligatory point of passage' between the heterogeneous materials of the processes of association in question. However, even success is always relative and uncertain, as in all cases the heterogeneous order has to be continuously repaired and legitimized. In the meantime, the less successful ones are ceaselessly struggling to hold their bits and pieces together and to enrol others in their network. And finally, those who failed never sang the same song as those they depended on.

In sum, in Chapters 5 and 6, I have imputed tourismscapes as a scientific ordering mode to the bits and pieces that make up what we label as tourism. Introducing the notion of tourismscapes and bringing modes of ordering into play enabled me to re-conceptualize tourism. It allowed me to develop an agenda for tourism research, which I shall present in Chapter 9. But, as observed in Chapter 5, this particular imputation is also tentative.

The imputation will be more successful if it not only evokes new lines of research but also sheds light on possible innovations that address urgent issues related to sustainable tourism development. I shall tackle this second challenge in the following two chapters. In Chapter 7, I shall show how the particular configurations of people and things in tourismscapes induce multifaceted problems in terms of sustainability, and direct the discussion towards the hybrid environments that are included or externalized by actors performing tourismscapes. Then, in Chapter 8, I shall discuss the search for new patterns of coordination between the constituents of tourismscapes – namely people, technology and environments – and indicate the potentials for innovation towards sustainable development of tourism.

Notes

[1] Producers and consumers are not mere essences, but the simultaneous end product of all sorts of relations, which are often, if not always, mediated through objects. The identity of both producers and consumers is mediated through things (produced and consumed) and services (provided or used) as well as by the complex array of skills, knowledge and everything else that is needed to produce, consume, provide or use a product or service (Verschoor, 1997a: 230).

[2] Already in 1998, Kobb and Mmari (1998: 7) suggested that the purchase and use of mobile telephones would solve communication problems between CTP modules and tour operators in Arusha.

[3] According to Law (1994: 21), in many ways, modes of ordering are like Michel Foucault's discourses: they are forms of strategic arranging that are intentional but do not necessarily have a subject. However, in the writing of Foucault discourses are already in place. They generate instances, and as they do so they reproduce themselves. But Foucault does not tell stories about how they might come to perform themselves differently – how they might come to reshape themselves in new embodiments or instantiations. And nor do we learn much about how they might interact together when they are performed and embodied. This is where Law parts company with Foucault. For Law has been arguing that a mode of ordering is always limited. It sometimes generates precarious pools of apparent order. Certainly it does not hold the world in an iron grip of a totalizing hegemony (ibid.: 22). Law's proposal is therefore to take the notion of discourse and cut it down to size. This means: first, we should treat it as a set of patterns that might be imputed to the networks of the social; second, we should look for discourses in the plural, not discourse in the singular; third we should treat discourses as ordering attempts, not orders; fourth, we should explore how they are performed, embodied and told in different materials; and fifth, we should consider the ways in which they interact, change or indeed face extinction (ibid.: 95). This then, according to Law (1994) is a way of handling the notion of discourse within the context of a pragmatic and relationally materialist sociology.

[4] In 1921 Max Weber in 1921 discerned zweckrational and wertrational; see Thurlings 1975 (162-163) and Lengkeek (1994; 78-79). A similar distinction is made by Mannheim between formal or functional and substantive or social rationality (see for an extensive discussion for example Zafirovski, 2003). In the case of Multatuli, clearly end-given rationality eventually conquered value-given rationality.

[5] The importance of interweaving also stems from the principles of actor-network theory stressing the performative character of actor-networks, where actors are performed in, by and through relations (Law, 1999a)

[6] Here we meet once again the influence of Foucault on the conceptualization of 'modes of ordering' (see Law, 1994 and 2001). As Howarth (2000: 80-82) asserts, especially in his later writings, Foucault stresses the ever-changing connections between different discourses, as well as the contingent relationships between discursive and non-discursive practices. Foucault seeks to incorporate non-discursive elements, such as institutions, policies and material objects, into a viable discursive approach to social phenomena.

[7] Peters (2003: 324) claims that in order to sell travel speed and shorter travel times, Cook had to build passages. As a unit of analysis, passages can be described and researched at three levels. First as heterogeneous spatio-temporal orders that assumes both material elements (in the Cook case: trains, stations, hotel coupons, schedules) and immaterial elements (Cook's teetotalism ideals and colonialist presuppositions). Second, as planned but contingent orders that have to be continuously 'repaired'. And third, as orders that both include and exclude people, places and times, which accounts for the fact that the passage of Cook's trip around the world was also shaped by the political topography of the Victorian empire (Peters, 2003).

[8] This section is based on seven interviews with representatives from various tour operators; the interviews were conducted in the second half of 2004.

[9] As Appelman (2004: 162) explains, the success of Thomas Cook and Son derived from the particular combination of an explanatory entrepreneurial mode by the father, inspired by religious and political motivations, and the chief concern of his son John Mason Cook to balance the books. The latter provided the stability needed to ensure a healthy profit that consequently created room for further exploration and expansion (see also Peters, 2003).

[10] This section is based primarily on correspondence by email with Marinus Gisolf, one of the owners of Ecole Travel. Over a period of one year, we sent each other emails with questions and replies in order to discover some of the tactics of translation applied by an incoming tour operator like Ecole Travel.

[11] The convergence or degree of integration of the network depends on the degrees of translation: 'the more successful a translation, the stronger a translation regime, and the higher a degree of momentum, the more constituent actors of a network can be seen as working together in a common enterprise' (Verschoor, 1997a: 105).

[12] However, the 300 officially registered hotels had an average of 36 rooms each, while the around 800 unregistered hotels had an average of only 11 rooms each (Duim, 1977a).

[13] According to Verschoor (1997a: 213), durability and robustness of translations in actor-networks are, above all, inscribed in intermediaries: 'one could posit that it is more difficult for a competing translation to impose itself in a situation in which more and more actors are associated with one another through durable and robust intermediaries' (ibid.: 214).

[14] See also Law and Mol (2000) for an extensive discussion on immutable mobiles.

[15] This paragraph is greatly inspired by Allen's (2003) book 'Lost Geographies of Power' in which he discusses amongst others the work of Foucault, Latour and Lefebvre.

[16] This imagined space consists of what Lefebvre (1991) denotes as representations of space and representational spaces.

[17] The number of tourists visiting Turkey increased from 5.4 million in 1990 to around 14 million in 2003. In the period 1994-2004 the number of Dutch tourists increased from 180,000 to more than 1 million (Hart, 2004).

[18] Moreover, in many instances, like tourism on Texel, tour operators even play a very minor role. There, as we have seen, the Texel Tourism Board (VVV), campsites, nature conservation organizations, the local council, small tourism enterprises and their associations, and even interest groups like Ten for Texel interlock in particular ways.

[19] Recently, the vulnerability of this industry and its employment was illustrated by an enormous loss of jobs worldwide. On top of the 6.5 million jobs lost in 200-2001, another 5 million were lost in 2003 due to a prolonged lack of economic dynamics, safety concerns in view of security events and the impact of SARS (Belau, 2003).

[20] Recently, a Special Interest Group within the framework of ATLAS started a research programme on small-scale tourism entrepreneurs (see Morrison and Thomas, 2004). The research of Dahles and Bras (1999) at Tilburg University can also be seen as a programme.

[21] For example, in the region of Zuid-West Friesland (Netherlands), Caalders (2001 and 2002) interviewed 74 tourism entrepreneurs. She found that 60% of the enterprises had no employees the year round. Only 7 employed more than 5 persons. Even in the high season more than 40% of the businesses employ no more than 2 persons. Less than 40% employed more than 5 persons in the high season.

[22] In studying 'farming styles', Ploeg (2003: 46) concluded that on family farms there will be one style, one strategy, although there of course could be tension between men and women and various principles that are balanced against one another.

[23] See Verschoor (1997a), especially pages 9-11, 135 and 225. Verschoor questions such notions as 'the market', 'development', 'capitalism' and 'post-Fordist production regimes', to name but a few. The reason for this is 'that these terms do not enjoy a pre-existence on their own. Rather, they reflect classificatory practices that have been constructed in the course of the history of the social sciences' (ibid.: 225).

[24] An actor-network perspective does not start by defining the character or morphology of the networks, but allows entrepreneurs to do this definitional work of ordering, which is the process of defining the economic transactions and relations an entrepreneur becomes entangled in (Callon, 1999: 188; Verschoor, 1997a: 21).

Part III

Chapter 7

Tourism and sustainable development

7 Tourism and sustainable development

The notion of sustainability has gained acceptance in the context of tourism not only on Texel and Lanzarote and in Costa Rica, Kenya and Tanzania, but all around the world. It has allowed groups and individuals with divergent ideologies and perspectives to band together around a common theme. It might increasingly stimulate and organize debates around a problematic issue and serves as a 'guiding fiction' (McCool and Moisey, 2001). The intrinsic ambiguity, however, might ultimately constitute an insuperable barrier to developing consensus on specific actions (see also Ionnides, 2001).

Clearly, the concept of sustainable development is contested and should not be considered as a neutral, scientific term to which techniques can be simply applied and upon which policies and programmes can be implemented and evaluated, and blueprints, ideal types and models catalogued and advocated. Rather, as Mowforth and Munt (2003: 49) assert, 'it constantly changes as the broader influences and interest change, reflecting a dynamic situation and concept'.

This chapter sheds light on the relation between tourismscapes and sustainable development. It provides a short overview and history of the way the relation between tourism and sustainable development has evolved and been debated.

I shall first address the issue of externalities. Externalities result from the processes of ordering that underlie tourismscapes. Tourismscapes can never be 'closed'. There will always be externalities, which however will eventually make themselves known and ask to be acknowledged (Latour, 2004). I shall therefore discuss the concept of externalities and introduce the term 'overflowing' (Callon, 1999) to denote the impossibility of total ordering.

Thereafter, I shall highlight a short history of the way externalities were discussed in the twentieth century. Three waves of environmental concern illustrate the changing relations between tourism and the environment. Since Rio '92, the issue of externalities has been framed in terms of sustainable development. Therefore, in the second part of this chapter I shall briefly review the relation between tourism and sustainable development. This review will show how tourism became part of the sustainable development agenda and will discuss the terms of the discourse since Rio. Consequently, I shall make a distinction between the concepts of sustainable tourism and sustainable tourism development. The chapter ends with an overview of prevailing issues of sustainable tourism development.

7.1 Externalities

One could argue, though somewhat naively, that the close bond between 'people' and 'things' in tourismscapes provides a solid basis for sustainability and safeguards against a relapse of the resources tourismscapes are building on. But obviously, the same relationship between 'people' and 'things' also leads to numerous issues concerning the protection of the immediate resource base that allows tourism development to be sustained. In other words, the performance of tourismscapes constantly produces externalities that ask to be internalized.

Economists have been familiar with the concept of externalities for a long time. Already in 1920, Pigou pointed at the external effects on persons other than on the contracting partners[1] (see Dietz, 1994; Opschoor and Straaten, 1993; Dubbink, 1999). Clearly linking the private market and the public sector, Pigou suggests that the government should force contaminators to lower the level of the pollution they create, either through direct regulation or by letting them pay for external effects, now referred to by economists as Pigouvian taxes (Freedman, 1997). Forty years later, Coase[2] pointed at the shortcomings of Pigou's analysis of externalities, by arguing that not only the market but also the public sector has its limitations. Further, Coase stressed that that an external cost is not simply a cost produced by the 'polluter' and borne by the 'victim'. In almost all cases, the costs are a result of decisions by both parties. So Coase first argued that externalities are a joint product of 'polluter' and 'victim', and second, that as long as the parties involved can readily make and enforce contracts in their mutual interest, neither direct regulation nor Pigouvian taxes are necessary in order to obtain the efficient outcome, the market will take care of the problem (ibid.).

However, in many cases the transactions necessary to eliminate externalities are prevented by excessively high transaction costs. So another way of stating Coase's insight is that the problem is not really due to externalities, but to transaction costs. As Freedman (1997) argues:

> If there were externalities but no transaction costs there would be no problem, since the parties would always bargain to the efficient solution. When we observe externality problems (or other forms of market failure) in the real world, we should ask not merely where the problem comes from, but what the transaction costs are that prevent it from being bargained out of existence.

Actor-network theorists have also taken up the idea of externalities[3]. From their perspective, externalities are effects that agents do not take into account in their calculations when entering into market transactions (Callon, 1999: 187-188; see also Callon 1998 a. and b.). Externalities are not given, but are the result of a process of externalization (Latour, 2004). In Manuel Antonio/ Quepos, the lack of water sewage systems is endangering the national park. On Texel, tourism is supposed to induce crowding, noise, pollution and other nuisances. In their calculations, most of the tourism entrepreneurs fail to account for the costs that tourism is imposing upon other human and non-human actors[4].

According to Callon (1998b.), beneath the concept of externality lies a more fundamental concept of ordering[5]. Ordering defines, in regards to the network of relations, those taken into account and those who are not. Modes of ordering establish boundaries within which interactions take place more or less independently of their surrounding context. This ordering puts the outside world in brackets, as it were, but does not actually abolish all links with it.[6]

In the case of the Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania, coordinators sign contracts with tour operators, tourists or the Tanzanian Tourism Board, and this would be impossible were there no relations with the villages, dancers, medicine men and the surroundings. But as Callon (1999) explains, in the process of ordering, individual agents are disassociated from each other and the outside world is 'bracketed'. For a Masaai dance, a creation of César Manrique or a 'Texel product' to become a commodity it has to be (at least partially) disconnected from its initial producers, cut off from its prior context and detached from its former users. It is only on this condition, as

Callon (1998a: 19) explains, that the calculation can be looped and that a deal can be closed; that the buyer and the seller, once the transaction has been closed, can be quits. Ordering allows for the definition of objects, goods and merchandise that are perfectly identifiable. It is owing to this ordering that the market can exist, that is to say, that distinct goods and agents can be brought into play since all these entities are independent, unrelated and unattached to one another.

As we have seen, this process of ordering is never over. In reality it is impossible to take it to a conclusion. There are always relations that defy ordering. It is for these relations that remain outside the process of ordering that economists reserve the term externalities. The latter denotes everything that the agents do not take into account and that enable them to conclude their calculations. But one needs to go further than that. When, after having identified them, in keeping with the predictions of Coase's theorem as explained above, agents decide to reorder them – in other words, to internalize externalities – other externalities appear[7]. Callon (1999) suggests the term 'overflowing' to denote this impossibility of total ordering. Whereas economic theory seems predisposed to the hypothesis that externalities should be regarded as accidental and consequently that ordering should be perceived as the norm towards everything should tend, Callon (1998b.: 252-253) takes the view that overflowing is the rule.

Instead of regarding ordering as something that happens by itself, and externalities as a kind of accident that must be put right, ordering is a fragile, artificial result based upon substantial investments. According to Callon (1999: 189), any ordering is necessarily subject to overflowing, because it mobilizes or concerns objects or beings endowed with irreducible autonomy. The Masaai dance has to be (at least partially) extricated from ordinary Masaai life to become a tourism commodity. The one who receives 'Texel products' never leaves and cannot escape the web of relations on Texel if the product is not disentangled from its prior context. Therefore, complete ordering is a contradiction in terms (ibid.: 189).

Thus, it is a false impression to suppose that one can internalize every externality in the performance of tourismscapes. All the negotiations, orderings, contracts between the actors in the network (e.g. between Ecole Travel and Costa Rican hoteliers, between the hotelier and the tourists in Manuel Antonio, between the Costa Rican National Park Services and the Costa Rican Ministry of Tourism) and all the translations involved are part of the same plot. But each element and each transaction is simultaneously helping to structure and order the interactions within tourismscapes, and a potential conduit for overflowing (Callon, 1998b: 254). Ecole Travel is not held accountable for tourists littering in Manuel Antonio National Park, the hotelier is not held accountable for polluting ground water, and the Costa Rican Ministry of Tourism is not questioned on its implicit policy of neglecting the role of small-scale entrepreneurs. And if they were held accountable, excessive transactions costs would prevent them from internalizing these externalities. And the contract between tour operators and their clients, which rests on contracts (or personal communication) between the tour operators and their local agents, which in turn rest on agreements between the local agent and local hoteliers, guides and bus drivers, is not capable of systematically suppressing all connections, burning all bridges or eliminating the dual nature of every element involved. All the heterogeneous elements linked together in the performance of tourismscapes in reality take part in its overflowing (see Callon, 1998b: 255).

Analytically speaking, two kinds of 'externalities' are discerned in this chapter (see also table 7.3). The first category stems from the fact that people and things that have been translated into tourismscapes can become polluted, depleted, exploited, inflated, overcrowded, subject to criminality or vandalism and the like; they are effects of elements constituting and constituted by the actor-networks. Here, the particular mixture of people and things leads to sustainability issues *within* tourismscapes. Essentially, the robustness of the actor-network itself is at stake. Generally speaking, actors constituting tourismscapes increasingly feel responsible for these kinds of externalities as they include the danger of tourismscapes collapsing. Therefore, all around the world initiatives have been started to internalize some of these externalities.

However, tourismscapes also produce externalities in components of the environment that have not or not yet been defined and/or 'ordered' as part of the tourismscapes. Depletion of the ozone layer, climate change, the decline of biodiversity or the exclusion of particular regions or population groups (like 'the poor' in Africa) from tourism activities are just a few examples. They belong to a new generation of 'wicked' problems that often manifest themselves less directly and clearly than the first category, as they are supranational in scale and/or have a lengthy time dimension (see WRR, 2003). I shall discuss this distinction in more detail in Sections 7.3 and 7.4. First, I shall historically depict the relation between tourism and sustainability.

7.2 A short history of the relation between tourism and sustainable development

Obviously, the externalities of tourism have been widely discussed (see for example Butler 1999; Duim, 1997b, 2001 and 2002a; Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004; Hunter, 1995 and 1997; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Sharpley, 2000). In the last fifteen years, this discussion has increasingly been framed in terms of sustainability and sustainable development. As Mowforth and Munt (1998, 2003) claim, sustainability and 'sustainable' tourism reflect a discourse that is contested and through which power circulates. Different interests 'have adopted and defend their own language (discourse) of sustainability. The new socio-environmental organizations mobilized around issues of environment, for example, are not in power, and yet their ability to influence the meaning of sustainability for everyday life has been marked' (2003: 47).

This ability has evolved substantially, as shown by the history of environmental concern. Whereas at the beginning of the twentieth century tourism and the environment seemed to be quite good companions, at the end of that century their companionship faded away.

7.2.1 Three waves of environmental concern

Environmentalism has a long and diverse history (see Pezzoli, 1997). This history of environmental concern in Western industrial society is usually divided into three waves (Mol, 2001). The first wave emerged at the outset of the twentieth century. The degradation of 'natural' landscapes due to increasing industrialization and the expansion of cities led to the creation of nature reserves, parks, and protected/semi-protected areas and species. In North America, a movement to establish national parks began to form already in the 1860s and 1870s. The arguments for establishing national parks were in part conservationist: naturalists, bureaucrats and industrialists were concerned about the loss and mismanagement of natural and scenic resources (Wilson, 1992:

224). Yet, from the outset there was also a close link between this kind of environmental protection and recreation and tourism. National parks in the United States were founded, as in the case of Yellowstone, for the 'joy and benefit of people' as well. Aesthetic romanticism, recreation and the development of 'worthless' or 'waste' lands through tourism also characterized the creation of the first national parks in Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Hall and Page, 2002: 253).

In other words, national parks, reserves and landscapes have underlain tourismscapes for more than a century. In countries like the USA, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, the formal organization of nature conservation started at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Adams, 1990). In the Netherlands, the Association for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (Dierenbescherming) was founded in 1864, followed in 1905 by the Society for the Preservation of Nature (Natuurmonumenten). The latter has become the most influential nature conservation organization in the Netherlands and an important network in which various interests meet (Windt, 1995; Koppen, 2002).

One of the founders of this association, J.P. Thysse, also promoted Texel as a paradise for naturalists: 'In the whole world no landscape more important than the dunes can be found. In terms of greatness and originality the landscape of the North Sea equals mountain ranges' (in: Fey, 1992; see also Duim et al., 2001; author's translation). At the beginning of the twentieth century, J.P. Thysse worked on the island as a teacher and was impressed by the number of plants and birds[8]. Many of his ideas on nature conservation were revolutionary at the time but today are generally accepted.

Ideas for an international organization for nature conservation were already mooted in 1909. In fact, 1913 saw the signing of an Act of Foundation of a Consultative Commission for the International Protection of Nature. The Act eventually resulted in the International Office for the Protection of Nature (1934) and much later evolved into the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), which is now known as IUCN – the World Conservation Union (Adams, 1990).

A second wave of environmentalism, which came in the late 1960s and early 1970s, differed fundamentally from the first. The second wave started with the Report of the Club of Rome (Meadows, 1972) and the first United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, in Stockholm in 1972. It was the first step in a range of efforts to combat international environmental problems and linked environmental problems to underdevelopment. As poverty induces environmental problems, economic development is compulsory. In terms of the 1972 Conference Declaration (United Nations, 1972):

> In the developing countries most of the environmental problems are caused by underdevelopment. Millions continue to live far below the minimum levels required for a decent human existence, deprived of adequate food and clothing, shelter and education, health and sanitation. Therefore, the developing countries must direct their efforts to development, bearing in mind their priorities and the need to safeguard and improve the environment. For the same purpose, the industrialized countries should make efforts to reduce the gap between themselves and the developing countries.

The central belief in the 1970s was that a fundamental reorganization of the social order was vital for an ecologically sound society. The dominant discourses were partly anti-statist and anti-capitalist in nature, causing considerable gaps between mainstream politics and the countervailing power of, among others, the emerging environmental movement (Arts et al., 2000a: 64). However, the ecology-inspired demand for radical transformation in the early 1970s resounded only marginally in the institutional arrangements of industrial society (Mol, 2001: 50). Among the most conspicuous results was the establishment of environmental ministries and agencies in over 100 countries and the explosive growth in the number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) dedicated to environmental protection and related issues (see Hens and Nath, 2003), the foundation the UNEP[9] (United Nations Environment Program), and expanding environmental legislation and planning. But as Mol (2001: 50) concludes, ecological reform following the second wave did not affect the basic institutions that were held responsible for environmental disruption.

Tourism was no exception to this rule. It played a marginal role in these environmental discussions. Under the influence of the rise of neo-liberalism, tourism was considered a 'clean industry' that has no negative effects on the environment worthy of mention (Bundesamt für Naturschütz 1997). Nevertheless, by the end of the 1970s, critics like Turner and Ash (1975), Krippendorf (1975), Armanski (1978) and Prahl and Steinecke (1979) were amongst the first to warn of the possible detrimental effects of tourism. Armanski's critique in 1978, for example, was outspoken:

> Die planlose profitoreintierte Expansion hat für immer viele Orte und Landschaften verschandelt, die sie den Touristen als ideale Erholungsgebiete anpreist. Der Tourismus hat zwar Dornröschen geweckt – sie aber sogleich in eine Dienstmagd verwandelt, die onhmachtig der Zerstörung ihrer vertrauter Umgebung zusehen muss (ibid.: 56).

And in their famous book *The Golden Hordes,* Turner and Ash (1975:15) declared that:

> international tourism is like King Midas in reverse; a device for the systematic destruction of everything that is beautiful in the world.

These critics were, however, hardly heard. In the tourism sector, the level of awareness was low and proposed measures to combat environmental destruction through tourism were neither adopted nor implemented.

A third upsurge of concern became noticeable in the late 1980s. The Brundtland report of 1987 (WCED, 1987) and the 1992 UNCED conference in Rio de Janeiro are often cited as the markers and milestones of this third wave (Mol, 2001: 52): the concept of sustainable development has been debated ever since.

Compared to the second wave there were at least two major distinctions.[10] First, environmental issues were increasingly dealt with in a 'global context', thus underlining the growing importance of those environmental problems that concern and challenge the entire world. Second, the last decade of the twentieth century saw the commencement of actual environment-induced transformations of the institutional order of modernity (ibid.: 53). Not conflict but an all-

embracing consensus discourse ('sustainable development') was aimed at, and to a large extent succeeded in getting support from the right, left and green alike. Environmental problems were increasingly seen as manageable issues, to be managed not only by the state but also by a wider range of cooperative stakeholders. In addition, problems were conceived as challenges to innovation – technological rather than political – and as an opportunity to reconcile ecology and economy, therefore urging state, market and civil society agents to contribute their share (Arts et al., 2000a: 64).

Table 7.1 Three waves of environmental concern

	First Wave	Second Wave	Third Wave
Beginning	Ca. 1900	Ca. 1970	Late 1980s
Central notion	Nature conservation	Limits to growth	Global change
Focal point	Protection of reserves and species	Minimizing additions and withdrawals	Sustainable development
Results	Protected areas and species	National environmental agencies, laws, NGOs	Ecological reform of modern institutions around production and consumption
Tourism	Discovery of nature as a resource for tourism	• Only a few, and often ignored, critics of tourism • Little notice of side-effects of tourism	• Environmental management in tourism sector • Call for 'sustainable tourism'

Source: adapted from Mol, 2001: 49

Although the concept of sustainable development was already used in the World Conservation Strategy (IUCN, 1980), it only became fashionable seven years later through the report *Our Common Future* of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), which was chaired by Brundtland. The Brundtland Commission was formed under the auspices of the United Nations, which gave the deliberations more credibility than the World Conservation Strategy (Nelissen et al., 1997) and brought the discussion into the established political arenas, on to the political agendas and to literally millions of people all over the world.

The report not only popularized the concept of sustainable development, but also demonstrated that anthropogenic environmental problems are fundamentally interdisciplinary and ought to be regarded as such (Hens and Nath, 2003: 11). Moreover, it placed elements of the sustainable development debate within the economic and political context of international development (Adams, 1990: 57-59). Indeed, as Hardy et al. (2002: 480) argue, the concept emerged at a time when scientific economic, socio-cultural and environmental problems converged. Moreover, it received bureaucratic support because of its relationship with economic aspects of development: it did not reject economic growth but rather put forward the notion that economic growth could enhance environmental protection and that this could be done through a free market.

In the Brundtland report sustainable development is based on the concepts of basic needs and environmental limits (WCED, 1987):

> Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable – to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without comprising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The concept of sustainable development does imply limits – not absolute limits but limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on environmental resources and by the ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activities. But technology and social organization can be both managed and improved to make way for a new era of economic growth.

Environmental limits, however, were set not by the environment but by technology and social organization. According to Adams (1990), this implies a subtle but extremely important transformation of the ecologically based concept of sustainable development, by going beyond concepts of physical sustainability to the socio-economic context of development. Whereas the World Conservation Strategy started from the premise of the need to conserve ecosystems and sought to demonstrate why this made good economic sense, 'Our Common Future' starts with people (ibid.: 59). What is more, the report is also global in scope and very ambitious. It acknowledges that sustainable development is an uphill battle:

> Yet in the end, sustainable development is not a fixed state of harmony, but rather a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs. We do not pretend that the process is easy or straightforward. Painful choices have to be made. Thus in the final analysis, sustainable development must rest on political will.

This political will was challenged at the famous United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992. The 'Earth Summit', as it became known, was attended by 116 heads of state or government, 172 countries and more than 20,000 delegates, members of the press and representatives of international and national NGOs (Pezzoli, 1997). Since then, the Rio Declaration, Agenda 21 and the Conventions on Desertification, Climate and Biodiversity have been much debated though a little less implemented.

Compared to the Brundtland report, Rio was not new, and for many it was a failure, but it did generate an international consensus on the principles of sustainable development (Achterberg, 1994). In the Rio Declaration (UNCED, 1992), the principles of intra- and inter-generational equity are stressed once again (see Principle 3), as is the essential task of eradicating poverty as an indispensable requirement for sustainable development (Principle 5). Clearly, this calls for reducing and eliminating unsustainable patterns of production and consumption (Principle 8), for example by effective environmental legislation (Principle 11) and by applying the precautionary approach where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage (Principle 15). The Declaration also stresses the vital role of women (Principle 20) and indigenous people (Principle 22), and calls on states and people to 'cooperate in good faith and in a spirit of partnership in the fulfilment of these principles'.

7.2.2 From Rio to Johannesburg: the role of tourism

At first, tourism did not play a substantial role in the negotiations. In Rio, tourism was only discussed in side-events (Hummel, pers. com.) and was briefly mentioned in Chapters 11, 17 and 36 of Agenda 21. However, in the ten years between Rio and Johannesburg, more and more debate developed about the relation between sustainable development and tourism. Whereas ten years ago some commentators assumed that sustainable tourism would be a fad or passing interest, it is still regarded to be as relevant as ever, and perhaps even more so (Bramwell and Lane, 2002).

At least four mechanisms translated tourism into the political agenda of sustainable development. The Convention on Biological Diversity, the Agenda 21 for Tourism and the 7th Meeting of the Commission on Sustainable Development directly resulted from Rio. The Eco-tourism Summit in 2002, which was part of the United Nations International Year of Eco-tourism, was the main preparatory meeting for Johannesburg.

Convention for Biological Diversity

Biodiversity as a concept has been very successful since it was first used in 1985. It was taken up by the National Forum on Biodiversity in Washington in 1986 and included in the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) in 1992 (see Caalders et al., 1999; Duim and Caalders, 2002; Koppen, 2002).

In 2001, the Convention on Biological Diversity adopted the Biological Diversity and Tourism International Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism,[11] which are intended to assist parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity, public authorities and stakeholders at all levels to apply the provisions of the Convention to the sustainable development and management of tourism activities. The guidelines provide technical support to policy makers, decision makers and managers with responsibilities covering tourism and/or biodiversity, whether in national or local government, the private sector, indigenous and local communities, NGOs or other organizations. It advises on ways of working together with the key stakeholders involved in tourism and biodiversity in order to contribute to, inter alia, functioning ecosystems, sustainable tourism in functioning ecosystems, the fair and equitable sharing of benefits, information and capacity-building, and the restoration of past damage. While the guidelines focus on vulnerable terrestrial, marine and coastal ecosystems and the habitats of major importance for biological diversity and protected areas, they are also appropriate for tourism and biological diversity in all areas. Governments, international institutions and development agencies are invited to take these guidelines into account in their policies, programmes and activities, to support their implementation, especially in developing countries, and to encourage the exchange of experiences and lessons learned concerning their implementation. This invitation has not been fully accepted.

The IUCN World Conservation Union clearly is the flag-bearer of the biodiversity debate. However, during the 2004 international 3rd IUCN World Conservation Congress in November 2004 in Bangkok, tourism still played a relatively small role in the debates, as it has not been explicitly institutionalized in policies or programmes. Tourism is not taken into account in most of the IUCN themes and committees, perhaps with the exception of the Task Force on Tourism and Protected Areas of the World Commission on Protected Areas[12] (WCPA). Nevertheless, in several country offices and IUCN National Committees, notably those of Vietnam, South Africa

and the Netherlands (see Box 8.4), specific activities and projects on tourism are underway (Schelhaas, pers. com).

Commission on Sustainable Development

The guidelines of the Convention on Biological Diversity were a direct result of one of the recommendations of the 7th meeting of the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) in 1999 in New York.[13] This meeting is generally considered to be one of the most important and enriched deliberations on the relation between tourism and sustainable development on the road from Rio to Johannesburg. This get-together of governmental, non-governmental and industry representatives led to far-reaching guiding principles.[14] For example, the Commission urged governments to:

> Create the appropriate institutional, legal, economic, social and environmental framework by developing and applying a mix of instruments, as appropriate, such as integrated land-use planning and coastal zone management, economic instruments, social and environmental impact assessment for tourist facilities, including gender aspects, and voluntary initiatives and agreements.

Further, it urged governments to 'maximize the potential of tourism for eradicating poverty by developing appropriate strategies in cooperation with all major groups, and indigenous and local communities'. The tourism industry was called upon 'to distance itself publicly from illegal, abusive or exploitive forms of tourism' and 'to meet or preferably exceed relevant national or international labour standards'.

Agenda 21 for Tourism[15]

In the meantime, three international organizations – the World Travel and Tourism Council, the World Tourism Organization, and the Earth Council – joined together in 1996 to launch a sector-oriented sustainable development programme based on the Earth Summit results. This programme – 'Agenda 21 for the Travel & Tourism Industry: Towards Environmentally Sustainable Development' (WTTC et al., 1996) – translated Agenda 21 into a plan of action for travel and tourism. Despite its many good intentions, however, it basically puts forward a limited approach: 'the industry faces a stark choice: to act now and guarantee *a sustainable future for travel & tourism* or to wait and watch as *environmental and economic decline destroy the resources on which it depends*' (WTTC et al., 1996: 71; author's emphasis). Further, it focuses primarily on the economic and environmental spectrum of the sustainability debate.

In 2002, the World Travel and Tourism Council also published a glossy brochure promoting corporate social responsibility (CSR) in the travel and tourism sector, and it too highlighted the social and cultural aspects of sustainability (WTTC, 2002). The Council also coordinated the Tourism Industry Report produced for the final World Summit on Sustainable Development preparatory meeting in Bali (WTTC et al., 2002).

Although many initiatives have been taken since 1996, tangible results are lacking. When it comes to building more mainstream CSR, the vast majority of tourist companies state that whilst they would like to do something, they feel they are unable to because they are faced with 'cut-throat' business competition[16]. They argue that the costs involved in acting more responsibly

would drive them out of the market, especially were they have to take unilateral action without wider industry support. Industry surveys have identified the need for establishing mandatory regulation, making it compulsory for everyone to meet the same standards and thereby to incur similar costs (UNEP, 2002).

As a result, the more than 100 voluntary initiatives for sustainable tourism (of which more than three quarters are based in Europe) have not yet had a significant impact on the market. A recent WTO (2002) report examining these schemes concludes that they reveal a tremendous potential to move the industry towards sustainability, but that their current impact has been minimal across the sector as a whole (in: UNEP, 2002: 8). Nevertheless, Honey (2003) discerns a movement towards consolidation and harmonization, with the Certification for Sustainable Tourism programme (which originated in Costa Rica) as a model spreading in Latin America, the Green Globe (which was developed by the World Travel and Tourism Council) in Asia, and the VISIT programme in Europe. In the following chapter (Chapter 8), I shall detail the implementation of a Dutch scheme, the PMZ.

International Year of Eco-tourism

Meanwhile, the United Nations declared 2002 as the International Year of Eco-tourism (IYE). The initiative received considerable outside criticism (see e.g. Duim, 2002b; Maclaren, 2002; Vivanco, 2002). Especially the Third World Network[17] argued that the United Nations had given approval and made preparations for the IYE without making a proper examination of the nature of the eco-tourism industry and its many negative impacts on the tourist destinations. Therefore, they plead for an International Year of *Reviewing* Eco-tourism. As Vivanco (2002) summarizes, although the IYE was a milestone in the adolescence of ecotourism, and also emphasized the inevitability and universality of ecotourism, even the World Bank and the UNCTAD reports question the net benefits for protected areas and especially for the people living near them.

The IYE culminated in the World Eco-tourism Summit (WES) in Quebec City, which was organized by the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) and the World Tourism Organization. The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) also played an important preparatory role (see Maclaren, 2002). Almost 1200 participants from 132 countries participated in the Summit. However, tour operators and businesses had minimal participation in preparatory meetings and the World Eco-tourism Summit, and in addition representatives from some important tourism regions, notably the European Mediterranean coast, were absent (Duim, 2002b; Maclaren, 2002).

The 18 worldwide preparatory conferences in 2001 and 2002 were attended by a total of more than 3000 delegates and laid the foundations for the final Declaration, which was meant as input for the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg (WES, 2002). The (non-binding) Declaration again reiterates that funding for the conservation and management of bio-diverse and culturally rich protected areas has been documented to be inadequate worldwide, and recognizes that many of these areas are home to peoples who live in poverty and lack adequate health care, education facilities, communication systems and the other infrastructure required for genuine development opportunity. In line with discussions in the framework of the Convention for Biological Diversity, it also stresses the rights to self-determination and cultural sovereignty of indigenous and local communities. But as Hang (2005: 627) rightly argues: 'the guidelines seem to serve as general principle rather than providing concrete suggestions on operational

issues. The Declaration failed to give a precise protocol or framework for the development of a sustainable ecotourism development plan.'

Box 7.1 Relevant Articles from the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg

41 Promote sustainable tourism development, including non-consumptive and eco-tourism, taking into account the spirit of the International Year of Eco-tourism 2002, the United Nations Year for Cultural Heritage in 2002, the World Eco-tourism Summit 2002 and its Quebec Declaration, and the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism as adopted by the World Tourism Organization in order to increase the benefits from tourism resources for the population in host communities while maintaining the cultural and environmental integrity of the host communities and enhancing the protection of ecologically sensitive areas and natural heritages. Promote sustainable tourism development and capacity building in order to contribute to the strengthening of rural and local communities. This would include actions at all levels to:

a. Enhance international cooperation, foreign direct investment and partnerships with both private and public sectors, at all levels;
b. Develop programmes, including education and training programmes, that encourage people to participate in eco-tourism, enable indigenous and local communities to develop and benefit from eco-tourism, and enhance stakeholder cooperation in tourism development and heritage preservation, in order to improve the protection of the environment, natural resources and cultural heritage;
c. Provide technical assistance to developing countries and countries with economies in transition to support sustainable tourism business development and investment and tourism awareness programmes, to improve domestic tourism, and to stimulate entrepreneurial development;
d. Assist host communities in managing visits to their tourism attractions for their maximum benefit, while ensuring the least negative impacts on and risks for their traditions, culture and environment, with the support of the World Tourism Organization and other relevant organizations;
e. Promote the diversification of economic activities, including through the facilitation of access to markets and commercial information, and participation of emerging local enterprises, especially small and medium-sized enterprises.

42

b. Promote the ongoing work under the Convention on the sustainable use on biological diversity, including on sustainable tourism, as a crosscutting issue relevant to different ecosystems, sectors and thematic areas

64 Support Africa's effort to attain sustainable tourism that contributes to social, economic and infrastructure development through the following measures:

a. Implementing projects at the local, national and sub-regional levels, with specific emphasis on marketing African tourism products, such as adventure tourism, ecotourism and cultural tourism;
b. Establishing and supporting national and cross-border conservation areas to promote ecosystem conservation according to the ecosystem approach, and to promote sustainable tourism;
c. Respecting local traditions and cultures and promoting the use of indigenous knowledge in natural resource management and eco-tourism;
d. Assisting host communities in managing their tourism projects for maximum benefit while limiting negative impact on their traditions, culture and environment, and:
e. Supporting the conservation of Africa's biological diversity, the sustainable use of its components and the fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising out of the utilization of genetic resources, in accordance with commitments that countries have under biodiversity-related agreements to which they are parties, including such agreements as the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Convention on International trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, as well as regional biodiversity agreements.

Source: www.uneptie.org/pc/tourism/wssd/

All these and other meetings, events and documents are reflected in just a few articles in the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation (see Box 7.1). Just as in Rio, in Johannesburg tourism once again played a minor role.[18] Sustainable tourism is part of one of the outcomes of the World Summit on Sustainable Development, the so-called Type II Partnerships for Sustainable Development.[19] The Certification for Sustainable Tourism of the Costa Rican Tourist Board (ICT) is one of the registered partnerships. However, there is still a good deal of confusion over the concept of such partnerships and their modus operandi, as well as worries on the part of the NGOs that these partnerships may substitute governmental obligations (see Hens and Nath, 2003: 33).

Nevertheless, since Rio sustainable tourism development has increasingly become part of the international policy agenda. Consequently, the Netherlands too has taken step-by-step initiatives to promote sustainable tourism.

Sustainable tourism in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, the debate on tourism and sustainable development was sparked by the presentation in February 1995 of the report of the National Council for Nature Policy (Raad voor het Natuurbeheer, 1995) titled, *Are we going too far?* (see also Beckers, 1995 and Couvreur, 1995). It incited the first discussions by posing the central question: 'Do we have to go and see everything that seems attractive and interesting to us, and at what price do we allow ourselves the space and freedom to do so?'

After initial disbelief and even anger, the tourism sector half-heartedly decided to take some actions, as it wanted to avoid the possibility of regulations being imposed on it by the national government (Hilferink, 2001; Couvreur, pers. com.). For example, in June 1995 the Dutch

Association of Travel Agencies (ANVR) instigated an internal Commission on Sustainable Tourism (CST), which published a brochure for tourists ('Travel World and Environmental Concern'). From 1995, the ANVR also chaired the platform now known as the Initiative Group for Sustainable Outbound Tourism (Initiatiefgroep Duurzaam Uitgaand Toerisme; IDUT) to stimulate the exchange of information and knowledge between the tourism industry, governmental organizations and NGOs. Each year, the Group organizes the 'Groeneveld conferences', at which issues and developments in sustainable tourism are discussed.

It also began a Product and Environmental Monitoring System (PMZ), the implementation of which I shall analyse in the following chapter. These initiatives were linked with other projects aimed at the sustainable development of international tourism, such as those focusing on the Alps and the Netherlands Antilles, the introduction of CO_2-compensation programmes (e.g. Cool Flying and Trees for Travel), the ECPAT-NL campaign (End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes), initiatives by the Netherlands Committee of the IUCN World Conservation Organisation (NC-IUCN), the institution of a Chair for Sustainable Tourism at the NHTV Breda University for Professional Education and the appointment of a Sustainable Tourism manager at TUI-NL.

Nationally, in 1994 a Coordination Committee on Environment, Tourism and Leisure (CETL) was founded, which in the period 1994 - 2002 acted as a national platform for sustainable tourism and recreation. As a national forum for policy preparation and exchange of information, the CETL consisted of representatives of five government ministries, the Association of Provincial Authorities (IPO) and twelve lead organizations representing the tourism and leisure sector in the Netherlands. Together they produced a policy agenda containing 13 subjects and describing the objectives and actions including the responsible lead organization per subject. An Internet site formed the central point of communication (CETL, 2002). Although the Coordination Committee stopped functioning as financial support dwindled, various projects continued; of these, especially the Environmental Monitor (Milieubarometer) was and still is quite successful.

Apart from that, there are/were numerous regional networks in which sustainability issues play/played a role. They started off as the result of subsequent national policies aiming at the regional development of tourism in the 1980s, the increasing cooperation of recreation and nature in the 1990s and processes of rural renewal, also in the 1990s. The wish of the national government in the 1990s to withdraw in favour of regional policies also stimulated network creation (see Duim and Caalders, 2000; Caalders, 2002). In most of these networks, issues of sustainable tourism play a minor role. The Foundation for a Sustainable Texel is a clear exception to this rule, and will therefore be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

I shall now continue to discuss the relation between tourism and sustainable development, focussing on the way this relation has been conceptualized in the last fifteen years.

7.3 Tourism and sustainability

Since Rio there have been countless workshops, meetings, conferences and policy documents on the relation between tourism and sustainable development, and a substantial literature on sustainable tourism has emerged. These publications and articles in journals range from

attempts to conceptually connect the concerns of 'sustainable' tourism with those of sustainable development (Hunter, 1995, 1997; Sharpley, 2000; Hardy et al., 2002), to management-oriented literature that promotes approaches and tools to better integrate tourism development and the protection of the natural (or cultural) environment at tourist destination areas[20].

Not surprisingly, in this blossoming literature there is disagreement over the exact nature, content and meaning of 'sustainable' tourism. As we have seen, the term is not a neutral one; nor can it be considered in isolation from the socio-political context in which it was born and in which it operates. Although the concept, just like 'development' and 'conservation', is frequently couched in the apparently neutral, technical language of planning and management, the socio-political implications and uses of the concept in tourism should not be overlooked (Cohen, 2002: 268).

Even though this book does not delve into the particularities of a discourse analysis, the following section briefly portrays the 'terms of the discourse' (Hajer, 2003b). What are the main narratives and what is the vocabulary of the relation between tourism and sustainable development? Five subjects for debate will be presented, namely the relation between sustainable development and 'sustainable' tourism; the weak and the strong interpretations of sustainability; the scope of sustainability; the scale of sustainability; and the issue of measurability.

Sustainable tourism or sustainable tourism development?

The discussion on the relation between tourism and sustainable development has broadened in the last decade. By and large, the debate is moving away from a dominant tourism-centric view to an extra-parochial one (Hunter 1995; Hardy et al., 2002), asserting tourism to be in competition for scarce resources with other sectors and practices. Hence, the relation between tourism and sustainability is at least threefold.

A first important issue is how and to what extent sustainable development could strengthen tourism development. Environmental problems (externalities) due to agriculture, chemical industries, oil refineries and so on are influencing the quality of 'the tourist product'. According to Urry (1992), an environment appropriate for the 'tourist gaze' should be neither visually contaminated nor considered as dangerous, unnecessarily 'risky' or polluted. Other prerequisites for a healthy and sustainable development of tourism include a sound economy, a stable political context, the availability of infrastructure, an educated workforce, hygiene and the absence of mass poverty or disease (Theuns 1989: 99-102). Recent international political developments have put the issue of a 'safe' environment for travel and tourism clearly on the agenda.

Another frequently posed question concerns how and to what extent tourism can become more 'sustainable', the central issue being how to prevent 'tourism from destroying tourism' or – in the terms of this book – how to prevent tourismscapes from collapsing. Especially during the early 1990s, the tourism sector accepted the sustainability concept as a way of bringing the industry to the environmentally friendly side of the economic spectrum. Once the concept of 'sustainable tourism' had been introduced, an outpouring of sustainability related issues followed, thereby creating a kind of environmental legitimacy for tourism. According to Hunter (1995), this dominant tourism-centric paradigm is concerned with protecting the immediate resource base, which will allow tourism development to be sustained. Attention is focused almost exclusively on the tourism industry, including business firms and the tourist destination area, where management takes on

a more meaningful scale (see also McCool and Moisey, 2001). In destination areas, tourism is seen primarily as a triangular relationship between host areas and their habitats and peoples, holidaymakers and the tourism industry (see also Lane 1994). In the following I shall use the term sustainable tourism (ST) to refer to this dominant tourism-centric approach.

A final and more fundamental question is how and to what extent tourism obstructs or contributes to sustainable development in general. Hunter (1995) in particular stresses the importance of a broader approach, whereby the remit of tourism is re-conceptualized primarily in terms of tourism's contribution to sustainable development. Discussed under this view are the impacts of tourism that influence life far beyond the realms of tourism (e.g. emissions from tourism-related transport) and the possible contributions of tourism to nature conservation or poverty alleviation. For example, it may even be thought that tourism is not sustained over a long period, but is used as a method to accumulate income and government revenue that can be used later for other development goals. For example, in Bhutan international tourists pay (depending on the season) USD 165 - 200 a day to the national government, which then transfers USD 75 to the national budget (Wangdi, pers. com.). Tourism here is seen as part of a much larger policy framework to achieve a sustainable society and to contribute to 'Gross National Happiness'.

But the predominant ST approach is overly tourism-centric and parochial (with a very limited view on scope, scale and context). As a consequence, 'practical measures designed to operationalize "sustainable tourism" are failing to address many of the issues critical to the concept of sustainable development more generally. They may even actually work against the general requirements of sustainable development' (Hunter, 1995: 156; see also Butler, 1999). In the following, I shall use the term sustainable tourism development (STD) to single out tourism that is developed or is to be developed in line with the principles of sustainable development. However, even accepting this point of view, the concept of sustainable tourism development is still fraught with difficulties.

Weak or strong interpretation?

Different views on sustainable tourism development can also be traced back to the argument between anthropocentric and eco-centric stances[21]. In an eco-centric account, *Homo sapiens* is subordinate to nature rather than vice versa, and human desires need to be renounced in favour of ecological health whenever the two conflict (Scholte, 2000:189). In an anthropocentric stance, mankind predominates over environment. To simplify matters, the following table presents four possible interpretations of sustainable development.

According to the WRR (1995), however, whatever perspective one supports, risks will be accepted or avoided in both domains at all times. Where the emphasis is placed on the ecological system, this may manifest itself in a proposal to set a sustainability norm in order to adjust tourism growth or to accord greater priority to environmental criteria than to the human desire to travel. Alternatively, confidence in the ecological system may be so robust that emphasis is placed one-sidedly on those who perform tourism. In these circumstances, the evaluation is conducted entirely against the background of social and economic needs in the realm of leisure and tourism. The satisfaction of those needs is given primacy and any consequences for the environment are justified in terms of the desire to meet those needs. Under this viewpoint, the risks of undermining these social needs are regarded as excessive.

Table 7.2 The Sustainable Development Spectrum

Sustainability position	Defining characteristics
Very weak	• Anthropocentric and utilitarian; growth oriented and resource exploitative; • Infinite substitution possible between natural and human-made capital; • Continued well-being assured through economic growth and technical innovation.
Weak	• Anthropocentric and utilitarian; growth is managed and modified, and resources are conserved; • Concern for distribution of development benefits and costs through intra- and inter-generational equity; • Rejection of infinite substitution; recognition of some aspect of natural world as critical capital; • Decoupling of negative environmental impacts from economic growth.
Strong	• Eco-systems perspective; resource preservationist; • Adherence to intra- and inter-generational equity; • Zero economic and population growth
Very strong	• Eco-centric; resource preservationist to the point where utilization of natural resources is minimized; • Allegiance to nature's rights and intrinsic values; • Anti economic growth and reduced human population.

Source: Adapted from Hunter (1997)

So it is argued that we have to go beyond the dualism of anthropocentric and eco-centric stances, as both involve risks. According to Hunter (1997), there is a growing consensus that these 'extreme' paradigms should be rejected. Such rejection is based on two grounds. The first, according to Hunter (ibid.: 852), is an ill-defined perception of a need to become more environmentally conscious than the traditional very weak sustainability position allows. The second is, in the case of a very strong sustainability approach, a feeling that reduced economic activity, falling population levels or the rejection of the many recent technological innovations are so far-reaching that they defy concerted action and, perhaps, some inborn drive in the human psyche.

But there is an even more fundamental issue at stake. As Latour (1993 and 2004) explains, the different views based on eco-centrism and anthropocentrism still implicate the 'Great Divide' between Nature and Society, which rests on the project of Modernity. The paradox of the Modern implies the expansion of modern tourism resting on the careful separation of Nature and Society, while at the same time mixing together much greater masses of humans and non-humans. The large-scale production of hybrids, as exemplified by tourismscapes (and their externalities), is and has been possible because they steadfastly hold and held the 'absolute dichotomy between the Order of Nature and that of Society, a dichotomy which itself is possible only because they never consider the work of purification and that of mediation together' (Latour, 1993: 41).

Latour therefore proposes an end to the old dichotomy between Nature and Society, and thus also between eco-centric and ethnocentric stances. Instead of two distinct arenas in which one would try to totalize the hierarchy of beings and then have to try to choose among them (without ever being able to succeed), Latour (2004: 29) suggests 'to convoke a single collective whose role

is precisely to debate the said hierarchy – and to arrive at an acceptable solution'. Chapters 8 and 9 will illuminate some of the implications of this point of view.

Here I shall limit the discussion by acknowledging that there are a number of highly divergent and, in some cases, conflicting perceptions of sustainability in general and of sustainable tourism development in particular that exist side by side (see also WRR, 1995). Although this may be a source of concern for those who seek or propose a definitive, universally applicable vision on sustainable development or sustainable tourism development, others recognize the inevitability of diversity.

To illustrate this point, Hunter (1997) outlines four possible sustainable tourism development approaches[22], perceiving sustainable tourism development not as a narrowly defined concept, but as an overarching paradigm (see Box 7.2). According to Hunter, sustainable tourism development ought to be regarded as an adaptive paradigm capable of addressing widely different situations. Hunter outlines several approaches to sustainable tourism, ranging from a very weak to a very strong emphasis on sustainability considerations in tourism development, and specifies the sets of circumstances under which each approach appears most appropriate (Cohen, 2002: 269)[23]. As Hunter (1997: 859) asserts, there:

> ... may always be a need to reconsider factors such as demand, supply, host communities needs and desires, and considerations of impacts on environmental resources; but sustainable tourism need not (indeed should not) imply that these often competing aspects are somehow in balance. In reality, trade-off decisions taken on a day-to-day basis will almost certainly produce priorities, which emerge to skew the destination area based tourism/environment system in favour of certain aspects. Even over the long term, across several generations, it may be appropriate to abandon any notion of balance in favour of a skewed distribution of priorities. What is crucial is that tourism development decision making should be both informed and transparent.

Box 7.2 Sustainable Tourism as an Adaptive Paradigm

Sustainable Development through a 'Tourism Imperative'
This weak interpretation of sustainability, which is heavily skewed towards the fostering and development of tourism, could be justified in areas where there exists a strong and demonstrable link between poverty and environmental degradation, where tourism activity would represent a real improvement upon overtly degrading current economic activities, or where tourism development would pre-empt the utilization of an area or its resources for other, potentially more degrading activities.

Sustainable Development through 'Product-led Tourism'
This approach might be justified in relatively old or developed tourism enclaves or in areas where tourism has come to dominate the local economy. In that case a wide range of environmental and social concerns may be seen as important, but, as a general rule, only in so far as these act directly and in an immediately apparent way to sustain tourism products.

Sustainable development through 'Environment-led Tourism'
In this approach, which is most applicable in areas where tourism is relatively new, the aim would be to promote types of tourism that specifically and overtly rely on the maintenance of a high quality natural environment and/or cultural experiences. In this approach, environmental (or cultural) concerns are prioritized over marketing opportunities.
Sustainable development through 'Neotenous Tourism'
This very strong sustainability approach is predicated upon the belief that there are circumstances in which tourism should be actively and continuously discouraged. 'Neotenous' or 'juvenile' tourism can only apply in areas that are largely or totally devoid of tourism activities. The aim would be to minimize the utilization of renewable and non-renewable resources within these areas.

Source: Hunter, 1997: 860-863

Value or meta concept?
In 2002, the Dutch Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and Environment (VROM) published the National Strategy for Sustainable Development (VROM, 2002). Apart from the fact that tourism is not on the agenda of this National Strategy, it was also criticized for not being focused enough. According to the SER (2002), it lacks a sense of urgency. It ignores the question which problems are wicked and which are not, let alone provides strategic choices and solutions.

The National Strategy motivated the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy (Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid; WRR) to go one step further: it urged the government to go back to the basics (WRR, 2002). The National Strategy attempts to systematically weigh the ecological, socio-cultural and economic aspects of almost every policy domain. As a result, all governmental policy should be weighed against sustainability criteria. This makes sustainability a meta concept, a principle that acknowledges that all values, needs, institutions, and time and spatial scales are connected. As such it favours an integral approach. To the contrary, the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy prefers an approach that starts from sustainability as a new value expressing that the ecological foundation of our world should not be endangered. The Brundtland report:

> ... addresses problems in the North as well as the South and exceeds conflicts of interest between developed and less developed countries. The strength of this new value is the reference to the fundamental partnership between rich and poor, now and later, through a common ecological foundation. (ibid.: 14; author's translation)

The discourse on sustainability should not be free-floating, should focus on urgent issues and should provide strategic choices and solutions. However, going back to the basics, as suggested by the WRR (2002), would in my opinion unacceptably curtail the discussion on sustainable tourism development. First and above all, it would surpass the hybrid character of tourismscapes, that is, the way tourismscapes collect the technological, ecological, cultural, economic and social into a

whole. It would again separate what has been united in the concept of tourismscapes (see also Latour, 2004).

But there is also a more practical reason. One of the main results of blending the sustainability debate with tourism is that sustainable tourism development is now increasingly part of the political agenda of many international governmental and non-governmental organizations (e.g. United Nations Development Program, United Nations Environmental Program, UNESCO, World Tourism Organization), as well as part of regional and local arenas. The discussions about tourism at various levels of scale are linked not only to ecological issues but also to other sustainability issues, such as poverty, culture, land use, gender, liveability and the rights of indigenous people.

Moreover, tourism as a service industry is based on not only an ecological but also a socio-cultural foundation (Duim, 2002a). Both cultural products (monuments, architecture, heritage, etc.) and cultural processes are an essential part of the tourist gaze (Urry, 1992 and 2002). The latter designates the social field of the production of meaning and the realm of ideas. The sustainability discussion focuses on the way and the extent to which tourism impacts the processes through which people make sense of themselves and their lives. In other words, focusing only on the ecological foundation of sustainable development would veil the important socio-cultural dimensions of sustainability[24] (see also Hardy et al., 2002; RIVM, 2004).

Mass or alternative tourism?

As a result of the ambiguities discussed above, there has also been a tendency to link a variety of forms of tourism with the concept of sustainable development. The majority of these are forms of tourism that have been characterized as 'green', 'alternative' or even 'new' (Mowforth and Munt, 2003), in the sense that they are not part of 'mass' or conventional tourism (Butler, 1999: 12). This division is undesirable, as it links sustainability to 'alternative' or 'new' forms of tourism.

Chapter 5 showed that 'small' and 'big' or 'mass' and 'alternative' are rather essentialist categories. In tourismscapes, small and big constitute each other. An unfortunate corollary of this linkage is the automatic assumption that 'mass' tourism by design is non-sustainable and therefore has nothing to do with sustainable development, and – the other way around – that 'green', 'alternative' or 'new' tourism inevitably meets the parameters of sustainable development[25]. This is problematic for a number of reasons (see Butler, 1999; Dahles, 1997; Hardy et al., 2002).

First, it is per definition impossible to have forms of tourism development that do not impact the location and environment, which are part of the process of enactment. As we have seen, processes of ordering tourismscapes are always subject to overflowing. Per definition, they produce externalities.

Second, it is suggested that especially 'small-scale' entrepreneurs are less disruptive in environmental and social terms. They are supposed to be more likely to fit in with indigenous activities and land use and to contribute to community development. However, together with Dahles (1997: 3), I question whether 'small-scale' tourism businesses in developing countries have a large potential to contribute to sustainable development, as the majority of small-scale and self-employed entrepreneurs turn to risk-reducing and risk-avoiding strategies, and these hamper innovations.

Third, not all examples of 'mass' tourism are necessarily less sustainable. As Butler (1999) claims, the key problem with sustainable development in the context of tourism is not how to ensure the continued introduction of small-scale, environmentally and culturally appropriate forms of tourism, but how to make tourism developments as sustainable as possible.

Thus, instead of holding sustainable tourism in a dichotomous position to mass tourism, here sustainability is considered to be a process that is applicable to all tourism ventures, regardless of scale. This position recognizes that a precise definition of sustainable tourism is less important than the journey towards it (see Hardy et al., 2002: 483). As small and big identically perform themselves and organize each other in tourismscapes, they have to be united when studying sustainable tourism and sustainable tourism development.

Objective or subjective indicators?

Reordering – that is, internalizing externalities – presumes the possibility of identifying the effects (to 'prove' the existence of externalities), identifying their sources and impacts (who is responsible and who is affected by them), and measuring and evaluation (Callon, 1998b). Indeed, once the externalities, source agents and target agents have been correctly identified and described, and once measuring instruments for quantifying and comparing them have been set up, in principle it becomes possible to reorder the interactions.

However, the complicatedness of such an endeavour in the case of tourism and biodiversity has recently been illustrated (see Duim and Caalders, 2002). The measurement of sustainability is seriously hampered by statistical and fundamental uncertainty. As we saw in Chapter 3, in the case of Texel even fundamental statistics in terms of visitors, overnight stays or tourist tax incomes are disputed, let alone statistics on the human impact on nature. Statistical uncertainty stems from the lack of precise knowledge concerning human intervention and its effects on the environment, while the fundamental uncertainty stems from partial knowledge of complex relationships that may lead to differences in insight concerning the relationship[26].

However, even if a relation between tourism and environmental change is 'objectively' shown and externalities are detected, the question remains whether these changes are relevant or irrelevant, acceptable or unacceptable, and have to be internalized or not. In other words, not only the verification of the mere presence of externalities is required, but also the seriousness has to be evaluated, as does their compatibility with existing tourismscapes and modes of ordering, before they will ever be internalized. Only as a result of negotiation processes will they become self-evidently registered as full-fledged members of tourismscapes (see Latour, 2004).

This necessitates processes of consultation, valuation and examination of tolerable risks. As the WRR (1995) states, perceptions of risk come into play when a choice has to be made in a specific instance about adapting economic activities in order to reduce the burden imposed on the environment. In other words, the 'objective' measurement of the effects of tourist activities on environmental variables can never substitute for the 'subjective' and normative character of decision-making[27]. The establishment of a boundary value, above which changes are unacceptable (i.e. 'limits of acceptable change'), is not a technical task but a question of valuation[28] (Sidaway and Voet, 1994; Sidaway, 2005).

7.4 The current state of affairs

In sum, consistency and coherence have not been developed as features of the discourse on the relation between tourism and sustainable development. The previous sections showed the lines along which the relation between tourism and sustainability is discussed. Some even argue that the increasing ambiguity of the concept (i.e. the more open it is to different interpretations), enhances its mobilizing capability and its consensus-building capacity. In that respect, 'sustainable tourism' has been successful as both a concept and a discourse (see also Arts, 2000: 64).

In this section, I shall first summarize the relation between tourism and sustainable development (table 7.3), and subsequently argue that in the last decade the discussion has focused on four closely related sets of concepts. In the final section, I shall present three principal issues that are at stake when dealing with sustainable tourism development.

Table 7.3 From Sustainable Tourism to Sustainable Tourism Development: an overview of central issues

Issues:	**Sustainable Tourism (ST)**	**Sustainable Tourism Development (STD)**
Problem definition	Tourism is destroying tourism ('killing the goose that lays the golden eggs') • Overcrowding, criminality • Depletion of natural and cultural tourism resources	Tourism as a vehicle for sustainable development • Poverty reduction • Intra- and inter-generational equity • Loss of biodiversity
Economic sustainability	• Sustainability of tourism as an economic sector is at stake • Upgrading tourism infrastructure and resources is compulsory	• Contribution of tourism to poverty reduction (pro-poor tourism) • Distribution of income, wealth, and economic resources of power • Tourism and sustainable livelihoods
Environmental sustainability	• Mitigating environmental pollution (air, water, soil) • Increasing energy-efficiency	• Contributions to nature conservation (biodiversity access and benefit sharing) • Preventing depletion of ozone-layer and global warming
Socio-cultural sustainability	• Mitigating vandalism, criminality, overcrowding • Contributions to preservation of cultural heritage	• Land rights of indigenous people • Liveability • Gender relations • Labour conditions (child labour)

The second column of Table 7.3 depicts primarily concerns with the sustainability of tourismscapes themselves. The externalities mentioned are affecting the resource base from which tourismscapes emerge. The third column, however, exemplifies externalities in the environment of tourismscapes that are often not or not yet fully internalized, or indeed are 'wicked' and 'creepy', as well as possible contributions of tourism to sustainable development (WRR, 2003).

7.4.1 Concepts

Generally speaking, since Rio the discourse on sustainable tourism development has taken various tracks. More or less distinct discourse coalitions (see Hajer, 2003b) emphasize four sets of concepts structuring the debate:

- *Ecotourism*, epitomized by the 2002 International Year of Ecotourism, a joint initiative of the World Tourism Organization and the United Nations Environment Program, and particularly voiced by the US-based International Ecotourism Society;
- *Responsible tourism*, especially prominent in the Economic Briefing No. 4 for the World Summit on Sustainable Development of the Stakeholder Forum (UNEP, 2002) and the Declaration of the 2002 Cape Town Conference, a side-event of the World Summit on Sustainable Development, as well as the Position Paper of the World Wildlife Fund (WWF, 2003);
- *Corporate social responsibility* in the tourism sector. Here, sustainable tourism development is part of a wider discourse as illustrated by, for example, the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI). In November 2002, the GRI published in close cooperation with the Tour Operators Initiative (a joint initiative of tour operators supported by United Nations Environment Program, UNESCO and the World Tourism Organization) a tour operators' sector supplement (GRI, 2002)[29];
- *Pro-poor tourism*. During the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), the World Tourism Organization launched the STEP campaign: 'Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty'. For this, the World Tourism Organization and UNCTAD signed a collaboration agreement to promote the widespread use of sustainable tourism as a development tool. Following the WSSD, they will implement a new framework to assist developing states and less developed countries to radically enhance social change, trade participation and poverty alleviation through sustainable tourism. Especially studies by the UK Overseas Development Institute (ODI), the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and the Centre for Responsible Tourism at the University of Greenwich, supported by DFID (Department for International Development) have considerably contributed to the awareness of the untapped potentials of tourism (see Ashley et al, 2001; Ashley and Haysom, 2004). In the Netherlands, the SNV Netherlands Development Organization has adopted this line of thinking.

Remarkably, the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) and the World Tourism Organization seem to want to play a leading role in all four areas. The ambiguity of the World Tourism Organization is often criticized. On the one hand it has been criticized for predominantly promoting the development of tourism. Particularly the Third World Network voiced this critique by means of articles written by Pleumaron (2002 a. and b.):

> In conclusion, the WTO-OMT is an elitist and closed club, dominated by the interests of rich countries and tourism business leaders, and there is little, if any, space for critical voices from civic groups in the Third World. Although NGOs can apply for affiliate membership, the annual fee of US$ 1,700 is too high for grass roots organizations. (Pleumaron, 2002b: 6)

On the other hand, the World Tourism Organization tries to be a meeting point in almost all discussions on sustainable tourism development. Remarkably enough, the Organization seems aware of the twofold image of international tourism and its two 'completely different faces' (see WTO, 2002: 56) and the dual role they play in this field. In their contribution to the WSSD, they concluded that substantive progress has been made in terms of increased awareness on sustainability issues among all tourism stakeholders, especially among public administrations, and in terms of the availability of hard and soft technological solutions to overcome the negative environmental and socio-cultural impacts of tourism. But they also recognized that:

> Sustainable tourism approaches, policies and plans are not always consistently followed and applied by all nations, at all tourism destinations and by all actors in the tourism process. There are many factors that prevent a more systematic application of declared policies and the implementation of tourism development plans. (ibid.: 56)

Box 7.3 summarizes the viewpoint of the World Tourism Organization in terms of the most important obstacles to sustainable tourism development. In spite of the increased awareness and availability of technological solutions, due to these factors 'the level of application of policies and of soft and hard technologies for ensuring a sustainable development and management of tourism is still limited' (ibid.: 16).

Box 7.3 Factors hampering sustainable tourism development

- The **generalized weakness of the national tourism administration** in most countries, in terms of both institutional and financial capacity;
- The **lack of integration of the tourism sector** into global development plans;
- The **absence of specific sustainable tourism development** strategies;
- The **horizontal nature of the tourism sector**, which depends on many inputs and touches upon many activities that are under the responsibility of many government departments, and the associated lack of coordination;
- The **fragmentation of the tourism industry**, and the overwhelming presence of many micro, small- and medium-size companies;
- The **lack of technical know-how**, particularly in developing countries and LDSs, or the insufficient transfer and application of existing technologies;
- A continued **lack of awareness among the local stakeholders**, particularly among the private operators, and the need to ensure sustainable practices in tourism;
- The **shortage of finance for building the appropriate infrastructure** needed to prevent environmental impacts (e.g. waste and water treatment plants);
- The **shortage of finance for effectively monitoring** the tourism industry performance;

- The **shortage or a total lack of human resources** to plan, implement and manage the tourism industry and its monitoring by public authorities;
- The continued and sometimes **growing pressure from hotel and estate developers** in coastal areas to allow the building of additional accommodation and infrastructure;
- The **absence or insufficiency of data and data sources** to allow a continuous application of indicators of sustainability in tourism;
- The **proliferation of voluntary initiatives and eco labels**, and the lack of stringent procedures and standards for any of them, which creates confusion and affects their credibility among consumers;
- The **lack of adequate, ad hoc legislation, regulatory norms and compliance mechanisms** and, as a consequence, a shortage of supervisory tools at the disposal of tourism public authorities, local authorities and other administrations.

Source: WTO (2002: 13-14; original emphasis)

In the last decade, the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) has been the other most important player in the international field of sustainable and eco-tourism. It played a central role at the World Eco-tourism Summit as well as in the preparations for the WSSD, it closely cooperated with many other international organizations, public as well as private, published abundant reports and studies, and supports (together with UNESCO and the World Tourism Organization) the Tour Operator Initiative. UNEP has certainly been a large spider in the international sustainable tourism development web[30].

However, at least two issues seem fundamental for increasing the effectiveness of this web. First, there is still a widespread rift between the 'hard' issues of finance and economics and the 'soft' issues of social welfare, poverty, human rights and the environment. The gap between the World Trade Organization and International Monetary Fund on the one hand and such organizations as UNDP and UNEP on the other hand is just one illustration. Another is the lack of input from the commercial sector in international events and programmes, such as the World Eco-tourism Summit (see above) or the tourism programme of the Sustainable Development Agreement.[31] Despite many initiatives and good intentions, in the realm of sustainable tourism development, 'hard' and 'soft' are still largely on bad terms.

Second, there is a wide gap between the documents produced in international and national arenas and the organizations and people performing tourism at specific locations. Many of the proposed outcomes formulated in charters, guidelines, declarations, codes of conduct and the like, never trickle down to the level of small and medium-sized entrepreneurs and communities, and do not play any role at all in their processes of ordering. They do not act at a distance, but firmly remain within the realms of international arenas and discourses.

7.4.2 Principal issues

In reference to the concept of tourismscapes, three central and related issues (though not the only ones) emerge and prevail as an effect of their performances. These sustainability issues are

'matters of concern', disputed states of affairs (Latour, 2004: 24), that result from, question and have a bearing on the way tourismscapes are ordered.

In terms of externalities, tourismscapes flow over in the environment; in particular material and symbolic transformations of space, appreciated as well as contested by particular community fractions; and in unequal distributions of benefits. These three prevailing issues summarize the sustainability agenda of tourism.

Tourism and the environment

Environmental impacts (externalities) on the environment stem from the three main elements of tourism: transport, accommodation and activities (see also Caalders et al., 1999 and Duim and Caalders, 2002).

Most obviously, there are environmental effects related to transport[32]. As Urry (2000: 58) explains, they derive primarily from the exceptional range and scale of resources used in the manufacture of cars, roads and car-only environments, and in coping with the material, air quality, medical, social, ozone, visual, noise and other consequences of auto mobility. Since the end of the nineteenth century, social life has been locked into the mode of individualized auto mobility, which is, of course, 'a mode of mobility that is neither socially necessary nor inevitable but one that seems impossible to break from' (Urry, 2003: 69).

Another, even bigger share of environmental strain, especially in terms of emissions per kilometre and climate change effects, stems from the growth of far-away holidays and the use of aircraft. That is why, according to Peeters and Dings (2003: 5), it is of vital importance to involve the technological possibilities of aviation in the development of sustainable tourism.

Apart from transport, the deployment of hotels, restaurants, campsites and other tourism facilities also impact the environment through wastes and water and energy consumption. Finally, recreational activities like hiking, biking and water sports might have environmental consequences.

In the last few years, several studies have tried to quantify the environmental impacts of tourism-related activities[33]. Several conclusions can be drawn from these studies. First, whether using energy consumption, greenhouse gas emissions or area equivalents as the basis for calculations, a substantial share of tourism is unsustainable. Second, the use of fossil fuels and the related emissions of greenhouse gases is, from a global point of view, the most serious environmental problem related to tourism. Third, transport contributes over-proportionally to the overall leisure-related impacts of tourism (Ceron et al., 2004; see also Gössling, 2002; Peeters and Dings, 2003; Peeters et al., 2004).

For example, ecological footprint breakdowns clearly show the importance of environmentally sustainable transport. The WWF-UK (2002) recently published the results of a comparison between an average two-week holiday on Majorca and Cyprus, respectively. The ecological footprint of the Majorca package holiday is 0.03 area units per bed night, while it is 0.07 area units per bed night in Cyprus. The total impact per guest is 0.37 area units for Majorca and 0.93 area units for Cyprus. In the context of available per capita earth share of approximately 2 area units, the Majorca and Cyprus holiday currently account for 20% and 50% of earth share, respectively. In terms of a financial analogy, this is equivalent to someone spending 20 - 50% of an annual income in a two-week period. By far the largest component of the ecological footprint

of the two holidays is the flight. This has a severe environmental impact and accounts for 56% of the Majorca and for 46% of the Cyprus holiday, though the relative impact is nearly two times larger for the Cyprus holiday owing to the greater distance travelled. Waste is responsible for 25% of the Majorca holiday's footprint, and just over 35% of the Cyprus holiday's footprint. In contrast, excursions are the third largest component of the Cyprus holiday, accounting for 6% (WWF-UK, 2002: 5; see also Peeters and Dings, 2003).

Aviation is believed to dominate the total impact of leisure and tourism on climate change (Peeters and Dings, 2003). In other words, short travel distances, a long holiday instead of many short ones, and the substitution of transport modes from airplane and car to rail and transport by coach are a precondition for environmental sustainability (Ceron et al., 2004; Peeters et al., 2004). Reality demonstrates the opposite: the general trend in tourism is towards a higher frequency, shorter holidays and larger distances per trip. The result is an increase in the number of kilometres and a shift towards generally less sustainable transport modes (Peeters et al., 2004: 56). These developments clearly represent one of the main challenges for the near future, that is, to create new passages (Peters, 2003).

In terms of 'positive' externalities, tourism's potential to contribute to the conservation of biodiversity and nature should also be acknowledged. Measurement tools currently being developed to measure impacts of tourism tend to focus on the negative impacts. The relevance of such measures for policy purposes would increase if the positive and negative impacts could be weighed, as for example in the case of eco-efficiency (Ceron et al., 2004). Tourism is influential, especially in terms of the quantity of land preserved for nature, as the history of the relation between tourism and nature conservation illustrates (see above). This is an important contribution because, worldwide, habitat destruction is the single most important cause of the loss of biodiversity. Tourism might contribute by providing the financial means for conservation and by increasing the understanding of the issue.

Font et al. (2004) recently documented the former by discussing revenue generation via the allocation of government revenues (from general taxation or from tourism-related taxes), fee charging to businesses located outside protected areas for their use of protected areas (via entrance fees, user fees and permits), and allowing businesses to purchase concessions or leases to operate inside protected spaces. As we have seen in Chapter 2 when discussing the case of Costa Rica, for many private and state-owned national parks, tourism is an important or the most important generator of income. Tourism can provide an alternative to agriculture, animal husbandry or other forms of land use, which are the primary causes of deforestation (see Caalders et al., 1999 and Duim and Caalders, 2002). In turn, this particular way of doing is not unproblematic. Nature' is translated into tourismscapes not only as something to be protected and guided by restrictive notions, but also as an opportunity for investment and growth. As Lemke (2000: 8) warns: 'Previously untapped areas are being opened in the interests of capitalization and chances for economic exploitation. Nature and life itself are being drawn into the economic discourse of efficient resource management.'

Duim and Philipsen (1995) also discuss the possible contribution of tourism towards increasing the awareness of the need for nature conservation by claiming that material and symbolic claims on nature made by tourists and nature conservationists are often defined by the

same individuals and social groups. Here, the 'new middle classes' consisting of individuals and groups drawn from the professional world of the media and fashion, education and art, public relations and marketing, and welfare, are the most influential. They are also the most important consumers and producers of leisure goods and services such as music, fashion, sports and holidays, while they are also the most influential in and supportive of nature conservation (see also Urry, 1990 and 1992; Wilson, 1992; Mowforth and Munt, 2003).

Tourism, space and place

At first sight, many discussions about the externalities of tourism, and especially those that are framed in terms of liveability, seem to address the consequences of particular spatial practices. For example, tourism facilities are built or are perceived to be built in the wrong places (as in Manuel Antonio), they do not fit into the landscape (as on Texel or in Manuel Antonio) or tourism creates crowded places and tumult (as on Texel and Lanzarote) or disturbs everyday life.

As we have seen in the case studies in Part I, this realm of 'grumbling and gossiping' (Boissevain, 1996: 15) reflects more profound struggles over the symbolic production of space and the clashes between the way these practices are represented by politicians, tourism officers or planners and the way the space is lived by its inhabitants and underlies local identities. So it is all about qualities of space and place. All the case studies show the controversies at stake and illustrate the way community fractions either quickly seize the commercial opportunities tourism presents or, alternatively, develop strategies to protect their back regions.[34]

These controversies can take various shapes, whether in terms of land-use conflicts (as in the case of Lanzarote and Texel), power struggles and the inclusion and exclusion of particular community fractions (as in Kenya and Tanzania), disputed policies and politicians (as in the case of Texel, Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Lanzarote) or perceived infringements of values and norms (as in all cases dealt with in Part I), and evoke local protest, voiced by for example Ten for Texel, Foro Lanzarote or the Comité de Lucha in Manuel Antonio/Quepos.

In terms of tourismscapes, the controversies over the blights and blessings of tourism focus on the tactics and centres of translation: who or what and the way in which people, technologies and spaces are translated into tourismscapes. Indeed, it is about the way particular modes of ordering dominate, interweave or conflict. The material and symbolic transformations of space (see Ashworth and Dietvorst, 1995; see also Dietvorst, 1992) that emerge from the interaction between people and things and intersecting tourismscapes at particular places, are appreciated or contested, are greeted with open arms as well as rejected.

As Boissevain (1996) asserts, coping with tourists and tourism is therefore a complex process. Not that communities and fractions thereof are passive victims. To the contrary, as we have seen in the case studies, many of them are in fact generally inventive and resilient. Tourism is just one of the many sources of change impinging upon them, or alternatively one of the opportunities they grasp to improve their livelihood (ibid: 21).

But as sustainability essentially is all about 'quality of life', here and now, elsewhere as well as afterwards (RIVM, 2004: 13), the way modes of ordering collide at particular locations, the way ever more locations and spaces are translated into tourismscapes and the subsequent externalities and controversies, are indeed a prevailing sustainability issue.

Tourism and poverty

A third and final prevailing issue originates from the production of uneven geographical developments (Harvey, 2000). Although tourism is extremely important in terms of income and employment, tourismscapes also generate new social inequalities of access. Some groups are well 'plugged' into tourismscapes (such as entrepreneurs with good Internet access), while others will or can be excluded. Some regions are inextricably linked to tourismscapes while others remain marginal, as the uniqueness of this or that geographical circumstance matters more than ever before (Harvey, 1989: 294).

Tourismscapes link up, through networks of people and things, valuable functions, people and localities around the world, while switching off from their actor-networks those areas of cities, regions and parts of entire countries, constituting what Castells (1998: 337) calls the 'Fourth World'. So a relational effect of the performance of tourismscapes is the creation, sustainment or even deepening of the gap between the haves and the have-nots. Large parts of sub-Saharan Africa are excluded. In fact, so are large parts of Kenya; only Nairobi, certain sections on the coast (Mombassa, Malindi, Lamu) and four or five of the national parks are incorporated. And despite 40 years of tourism development around the city of Mombassa, 80% of the population still lives below the poverty line (Akama, pers. com.). In the case of Tanzania, some communities or fractions thereof are included, whilst others always have been excluded.

As asserted by the World Banks' vice-president for Europe, Rischard (2002), global poverty is shockingly deep and widespread. There are still 1.2 billion people living in abject poverty on less than USD 1 a day. Worldwide, close to 3 billion people – half of the world's population – live on less than USD 2 a day (ibid.: 90-91). And while a part (albeit a relatively small part) of the world's population continuously worries about where to go to for their next holiday, half of the world's population still lives in unacceptable circumstances. Indeed, as Mowforth and Munt (2003: vii and 15) argue, inequality and unevenness are symbolized by the diasporic and increasingly thwarted movements of developing world migrants to the developed world, starkly contrasted to the accelerating movements of relatively wealthy Western tourists to the developing world and the ideology of freedom of movement that supports this.

We have recently seen the start of some pro-poor initiatives[35] that include the support of small and micro enterprises, support to rural tourism projects, the development of partnerships between communities and private-sector operators, participatory pro-poor planning and a range of measures that have clear benefits for the poor, such as working condition improvements, training and staff development, and protected area management (see Ashley et al., 2001; Mowforth and Munt, 2003). In discussing these initiatives, Mowforth and Munt (2003) conclude that from the perspective of the beneficiary, some sections of poorer communities will be 'better off'. Overall, however:

> Change is unlikely to be significant or substantial, and given the enormity of matching the development targets and the scale of global poverty, tourism might be expected to play a relatively minor role, particularly when contextualized by the size and financial power of the sector. For effective change to happen and the ability of small community projects to succeed, national government policy will need to change to reflect the needs of the local sector. (ibid.: 302)

As discussed in Chapter 2, tourism is at crossroads even in Costa Rica, which is internationally admired and praised as a destination for 'sustainable' ecotourism. Although contracts are signed with international consortia to build tourism resorts, there is still no comprehensive supportive policy to strengthen the small and medium-size enterprises or community-based tourism projects.

7.5 Conclusion

Tourismscapes are subject to overflowing. Analytically speaking, they bring about two kinds of externalities: those that directly affect the performance of tourismscapes, and those that are not yet defined as part of tourismscapes but will eventually become appellant. I discussed the first set of problems in terms of 'sustainable tourism' and the second set in terms of 'sustainable tourism development'. In order to address these problems, tourismscapes and underlying modes of ordering have to change, at least in an incremental way, but to be able to address some of the more serious problems, they will need to change in a more radical way. I shall discuss the probabilities of this change in the following chapter.

Notes

[1] 'The essence of the matter is that one person A, in the course of rendering some service, for which a payment is made, to a second person B, incidentally also renders services or disservices to other persons ... of such a sort that payment cannot be extracted from the benefited parties or compensation enforced on behalf of the injured person' (Pigou , 1962. In: Dubbink, 1999: 92)

[2] See Dubbink (1999: 96) for an extensive discussion on the differences and similarities between Pigou and Coase.

[3] Although 'negative' externalities are often stressed, externalities can also be 'positive'. For example, recent surveys (Lengkeek and Velden, 2000; Duim et al., 2001 and 2002; Duim and Lengkeek, 2004) clearly show that tourism not only leads to more people, traffic and turmoil on the island (negative externalities), but also to more employment in tourism-related sectors (construction, retail) and thus to more and better quality commercial services on the island. Moreover, farmers on the island of Texel have for a long time been exposed to the consequences of the joint tourism and nature development on the island, in terms of restrictions, conversions of land and neglect (negative externalities). Farmers' interests were compromised and they felt that they were unable to assert their own preferences. However, now that they are increasingly turning to tourism services as well (farm camping, selling local products), they are benefiting more and more, and free of charge, from the past efforts of the tourism and nature conservation sector to energize tourism on the island.

[4] These examples clearly illustrate that tourism-related problems are a result not only of market failure, but also of government failure (see Dubbink, 1999: 83-84).

[5] Callon (1999) uses the term 'framing' rather than 'ordering'. Borrowing from Goffman, Callon resorts to the concept of frame. However, framing is inextricably bound up with the modes of ordering as described in the previous two chapters. Modes of ordering per definition frame and structure relations. I therefore use the term ordering instead of framing.

[6] Latour (2004: 124) recently illustrated this principle by pointing at the 8000 people who die each year from automobile accidents in France. They are externalized as, for the time of being, the rapid use of cars is 'worth' much more in France than 8000 innocent lives per year.

[7] See e.g. the discussion in Chapter 8 on imposing additional levies on air transport. One of the unintended consequences might be that fewer tourists visit developing countries.

[8] Already in 1906 De Muy on Texel was designated as a 'nature monument' (Koppen, 2002: 154).

[9] UNEP played an important role in various conferences and expert meetings. In 1974 UNEP and UNCTAD convened the Cocoyoc seminar in Mexico, which brought together two major strands of that period's alternative development movement, namely those who argued that priority should be given to satisfying the basic needs of people (food, water, shelter) and those concerned with the capacity of the planet's resources and environment to sustain such growth. Since then, the term 'sustainable development' has served to catalyse debate over the relationship between economic growth and the natural resource base upon which it depends (Pezzoli, 1997: 551). Together with IUCN and WWF, UNEP was also involved in the preparation of the World Conservation Strategy (IUCN, 1980), which identified three objectives for conservation. First, the maintenance of essential ecological processes and life-support systems; second, the preservation of genetic diversity; and third, the sustainable development of species and ecosystems. In the World Conservation Strategy, conservation and development are defined in such a way that their compatibility becomes inevitable. If it is taken for granted that development ought to be 'sustainable', meaning that it must be capable of being extended indefinitely for the benefit of future generations, conservation and development are of course 'mutually dependent' and not incompatible as they have seemed in the past (Adams, 1990; Achterberg, 1994). Although the Strategy is well rounded and plausible, especially Adams criticized it for its naïve failure to recognize the essentially political nature of the development process. First, conservation is seen to be above ideology. There is no apparent awareness of arguments about the social production of nature. Second, the Strategy assumed that 'people' could exist in some kind of vacuum, outside the influence of inequality, class or power structures (Adams, 1990: 51).

[10] See also Driessen and Glasbergen (2002) for a comparison between the Dutch environmental policy in the 1970s and the new paradigm which emerged in the late 1980s and 1990s.

[11] See: http://www.biodiv.org/programmes/socio-eco/tourism/guidelines.asp

[12] See: http://www.ahs.uwaterloo.ca/rec/Task%20Force%20Report%20to%20WCPA-SC2.pdf

[13] See: http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/sdissues/tourism/tour2.htm#dec

[14] However, the World Tourism Organization concluded that the 7th session of the CSD did not succeed in effectively promoting a more concerted action by the many intergovernmental agencies and major groups involved. The lack of resources and the absence of a clear mandate are probably the two main reasons for the failure (WTO, 2002: 15).

[15] Recently UNEP and ICLEI (2003) published a report on the role of tourism in the Local Agenda 21. Only a handful of relevant cases could be identified where a truly comprehensive and strategic approach to tourism had been taken

related to Local Agenda 21. Especially islands, historic towns receiving relatively large numbers of tourists, and established tourists resorts seem to be inclined to develop a Local Agenda 21 focusing on tourism related issues.

[16] A recent attempt to start a project on corporate social responsibility (*maatschappelijk verantwoord ondernemen*) in the tourism sector within the framework of NIDO, the Dutch National Initiative for Sustainable Tourism, failed due to lack of cooperation from the tourism sector (Cramer, pers. com.).

[17] see http://www.twnside.org.sg/title/iye.htm. See also Man (2003) and Vivanco (2002).

[18] Notably, the World Tourism Organization organized a side-event on tourism and poverty alleviation, namely the STEP programme.

[19] see http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/partnerships/list_partnerships.htm

[20] For example, in 1993 Boers and Bosch published The Earth as Holiday Resort. The book was funded by the European Union and translated from Dutch into English, Spanish, Portuguese, French, German and Spanish.

[21] They function as epistemic notions, that is, regularities in the thinking of a particular period, structuring the understanding of reality without actors necessarily being aware of it (see Hajer, 2003b).

[22] In 1997 I elaborated a similar way of thinking based on scenarios developed by the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR, 1995) and on the so-called transformation model (Dietvorst 1992; Ashworth and Dietvorst 1995). I presented four tentative scenarios (see also Duim, 1997b) that illustrate the inevitability of diversity with respect to the seriousness of the perceived environmental risks and the extent to which one is prepared to accept social risks in order to mitigate the impact on the environment. Recently RIVM (2004) presented four scenarios for sustainable development.

[23] Not all accept this perspective with open arms. For example, Sharpley (2000: 1) recently claimed that this conceptualization of sustainable tourism development as a kind of free-floating development process is undoubtedly attractive. By neatly side-stepping the need for a concise definition, according to Sharpley (2000), it nevertheless does little to sharpen the focus of study onto the processes and overall viability of the concept

[24] Therefore, sustainable tourism development is considered a complex and multifaceted notion. To clarify this multidimensionality to various target groups, Dam (1997) developed the 'corporate response model to the macro-marketing environment' (Dam, 1997). This model differentiates among four 'margins' within which enterprises, or tourism regions, operate. These margins are 'profit', 'risk', 'ecological' and 'socio-cultural'. In our research projects it proved to be an excellent tool for communication (see e.g. Duim et al., 2001; Duim and Caalders, 2004).

[25] The terms eco-tourism, green or alternative tourism are by no means unique, but the most widely used of a catalogue of many similar terms are nature tourism, low-impact tourism, adventure tourism, soft tourism, responsible tourism, special interest tourism, eco-ventures, nature travel, rural tourism, travel with mother earth, anthropological tourism, jungle tourism, eco-travel, cultural tourism, wilderness tourism, non-consumptive wildlife tourism and safari tourism (see Jaakson, 1997). Moreover, as Mowforth and Munt (2003) claim, 'new forms' of tourism, although often proponents of 'sustainability', merely paint themselves as green or ethical. But the paint is likely to represent only a thin gloss over a course of action, which remains largely within the dominant modus operandi of the tourism industry.

[26] In some cases it is assumed possible within reasonable limits to predict the consequences for the quality of the environment of a certain intensity of tourism activity by means of dose-effect relationships. In many cases, however, uncertainties and ambiguities surround this relationship (WRR, 1995: 36). Elsewhere, we extensively discuss the general weaknesses of dose–effect research in tourism (see Duim and Philipsen, 1995; Duim et al., 1999; Duim and Caalders, 2002). Complexity and costs are among the main reasons why only a few dose-effect studies have been undertaken. Especially studies aiming to show causal relationships between tourism activities and environmental consequences are scarce.

[27] Similarly, Koppen (2002: 145 and 257) argues that societal debates about these normative decisions are very important. Decisions are often only indirectly related to insights into nature based on natural sciences. More often they depend on the moral, aesthetic and other cultural meanings of nature. Societal debates should therefore encompass and reflect both the resource and the Arcadian approach.

[28] The above also illustrates the limited value of Coase's theorem, as discussed in section 7.1. As Callon (1988b: 265) explains, it presupposes the existence of identified agents who are capable of negotiating with each other, i.e. of defining their interests and measuring benefits accruing to them or, conversely, the harmful effects of which they are the victims. Coase's theorem also needs externalities that have been confirmed and acknowledged as well as property rights allocated in such a way that the identities and responsibilities of the source agents could be established, as can those of the target agents. However, in realty, the identification of agents, externalities and property rights asks for extensive negotiations and continuous ordering, which never cease. Not only in the case of environmental impacts, but also – and even more – in the case of social and cultural impacts. Referring to the latter, generally speaking there has been a shift away from such simplifications in cultural studies of tourism within some modernization or dependency frameworks. Instead, tourism researchers now focus on people as active and strategic users of culture, participating in contexts where no single set of cultural interpretations has an inherent claim to truth or authenticity. As Wood (1993,

pp. 66-68) claims, tourism has its own peculiar dynamics, which make it an interesting and challenging field of study, but its impact is always played out in an already dynamic and changing cultural context. Clearly, assessing – let along valuating – the impacts of tourism in such a context is difficult, as we have seen in discussing tourism developments in our case study areas.

[29] See also Buiten Consultancy (2003).

[30] See for more information http://www.uneptie.org/pc/tourism/

[31] Since 1995 especially universities and NGOs, and to a lesser extent governmental agencies, have supported the SDA tourism programme. Participation of representatives from the tourism industry was an exception to the rule. See for Chapter 8 for a brief overview.

[32] See Peeters et al. (2004) for an overview of the important contribution of transport to environmental problems.

[33] See e.g. http://www.milieucentraal.nl/data/vervoer/domein_vervoer_set.html and Peeters et al. (2004)

[34] Boissevain (1996: 14-20) discerns six strategies: covert resistance, hiding, fencing, ritual, organized protest, and aggression.

[35] From an environmental point of view, pro-poor initiatives are questionable. As Ceron et al. (2004) state, poor countries may 'buy' development at the cost of a comparably large environmental impact. Similarly, Opschoor and Straaten (1993) argue that poverty alleviation at the global level would both directly and indirectly (through its impact on population size) reduce long-term environmental pressure. However, this is likely to come about only via economic development and this implies a short-term additional environmental burden. Poverty alleviation without changing the quality of economic growth is therefore pointless.

Chapter 8

Innovations in sustainable tourism development

8 Innovations in sustainable tourism development

Realizing sustainable tourism development is a form of work and success in a place where people and materials are obdurate and may resist (Law, 1999b). Innovative solutions are required to tackle some of the sustainability issues discussed in the previous chapter. As Röling (2000) asserts, there is no God, science or miraculous emergent property that is going to get us out of the mess: 'Unless we take it upon ourselves purposefully to grapple with the future, there won't be one' (ibid.: 34). So we have to be innovative. But what is innovation?

In line with our conceptualization of tourismscapes, innovations are seen as new patterns of coordination between people and organizations, technologies and environmental phenomena (Leeuwis, 2003: 9). Innovation aimed at sustainable tourism, or even at sustainable tourism development, is working towards and implementing new modes of ordering in tourism. It is a process of change, or a path, rather than a fixed end point or a rigid goal (Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004). So innovation implies that tourismscapes and underlying modes of ordering have to change, materially as well as socially. It implies a reordering of existing distributions of possibilities and constraints and the mobilization of new human and non-human resources and of sometimes unconventional, new alliances.

Since Rio, many more or less successful innovations in tourism have been implemented, both internationally and nationally. This chapter deals with what is a necessarily non-inclusive selection of innovations towards sustainable tourism development. In attempts to reorder tourism, a lot of emphasis is put on 'good practices' and incremental change addressing primarily the problems of 'sustainable tourism'. However, the tasks with which sustainable tourism development is confronted call for more fundamental changes or even transitions. Therefore, in the second part of this chapter I shall examine some of the prospects for and barriers to sustainable tourism development, and shall particularly argue the necessity to modulate ongoing dynamics in tourism.

First, I shall briefly discuss innovation from an actor-network perspective. Subsequently, I shall evaluate a recent innovation in tourism in the Netherlands, namely the introduction of a Product and Environmental Monitoring System (in Dutch: Product- en MilieuZorg; PMZ) for Dutch outbound tour operators. The evaluation will analyse the long and complicated processes of translation that were necessary to engage Dutch tour operators in the PMZ scheme. The case of the introduction of the PMZ will illustrate the implausibility of transitions towards sustainable tourism development as well as the intricacies of innovation and its more radical variants, namely the 'novelties' (Ploeg et al., 2004). Three cases studies (of the Foundation for a Sustainable Texel, the Sustainable Development Agreement between Costa Rica and the Netherlands, and eco-lodges in Costa Rica) will further illustrate the nuts and bolts of innovation and novelty creation. As they require time to ripen and a safe haven in which to mature, I shall conclude this chapter with a plea to modulate ongoing dynamics, and with a discussion of some entry points for this reordering of modes of ordering in tourism.

8.1 An actor-network perspective on innovation

From an actor-network perspective, essentially every innovation involves a reconfiguration of the collectif of actors through the addition of new 'actants' (Verschoor, 1997a: 205). According to Roep (2000: 200), innovation means developing the ability to make a supposedly relevant set of interacting social and natural ordering processes (in our words: tourismscapes) work differently. If this complex process of co-production and its outcome – people and things interwoven into a heterogeneous configuration – is not taken into account, the full extent of what is involved in innovative work cannot be understood. As particular modes of ordering constitute tourismscapes, innovations in tourismscapes towards sustainable development ought to entail new definitions of the situation as well as new practices and materials. Just as new ideas or concepts have to be inscribed into practices, products and materials to be effective and durable, new products, materials or technologies have to be translated into (existing or new) definitions of the situation in order to gain permanence and efficiency.

In other words, aiming at sustainable tourism development requires altering existing tourismscapes and working towards and implementing new ways of ordering of tourismscapes. Clearly, this will be laborious work. Tourismscapes are embedded in, or are a continuity of, historical processes. The practices and strategies of producers are related to what has historically proven to be possible or not. The producers' 'universe of the possible' is, so to speak, informed by past situations that are remembered personally, passed on orally or, importantly, remembered collectively through inscription in the technologies utilized, or in such intermediaries as tacit skills (Verschoor 1997a: 197-198).

However, 'things can always be done otherwise' by adding actors and intermediaries to the already existing collectifs. To pursue sustainability in tourism implies a reconfiguration of the collectif of actors that make up tourismscapes. It is collectifs that invent, design, develop and use innovations (Callon, 2004). This habitually brings about transformations in which tourismscapes are not entirely transformed, but merely reconfigured. But each move, each strategy also involves the addition of new elements (people, ideas, products, practices, machines) to the collectif, and thus new processes of translation.

For example, the participation of Dutch entrepreneurs in the Dutch Environmental Monitoring System for Tourism ('milieubarometer'), or similarly in the European VISIT or FLOWER project, entails not only acquiring new skills through learning, but also installing water- or energy-saving technologies, making organizational changes, establishing new communications with clientele, etc. Corporate responsibility in tourism firms, for example, involves cooperating with previously detached actors (NGOs and pressure groups), enrolling new codes and guidelines of the OESO (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) or those of the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI, 2002), or incorporating new environmental, economic or social practices. Corporate responsibility thus implies partly a change of goals and partly a change in the composition of the network by engaging other actors. In this way the complexity of the collectif increases through the addition of various social, economic, political, technical or natural elements. Knowledge of present conditions and insight into the possible developments thereof result in a goal or set of goals to be achieved, and are in turn translated into a 'problematization',

that is, the roles to be played by different actors and intermediaries (existent or to be devised) if the goal is to become real (Verschoor 1997a: 198).

Innovation towards sustainable tourism and sustainable tourism development thus implies new alliances and/or changes in existing alliances between people and between people and things. It requires modifications that stem from five interrelated processes that allow us to understand how 'something' that was not there before gains momentum and makes place for 'something' new (Latour, 1995: 279; Verschoor, 1997a: 209 - 210).

First, there are quantitative changes of the collectif (through the introduction or the exclusion of people and organizations, machines, labels, procedures, modes of transport and ordering). But the introduction (or exclusion) of technologies, intermediaries, people, procedures and the like implies not only a quantitative but also a qualitative change as externalities are internalized, and people and things that worked against a project become favourable to it or vice versa. So we need to be concerned with the distributed effect of transformations. For example, the imposition of environmental indicators on hotels by tour operators might lead to contracting some new hotels at the expense of others. The appointment in 1998 of a manager of 'sustainable tourism' at TUI-NL led to qualitative changes, not in the least because this manager introduced other actors (e.g. the World Wildlife Fund, IUCN – The World Conservation Organisation, United Nations Environmental Program) and their ideas and networks into the organization. Although the manager was replaced, his departure five years later accordingly led to qualitative changes.

Third, and consequently, there is the change of state of actors that find themselves endowed with new properties. Through the introduction of, for example, new labour rights, environmental friendly performances and pro-poor strategies, actors change as the collectif of which they are constituent changes.

These modifications stem from the substitution between people and things and/or the delegation of action to other materials. As tourism producers change their goals toward sustainability, they also change the matter in which these goals are concretized or inscribed. For example, renewable resources substitute non-renewable resources, rail is used instead of air transport, and energy-extensive equipment replaces energy-intensive equipment. Similarly, principles are translated into codes of conduct or labels or social goals displayed in labour rights or other written procedures and contracts as the durability and robustness of translations are, above all, inscribed in intermediaries (Verschoor, 1997a: 213). These quantitative and qualitative changes, the change in properties of the actors involved, and the delegation of action to other materials take us a long way towards an understanding of processes of innovation (ibid.: 209).

Eventually, however, these changes, if successful, have to become routines and be taken for granted. In the end, the production of tourismscapes reduces complexity, although tourismscapes always remain contingent and continuously have to be repaired (Peters, 2003). But despite crises, disputes, compromises, substitutions, translations and orderings, fragile existences have to become stable essences once again in order to produce their effects (Latour, 1995: 277-279).

The case of the introduction of the Product and Environmental Management System (PMZ) for outbound tour operators in the Netherlands illustrates these points. Based on research executed in the first half of 2004[1], the following section presents an analysis of the implementation of the PMZ in terms of the four stages of translation[2] (i.e. problematization, 'interessement', enrolment

and mobilization; see Chapter 5), as well as the five quantitative and qualitative changes depicted in the above (see section 8.2.2).

8.2 The introduction of the PMZ in the Netherlands[3]

In the last decade, a wide range of eco-labels, certification schemes, environmental programmes, codes of conduct and other predominantly voluntary schemes of self-regulation have been introduced in order to promote the good environmental performance of the tourism sector (see e.g. Buckley, 2002; Font and Buckley, 2001; Honey, 2002). Many of them have been criticized for their lack of quality, technical content, reliability, maturity, equity and effectiveness (Buckley, 2001). For example, Mowforth and Munt (2003: 185) recently expressed their concerns by stating that self-regulation by bodies such as the World Tourism and Travel Council and the World Tourism Organisation – whose stated aim is to promote rather than restrain the tourism industry – is likely to lead to policies that further the pursuit of profits in a business world where profit maximization and capital accumulation is the logic of economic organization (see also Honey, 2002: 23). Others, however, argue that these schemes, despite their problems, assist tourism operators in identifying the environmental consequences of their operations, and help them to identify and implement environmentally friendly actions and care systems. If embedded in a mixture of other instruments and tools, both voluntary and regulatory, they could promote social equity and sustainable development (Honey, 2002; Spaargaren and Oosterveer, 2004).

The PMZ for Dutch outbound tour operators is an example of a recently introduced scheme. However, the PMZ is not a voluntary but a mandatory scheme. In December 2000, the Netherlands Association of Tour Operators (Vereniging van ANVR Reisorganisatoren; VRO) obliged its members (ca 180 tour operators) to implement the PMZ – a systematic method that should lead to the improvement of products in the tourism chain by evaluating and adapting their environmental aspects.

8.2.1 The implementation of the PMZ

In 1999-2002, the Netherlands Association of Tour Operators (VRO) – which is part of the Dutch Association of Travel Agencies (Algemeen Nederlands Verbond van Reisondernemingen: ANVR) – developed together with a consultant a system for product-oriented environmental management for tour operators (Consultancy and Research for Environmental Management (CREM, n.d.). This system (the PMZ) structures the efforts and activities within a company in order to control, minimize and, if possible, prevent products and services within the chain from having environmental impacts (Berg, 2000). Until recently, the PMZ was mainly applied in the construction and industrial sectors, where the production and use of material products lead to environmental impacts (VROM, 2003). Since 2000, the PMZ has been introduced in other sectors, such as agriculture, services and transport. In December 2000, all circa 180 Dutch outbound tour operators committed themselves within the VRO framework to implement the PMZ before April 2003 (Visser, 2003b). However, both the implementation and its history have been subject to many debates, changes and even opposition. I shall now analyse the four stages in this process of translation.

Problematization (from 1995)
As explained in the previous chapter, the presentation of the 1994 report of the National Council for Nature Policy (Raad voor het Natuurbeheer, 1995) titled 'Are we going too far?' intensified policy developments and the relevant discussions between the parties involved (Eggink, 2000). For example, in June 1995 the Dutch Association of Travel Agencies (ANVR) instigated an internal Commission on Sustainable Tourism, which published a brochure for tourists ('Travel world and environmental concern'). The commission operates as a think-tank and consists of managers of tour operators, two employees of the ANVR and a representative of the NHTV Breda University for Professional Education.

In 1995, ANVR founded a platform – which is now known as the Initiative Group for Sustainable Outbound Tourism (Initiatiefgroep Duurzaam Uitgaand Toerisme; IDUT) – to stimulate the exchange of information and knowledge between the tourism industry, governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations (Olsder, 2000). Through these initiatives, the ANVR could 'set the pace' and balance the 'need to do something for the environment' with the 'commercial interests and economic viability' of tour operators (Couvreur, pers. com.)

The Dutch consultancy CREM contacted the VRO's Commission on Sustainable Tourism in 1998 concerning the possibility of developing a system for product-oriented environmental management for tour operators (the PMZ) that would be eligible for a grant from the Ministry of Environmental Affairs. The VRO decided to take its chance with CREM; in other words, it saw the PMZ as a possible solution to the problem of unsustainable tourism development. CREM developed an 'action programme' based on two pilot projects (with one small and one bigger tour operator) and several brainstorming sessions. In January 2001, CREM presented the action programme in the form of an 80-page booklet. Later, the VRO Commission on Sustainable Tourism rewrote some parts of it, since its members believed that it was 'difficult, unpractical and hard to read' and thus not yet appropriate to send to the tour operators. It took more than half a year before the Commission finally agreed on the text.

In December 2000, the members and the Board of the VRO accepted by consent a proposal that compelled tour operators to acquire a PMZ certificate before April 2003. Briefly, in order to receive the PMZ Basic Certificate, a tour operator is required to:
1. Formulate an environmental policy statement.
2. Formulate an environmental programme with at least one action on the following items:
   - Transport
   - Accommodation
   - Entertainment (excursions)
   - Internal environmental actions
   - Information.
3. Appoint a PMZ coordinator who is trained and certified.
4. Refrain from offering travel products that are on the list of non-responsible or non-ethical products.

An independent Foundation for Environmental Care (*Stichting Milieuzorg*) – which the VRO established in January 2001 – was meant to assess the programmes and assign labels, ranging from bronze to gold. The VRO copied the idea of labels from Recron (the Dutch Association of

Entrepreneurs in Recreation and Tourism, covering campsites, holiday villages and attraction parks), which assigns bronze, silver and gold 'environmental barometers' to environmentally friendly tourism companies in the Netherlands. In contrast to Recron's system, the VRO's PMZ would be compulsory: members who do not pass the examination would be expelled from the ANVR.

Resuming, the VRO suggested the PMZ as a tool for sustainable tourism, focusing predominantly on the environmental problems caused by tourism. More specifically, it enabled tour operators to minimize the negative environmental impacts of travel products and to enhance their environmental performance.

Interessement (from 2002)

The next step for the VRO was to inform all its members and to persuade them to follow the suggested path of action. According to Callon (1986a), this phase of interessement means that other actors have to become interested in the solution proposed, as the evaluation of the disadvantages and advantages of the PMZ is entirely in the hands of the tour operators: it depends on their expectations and interests and on the problems they raise (see Akrich et al., 2002a: 202). How did the VRO try to draw the attention of its members to the PMZ?

Once the VRO had developed the PMZ, it required its members to implement the tool within their business. But 'what was already in the minds of the commission members, was not yet in the minds of tour operators' (Verstoep, pers. com.). Tour operators' small profit margins (normally 1 - 3%), their constantly perceived 'lack of time', the strong orientation on price and volume instead of quality, and the lack of service quality management in parts of the travel industry are just a few of the explanations or excuses for the resistance of tour operators to welcome the PMZ as a workable solution. Therefore, tour operators first had to be informed. After the binding decision was taken, the VRO sent electronic 'PMZ bulletins' to its members. It also sent CREM's rewritten, 80-page action programme to them. Its third action was to organize information meetings for all PMZ coordinators. During these meetings, the VRO informed the PMZ coordinators about examples of possible actions for the environmental programme, and introduced the digital course that the coordinators had to follow. The tour operators suddenly began to realize that the PMZ was compulsory. During these meetings, tour operators showed their disagreement on the assignment of labels in the form of bronze, silver and gold labels. Tour operators disliked this kind of competition. Therefore, the VRO decided to postpone the certification system until 2004, when the feasibility of such a system would again be investigated.

Because of the great variety of types of products offered by tour operators, the general meetings were not effective in informing all kinds of tour operators about possible actions to be taken. Rather, the meetings raised more questions. Therefore, after having organized two general meetings, the VRO decided to organize ten sector meetings for specific types of tour operators in the period July - September 2002. In order to have an effective discussion, the VRO invited a number of selected tour operators to these meetings. The sector meetings were intended to remove the uncertainty and doubts among members. As 'about 70-80% of the tour operators showed resistance, we really had to win them over during the meetings' (Verstoep, pers. com.). Reactions from interviewed tour operators reveal that the sector meetings were effective. As one of the respondents stated:

> The meeting has been very useful for me. It gave an impression of what was expected. You were able to directly pose questions and in a certain way your mind was put at rest. It showed that the PMZ was not that hard to accomplish.

The VRO sent the results of the meetings to all members of the particular sector involved (ANVR, 2002).

During the meetings, the VRO received little reaction to CREM's action programme and noticed that PMZ coordinators had hardly read it. Although the Commission on Sustainable Tourism had already rewritten it, it was still 'too big, too unpractical, too academic' (Verstoep, pers. com). Therefore, in January 2003 three members of the Commission on Sustainable Tourism – of whom two were also tour operators – again rewrote and recapitulated the action programme into a summary that was more 'workable and understandable for all tour operators'. In April 2003, the VRO sent the summary to its members. Because of the initial resistance of tour operators, the VRO further decided to postpone the deadline for obtaining the PMZ certificate to 1 November 2003.

During the sector meetings, participants also discussed the 'mobility project'. The goal of this project was to inform travellers on the environmental impacts of different forms of transport (car, bus, aircraft, train, bike or boat) to a specific destination. Tour operators should present the information in their travel guides. However, some members of the Commission on Sustainable Tourism disagreed on the feasibility of the instrument, especially because of the disputable character of the calculation method and the determination of objective norms. The Commission therefore decided to leave the mobility project out of the PMZ system.

As the VRO also intended to train tour operators in the field of sustainable tourism, it decided to develop a course. Although CREM offered to develop such a course, it would have cost a relatively large amount of money and taken 18 months – and the VRO wanted it sooner than that. The NHTV Breda University for Professional Education, being a member of the Commission on Sustainable Tourism, offered to develop the course within nine months. The course was made available in September 2002 as a Microsoft Word document, so that interested persons could read it on their own computer screen. Particular information in the course (e.g. references to websites) could also be used to discuss sustainable tourism with employees and to set up the environmental programme. Because the Word document had links to many websites, the VRO had to update it regularly. In April 2003, the VRO informed its members about the updated version of the PMZ course. After following the course, the PMZ coordinator was supposed to take the exam via the Internet, which had been possible since November 2002. Initially, both the PMZ coordinator and the director of the company had to take the exam, but after several discussions the VRO decided that in future only the coordinator would have to take it. The on-line exam could be retaken until the minimum number of credits had been accumulated. After being awarded the course diploma (costs: EUR 50), the PMZ coordinator could request the PMZ Basic Certificate (costs: EUR 150). Among with their request, they had to submit:

1. The tour operator's environmental policy statement.
2. The environmental programme (consisting of at least five specific actions).
3. The declaration of refraining from offering non-permitted travel products.
4. A copy of the course diploma.

5. Proof of the PMZ coordinator's employment on a permanent basis.
6. The signature of the management agreeing on points 1-5.

The task of the Foundation for Environmental Care was to evaluate the requests and to decide whether or not to award the PMZ Basic Certificate to the tour operator.

In sum, the VRO tried to interest its members by sending them the action plan and PMZ bulletins and by organizing general and sector meetings. During this phase, some necessary changes had to be taken to overcome serious opposition from tour operators:

- The VRO introduced sector-specific discussion meetings (in addition to the general meetings).
- The introduction of labels was postponed to at least 2004.
- The mobility project was not included in the PMZ system.
- Only the PMZ coordinator (and not the director of the company) had to take the PMZ exam.
- The action plan was summarized.
- The deadline was postponed from 1 April 2003 to 1 November 2003.

Initially, tour operators did not identify with the solution (the PMZ) – or were not even aware of the problems caused by their products – and consequently were opposed to it. But the resistance weakened during the sector meetings. But to be accepted, the PMZ had to be modified. Through successive iterations compromises were reached. However, interessement is only successful when it achieves enrolment. The next section analyses the way tour operators were engaged.

Enrolment (from 2003)

Enrolment means that the proposed solution is accepted. It is the process of translating the images and concerns into that of the network of, in this case, tour operators, and then trying to discipline or control that translation in order to stabilize an actor-network (Verschoor, 1997a: 31). Since the PMZ was 'mandatory', tour operators who wanted to continue their membership of the VRO had to accept the solution. However, interviews made it clear that tour operators 'accepted the solution' with different mind-sets.

What are the facts? The chairperson of the Foundation for Environmental Care presented the first eight PMZ course diplomas in March 2003. At the end of October 2003 – just before the official deadline – the 100th PMZ coordinator received the course certificate. The VRO then started sending reminders to the 80 tour operators that had still not acquired the PMZ Basic Certificate. In February 2004, the 126th tour operator fulfilled its obligation and received the Certificate. By now (i.e. early 2005), all but ten tour operators have enrolled (these ten have given up their VRO membership).

Now the central question is: did Dutch outbound tour operators accept the PMZ? The answer is not simply 'yes' or 'no', as some tour operators were already taking 'sustainability actions' before the introduction and compulsory implementation of the PMZ. Some of them did this proactively by, for example, joining international initiatives in the field of sustainable tourism or making an employee responsible for environmental affairs, while others did it in a more unplanned manner

(i.e. in the form of hidden corporate responsibility), not in the least because some categories of tourists appreciate visiting, for example, local development projects at holiday destinations.

Interviews of ten PMZ coordinators tentatively reveal three types of tour operators (see table 8.1; see also Tepelus, 2004).

Table 8.1 Typology of PMZ coordinators

Group	Key defining characteristics
Unconvinced minor participants	Do not accept the solution proposed by the VRO, are opposed to the PMZ, acknowledge the problem but do not feel responsible or able to provoke change, take no concrete action to alter business practices
Open-minded yet sceptical participants	Acknowledge the problem, accept the PMZ with mixed feelings, alterations of business practices directed predominantly towards information and informal procedures
Loyal actors	Proposed solution accepted, the PMZ works as a catalyst, they make a range of alterations to business practices (information, employees, products), most procedures are formalized

The 'unconvinced minor participants', a relatively small group comprising approximately 10 - 15%[4] of the tour operators, have never accepted the solution proposed by the VRO. Initially, these tour operators were indifferent, but as the deadline came closer, the compulsory character of the PMZ annoyed them. They either do not show a real interest in solving the problem or they perceive a lack of power to improve environmental performances. Their sense of responsibility is low, as is their belief in the ability to provoke change: 'We have no influence from here, we are only an intermediary.' Moreover, 'what ANVR want you to do, for example discuss the environmental policy and programme with every layer in the company, is just not feasible'. The tangible results of the PMZ are the appointment of the PMZ coordinator ('I'm now earmarked') and the publication of the environmental policy statement on the website.

Box 8.1 Characteristic statements of the unconvinced minor participants:

- 'We have better things to do than deal with the environment: we have holidays to sell.'
- 'I know it's a bit double to say "we can't do anything about it", maybe it is more "we don't want to do anything about it".'
- 'We think the PMZ is rather annoying instead of something with additional value.'

A second group comprising 60 - 70% of the tour operators and labelled 'open-minded yet sceptical participants', put much more emphasis on the sustainability problems caused by tourism, principally think the PMZ is a good idea, but question its the compulsory character and effectiveness. This group accepts the solution (although with mixed feelings) and has taken action, such as informing their clients or having another look at all offered products from a PMZ perspective.

Why do they have mixed feelings? They say that the PMZ course is too broad and time-consuming ('Only a small part of it is fascinating: I'm not interested in the emissions given off during a bus trip to southern Europe'), although it has provided more insight. And the exam is 'a joke: immediately after filling in the answers you see which answers are wrong, so you can redo the exam over and over until you have enough points'. As a result, the tour operators have put on paper their actions that can easily fit in the required measures. 'What we were doing already I put on paper, it has not much added value this way.' Consequently, the 'implementation' is merely on paper.

The biggest change as a result of the introduction of the PMZ relates to the communication towards the tourist. Tourists can read the environmental policy statement on the Internet and in the brochure. Furthermore, tourists are stimulated to behave responsibly, that is, to separate waste at the destination, undertake environmentally friendly excursions and use public transport. Employees are informed in an informal and unstructured way, for example, during lunches or common general meetings. In sum, for this category the solution is accepted with mixed feelings.

Box 8.2 Characteristic statements of the open-minded yet skeptical participants:

- 'As long as other countries do not implement it as well, what influence do we have?'
- 'On the one hand I like it, but on the other hand I think, well, it's been imposed by ANVR, and we're already busy, so why do we have to do this as well?
- 'The PMZ is okay, but it's not necessary since it's not in the sake of people's safety.'
- 'I think we're too small to influence the accommodation owners; we have to make our clients aware. But I don't know if it will change their behaviour. I wouldn't fly less myself.'
- 'I doubt to what extent it will succeed.'

For 'loyal actors' (20 - 30% of the tour operators), the PMZ works as a catalyst that structures and guides their efforts towards sustainability. These tour operators took action towards sustainability issues even before the PMZ was introduced. There are several reasons for this. One is that the actions correspond with the way of travelling, such as in small groups, staying in local accommodation facilities, using locally owned transport companies and the like. Another important issue proves to be the background of the staff. Staff who have a degree in development studies or who have lived and travelled abroad – and thus have noticed tourism-related problems – tend to be more responsive to developing sustainable tourism products. A third reason is the company's philosophy (or desired representation). A tour operator that wishes to create goodwill among shareholders, consumers and social organizations, and therefore actively joins sustainable initiatives, is already a step ahead. The PMZ has consequently led to a more structural basis for paying attention to aspects of sustainable development. This means that PMZ coordinators have 'official' time to implement the PMZ. It is most effective to install a PMZ team comprising at least two persons, because then: 'You have to keep your appointments. You're less inclined to shelve something.'

The biggest change resulting from the introduction of the PMZ is that sustainability has become part of the internal and external management. In larger organizations, staff have been trained and informed formally, for example, during special PMZ meetings (some under the supervision of a consultant) or via the company's intranet or internal newspaper. In smaller organizations, staff are involved and made responsible for the realization of the programme. A tangible result is, for example, that accommodation and facilities are checked at the destination according to guidelines or a checklist. However, even for this category of tour operators, the VRO constantly has to provide incentives and put forward practical examples for tour operators to implement, otherwise the PMZ would dwindle away. At the end of the day, 'tour operators won't do it themselves' (Verstoep, pers. com.)

Box 8.3 Characteristic statements of the loyal actors:

- 'There's a more structural basis to implement it. We have a team working on it.'
- 'We want to have an active role in the discussion on sustainable tourism, which means you have to invest time and money.'
- 'The PMZ has become part of the management, both internally and externally. Concerning the implementation, you have to be active – and that's what I am.'
- 'As a tour operator you play a key role in the process of consciousness-raising.'
- 'I've published an article on the PMZ in a trade journal, and I'm quite proud of it.'

The next question is what kind of actions tour operators take within the framework of the PMZ. Tour operators need to take at least one initiative in each of the categories transport, accommodation, entertainment (including excursions), information, and internal environmental management. The analysis shows that most tour operators take far more than one action per category (see table 8.2); only two out of 126 have taken the minimum of five actions.

Table 8.2 Average number of actions taken by tour operators

Item	Average number per tour operator
Transport	2.6
Accommodation	2.4
Entertainment	2.4
Information	4.2
Internal environmental procedures	4.5

Not surprisingly, most actions relate to internal environmental procedures. These initiatives are relatively easy to implement and to control. Tour operators have taken an average of about four actions related to information. For example, they communicate the Blue Flag or ECPAT campaign to their clients or point at the work of the World Wildlife Fund or IUCN – The World Conservation Union. The other three categories (transport, accommodation and entertainment – the core elements of the tour operators' supply) receive more or less similar attention with an average

of more than two actions. On average, tour operators made 13.6 actions, which is almost three times the minimum requirement (five) set by the VRO. Between them, the 126 tour operators have taken a total of 1710 initiatives, of which over 87% concern the environmental dimension of sustainability (see table 8.3).

Table 8.3 Character of initiatives taken by tour operators

	Soft	**Hard**	**Total**
Planet	75.1%	12.2%	87.3%
Profit	4.4%	0.4%	4.8%
People	1.9%	0.2%	2.1%
Combination	3.3%	2.5%	5.8%
Total (n=1710)	**84.9%**	**15.1%**	**100%**

Regarding the internal environmental procedures, most tour operators mentioned separating waste (70.6%) and reducing the use of paper (69.8%) and energy (65.9%). Popular initiatives related to the profit dimension are stimulating the use of local guides/organizations during activities and excursions (36.5%) and providing transport, accommodation and food (17.5%). Socio-cultural actions include informing tour guides about the customs of local people and the importance of them informing the clients (15.1%). Examples of combinations of initiatives are informing staff about and training them in the PMZ (49.2%) and regularly evaluating internal environmental procedures (15.1%).

Apart from the fact that tour operators restrict themselves mainly to environmental problems, table 8.3 shows that most of the actions (84.9%) are 'soft', that is, 'informing', 'stimulating', 'giving attention to', 'investigating', 'if/as much as possible', etc. Hard actions, on the other hand, are measurable and consist of quantitative goals. With regard to transport, tourists can be stimulated to use environmentally friendly transport to the airport by informing them (soft) or by providing cheap or even free train tickets (hard).

Table 8.4 shows that of the top ten measures taken by tour operators, most are directed towards the internal environmental procedures. Almost all tour operators inform their clients about the PMZ. This is relatively easy to do, particularly since the ANVR has sent them a list with advice they can send to their clients. Both 'activities' and 'transport' receive relatively little attention. Action number eight on the list relates to the requirement of the PMZ Basic Certificate to refrain form selling particular non-sustainable products. The first action related to 'transport' occupies a shared 10th place, although transport is, as I have shown in the previous chapter, the Achilles heel of sustainable tourism (see also Peeters and Dings, 2003; Gössling, 2002).

In principal, one of the promises of the PMZ is that it will lead to a more intensive contact between the various actors in the tourism chain on environmental affairs. However, this promise is still to be fulfilled. Most of the twelve information-related initiatives of tour operators are directed towards the customer; only one is directed towards the local agent (providing information about the PMZ). Of the transport-related actions, also only one relates to accommodation owners and agents.

Table 8.4 Top ten initiatives (n=126)

	Action	Area	Percentage
1	Inform clients about the importance of the PMZ and provide them with tips	Information	92.9%
2	Separate waste	Internal	70.6%
3	Reduce the use of paper	Internal	69.8%
4	Reduce the use of power and energy	Internal	65.9%
5	Inform accommodation owners and/or agents about the PMZ and preferred environmental friendly behaviour	Accommodation	60.3%
6	Preferential use of environmentally friendly accommodation at purchase (possibly use a checklist)	Accommodation	59.5%
7	Reduce the distribution of brochures	Information	57.9%
8	Research the environmental impacts of activities and offer the least harmful ones	Activities	53.2%
9	Inform staff about/train staff to use the PMZ	Information	49.2%
10	Stimulate clients to take environmentally friendly transport to the airport or place of departure	Transport	46.8%
10	Use environmentally friendly office articles	Internal	46.8%

This means that so far, tour operators have put most effort into informing tourists. Nevertheless, local agents play a crucial role in the tourism distribution channel, as they act as intermediaries between their local tourism industry and tour operators (and tourists) (Caalders et al., 2003: 19). At the same time, they are also the least well-known members of the tourism chain and very little research has focused on them (Buhalis, 2001). The interviews also showed that tour operators do not involve local agents in their efforts to improve the chain's sustainability. As one respondent said:

> We want to develop a checklist for local agents, but it is very hard to exercise control over them. You can ask all sorts of questions, for example how they treat their staff, but we can't keep an eye on everything. Of course, you hear things from tour guides, but you can't only rely on them to assess the sustainability of an agent.

Chi-square tests were conducted to assess relations and distinctions between size and type of tour operators and the measures taken. In August 2003, a Dutch travel magazine (DIT Reismanagement) published a top 40 of Dutch tour operators based on turnover. Twenty-six of them are a VRO member (and were consequently part of our sample) and had a turnover of at least EUR 15 million. Cross tabulations comparing these 26 with the other 100 tour operators in our sample, showed that especially they claim to work exclusively with environmentally conscious airline companies. Furthermore, they prefer environmentally friendly hotels and the use of checklists during purchases more than the other companies (with less turnover) do. For the rest, no statistically significant relations between, for example, size of company and taken measures were found.

Referring to the type of tour operators, especially those offering 'aircraft to the sun', 'far-off destinations' and 'general' holidays stimulate environmentally friendly transport to the airport or place of departure. Obviously, mainly 'bus travel' and 'general' tour operators say that they use environmentally friendly and certified buses. Cross tables show that of all types of tour operators, those offering holidays to 'far-off destinations' do the least to inform accommodation owners and/or agents about the PMZ and the desired environmental aspects, or to stimulate them to adopt the system. Only 32.1% say that they do provide such information and stimulation.

Resuming, tour operators vary in their acceptance of the PMZ. Unconvinced minor participants take measures only because they want to keep enjoying the advantages of being a member of the VRO. 'Open-minded yet sceptical participants' acknowledge the problem and their responsibility within sustainable tourism development, but doubt the PMZ's added value. For the loyal actors, the PMZ works as a catalyst and sustainability has become part of their management. Our analysis reveals that 'interessement' has not been completely successful, since not all tour operators have signed up and others have done within the letter but not the spirit of the system. However, by now (early 2005) all have taken initiatives towards sustainable tourism. Most of these actions are 'soft' and relate to the environmental dimension of sustainability.

Mobilization

If 'interessement' is successful and enrolment has been achieved, one can speak of the mobilization of the network of entities involved. In other words, the specific definition of a problematic situation – its character, cause and probable solution – is construed and made indispensable for others to follow (Verschoor, 1997a).

In the case of the PMZ, mobilization is obviously far from completed, as most tour operators are still not oriented towards fully implementing the solution proposed. We cannot speak of a 'black box'. The PMZ is still debated and immature, and not all tour operators are aligned around the specific goals of the PMZ (see Brunori et al., 2004). It has not (yet) become an unquestioned routine. So far, the translation processes seem to be too weak to effect further mobilization.

8.2.2 Complexity of the PMZ collectif

The PMZ is an effect of the performances of many organizations, people and things. Without the grant from the Ministry of Environmental Affairs, the PMZ most probably would never have materialized, and without Couvreur (the chair of the VRO between 1969 and 2001), it is likely that it would not have been introduced. And, obviously, if the binding resolution and compulsory character were to be removed, the PMZ would almost certainly cease to exist.

During this process of implementation, the PMZ continuously and significantly changed. These changes were the result of interactions between (often reluctant) tour operators, pragmatically oriented members of the VRO's Commission on Sustainable Tourism, and pre-described rules within the organization of the VRO. As introduced in section 8.1, the changes can be analysed in terms of five different but interrelated processes.

In the first place, there were quantitative changes. Each step of the implementation of the PMZ involved the addition of new 'actants' to the collectif. In this sense the PMZ was a catalyst for

establishing new links between, for example, the VRO, tour operators and NGOs. But also consultants, staff members of the NHTV Breda University for Professional Education as well as PMZ courses, exams, Internet sites, bulletins and certifications came into play. When the VRO installed the Commission on Sustainable Tourism, others became interested. These 'others' did not previously exist in the earlier collectif; they had to be built in through processes of translation.

For example, some tour operators (especially 'loyal actors') contact local development organizations in destination areas in order to develop new products. They indicate that this is laborious, but: 'the clients appreciate it. It's like a marketing instrument. We want to introduce a project within each tour.' Moreover, more and more tour operators are using a checklist to analyse the environmental friendliness of accommodation. Two organizations have gone a step further by developing their own certificates for hotels and lodges.

The World Wildlife Fund-Netherlands approached the VRO to join forces within their campaign 'prohibited souvenirs'. As a result, forbidden souvenirs became part of the collectif. First, the VRO informed the tour operators about the campaign. As a result, in December 2003 the first tour operator (TUI-NL) signed a Memo of Understanding with the World Wildlife Fund concerning informing travellers about prohibited souvenirs of endangered plants and animals.

In 2000, the Netherlands Committee for IUCN (NC-IUCN) launched the 'Tourism for Nature' project, the main goal of which is 'to convince Dutch tour operators to preserve the environment as a resource of primary importance, and to provide them with an instrument to contribute to nature conservation in destination countries'. The NC-IUCN agreed with the VRO to contribute to the biodiversity part of the PMZ programme by providing informative fact sheets for different functions in the travel industry and different types of travel. Currently, the NC-IUCN is contacting PMZ coordinators of tour operators who might be interested in including nature projects in their itineraries.

ECPAT-NL (End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes) was already working closely with the VRO when in 1996 it adopted a 'behavioural code against commercial exploitation'. Part of this code was the agreement to cancel contracts with hotels that facilitate child prostitution. Since 2001, tour operators have also been required to publish in their brochures information condemning child prostitution and to inform their staff about 'risk destinations' for child prostitution. ECPAT also developed a more extensive code of conduct, which is mentioned in the PMZ course. Tour operators, however, are not required to sign this code of conduct, although some have done so.

The VRO was also already in contact with the NHTV Breda University for Professional Education, since the NHTV is a member of the VRO's Commission on Sustainable Tourism. Because of this relationship, another new product entered the collectif: the PMZ course. This implied another change: CREM no longer joined the collectif.

Second, bringing new actors (human as well as non-human) into play clearly implies not only a quantitative change but also qualitative changes, as externalities are internalized, people and things who/that initially conspired against the actors' goals finally supported them (and vice versa) (see Verschoor, 1997a: 206). The PMZ undeniably contributed to the internalization of some of the externalities of tourism. However, not only has this process just started but it will never be over. It is part of processes of continuous ordering and, as we have seen, it is impossible to take ordering to a final conclusion.

Third, besides changes of the collectif and their distributed effects, changes may affect the state of the actors that compose the collectif. Through the passage of time, actors (both human and non-human) find themselves endowed with new properties. After fulfilling all obligations, tour operators receive the Basic Certificate. This certificate has entered into a relationship with the organization and its products (Verschoor, 1997a: 208). From the moment the tour operator receives the certificate, it is no longer associated only with travel products, but also with environmental concern. This changes the moral accountability of the tour operator, although many do not realize the implications of this change of property.

The VRO itself also became another subject. The branch organization is no longer only a formal organization, but also a direct point of contact for the PMZ coordinators. As one of the PMZ coordinators stated: 'It's now much easier for me to get help when I have questions, because I have contacts with the VRO via the PMZ.'

Within the organization of the tour operator, the person who became the PMZ coordinator changed properties as well. Although the implications of this assignment differ from one company to another, at least all personnel know who is responsible for environmental issues. In some cases the contract between tour operators and accommodation owners changed properties as well. Sometimes the contract contains a statement that the accommodation must comply with the national law regarding environmental requirements. In other cases, the ECPAT Code of Conduct is mentioned.

These examples show, as Latour (1994, in Verschoor, 1997a: 208) suggests, that neither subjects nor objects are fixed entities. Tour operators have changed their properties by becoming associated with environment and developmental issues, a certificate has entered the relationship with tour operators and the VRO, and the VRO has become more 'personal'.

Fourth, as actors change their goals, they also change the matter in which these goals are concretized or inscribed. In other words, we have to look at the way in which beings substitute one another in the process of transformation (Verschoor, 1997a: 208). For example, how machines replace people (such as online checking-in at the airport), or renewable resources substitute non-renewable resources, or when rail is used instead of air transport. With respect to the PMZ programme, tour operators have mentioned that people can print their tickets at home, which saves paper and transport costs for tour operators (but shifts part of the costs of paper and ink to the consumer).

Furthermore, most information is increasingly digitally available and tour operators send fewer brochures to customers. Considerable savings have been reported (Klep, pers. com). These examples show that although the function stays the same, some of the properties of objects have changed. This is also the case for the measures tour operators take regarding transport. They stimulate tourists to travel in an environmentally friendly way to the airport by offering a train ticket (thus the properties of the ticket have changed: it receives an 'environmental value' and is moreover a 'PMZ action'). None of the tour operators, however, perceives rail as a good substitute for air transport, and therefore they offer the possibility for customers to 'buy off' the emission. They support such initiatives as Cool Flying and Trees for Travel, offering compensation for the emission induced by air transport by planting trees.

A final factor in understanding the character of transformations comes from the unravelling of the way in which different human and non-human actors have been engaged. All VRO tour operators possess a certificate. However, this does not clearly show how these certificates have been integrated in the organization. This has in practice been hidden from view. Even the analysis of 126 environmental programmes and interviews with ten tour operators only partly revealed the complex processes of ordering within tour operators and between tour operators, the VRO and other parties involved.

Since the process of translation is not (and will never be) completed, actors do not and will not accept and implement the PMZ without negotiating. In other words, the PMZ is far from being a signifier like traditional hotel classifications or other brands or labels (see also Brunori et al., 2004). VRO tour operators are, just like other professional organizations, familiar with explicit regulatory principles. Examples are conditions under which credit may be obtained from a bank, official operating permits and labour laws. However, the PMZ is still characterized by tacit regulatory principles, or by local rules that lose their validity outside the collectif. The criteria set by the certification organization and the VRO are broad and general, submission dates have been changing and negotiable, the cut-off threshold is so low that almost all tour operators could earn the certification, and linkages with other international certification schemes (like ISO norms) have been at least postponed. As long as tour operators see the PMZ as a (sometimes annoying) by-product of VRO membership, instead of an integral part of their own operations, the PMZ is not 'closed'. The coordination of the PMZ network is still weak, and interactions between actors are relatively unpredictable. The 'universe of the possible' is not limited: all kinds of actions – new and existing ones, relevant and irrelevant (such as 'doing the dishes by hand') – are mentioned as being initiatives resulting from the PMZ

As a consequence, the PMZ has not passed from a stage of uncertainty to a stage in which certain trajectories stabilize. With the exception of 'loyal actors', the PMZ is hardly institutionalized within tour operators, for they have mainly proposed 'soft' actions and quite a few of them have gone back to business as usual after fulfilling their PMZ obligations.

8.2.3 The PMZ: the way forward

The introduction of the PMZ took almost a decade, and was extensively negotiated. As an innovation in sustainable tourism it has been effective to the extent that almost all Dutch tour operators registered (the few that did not, ended their membership). So enrolment has been successful, basically because of the compulsory character of the programme.

Compared to eco-labelling and other environmental schemes, the PMZ is a combination of a performance-based programme – in which a set of, in this case, very broad criteria are applied uniformly to all businesses seeking certification – and a process-based programme, as the main objective of the PMZ is to improve the environmental procedures and practices of tour operators (see Honey, 2002: 5). Unquestionably, the PMZ has helped tour operators to identify some of the environmental consequences (externalities) of their operations, and to single out and implement environmental friendly initiatives. However, the rather general criteria and lax entry requirements at this stage lead to an abundance of proposed actions by tour operators that are often 'soft' and indeterminate. In other words, the cut-off threshold of the PMZ was and still is so low that almost all producers can earn the certification. The benchmark against which to compare was primarily

non-existent. Nevertheless, it is still meaningful as a basic screening criterion for consumers, as is VRO membership in general, but it will most likely not influence many purchase decisions made by tourists (Font and Buckley, 2001: 22)

The rather general criteria and lax entry requirements also hinder effective monitoring and do not trigger environmental or sustainability reporting. It is also unclear how the VRO is going to verify the implementation of the proposed actions. The actual impact of the PMZ currently seems to be restricted to an increased awareness of tourism-related environmental issues, improved internal environmental procedures, intensification of the provision of environmental information to the tourist and more contacts between tour operators and NGOs, such as ECPAT, Netherlands Committee for IUCN and WWF Netherlands. But such initiatives as Cool Flying or Trees for Travel also seem to benefit from the introduction of the PMZ, as do aid organizations like Amnesty International, which are increasingly promoted in the brochures of Dutch tour operators. The elaboration of the PMZ into a Dutch brand of the UK Travel Foundation (see Box 8.4) could be a next step in this process.

Box 8.4 The Travel Foundation

In July 2003, British tour operators and NGOs founded The Travel Foundation, an independent UK charity that aims to help the outbound travel industry manage tourism more sustainably. In its first year, it raised around EUR 500,000 through corporate donations. It targets a budget of EUR 1.5 million in 2006. For example, Thomas Cook and Cosmos ask their customers to donate EUR 1.50 per booking, and Virgin Holidays has pledged a corporate donation of around EUR 35,000 to support the work of the Travel Foundation. Any private organization, individual, NGO or partnership can bid for project funding from the Travel Foundation.

Through its Biodiversity & Tourism Micro Fund, the Netherlands Committee for IUCN has taken a comparable initiative. However, this fund provides grants to local NGOs and entrepreneurs in only a limited number of countries and is funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Stichting Doen for a period of two years. The total budget for two years is EUR 300,000. Dutch outbound tour operators are not (yet) involved in this project.

Although the responsibility and ability to contribute to sustainable tourism amongst tour operators are far from uniform, the increased environmental awareness and the widening of the tourism sector to include especially environmental NGOs is an important step. But at the moment the PMZ lacks not only 'guts and teeth' but also maturity (Buckley, 2001). Maturity, however, is the result of ageing, with all its ups and downs. Translation is a process that takes time. Continuously new problem definitions and solutions have to be taken into account and proposed, and new actors should be presented to and translated into the collectif. Especially three avenues should be pursued.

First, and obviously, the PMZ should be both broadened (more 'people and profit' instead of predominantly 'planet') and deepened (Visser, pers. com.). The former means that eventually the PMZ should be framed within the concept of 'corporate social responsibility'. The latter means that its actions should address not only consumers, but also – and more importantly – other actors in the tourism chain (local agents, transport companies, accommodation owners, guides). As Akrich et al. (2002a) stress, innovation is the art of enrolling an increasing number of allies who will make you stronger and stronger. The VRO and other interested parties could assist tour operators by providing draft checklists, covenants and memoranda of understanding and by disseminating good practices. Respondents clearly indicated that turnkey projects handed to tour operators on a silver platter by NGOs or local development organizations, the dissemination of 'good practices' and the development of technologies to assist in attaining tangible results, are prerequisites for keeping PMZ coordinators motivated to accomplish their tasks. It is important that these methods of operating are specific to each product group. In other words, external parties should offer 'bite-size chunks' to all types of tour operators.

Second, and related, in order to maintain the momentum, new actors should be translated into the collectif: governmental and non-governmental organizations that could assist tour operators in developing new products and implementing actions; organizations in other industry and service sectors that could assist the VRO in improving the PMZ system; associations of tour operators[5] in other countries that could increase support and impact; similar systems that have been effective in other contexts, etc. The hardiness of the process of implementing the PMZ should not lead to inertness. To make it easier, the VRO could decide to start working with the top 10 companies and with 'loyal actors'. In this way a broadened and deepened PMZ could influence 50 - 60% of the organized market (Klep, pers. com.).

The reporting of tour operators to the Foundation for Environmental Care should also be an integral part of this next step, in order to be able to monitor the way the PMZ is implemented and to avoid having free riders. For smaller companies, a less strict variant of the PMZ could be applied, as some of these companies are not able to compose an annual report. These companies could be called together in practical meetings in order to monitor progress.

Third, and finally, the PMZ should work towards at least a European brand name[6] and should eventually meet the standards that are usually set for these types of schemes, namely an effective audit process and enforcement, detailed and technical criteria for different types of tourism activity or service, multiple labelling levels, and a high transparency of and public accessibility to information (see Buckley, 2001). Clearly, in order to meet these principles, new rounds of translation processes are necessary and the VRO, tour operators and many other people and things should play a role in them. Indeed, the fate of the PMZ depends on the active participation of all those who have decided to develop it (see Akrich et al., 2002b).

8.3 Transitions towards sustainable tourism development

The introduction of the PMZ for Dutch tour operators represents an important but small step. However, the PMZ is entrenched in existing modes of ordering and it is doubtful whether it will

contribute to more radical innovations, let alone long-term and structural changes, so-called transitions. What are these transitions?

Recently Geels and Kemp (2000), Rotmans et al. (2000), Kemp and Rotmans (2002) and Dirven et al. (2002) developed an approach to the concept of 'transition' for the 4th National Environmental Policy plan of the Netherlands (NMP-4). The central idea is that transitions are long-term and structural changes of important and complex societal subsystems (like tourism), based on interconnected and mutually reinforcing technological, socio-cultural, economic and institutional changes at various level of scale. Transitions are transformation processes in which society or a complex subsystem of society (in this case, tourism) changes in a fundamental way over an extended period (generally one or two generations, i.e. 25 – 50 years or more). Transitions are interesting from a sustainability point of view, because they constitute possible routes to sustainability goals (Kemp and Rotmans, 2002; Moors et al., 2004). The term transitions may be used for any change in states of dynamic equilibrium. However, these authors prefer to use the term for big societal changes. They speak of a transition when a society or a complex subsystem of society changes in a fundamental way (ibid.). According to Kemp and Rotmans (2002), transitions cannot be controlled; they are the result of the interplay of many dissimilar processes, several of which are beyond the scope of management. What one can do, however, is influence the direction and speed of a transition, through various types of steering mechanisms. Transition management is thus management in the sense of shaping and creating favourable conditions, not in the sense of controlling.

Geels and Kemp (2000) discern two types of transition (which in reality are often combined). First, transition can take the form of contestation and substitution whereby, for example, new technologies substitute old technologies. In the case of tourism one could at least imagine that corporeal travel is substituted by virtual travel. Virtual travel would 'bring home' far-off places instantaneously by compressing time and space, rather than through an extended circuit of incremental actions at a distance (see Allan, 2003: 135). Zealous arguments suggest that cyberspace may replace tourism as virtual travel technologies mature. If one looks at the very short history of the Internet (see Castells, 2000 and 2001), it is plausible that mixing real and virtual travel enhances the possibilities of achieving sustainable tourism by replacing impacts on real environments and cultures with virtual experiences (see Milne and Ateljevic, 2001: 385). According to Fayos-Solá and Bueno (2003: 47):

> The greatest foreseeable competition in the medium term for the present tourism activity is not the appearance of new exotic resorts, but instead the massive use of the increasingly accessible and efficient information and communication technologies for new leisure products: virtual travel and experiences. (See also Lash and Urry 1994 on the 'end' of tourism.)

Let us say fifty years from now, virtual mobility may well partially substitute corporeal mobility. Travelling virtually through the six continents or even a seventh continent – a virtual continent with no time zones and no border (Rischard, 2002: 143) – is one of the futures that are at least imaginable, and thus perhaps creatable.

More often transitions are the result of cumulating events and processes; the gradual process in which an existing system is not replaced but fundamentally transformed (by 'adding

on' or hybridization). Therefore, transitions are multi-causal and multidimensional (Kemp and Rotmans: 2002; see also Geels and Kemp, 2000). They are the result of the interplay of relevant processes: changes in technology, infrastructure, economic conditions, institutions, politics, behaviour, culture, the natural and built environment, and beliefs that reinforce each other. The process of change is non-linear; slow change is followed by rapid change when things reinforce each other, which again is followed by slow change in the stabilization stage. Although most commentators foresee gradual changes, there may be 'windows of opportunity' that create the momentum for smaller or greater leaps forward (see Rotmans et al., 2000). For example, a particular accumulation of transformations and events might induce sudden transitions.

Recently, Urry[7] followed a similar line of thinking in envisaging the unexpected disappearance of the 'auto mobility dinosaur' at one particular moment in the twenty-first century. The (highly unpredictable) 'tipping point' will be a break based on a interdependent set of transformations, which will include research into new fuels, the development of new materials for car bodies, smart-card technologies, the de-privatization of car ownership, shifting transport policies as well as communication advances. The result will be a transition from car ownership to flexible access (see also Urry, 2000 and 2003). Similarly, for tourism a 'turning point' could evolve from this disappearance of the 'auto mobility dinosaur' and technological revolutions boosting virtual realities, combined with, for example, dramatic climate changes, global political instabilities (terrorism, wars), increasing health risks (malaria, HIV, SARS-like epidemics), cultural changes and economic recessions.

8.3.1 Barriers to transition

Sustainable tourism development is still in a pre-development phase where there is little visible change but quite a lot of experimentation (in terms of 'good practices'). Just as, for example, in agriculture, transitions are still unlikely (see Roep and Wiskerke, 2004). There are no real signs of drastic reordering processes, let alone of a breakthrough in which structural changes are taking place based on collective learning processes, diffusion and embedding practices (see Kemp and Rotmans, 2002). Thus, sustainable tourism development indeed is a 'wicked problem' (Dirven et al., 2002; WRR, 2003).

What are some of the 'insufficient conditions for transition' (see Kemp et al. 1996; Wijk et al., 2001)? Obviously there is not just one barrier to the introduction of sustainable tourism development, but a whole range of factors that work against, or are perceived to work against, the introduction and diffusion of such development.

Although, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the need for a shift towards sustainable tourism/tourism development is clearly defined in policy arenas, especially internationally, there still is a wide gap between these policies and the ways tourism is ordered from day to day. The history (and the intangibility of results) of the introduction of an environmental management system for tour operators shows the intricacies and problems of translating general policy ideas into workable practices and instruments for tour operators. And the same can be said about hoteliers, lodge owners and inn keepers (see Buiten Consultancy, 2003).

In terms of transition theory, actual signs of regime[8] shifts are still absent (Moors et al. 2004; Hoogma et al., 2002). To start with, a clear perception of the problem – let alone clear pictures of the future – is lacking. There is no common concern (WRR, 2002). The problem definition of

sustainable tourism development consists of many different problems and dilemmas, and the awareness of these problems (by consumers, industry and government) varies and is still relatively low. Moreover, recent attempts in the Netherlands to formulate these problem perceptions and transition goals within the framework of Sustainable Technological Development[9] (DTO) and the National Council for Environmental and Nature Research (RMNO) were not very successful[10] (see also Bartels, 2005). Contrary to the situation in the agriculture and in the food sector, a knowledge infrastructure in the Netherlands that could facilitate the formulation of problem definitions and transition goals for sustainable tourism development is for the most part absent. The number of FTEs in fundamental and applied research in this area may not exceed 10. And the Dutch Foundation for the Promotion of Scientific Research in Tourism (*Stichting Bewetour*) ceased its activities in 2003, because there was a 'lack of urgency'.

But there are more barriers. Although in many instances new technologies (like solar or wind energy, the separation of wastes, more sustainable modes of transport) are not extremely complex to implement, tourismscapes are to a large extent locked into existing technologies and old ways of doing. Principal modes of ordering tourism obstruct innovation and transition. Despite many good intentions, current tourism practices are predominantly locked in and highly path dependent. Succeeding technological changes (auto mobility, plane, infrastructure) and the related economic and cultural practices are obstructing particular new ways of development. Fixed ideas, dominant technological devices or 'sneaked in' practices prevent change (Dirven et al. 2002). Thus, in sum, transition is seriously hampered by the institutionalized incapacity to do things differently (Roep and Wiskerke, 2004).

Socio-economic reasons (such as competition and narrow margins) are another important excuse for inactivity. Reorderings in tourism are unlikely as long as price and volume are the main instrument for competition. The relative success of the Environmental Monitoring System in the Netherlands ('milieubarometer') is exactly explained by the fact that necessary investments pay/paid off and that entrepreneurs are supported in the process of implementation. Moreover, in hi-tech industrial sectors, innovation is located mainly within specialized, capital-intensive and isolated research and development (R&D) centres. A few industrial conglomerates dominate the R&D scene. Tourism, like agriculture, consists of a multitude of relatively small-scale family enterprises. Although there have always been innovative tourism entrepreneurs, there is not a critical mass for transitions (see Roep and Wiskerke, 2004: 349) and R&D in tourism is relatively weak.

Another, important hurdle is the lack of problem ownership. The basic question is: who is to blame, who is to act and who is to rule? It is often difficult not only to provide proof of the tangible existence of externalities, but also to establish who is responsible for them, who is affected by them, and who is able and willing to intervene (see Callon, 1998b: 259; Dubbink, 1999). One of the problems with externalities and overflowing is that they apply to a wide range of different situations, and in many of these situations it is far from obvious which party can avoid the problem, and in some of them it is not even obvious which one can be called the victim (Freedman, 1997). Clearly, in view of the complexity of tourismscapes, central 'governors' are absent. The large number of private and public organizations as well as people constituting tourismscapes raises important and complicated issues of governance. Even on the level of a

small island, as case studies on Texel illustrate (Duim et al. 2001; Duim and Lengkeek, 2004), sustainability problems and potential solutions are extensively disputed, as are the ownership and the ways out of these problems.

The lack of problem ownership also relates to the fact that tour operators, travel agents and the like do not consider themselves in control of the content and resources (nature, culture, beaches, events) they 'sell'. Although they translate these resources into tourismscapes, they often have no direct or legal ownership and consequently only feel partially responsible. One might argue that they, to a large extent, sponge on 'common resources' (Mommaas, pers. com).

Further, market demand and societal pressure are lacking, or at least provide an excuse for being idle. Although tourists increasingly seem aware of the unsustainability of tourism, as research on Texel and in Manuel Antonio/Quepos has revealed (see Cottrell et al., 2004), only very few consumers are willing to pay more for 'sustainable tourism'. Similarly, consumer organizations or environmental and social action groups only rarely exert pressure on the tourism industry to be proactive. Tourism is still not confronted with its own 'Brent Spar'[11].

Government policy is also a barrier. As Kemp et al. (1996) observe, even though governments are committed to environmental protection and their social goals, they often do not send out a clear message that there is a need for changing practices – let alone stimulate and facilitate innovation and novelty creation in tourism in a substantial manner for a longer period of time. Of course, some new initiatives and niches have been welcomed and supported, but usually not in a sustainable way. Moreover, in the Netherlands the four most involved government departments (i.e. Economic Affairs, Nature Conservation, Development Cooperation, Environmental Affairs) continuously scratch each other's back when discussing prime responsibility.

8.3.2 Innovations and novelties

In light of these barriers to transition, the prospects for reordering tourismscapes become questionable. Perhaps, transitions might eventually originate 'from below', namely out of innovations and novelties. What are these innovations and novelties?

Ploeg et al. (2004) make a distinction between innovations and novelties. The former are mainly incremental, and build upon the state of affairs and underlying modes of ordering, while the latter are radical innovations that modify and sometimes even break with existing routines.[12] They are mostly new ways of doing and thinking, new modes of ordering tourism that carry the potential to do better, to be superior to existing routines. At the same time, innovations and novelties are often seen as something different, as a potential critique of current practices (ibid.: 1). Although the two might intertwine and complement each other very well and the contrast drawn between them is not necessarily clear-cut, they often have different 'life histories' and are, therefore, regularly different in substantive terms as well (ibid.: 9).

Most of the 'good practices' in sustainable tourism are innovations. Indeed, novelties are hard to find. The introduction of an environmental management system for tour operators in the Netherlands was incremental, just like most of the other innovations to date. Perhaps the César Manrique model and the Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania are to be considered as novelties, that is, attempts to break radically with the prevailing mode of coastal development in the Canary Islands and the traditional ways of exploitative Safari tourism in East Africa,

respectively. However, as we have seen, these novelties have not been sufficiently protected and nurtured to be successful. Before looking more closely at the prerequisites for successful innovation and novelty development, I shall explore three other examples, namely the case of Texel, the Sustainable Development Agreements between Costa Rica and the Netherlands, and the development of eco-lodges in Costa Rica.

8.3.3 Sustainable Texel

In the last ten years, various organizations on Texel have made serious efforts to promote the sustainability of tourism. Most of these organizations joined forces in the activities of the Working Group for Sustainable Tourism and its successor, the Foundation for a Sustainable Texel (FST), which was founded in June 2000. The former was founded in 1997 as a result of the participation of Texel's municipal council in the 1st International PREPARE workshop on Sustainable Tourism, in Lech, Austria. Amongst others, the mayor, a provincial deputy and a professor at Delft University of Technology (TUD) initiated the foundation of the Working Group. In terms of the translation process, the Working Group evolved from a group oriented towards the tourism sector into a foundation looking at sustainability on the entire island by engaging new sectors (particularly agriculture, commerce and construction), new expertise (predominantly through the cooperation with TUD) and new sources of funding (the province of North Holland, the national government and the EU). As in the Texel 2030 process (see Chapter 3) – in which consultants and experts from the 'other side' were asked to muster enough resources to increase the power base of the tourism sector in the Texel network (see also Sidaway, 2005), a position which is embodied by the Texel Tourist Board – the tourism sector broadened its scope from sustainable tourism to sustainability in general in order to mobilize the other organizations, interests, technologies, money and expertise necessary to be more successful. Interestingly, the interest group Ten for Texel, which frames sustainable development in terms of 'liveability' (see Chapter 3), still criticizes the Foundation and is not on speaking terms with it.

The FST currently consists of eight organizations (representing, for example, tourism, nature conservation, the commercial sector and agriculture), an independent chairman and external advisers. Nowadays, it focuses on six areas:

- Renewable energy;
- Sustainable buildings;
- Sustainable entrepreneurship (including local products);
- Transport;
- Information and education;
- Multiple land use.

The FST focuses on devising financially viable schemes and learning from experience. To begin with, each discussion is broad so as to ensure that all the potential stakeholders are involved before focusing on a manageable project (Dros, pers. com.; see also Sidaway, 2005). As a consequence, projects can follow an unanticipated course, as discussions between participants reveal other or new directions to follow (Bloksma, pers. com.).

Many of the successful projects carried out by the Foundation were related to sustainable construction, environmental management, and information and education. Around fifty local

entrepreneurs were involved in the building and furnishing of a sustainable 'model home', which considerably increased their knowledge and experience in sustainable construction. Texel is also a forerunner in the implementation of the Environmental Monitoring System (*milieubarometer*) of Recron (National Association of Recreation Entrepreneurs). The Environmental Monitor is a Dutch pilot project focused on sustainable adjustments in the tourism sector. Also projects focusing on environmental education and interpretation are doing well, partly because they are not perceived as controversial.

Transport-related projects proved to be more difficult to implement. For example, one of the projects focused on limiting the number of cars on the island and stimulating the use of bikes and energy friendly and free public transport. This would reduce CO_2 emissions and alleviate other problems (e.g. long waits for the ferry, shortage of parking places, overcrowded roads) caused by the growing number of cars on the island. To promote the use of bikes and public transport, the Foundation aimed at an integrated chain mobility plan. Even a bike using sustainable energy (a 'Twike') was assembled, but has not yet been enrolled. Especially bike rental companies feared competition from free public transport. Although they formally subscribed to the chain mobility plan, a lack of financial support hampered implementation, showing 'that the time was not right' (Dros, pers. com.).

More generally speaking, initiatives on Texel confirm experiences elsewhere that ordering sustainability in terms of 'technical' problems and 'technical' solutions does not meet all interests. For example, although not officially campaigned for by the Foundation, the installation of large windmills, which could eventually make the island energy self-sufficient and thereby strengthen the image of Texel as a sustainable island, was fiercely debated in the local newspaper *Texelse Courant*. Technical arguments were mingled with aesthetic judgements stressing the 'visual pollution' the new windmills would cause.

Most projects on the island are aimed at increasing linkages between tourism and other sectors. Especially the relation between tourism and agriculture on Texel has been problematic. The agricultural sector has questioned the economic control of the tourism sector. Although agriculture still dominates local politics, its future is uncertain and is challenged by external influences, such as climatic change, EU policies and land claims by nature conservation and tourism (see Chapter 3). However, on Texel the relationship between nature, agriculture and tourism is not as conflicting as it once was. For example, in 1981 farmers protested against plans to create a national park by 'delivering' 20,000 litres of manure to the municipality. Today, particularly the tourism sector acknowledges the importance of nature and landscape on the island as a main attraction. Natural areas and the national park are well safeguarded by national laws and regulations. Then again, there still are differences in the 'cultural repertoire' between the three domains, especially between the agricultural sector on the one hand and nature conservationists and tourism entrepreneurs on the other.

A way to overcome this stalemate, besides multiple land use and offering small-scale campsites (which is questioned by the tourism industry), is for the tourism industry to employ local products. On Texel, many initiatives are taken to stimulate the production of 'real' Texel products. These include the Stichting Stimulering Texelse Producten (Foundation for the

Stimulation of Texel Products), which is composed of the municipality, the agricultural sector and various entrepreneurs; the Vereniging Texels Produkt Promotie (Texel Association for Product Promotion) and the Stichting Waddengroep (linking farmers throughout the Wadden area). These three initiatives are aimed at tourists as well as the general public. Members of the Stichting Waddengroep sell products in shops all over the Netherlands. The other two organizations focus mainly on the local market on Texel. The Foundation for the Stimulation of Texel Products supports new entrepreneurs.

One of the Foundation's aims is to stimulate the production and consumption of lamb meat on the island. Lambs and sheep are an important 'symbol' for Texel, but restaurants import most of their lamb meat from New Zealand. For several years attempts have been made to create a new production chain that includes local farmers, slaughterers, butchers, distributive traders and restaurants. The project aimed at increasing annual sales from 1500 to 7000 lambs (Texelse Courant, 2001). Implementation, however, is hampered by the significantly higher prices of local meat, the lack of sufficient year-round supply, and particularly the competition among local parties. Recently, however, new initiatives (like certification and a very popular one-day event promoting lamb meat) injected new life into the 'lamb production chain' project.

The Texel Association for Product Promotion comprises approximately 22 producers from the island who wish to promote their products. Their products are based on a recipe originating from Texel, or are made from ingredients at least 75% of which come from the island, or at least 75% of the product is produced on the island. Producers range from restaurants, shops selling the by-products of sheep (wool, bedspreads) or Texel beer, and of course *Juttertje* (the liqueur based on a Texel recipe). A survey in 2000 showed that the combined turnover of the 32 producers of local products surveyed (members as well as non-members of the Association) amounted to around EUR 10 million and had led to the creation of approximately 85 full-time jobs. The non-food products based on sheep wool and milk make up the most important part. It has been estimated that, between them, the roughly 50 producers of local products on Texel have an annual turnover of EUR 15.5 million (Stichting Waddengroep, 2000). The Association has additional value in terms of public relations. For example, 70,000 brochures are distributed on the island and the mainland each year. Only 10 out of 32 producers sell their goods outside Texel (and only two of them sell outside the Netherlands). Increased selling outside Texel extends the reputation of Texel.

From the point of view of sustainable development, the Stichting Waddengroep is the most interesting of the three. In the Dutch Wadden area, so-called Wadden products are manufactured. These are mainly dairy products originating from the island or from the first 25 kilometres of mainland bordering the Wadden Sea. At least 51% of the ingredients must originate from this area. Products are environmentally friendly, originating from organic or biodynamic farms. Sint Donatus is the main selling point on Texel, although products are sold in around 450 shops in the Netherlands as well as in some shops in Belgium. To increase its effectiveness, the Stichting Waddengroep recently introduced the Waddengoud ('Gold of the Wadden') seal, as a way to inscribe a new way of ordering in which commercial interests are separated from more charitable functions as the development and strengthening of region-specific products and small-scale economy in the Wadden area.

The concept of 'Texel products' as a way to combine tourism and agriculture has now been embraced also by the Foundation for a Sustainable Texel. During a pilot project involving five Texel companies in 2002, it became clear that although restaurants would like to include Texel products in their services, many did not know what is on offer or how to purchase such products. Therefore, the Foundation established in the same year the working group 'Texel Product', in which participate the union of farmers (WLTO), the Texel chapter of the Association of Hotels and Restaurants (KHN), the Foundation for the Stimulation of Texel Products, the Texel Association for Product Promotion and the Foundation.

The working group aims to organize activities that stimulate the use of Texel products. For example, the group has organized two 'Texel Products Fairs' and set up a distribution system for local products. At the first fair (11 February 2003), about 20 manufacturers of diverse Texel products displayed their commodities. All potential large-scale consumers were invited (hotels, restaurants, museums, pleasure boat operators, wholesalers, the retail trade). The approximately 350 visitors were asked their opinion on a distribution system for Texel products. Until then, they had had to collect the Texel products themselves, which takes a lot of effort since many farm shops are open only at certain hours. In June 2003, the working group also introduced a new distribution system. A wholesale company on Texel expanded its supply of Texel products with products from nine producers. They were put on a separate order form so that it was clear at a glance what Texel products are. In February 2004, the working group organized the second Texel Products Fair, this time not only for the catering industry, but also in the evening for interested others (in total, 500 people participated). Prior to the fair, the Foundation organized a contest for recipes using Texel products. The recipes had to contain as many Texel products as possible. A jury of four cooks working at Texel hotels judged 25 recipes, and the names of the prize winners were announced at the fair. The contest proved to be a success, and Texel Media decided to organize a monthly recipe contest, starting in April 2004. Each month a different restaurant chooses the best starter, main course and desert from the recipes that are submitted to the Foundation. The restaurant offers the Texel menu (€ 24.50 per person) for a month; the prize winners are offered the chance to be the first to taste their creation for free.

In sum, not only farmers and their farmland, restaurants and their clientele, and wholesale companies, but also 'real Texel' food products, meals, menus, recipes as well as a 'typical local atmosphere' are translated into this project, and these new 'sustainable ways of production' are inscribed in such logos as 'Real Texel products' or 'Texel Lamb', and in 'Texel' menus and recipes. Through these kinds of inscription devices, local products can be removed from one locality and transported intact to another (see also Hannam, 2005). Thus, the Texel product project builds heterogeneous associations between people and things.

8.3.4 The Sustainable Development Agreements

In the context of the Earth Summit in Rio, in 1994 the Dutch government signed three bilateral Sustainable Development Agreements (SDAs) with the governments of Benin, Bhutan and Costa Rica (see also Duim and Caalders, 2003). These agreements had two aims: to promote sustainable development and to establish a new pattern of relationships between a country in the North and three countries in the South. The most important part of the agreements is paragraph 1 of Article 1, which can be considered as the SDA mission (NIPS, 2003):

> The two governments hereby agree to establish long-term cooperation between their countries based on equality and reciprocity as well as consultation and mutual assistance in order to pursue effectively all aspects of sustainable development, thereby promoting the participation of all interest groups in their respective countries.

The SDAs were conceived as treaties and thus as the responsibility of the government, but their implementation was delegated to external organizations, like Ecooperation in the Netherlands and Fundecooperacion in Costa Rica. A thorough evaluation of the SDAs in 2001 led to the conclusion that the contribution to sustainable development in the four countries had been limited and 'significantly lower than envisaged at the outset of the agreements'. But the SDAs had produced 'several remarkable initiatives that have the potential to make a contribution. This is particularly true of initiatives to influence policies, of participation, and for understanding of sustainable development among the public and policy-makers' (ITAD, 2001).

After the review of the SDAs in 2001, discussion led to changes of the mandate of Ecooperation, and in the summer of 2002 the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT) through its Netherlands International Partnership for Sustainability (NIPS) took over Ecooperation. In the SDA between Costa Rica and the Netherlands, tourism played a significant role.

A short history of the Tourism Programme

Within the SDAs, thematic programmes emerged from the various projects and policy dialogues. Tourism became one of the three programmes under the SDA between Costa Rica and the Netherlands. This Sustainable Tourism Programme (STP) has played a small but important role in the discussion on sustainable tourism development. The most important lessons and results were also presented at the Ecotourism Summit in Quebec by means of a CD-ROM (see Man et al., 2002) and were also disseminated by various persons and organizations participating in the implementation of the Sustainable Tourism Programme (STP).

In 1995, two technical committees on sustainable tourism were founded under the auspices of Ecooperation and Fundecooperacion. Private sector, public sector and non-governmental organizations as well as universities were represented in these committees. In May 1997, the two technical committees in Costa Rica and the Netherlands published a Sustainable Tourism Programme Costa Rica–Netherlands 1997-2000. Three main topics were identified in the programme:

A. Criteria and accreditation;
B. Tourism as an instrument for community development;
C. Professionalization.

The programme and the identification of the main themes were the product of an extensive process of bilateral consultation and close cooperation between the Costa Rican and Dutch technical committees on tourism. The cooperation started at the 1995 workshop in San José, was intensified at the 1996 Workshop in Wageningen and resulted in this programme, which was finalized during consultations between the two technical committees in February-April 1997. The following overall objectives were formulated:

- To enhance the contributions of tourism to sustainable development.
- To achieve equity in the participation of actors in the tourism development process, with special attention for gender and social issues.

- To strengthen institutional and organizational capabilities and the skills and expertise of the local communities in order that they may develop themselves through tourism.
- To disseminate experiences with and knowledge about the relation between tourism and sustainable development within the framework of SDA countries as well as in other parts of the world.
- To bring about more inter-sectoral participation and cooperation through tourism.
- To create opportunities for bilateral projects on the basis of reciprocity.
- To make the relation between tourism and sustainable development operational at the local and regional levels.
- To improve the ability of the tourism sector to anticipate and adapt to the changing conditions in tourism with sustainable development as a guiding principle.

In April 1998, the Sustainable Tourism Programme was translated into a more concise Action Plan, in which the contribution of tourism to community development was set as the main concern**.** The priorities were:

- To develop transferable methodologies. Linking the experiences related to community development through tourism in the Netherlands and Costa Rica in general and those under the Costa Rican and Dutch action plans in particular, with the aim of solving problems and accumulating knowledge through learning by doing;
- To identify criteria for sustainable tourism: development of criteria and the outlines of a accreditation system for small entrepreneurs and community projects, based on experiences gained in Costa Rica and the Netherlands and in other comparable systems.
- To develop and implement 'train the trainer' programmes: training the intermediaries who are or should be involved in transferring knowledge to the people involved.

Two small bilateral projects were started in 1996, but the main projects were launched in 1999. In total, ten bilateral projects have been carried out since the start of the cooperation between the two countries in 1995 (for an evaluation of these projects, see: Crul, 2002 and CECADE, 2002).

Lessons learned

Crul (2002) evaluates the Sustainable Tourism Programme[13] (STP) as:

> A pioneer, innovative initiative supported by dedicated sustainable tourism organizations in both countries that had to deal with starting problems related to the fact that the Sustainable Development Agreement was a completely new way of working in the relation between Costa Rica and the Netherlands and that the development of new rules and procedures took longer than anticipated. In addition the participating organisations in both countries had to establish – with ups and downs – a working relationship based on the three principles of the Agreement and mutual trust in each other's intentions, agendas and involvement.

Crul's evaluation identified the following best practices related to the tourism programme (ibid.: 19):

- The approach used by the technical committees and their individual members in promoting the STP and the SDA and disseminating its results.

- The use of annual work plans and reports of the technical committees in the period 1995-2000.
- The pioneer role within the SDA with respect to the participation of stakeholders in the development of the STP.
- The selection of themes within the STP focused the STP on priority areas for intervention.
- The overview of the sustainable tourism networks[14] in the Netherlands, which provided an excellent starting point for linking Dutch sustainability tourism initiatives with activities abroad.
- The initiative of both technical committees to organize an international conference at which the lessons learned will be exchanged.[15]
- Active financial support from Ecooperation for the implementation of annual work plans.

However, what started as an interesting experiment was only partially successful. First of all, it did not receive the support it needed to flourish. As ITAD (2001) observed:

> The political drive that started the process withered away at a critically early stage. Secondly, the founders failed to match the SDA objectives with new rules and procedures. Thirdly, despite the rhetoric of equality, it has proved difficult to shake off the traditional relationships of the aid donor and recipient, and the Dutch have dominated the process, including the evaluation. (ITAD, 2001)

As a consequence, project approvals were slow and complicated. Moreover, especially Dutch private tourism organizations did not chip in, partly because of the institutional barriers mentioned above, and partly because of a lack of interest. In sum, the space of the Sustainable Tourism Programme as a niche was not sufficiently protected and it was short of institutional embedding (see Moors et al., 2004: 48).

Although the SDAs in general and the Sustainable Tourism Programme (STP) in particular have been in the line of fire, in 2003 the Netherlands International Partnership for Sustainability (NIPS) initiated a new start. In line with the evaluation of Crul (2002), we recently proposed scaling up the experiment and broadening the STP with new themes and/or new countries. Moreover, we suggested (see Duim and Caalders, 2003):

- Not only to extend the STP to Bhutan and Benin, but also to create intra-regional linkages (between e.g. Costa Rica and Nicaragua; Benin and Ghana; Bhutan and Nepal).
- To link the STP to other initiatives of international donor organizations, notably the SNV Netherlands Development Organisation, the United Nations Environmental Program, the World Wildlife Fund and the Convention on Biodiversity.
- To link the STP to the other SDA programmes, i.e. sustainable trade, biodiversity and gender.

Moreover, based on the experiences with the STP, we seconded many of the lessons learned from other programmes (see NIPS, 2003) and advocated leadership of NIPS, in order to build up policy support, credibility and a good profile. This will require moulding the four SDA countries into a leading coalition for the new STP and creating an enabling environment. The leading coalition should function as a node in a broader context of global networking (see also Crul, 2002: 22).

Secondly, as it is important to create a critical mass, the STP needs not only broadening to include more countries and new themes, but also programmatic coherence so that initiatives are not scattered. Finally, it should create learning platforms and mechanisms. In addition to actual exchanges, the learning platforms should facilitate Internet-based collaborative learning. As Crul (2002) also suggests, new and innovative information and communication technologies could improve the interaction and the information and knowledge exchange between the actively involved stakeholders, and communication with other interested sustainable tourism organizations.

All these proposals were discussed at a quadrilateral conference on Texel, in November 2004. Twenty-five participants, representing the four sectors (private sector, government, NGOs and universities) from the four SDA countries discussed the way forward. It was decided to initiate a Global Partnership for Sustainable Development, which should be linked up with the Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty (STEP) programme of the SNV Netherlands Development Organisation and the World Tourism Organisation, which signed a Memorandum of Understanding in the same month in The Hague. For this partnership to succeed, close cooperation with the private sector is a *sine qua non*. In the meanwhile, two new projects have been started, one on certification – which also includes the participation of Dutch and Costa Rican tour operators – the other on policy and legislation for sustainable tourism development.

8.3.5 The construction of a dream: eco-lodges in Costa Rica[16]

Sustainable tourism development thrives on the encounter between different modes of ordering. The bringing together of different modes of ordering that reflect different interests is a precondition for internalizing externalities which otherwise would be left on the outer surface. The skilful analysis of eight eco-lodges in Costa Rica by Hendriks and Laninga (2002) eloquently illustrates the prospects of building accommodation that takes into account economic as well as environmental and socio-cultural issues.

In the Centro Neotrópico Sarapiquís,[17] a relatively new project in the forested hills to the north of San José, the Landscape Foundation Belgium and the Tirimbina Rainforest Centre cooperate closely, as symbolized by the large footbridge connecting the lodge with the reserve on the other side of the Sarapiquí River. The Centro Neotrópico was built in honour of and is dedicated to the pre-Columbian communities that used to live in the forests of the Sarapiquí region. Based on years of research by the Landscape Foundation, lodges were built in the pre-Columbian architectural format of *palenques* (palisades) in order to replicate local fifteenth-century villages. Luxurious lodges are combined with a botanical garden, a museum, an archaeological site, an arboretum and a rainforest education centre. In elaborating the project, the two founding organizations – the Landscape Foundation Belgium and the Tirimbina Rainforest Centre – engaged research institutes (e.g. CATIE end EARTH), the National Museum, the Ministry of the Environment and, of course, the tourism industry, including Ecole Travel.

However, whereas Sarapiquís originated from the dreams of the Landscape Foundation Belgium, and community benefits other than employment have to be awaited, El Silencio started off as a community initiative. The Albergue Ecoturístico El Silencio is completely managed by a local, self-administered agricultural cooperative named CoopeSilencio R.L.

CoopeSilencio R.L. was founded in 1973 by a group of landless farmers who decided to fight for a better quality of life for themselves, their families and their children. After taking over an abandoned farm, the Costa Rican government transferred the land to them with the stipulation

that they had to develop a cooperative (Barrantes, 1998). CoopeSilencio R.L. is situated 35 kilometres south-east of Quepos on the road to Dominical, and borders the Savegre River. From the beginning, it has been a self-managed cooperative and its main purpose is to 'yield social and economic development for the families by operating productive projects and by protecting the national environment under a collective work mode' (see Duim et al., 2001; Barrantes, 1988). The community consists of about 360 people, 50 of whom are members of the cooperative. It owns 940 hectares of land destined for productive activities like forestry, oil palm plantations and fruit plantations for self-consumption, human settlement and the development of 'agro-ecotourism'. The cooperative also facilitates small-farm owners in the cantons of Aguirre and Parrita to access economic resources and obtain Forest Protection Certificates. Through this the cooperative plays a leading role in the region. Its legitimacy is fully recognized by the neighbouring communities. The tourism project was initiated in 1996 and consists of rustic lodges providing accommodation for 56 people. It has a restaurant constructed in the same palm-roof style, from where it is possible to enjoy the view of palm plantations and, sometimes, the seashore. The tourism project includes a biological reserve with trails to waterfalls and a wildlife augmentation and reintroduction programme specially targeted at the Ara macaw, which is in danger of extinction. Nowadays, these birds fly free and near the lodge, increasing not only the experience value of the tourism product, but also the awareness of the importance of nature conservation amongst the locals.

The project exemplifies the principles of community participation. It stems from the decision of the entire community to raise their standard of living. For several years, meetings were held to define the project. Nowadays the lodge interacts with the community in various ways: local people frequent the bar and restaurant, where they also watch television (providing *couleur locale*), and they guide tourists along hiking trails, into the village and into the oil palm plantations, informing tourists about the agricultural dimension of the cooperative. The manager of the lodge is a local, as are all the employees, most of whom are female. The tourism project materialized through intensive cooperation between the cooperative and many other institutions (such as Cooprena – a national association of cooperative tourism projects) in organizing, structuring and promoting the project. Cooprena, as well as the National Learning Institute (INA), trained the local employees. A Canadian development organization donated the necessary funds to establish the lodges and to initiate an ongoing volunteering programme. Continued cooperation with the National University (UNA) and the University of Costa Rica (UCR) through, for example, extension projects, strengthens the cooperative work.

Although Albergue Ecoturístico El Silencio is considered a 'good practice', especially with respect to community participation and the way it is rooted in local agricultural and environmental practices, it also exemplifies the problems, as marketing and maintenance (and service quality) are still rather poor and the relative remoteness of the project keeps down tourism numbers. Moreover, the 'cooperative' mode of ordering sometimes conflicts with the necessity to make bold decisions related to the running of a tourism venture.

8.3.6 Niche development

To a certain extent, the three examples above are indeed novelties, as they have different 'life histories' and to some extent even attempt to break with existing routines. Their importance stems from the fact that novelties can be seen as the seeds of transition (Ploeg et al., 2004), because the

snowballing or amalgamation of novelties may facilitate transitions. Transitions might origin from novelties, provided that the latter can mature in protected spaces, or 'niches' (see e.g. Kemp et al., 1996; Geels and Kemp, 2000; Hoogma et al., 2002; Wiskerke and Ploeg, 2004).

In these niches, actors are prepared to develop and try out new modes of ordering in tourism. As Hebinck (2001: 126) argues, novelty creation in niches may induce change from below. These niches may challenge those predominant modes of ordering that are rather static, inert and entrenched and manage to constantly reproduce themselves. Within these modes of ordering, the direction of change and progress is relatively clear-cut and beyond dispute. The niches, on the other hand, are formed of less stable networks in which a variety of experiments are carried out that enforce debates and negotiations. In niches, the learning processes are open-ended and less obvious, progress is made through trial and error, and there is no dominant design. Furthermore, the development of niches depends on the willingness to exchange experiences.

However, in these niches novelties require time to ripen, nourished by, for example, enduring political support and reinforced by other novelties and the freedom to fail and to learn from experience (Roep and Wiskerke, 2004). As Ploeg and Wiskerke (2004: 2) argue, just as a harvest might fail, so too might novelties. Therefore, novelties are related to expectations, which do not always materialize.

The examples in the above mainly demonstrate that these prerequisites are not always fully met. The SDAs were supposed to be successful even before they really took off. However, political support dwindled at a very early stage and learning experiences were scoffed at in the press and even in the Dutch parliament. Although the SDAs were an experiment, they were never allowed the freedom to fail. The lack of continuity and of political and, thus, financial support also prevented especially the Sustainable Tourism Programme from being reinforced by other developments initiated by such organizations as the World Tourism Organisation, the United Nations Environmental Program or the United Nations Development Program[18].

The time-consuming character of innovation and novelty creation is also well illustrated by the fact that it took over six years to implement a relatively simple environmental management system for tour operators. Not only did it take time to develop the management system, but it was hard to make tour operators accept the system. The relative success of the project, however, resulted from initial support from the government as well as the continuous attempts by the VRO to put the PMZ on the agenda, and the reinforcement provided by other projects like ECPAT, Cool Flying and Trees for Travel, the mobility project and the establishment of the Initiative Group for Outbound Sustainable Tourism (IDUT), to name just a few. In earlier stages of development, there was room for change in the original set-up, and meetings with tour operators were held in order to learn from experiences. The continuance of the project is anticipated.

More often innovations and novelty creation are short-term endeavours. For example, the SNV Netherlands Development Organisation only temporarily supported the Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania. Modules that have been part of the Programme from the start and have been supported for four or even five years seem to be more successful than those that were added at a later stage and subsequently received only one or two years of support (Leyzer, pers. com.). The recent decision by the SNV Netherlands Development Organisation to define sustainable tourism as a main 'practice area' – thus enabling the exchange of knowledge and experience

between its various projects and between these projects and the programmes of other international development organizations by creating international partnerships – is an important step towards creating a 'protected space' in which novelty creation is actually conceivable. However, an important precondition is that tourism as a 'practice area' receives enough time to ripen.

Similarly, the Foundation for a Sustainable Texel (FST), although it continuously has to fight for its financial survival, is still receiving support from the local and the provincial government. The FST's work also illustrates some of the other particularities of innovation processes. The Foundation has assembled not only new actors but also new contents. A continuous process of social learning and ordering and reordering has led to new outlooks on the sustainable development of Texel. The implementation of ideas and projects has also revealed frictions and tensions and illustrated the time-consuming character of innovations. The various innovations proposed have competed in a dynamic process of selection in which only the 'best suited' projects can survive (Leeuwis, 2003: 4), and these are evidently not always the most radical projects. Further, the FST has clearly demonstrated that innovation and novelty creation is not a finite, linear, converging process. To the contrary, the linear model in which innovation passes through a series of successive stages from design to diffusion is very exceptional. It shows that design is a never-ending process and that *adopting* an innovation means *adapting* it (Callon, 2004). Moreover, the example of the FST also illustrates that the innovative power is rarely located within a single entrepreneur or organization, but often results from network development and the alignment work of actors and from the embedding in a wider programme of interrelated and mutually reinforcing novelties (Ploeg et al., 2004; see also Hoogma et al., 2002: 25).

Interestingly, the two Costa Rican examples of eco-lodges, however different, also illustrate that projects that are given time (and especially in the case of CoopeSilencio, the freedom to fail and to learn) are able to germinate, grow, flower and set fruit (see also Ploeg et al., 1994: 1). They too illustrate the importance of interaction between different modes of ordering and the benefits of continual support. Both projects were supported by a number of organizations (e.g. the Landscape Foundation and, in the case of CoopeSilencio, the umbrella organization Cooprena, partly with the backing of the SDA between Costa Rica and the Netherlands). Moreover, the ecotourism project CoopeSilencio is part of a larger project on agriculture and nature conservation, making it less vulnerable than many other community-based tourism projects in Costa Rica and elsewhere.

Finally, the examples in the above also emphasize another lesson, namely that innovation and novelty creation require visionaries and change agents. The FST was co-founded by a professor at the University of Delft who owns a second house on the island. Advisers from the SNV Netherlands Development Organisation connected the different worlds (i.e. Maasai, tour operators, the Tanzanian Tourism Board and many others) around Arusha. A committed chair of the VRO's Commission for Sustainable Tourism and a professor of Sustainable Tourism, who was also Sustainable Tourism manager at TUI-NL, inspired tour operators to adopt the environmental monitoring system, just as César Manrique for a while inspired Lanzarote to develop differently. The relative failure of the SDAs is partly due to the fact that their champion, Minister Pronk, who at that time was responsible for Dutch development cooperation, left office soon after the treaties were signed. Since then, the SDAs have clearly lacked a promoter. Moreover, until recently the Dutch coordinating body – first, Ecooperation and then KIT/NIPS – did not play a proactive

role in the development of a tourism programme within the SDAs, and hence never became an obligatory point of passage for sustainable tourism development.

8.4 Modulation policies

Recent agricultural research reports 'an impressive range of sometimes astonishing novelties' that, however, mostly remain 'hidden novelties' because 'the prevailing scientific regime does not yet recognize that such novelties are the key to effective innovations rather than a nuisance that distracts from the grand designs that have been constructed scientifically, following the established regimes' (Ploeg and Wiskerke, 2004: 15). Similarly, in the area of transport there is no lack of experiments either. According to Hoogma et al. (2002: 5), they are abundantly present. However, from their analysis of eight experiments it becomes clear that they are often not geared towards exploring and exploiting how new technological opportunities can offer new ways of providing mobility and sustainability:

Learning about possible new sustainable transport pathways is not the central issue. Instead, the demonstration of a fancy new technology seems to be more central. Moreover, demonstration projects often remain isolated events. When the experiment is finished, there is no follow-up activity. The new technologies do not seem to create a larger market or niche. *Something always seems to go wrong with these experiments.* (Ibid.; author's emphasis)

Compared to agriculture and transport, innovations towards sustainable tourism and sustainable tourism development are even more undeveloped. Innovation, let alone novelty development, in protected spaces is scarce and often endangered, as our examples have shown. So what should be done? How can one steer existing modes of ordering in the direction of sustainability?

Concerted, centralized planning for the creation and building of new modes of ordering in tourism clearly seems beyond reach. First of all, the complicated nature of tourism, as exemplified by our conceptualization in terms of tourismscapes, defies such a planning exercise (see also Kemp et al., 1996). Moreover, performing tourismscapes implies joint work by the public and the private sector and the utilization of public and private goods, and hence reordering tourismscapes implies mutual efforts. Concerted planning would presume a public sector that can perform miracles. It would overtax their strengths, as our case studies in Manuel Antonio/Quepos and Texel illustrate. As Dubbink (1999: 226) argues, if the market (and of course civil society) does not shoulder its responsibilities, sustainability will stay utopian. The market will have to learn to accept and acknowledge its responsibility towards, in this case, sustainable tourism development.

Although a second strategy, namely changing the structure of incentives in which market forces play, is essential[19], it is also problematic. Only the very drastic taxation of negative externalities (e.g. an eco-tax or VAT on airline tickets[20]) or the rewarding of positive externalities would have an effect. In today's political reality, this is still highly unlikely, as illustrated by the abolition of the eco-tax in Mallorca (see Bianchi, 2003).

A recent preliminary evaluation in terms of the feasibility, effectiveness and legitimacy of interventions and instruments in the field of sustainable tourism development (see Duim and Caalders, 2002; Caalders et al., 1999) shows that feasibility seems to be the main principle on which current interventions are based. The 'logic of appropriateness' – that is, political feasibility and public acceptability – seems to prevail over the 'logic of consequence', namely the efficiency, effectiveness and lawfulness of policies (see WRR, 2003). Emphasis is placed on social instruments (e.g. extension services and education) and on voluntary regulatory instruments (based on conventions or mutual agreement). The emphasis on social instruments and voluntary regulations is understandable, as sustainable tourism/tourism development is a new policy field that should first create support among crucial stakeholders, generate knowledge in order to be able to set priorities, and disseminate information to the general public to increase awareness. This strategy has been successful in achieving more attention for sustainable tourism/tourism development in both national and international policy. However, the effectiveness of social and voluntary instruments is questionable; in cases where tourism causes more severe impacts on, for example, the environment, legally binding, compulsory instruments should receive more attention. But again, for various reasons these do not meet the logic of appropriateness and/or consequence.

For example, the introduction of any form of levy on air transport is urgent from an ecological viewpoint, as flying is considered an important cause of global warming (Milieudefensie, 2004). There are, however, a number of reasons why the introduction of such taxes is difficult. Countries that are willing to introduce taxation, like the Netherlands, point out the need to take measures at an international scale. Introduction by separate countries would merely lead to relocation to neighbouring countries. Moreover, from the point of view of developing countries, the introduction of taxes on flying would most probably also lead to a decrease in the number of tourist visits. From the viewpoint of the equal sharing of benefits, this might be considered undesirable[21]. On the other hand, the redistribution of income and wealth and pro-poor tourism is related not only to a quantitative growth in terms of tourist numbers, but also – and much more – to the redistribution of benefits from current tourism developments and the reduction of leakages (see Peeters and Dings, 2003).

Thus, there is no simple way towards sustainable tourism development. But one could at least exercise influence, or leverage, to modulate ongoing dynamics (Hoogma et al., 2002: 198; see also Kemp and Rotmans, 2002). Therefore, a third and related strategy builds on the ongoing dynamics in tourismscapes and modulates mutually reinforcing dynamics into desirable directions. Here, the focus of attention shifts from the building of regulatory and economic incentive structures towards the development of new institutional arrangements to foster collective action (see Glasbergen and Driessen, 2002).

Instead of only looking at the externalities themselves and at how these externalities might be solved through the use of policy instruments, the starting point for policy and the entry point for interventions are the modes of ordering of tourismscapes (see Kemp, 2000: 46). In this strategy, the task for public and private policy makers is to make sure that tourismscapes internalize externalities, that is, produce desirable outcomes, both in the short run and the longer term. The instrument of the PMZ for Dutch tour operators is a good start and pretext for a modulation policy. In the first stages of implementation, as analysed in the above, there was a lot of emphasis

on learning and on finding starting points for reordering. In the next stage, new windows of opportunity should be explored and exploited, and existing definitions of the situation should be confronted with alternatives, in order to maintain the momentum. The work of the Foundation for a Sustainable Texel is another good example, as it continuously exploits new gateways, facilitates learning processes and attempts to align a broad network of actors in their projects.

Modulation policies are forward-looking and especially suited when end goals are not clear (because they are manifold) and when there is uncertainty about the best ways to achieve them (Hoogma et al., 2002: 201). Obviously, they are *not* a substitute for traditional policies. Within modulation policies there still is need for corrective taxes in the form of levies, environmental standards, fines and other policies that change the framework conditions for economic behaviour. As Dubbink (1999: 230) argues, sustainability requires that the public sector look after long-term interests and, if necessary, be willing and able to take unpopular measures. Referring to Texel, this would mean that the local government should strongly support the initiatives of the Foundation for a Sustainable Texel, support these projects by means of flanking policies, and also shoulder its own responsibility, even if that were to include the implementation of unpopular instruments. The modulation approach thus does not preclude the use of traditional policies; rather, it shows how such policies may be used in different ways (see Kemp, 2000: 48; Dubbink, 1999: 241-248). It helps to identify useful points for intervention and to exercise some leverage, and helps to fine-tune policy instruments to the dynamics of tourismscapes and the underlying modes of ordering. Thus, the remaining question is how to modulate existing modes of ordering.

8.4.1 Modulating modes of ordering

As we have seen, modes of ordering consist of definitions of the situation, the subsequent practices and the particular way actors in tourism interweave with other actors and societal sectors. On the one hand, modes of ordering make it hard to do things otherwise. They create obduracy (Law, 2001). But on the other hand, modes of ordering coexist and interweave and none of them ever achieves perfect order. As such, they may just as well seriously hamper change as be a key doorway in processes of innovation.

On Texel, for example, we noticed the collision between the different modes of ordering of farmers, nature conservationists, tourism entrepreneurs and certain other community fractions. Although on the one hand, subsequent struggles impeded change, on the other hand the fact that diversity was eventually acknowledged (e.g. through the process of Texel 2030 and in the work of the Foundation for a Sustainable Texel) opened important avenues for innovation, as the examples depicted in the above illustrate. In Manuel Antonio we observed similar conflicts (see Duim et al., 2001), but also the lack of a place for communicative action between antagonistic community fractions[22].

As we have seen, these conflicts centre on issues of liveability, 'quality of life' and trust (in politics) and at the same time on feelings of loss of control over resources. Indeed, modes of ordering not only comprise 'definitions of the situation' and subsequent practices but they also generate and embody a characteristic set of resources. Since modes of orderings are recursive patterns embodied and recursively instantiated in tourismscapes, they also tend to define and perform what would be required in order to reproduce its version of the patterning of tourismscapes. A common-sense way of putting it is to assert that particular 'spaces', particular

means of transport and technologies, and particular organizations and people are translated into the networks, while others are excluded. These 'others' are externalized. As a consequence, tourismscapes also generate and embody particular characteristic sets of problems that are ubiquitous, because, as we have seen, modes of ordering only ever achieve partial success (Law, 1994: 111).

These expressions of unsustainability are often institutionalized, that is, firmly rooted in the institutional patterns as well as in the 'hardware' (technologies, infrastructure, trading patterns, landscapes) that shape and govern tourism developments. As we have seen, they cannot be considered as simple deviations or errors that can easily be addressed and sorted out (Ploeg and Wiskerke, 2004: 7). On the contrary, they are everywhere and hard to resolve. Nonetheless, the conversion and translation of unsustainable technologies, land uses and materials by sustainable technologies, land uses and materials are at the heart of the problem of sustainable tourism development. As we have seen, quantitative and qualitative changes of tourismscapes, the changing properties of the actors involved, and the delegation of action to other, sustainable materials are all crucial (Verschoor, 1997a: 209).

So, sustainability is all about what *is* on the one hand (in terms of externalities) and what *might* or *ought to be* on the other (in terms of internalizing those externalities). It is the gap between these that defines the sustainability problems. And as Latour (2004: 125) explains, what has been externalized may very well come back to knock at the door of the collectif 'to demand that it is taken into account – at the price, of course, of modifications in the list of entities present, new negotiations, and a new definition of the outside'.

On Texel, nature conservationists were the first to knock on the door of tourism; later, they were followed by the agricultural sector. While the conservationists and the tourism sector relatively soon decided to redefine their relations, the agricultural sector left its position of exclusion only recently. Similarly, under the banner of 'sustainable development', the World Wildlife Fund, IUCN – The World Conservation Union, ECPAT, the United Nations Environmental Program, the SNV Netherlands Development Organisation and many others knocked on the door of the World Tourism Organisation, tour operators and their accomplices. This illustrates that the 'Berlin Wall' between civil society and the market is starting to fall, and ought to do so (Dubbink, 1999: 249).

Obviously, specific modes of ordering may resist this reordering. They might hamper innovations towards sustainable tourism/tourism development. They are constructed as obvious to achieve an effect, namely to curb opposition. Take, for example, the continual story of small margins and high volumes/low prices, which seems to guide the entrepreneurial mode of ordering in tourism. Yet, as we have seen, in organization there are multiple modes of ordering at work, intersecting with one another, and there is no single key order in the organization. Therefore we should deal with small margins and competition as an effect of a particular way of ordering tourism underlining the neo-liberal assumptions of a free market, economic growth at the path to human progress, and the assumption that economic return is the only relevant indicator for success and value creation. It accentuates the incessant act of pursuing an economy of scale (high volumes at low prices) instead of an economy of care (Beckers, 2004). Similarly, tourism, but not only tourism, seems to be infected by the 'virus of acceleration', in which social life is

constantly speeded up instead of decelerating or downshifting (*onthaasten*, in Dutch) daily life. This acceleration increasingly seems to enter all aspects of daily life, including tourism, and the more resilient it becomes the more it obstructs sustainability (Beckers, 2004).

But we should not fail to notice the possibility of alternatives. As Law (2001: 2) rightly argues, the sentiment that there is no alternative but to meet the requirements of the market is not only politically obnoxious but also analytically flawed; of course there are alternatives, as organizing (and, one might add, the world) lives as a set of alternatives.[23]

Modes of ordering consist of convictions, ideas, values or hopes about causes that seem fundamentally good and hence are striven for. Now, as Law (1994: 54) explains, for certain purposes people do not actively contest certain stories, whether they are ends or values, or at least they do not actively contest particular elements in these stories. And the effect of this is that these stories, or at any rate some of their elements, come to look like a bedrock of acts. As a result, tourism practices (as well as agricultural or other practices of nature conservationists, politicians or scientists) are often locked into old ways of thinking, which leads enterprises, for example, to focus their attention and spend their money on improving existing technologies and on incremental changes aimed at making current practices more optimal (see Kemp and Rotmans, 2002).

However, this reality is just an effect of particular modes of ordering tourism and tourism *could* be ordered otherwise. As this reordering, as argued in the above, obviously cannot be invented or enforced from the outside, the question is whether and, if so, how these modes of ordering can be modulated and how these modulations could be facilitated.

8.4.2 Entry points for reordering tourism

Obviously, there are many types of modulation policies and, consequently, many types of tools and instruments. In recent years, an ever-increasing range of publications have pointed at modulation dynamics by means of network management (Goverde and Nelissen, 2002), game management (Kemp, 2000), co-management (Dubbink, 1999), process and transition management (Rotmans et al. 2000), interactive or common resource management (see Steins et al., 2000; Steins, 1999 and 2002), participatory planning (Jamal and Getz, 1995), strategic niche management (Schot et al., 1996; Hoogma et al., 2002; Wiskerke and Ploeg, 2004), alternative dispute resolution and limits of acceptable change (see e.g. Sidaway, 2005), and so on (see also Caalders, 2002; Engel, 1995; Mowforth and Munt, 2003).

Instead of recapitulating the vast literature in this area, in the following section I shall sketch some entry points for reordering modes of ordering in tourism. I have already pointed at the crucial role of change agents and the importance of not putting all the eggs in one basket. I shall also suggest detecting and articulating problem definitions; offering scenarios that suggest pictures of tourismscapes that take more externalities into account than before; and supporting innovations and novelty development.

First, the articulation of problem definitions asks for the examination of tourismscapes and the underlying modes of ordering, as well as the detection and assessment of exteriorized entities that should be taken into account. To start with the first, modes of ordering are intentional but

often non-subjective reflexive strategies of social ordering (Law, 1994: 96). On the one hand, they are patterns that generate important effects to do with distribution, power and sustainability, or the lack thereof. On the other hand, as they are variable, incomplete, come and go, and certainly not exhaustive; they can be ordered otherwise. Therefore, they have to be dismantled in order to enable any change at all: tourismscapes and modes of ordering have to be thoroughly empirically examined and underlying principles and rules have to be revealed. Here, the skills of the researcher should come into play, for example, by following the path of detection by executing 'good' ethnography (Hirsch and Gellner, 2001: 9), which at least implies conveying the sense of 'being there', producing unexpected details and conclusions, reflecting the multiple modes of ordering and, of course, offering explanations wrapped in 'thick' descriptions.[24]

Also important, however, is the detection and assessment of externalities to be taken into account. As we have seen, externalities are not an accidental by-product of tourism, but an effect of explicit procedures of externalization. Greenhouse effects, the hole in the ozone layer, the 'local' or the 'poor' are to be considered as a part of tourism unless it has refused to take responsibility for them. The distinction of what has been internalized and externalized is not definitive but provisional; excluded entities (human or non-human) in which tourism has explicitly decided not to be interested, can become appellants that ask to be acknowledged (Latour, 2004: 126). It is exactly by introducing 'people' and 'planet' next to 'profit', as in the case of bringing in the concept of 'sustainable development' that the process of acknowledging appellants may start.

However, these appellants have to be examined as well.[25] The concept of 'sustainability', along with its triple P (people, planet, profit), has to be perused as well, as it can also be constructed in such a way that it curbs changes. Often, rhetoric (as e.g. in the case of ecotourism[26]) obscures realities. As we have seen, the causes of unsustainability, the related effects and the ways out are heavily contested. In order for sustainability to become a tool for sense-making and ordering – a tool that might be useful for certain purposes – it has to be dismantled as well. As sustainability is a narrative in many guises, it has to be deconstructed into smaller narratives. And in order to be taken seriously, these smaller narratives have to be well articulated.

As a consequence, there are many roads to sustainability. There is no single solution to sustainable tourism development, or one single route to it. As Roep and Wiskerke (2004) assert, it is of crucial importance to explore and attempt to understand the relevant diversity. The complexity and heterogeneity of tourismscapes and their constituents imply a range of development paths. The exploration and articulation of these development paths in scenarios – simplified but coherent pictures of imaginable tourismscapes – is a next contribution in modulating ongoing dynamics.[27] Kemp (2000: 49), for example, argues that scenarios could improve processes of anticipation and assessment and shape research agendas. Scenarios could promote strategic thinking, could be used to build 'road maps' and pathways to, in this case, sustainable tourism development, and may be used to facilitate processes of mutual understanding between antagonistic actors, as for example in the case of the Texel 2030 process (see Philipsen et al., 2003; Sidaway, 2005).

But not only through opening up problem definitions or developing scenarios, but also by supporting or offering heterogeneous innovations, experimental testing or disclosing controversies, the sciences could – in close cooperation with politicians, entrepreneurs and

NGOs – facilitate modulation towards sustainable tourism development (see also Latour, 2004). These innovations or compromises ask for opportunities, places and arrangements where different ordering modes are able to butt up against each other; places or performances that instantiate inter-modal or inter-ordering arrangements (Law, 1994).

Indeed, as we have seen, modes of ordering interact and the interaction between different modes of ordering is the primary source of change and innovation. Sustainable tourism development requires places like the Group César Manrique, the Cultural Tourism Programme and the Foundation for a Sustainable Texel. Undeniably, redesign is about making new and effective connections and achieving cooperation between groups whose competences and interests are different and often antagonistic.

In other words, I propose that steps be taken:[28]

- **To improve processes of anticipation and assessment**
  Tourism actors always make assumptions about the future: they do assessments all the time (see Kemp, 2000: 48), they make assumptions about where their markets are going, they scan possible changes and they make guesses about the impacts of these changes for their sector and organization (e.g. the emergence of Internet, SARS, terrorism, low-cost airlines). Existing attempts at assessment could be improved and broadened to include considerations of sustainability. The articulation of problem definitions and the development of scenarios might help, as would linking forerunners to NGOs, knowledge and research institutes, and governmental agencies[29]. This might help:
- **To create networks for learning and interaction**
  According to Glasbergen and Driessen (2002), there is no better means for sustainable development than organizing a cooperative learning process among the representatives of market, state, knowledge and research institutes, and civil society. In the end, reordering is all about reframing existing definitions of the situation through interweaving, through making new and effective connections; in other words, by building 'translation networks'. Although the notion of sustainability undoubtedly bridges some of the gaps between the tourism sector, NGOs, governmental organizations, and tourism sciences, as some of the cases in this book illustrate, the bonds are still weak and insufficient to create first-order, let alone the second-order learning[30] necessary for modulation modes of ordering.[31] These networks should also bridge the wide and remarkable gap between the international political and scientific debates on sustainable development and the day-to-day modes of ordering of tour operators, small-scale entrepreneurs and other accomplices in tourism[32].
- **To nurture niches**
  Protected spaces where novelties may mature, failures are allowed and learning is ubiquitous should be supported, as eventually[33] they might configure transitions towards sustainable tourism development. Therefore, the Foundation for a Sustainable Texel, the Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania and the next phase of the implementation of the PMZ, to name a few, deserve full support as they have eased and will facilitate sustainable tourism development and our understanding and implementation of it.

Modulation policies should aim at collective experimentation and learning in tourismscapes to ensure that tourismscapes are proceeding from a state *n* to a state *n+1* that takes into account

a greater number of 'externalities' or that at least does not lose too many externalities along the way (Latour, 2004: 199). And although experimentation will not offer definitive knowledge or answers, it might allow us 'to trace the critical path along which it will be necessary to pass so that the following iteration will not be carried out in vain' (ibid.: 196).

However, one should not over-estimate the results of modulation policies (see e.g. Caalders, 2002). So far they have widened problem perceptions (by e.g. linking the environmental problems of tourism to societal and economic issues) and might continue to do so. Moreover, they have stimulated learning and creativity in searching for solutions and have involved more parties in decision-making and, consequently, support for these decisions.

But focusing on modulation policies also entails risks (see Driessen and Glasbergen, 2002: 258-259; Dubbink, 1999). Apart from the risk of the strategic use of knowledge in processes and an unequal representation or entwining of interests (as in the case of corporatism), satisfaction with regard to the quality of the process might overshadow the quality of the solutions. And modulation policies might also lead to conflicts. For example, modulation policies aimed not merely at incremental but also at radical innovations will create frictions and tensions, as established 'definitions of the situations' and interests are challenged, leading to complex processes of negotiation and conflict resolution which sometimes become ends in themselves (Leeuwis, 2003; Sidaway, 2005).

8.4.3 The role of the public sector

Modulation policies clearly question the role of the public sector. Whereas concerted (centralized) planning, if possible at all, might shift the responsibility away from the private sector and civil society, conversely, modulation policies should not lead to governmental disengagement (WRR, 2002). As Leeuwis (2003: 7) argues, we should get rid of the idea that 'top-down intervention' and modulation are two totally mutually exclusive routes to innovation and change. Therefore, modulation policies also ask for direction and sometimes strategic, well-planned and timely 'top-down interventions'. In this final section, I shall briefly discuss the probabilities of directing modulation policies in an ever-expanding institutional landscape.

Clearly, direction has changed as nation-states are undergoing a transformation, as their functions and powers are re-articulated and re-embedded in complex transnational, regional and local arrangements, set up by actors from different spheres and domains, crossing the traditional borders of nation-states and their divides (Tatenhove et al., 2000: 43; Martinelli, 2002). On the one hand, externalities of tourism and the ways out are increasingly considered as local or regional affairs and solutions have to be found at that level, as in the case of Lanzarote, Texel or Manuel Antonio/Quepos. On the other hand, sustainability issues related to transnational tourism – for example, climate change, the decline in biodiversity, and increasing mobility and the subsequent increase in CO_2 emissions – partially or fully exceed the ability of nation-states. For instance, the regulation of global environmental impacts requires networks of states, multilateral agencies, the power of the media to shame, the employment of international science, etc. There is no simple 'national' environment that a national state can order on its own and regulate through its own 'gardening' (Urry, 2000: 201).

On the other hand, overstressing the erosion of state powers obscures the fact that some of the regulatory and controlling functions can only be effectively implemented at the national level

(Martinelli, 2002: 11). Moreover, there is no clear and predominant movement away from policy arrangements in which the state plays the dominant role, towards types of arrangements in which ever more non-governmental and private stakeholders and coalitions have become legitimate and authoritative players. States take varying roles, which differ from domain to domain and from country to country (Arts et al., 2000b: 207).

In sum: national states have increasingly become nodes of a broader network of power (Castells, 1997: 303/304) and in the plurality of sources of authority and power, the nation-state is just one, albeit a very important source (see also Fayos-Solá et al., 2003). The proliferation of institutional alternatives to the nation-state has visibly challenged the role of national authorities in many areas of contemporary political and economic life, including tourism. Table 8.5 illustrates a fraction of this expanded institutional terrain, locating traditional nation-state institutions at the centre of what is now a range of alternative institutions (Paarlberg, 2002). Obviously, all these alternatives turn up in complex webs of networks stretching across time and space.

Table 8.5 Institutional options for governance

Level	Profit sector	Public sector	Not-for-profit sector
International	Trans- and multinationals, World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC)	World Tourism Organization WTO/IMF UNEP, UNDP, UNESCO European Union	WWF, World Conservation Union, Friends of the Earth, Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism (ECWT), Tourism European/Ecumenical Network (TEN), Ecotourism Society, ECPAT
National	National tourism corporations National tourism industry and trade organizations	National governments and related organizations	Tourism interest groups (Tourism Concern/Retour Foundation) WNF, NC-IUCN
Local	Chambers of Commerce Local businesses	Local authorities	Local environmental and social groups Anti-resort development groups

Adapted from: Paarlberg (2002) and Mowforth and Munt (2003)

What is the role of national governments[34] in this expanding institutional terrain? Obviously, there is not yet a clear picture of the division of responsibilities between the spheres, or of the way in which they ought to interact, apart from the fact that in contemporary governance *all* spheres have to play their role (Dubbink, 1999).

But achieving a clear division of tasks first calls for a strengthening of national governments' 'hinge function', which entails a translation process in two directions: international policy developments must be translated into the national context, while exploratory international consultations must find their counterpart in early deliberations at the national and the sub-national level. The results of these deliberations must in turn play a role in the national input made at a higher level (WRR, 2003).

Second, and related, as Latour (2004: 200-206) argues, they could administer processes of collective experimentation and learning as they have the power to follow up. As administration ensures the continuity of public life, it could also ensure and facilitate new rounds of collective experimentation in tourism by keeping track of trails, by recording, archiving and preserving results, and by inducing new rounds of experiments and tests. Inspiring societal discussions about sustainable tourism development, stimulating niche developments, creating a substantial knowledge infrastructure and a political mode of ordering stressing deceleration (instead of acceleration) are just a few illustrations of a facilitating (instead of an impeding) public sector. Indeed, as Latour (2004: 206) argues, they have the resources to resume and mingle the skills of the various professions that collaborate in the reordering of tourismscapes. By combining the skills of tourism entrepreneurs, scientists, politicians, critics and bureaucrats, the learning curve 'derives its virtue from being at once a productive research programme, a dynamic political culture, a prosperous economy, a scrupulous and uneasy morality, and a well-documented procedure'.

8.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I analysed prospects for sustainable tourism development by taking an actor-network perspective on innovation. More particularly, I looked at the introduction of a Product and Environmental Monitoring System (PMZ) for Dutch outbound tour operators by the Netherlands Association of Tour Operators.

Despite the progress made by the examples analysed in this book, the overall picture is still rather meagre. In the last decade, there has been a proliferation of numerous connections between tourism and other interests (nature conservation, socio-economic development, poverty alleviation), as well as of the modes of ordering that go along with them. These connections have clearly contributed to innovation. However, many of them (and their more radical variants: novelties) are too fresh to be fully judged on their merits. Nevertheless, they illustrate the polymorphism of sustainable tourism development as a design problem. They undeniably represent a flow of ideas and concepts rooted in the third wave of environmental concern, which has broadened to include issues of social and economic inequalities. However, all these connections are still small in size and number, loosely coupled and not yet firmly rooted in other major social and political movements.

Although fully acknowledging that sustainability takes time to mature, sustainable tourism – let alone sustainable tourism development – is still in a pre-development phase where there is little substantial change but quite a lot of experimentation. Despite a growing awareness, significant reorderings of tourismscapes are absent. Just as in the agricultural sector, innovations – let alone transitions – are seriously hampered by the institutional incapacity to do things differently. To a large extent, tourismscapes are locked into existing technologies and particular modes of ordering that are inert and hard to change. New ways of ordering are still vulnerable and insufficiently diffused to make a difference.

As clear problem-ownership is lacking, new ways of ordering are hard to plan or organize. They are the result of ceaselessly searching for human and non-human resources to be engaged in new ways of ordering tourismscapes. Although forerunners enthusiastically support innovations, as shown by, for example, the case of the product-oriented environmental management for tour operators and the Foundation for a Sustainable Texel, these innovations are also faltering and sometimes even opposed. Many initiatives are nipped in the bud or never mature. For example, politicians tried to terminate the SDAs before it even settled. The SNV Netherlands Development Organization left the Cultural Tourism Programme at a critical stage of its existence. Each year, the Foundation for a Sustainable Texel has to beg for money, and the Seven Creations of César Manrique have become squeezed between the interest of local interest groups, local elites and international investors.

Forerunners and those who support them do not receive the backing they deserve. Economic as well as other incentives (e.g. consumer demand or societal pressure) for change are lacking. On top of that, there is a lack of genuine interest or investments from the side of governments in general, and the Netherlands in particular. Obviously, policies are also particular modes of ordering liable to conflicts of interest, changing spheres of influence, and inconsistencies, as many cases in this book illustrate. Despite piles of reports and good intentions, especially at the international level, current political modes of ordering do not seem to be very enticed by the idea of creating favourable conditions for sustainable tourism development. As a result, strategic niche management in tourism is largely absent, as is a substantial supporting knowledge infrastructure, despite incessant efforts to keep sustainable tourism development on the academic and political agenda.

Innovations in tourismscapes have to be inspired by experiences acquired in niches and be substantiated by interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary research – and actor-network theory offers a base from which to do so. However, tourism research collectifs in the Netherlands are highly vulnerable and in danger of exclusion. As there is not just one barrier to the introduction of sustainable tourism development but a whole range of factors that work against it, the introduction and diffusion of innovations towards sustainable tourism development will be very thorny. So what are the prospects?

Taking into account the particular ways tourismscapes unfold, I set aside the idea of the possibility of concerted planning for sustainable tourism development and promoted the idea of modulating ongoing dynamics in tourismscapes. This strategy builds on the ongoing dynamics in tourismscapes and aims to modulate mutually reinforcing dynamics into desirable directions by means of collective experimentation and learning, ordering and reordering. Following actor-network theory, it is also stipulated that whatever arrangement (coalitions, platforms, networks, organizations, configurations, learning environments, etc.) emerges from the attempts to reorder tourism, these arrangements should always be considered as ordered networks of heterogeneous materials that are constantly being shaped and reshaped as new human and non-human entities enter the arena. Innovation aimed at sustainable tourism development implies working towards and implementing new ways of ordering of tourismscapes. Tourismscapes have to be performed in a different way: people and things have to be interwoven into new – sustainable – heterogeneous configurations.

As a consequence, the road towards sustainable tourism development will never be easy. A lot of emphasis will always have to be put on the tactics of translation, and on the way the required actors are invited, enrolled and mobilized and their participation is sustained. In trying to engage relevant others (people and things), collectifs involved in a translation procedure are caught up in processes of 'trial and error', resulting in either 'good practices' or 'failed innovations'. In addition, the terms of success, sustainability or innovation are not predefined but are constructed by both participants and external parties, and the conditions vary between geographical settings and over time, as well as amongst the actors engaged in the same process, and will be reshaped in time and space through interactions with others[35].

In short, sustainable tourism development is and always will be a continuous process of social learning, linking and removing, ordering and reordering. And this reordering of existing socio-material relations in tourism has been and always will be characterized by struggles, unpredictability and sometimes even hostile responses.

Notes

[1] In order to clarify the translation process of PMZ among Dutch tour operators, first in-depth, semi-structured interviews were executed. The qualitative part of the research consisted of ten interviews with representatives of tour operators responsible for PMZ implementation and four expert interviews (a representative from an NGO, a member of the certifying body, the former chairman of the VRO Commission for Sustainable Tourism, and a consultant assisting tour operators in the implementation of PMZ). The research aimed at collecting a wide range of opinions from across a variety of tour operators. The sample of ten tour operators was taken from the VRO's list of members that had implemented PMZ by February 2004 (n=126). Respondents were chosen at random, although their characteristics reflected those of the 126 members in terms of size and type of product offered. All interviews were taped, typed out and analysed. The face-to-face interviews lasted 60-90 minutes. The qualitative transcript data generated from these interviews was analysed in detail according to the presumed four phases in the process of translation. Informative texts such as newsletters, ANVR bulletins and transcripts of PMZ meetings completed the qualitative analysis. Additionally, a quantitative analysis of the actions taken by 126 outbound tour operators was undertaken. We analysed all environmental programmes (n=126) submitted by tour operators to the VRO. The formulated actions in these programmes were quantitatively analysed using descriptive statistics in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Furthermore, chi-square tests revealed relations between types of tour operators and actions taken.

[2] Obviously, processes of translation are ubiquitous. For purposes of clarity, it is useful to focus on a single actor or prime mover and examine the processes of translation from that entity's point of departure. In this case I took the Netherlands Association of ANVR Tour operators (VRO) as first point of reference.

[3] Parts of the following section have been published in Vrijetijdstudies (Marwijk and Duim, 2004; see also Duim and Marwijk, 2004). I should like to acknowledge the contributions of Ramona van Marwijk in gathering and analysing the data, and the comments of Jakomijn van Wijk and various referees of Vrijetijdstudies and the Journal of Sustainable Tourism.

[4] The percentages are arbitrary, but confirmed by all experts with whom we discussed the results of this study.

[5] Internationally, PMZ attracted a lot of attention, especially in England and Belgium. The Belgian Association of Tour Operators (ABTO) has made an attuned PMZ course compulsory for its members. (Verstoep, pers. com.)

[6] Subsidized by the EU, the European Tour-Link project aims to develop a European system for tour operators, based on the experiences with the Dutch PMZ system. The EU has also made similar attempts for the accommodation sector, for example in the VISIT project. However, despite more than 100 labels in Europe, to date only 1% of all tourism products have been certified (Hamerle, pers. com.).

[7] Public lecture at Wageningen University (11 June 2003).

[8] Moors et al. (2004: 37; see also Hoogma et al., 2002: 19) define a regime as the whole complex of scientific knowledge, engineering practices, production process technologies, product characteristics, skills and procedures, established user needs, regulatory requirements, institutions and infrastructures.

[9] This project focused on 'factor 20' innovations, which means innovations offering a completely new perspective on tourism (i.e. tourism in the year 2050).

[10] Recently, Bartels (2005) sketched the contours of a research agenda for sustainable tourism for the National Council for Environmental and Nature Research (RMNO).

[11] As Glasbergen and Driessen (2002: 9-10) explain, actions undertaken by Greenpeace led to Shell being boycotted when it planned to sink the Brent Spar in the ocean after its many years of faithful service. This was a reason for Shell to place corporate social responsibility high on its agenda. Shell is now specifically seeking dialogue with environmental and consumer organisations (see also Dubbink, 1999).

[12] The NRLO (1999a and 1999b) made a similar distinction between processes of functional learning in order to 'do things better' and processes of substantial learning aiming at doing 'better things'. In terms of Chapter 7, the first involves predominantly incremental changes towards sustainable tourism, while the latter is mainly geared towards sustainable tourism development.

[13] The so-called Type 1 projects implemented in Costa Rica have been evaluated by CECADE (2002).

[14] See Duim and Caalders (2000).

[15] This initiative was again supported by many organizations in 2002; subsequently, in 2003 a proposal was submitted to NIPS and finally approved in May 2004. In November 2004, the conference was held on Texel.

[16] See Barrantes (1998) analysing the development of CoopeSilencio in La construcion de un sueno and Hendriks and Laninga (2002).

[17] See: http://www.sarapiquis.org/frameset.htm

[18] Surprisingly, the Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR, 2002 and 2003) recently revived the basic ideas behind the Sustainable Development Agreements, arguing for the creation of jumelages (between four or five countries) and of twinnings (between a developed and a developing country) to elaborate the results of Johannesburg.

[19] See e.g. discussions on the importance of financing innovations and the positive effects of micro-credits in promoting small-scale business development.

[20] According to Friends of the Earth Netherlands, VAT on airline tickets would increase the income of the Dutch government by EUR 2 billion a year. Apart from VAT, charging excise on jet fuel and on emissions, and implementing an emission trading system based on emission ceilings, are other instruments to be considered (see Veldhuis in: Milieudefensie, 2004).

[21] In February 2005, a number of European countries proposed to tax jet fuel Europe and to allocate the income to the UN's Millennium Goals.

[22] Manuel Antonio/Quepos lacked a local newspaper in which to discuss local affairs. However, one of the tangible results of our SDA project was the foundation of a local newspaper (Cordero, pers. com.).

[23] Dubbink (1999: 50-56; see also Glasbergen and Driessen, 2002: 7-8) describes the essentials of the 'perfect' market as a decentralized order where coordination occurs spontaneously on the basis of money-based price mechanisms. Relations between parties are characterized by private ownership, rivalry and competition, and parties are rational, profit oriented and free in their actions: they themselves determine what they produce. Clearly – in our terms – this perfect market is subject to overflowing. However, there are alternatives. Therefore, the conflict between environmental protection and economic competitiveness is a false dichotomy, at least it does not have to be that way (see Kemp and Munch Anderson, 2004: 14).

[24] See for a discussion on organizational ethnography, the inaugural address given by Dahles (2004).

[25] As Callon (1998a. and b; 1999) asserts, in the process of ordering only particular externalities will be internalized. Thus, sustainability will always be partial, just as it will always be contingent. Second, it should not only be imaginary, but much more than that. It also needs to be performed, enacted. It will lead to particular effects and products. It will take various shapes and forms, as the construction of what is assumed to be a sustainability issue, as well as the problem solutions, is part of what sustainability is all about. Eventually sustainability affects the state of the actors composing the collectif. Indeed, as Verschoor (1997a: 209) argues, through the passage of time, actors (both human and non-human) find themselves endowed with new properties. Therefore, following our discussion on modes of ordering in Chapter 6, sustainability could gain a foothold if it is delegated in more durable materials.

[26] See Mowforth and Munt (2003) and Duffy, R. (2002) for interesting examples.

[27] For recent examples of scenarios, see e.g. Martens and Rotmans (2002) and RIVM (2004). Duim (1997b) developed scenarios for sustainable tourism development based on WRR (1995).

[28] See also e.g. Kemp, 2000; Kemp and Munch Anderson, 2004; Leeuwis, 2003; Roep and Wiskerke, 2004.

[29] Examples are the Dutch Groeneveld conferences, the Initiative Group for Sustainable Outbound Tourism (IDUT) and the manifold international conferences and workshops. Although they could be instrumental, they still lack authority and – more importantly – participation from the private sector.

[30] As Roep and Wiskerke (2004) argue, a learning environment should facilitate double-loop learning processes, that is, learning about the assumptions, meanings and preferences that relevant actors have and develop during the process of innovation and novelty creation.

[31] See also Dubbink (1999) discussing the relations between market, the state and civil society and creating voice relations between market and civil society (ibid.: 256).

[32] Therefore, in order to not only sharpen our own understanding but also to facilitate learning processes in praxis, the preliminary findings of this research were discussed with stakeholders in the case of Texel, Manuel Antonio and the introduction of the PMZ.

[33] More often niches stay niches as societal embedding fails. However, by for example niche accumulation or hybridisation, transitions eventually become conceivable (see Schot et al., 1996; Geels and Kemp, 2000).

[34] Clearly, the Dutch government forgot to define its own role and obligations in terms of sustainable tourism/tourism development. And although representatives from the private sector as well as civil society party filled the gap, an enabling and proactive government could prevent this momentum from being lost. Although the government promised parliament a 'vision on sustainable tourism', to date (March 2005) nothing has transpired. And when asking the national government to participate in processes of interactive policy-making, all fingers point in the direction of one or two particular civil servants. Indeed, to date the Dutch government is fully disengaged, leaving the initiative to private sector and NGOs.

[35] See Steins et al., 2000: 9; see also Glasbergen and Driessen, 2002: 19.

Chapter 9

Epilogue

9 Epilogue

> Are you aware, Lanzarote, of what your death might mean? If you die, it will be for good. Never will you be able to recover life.
> (César Manrique in: Gómez Aguilera, 2001: 111)

On 21 April 1986, César Manrique held a press conference in Madrid and stated that 'Lanzarote is dying'. He was astonished that, despite:

> ... the catastrophic alteration of almost the entire Spanish coast, blurring the traits of each place with a complete lack of adaptation and the gratuitous introduction of a cold international standardization, we have failed to learn the lesson whereby we must stop and save what is left. (ibid.: 108)

Obviously, his critiques were not taken seriously. Especially in the 1980s and early 1990s, tourism grew enormously, not just on Lanzarote and in Spain but throughout the world. However, a third wave of environmentalism arose in the late 1980s, and in the second half of the 1990s it infiltrated the tourism sector and framed and intensified discussions about the blights and blessings of tourism, but now in terms of the concept of 'sustainable development'. The discussions first and foremost entered international arenas where certain circles of politicians, scientists and national and international NGOs met. Later, they also entered certain organizations and locations and regions where tourism unfolds, as our case studies on Texel and in Tanzania and Costa Rica illustrate. It also turned up on Lanzarote in 1995[1], three years after the death of César Manrique.

Although now, more than a decade after Rio, the sustainability debate is increasingly nestled in the province of tourism, the process of reordering tourism is still *statu nascendi,* accompanied as our case studies show by power struggles, standstills and sometimes even regression. Modifying the modes of ordering of the huge number of tour operators, travel agents, carriers, hoteliers and their accomplices performing tourismscapes is a complicated task.

For the sciences to make a contribution to this process, new ways of conceptualizing tourism are needed. There was remarkably little conceptual discussion about the organization of tourism during the 1990s. In order to learn more about 'how tourism works', how it is performed and how it produces and takes externalities into account, tourism scholars have to invest in crossing theoretical borders and to capitalize on progress made in other disciplines and fields of studies. Obviously, there are different ways to do so. In this book, I chose to translate actor-network theory into the provinces of tourism studies.

Now, at the end of this book, I shall look back at the two tasks I set myself at the beginning, namely to develop a distinctive account of tourism grounded and informed by actor-network theory, and to analyse prospects for sustainable tourism development.

9.1 Tourismscapes and beyond

As far as the first task is concerned, I progressively developed a new paradigm for tourism studies by translating actor-network theory into the provinces of tourism and by elaborating tourismscapes as a scientific mode of ordering the bits and pieces that make up what we label 'tourism'.

The main tenet of this paradigm is that we have to study tourism in terms of tourismscapes and that these tourismscapes are an ongoing achievement. Thus, tourismscapes do not explain anything as though they were 'structures' or 'systems'; they are to be explained by examining the specific processes of association and ordering, which connect what was previously detached. The task we are now confronted with as researchers is to thoroughly and 'thickly' describe these processes of ordering and their consequences. This methodological principle is a result of the fundamental ontological stance of actor-network theory, namely that the construction of reality emerges as it happens. It is achieved through the interplay of various actors, human and non-human, with equal constitutive characteristics. Tourism is created and emerges as it happens.

Epistemologically, this means that in order to examine and understand this process of performing tourismscapes, the researcher has to enter tourismscapes and examine the modes of ordering that underlie them. There is no reason to suppose that the researcher differs from those he or she is studying. The imputation in this book of tourismscapes as a scientific mode of ordering is another effect of heterogeneous ordering in which people and things, theories and particular realities play an important role. As I indicated in the Preface, this ordering may be incomplete; the scientific ordering of tourism in terms of tourismscapes is per definition precarious, too. This book, therefore, has been a process of translation, of trying things out and testing.

Obviously, this proposition is not unproblematic. Just as actor-network theory has been and will continue to be subject to intense scientific debate,[2] the particular imputation of actor-network theory to tourism is also tentative. But I believe it is also compelling, as it accounts for the performance of tourism as well as for its consequences (externalities) and the way to do things 'otherwise' (innovations), and because it is able to apprehend and appreciate the complexity and the heterogeneity of tourism and to produce new accounts of tourism. I therefore believe that actor-network theory, not as a centred theory that locks up but as a 'patchwork' that makes suggestions and does not make a priori judgements about the shape or content of what is being described by it, is very significant for the study of tourism. In terms of tourismscapes, instead of thinking of tourism as an order (or system, or structure), tourism is considered as multiple and incomplete processes of ordering and association. And instead of thinking about tourism merely as a social ordering, tourismscapes are considered to be an effect of interactions between human and non-human entities. And by accepting the idea of translation, analysing these processes of translation becomes the main focus of tourism scholars.

The main methodological consequence of this view on tourism is that one has to 'follow the actors' (human as well as non-human). The researcher has to follow the way meanings and tasks are attributed to and distributed between people and things. These data are to be collected in the real worlds of tourism and from an insider's perspective, because such a view will provide

the best lens through which to see, and thus understand, tourismscapes and the actors being studied. So, preferably we need to be in the 'field setting of tourism' for some time to acquire this understanding and to be accepted. We have to learn from the actors without imposing on them a priori definitions or explanations. For example, the methodological choice of the principle of symmetry (as explained in Chapter 5) implies that everything deserves examination and explanation, and that everything (whether people or things, small or big, global or local) we seek to explain in studying tourimscapes should be approached in the same way, as they are all effects or products of processes of ordering.

Let me recapitulate the main constituents of this account of the study of tourism based on insights from actor-network theory. Based on my journeys in empirical realities and actor-network theory, I suggest that we should 'follow the actors' and thus:

i *Examine tourism in terms of tourismscapes*
The study of tourism implies studying processes of association and incessant ordering processes and their precarious achievements. Tourismscapes consist of bounteous people and things interacting as cogs and wheels concurrently performing 'tourism'. Tourismscapes do not endure by themselves but need constant performance, maintenance and repair. Sometimes they create obduracy; then again they melt into air. So the main task for tourism researchers is to follow and elucidate these processes of ordering.

ii *Inspect tourismscapes in a topological way.*
In these ordering processes, tourism unfolds in a topological way linking 'here and there', what is far and what is near. So, the study of tourismscapes refrains from any shift in scale, between say 'the global' and the 'local'; rather, we should simply follow the processes of ordering we labelled tourismscapes as they stretch through space and time, localizing and globalizing along the way.

iii *Look for multiple modes of ordering*
Multiple modes of ordering underlie and run through tourismscapes and their constituting agents. These modes of ordering include not only more or less explicit 'definitions of the situation', but also a certain set of practices, materials and resources, as well as particular ways of integrating with others and their modes of ordering, as tourismscapes have to be performed through the interweaving of the divergent projects of many actors.

iv *Examine the processes and tactics of translation*
Interweaving implies associating with other actors and establishing and stabilizing tourismscapes through processes of ordering and translation. Translation builds tourismscapes from constituent entities. These entities are persuaded to behave in accordance with the requirements of the tourismscapes at stake. This involves processes of engaging, negotiating, influencing, enrolling, mobilizing and excluding. So the study of tourismscapes implies a study of processes of translation, that is, the examination of the methods and tactics employed in the ordering process to make tourismscapes last a little longer.

v *Include analysis of power in studying tourismscapes*
Processes of translation both bring resources of power into play and produce relations of power. Power in tourism is associative; it is not a resource but a relational effect. But power in tourismscapes is ubiquitous and hence should be an object of study.

vi Consider tourismscapes as materially heterogeneous
In sustaining tourismscapes, some materials last longer than others. For example, a passport or voucher is more convincing than the words of a tourist, and a building is less vulnerable than its owner. More generally, without the non-human, tourism would not last a second. When examining tourismscapes, one therefore should be always aware that tourism is not simply social: although it is materially heterogeneous, implicated in and implicating people, it also includes and produces documents, codes, texts, architectures, buildings, environments and other physical devices. Thus, following actors in tourismscapes means following both humans and non-humans.

vii Integrate spatial analysis into actor-network analysis
Consequently, space is constructed within tourismscapes and tourismscapes are always a means of acting upon space. The spatial analysis of tourism is therefore always a network analysis, as space is bound into networks and any assessment of spatial qualities is simultaneously an assessment of network relations[3]. And although the spaces of tourism are generally conditional and negotiable, they can also become, at least temporarily, 'possessed' (*bezeten*, in Dutch). Actual land ownership or ownership in a more representational sense can therefore become, just like money, knowledge or contacts, a source of power.

Together, these seven constituents form a paradigm, a basic set of principles, showing what is worth looking at. For this agenda to become an obligatory point of passage in tourism studies, its readers and tourism scholars should accept and enrol it. They should be interested in taking up the challenge to employ this paradigm in research and, along the way, to detail the concept of tourismscapes. Obviously, there are many different pathways to do so.

A first and essential next step is to situate and examine the role of tourists in tourismscapes. In this study, I predominantly put tourists between brackets. Although they are as imperative as other people and things, the analysis of their contribution to the co-performance of tourismscapes is beyond the scope of this book. Tourists' motives, experiences, desires and practices have long been a (perhaps too) specialized terrain of tourism research. It is now time to reorient this research by also examining the way they co-produce, by connecting, attributing, and distributing properties and being part of the processes we labelled tourismscapes.

But even after bringing tourists into play, there are still other important avenues to follow. Here are a few other pathways to elaborate the concept of tourismscapes:

- I touched upon some possible modes of ordering in tourism in Chapter 6, but a full exploration of the modes of ordering underlying tourismscapes is necessary to fully understand 'how tourism works' and the potential for and barriers to innovations directed at sustainable tourism and sustainable tourism development. Therefore, we have to follow and 'thickly' describe not only De Boer and Wendel, Langhout, TUI or Multatuli Travel (or any other tour operator), KLM (or any other transport company), the hotels and lodges in Costa Rica and Texel (or in any other part of the world), SNV Netherlands Development Organization, Ecole Travel or the Cultural Tourism Programme in Arusha, but also many others. In addition to the abundant managerial oriented literature, I propose to also examine their performances in terms of the above agenda. Only by carefully reading these and other organizations, the

way they structure their interactions, the 'tactics of translation' they employ and the relations of power in which they are entangled, may the performances of tourismscapes be fully understood and subsequently may innovations in tourism be realized.

- In addition, modes of ordering also characterize and generate different materials. They order, define and configure interaction, and interactions may be materially inscribed. We have to examine these materials, especially by looking at the way they stabilize tourismscapes. So, following passports, vouchers, computer programs, reservation systems, writing devices, cars and infrastructures in tourismscapes could open up the actor-networks of tourism and the underlying modes of orderings just as following people could.
- Similarly, innovations and novelties in sustainable tourism and sustainable tourism development should be examined and perhaps even could be supported by these investigations by providing feedback. In this book, I examined amongst others sustainable tourism on Texel, the Tourism Programme of the Sustainable Development Agreement between Costa Rica and the Netherlands, the Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania and the introduction of a Product and Environmental Monitoring System for Dutch outbound tour operators. But, obviously, there are many other innovations and novelties. Not only a full exploration of what is considered as best practices but also a study of failed innovations would help us to learn about and understand the intricacies of socio-material transformations in tourism, and perhaps allow us to show those who perform tourism ways to order tourismscapes differently.
- A fourth and final question is the extent to which the continuous introduction of new information and communication technology will bring about a fundamental change in the way tourismscapes are performed and, even more importantly, will result in a revolution in the way the costs and benefits in tourism are distributed or – alternatively – widen the inequalities between rich and poor and the competitive and uncompetitive fractions of society. Especially in view of the pro-poor tourism campaigns, it is time for tourism researchers to embrace the broader context within which rapid technological change occurs.

These and other projects should be executed in a 'modest' way. Sociological modesty insists, as we have seen, on symmetry and non-reduction. Everything (the macro or micro, the global and the local, the human and the non-human) deserves explanation, and although relative distinctions may emerge, they are not achieved forever. Thus, such projects should seek to avoid taking tourismscapes as orders, but instead think of them as effects that have for a moment concealed the processes through which they were generated.

9.2 Prospects for sustainable tourism development

> I believe that we are witnessing an historical moment where the huge danger to the environment is so evident that we must conceive a new responsibility with respect to the future.
> (César Manrique in: Gómez Aguilera, 2001: 125)

The conceptualization of tourism in terms of tourismscapes not only evoked a new agenda for tourism research, but also enabled a better understanding of the prospects for sustainable

tourism development. The findings first relate to innovation practices. Through the interweaving of different, sometimes conflicting modes of ordering, not only ways to read tourism can change but so too can subsequent practices. I argued that these innovations and novelties should be supported as they might show possible ways towards transitions. But the results also point at the need for a more fundamental discussion on the role and position of tourism in society. In the following and final section, I shall review these two lines of thoughts.

Modulation of ongoing dynamics

Sustainable tourism development clearly asks for innovations and their more drastic variants. The conceptualization of tourism in terms of tourismscapes implies that aiming at sustainable tourism development means working towards and implementing new modes of ordering in tourism. Thus, sustainable tourism development implies that tourismscapes and the underlying modes of ordering have to alter, materially as well as socially.

The examples dealt with in this book show that this reordering of existing socio-material relations in tourism is characterized by struggles, as translations always encounter resistance. Sustainable tourism development implies leaving the beaten tracks and having room to move. It also implies a reordering of existing distributions of possibilities and constraints and the enrolment and mobilization of new human and non-human resources and, sometimes unconventional, new alliances.

In the first chapter, I introduced César Manrique as an example and illustration of how reordering could take effect. César Manrique did not internalize nature or culture into tourism. To the contrary, he brought tourism, nature, culture, people and technologies into one single arena, and developed tourism attractions that remain unequalled. As César Manrique (in: Gómez Aguilera, 2001: 108) insists:

> We should learn from and use our own environment to create, without resorting to any preconceived ideas. This is the fundamental factor, which has strengthened its personality [of Lanzarote]. We did not have to copy anybody. Lanzarote taught us this other alternative.

The history of the Lanzarote case also showed that this particular ordering was challenged and that other existing modes of ordering were disinclined to do things otherwise.

Generally speaking, reordering is difficult. Modes of ordering create obduracy and are hard to change. As a result, many smaller and bigger 'excuses' are used to legitimize inaction. Obviously, those performing tourismscapes try, through their underlying modes of ordering, to protect themselves from all kinds of appellants by raising such objections as 'We have to be realistic!' or 'We cannot take everything into account!' or 'Be reasonable, we're just trying to sell holidays!'.

But should we always be 'realistic' and 'reasonable'? If we start with these objections, we will make decisions before we have explored or discussed the alternatives. In other words, if those who perform them close down tourismscapes too quickly and with too great a degree of irrevocability, the result might be that reality comes back to haunt those who have declared things to be no longer or not yet worthy of attention. Or, to put it even more clearly, believing that tourism is free from anything that it does not take into account might prove to be an irresponsible thing to do.[4]

I therefore propose another line of thinking to those who could be held accountable for performing tourismscapes. Principally, modes of ordering co-exist and interweave and none of them ever achieves perfect order. As such, they may just as well seriously hamper change as be a key doorway in processes of change.

Modes of ordering arise from and are able to change through interaction with other modes of ordering. Thus, the interplay with other, complementing or even contesting modes or ordering has to be orchestrated and administered, as in the case of the Group César Manrique in Lanzarote, the Foundation for a Sustainable Texel or the Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania. But, as I explained, this is easier said than done.

For example, centralized planning for the creation and building of new modes of ordering in tourism is beyond current possibilities. The complicated nature of tourism, as exemplified by my conceptualization in terms of tourismscapes, defies such a planning exercise. Moreover, the political will and capacity to do so are often absent. A second strategy – changing the structure of incentives in which market forces play – is essential and should be pursued, but is problematic. Only the heavy taxation of negative externalities or the rewarding of positive externalities will have sufficient effect.

What one can also do is exercise influence, or leverage, to modulate ongoing dynamics. Therefore, a third strategy builds on the ongoing dynamics in tourismscapes in order to modulate mutually reinforcing dynamics into desirable directions. Here, the focus of attention shifts from the building of regulatory and economic incentive structures towards the development of new institutional arrangements between the state, the market and civil society in order to foster collective action. As innovations and novelties could be the seeds of transition, they might induce more long-term and fundamental changes towards sustainable tourism development. By supporting innovations and novelties and the interplay between them, one could in principle try to influence the direction and speed of a transition. Innovations and novelties may develop into windows of opportunity that create a momentum for smaller or greater leaps forward. But clearly, this process of change is non-linear: slow change is followed by rapid change when things reinforce each other, which is followed by slow change in the stabilization stage.

Debating tourism

So far the results of modulation policies have not been overwhelming. The establishment of a protected innovative space requires societal legitimacy and support, which is still largely absent. Tourism, let alone its externalities, is hardly subject to public debate. For sustainable tourism development to succeed, debate and controversies about tourism and its externalities should not be avoided or banished, but stimulated. Therefore, the question '*Are we going too far*?', which was first posed ten years ago, is still highly relevant. Indeed, the central question still is: 'Do we have to go and see everything which seems attractive and interesting to us, and at what price do we allow ourselves the space and freedom to do so?'[5]

Following this book, mountains, beaches, historical monuments, greenhouse effects, the hole in the ozone layer, the 'local' or the 'poor' are no longer the 'environment' of tourism, but are *part* of tourism unless it has refused to take responsibility for them. By stressing that tourismscapes should be seen as recursive processes, this study emphasized that tourismscapes are imperfect

by necessity; they produce externalities. Externalities are not an accidental by-product of tourism, but an effect of explicit procedures of externalization. For example, as for the time being holidays and the economic effects that go with them (even if they produce 'small margins') are obviously 'worth' much more than global warming, noise, the exclusion of the poor, child prostitution, traffic jams (and deaths) and the feelings of intrusion felt by community fractions that are encountering tourism developments, then this is not a coincidence but a result of the way tourismscapes organize and perform themselves. These modes of ordering should be subject to societal debate.

Based on examples from different parts of the world, I propose that we should continuously debate tourism, particularly in terms of its relation to spatial quality, liveability, poverty and its contribution to environmental degradation or conservation. The discussion on sustainable tourism development should incite a thorough exploration of these and other issues that are to be taken into account, and subsequently of the ways to arrange them in order. In terms of sustainability, it is precisely our task to debate the hierarchies and associations of people, technologies and environments in tourismscapes and the underlying modes of ordering in order to arrive at an acceptable situation.

But, as we have seen, tourism in particular and society in general have not yet gone on a high state of alert. Nor has tourism yet reached the state of perplexity and reflexivity needed to get a full picture of what is at stake and to decide what should be taken into account and what should be left out for the time being. Clearly, an incomplete problem definition, the perceived absence of problem ownership and market demand, the lack of societal pressure, and (at least in the Netherlands) an apathetic central government, still provide the pretext for being idle.

Only when tourism scholars execute research, tourism entrepreneurs explore their appellants just as they investigate where their markets are going, tourists worry and care, journalists and NGOs put matters on the agenda, and governments administer and follow up the process of collective learning, will we be able to first recognize and evaluate externalities, and subsequently to line the issues up in order of importance and decide whether they can be aligned with existing modes of ordering (or instead demand the replacement of existing arrangements in tourismscapes with something that might be considered a little bit better).

As long as controversies are evaded and societal debate on tourism and its consequences is absent, externalities presenting themselves as appellants will not be fully acknowledged, not thoroughly evaluated, their compatibility with existing tourismscapes and modes of ordering will never be fully scrutinized (let alone internalized), and they will never become self-evidently registered as full-fledged members of tourismscapes (see Latour, 2004). Those who perform tourism will have to get used to the existence of a still larger number of appellants (human as well as non-human) as tourism continues to grow and more and more people, buildings, landscapes, technologies, emissions and wastes are translated into tourismscapes or, conversely, exteriorized. And if the demands of the new appellants are unlike existing tourismscapes, we shall nevertheless have to become capable of sheltering them if tourism is to survive.

Notes

[1] During an international conference in April 1995, participants formulated the Charter for Sustainable Tourism (see http://www.insula.org/tourism/charte.htm), which was the first in a long line of charters to follow.

[2] See also Chapter 5. As Latour (1999) comments, actor-network theory is a theory that has often been misunderstood and hence much abused. As a consequence, the words 'actor', 'network' and 'theory' and the hyphen have increasingly become four nails in the coffin. Similarly, Callon (1999) asserts: 'In ANT, the T is too much ['de trop']. It is a gift from our colleagues.' And Law (1999a: 2) even wanted to escape the multinational monster, 'actor-network theory', not because it is 'wrong', but because labelling does not help. For the act of naming suggests 'that its centre has been fixed, pinned down, rendered definite. That it has turned into a specific strategy with an obligatory point of passage, a definitive intellectual place with an equally definite intellectual space' (ibid.: 2). In June 2005, Latour will publish *Reassembling* the Social, in which he sets out for the first time in one place his own ideas about actor-network theory.

[3] See Murdoch, 1997 and 1998; and section 6.3.2. Clearly, space is not only to be understood as a single geographical space, but also as a network space where here and there are topologically connected in a common space. See also Law and Hetherington (1999).

[4] See Latour (2004) petitioning a new politics of nature. This section is strongly inspired by this book.

[5] See also Chapter 7 and Raad voor het Natuurbeheer, 1995.

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Samenvatting

Tourismscapes,
een actor-netwerk benadering van duurzame toerisme ontwikkeling

Samenvatting

Toerisme ontstaat uit een complex samenspel van mensen en dingen. Zo is de ontwikkeling van toerisme op Texel het resultaat van een specifieke ordening van campings en hun beheerders; TESO-schepen en diegenen die bij de TESO werken; de VVV (als organisatie en kantoor) en haar folders, brochures, vouchers en website; hotels met hun bedden en personeel; restaurants met hun obers, voedsel, drank, koks en leveranciers; het Nationaal Park 'Duinen van Texel' en diegenen die natuur beschermen; het strand, de strandtenten en hun uitbaters, Texelaars en *Overkanters*; *Juttertje* en de distillateurs; musea (zoals Ecomare) en diegenen die musea toegankelijk maken en beheren; schapen, het lamsvlees, de Texelse recepten, en diegenen die Texels lamsvlees in de restaurants verkopen. Toerisme ontstaat uit een ordeningsproces, dat niet alleen mensen en organisaties omvat, maar ook objecten, technische hulpmiddelen, voorzieningen en ruimtelijke processen en alles wat verder nog nodig is.

Dit proefschrift duidt deze ordeningsprocessen in toerisme aan met de term '*tourismscapes*'. De conceptualisering van toerisme in termen van 'tourismscapes' vloeit voort uit de bestudering van toerisme vanuit actor-netwerk theorie. Actor-netwerk theorie – ook wel bekend als de 'sociologie van translatie' – heeft zijn oorsprong in de sociologie van wetenschap en technologie en is internationaal vooral bekend door studies van Michel Callon, Bruno Latour en John Law.

Actor-netwerk theorie legt de nadruk op ordenings- en structureringsprocessen in plaats van op orde en structuur. Deze processen vragen continue om nieuwe inspanningen van alle betrokken. Toerisme ontwikkelt zich met 'vallen en opstaan'. De bestudering van toerisme vanuit een actor-netwerk perspectief richt zich dan ook op de vraag hoe de werkelijkheid geconstrueerd wordt door processen van translatie; processen waarin actoren pogen anderen (mensen én dingen) voor hun karretje te spannen.

Actor-netwerk theorie is als een alternatieve manier van sociologie beoefening in Nederland onder andere doorgedrongen in (de Wageningse) rurale- en ontwikkelingssociologie. Via dit boek bereikt het nu ook de studie van toerisme. Het eerste doel van dit proefschrift is dan ook het expliciteren van de relevantie van actor-netwerk theorie voor de studie van toerisme.

Maar er is nog een andere reden om actor-netwerk theorie als uitgangspunt van dit boek te nemen; het biedt ook een perspectief op mogelijke oorzaken van duurzaamheidvraagstukken in toerisme en de richting waarin oplossingen gezocht kunnen worden. En dat is de tweede doelstelling van dit proefschrift: het analyseren van de mogelijkheden tot duurzame toerisme ontwikkeling.

Case studies

Ook dit boek is een product van een specifiek ordeningsproces. Het eerste deel bevat drie case studies. In drie achtereenvolgende hoofdstukken wordt de 'toeristische stand van zaken' op het gebied van toerisme in Texel (Nederland), Costa Rica, en dan met name Manuel Antonio/ Quepos, en in Maasai gemeenschappen in Tanzania en Kenia besproken. De drie case studies, alsmede de rol van de kunstenaar César Manrique in de ontwikkeling van toerisme op Lanzarote, illustreren de wijze waarop toerisme zich heeft ontwikkeld en de vraagstukken op het gebied van duurzame ontwikkeling die daaruit voortvloeien. De stand van zaken in deze drie hoofdstukken bevat de noodzakelijke informatie om de voorbeelden in de rest van het boek te kunnen duiden. De drie cases vormen illustratie en inspiratie voor het tweede deel, waarin actor-netwerk theorie wordt betrokken op toerisme studies.

Tourismscapes

In het tweede deel van dit boek wordt aan de hand van deze voorbeelden de betekenis van actor-netwerk theorie voor de studie van toerisme onderzocht. In de eerste plaats wordt betoogd dat de analyse van toerisme vanuit het onderscheid tussen globalisering en lokalisering, waarbij 'globale krachten' lokale processen zouden aansturen, weliswaar aanlokkelijk is, maar uiteindelijk verhullend werkt. Het onderscheid tussen het 'globale' en 'lokale', dient niet a a-priori te worden geaccepteerd, maar juist onderwerp van onderzoek te zijn. Vanuit een *topologische* zienswijze is niet zozeer de geografische afstand relevant, maar wordt de afstand, wat ver of dichtbij is, bepaald door de relaties tussen verschijnselen en de wijze waarop die relaties onderhouden worden. In die zin kan de relatieve afstand tussen een touroperator in Amsterdam en een hotelier in Manuel Antonio veel kleiner zijn dan tussen diezelfde hotelier en andere ondernemers in Manuel Antonio of San José. De vraag verschuift daarmee van of er wel sprake is van globalisering (of lokalisering) naar *hoe* globalisering ontstaat en *wat* het globale en lokale bijeenhoudt.

Het geïntroduceerde concept *tourismscapes* helpt bij het beantwoorden van deze vraag door te verwijzen naar de ordeningsprocessen waarbij mensen en organisaties, transport- en informatiesystemen systemen, voorzieningen, ('natuurlijke' en 'culturele') objecten en alle andere benodigde entiteiten aan elkaar verbonden worden om 'toerisme' te produceren. Deze verbindingen kunnen zowel over relatief grote als kleine afstanden nodig zijn.

Soms verlopen deze ordeningsprocessen min of meer 'automatisch' en 'gestandaardiseerd' en zijn ze vastgelegd in bepaalde afspraken, handelingen, procedures, materialen of objecten. Maar aan de andere kant moeten tourismscapes ook continue worden volbracht en duiken er bij de uitvoering nieuwe problemen op die om aanpassingen vragen.

In dit boek bepleit ik daarom toerisme te onderzoeken als het resultaat van materieel heterogene relaties. Stranden, bergen, natuur, gebouwen, landschappen, objecten kunnen de mogelijkheid verschaffen om te gebruiken en om van te genieten, maar uitsluitend als ze onderdeel zijn geworden van de actor-netwerken die toerisme produceren. Bovendien spelen 'dingen' ook een belangrijke rol bij het *stabiliseren* van tourismscapes. Vouchers, paspoorten, geld and credit

cards, e-mail, faxen en computerprogramma's zijn slechts een paar voorbeelden van de dingen die tourismscapes bijeenhouden en complexiteit reduceren. Niet voor niets wordt Thomas Cook, uitvinder van *intermediairs* als de hotelcoupon en reis cheques, beschouwd als de uitvinder van het moderne toerisme.

Ik stel daarom voor ons bij het onderzoeken op het gebied van toerisme te richten op het bestuderen van de wijze waarop de rolverdeling binnen tourismscapes tot stand komt, hoe tourismscapes zich stabiliseren en de methoden die worden gebruikt om mensen en dingen in te lijven. Onderzoek dient zich met andere woorden te richten op translatieprocessen en de tactieken die daarbij worden gehanteerd.

Daartoe wordt in het zesde hoofdstuk gekeken naar de '*modes of ordering*' in toerisme. Deze ordeningswijzen omvatten 'definities van de situatie', opvattingen hoe toerisme georganiseerd en geproduceerd moet worden, en daarmee samenhangende praktijken en procedures. Deze ordeningswijzen bepalen daarmee ook de relatie met andere actoren (zowel mensen als dingen) en worden tegelijkertijd door deze relaties weer beïnvloed. De interactie, de integratie en de conflicten tussen ordeningswijzen ('modes of ordering'), zowel binnen als tussen organisaties, bepalen uiteindelijk de dynamiek binnen tourismscapes.

Ter illustratie van deze zienswijze wordt in hoofdstuk 6 het werk van touroperators gekarakteriseerd als een samenspel van 'cowboys, visionairs, bureaucraten en professionals', waarmee niet zozeer vier verschillende typen personen of functies worden aangeduid, maar vier ordeningsprincipes binnen touroperators. En het specifieke samenspel van deze ordeningswijzen, net als de wijze waarop de touroperator zich verhoudt tot haar relevante omgeving (klanten, banken, leveranciers, overheden, tussenpersonen, maar ook toeristische gebieden, computerprogramma's en alle andere zaken die bij touroperating een rol spelen), bepaalt het werk en karakter van touroperators. Aan de hand van het Cultureel Toerisme Project in Tanzania (zie ook hoofdstuk 4), het werk van een lokale agent in San José (Ecole Travel) en andere ondernemers in toerisme wordt verder geïllustreerd hoe tourismscapes zich ontwikkelen en hoe daarbij processen van macht, inlijving en delegatie een rol spelen.

In het laatste hoofdstuk vat ik de actor-netwerk benadering van toerisme samen in zeven punten die een agenda voor onderzoek vormen. Ik stel daar voor:

1. Toerisme te bestuderen in termen van *tourismscapes*; complexe ordeningsprocessen waarin zowel mensen als dingen een rol spelen. Toerisme ontwikkelt zich uit de relaties tussen mensen en organisaties, technische hulpmiddelen en omgevingselementen (zoals objecten en voorzieningen) die in hun onderlinge samenhang onderzocht moeten worden;
2. Uit te gaan van een *topologische* zienswijze, waarbij we tegelijkertijd 'hier' en 'daar', wat 'ver' is en 'dichtbij' bestuderen en de ontwikkeling van toerisme in tijd en ruimte volgen, zonder daarbij bij voorbaat onderscheid te maken tussen het lokale of globale, tussen macro of micro. Er is a-priori geen reden om er van tevoren al vanuit te gaan dat 'kleine' of 'grote' touroperators op een andere wijze onderzocht moeten worden. Er is ook geen reden om er a-priori vanuit te gaan dat processen van globaliseringprocessen anders benaderd moeten worden dan processen van lokalisering, net zoals er ook geen reden is om mensen en dingen los van elkaar te onderzoeken;

3. De veelsoortige *ordeningswijzen* ('modes of ordering') op te sporen die ten grondslag liggen aan en weer beïnvloed worden door de ontwikkeling van tourismscapes. Deze ordeningswijzen impliceren niet alleen hoe toerisme gedefinieerd wordt, maar ook de praktijken, gehanteerde materialen en het ruimtegebruik. Bovendien zijn ze van invloed op de wijze waarop men zich verhoudt tot anderen en hún ordeningswijzen. Juist de specifieke wijze waarop verschillende ordeningswijzen samenvloeien of conflicteren bepaalt de wijze waarop tourismscapes zich ontwikkelen;
4. Deze processen van onderhandeling en samenwerking, de processen waarbij bepaalde actoren en praktijken zich versterken ten koste van andere, kortom, de processen van ordening en *translatie* te bestuderen en de daarbij gehanteerde *tactieken*, evenals de kwantitatieve en kwalitatieve veranderingen die daarmee gepaard gaan;
5. Bij deze processen van onderhandeling oog te hebben voor de belangrijke rol die niet alleen mensen maar ook *dingen* spelen. Bij het bestendigen van tourismscapes spelen bijvoorbeeld documenten, computerprogramma's, spreadsheets, vouchers, credit cards, de € and de $, paspoorten, gebouwen, infrastructuur en/of transportmiddelen een belangrijke rol. Zonder deze en andere dingen zou toerisme onmogelijk zijn;
6. Speciaal aandacht te besteden aan de rol die *ruimte* binnen tourismscapes speelt; tourismscapes ontwikkelen zich ruimtelijk en hebben altijd ruimtelijke consequenties. Ruimte kan zowel voorwerp van 'bezit' als 'onderhandeling' zijn. En beiden dienen onderwerp van onderzoek te zijn. Actor-netwerk analyse impliceert dus (sociaal-) ruimtelijke analyse en (sociaal-) ruimtelijke analyse is gebaat bij actor-netwerk analyse;
7. Het feitelijk of symbolisch bezit van ruimte te beschouwen als één van de mogelijke machtsmiddelen, naast bijvoorbeeld geld, relaties of kennis. In tourismscapes ontwikkelen zich *machtsrelaties*. Macht in tourismscapes is een relationeel effect, overal aanwezig, en dus het bestuderen waard.

Toerisme en duurzame ontwikkeling

Ik stel in dit boek voor toerisme nader te bestuderen met deze zeven uitgangspunten als leidraad. Dit onderzoek zou ook een bijdrage moeten leveren aan het beantwoorden van de vraag hoe toerisme verduurzaamd zou kunnen worden.

Om daarmee een begin te maken, wordt in het derde deel van het boek de relatie tussen toerisme en duurzame ontwikkeling geanalyseerd. Sinds Rio '92 heeft het debat over duurzame ontwikkeling een steeds grotere plaats binnen toerisme gekregen, onder andere door middel van een groot aantal congressen, workshops en publicaties. Onder de gemeenschappelijke noemer van 'duurzaam toerisme' spelen verschillende verhaallijnen, ondersteund door verschillende coalities van actoren, door elkaar heen. Ecotoerisme, bijvoorbeeld, wordt sterk gepromoot door de Ecotourism Society. Samen met de World Tourism Organisation (WTO) en United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) hebben zij in 2002 de World Ecotourism Summit georganiseerd als voorbereiding op de Johannnesburg conferentie van 2002. Meer recent heeft onder andere de World Tourism Organisation 'toerisme-voor-armoedebestrijding' ('pro-poor-tourism') geagendeerd, en is daarbij onder andere ondersteund door SNV Nederlandse Ontwikkelings-

organisatie. Maar ook 'verantwoord toerisme' en 'maatschappelijk verantwoord ondernemen in toerisme' kent zijn propagandisten.

In Nederland is de discussie in een stroomversnelling gekomen door het in 1995 gepresenteerde rapport '*Gaan we te ver?*' van de Raad voor Natuurbeheer. Dit verslag inspireerde de eerste debatten over duurzaam toerisme in Nederland door de principiële vraag op te werpen '*of we wel zo nodig alles moeten zien en doen wat ons zo aanlokkelijk en interessant toeschijnt en tot welke prijs daartoe ruimte en vrijheid moet worden geboden*'. Dit boek laat zien dat die vraag nog niets aan actualiteit heeft ingeboet.

Ook in dit derde deel levert actor-netwerk theorie een bijdrage aan de conceptualisering, van in dit geval duurzaam toerisme. Het feit dat in toerisme mensen en dingen, samenleving en natuur, toerisme en haar omgeving, onlosmakelijk verbonden zijn, leidt tot allerlei effecten. Aan het toerisme zijn 'kosten' verbonden die letterlijk en figuurlijk niet in de 'prijs' van de reis worden meegenomen. Deze kosten worden buiten het ordeningsproces gehouden, ofwel zijn onderhevig aan *exteriorisatie*. Reizen per auto leidt tot stank, geluidsoverlast, verkeersdoden, ruimtebeslag, opstoppingen en bereikbaarheidsproblemen, CO_2-uitstoot en klimaatverandering. Kennelijk vinden we de positieve effecten, als vrijheid en mobiliteit, belangrijker dan de negatieve. Blijkbaar ordenen we het actor-netwerk van de auto, het geheel van mensen en dingen dat het mogelijk maakt dat we kunnen autorijden, zodanig dat we 'vergeten' die kosten van dat netwerk in het netwerk op te nemen, te vertalen. Hetzelfde geldt voor vliegen. Omdat een groot deel van het transport op rekening komt van toerisme, leidt toerisme tot transport gerelateerde duurzaamheidproblemen.

Maar toerisme leidt ook tot materiële en symbolische transformaties in het landschap (een al lang bestudeerd Wagenings thema) en het leidt tot processen van insluiting en uitsluiting van mensen, groepen en regio's. Bijvoorbeeld: toeristische ontwikkeling in sub-sahara Afrika concentreert zich rond de hoofdassen op het gebied van infrastructuur en technologie (bijvoorbeeld rond Mombasa en Arusha en in Zuid Afrika), waardoor grote delen van Afrika vooralsnog zijn afgesloten en uitgesloten van toeristische ontwikkeling.

In de praktijk nemen actoren in ordeningsprocessen bepaalde zaken (door internalisatie) wél en andere (door exteriorisatie) niet mee omdat het onmogelijk is álles in de beschouwing te betrekken. Waar geen rekenschap van wordt gegeven, wordt 'tussen haakjes' geplaatst. De relatie tussen hotelier en gast, tussen touroperator en lokale agent, of tussen lokale bevolking en toerist is beperkt en ingeperkt tot datgene wat het mogelijk maakt een (economische) transactie te hebben. Er is dus altijd sprake van 'overlopen' ('overflowing'), omdat geen enkel ordeningsproces allesomvattend en sluitend kan zijn. Maar daardoor kunnen er wel gevoelens van onbehagen over toeristische ontwikkeling ontstaan, of processen van vervuiling, uitstoot, of uitsluiting optreden. Via resultaten van wetenschappelijk onderzoek, actiegroepen, politici of anderen worden deze zaken vervolgens geagendeerd en worden zij die (mede-)verantwoordelijk zijn verzocht om hiermee bij het verder ontwikkelen van toerisme rekening te houden. Vanzelfsprekend stuiten deze verzoeken op bezwaren: "*we kunnen niet overal rekening mee houden*", "*wees realistisch, we moeten reizen verkopen*!". Maar is het wel zo 'verstandig' realistisch te zijn en alles bij het oude te laten? Als we te snel oordelen en de mogelijke alternatieven niet eens onder ogen willen zien en niet op

hun merites willen beoordelen, is de kans levensgroot aanwezig dat we op termijn de rekening gepresenteerd krijgen. Maar zelfs in het geval dat we wel rekening willen houden met bepaalde consequenties van ons ordeningsproces, is er een lange weg te gaan. Bijvoorbeeld: internalisatie van klimaateffecten door het vervangen van vliegen door treinreizen per hogesnelheidstrein, leidt weer tot nieuwe ordeningsopgaven. Op het moment dat bepaalde problemen worden opgelost duiken weer nieuwe problemen op.

Analytisch gezien spelen in deze discussies twee typen problemen een rol, respectievelijk in dit boek aangeduid als problemen op het gebied van 'duurzaam toerisme' en 'duurzame toerisme ontwikkeling'. Enerzijds zijn er problemen die het voortbestaan van toerisme zelf bedreigen (criminaliteit en vandalisme, drukte, overbelasting, vervuiling, lawaai), effecten die bijvoorbeeld op Texel en in Manuel Antonio (Costa Rica) tot de nodige gesprekstof leiden. Anderzijds zijn er problemen die vooral te maken hebben met de relatie tussen toerisme en duurzame ontwikkeling in het algemeen. Hetzij het ontbreken van een (voldoende) bijdrage van toerisme aan duurzame ontwikkeling (bijvoorbeeld in het geval van armoedebestrijding of natuurbehoud), anderzijds door de bijdrage van met name toeristisch transport aan luchtverontreining en klimaatsverandering. Ook de culturele en ruimtelijk inpassing van toerisme leidt tot conflicten, die bijvoorbeeld op Texel en Manuel Antonio geduid worden in termen van aantasting van de 'leefbaarheid'.

De toeristische bedrijfstak maakt zich tot nu toe vooral zorgen om het eerste type problemen en probeert door middel van innovaties, incrementele veranderingen, een antwoord op deze problemen te geven. In termen van actor-netwerk theorie betekenen deze innovaties andere en nieuwe wijze van ordenen van de relatie tussen mensen en organisaties, technologische hulpmiddelen en omgevingsfactoren. Het tweede type problemen vraagt over het algemeen om nog ingrijpender maatregelen, ook wel aangeduid als noviteiten.

Maar in beide gevallen liggen de oplossingen meestal niet voor het grijpen, gezien de complexiteit van toeristische actor-netwerken. Een eerste stap is daarom een analyse van huidige praktijken op het gebied van toerisme en van pogingen om toerisme te verduurzamen. Immers de huidige ordeningswijzen in toerisme zijn niet de enig mogelijke; er zijn alternatieven. De ordening kán ook anders zijn. Als we zoeken naar innovaties die ervoor zorgen dat toerisme duurzaam toerisme wordt of zelfs bijdraagt aan duurzame ontwikkeling, gaat het om een andere wijze van ordenen van de werkelijkheid die bestaat uit mensen en dingen.

In hoofdstuk 8 wordt daarom een recente innovatie in de reiswereld geanalyseerd: de introductie door de Vereniging van ANVR Reisorganisatoren (VRO) van product- en milieuzorg (PMZ) voor touroperators. De analyse van vier 'translatiefasen' laat zien dat de introductie een lang en gecompliceerd proces is geweest dat tot nu toe vooral heeft geleid tot meer bewustwording en informatieve maatregelen richting consument. Als innovatie in duurzaam toerisme is PMZ in zoverre effectief dat nu alle bij de ANVR aangesloten touroperators een milieubeleidsverklaring en een milieuprogramma hebben geformuleerd, een PMZ-coördinator hebben benoemd, verklaard hebben geen onverantwoorde reisproducten aan te bieden en de kontakten met een aantal niet-gouvernementele organisaties (zoals NC-IUCN, ECPAT en WNF) versterkt zijn. Het verplichte karakter van PMZ is daarbij doorslaggevend geweest. Behalve de 'koplopers' zijn de meeste touroperators echter nog 'sceptisch'. Opvallend is dat de mate van betrokkenheid

van de touroperators niet samenhangt met het type product dat wordt aangeboden. De organisatiecultuur van het bedrijf is waarschijnlijk meer van invloed.

Met andere woorden, de ordeningswijzen (*modes of ordering*) van in dit geval touroperators zijn een belangrijke factor bij het al dan niet volledig implementeren van PMZ. De sterke nadruk op 'prijs en volume' en de 'smalle marges' in de bedrijfstak vormen voor velen een belemmering en legitimatie om 'dingen anders te doen'. Ook voelt men zich maar zeer ten dele probleemeigenaar.

Meer radicale innovaties, ook wel aangeduid als noviteiten, in toerisme zijn schaars. Het werk van de Stichting Duurzaam Texel laat bijvoorbeeld zien dat aan iedere innovatie uitgebreide onderhandelingsprocessen ten grondslag liggen en dus van meer radicale veranderingen niet gauw sprake kan zijn. Bovendien tonen ook de andere voorbeelden aan dat continue (financiële) ondersteuning van het vernieuwingsproces noodzakelijk is, innovaties veel tijd kosten en zeer gebaat zijn bij een 'aanjager' met een zekere reputatie én een uitgebreid netwerk.

Transities in toerisme, fundamentele veranderingen over een periode van 20 tot 50 jaar, waarbij technologische, sociaal-culturele, economische en institutionele veranderingen elkaar versterken, zijn dan ook een brug te ver. Daarvoor ontbreken onder andere de benodigde probleemdefinities, kennisinfrastructuur, maatschappelijke druk, marktvraag en -omstandigheden en een faciliterende overheid.

Echter, innovaties en vooral noviteiten, kunnen een belangrijke bron voor meer fundamentele veranderingen zijn. Daarom dienen ze gekoesterd te worden. De realiteit is veelal anders; ze leiden vaak een moeizaam bestaan, worden slechts tijdelijk (financieel of politiek) ondersteund en krijgen geen tijd om te rijpen.

Omdat het afdwingen van nieuwe ordeningswijzen in toerisme van 'bovenaf', alleen al vanwege de complexiteit van tourismscapes, vrijwel onmogelijk is, en het introduceren van dwingende maatregelen in de vorm van bijvoorbeeld (milieu-)heffingen op vliegtickets en kerosine kennelijk nog steeds politiek en maatschappelijk onhaalbaar zijn, wordt gepleit om dan tenminste bestaande dynamiek in de richting van 'duurzaam toerisme' en 'duurzame toerisme ontwikkeling' krachtig te ondersteunen. Het verder bestuderen van tourismscapes en de daaraan ten grondslag liggende ordeningswijzen en de voorwaarden voor het slagen en falen van innovaties en noviteiten, is daarvoor een belangrijke voorwaarde, evenals een voortdurend debat over de rol en plaats van toerisme in een duurzame samenleving.

About the author

René van der Duim was born in Hulshorst, a small village in the middle of the Netherlands, in December 1953. He completed his secondary school education (HBS-b) in 1972 and went on to study tourism at the NHTV Breda University for Professional Education. He graduated in 1975 and continued his study at the University of Tilburg. In 1981, he was awarded his *doctorandus* (the Dutch equivalent of a Master's) in Sociology.

During and after his studies he worked at the NHTV Breda University for Professional Education as a lecturer in leisure and tourism studies and in sociology. In 1985 he accepted a position as staff member at the Foundation for Outdoor Recreation (*Stichting Recreatie*), in The Hague. Since 1991 he has lectured and executed research projects at the Department of Socio-spatial Analysis of Wageningen University. Between 1994 and 1998 he also lectured at the Department of Leisure Studies of Tilburg University.

In the period 1995-2004, he coordinated a project with the Department of Tourism of Moi University (Kenya) in the framework of Nuffic's MHO (*Medefinanciering Hoger Onderwijs*) programme. He also executed various projects within the Sustainable Development Agreement between the Netherlands and Costa Rica.

René van der Duim's research focuses on the relation between tourism and sustainable development. He has published his results in professional and scientific journals (e.g. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *Annals of Tourism Research* and *Vrijetijdstudies*) and has presented intermediate results at several conferences and workshops.