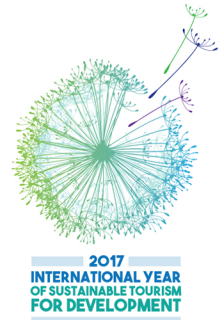# Linking Urban and Rural Tourism

Strategies in Sustainability

Edited by Susan L. Slocum and Carol Kline

CABI

LINKING URBAN AND RURAL TOURISM

Strategies in Sustainability

LINKING URBAN AND RURAL TOURISM

Strategies in Sustainability

Edited by

Susan L. Slocum

Tourism and Event Management
George Mason University
Virginia, USA

and

Carol Kline

Walker College of Business
Appalachian State University
North Carolina, USA

CABI

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library, London, UK.

Contents

List of Contributors

Karla Boluk, PhD is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies in the Faculty of Applied Health Sciences at the University of Waterloo. Karla's research programme explores ways to sustainably engage and empower communities, effectively positioning tourism as a mechanism for the creation of positive change. Specifically, Dr Boluk's research explores the social responsibility of hospitality and tourism businesses and individuals who work within them.

Roslynn Brain is an Assistant Professor, Sustainable Communities Extension Specialist in the Department of Environment and Society, College of Natural Resources at Utah State University. She uses conservation theory, communication techniques and social marketing tools to foster environmental behaviours. She teaches an undergraduate course entitled Communicating Sustainability, helps coordinate a state-wide programme to connect farmers with restaurants, facilitates and teaches permaculture workshops for adults, and designed and co-teaches sustainability camps for kids nationwide.

Kelly S. Bricker is a Professor and Director of Parks, Recreation and Tourism at the University of Utah. She completed her PhD research with the Pennsylvania State University, where she specialized in sustainable tourism and natural resource management. She has special research and teaching interests in ecotourism, sense of place, natural resource management, and the environmental and social impacts of tourism. Kelly has conducted research on heritage tourism, social impacts of tourism and natural resource-related tourism environments, winter recreation, certification, and outdoor recreation use and impacts. With her husband Nathan, she developed an ecotourism operation called Rivers Fiji. She serves as the Chair of the International Ecotourism Society, and Vice Chair of the Global Sustainable Tourism Council.

Christina T. Cavaliere is an environmental social scientist and international sustainable development specialist focused on linking tourism and bio-cultural conservation. She currently serves as an Assistant Professor within the programmes of Hospitality and Tourism Management and Sustainability at Stockton University. Her research interests include tourism and climate change, local economies, sustainable agriculture and ecogastronomy, permaculture, agritourism and community re-development. She has designed and implemented numerous international field trainings, conservation and research projects and has published in several A-ranked journals.

Dana Clark is a Professor and Programme Director for the Hospitality and Tourism Management programme in the Department of Management at the John A. Walker College of Business at Appalachian State University in Boone, North Carolina. Clark holds a BA and MBA from the University of Georgia and a PhD from the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. He has worked on dozens of consulting projects and publishes in the areas of organizational marketing and strategic planning for hospitality organizations. He is also the former Vice President of Convention Development for the Charlotte, North Carolina, Convention and Visitors Bureau.

Kynda R. Curtis is Professor and Extension Economist in the Department of Applied Economics at Utah State University. Her research interests include international agriculture/food marketing, consumer economics and industrial organization. In her Extension appointment she works with agricultural producers to assist them in developing new markets for their products and assessing the feasibility of new food and agricultural products and value-added processes.

John D. Delconte is a doctoral student in the Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. He conducts place-based qualitative and quantitative research. His research interests include creative placemaking, spiritual and cultural tourism and community revitalization.

Lauren Duffy is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management at Clemson University, receiving her PhD in leisure behaviour from Indiana University Bloomington. Her research emphasis is related to power, ideology and tourism, gender and tourism, sustainable tourism planning and development, and social/environmental justice issues in tourism. She has been involved with research projects in Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador and the Dominican Republic, as well working with various counties across North Carolina to develop rural tourism.

Marika Gon is a Phd student enrolled in a European doctoral programme in management and tourism. After ten years working in the industry, she is currently developing her research and Phd thesis in cotutele between two European Universities: Università degli Studi di Udine (Italy) and Katholische Universität Eichstätt Ingolstadt (Germany). Her research interests focus on tourism management, community based

tourism, host and guest interaction, rural and urban linkages and sustainable tourism development.

Andrew Holden is Professor of environment and tourism and the recent Director of the Institute for Tourism Research (INTOUR) at the University of Bedfordshire, UK. He is a Fellow of the UK's Royal Geographical Society and Royal Society of Arts. His research focuses on the interaction between human behaviour and the natural environment within the context of tourism. He has written several academic texts including *Environment and Tourism*, *Tourism, Poverty and Development* and *Tourism and the Social Sciences*, all published by Routledge.

Gyunghoon Kim is a PhD student at Clemson University in the Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management. He holds a Bachelor's and Master's degree in public administration from South Korea. His research interests are related to tourism policy and governance, the partnership between the government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), sustainable tourism development and the host–guest relationship.

Carol Kline is an Associate Professor of hospitality and tourism management at Appalachian State University in the Department of Management. Her research interests focus broadly on tourism planning and development and tourism sustainability, but cover a range of topics such as foodie segmentation, craft beverages, agritourism, wildlife-based tourism, animal ethics in tourism, tourism entrepreneurship, niche tourism markets and tourism impacts to communities.

Chantell LaPan is Adjunct Assistant Professor in the Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management at North Carolina State University. She received her PhD in parks, recreation and tourism management from North Carolina State University. Her research focuses on poverty alleviation and well-being through tourism development, with a focus on micro-entrepreneurship and issues of social justice including gender, indigenous rights and equity.

Dominic Lapointe is Assistant Professor in the Department of Urban and Tourism Studies at the University of Quebec in Montreal. He holds a doctoral degree in regional development. His research addresses development and environment issues with the use of critical theory, especially in the fields of tourism, conservation, environment and climate change.

Katherine Lupton is a doctoral researcher at the University of Bedfordshire analysing the link between tourism experiences and environmentally sustainable lifestyles. Her fieldwork is based in the New Forest National Park in England.

Leah Greden Mathews is an Applied Environmental Economist at the University of North Carolina, Ashville. Her research focuses on estimating the value of those things you can't buy on grocery store shelves like water quality, scenic quality and cultural heritage. Dr Mathews is a

founding member of the Food for Thought cluster at the University of North Carolina Asheville, a multidisciplinary faculty group teaching courses across campus that focus on developing the students as informed consumers of food by providing a platform for discussion of what we eat, why we eat, where our food comes from and its journey from production to consumption, and how food affects our bodies and health.

Robert Maitland is Emeritus Professor of City Tourism at the University of Westminster, London. An urban economist, he read economics at the University of Cambridge before becoming a city planner, and his work has long focused on how tourism shapes cities and cities shape tourism. Current research centres on tourism and everyday life, tourism off the beaten track in world tourism cities, tourism in national capitals, and social tourism. He is past Chair of the Association for Tourism in Higher Education, Founding Chair of the ATLAS City Tourism Research Group, and recently led an ESRC funded International Seminar Series on *Social Tourism and Regeneration*. Recent books include *World Tourism Cities, Tourism, National Capitals* and *Global Change and Social Tourism: Perspectives and Potential.*

Acha-Anyi Paul Nkemngu was born in Fontem in Cameroon and holds a PhD degree in tourism management from the University of the North-West (Potchefstroom Campus) in South Africa and a Master's degree in international leisure and tourism studies (MAILTS) from London Metropolitan University in the UK. He has been Lecturer in tourism development and economics of tourism since 2004 at Tshwane University of Technology in Pretoria, South Africa. Acha-Anyi is the Founder of Achas University Institute of Tourism and Business Management in Buea, Cameroon, and a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Hospitality Management and Tourism.*

Christopher Proctor is a recent college graduate from Waldorf, Maryland, and provides special project support to Rural Business-Cooperative Service. He earned a BA in political science from Salisbury University in 2014 with minors in economics and international studies. His work primarily consists of community economic development and local and regional food system development with a focus on high poverty in rural communities.

Susan L. Slocum is an Assistant Professor at George Mason University and specializes in sustainable economic development through tourism and policy implementation at the regional and national level. Working with communities to enhance backward linkages between tourism and traditional industries, Dr Slocum has worked with rural communities in the USA, the UK and with indigenous populations in emerging tourism destinations in Tanzania. In particular, she is interested in balancing policy development and integration to provide a more bottom-up form of planning within tourism destinations and has approached sustainable tourism from a contemporary view which includes the addition of institutional reform and social justice.

Alexis Solano is an Agricultural Economist with Rural Business-Cooperative Service, a service within the United States Department of Agriculture. She is from Newark, Delaware, and earned both a BA in economics (2004) and an MSc in agricultural and resource economics (2008) from the University of Delaware. In 2012 she earned a PhD in Food and Resource Economics from the University of Florida. The focus of her research was initially agricultural marketing; however, this focus has expanded to include rural producer survivability. Her work examines the survivability of grant recipients and cooperatives.

Introduction

KELLY S. BRICKER

In June 2012, the world came together and attended the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development – or Rio+20 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. This meeting resulted in an outcome document focused on measures for implementing sustainable development, as well as the initiation of a process to develop a set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to build upon the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), post-2015. With the SDGs now in place, work has begun on specific strategies and implementation tactics that deliver more than rhetoric, theories and political agenda. There is no doubt countless examples exist of what has worked in implementing sustainable tourism and what has not.

Often, we fail to pay attention to the past, which can significantly inform our future. All too often, as academics, planners, natural resource managers, tourism bureaus, state and local planners, we find ourselves in silos, separating not only our immediate scope of work from that of our community but also 'humankind' from the environment, hence limiting the view of possibilities. Granted, it makes daily professional work something we can manage, and thus complete the objectives set before us. Frequently, the divisions we create extend into the world so that we no longer recognize the necessary interconnections of our planet, regions and local communities. Instead of fostering an integrated systems approach, which honours the way things work, we create an assembly line approach, piecing together ideas in hopes of a positive outcome.

This text supports the opportunity to explore connections between communities and the networks built within them and move beyond the silo approach. A systems approach is taking us in this direction. As Walker and Scott have stated, 'the ruling paradigm – that we can optimize components of a system in isolation of the rest of the system – is proving inadequate to deal with the dynamic complexity the real world. Sustainable solutions to our growing resource problems need to look beyond a business

as usual approach' (Walker and Salt, 2012, p. 8). Indeed, the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) has recognized this, conveying that sustainable tourism is:

> Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment, and host communities. (UNWTO, n.d., p. 1)

The commitment put forward by the SDGs called for the international community to rally around an expanded vision of poverty reduction and pro-poor growth that situates human development at the centre of social and economic progress. It also recognized the critical role biodiversity conservation plays in supporting these concepts, particularly the dependence of the poor on natural resources. Hence, 'local economic effects of tourism are determined by the share of tourism spending in the local economy as well as the amount of the resulting indirect economic activities' (UNWTO, n.d., p. 1).

Research has demonstrated that 'increasing the involvement of local communities, especially the poor, in the tourism value chain can contribute to the development of enhanced local economies', leading to poverty reduction and economic and social resiliency (United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), 2011, p. 418). The degree to which tourism benefits communities and poverty alleviation primarily depends on the level of locally owned and supplied tourism, which is an important focus of this book (UNEP, 2011). There is also increasing evidence that more sustainable tourism in rural areas can lead to more positive poverty-reducing effects. For example, the tourist industry provides a 'vast number of jobs to workers with little or no formal training; it can provide opportunities for those facing social and skills disadvantages in a way not always offered by other industries' (International Labour Organization (ILO), n.d., p. 1). According to the ILO and many others, 'tourism's value chain and its significant connections to other sectors such as agriculture, construction, utilities and transport can contribute to poverty reduction' (ILO, 2013, p. i). Concerning the supply chain in tourism, one job in the core tourism industry indirectly generates 1.5 additional jobs in the related economy (ILO, 2013).

Collaboration and partnerships will be key to the tourism sector driving a global response to climate change, yet it starts at the local level – establishing partnerships, infrastructure and relationships that can support locally sourced tourism products, be it food, art, culture, is a step in a positive direction. This includes many ideas such as the development of financial systems, cooperation with the private sector, including the benefits of new technologies, and the nexus between rural and urban areas.

As demonstrated in this text through case studies and literature, partnership opportunities exist through many mechanisms such as direct community-based tourism development, stimulating small business for long-term partners and buying from a community-based tourism organization or local tour operator. This book addresses three critical thematic

areas: rural–urban linkages, fringe tourism, and culminating with strategies for sustainable tourism – each inclusive of case studies and literature that assist the reader towards an understanding of complex yet real-world endeavours which help us garner new insights into innovative solutions and move towards realistic action on the SDGs in coming years.

Rural–Urban Linkages

In Chapter 1, Marika Gon explores research on the linkages between rural and urban communities, adding to our understanding of the gaps within tourism studies and the tremendous potential for joint product and promotion development. This chapter explores the mutual benefits that arise from qualities within the rural to urban contexts. It also demonstrates increasing interest, yet lack of substantial 'academic production', in this area, which opens opportunities for diverse and multidisciplinary lines of research in the future.

Andrew Holden and Katherine Lupton (Chapter 2) address the value in reconnecting people to nature and environments of rural areas. They reiterate the important aspects of this unity and documented benefits associated with community and connection to nature. They raise the 'how' question to elevate the critical importance of these relationships and the importance of integrating diverse and creative venues for achieving positive outcomes. Through a review of research on creating deeper relationships, place attachment and meaningful experiences, this chapter highlights critical questions of where people meet landscapes and tourism's role in facilitating greater connections.

While stakeholder involvement has become a necessity within the world of sustainable tourism and community development, Lauren Duffy (Chapter 3) reviews the critical literature and theoretical implications, focusing on power and relationships. As we have seen in numerous cases around the world, breaking down what works and why engaging stakeholders, as well as associated challenges, is critical to the success of sustainable tourism planning and development. Lauren's review concludes with recommendations to enhance the diversity of voices and empowerment, useful for planners, researchers and students interested in creating impressive levels of involvement and equality.

Christina T. Cavaliere (Chapter 4) explores the relationship of foodscapes and their experiential connections to the life and world around us, specifically climate and sustainability-related issues. This section connects the systems of the visual and experiential attributes of the tourist experience. Bending our view of food and the experiences it provides, Christina offers an approach to expanding our connection in ways that re-introduce the traveller to their engagement with biological and sociological processes. She raises important questions about connecting foodscapes to concerns and knowledge on climate change and sustainability.

Fringe Tourism

Robert Maitland (Chapter 5) begins this section of the book with a thought-provoking look at the spaces between the urban to rural spectrum. His chapter asks us to consider the off-the-beaten-track areas that explorer type tourists have sought within inner cities and navigate these concepts to a new area of research on suburbs. Robert notes the lack of investigation and calls for an approach to learning from inner city examples while also identifying the growth of tourism in areas surrounding urban locales. He argues that suburbia may become increasingly attractive to visitors, offering a 'real' experience, the search for the authentic or that opportunity to experience 'everyday life' within a destination – adding a new unexplored area of research potential to tourism and social science studies.

Susan L. Slocum and Kynda R. Curtis (Chapter 6) build upon some of the questions raised in Chapter 5 through an exploration into farm shops as a form of suburban tourism development. They highlight the usefulness of creative exploration interests which are congruent with the explosion of creative food and beverage industries. Their chapter begins by linking the search for the 'authentic' and experiential opportunities to venues within suburban areas. This section highlights the uniqueness of suburban areas and opportunities to support local development within them and the rural areas they connect. The point, specifically, is that farm shops are an excellent example of supporting 'local' attributes and the people connected to them, which highlights the importance of local within a destination's tapestry of opportunities. This acknowledgment may assist planners and developers in understanding the diversity of landscapes supporting a larger field of stakeholders, stemming from the inner city to rural landscapes – increasing innovation and enhancing community and tourism experiences.

Carol Kline, Lauren Duffy and Dana Clark (Chapter 7) argue the rural–urban divide may not be a relevant construct. They present a challenge to explore and recognize the role of tourism in creating layered identities in communities where not only tourists are influenced, but also those interested in relocating to these communities. Their findings suggest the views of residents and non-residents have implications for marketing and educational programmes and what they have termed 'interventions'. Their findings shed light on potential conflicts that arise, influences on garnering support for tourism growth and development, as well as varying opinions on important attributes in and surrounding rural communities and the fringe regions. The results also highlight important strategic directions as tourism and communities continue to grow.

Strategies in Sustainability

Acha-Anyi Paul Nkemngu (Chapter 8) emphasizes the diversity of tourist attractions through a unique case study from South Africa. His findings support the creation of unique co-branding partnerships as critical to

the sustainability of the destination. The results of his study also suggest the importance of complementary activities and sites to enhance and strengthen the rural to urban continuum of a destination. For destinations highlighted in this chapter, there is growing evidence of the value of an urban–rural tourism mix which strengthens the tourism product and potentially the economic impact.

Chantell LaPan (Chapter 9) introduces the importance of domestic tourism and growth in developing countries. Chantell highlights the lack of government planning associated with this increase, as well as the need for understanding the impacts related to domestic versus international tourism. Utilizing a case from Guatemala, she uncovers distinctions within local tourism and residents, which are influenced by cultural divisions and history. The results of this chapter suggest complexities often taken for granted in marketing materials, cultural distinctions, tourism ownership (local versus international), and cultural exploitation and social justice issues. Through the literature and this case study, Chantell can identify potential solutions, which harken back to principles of sustainability challenges about history, cultural nuances and infrastructure.

John Delconte (Chapter 10) communicates the relationships between the power of art to enhance economical and sustainable community development in urban–rural fringe America. His study contributes to understanding the relationship of the arts to poverty. The results of his study suggest that the arts can play a role in distressed communities, organizationally and in the future. This important chapter adds to the discourse surrounding cultural revitalization and the complex links to sustainable development. As John eloquently describes, 'a participatory artistic culture is intertwined with the social fabric of communities … having an active arts scene with opportunities for participation and other means of expressing local culture nurtures a blossoming of unique physical, social and economic characteristics that feed into one another to create healthy communities in both urban and rural places'.

Dominic Lapointe (Chapter 11) moves us into the realm of theme parks, often located on the fringe of urban and rural spaces. Through a case study of a theme park in Quebec, Canada, Dominic relays an interesting narrative from three perspectives: urban planning versus rural space, separation versus dependence and imagery versus local territorial descriptions. Dominic summarizes that while theme parks create an attraction, with flows of visitors, they do not necessarily create a destination – with sustainability challenges such as infrastructure, services and a disconnect between the expectations of two different environments (i.e. high density, built environment versus a pastoral rural landscape). He also emphasizes the need for more research into the contextual interactions of theme parks with host communities.

Alexis Solano and Christopher Proctor (Chapter 12) explore a model from San Francisco, Napa Valley, which mixes the urban with the rural through wine tourism, and look at the applicability of this model to another region in the state of Pennsylvania. They explore several facets of comparison, the various relationships built between these two areas and tourism demand to see if they apply to the Philadelphia area and

surrounding communities. This case presents a critical aspect of under-standing the potential for sustainable tourism development by exploring key components of successful tourism partnerships and destination linkages.

Leah Greden Mathews (Chapter 13) examines a case from western North Carolina, presenting a 'snapshot of a dynamic system' about farm and food tourism and the potential linkages between urban and rural areas. She reiterates the importance of multivariate connections for both product and flows of people. This case emphasizes the unique complexities of sustainable destinations. The chapter delves into the success intricacies of the rural–urban nexus or continuum. It also demonstrates the importance of multi-diverse stakeholder groups representing diverse interests and the importance of creating a sense of place or, as they identified, staying true to their roots – while being innovative and dynamic, capitalizing on trends. From a sustainability perspective, she also demonstrates: farm and food tourism's resiliency during economic swings, and increased relevance to various seasons throughout the year, minimizing fluctuations; landscape, cultural and environmental benefits (with small and medium farms); and the spillover impacts of aesthetic qualities and protected landscapes.

Kynda R. Curtis and Roslynn Brain (Chapter 14) explore the rural–urban linkage through a farm-chef-fork lens in Utah. From a sustainability perspective, they highlight the impact of local food sourcing in generating economic development, fostering public health outcomes, and the promotion of environmental sustainability through the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions and other benefits. They highlight the benefits of farm to restaurant programmes around the United States and introduce the aims of the Utah programme. Kynda and Roslynn relay the significant positive impact of this programme, highlighting increased rural–urban linkages, improved tourist experiences and the spin-off effect, which has promoted increases in locally sourced foods over the past five years.

Karla Boluk (Chapter 15) presents a section focused on some of the practices and initiatives incorporating sustainable value into an international hotel chain, Fairmont Hotels & Resorts (FHR). She explores research related to the integrated rural tourism systems approach and the interaction of a corporate sustainability and community impact. The case study presented demonstrates the potential value of corporate partnerships, and the unique balance between corporate structures and local communities where they operate to achieve sustainability goals. It also explains how corporate sustainability objectives integrate into product and service enhancements at local levels.

References

International Labour Organization (ILO) (2013) *Toolkit on Poverty Reduction through Tourism*, 2nd edn. International Labour Office, Geneva, Switzerland.
International Labour Organization (ILO) (n.d.) Reducing Poverty through Tourism (Questions & Answers) (n.d.) Available at: http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/features/WCMS_154943/lang--en/index.htm (accessed 17 July 2016).

United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) (2011) Towards a Green Economy: Pathways to Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction. Available at: http://web.unep.org/greeneconomy/sites/unep.org.greeneconomy/files/field/image/green_economyreport_final_dec2011.pdf (accessed 17 July 2016).

United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) (n.d.) Sustainable Tourism. Available at: http://sdt.unwto.org/content/about-us-5 (accessed 17 July 2016).

Walker, B. and Salt, D. (2012) *Resilience Thinking: Sustaining Ecosystems and People in a Changing World.* Island Press, Washington, DC.

Part I   Urban Rural Linkages

1 Discussing Rural–Urban Tourism: A Review of the Literature

Marika Gon*

Università degli Studi di Udine, Italy and Katholische Universität Eichstätt Ingolstadt, Germany

Introduction

Relations between urban and rural areas have a long tradition in academic research (Tacoli, 1998). Evidence confirms that urban–rural interdependencies have been influenced by opposite positions of anti-urban and pro-urban approaches (Davoudi and Stead, 2002). After many years of binary divide between rural and urban areas, the past two decades have witnessed unprecedented urban–rural connections (Potter and Unwin, 1995). The debate about urban–rural linkages has gained fresh prominence, with many authors arguing that both urban and rural places benefit from interlinked relationships and that urban–rural cooperation provides solutions to socio-economic and environmental problems in a more sustainable perspective (Tacoli, 1998; Beesley, 2010). This literature has been echoed by international institutions, governments and research centres, which called for stronger rural and urban relations, integrated policies and inclusive governance to support sustainable development, competitiveness in both rural and urban areas (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2013) and address poverty reduction (Global Monitoring Report, 2013) and world inequalities (World Bank, 2006). Furthermore, the use of new terms, such as urbrural, rurbance, rurbanity and re-urbanity, together with the experiences of 'urbanizing the rural and ruralizing the urban' like city farms and farmers' markets, confirm the need for further research in supporting unconventional planning and management approaches.

---

* E-mail: marikagon@hotmail.com

In agreement with the historical tendency of the debate, rural tourism and urban tourism have developed independently from each other, within the broader tourism literature. The attempt to link rural and urban tourism has registered limited consensus among scholars. However, people travel to different places all the time, moving to and across rural, urban and fringe areas. The flow of visitors affects urban–rural interactions in terms of the transfer of income, exchange of experiences, knowledge and cultural values (Van Leeuwen, 2015). The studies that can be found in the literature discuss urban–rural and tourism relations according to three different perspectives: tourism literature; geography–spatial analysis studies; and social sciences and development. Tourism literature focuses mainly on the comparison of tourism related issues within urban and rural contexts, investigating differences, similarities and implications. Geographers pay attention to urban–rural spaces and, together with tourism geographers, study particular forms of tourism that take place in the fringe, exurbs and urban–rural continuum. Multidisciplinary approaches rooted in social sciences, regional development and environmental planning address tourism, and related issues, as a specific type of urban–rural linkage. According to Weaver (2005), on one side, urban–rural relations and places have been studied by social sciences, geography, development and environmental disciplines with little attention paid to tourism topics and, on the other side, tourism literature has produced limited research in urban–rural interconnection and spaces.

The present chapter aims to provide an overview of the most relevant publications discussing the urban–rural and tourism relationship by combining the benefits of both traditional and systematic reviews of the literature published in the past 40 years. This contribution will, first, investigate the existing academic contributions that focus on tourism and rural–urban; and second, present and organize the results, highlighting gaps and addressing further research development, thus contributing to the academic debate.

It is important to make clear that the order of the words ‘urban–rural’ or ‘rural–urban’ employed in this chapter is not intended to have any significance in terms of relevance, dominance or supremacy of one area over the other (Copus, 2013).

Urban–Rural Relations and Tourism in the Literature

Although urbanization, industrialization and agriculture still compete for land use, people, employment and natural resources, urban and rural economies are mutually interconnected and depend on each other (Bulderberga, 2011). The boundaries between concrete urban centres and extreme rural places have become blurred, in favour of a larger continuum and stronger interdependencies (Irwin *et al.*, 2010). Some authors clearly state that the urban–rural dichotomy of past times no longer exists (Schaeffer *et al.*, 2012). Scholars agree that both urban and rural places

benefit from urban–rural relationships (Van Leeuwen, 2015), cities and countryside are interlinked parts of regional and national economy, and that an urban–rural approach provides solutions to address common socio-economic and environmental problems in a more sustainable perspective (Tacoli, 1998). However, to date, there is a limited body of academic research focusing on urban–rural linkages (Caffyn and Dahlström, 2005) and rural and urban relationships have been discussed mainly by economics, geography, social sciences and development studies (Davoudi and Stead, 2002).

Studies on urban–rural interactions have recognized the complexity and multidimensionality of this concept. Urban–rural linkages imply both an understanding of places (i.e. boundaries, locations of urban, rural and urban–rural spaces) and type of connections (i.e. flows, networks, visible, invisible) (Kūle, 2014). More recently, the literature has referred to urban–rural relations in terms of structural relations and functional relations (Zonneveld and Stead, 2007). On the one hand structural relations emerge by the 'way the physical environment is constituted and shaped' (Zonneveld and Stead, 2007, p. 422) and they focus on land and resource availability within urban, rural and urban–rural spaces, such as fringe, exurbs, peripheries, suburbs and urban–rural continuums. On the other hand, functional relations refer mainly to physical and socio-economic connections, visible and invisible flows of people, capital and financial transfers, movements of goods, natural resources, information and technology, administrative and service provision that move backward and forward between rural and urban areas (Preston, 1975). Funnell (1988) underlined the need to understand the social political and economic conditions that create the urban–rural interactions.

While there are studies on specific types of linkages between rural and urban areas, such as employment, commuting, land use and migration, there are few academic theories on urban–rural relationships (Zonneveld and Stead, 2007) and there seems to be a general lack of clarity about the nature of these interactions (Caffyn and Dahlstrom, 2005). Furthermore, the debate is complicated by the variety of definitions on rural and urban areas used in the different geographical areas of the world (Davoudi and Stead, 2002). The contributions, listed below, present an international overview of the main theoretical perspectives, empirical realities and political positions over the past 20 years of urban–rural relations debate. Potter and Unwin published in 1995 one of the first works on urban–rural interactions in the developing world, followed by Tacoli, in 1998, who introduced a guide to the literature of rural–urban interaction in Africa, Asia and South America.

Davoudi and Stead (2002) presented an introduction and brief history of urban–rural relationships, with a focus on British and European contexts. The urban–rural dynamics in Europe have received growing analytical and political attention since the year 2000, within spatial strategies and territorial development plans. Several programmes, policy documents and funding projects (e.g. ESDP, SPESP, ESPON, INTEREG,

Territorial Agenda and RURBAN) were developed to promote cooperation between urban and rural places, as a means to achieve social, political and economic integration and cohesion among the European countries. Zonneveld and Stead (2007), together with Copus (2013), portrayed the evolution, over the past 25 years, of urban–rural relationships within European policy, arguing the difference between urban–rural relationships (related to functional linkages) and urban–rural partnerships (the policy dimension of these relationships) (OECD, 2013).

Lin (2001) and Li (2011) published two contributions on urban–rural interaction in China, presenting a literature review, historical scenario and case studies within the Chinese context. Although discussing different geographical, historical, cultural, socio-economic and political contexts, the overall studies highlight that urban–rural interactions have constantly increased, all over the world. The reasons can be found in labour-saving technological progress, reduction in transport costs, rising house incomes (Irwin *et al.*, 2010), higher population mobility, the circulation of information and goods, and widespread information and communication technologies (Kule, 2014). Nevertheless, in many developing countries, the relationship between urban and rural areas is still characterized by a strong dualism. The publications underline the need for an integrated urban–rural strategy that involves planners, policy makers and stakeholder interactions based on a multilevel governance, in a win–win strategy to provide benefits for urban, rural and fringe areas.

Tourism, as a cross-disciplinary subject (Tribe, 1997), is likely to take an important stake in urban–rural relationships. Namely, tourism is based on people travelling within territories and across boundaries, staying outside their usual environment (UNWTO, 1995). The flow of people generates the movement of related resources, visible and invisible, such as the transfer of knowledge, experiences, competences and income, contributing to overall urban–rural interactions (Van Leeuwen, 2015), although the relevance of the topic literature has partly dealt with the urban–rural discussion (Weaver, 2005). Few exceptions can be found in the literature where tourism has been analysed either as an urban–rural linkage or as a specific phenomenon taking place in urban–rural spaces.

In one of the first studies on urban and rural connections, conducted in the West Midlands, a metropolitan county in England, Nadin and Stead (2000) identified tourism and recreational activities as one of the urban–rural linkages whose movement of people, goods, services, money, information, knowledge and innovation takes place in both urban and rural directions, backwards and forwards, driving new economic activities in both areas (Fig. 1.1). Zonneveld and Stead (2007) agree on the fact that the 'concept of urban-rural relations covers a broad spectrum of interactions, ranging for example from leisure and tourism to transport and communication, from labour markets and employment to food and drink, from education and training to services and facilities' (p. 441).
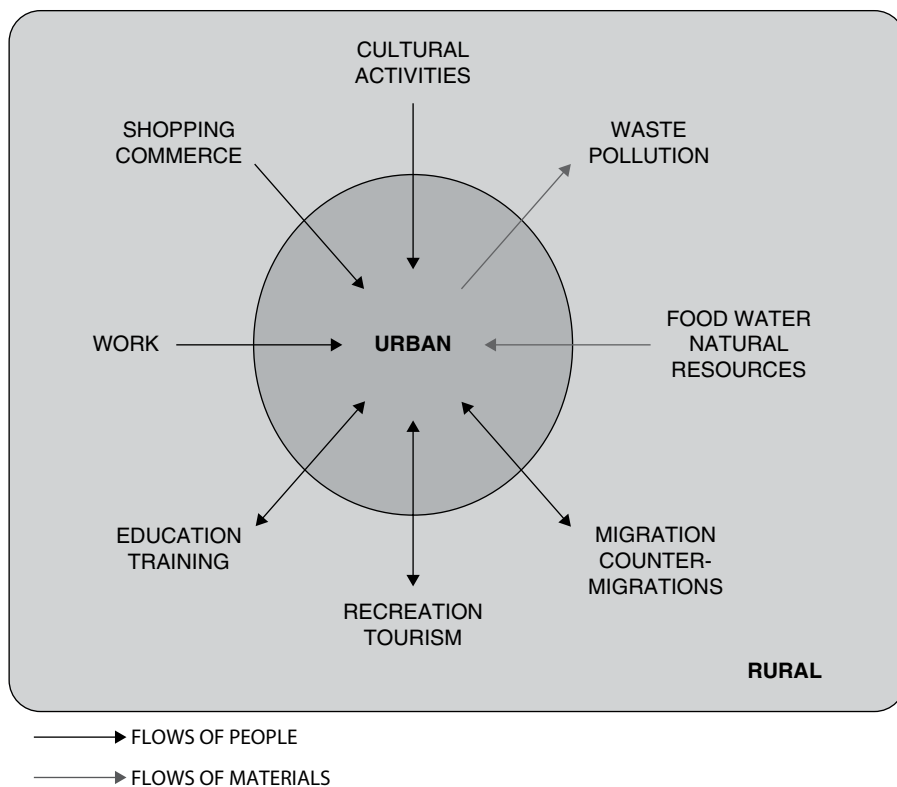
CULTURAL
ACTIVITIES

SHOPPING
COMMERCE

WASTE
POLLUTION

WORK

URBAN

FOOD WATER
NATURAL
RESOURCES

EDUCATION
TRAINING

MIGRATION
COUNTER-
MIGRATIONS

RECREATION
TOURISM

RURAL

FLOWS OF PEOPLE

FLOWS OF MATERIALS

Fig. 1.1. Flows of people and materials, between urban and rural. (Adapted from: Nadin and Stead, 2000.)

Furthermore, tourism, leisure and recreation have been recognized as one of the urban–rural interaction sub-types within the OECD classification (Copus, 2013). The European development strategy, aiming to balance the development between urban and rural areas, has promoted urban–rural functional linkages and partnerships. In the OECD publication (2013) some empirical cases on partnerships in tourism are presented, where firms, public institutions and other associations cooperated to offer integrated tourist services and products related to agriculture and the landscape (e.g. Wine and Flavours Route in Emilia-Romagna, Italy), culture and heritage, inland and coastal areas (e.g. product unions in Emilia-Romagna, Italy), and promoting the whole territory based on mutual dependence and interconnections. Most urban–rural interactions, especially in the tourism sector, are shaped by physical proximity as much as by organizational proximity (Copus, 2013), which expands the concept from an Euclidean geographical localization towards a wider network of socio-economic relations, between firms and different actors, as well as other forms of institutional collaboration.

Particular forms of tourism and recreational activities were identified in tourism literature on the basis of their development in urban–rural places, such as second homes, theme parks, golf courses, shopping malls and wellness centres. Weaver (2005) defined the urban–rural fringe as a 'transitional zone between space that is more clearly urban and space that is more clearly rural' (p. 23). This zone has been called, in both literature and political debates, exurbs, urban–rural continuum, peri-urban, semi-rural or semi-urban, to mention a few. All these terms focus on the physical space where rural and urban meet and merge. Weaver (2005) listed the specific tourism activities that take place in the urban–rural fringe, dividing them into six groups: theme parks and allied attractions; tourist shopping villages; modified nature-based tourism; factory outlet malls; touring; and golf courses. He called these activities 'exurban tourism', specifying their difference from rural and tourism products and their uniqueness in terms of product and market segmentations. He concluded that the urban–rural fringe is a distinct tourism environment that needs a specific subfield of investigation within tourism studies. Weaver clearly stated that tourism literature has neglected the urban–rural fringe as much as the urban–rural fringe, within geography and other social sciences, has neglected tourism (Weaver, 2005). Weaver and Lawton presented an analysis of residents' perceptions in 2001, and visitors' attitudes in 2004, on the potential of tourism in the urban–rural fringe, within an Australian destination.

Beesley (2010) focuses on tourism and recreational activities taking place in the fringe and exurban places. She presents a review of the literature on several types of tourism land use/activities taking place in the urban–rural fringe, such as farm and food tourism, nature-based tourism and peri-urban parks, festivals and second homes. These studies enrich Weaver's list of urban–rural fringe tourism activities by including gambling, heritage tourism and cultural activities, and sporting and recreational events (Koster *et al.*, 2010). While discussing the rural tourism business in North America, Timothy (2005) argued that trails (e.g. natural and cultural heritage paths, cycle and trekking trails) link urban clusters with rural and remote areas creating connections between places of history, culture and natural relevance.

There is evidence that the urban–rural partnership has great potential in tourism activities: a joint product and service development, based on complementarities of resources, cultural aspects and activities, can have a positive effect in enhancing tourism experiences and meeting tourists' needs (Pechlaner *et al.*, 2015). The relations between rural–urban and tourism have received little research attention (Koster *et al.*, 2010), from both the tourism literature and wider geography and social sciences (Weaver, 2005), at both empirical and theoretical levels and, as per the author's knowledge, no review on urban–rural and tourism linkages has been developed yet. Thus, a systematic literature review is undertaken, aiming to search for a larger number of papers discussing the research objective and, in doing so, enhancing the academic debate. The Methodology and Results are presented in the following sections.

Methodology

Literature reviews are the starting point for any research activity, since they provide a comprehensive and unbiased summary of available evidence, based on existing academic production, selected by a clearly defined and reproducible search strategy. The systematic approach offers deeper observation of findings that cannot be extracted through the traditional narrative review approach (Pickering and Byrne, 2014). According to Petticrew and Roberts (2008), the systematic review approach is a more scientific and transparent process that minimizes bias through an extensive literature search of published papers. A systematic review uses algorithmic and heuristic approaches to search articles, to synthesize all relevant facts and perform critical analysis. The systematic approach requires detailed pre-selection criteria for inclusion and exclusion of articles, selection of keywords as per research questions, selection of databases, as well as a detailed strategy to filter relevant articles based on title, abstract and detailed reading. Finally, the resulting papers will be deeply read and synthesized into a detailed representation (Hart, 2008).

Hart's (2008) methodology has been used in this study for the systematic review. Due to the multidisciplinary nature of urban–rural relations and tourism, the research was performed in Scopus, which offers a wider index journal range and greater international coverage (Le-Klähn and Hall, 2015). An online database research was conducted on 6 July 2015 and a second one was performed on 1 February 2016. Results below are presented on the findings of the latter date. The fields of research were selected as TITLE-ABSTRACT-KEYWORDS, with the following keywords:

'*rural*' AND '*urban*' AND '*touris*'

The use of '*' was to ensure that all possible combinations (i.e. urban–rural, rural–urban) and derivatives (i.e. tourism, tourist, tourists, touristic) were covered.

The research was refined by including: DOCUMENT TYPES (i.e. ARTICLE, CONFERENCE PAPER, REVIEW, BOOK, BOOK CHAPTER and CONFERENCE REVIEW), and excluding criteria: LANGUAGES (i.e. languages other than ENGLISH) and SUBJECT AREA (i.e. subjects other than SOCIAL SCIENCES, ENVIRONMENTAL SERVICE, BUSINESS AND MANAGEMENT, EARTH AND PLANET SCIENCES). Including and excluding criteria were selected in order not to omit any relevant paper.

Results

This section presents the results, organized into three stages: the first section presents descriptive statistics over the total publications identified by the systematic review; the second part shows academic contributions resulting after the application of including and excluding criteria and a division of the resulting papers into four topic areas (rural, urban, rural–

urban, other) and two subcategories (related or not related to tourism) according to the topic, research object, study area and field of research; finally, the main topics are presented according to the results. Over 934 results were initially obtained, covering the period from 1973 to 2016.

Descriptive statistics

Some descriptive statistics were performed on the total quantity of papers, in order to evaluate the evolution of the academic discussion and introduce the main issues related to urban–rural and tourism. Scopus indicates that the number of papers from 2006 to 2016 accounts for over 64% of the total publications identified using the research parameters. As per Fig. 1.2, we can see that the topic has gained growing attention, with remarkable peaks in the years 2012 and 2014, with 8.3% and 9.74% of the total papers published in those years, respectively.

A large majority of the literature identified by the systematic review originally comes from the USA and the UK (21.6% of the total), followed by Chinese contributions (8%). Australia, Spain, France, Canada and Japan follow on the list.

In addition, statistics were performed on the document types. Journal articles account for more than 61%, followed by conference papers and reviews as presented in Fig. 1.3.

According to the Scopus results, *Annals of Tourism Research* is the tourism journal with the majority of papers published on rural–urban–tourism issues (20 papers), followed by *Tourism Management* (9). *Tourism Geographies* (8), *Current Issues in Tourism* (5), *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* (5) and *Journal of Travel Research* (5) follow next in the list of the
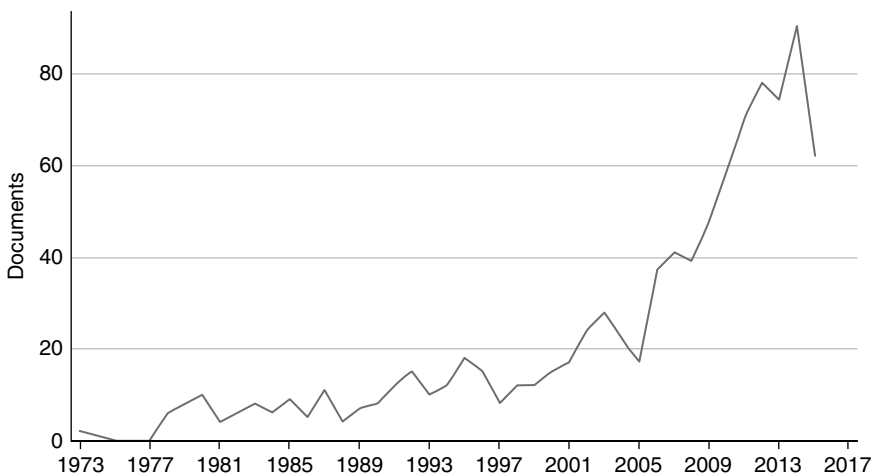

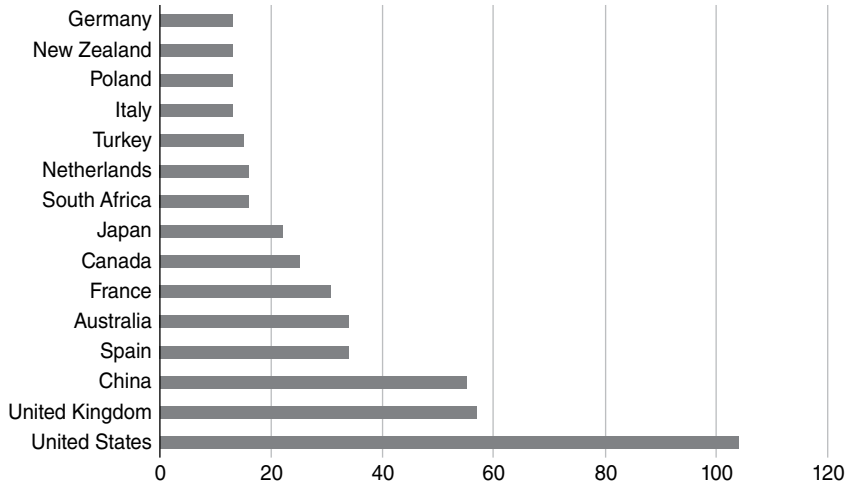**Fig. 1.2.** Papers divided over years. (Adapted from: Scopus database.)

Fig. 1.3. Document type. (Adapted from: Scopus database.)

journals in tourism that have published at least five works on urban–rural and tourism related topics.

A final analysis was performed of the subject area (Fig. 1.4) and Scopus indicates that a large majority of papers belong to the social sciences (44.8%) and environmental studies (31.7%), covering 76.5% of the total studies published. Earth and planet studies, business and management follow next on the list.

Academic contributions resulting from systematic review of the literature

After the presentation of descriptive statistics, including and excluding criteria were applied to the total of publications identified in Scopus, as explained in the methodology. A refined selection of 363 academic contributions was obtained. Therefore, a more selective reading of title, keywords and abstract was performed. In order to provide a more comprehensive map of the relevant literature, resulting from the systematic review, the papers were organized according to their topic, research object, study area and field of research. The papers were divided into four macro areas:

- RURAL;
- URBAN;
- RURAL–URBAN; and
- OTHER (meaning not related to rural, urban or rural–urban).

Then subdivided into two subcategories of topics: related to TOURISM (issues or field) or not related to tourism and labelled OTHER. Results are presented in Table 1.1.
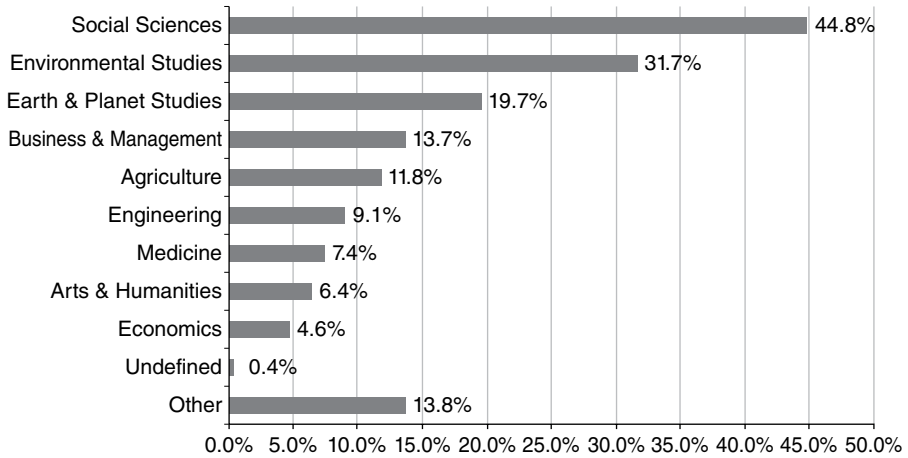
Fig. 1.4. Subject area. (Adapted from: Scopus database.)

Table 1.1. Results deriving from reading criteria of the 363 selected papers on '*rural* AND '*urban* AND '*touris*'.

Subject	Tourism	Other	Total
Rural	66	35	101
Urban	22	10	32
Urban–rural	65	35	100
Other	64	66	130

Rural and tourism issues are discussed in 66 papers as central subjects. Thirty-five papers discuss rural (and related aspects) and other topics or fields of research, rather than tourism. Urban and tourism are presented as main research objects in 22 of the selected papers. Ten academic contributions, resulting from the systematic literature review, focus on urban and other topics or fields of research, different from tourism.

Tourism is a key topic in 64 academic contributions that do not address directly the urban–rural discussion, while 66 papers, although resulting from the search query of selected keywords ('*rural* AND *urban* AND *touris*' in TITLE-ABSTRACT-KEYWORDS) and thus being related to the combination of the three keywords, do not focus on urban–rural and tourism connections as a main research object.

In the end, 100 papers address urban–rural spaces, linkages and connection, but only 65 completely and fully focus on the relationship between rural, urban and tourism. This means that 27.5% of the papers focus on rural–urban interconnections and only 18% of papers develop the relationship topic of tourism in rural–urban linkages.

The 65 papers belonging to the cluster RURAL–URBAN and TOURISM were analysed. According to the literature presented in the second section,

and after an in-depth reading and analysis of the academic contributions resulting, the publications can be grouped into three macro areas:

1. COMPARISON between TOURISM related issues, topics, effects, implications, case studies analysed, tested, verified in both RURAL and URBAN areas, communities, visitors, stakeholders.
2. URBAN–RURAL FRINGE, PERI-URBAN contexts of study, typologies of TOURISM related forms: second houses, national parks and shopping malls.
3. URBAN–RURAL and RURAL–URBAN RELATIONSHIPS and TOURISM, partnerships, strategies, relations in terms of rural people's migration to urban areas and urban residents moving to rural areas (counter-urbanization) linked to tourism activities, reasons, entrepreneurship.

Discussion

The large majority of the 65 publications compare tourism issues in both rural and urban contexts. These papers belong to the tourism literature, and they were published in leading tourism journals. A good number of them discussed the spatial differences between the distribution of tourism benefits and the impact of tourist activities over rural and urban areas (Hall and Page, 2014) and communities, in both developing countries (Adiyia *et al.*, 2014) and in developed countries (Zhang *et al.*, 2007), with specific reference to sport tourism events (Fennell, 1998). Other authors focused on differences in motivations and preferences between rural (and coastal) and urban tourists, based on the attributes of the place they visit (Andriotis, 2011), landscape features (Yu, 1995), destination image perception among rural and urban visitors (Hunter and Suh, 2007), comparing urban and rural consumers' preferences for agri-tourism in Kazakhstan (Kenebayeva, 2014) or urban and rural destination choices. A group of scholars studied the difference between rural villagers and urban residents in perceiving the impact of change induced by tourism development (Sharma and Dyer, 2009) and in tourism demand based on income differences (Yang *et al.*, 2014). The effects of seasonality and summer weather conditions (Falk, 2015) on rural and urban destinations were also tested. Research showed that demand for tourism in rural areas was from middle class urbanities with the double aim of breaking free from everyday life and reenergizing in the countryside (Silva, 2007), whereas rural vacation destination choice is influenced by household origin and social class (Zhang *et al.*, 2007). Comparisons between rural and urban case studies in relation to media coverage differences (Lahav *et al.*, 2013), tourist public transport use at the touristic destination (Le-Klähn and Hall, 2015), slum tourism in South Africa (Rogerson, 2014), tourism marketing strategies in wineries (Barber *et al.*, 2008) and development and management of small tourism firms in New Zealand (Ateljevic, 2007) complete this first part of the discussion.

The second group is composed of several contributions that focus on the urban–rural fringe areas, together with specific tourism activities that take place in this urban–rural continuum (Weaver, 2005). Kikuchi, in 2010, called for a conservation of rurality, against urbanization, as a fundamental condition for rurality-based tourism development in the fringe. Weaver and Lawton analysed resident perception (2001) and visitor attitudes (2004) towards tourism development in Australia, followed by host–guest interaction in the fringe (Zhang *et al.*, 2006). Some scholars discussed second homes (Visser, 2006), their owners and the role of urban–rural migrant entrepreneurs in changing small rural towns in emerging tourism destinations (Donaldson, 2009). Second homes were analysed in the wider counter-urbanization movement and their contribution to rural socio-economic change was investigated (Fialová and Vágner, 2014). Job opportunities and revenue distribution were analysed in relation to national parks (Arnberger and Brandenburg, 2007) and leisure shopping centres (Jansen-Verbeke, 2012). These contributions in urban–rural fringe tourism cases close the second group.

Functional relations refer mainly to visible and invisible connections, flows of people, capital and financial transfer, movements of goods, natural resources, information and technology, administrative and services provision between urban and rural areas, both backwards and forwards (Preston, 1975). According to this definition, the last collection of papers was identified among the resulting academic contributions. The linkages between agricultural production and tourism services were presented as fostering the relationship between rural and urban areas, thus supporting sustainable urban–rural development (Yang *et al.*, 2010). Furthermore, empirical evidence has defined farms and agricultural spaces as loci of rural and urban social change, family friendly places for recreation, education, small-scale production and personal growth (Amsden and McEntee, 2011).

Relationships between rural areas under urban pressure were studied in European case studies; results supported the hypothesis that rural–urban relationships preserve rural landscapes (Buciega *et al.*, 2009). Hong Kong was the only case of a destination with a clear vision of an urban and rural joint tourist offer. The Hong Kong case study evaluated the opportunity to combine urban tourism experiences with rural excursions and nature tourism, in a new tourism product that could enrich and diversify Hong Kong's tourism offer and increase the number of tourists (Jim, 2000).

According to the literature, urban–rural interconnections are based on flows of people: migrants, commuters and travellers. A good number of authors addressed the topic of people migration within urban–rural relationships. Case studies, like Cancun urbanization and tourism growth, described the migration of people from rural Mexico (Dufresne and Locher, 1995) in search of employment and job opportunities. Together with examples of the agricultural sector decline and no lasting benefits from rural–urban migration (Carte *et al.*, 2010), the literature also presented

other cases of counter-urbanization motivated by new employment possibilities linked to rural tourism (Löffler and Steinicke, 2006). The migration of people from urban to rural areas was confirmed to play a determinant role in restructuring rural areas and starting new entrepreneurial activities in Europe and Spain (Paniagua, 2002).

More recent literature has discussed the urban–rural relationship and tourism within a multidisciplinary approach. Tourism is combined with cultural activities, in an urban–rural partnership, to diversify and enrich a destinations' offering (Pechlaner *et al.*, 2015). Rural–urban linkages and governance aspects have been investigated in relation to natural resource management; both tourism and recreational activities impacted on rural settings and socio-economic aspects (Salmi, 2009). Results deriving from empirical research showed that rural areas benefit from having linkages with urban areas, in terms of employment growth and a strong tourism sector, while, at the same time, urban areas benefit from rural partnership, reporting higher levels of GDP, employment and population growth (Van Leeuwen, 2015).

Conclusion and Implications

This chapter combines a traditional with a systematic review of the academic literature, investigating urban–rural linkages and tourism, searching for theoretical perspectives and empirical realities. Despite the fact that the review is limited to the Scopus electronic database, several interesting results seem to emerge. First, the debate on urban–rural is gaining momentum even though the average number of contributions published per year is still limited. Second, although urban–rural interactions are advocated, especially in policy debates, there is little academic production on this topic. Third, research strongly focuses on empirical case studies with limited theoretical contributions. Fourth, the papers that have emerged from the combination of traditional and systematic reviews of the literature reveal that a large majority of academic production is focused on the comparison of tourism effects and tourism related issues in rural context and urban areas. These papers belong to the tourism literature, thus confirming that tourism literature has produced limited research on urban–rural interconnections and spaces (Weaver, 2005). Fifth, only a limited number of papers address the urban–rural linkages and tourism, presenting a multidisciplinary approach and outputs for further research and discussion.

The 65 papers selected showed that urban–rural linkages and tourism have been discussed by tourism literature, geography, social sciences and regional development. These disciplines have developed the urban–rural and tourism debate, with different methodologies and research focuses. The most frequent issues that have been investigated within the urban–rural and tourism were rural, urban and fringe spaces, residents, visitors, communities living in those spaces and tourism related activities. A few

cases of urban–rural partnerships in tourism were analysed in the literature, among which some focused on the combination of recreation, culture and agriculture in an integrated way towards a new tourist offer development, multi-governance support and managerial enhancement.

The literature review has clearly highlighted a paucity in linking rural tourism with urban tourism and in linking rural, urban and tourism issues. The results confirm that little attention has been given to tourism and urban–rural discussions, thus identifying gaps in both tourism literature and other social sciences, leaving room for further research. Tourism literature has rarely discussed urban–rural linkages in tourism, and social sciences have seldom addressed the potential of tourism's role in linking rural and urban.

Despite the limited contribution, the literature confirmed the great mutual benefit for both rural and urban areas deriving from socio-economic linkages and integrated planning policies. Furthermore, there is evidence that urban–rural partnerships enhance tourism activities (joint product and service based on complementarities can enhance tourism experiences) and vice versa. Tourism within the flow of people, knowledge and income affects urban–rural linkages in both directions: from rural to urban and from urban to rural.

The research has limitations. It was meant to be an extensive literature review, which means it will need to be expanded in the future, searching in Web of Science and Google Scholar databases and cross-referencing the results with relevant research contributions in the top journals. Therefore, additional research is needed to enhance the present literature review to a comprehensive level. Nevertheless, the present chapter has provided an overview of the most relevant publications discussing the urban–rural and tourism relationship by performing the first literature review in urban–rural linkages and tourism, combining traditional and systematic tools.

Acknowledgements

References

Adiyia, B., Vanneste, D., Van Rompaey, A. and Ahebwa, W.M. (2014) Spatial analysis of tourism income distribution in the accommodation sector in western Uganda. *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 14(1–2), 8–26.

Amsden, B. and McEntee, J. (2011) Agrileisure: re-imagining the relationship between agriculture, leisure, and social change. *Leisure/Loisir* 35(1), 37–48.

Andriotis, K. (2011) A comparative study of visitors to urban, coastal and rural areas. Evidence from the island of Crete. *European Journal of Tourism Research* 4(2), 93.

Arnberger, A. and Brandenburg, C. (2007) Past on-site experience, crowding perceptions, and use displacement of visitor groups to a peri-urban national park. *Environmental Management* 40(1), 34–45.

Ateljevic, J. (2007) Small tourism firms and management practices in New Zealand: the centre stage macro region. *Tourism Management* 28(1), 307–316.

Barber, N.A., Donovan, J.R. and Dodd, T.H. (2008) Differences in tourism marketing strategies between wineries based on size or location. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 25(1), 43–57.

Beesley, K.B. (2010) *The Rural-Urban Fringe in Canada: Conflict and Controversy* (ed.). Rural Development Institute, Brandon University, Brandon, Manitoba, Canada.

Buciega, A., Pitarch, M.D. and Esparcia, J. (2009) The context of rural–urban relationships in Finland, France, Hungary, The Netherlands and Spain. *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning* 11(1), 9–27.

Bulderberga, Z. (2011) Rural–urban partnership for regional development. *Socialiniai Tyrimai* 2011(1), 14–24.

Caffyn, A. and Dahlström, M. (2005) Urban–rural interdependencies: joining up policy in practice. *Regional Studies* 39(3), 283–296.

Carte, L., McWatters, M., Daley, E. and Torres, R. (2010) Experiencing agricultural failure: internal migration, tourism and local perceptions of regional change in the Yucatan. *Geoforum* 41(5), 700–710.

Copus, A. (2013) Urban-rural relationships in the new century: clarifying and updating the intervention logic. *New Paradigm in Action* 7, 539–552.

Davoudi, S. and Stead, D. (2002) Urban–rural relationships: an introduction and brief history. *Built Environment* (1978), 28(4), 268–277.

Donaldson, R. (2009) The making of a tourism-gentrified town: Greyton, South Africa. *Geography* 94, 88.

Dufresne, L. and Locher, U. (1995) The Mayas and Cancún: migration under conditions of peripheral urbanization. *Labour, Capital and Society/Travail, capital et société* 28(2), 176–202.

Falk, M. (2015) Summer weather conditions and tourism flows in urban and rural destinations. *Climatic Change* 130(2), 201–222.

Fennell, D.A. (1998) The economic impact of hockey in Saskatchewan: a rural-urban comparison. *Great Plains Research* 315–333.

Fialová, D. and Vágner, J. (2014) The owners of second homes as users of rural space in Czechia. *AUC Geographica* 49(2).

Funnell, D.C. (1988) Urban–rural linkages: research themes and directions. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B. Human Geography* 267–274.

Global Monitoring Report (2013) *Rural-Urban Dynamics and the Millennium Development Goals.* World Bank and International Monetary Fund, Washington, DC.

Hall, M.C. and Page, S.J. (2014) *The Geography of Tourism and Recreation: Environment, Place and Space.* Routledge, Abingdon, UK.

Hart, C. (2008) *Doing a Literature Review: Releasing the Social Science Research Imagination.* Sage, London.

Hunter, W.C. and Suh, Y.K. (2007) Multimethod research on destination image perception: Jeju standing stones. *Tourism Management* 28(1), 130–139.

Irwin, E.G., Isserman, A.M., Kilkenny, M. and Partridge, M.D. (2010) A century of research on rural development and regional issues. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 92(2), 522–553.

Jansen-Verbeke, M. (2012) Leisure shopping: a magic concept for the tourism industry? In: Page, S. (ed.) *Tourism Management – Towards the New Millennium.* Elsevier Science Ltd, Oxford, UK, pp. 203–210.

Jim, C.Y. (2000) Environmental changes associated with mass urban tourism and nature tourism development in Hong Kong. *Environmentalist* 20(3), 233–247.

Kenebayeva, A. (2014) A study of consumer preferences regarding agritourism in Kazakhstan: a comparative study between urban and rural area consumers. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes* 6(1), 27–39.

Kikuchi, T. (2010) The commodification of rurality and its sustainability in the Jike Area, Yokohama City, the Tokyo Metropolitan Fringe. *Geographical Review of Japan Series B* 82(2), 89–102.

Koster, R., Lemelin, R.H. and Agnew, K. (2010) Frolicking in the Fringe: an assessment of the state of exurban tourism in Canada. In: Beesley, K. *The Rural–Urban Fringe in Canada: Conflict and Controversy.* Rural Development Institute, Brandon University, Brandon, Manitoba, Canada, pp. 144–157.

Kūle, L. (2014) Urban–rural interactions in Latvian changing policy and practice context. *European Planning Studies* 22(4), 758–774.

Lahav, T., Mansfeld, Y. and Avraham, E. (2013) Factors inducing national media coverage for tourism in rural versus urban areas: the role of public relations. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 30(4), 291–307.

Le-Klähn, D.T. and Hall, C.M. (2015) Tourist use of public transport at destinations – a review. *Current Issues in Tourism* 18(8), 785–803.

Li, Y. (2011) Urban–rural interaction in China: Historic scenario and assessment. *China Agricultural Economic Review* 3(3), 335–349.

Lin, G. (2001) Evolving spatial form of urban–rural interaction in the Pearl River Delta, China. *The Professional Geographer* 53(1), 56–70.

Löffler, R. and Steinicke, E. (2006) Counterurbanization and its socioeconomic effects in high mountain areas of the Sierra Nevada (California/Nevada). *Mountain Research and Development* 26(1), 64–71.

Nadin, V. and Stead, D. (2000) Interdependence between urban and rural areas in the West of England. Centre for Environment and Planning, Working Paper 59, University of the West of England, Bristol, UK.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2013) *Rural–Urban Partnership: An integrated Approach to Economic Development.* OECD Publishing. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264204812-en (accessed 25 August 2014).

Paniagua, A. (2002) Urban–rural migration, tourism entrepreneurs and rural restructuring in Spain. *Tourism Geographies* 4(4), 349–371.

Pechlaner, H., Bialk-Wolf, A. and Zacher, D. (2015) The role of cultural activities in tourism development: an urban–rural perspective. *Tourism Culture and Communication* 15(1), 47–58.

Petticrew, M. and Roberts, H. (2008) *Systematic Reviews in the Social Sciences: A Practical Guide.* John Wiley & Sons, Milton, Australia.

Pickering, C. and Byrne, J. (2014) The benefits of publishing systematic quantitative literature reviews for PhD candidates and other early-career researchers. *Higher Education Research and Development* 33(3), 534–548.

Potter, R.B. and Unwin, T. (1995) Urban–rural interaction: physical form and political process in the Third World. *Cities* 12(1), 67–73.

Preston, D.A. (1975) Rural–urban and inter-settlement interaction: theory and analytical structure. *Area* 171–174.

Rogerson, C.M. (2014) Rethinking slum tourism: tourism in South Africa's rural slumlands. *Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic Series* 26(26), 19–34.

Salmi, P. (2009) Rural–urban relations in livelihoods, governance and use of natural resources: considerations of fisheries in the Finnish Archipelago Sea region. *Research in Rural Sociology and Development* 14(1), 171–189.

Schaeffer, P.V., Kahsai, M.S. and Jackson, R.W. (2012) Beyond the rural–urban dichotomy: essay in honor of Professor AM Isserman. *International Regional Science Review* 36(1), 81–96. DOI: 10.1177/0160017612449981.

Sharma, B. and Dyer, P. (2009) An investigation of differences in residents' perceptions on the sunshine coast: tourism impacts and demographic variables. *Tourism Geographies* 11(2), 187–213.

Silva, L. (2007) A procura do turismo em espaço rural. Etnográfica. *Revista do Centro em Rede de Investigação em Antropologia* 11(1), 141–163.

Tacoli, C. (1998) Rural–urban interactions; a guide to the literature. *Environment and Urbanization* 10, 147–166.

Timothy, D.J. (2005) Rural tourism business: a North American overview. In: Hall, D., Kirkpatrick, I. and Mitchell, M. (eds) *Rural Tourism and Sustainable Business*. Channel View Publications, Bristol, UK, pp. 41–62.

Tribe, J. (1997) The indiscipline of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 24(3), 638–657.

United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) (1995) Technical Manual: Collection of Tourism Expenditure Statistics (PDF). World Tourism Organization, 1995, p. 10. Available at: http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/book/10.18111/9789284401901 (accessed 1 March 2009).

Van Leeuwen, E. (2015) Urban–rural synergies: an explorative study at the NUTS3 level. *Applied Spatial Analysis and Policy* 8(3), 273–289.

Visser, G. (2006) South Africa has second homes too! An exploration of the unexplored. *Current Issues in Tourism* 9(4–5), 351–383.

Weaver, D. (2005) The distinctive dynamics of exurban tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 7(1), 23–33.

Weaver, D.B. and Lawton, L.J. (2001) Resident perceptions in the urban–rural fringe. *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 439–458.

Weaver, D.B. and Lawton, L.J. (2004) Visitor attitudes toward tourism development and product integration in an Australian urban–rural fringe. *Journal of Travel Research* 42(3), 286–296.

World Bank (2006) *The Development Report: Equity and Development*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Yang, Z., Cai, J. and Sliuzas, R. (2010) Agro-tourism enterprises as a form of multi-functional urban agriculture for peri-urban development in China. *Habitat International* 34(4), 374–385.

Yang, Y., Liu, Z.H. and Qi, Q. (2014) Domestic tourism demand of urban and rural residents in China: Does relative income matter?. *Tourism Management* 40(1), 193–202.

Yu, K. (1995) Cultural variations in landscape preference: comparisons among Chinese sub-groups and Western design experts. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 32(2), 107–126.

Zhang, J., Inbakaran, R.J. and Jackson, M.S. (2006) Understanding community attitudes towards tourism and host–guest interaction in the urban–rural border region. *Tourism Geographies* 8(2), 182–204.

Zhang, J., Madsen, B. and Jensen-Butler, C. (2007) Regional economic impacts of tourism: the case of Denmark. *Regional Studies* 41(6), 839–854.

Zonneveld, W. and Stead, D. (2007) European territorial cooperation and the concept of urban–rural relationships. *Planning, Practice and Research* 22(3), 439–453.

2 Experiencing and Connecting to Nature: An Urban to Rural Association

ANDREW HOLDEN* AND KATHERINE LUPTON

Institute for Tourism Research, University of Bedfordshire, Luton, UK

Introduction

How tourism is experienced is not a chance occurrence but is shaped by the dynamics of the societies and the environments we populate. The dominant trend of human habitation is towards urbanization, with over 50% of the world's population now residing in metropolitan areas. In 2014, 54% of the global population was living in urban settlements, a proportion that is expected to increase to 66% by 2050 (United Nations, 2014). Whilst the potential opportunities for improved livelihoods from urban systems are not to be underestimated, the process of urbanization is recognized as leading to a disconnection between ourselves and nature, as our reliance on the immediate environment to meet our needs decreases.

Using the example of the UK as a highly urbanized and economically developed country, this disconnection to nature is recognized as a serious challenge to achieving sustainable development and also the well-being of citizens (Department for the Environment, Farming and Rural Affairs (DEFRA), 2011a; Moss, 2012; Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB), 2013). Whilst offering a potential benefit for the conservation of nature, a connectedness to nature has also been proven to have positive benefits on individual psychological and physiological health (Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989; Chawla, 1992; Louv, 2005; Rogerson and Barton, 2015). It may subsequently be advocated that it is in the economic interests of national governments to have a population that is emotionally connected to nature.

In response to the challenge of an increasing disconnect of its population from nature, the UK government made a commitment to reconnect

---

* E-mail: research@beds.ac.uk

society with nature and encourage proactive environmentally responsible behaviour (ERB) (DEFRA, 2011a). A part of this commitment includes for this generation to be the first to leave the natural environment in a better state than they inherited it. The theme of ERB was reinforced in the government's commitment to reduce biodiversity loss in the report 'Biodiversity 2020'. A key aim is that: 'By 2020, significantly more people will be engaged in biodiversity issues, aware of its value and taking positive action' (DEFRA, 2011b, p.14). The report also highlights a probable correlation between an individual's level of direct contact with nature and how much care and respect they have for it. However, despite the clear aims of these reports, there is little strategic direction detailing exactly how a connection or reconnection may be developed beyond encouraging outdoor recreation and education.

Simultaneous to an increasing global urban population is a trend for increasing demand for nature-based tourism. This desire to have recreational experiences in nature away from urban environments may be understood as a symptom of a sense of disconnection to nature and a subsequent desire to reconnect to it (Holden, 2016). It is typified by recreational day-trips to rural areas close to towns and cities, a landscape that is typically characterized by agriculture and evidence of human presence, often referred to as 'countryside', and to places of nature that are much further from home, often labelled as 'wilderness', that are perceived as untouched by human interference and require substantially more time and financial investment to arrive at. In this chapter the context of 'rural' is applied in a broad sense to denote non-urban landscapes that are interpreted as either being totally natural, i.e. free of human interference, or are recognized as having been modified by human endeavour but within which experiences of nature are attainable. The subsequent aim of the chapter is to evaluate the potential of tourism experiences in rural areas to connect urbanites to nature and to help develop ERB.

Evaluating Our Place in Nature

The linking of urban dwellers through tourism to rural areas to have positive experiences in nature to foster environmental values has a direct relevance to achieving a sustainable future. The link between tourism and its use in influencing a sustainable future is emphasized by DEFRA who, when encouraging visitation to the nation's national parks, comment that one of the main reasons for doing so is 'allowing society to experience sustainable development in practice' (DEFRA, 2010, p. 12). The chances of achieving environmental sustainability and a sustainable future for ourselves has a close correlation to people making choices and adopting behaviour that is pro-nature even when this may mean a less easy option. Yet, a possible loss of convenience acts as a strong disincentive to pursuing pro-environmental behaviour. One approach in trying to overcome this barrier is to re-orientate our interpretation of the type of

community we belong to, extending its definition to include the biodiversity of nature, and the systems and services we rely upon for our survival. Such reasoning was the essence of Leopold's concept of the 'land community' (Leopold, 1949, p. 204), of which we are a part along with other sentient and non-sentient beings. Similar to a human community where our survival is dependent upon cooperation and consideration, there is a recognition we have a shared fate with other species within a biotic community, thus the ethos of consideration extends to other beings as we develop an ecological consciousness that encourages emotions and behaviour to ensure our actions towards other beings are ethically just. Our belief as to whether we are a part of nature or separate from it carries profound implications for the way we value it and our attitudes and subsequent behaviour towards it.

Recognition of the need to reassess our relationship to nature has become a pressing one, if for no other rationale than as a matter of human self-interest as science has proven that many of the emergent environmental challenges in recent decades, including pollution, biodiversity loss, climate change and ozone depletion, have anthropogenic causes (Holden, 2016). At the same time, it is recognized that just as we can damage the well-being of nature, a spoilt environment can simultaneously harm our well-being, a reciprocal relationship that stresses the inter-linkages between ourselves and our surroundings. Yet this re-evaluation of how we interact with nature and our standing relative to it has lengthier historical roots. In his seminal book on the thesis of the history of human thought in the West upon nature, Glacken (1967) states that understanding the purpose of life and our relationship to nature has been of concern since the times of the Sumerians. Central to this historic search for meaning are the thematic discourses of how the surrounding environment influences society and how humans may change the natural environment (Glacken, 1967), two poignant themes of the early 21st century as the hopes of scientific mastery of nature for social benefit, envisaged in the Enlightenment, have been replaced by concerns of negative environmental changes that threaten the security of humankind.

The paradigm of an ideal that through scientific investigation we could understand the laws of nature and master it, combined with urbanization and technological advancement, are key influences on what McKibben (2003, p. 68) calls a disconnect between our 'modern minds' and nature. For Soper (1995), this acts as *a priori* separation of humanity and nature as a precursor to any discussions on the environment, whether we accept we should be doing more to safeguard it or continue with its use in an instrumental fashion. This separation represents a Cartesian dichotomy, a binary divide between 'us' and the 'rest' within which nature takes the identity of the 'other', a community of which humans are not a part.

The interpretation of separation is influential on how the urban connects to the rural through tourism as we seek the 'natural', an authenticity of a world that is understood as being largely free of humans or

human interference, even though science may suggest otherwise. Even in the most peripheral locations, evidence of human intervention in the material environment can be found, leading Giddens (1999, p. 27) to refer to the 'end of nature'. For example, in one of the most geographically remote areas of the planet, the Antarctic, an increasingly popular ecotourism destination, traces of the insecticide dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) have been found in penguins (Attfield, 2003). Yet the imagery of an authentic nature that is seen as being separate from us remains a strong one for linking urban and rural environments by tourism and as something that many people wish to connect to.

An authentic nature also only makes sense in the context of a differentiation between urban and rural areas. Thus, the urban is equated with the civilized, a product of human creation in contrast to the authenticity of wilderness, leading Cronon (1996, p. 16) to refer to the term 'myth of wilderness' in the context that it only exists as a construction in relation to the urban. Wilderness as a construction is similarly emphasized by Budiansky (1995, p. 5) in the sense of how we aim to experience it: 'The fashion of our times demands that nature be a setting for soul-stirring contemplation of the infinite and unknowable, a cathedral to be entered with hushed tones and reverent thoughts, a place of God's, not man's'. It thus becomes an illusion of a place that is pure, untouched by human activity, a space free from the corruptions of culture and civilization (Soper, 1995; Cronon, 1996). This image of authenticity is often evident in the promotion of destinations for nature tourism that emphasize their natural assets, such as Costa Rica's labelling as nature's paradise and Iceland as being the place of Europe's last wilderness.

Whilst places that we hold as having authentic and natural ecosystems are held as highly attractive environments within which to connect to nature, the constraints of distance, time and price are important in determining where we can actually realize this relationship. For many urban dwellers, this means that the link to the rural is likely to occur much closer to home, through visitation to the countryside that is within a manageable proximity to their home. Whilst human interference is recognized in this environment, typically through agriculture, it permits an opportunity to connect with a different topography and a richer and more biodiverse ecosystem than the urban one. Even when aware of this human presence, we may still identify with having had an experience in nature, in an environment that is non-urban, characterized by an openness of view and perimeter, less polluted air and a biodiversity of ecosystem.

Experiencing and Valuing Nature

Essential to environmental sustainability is the recognition of the range of values within nature that lends relevance and justification to its continued existence. Thus, the experiences of nature we have in rural environments as tourists are relevant to influencing and formulating how we value and

connect to it. An example of the kinds of experiences and values that nature can afford us is described in the following passage from Lunn (1963, p. 27):

> The mountains have more to offer than peaks to climb and snows to ski down. A sixteenth century professor of Berne University, Marti by name, found on the summit of the Niesen a rock with a Greek inscription: 'The love of mountains is best'. And we may be sure that the man [sic] who carved these into stone, though he was neither a rock climber nor skier, had none the less known the tranquil happiness of those moments on mountain crests where man has leisure both to enjoy and give thanks for the chief things of the ancient mountains and the precious things of the lasting hills.

This passage illustrates the variety of experience of nature *in situ* that leads to the recognition of different values in it. In this case it demonstrates a 'love' of nature in the form of mountains, an emotion that is perhaps the strongest and healthiest we can sense. It emphasizes an intense connection to nature where it becomes embodied with oneself, an experience that is likely to lead to an emotional reaction to any harm to nature being experienced as harm to one's self (Iso-Ahola, 1980). Such sentiment equates closely to Urry's (1995) concept of the 'romantic tourist gaze' as people seek through visiting nature: 'solitude, privacy and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with their environment' (Urry, 1995). He also refers to how the sense of a special nature is something that is read and learned, varying across time and cultures.

The nature that we choose to connect to can therefore be understood as one that is determined by processes of social construction and interpretation which are influenced by economic and social changes. For example, the love of mountains is a recent development, as until the 18th century they were regarded as an undesirable environment characterized by hardship, evil spirits and villains (Holden, 2016). The change in their perception was influenced by the Romantic Movement, a collective of European literary, artistic and musical figures, including Rousseau, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Byron, Casper David Friedrich and Goethe, who highlighted the importance of having emotional experiences connected to the natural and supernatural worlds. They emphasized the sentiments of emotion, joy, freedom and beauty that could be gained through the raw power of nature by visiting 'untamed' or wild landscapes of mountains, gorges, waterfalls and forests. Their ideology represented a counter-movement to the scientific thinking of the Enlightenment period and the process of the Industrial Revolution, challenging both rational reason over emotional experiences and the degradation of nature for industrial development. They subsequently demanded the reestablishment of links between the society and nature as a source of moral and aesthetic value with untouched spaces unaltered by human endeavour holding the greatest value as wilderness assumes a deep spiritual significance (Holden, 2016).

The use of emotional responses to strengthen connections to nature is also emphasized by the UK's RSPB, who express the meaning of connecting to nature in the terminology of a love for nature and caring about the environment (RSPB, 2013). They envisage that the outcome of these emotions will be a willingness to take action to protect nature. Thus, if this emotional connection is not developed or is lost there will be a subsequent risk to the conservation and protection of nature. They also emphasize the necessity of connecting children to nature as the means to a positive relationship that is continued throughout the human lifecycle. This point is re-iterated by Kaplan and Kaplan (1989), who underline the importance of childhood play experiences in nature for fostering positive attitudes towards the environment in later life. They also stress the constructive benefits of the development of a fascination with nature for counteracting mental fatigue and attention deficit disorders.

Understanding the types of values we associate with nature has been a central theme of environmental ethics and philosophy, underpinning the logic of why we 'should' conserve nature and pursue environmental sustainability. The rationale for the choice of pursuit of environmental sustainability can be understood according to two central paradigms: that it makes sense for our own well-being given our economic reliance upon nature; and/or we recognize an intrinsic right to nature to an existence independent of any human gain from its conservation. The former paradigm is probably the most identifiable as our comprehension that we require functioning ecosystems to provide us with the resources we need for a good quality of life has grown (Holden, 2005). This utilitarian argument embraces not only the functional use of nature for survival but also the positive emotional experiences of nature, including those gained through tourism. The second paradigm is more abstract, based on the 'rights' of nature to an existence and recognizing an intrinsic value to nature that is independent of human interest. Within this paradigm, to argue for nature's conservation on the basis of the pleasure it accords us through its aesthetic beauty would not be valid, as this recognition involves the transference of human value and emotion onto nature. Instead, the intrinsic value of nature is based on the recognition of its ability to be able to fulfil its lifecycle independent of our actions.

As is emphasized in the quotation from Lunn (1963), it is the experience of nature *in situ* that makes tourism potentially significant as a means for emotional connections to nature. The components of 'experience' are recognized as consisting of four realms: entertainment; aesthetic; escapist; and educational (Pine and Gilmore, 1999), all of which have a direct relevance to the tourist experience. Whilst these realms have been applied to tourism in the context of attempting to enhance the visitor experience, their potential relevance to establishing a connection to nature has received relatively little attention. These four realms are not exclusive of each other, and it is their fusion that is influential to the type of experience a tourist will have. Central to this experience are emotions that may be felt within the different realms, with Knobloch *et al.* (2014, p. 605)

recognizing emotions as being at the 'core of tourists' experiences'. The importance of emotion of experience for connecting people to nature is stressed by Breakey and Breakey (2015, p. 92), who acknowledge that: 'people relate more closely and care more deeply about places, peoples, and environments they have lived, breathed, and remembered'.

Although research into linking the emotion of experience with a connection to nature is limited, Wolf *et al.* (2015) found that when tourists described having a deeply emotional experience, this resulted in a strong place attachment that was extended over time by emotional recollection. The potential of an emotional attachment to nature gained through tourism translating into longer-term pro-environmental behaviour is acknowledged by Ballantyne and Packer (2011b). In their research into wildlife tourism experiences, they found a higher probability for a longer lasting effect on pro-environmental behaviour if an emotional connection to animals was established. Whilst four realms of experience are recognized, empirical research suggests that the aesthetic element will be highly influential in shaping the overall experience in nature tourism (Dorwart *et al.*, 2010). In their study of visitor experiences in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in the USA, they found that the perceived quality of the scenery had a strong correlation to the level of experienced satisfaction, being highest when tourists described the park as beautiful (Dorwart, 2010).

The realm of experience of escapism is well versed as a major motivation for participation in tourism. Boorstin (1964) recognized the potential of tourism to provide an escape from the routines and constraints of the everyday life of urban areas. For MacCannell (1992), this desire to escape may be better understood as a search or quest for the authenticity of nature and culture that is lacking in one's everyday life. The increasing demand for nature-based tourism experiences suggests that there exists a strong desire to escape to it, though it cannot be assumed that the behaviour of tourists will be necessarily pro-environmental when they arrive there. Whilst nature may offer contemplative and spiritual moments, what we consider to be natural environments are also used for a range of other activities, including ones directly harmful to other species, such as big-game shooting.

A seemingly evident way of encouraging a connection to nature is through the field of education that aims to create environmental knowledge. This may be about the specific ecosystem being visited and/or a more general knowledge creation about environmental issues and challenges, for example climate change and biodiversity loss. Given that people have decided to travel to visit nature, it could be expected that many of them would be receptive to acquiring environmental knowledge, and a cognitive experience represents an important motivation for the trip. However, there is a diversity of opinion about the attractiveness of education as part of the environmental experience. Whilst a body of researchers herald the importance of the educational aspect to experience (Cochrane, 2006; Mehmetoglu and Engen, 2011; Io, 2013; Wolf *et al.*, 2015), others suggest cognitive and educational elements are less

important to tourists themselves (Kim and Brown, 2012; Knobloch *et al.*, 2014; Hassell *et al.*, 2015).

The work of Mehmetoglu and Engen (2011) has been one of the few studies to highlight the importance of the cognitive or educational element of experiences to tourists, though this pertained to a museum setting and therefore the desire for knowledge would likely have been a key motivating factor for the visit. Whilst Cochrane (2006) found that Western travellers had a desire to learn about the biodiversity of Bromo National Park in Indonesia and that education formed an essential part of their visitor experience, the level of importance attached to educational provision is likely to vary – a reflection of the complexity of reasons and motivations for nature visits. Nevertheless, whilst tourists may not explicitly cite education as the principal or recognized motivation for experiences in nature, it may become a welcome outcome of the visit.

This dichotomy of the importance of education to the nature experience reflects the complexity of the nature tourism market, which often fails to differentiate the range of experiences being sought and the motivations and attitudes that underpin behaviour. Subsequently, within the market there are likely to be a range of different levels of responsiveness to education based material. For example, eco-tourists may have different motivations and desired outcomes of the experience from adventure tourists. Factors of distance travelled, temporality and the level of familiarity with a particular environment may also influence the interest in learning about nature. For instance, in more readily accessible nature areas that are closer to home, visitors may just desire to walk somewhere different or take in a beautiful view. However, when travel is undertaken to natural areas that are different in their biodiversity and involve substantial effort and investment in planning, travel and monetary cost, it is likely that the expectation to acquire knowledge about the environment will be higher. There is then a potential variance in responsiveness to education between taking a visit to a national park close to home for an hour or so compared to making a concerted effort to visit a biodiverse hot spot that may be thousands of miles away.

The responsiveness of an individual to educational material is also likely to be influenced by the way it is presented as a part of the experience. If educational materials are held as being prescriptive or coercive, this may counteract the desire for relaxation and escape, leading to them being ignored. Also, if they are presented in an uninteresting way, there is likely to be a lack of desire to engage with the knowledge they are attempting to transmit. Thus, in attempting to connect people to nature through the tourism experience, there is a strong case for linking education with entertainment as a medium to get people engaged. Entertainment will typically evoke emotions of enjoyment and involves the response to the experience as laughter, or passion; of being amused. Within the context of nature experiences, in consideration of a visit to a national park, an example of the entertainment realm could include viewing traditional woodcutting techniques or visiting an animal sanctuary.

A further aspect of levels of receptiveness to educational content and closely linked to presentation is the role of interpretation. The aim of environmental interpretation is to engage people through communication to develop an awareness, appreciation and understanding of nature, providing an opportunity to formulate pro-environmental attitudes and behaviour towards a more sustainable future (Archer and Wearing, 2002; Newsome *et al.*, 2002; Tubb, 2003). The desire to use tourism to create experiences to move people towards pro-environmental behaviour has been outlined at policy levels in the context of the UK's national parks. Commenting on visits to national parks, DEFRA refer to them 'inspiring lifelong behaviour change' (2010, p. 13). Suggested actions include learning about what makes national parks special places in order 'to encourage wider action on sustainable living and make a personal connection' (DEFRA, 2010, p. 10). Whilst traditional interpretation techniques and materials include the use of leaflets, websites, visitor centres, information boards, self-guided trails and guided tours, it is particularly the use of information technology and social media that incorporate blogs, video sharing sites and podcasts that offers a great potential in creating, reliving and sharing the experiences of nature (Gretzel and Jamal, 2009). The use of social media offers an immediacy of experiences through the sharing of visual images and stories that can be transmitted to and shared with others by the touch of a button (Flinn and Frew, 2014).

Whilst the realms of experiences in nature have been identified individually, it is accepted that the majority of visits will involve one or more of them; the desired experience involving all four, aiming to create a 'sweet spot' where the experience is one that is highly meaningful to the visitor (Pine and Gilmore, 1999). However, one aspect of experience that is neglected within the four realms, but that has a direct relevance for developing a connection to nature through tourism, is the memory and recollection of visits after returning home. Memories of experiences that are strengthened through sharing recollections with friends, directly or more indirectly though social media, provide a continuity of experience and the maintenance of the urban to rural connection. In consideration of what constitutes memorable experiences, Tung and Ritchie (2011) found that recollection after the visit is an important element of the experience and requires further investigation. Given that memory recollection aids the creation of the longevity of experience, it may act as an important step in understanding the values and connection to nature established through visitation and critically encouraging long-term behavioural change to environmental sustainability.

Conclusion

As a remedy to the global trend of urbanization, tourism offers a means of reconnecting people to nature and the environments of rural areas. As we have become aware of the negative changes anthropogenic activities

can instigate in the environment and of our dependency upon nature's stability for our well-being, consideration of our place relative to nature has become one of prominence in the context of an environmentally sustainable future. Concerns over a growing disconnection from nature have resulted in policy that aims to reconnect people to nature, as individuals' environmental attitudes and behaviour to nature have a critical role to play in the development of ERB and a mutually beneficial symbiotic relationship with our surroundings.

Central to the development of pro-environmental attitudes is the recognition that nature has a range of values beyond the instrumental and that it has a right to an existence independent of its value to humans. Subsequently, embedded into the reasoning of our connection to nature are ethical considerations of our responsibilities to the environment, which are heavily influenced by the evaluation of our position relevant to it. If we consider ourselves as being a part of nature rather than separate from it, then it is not difficult to conceptualize the environment as being composed of an amalgam of beings that form a community of which we are a part. Whilst being part of a community with other non-human sentient and non-sentient beings is perhaps a difficult concept to envisage, as for any community it would involve consideration of the welfare of others, due respect and duties towards them.

Although recognition of humans belonging to a community of nature may appear esoteric, studies have shown that the benefits for individuals of having a connection to nature include the psychological and physiological, helping to improve their welfare and health. An evident way of achieving a direct physical connection to nature is through recreation and tourism that connects urban environments with rural ones. The movement of people into rural spaces for recreational purposes also provides an opportunity to foster pro-environmental attitudes that can contribute to ERB and sustainability into the long term.

Whilst this aim of the connection of people to nature through recreation and tourism is now recognized in government policy, there is a need for research into how it can best be realized and exploited to fulfil its best potential. Central to making a connection to nature is the visitor experience, which consists of a combination of entertainment, aesthetic, education and escapism elements. Tourism has often been advocated as a symptom of escapism from the constraints of the urban environment that is characterized by its restrictive work practices and artificial milieu. Recognition of a desire to escape urban living through tourism has also been interpreted as a search for authenticity and the increased desire to visit natural areas may be understood as such a quest.

Yet it would be presumptuous to assume that experiences of nature tourism possess a shared uniformity. The terminologies of nature tourism or nature-based tourism mask a complexity and diversity of experience that is influenced by factors relating to the type of experience sought and the character of the environment being visited. Natural environments may

be used in different ways by tourists, for example as a setting for action, a place for social interaction, a place for spiritual contemplation, and it cannot be assumed that all visitors will necessarily pursue pro-environmental behaviour. Yet in most cases there are opportunities to attempt to encourage a wider appreciation of the values of nature and to develop pro-environmental attitudes and behaviour when the tourist is *in situ*.

The influence of the aesthetic as part of the experience is a powerful component and is likely to be a shared positive encounter by many tourists visiting natural environments. The aesthetic value of nature thus becomes an important one in arguments for conservation and as a rationale for pro-environmental behaviour. The emotional value of the pleasure of the gaze from looking at topography and landscape, and having enjoyable experiences within their environment, helps to establish a positive relationship with that place. This emotional value presents an argument for the conservation of nature on a rationale of the contribution it makes to our own well-being, expressed as pleasure, rather than a deeper philosophical concern of the right of nature to an independent existence. An attachment to place may be made that instills a sense of being a part of its environment, belonging to its community, where any damage to it, especially as a cause of anthropogenic action, is likely to be emotionally upsetting. There is then an opportunity to build upon this association with place made by the tourist, to broaden the experience to incorporate more knowledge about the environment and how it is changing, both in the location being visited and more generally.

To achieve this, the combination of education and entertainment is likely to be especially important. It is essential that environmental knowledge is transmitted to tourists in an interesting, inspirational and hope-inspiring way, which alongside helping to develop pro-environmental attitudes gives a sense that adopting ERB will actually make a positive difference to safeguarding the long-term future of the natural environment. This use of interpretation will be important for making the transference of knowledge entertaining, helping to build an emotional connection to nature, to induce a love or sense of caring for it. Such identification is often made to sentient creatures through anthropomorphism, lending them human characters and emotions. However, an emotional connection is often more difficult to establish with non-sentient beings, thus a comprehension of our reliance on all parts of eco-systems to support our livelihoods and well-being is important to foster attitudes to support ERB. For an environmentally sustainable future, it is also important to prolong this connection to nature into the long term, and a better understanding of how this can be best achieved needs to be attained. It is likely that the use of social media has a potentially critical role to play in prolonging the longevity of experience as it offers not only an individual history of connection but also a shared one. Alongside providing a forum of recollection and discussion, it may well act as an incentive to taking more trips to visit nature in the future and strengthen the urban to rural nexus for sustainability.

References

Archer, D. and Wearing, S. (2002) Interpretation and marketing as management tools in national parks: insights from Australia. *Journal of Leisure Property* 2(1), 29–39.

Attfield, R. (2003) *Environmental Ethics*. Polity, Cambridge, UK.

Ballantyne, R. and Packer, J. (2011b) Visitors' learning for environmental sustainability: testing short- and long-term impacts of wildlife tourism experiences using structural equation modelling. *Tourism Management* 32(6), 1243–1252.

Boorstin, O.J. (1964) *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. Harper and Row, New York.

Breakey, N.M. and Breakey, H.E. (2015) Tourism and Aldo Leopold's 'cultural harvest': creating virtuous tourists as agents of sustainability. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 23(1), 85–103.

Budiansky, S. (1995) *Nature's Keepers: The New Science of Nature Management*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London.

Chawla, L. (1992) Childhood place attachments. In: Altman, I. and Low, S. (eds) *Place Attachment*. Springer, New York, pp. 63–86.

Cochrane, J. (2006) Indonesian national parks: understanding leisure users. *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(4), 979–997.

Cronon, W. (1996) The trouble with wilderness, or, getting back to the wrong nature. *Environmental History* 1(1), 7–28.

Department for the Environment, Farming and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) (2010) UK government vision and circular 2010: 'English National Parks and Broads'. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/221086/pb13387-vision-circular2010.pdf (accessed 20 September 2013).

Department for the Environment, Farming and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) (2011a) The Natural Choice: Securing the Value of Nature. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/228842/8082.pdf (accessed 31 January 2016).

Department for the Environment, Farming and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) (2011b) Biodiversity 2020: A Strategy for England's Wildlife and Ecosystem Services. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/69446/pb13583-biodiversity-strategy-2020-111111.pdf (accessed 31 January 2016).

Dorwart, C., Moore, R.M. and Leung, Y.F. (2010) Visitors' perceptions of a trail environment and effects on experiences: a model for nature-based recreation experiences. *Leisure Sciences* 32, 32–54.

Flinn, J. and Frew, M. (2014) 'Glastonbury: managing the mystification of festivity'. *Leisure Studies* 33(4), 418–433. *Ebscohost*. Available at: http://0-ejournals.ebsco.com.brum.beds.ac.uk (accessed 20 September 2015).

Giddens, A. (1999) *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping our Lives*. Routledge, New York.

Glacken, R. (1967) *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century*. University of California Press, Berkeley, California.

Gretzel, U. and Jamal, T. (2009) Conceptualising the creative tourist class: technology, mobility, and tourism experiences. *Tourism Analysis* 14(4), 471–481.

Hassell, S., Moore, S.A. and Macbeth, J. (2015) Exploring the motivations, experiences and meanings of camping in national parks. *Leisure Sciences* 37(3), 269–287.

Holden, A. (2005) The interaction between tourism and common pool resources: the need to understand environmental ethics. *Annals of Tourism Research* 32(3), 805–807.

Holden, A. (2016) *Environment and Tourism*, 3rd edn. Routledge, London.

Io, M. (2013) Testing a model of effective interpretation to boost the heritage tourism experience: a case study in Macao. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 21(6), 900–914.

Iso-Ahola, E.S. (1980) *The Social Psychology of Leisure and Recreation.* William C Brown, Dubuque, Iowa.

Kaplan, R. and Kaplan, S. (1989) *The Experience of Nature: A Psychological Perspective.* Cambridge University Press Archive.

Kim, A.K. and Brown, G. (2012) Understanding the relationships between perceived travel experiences, overall satisfaction, and destination loyalty. *Anatolia: An International Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research* 23(3), 328–347.

Knobloch, U., Robertson, K. and Aitken, R. (2014) (Mis)understanding the nature of tourist experiences. *Tourism Analysis* 19(5), 599–608.

Leopold, A. (1949) *A Sand County Almanac.* Oxford University Press, New York.

Louv, R. (2005) *Last Child in the Woods: Saving Our Children from Nature Deficit Disorder.* Atlantic Books, London.

Lunn, A. (1963) *The Englishman on Ski.* Museum Press Ltd, London.

MacCannell, D. (1992) *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers.* Routledge, London.

McKibben, B. (2003) *The End of Nature: Humanity, Climate Change and the Natural World.* Bloomsbury, London.

Mehmetoglu, M. and Engen, M. (2011) Pine and Gilmore's concept of experience economy and its dimensions: an empirical examination in tourism. *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality and Tourism* 12, 237–255.

Moss, S. (2012) Natural Childhood. Available at: https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/documents/read-our-natural-childhood-report.pdf (accessed 20 October 2013).

Newsome, D., Moore, S.A. and Dowling, R.K. (2002) *Natural Area Tourism: Ecology, Impacts and Management.* Channelview Publication, Clevedon, UK.

Pine, J. and Gilmore, D. (1999) *The Experience Economy.* Harvard Business School Press, Boston, Massachusetts.

Rogerson, M. and Barton, J. (2015) A comparison of four typical green exercise environments and prediction of psychological health outcomes. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 12, 7321–7336. Available at: www.mdpi.com/1660-4601/12/7/7321/pdf (accessed 28 January 2016).

Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) (2013) Connecting with Nature [online]. Available at: http://www.rspb.org.uk/Images/connecting-with-nature_tcm9-354603.pdf (accessed 4 May 2014).

Soper, K. (1995) *What is Nature? Culture, Politics and the non-Human.* Blackwell, Oxford, UK.

Tubb, K. (2003) An evaluation of the effectiveness of interpretation within Dartmoor national park in reaching the goals of sustainable tourism development, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 11(6), 476–498.

Tung, V.W.S. and Ritchie, J.R.B. (2011) Exploring the essence of memorable tourism experiences. *Annals of Tourism Research* 38(4), 1367–1386.

United Nations (2014) World's population increasingly urban with more than half living in urban areas. Available at: http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/news/population/world-urbanization-prospects-2014.html. (accessed 20 September 2015).

Urry, J. (1995) *Consuming Places.* Routledge, London.

Wolf, I., Stricker, H.K. and Hagenloh, G. (2015) Outcome-focused national park experience management: transforming participants, promoting social well-being, and fostering place attachment, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 23(3), 358–381. Available at: http://0-ejournals.ebsco.com.brum.beds.ac.uk/ (accessed 20 September 2015).

3 Addressing Power: Stakeholder Involvement Within an Integrated Tourism Planning Process

LAUREN DUFFY* AND GYUNGHOON KIM

College of Behavioral, Social and Health Sciences, Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina, USA

Introduction

In recent years, scholars have begun to call for more critical perspectives with regard to understanding the impacts of tourism (Ateljevic *et al.*, 2007; Bramwell and Lane, 2008; Bianchi, 2009; Cole and Morgan, 2010). Long has the 'triple bottom line', 'the trinity' or the 'three pillars' of sustainable tourism – the economic, environment and socio-cultural impacts – been noted, but attention to how these impacts are dispersed and distributed among stakeholders, both positively and negatively, still remains largely unaddressed in theory and in practice. The focus of this chapter is on integrated tourism, a type of tourism development that falls under the umbrella of sustainability, and poses the questions: what are the constraints to stakeholder involvement, and how does stakeholder inclusion/exclusion influence the way tourism impacts are dispersed within a model of integrated tourism in the urban–rural tourism context?

The importance of this is that the equity and equality of tourism impacts need to be acknowledged and addressed, particularly in complex planning contexts that need to include diverse and numerous stakeholders, such as integrated tourism. There remains a need for strategies, plans and models to look more deeply at causes of unequal and unbalanced costs and benefits of tourism development, especially in cases where there are stakeholders who have conflicting goals and agendas (Bousset *et al.*, 2007). This conceptual chapter will review existing theoretical frameworks for involving stakeholders in planning processes (especially those

---

* E-mail: lduffy@clemson.edu

intersecting with integrated tourism planning in urban–rural tourism development), and provide an extension to thinking about the role of stakeholders by reviewing factors that influence participation and the dispersion of tourism impacts. Furthermore, this chapter will examine the utility of focusing on the construct of power in order to emphasize the importance of equity, justice, voice and participation among stakeholders within the process and provide recommendations for increasing inclusion and equity of voice among them.

Integrated Tourism

Integration, broadly conceptualized as a way to think about linkages between stakeholders, businesses, resources and tourism activities, has become an important focus within the tourism planning and management literature (Clark and Chabrel, 2007; Cawley and Gillmor, 2008; Saxena and Ilbery, 2008; Hatipoglu *et al.*, 2016). Taking a holistic systems approach and considering how the different components of the tourism industry interact is important for understanding the phenomenon of tourism. Likewise, this type of approach means that instead of focusing solely on tourism-specific policies, multi-faceted policies that consider horizontal and vertical linkages will help to better position a community to leverage its resources and create opportunities for reaching its full economic and social potential (Clark and Chabrel, 2007; Semone *et al.*, 2011). In this regard, 'there is sufficient, reliable evidence to show that economies that adopt a whole-of-government approach to tourism development and management are among the most successful in terms of tourism performance' (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2015, p. 30). Integrated tourism planning is defined, then, as 'tourism that is explicitly linked to the economic, social, cultural, natural, and human resources of the localities in which it takes place' (Saxena *et al.*, 2007, p. 351).

Integrated tourism planning is often employed in regional contexts such as those that cross the urban–rural threshold where development strategies are aimed at dispersing tourists, their money and their impacts towards the outskirts of major tourist centres. Thus, the development and support of linkages is especially vital to successful strategic planning in these contexts, particularly on the part of rural communities who are attempting to revitalize or adapt to the changing economic and social landscape of the 21st century (Cawley and Gillmor, 2008; Reimer, 2010). According to Reimer (2010), the four major areas in which linkages occur between rural and urban communities are 'through the flows of resources, services, people, and information; formal and informal institutions they share; the environments they share; and their common and complementary perceptions, values, identities, and ideologies' (p. 10). This perspective emphasizes the intangible links (e.g. knowledge, shared social institutions such as family, religion, education, government and the values, perceptions and ideologies that an individual may hold) as

well as how rural and urban areas play a supporting, harmonizing role with each other. As such, integrative planning strategies can be developed that capitalize on the strengths of the rural community as it aligns with its urban counterpart.

In tourism, this is captured in the notion that rural areas often provide the appropriate environment and resource base for a complementary tourism product to that offered in urban areas (Koster *et al.*, 2010). The quaint atmosphere of a small town, historic architecture, agrarian lifestyles and close connections to natural resources are commonly represented in rural tourism products (Cawley and Gillmor, 2008), while urban tourists are typically drawn to events, entertainment and evening activities, meetings and conferences, and the built urban landscape (Law, 1993). It should also be noted that the communities that are directly adjacent to urban areas and facing intense pressure from rapid urbanization and population growth, known as fringe or exurban communities, also offer their own unique type of tourism product that includes theme parks, shopping villages, modified-nature based tourism, outlet malls and golf courses (Weaver, 2005).

There are other forms of convergence between rural and urban tourism products that should not be overlooked: for example, farm-to-table restaurants that bring the rural culture to the urban, and concert festivals that bring urban culture to the rural venues. Beyond the tangible distribution channels of the tourism product itself, integrated tourism also links into other areas of life in rural communities and is characterized by its: (i) embeddedness into local systems and everyday life; (ii) complementarity to other industries and ways of life; (iii) scale that is appropriate for the environmental and social carrying capacities of the community; (iv) endogeneity or fit with the local resource base; (v) sustainability ethos; (vi) ability to create networks among stakeholders to develop and manage tourism; and (vii) empowerment of the local stakeholders to exercise political control over tourism development (Clark and Chabrel, 2007; Cawley and Gillmor, 2008). Thus, this chapter focuses on the linkages of stakeholders within a network of integrated tourism planning.

Stakeholder Involvement in Integrated Tourism Planning

As a bottom-up approach that requires a high degree of participation from stakeholders (Mitchell and Eagles, 2001; Cawley and Gillmor, 2008), integrated tourism is a way to think about 'bringing diverse actors, networks, and resources together more successfully into networks of cooperation and collaboration' (Saxena *et al.*, 2007, p. 351). This is especially important because rural sociologists are increasingly noting the changes in rural communities in the 21st century: '[G]lobalization, connectivity, and lifestyle changes with shifting income distributions have changed the character of rural communities. They are neither as isolated nor as homogeneous as they once were' (Flora and Flora, 2013, p. 4), which is

due to a number of factors including racial and ethnic diversification and immigration, changes in settlement patterns and traditional rural liveli-hoods transitioning to new economic imperatives. Thus, the diversity of the aims and goals of local rural stakeholders, let alone those representing other areas across the region (including urban areas) means that the plan-ning process will require a high level of negotiation and cooperation. In this regard, existing literature on stakeholder management is focused on working through conflict and diverging interests and agendas because successful planning is dependent on agreement (Dredge, 2006; Harrison and Wicks, 2013).

Investigating the relationship between, and involvement of, stake-holders is an important part of any tourism planning process (Merinero-Rodríguez and Pulido-Fernández, 2016) where previous literature has consistently demonstrated the importance of community participation and stakeholder involvement (Aas *et al.*, 2005; Saxena and Ilbery, 2008), as well as local decision-making, as vital components to successful tourism planning (Panyik *et al.*, 2011; Kojima *et al.*, 2013). Moreover, the 'informed participation of all relevant stakeholders, as well as strong political lead-ership' is one of the six guiding principles that shape the United Nations World Tourism Organization's (2004) conceptual definition of sustainable tourism development (p. 7). With respect to integrated tourism, Mitchell and Eagles (2001) suggested that stakeholder integration may be defined by the percentage of local stakeholders employed in the industry, the type and level of participation, the degree of decision-making power and own-ership of different components of the tourism industry. Because of the importance of identifying and setting common goals across stakeholders in integrated tourism, some scholars have attempted to improve processes for stakeholder collaboration and negotiation. For example, Bousset *et al.* (2007) developed a simulation decision-making model that allowed par-ticipants to have a snapshot of the various outcomes of potential policy decisions in an attempt to harmonize diverse stakeholders who may have conflicting goals and agendas. Cawley and Gillmor (2008) created a model of integrated tourism by overlaying the concept of strategic fit; in essence, the better the tourism activities fit into a community, the greater the com-petitive advantage it will have. They found that an absence or lack of local networks among stakeholders was a barrier to tourism development in rural areas.

Still, integrated tourism models are lacking in effective frameworks that manage diverse stakeholder perspectives (Mitchell and Eagles, 2001; Cawley and Gillmor, 2008) and they are often integrated into the planning process to varying degrees (Saxena *et al.*, 2007; Saxena and Ilbery, 2008). This is an important issue, as Saxena and Ilbery (2008) noted that inte-grated tourism is 'sustained by social networks that explicitly link local actors' (p. 234). Additionally, this has a considerable effect on the disper-sion of outcomes, both positive and negative, across stakeholders. There are three important theoretical frameworks that have dominated the travel and tourism literature with regard to the role of and relationship between

stakeholders/actors in the planning process: *stakeholder theory*, *actor–network theory* and *collaboration theory*.

Stakeholder theory

Originating out of the management and public administration literature (e.g. Freeman, 1984; Donaldson and Preston, 1995), a stakeholder has been defined as 'any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives' (Freeman, 1984, p. 46). Tourism stakeholders are broadly considered to be 'anyone who is impacted by development positively or negatively' (Aas *et al.*, 2005, p. 31). They include those who are involved in organizations directly providing services to the tourist such as lodging, transportation, tour operators and activity providers (i.e. primary stakeholders), but also those stakeholders who may not directly service the tourists but still contribute to the overall tourist experience (i.e. secondary stakeholders; March and Wilkinson, 2009). For example, farmers who produce the food tourists eat, the environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that protect the natural resources they use, the resident who creates a hospitable and welcoming environment for the tourists, and the municipal and state departments in charge of transportation infrastructure that supports the movement of tourists all affect a tourist experience and can be considered secondary stakeholders. From a business perspective, the strength of involving multiple stakeholder perspectives includes a number of potential positive outcomes including a more cost effective process, better idea generation, increased trust between involved parties, increased legitimacy in the decision-making process, reduction of lawsuits, tension and conflict between interested parties, and a better informed public and interested parties (Byrd, 2007).

While these are important perspectives to consider, the diversity of stakeholders beyond these core groups is becoming increasingly noted along with a growing recognition of the problematic nature of implying that stakeholder groups are heterogeneous (Cawley and Gillmor, 2008).

Actor–network theory

Diverging from stakeholder theory, actor–network theory (ANT) focuses on the relationships between the actors (i.e. stakeholders groups and individuals) and the way in which they link together to pursue goals (Hall, 1999; Albrecht, 2013). The linkages between actors can vary in strength and formality; for example, some may be loose associations of like-minded individuals, while others are institutionalized through structural arrangements such as representatives of NGOs, businesses and government (Dredge, 2006; Saxena *et al.*, 2007). ANT also highlights the multiple levels of social relations and can be used to examine how they

influence policy-making and decision-making, and how power is a result
of the interactions between the actors (Dredge, 2006). Networks are not
controlled by any one actor, yet past research has shown that some actors
do wield more influence than others (March and Wilkinson, 2009).

Collaboration theory

Gray (1985) defined collaboration as 'a process of joint decision-making
among key stakeholders' (p. 227). This basic idea still resonates in most
conceptualizations of collaboration and cooperation within tourism plan-
ning, where it focuses on the identification and legitimate engagement of
interested stakeholders in a decision-making process (Aas *et al.*, 2005).
It is widely recognized that collaboration is needed to address complex
issues that require a multi-organizational response as no one stakeholder
can address them alone. Characteristics of the collaborative process in-
clude that the stakeholders are interdependent, there is mutual benefit
to be gained by all stakeholders as motivation to be involved, the process
legitimizes stakeholder opinions and perspectives and allows for stake-
holders to work through areas of difference, there must be joint ownership
of decision-making, and the process is flexible and emergent (Gray, 1985;
Jamal and Getz, 1995; Hall, 1999). Thus, in most discussions surrounding
integrated tourism planning, methods for facilitating collaboration and
cooperation are required because of the diverse stakeholders that are
linked into the process.

Power, Stakeholder Involvement and the Dispersion of Impacts

Community participation and stakeholder literature have discussed
many of the practical issues that create barriers to participation, such as
limited financial resources and the substantial time investment on the
part of those facilitating the planning process (Tosun, 2000). Likewise,
meaningful and informed participation requires that the stakeholders
have an understanding of tourism, the planning process itself and the way
tourism will impact them if they want to meaningfully participate in the
process (Cardenas *et al.*, 2015). As such, lack of knowledge or awareness
of tourism or the tourism planning process by stakeholders can act as a
barrier to participation (Tosun, 2000; Cardenas *et al.*, 2015). The import-
ance of this, as Hatipoglu *et al.* (2016) noted, is that the 'lack of knowledge
by the local community may result in their losing control and the power
to influence the development of tourism' (p. 308). Others have stated con-
cerns about effectively involving local residents due to a lack of skills, cap-
ital, resources, experience or empowerment (Tosun, 2000). For example,
there are stakeholders who are excluded because they lack childcare options,
work multiple jobs, do not have consistent transportation, may be un-
familiar with how to navigate the planning process or may have to step

outside the comfort of their social networks. However, a more critical focus on the construct of *power* could help to (i) further investigate power relations in the planning process and explore barriers to stakeholder involvement by identifying deeper causes of the barriers; (ii) recognize the link between power dynamics to the patterned dispersion of impacts; and (iii) create strategies to overcome or address power in tourism planning.

Power as a construct

Simply, power can be conceptualized as 'a basic constituent of human existence that works to shape the oppressive and productive nature of the human tradition' (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2008, p. 411). Only a handful of researchers have begun to pull from core social theory to examine power within tourism. Church and Coles (2007) argue this same issue and note that the few who have engaged with power theory were not drawn into a heavy analysis of it within the context of tourism, and further, routinely use a 'single "brand" of power theory' (p. xi). Table 3.1 provides a brief overview of the work of four well-known social theorists – Marx, Gramsci, Althussuer and Foucault – which highlights important differences in how they conceptualize power. For example, Althusser approaches power as a structuralist, while Foucault takes a post-modern approach. Likewise, related concepts such as *hegemony* and *ideology* are defined as they are directly related to various conceptualizations of power.

Tourism researchers in the fields of geography, anthropology and other social sciences have a long tradition of asking critical questions related to power, yet these critical perspectives within tourism planning, particularly integrated tourism planning, are relatively new. In the context of tourism planning, power is about control and is employed by dominant social groups to achieve their best interest.

Power relations within tourism planning

Traditionally, tourism planning models came from normative, prescriptive approaches that include a component of community participation, yet have a naïve, romanticized view of how cohesive and responsive stakeholders are throughout the process, and further, do not consider the 'baggage' of existing power relations (Hall, 1994; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Reed, 1997; Bianchi, 2003). Along these lines, some researchers have acknowledged the political nature of the tourism planning process in citing elite domination, paternalism and top-down political structures that affect the level of involvement and influence overall decisions being made (Tosun, 2000; Aas *et al.*, 2005; Hung *et al.*, 2011).

As Hung *et al.* (2011) noted, the 'variability of participatory opportunities is typically due to diverse local political structures and the unequal distribution of power within the community' (p. 280). Specifically, past

Table 3.1. Social theorists and conceptualizations of power.

Social theorist	Descriptions of major concepts, theories	Examples of potential applications to integrated tourism planning
Karl Marx (1818–1883)	*Conceptualized a number of economic, social and political theories, collectively known as Marxism*; Marx contended that *class* is an individual's position within a hierarchy that is rooted in the social relations of production. He asserted that modern capitalist society creates the 'haves' (those that have wealth) and the 'have-nots' (those that do not have wealth) and, thus, is an exploitive economic system that continues to perpetuate class differences	Marxism can be used to study the political economy of tourism, issues of tourism dependency, and neoliberalism in tourism planning and development. Researchers could explore policy and practices that explore the strength and weaknesses of linkages that connect lower economic classes into a system of integrated tourism
Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937)	Developed the concept of *hegemony*, defined as 'the control of consciousness by cultural dominance through the institutions of society' (Wearing, 1998, p. 61). Provided a more critical analysis of how ruling capitalist classes are able to maintain control: dominant power is not only exercised through physical force, but also through social psychological attempts to win popular consent through cultural institutions such as schools, family, media and religion. Suggested through cultural hegemony the ruling class can promote their own values, norms and perceptions through the institutions so that all classes would identify these beliefs as their own in order to help maintain status quo. His work greatly influenced Paulo Freire and the idea of critical consciousness, popular education and critical pedagogy	Researchers can use hegemony as a construct for exploring dominant imagery in tourism marketing, normative tourist behaviour and the influence of Western/American popular culture over other cultures through tourist interactions; in integrated tourism planning, hegemonic structures may shape the decision-making process (towards status quo and away from radical changes)

Table 3.1. Continued.

Social theorist	Descriptions of major concepts, theories	Examples of potential applications to integrated tourism planning
Louis Althusser (1918–1990)	Building on the work of Freud, Cabanis, Destutt de Tracy and colleagues, he developed the notion of *ideology*, which can be understood as the system of ideas and representations that dictate and govern the perceptions of an individual or a social group; an individual's views, preferences and intentions are social products dictated by ideological practice which is pervasive insofar that what seemingly takes place outside of ideology is actually within ideology. As a structuralist, his framework has provided a foundation to look at institutionalized and pervasive beliefs that create groups of difference	Specific ideological structures (e.g. patriarchy, religious ideology, racism) can be explored as systematic barriers to participation in tourism planning
Michael Foucault (1926–1984)	At the core of his treatment of power is *knowledge*: that is, how power is used to control and define knowledge and, thus, power is social control. Foucault's notion of *discourse* is also central to understanding his analysis of power. Foucault contended that *power is not a thing but a relation*; power is not simply repressive but productive; power is everywhere (the omnipresence of power) and operates at individual and macro levels; power can be exercised strategically	Power relations between actors in a network/stakeholders involved in the tourism planning process; examines the interactions between tourists and hosts/host–guest encounters

research has noted that tourism developers can manipulate community organizations into supporting their interests (Tosun, 2000), politicians (at various levels) could use their position to act as a gatekeeper of who is allowed to participate and monopolize the discussion on policy-setting objectives in the tourism planning process (Laws *et al*., 2011), and actors that were highly interlinked with politicians had greater influence over

the process (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007). Others have suggested that stakeholders with more financial means have greater influence over the tourism planning process than those with only modest means (Bahaire and Elliot-White, 1999), and large-scale investors and businesses that own capital and property resources have a greater voice (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007). Essentially, an *elite* is any individual who disproportionately influences decision-making because of their social networks and social capital (Holmes, 2010). With respect to integrated tourism, Saxena and Ilbery (2008) used the ACT to explore the relationships and linkages between actors in a network and how empowerment may be an outcome of the planning process. While they noted the 'pre-given social facts' (p. 236) and that potential power differentials may exist, their qualitative study in Wales found that because of the narrow focus of local networks, the process lacked in terms of its inclusion of less vocal community members and that, even though empowerment should be an outcome of integrated tourism, it was only so for some actors as others experienced social exclusion.

These studies exemplify the issue at hand: power must be addressed in tourism planning if we are to have meaningful stakeholder involvement that results in equitable dispersion of the costs and benefits of tourism development. Existing ideologies still inform who is involved, or which 'voice' is heard more loudly, making any planning process that does not account for the existing power relations or ideologies inadequate in influencing a more fair and balanced approach to tourism development (Hall, 1994). Furthermore, planners can expect that dominant social groups will vie for control in order to achieve their best interests (Hall, 1994; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Reed, 1997). Reed (1997) suggested that existing structural and procedural conditions are constraints to such straightforward collaboration between stakeholders during the planning process. She found in her study of citizen-based tourism in Squamish, Canada, that even though collaborative planning strategies were implemented, local elites were able to influence the planning process so that the project met their needs.

Thus, tourism planning models that emphasize the inclusion of all stakeholders in the planning process as essential for 'evening the playing field', but do not account for the already existing power relations, may continue to not only uphold these dynamics but exacerbate them further. Even in conditions where the planning process is following the tenets of sustainability, many planning models are linear, isolated and pluralistic, neglecting to address the underlying power dynamics that can influence the process (Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004). Williams (2004) suggested that, with the exception of work related to dependency and tourism development, the '… sustainable tourism literature has been strong on morality, advocacy, and prescription, but weak in analysing the structures and relationships inherent in tourism production and distribution' (p. 61). Growing awareness of the 'weak and uncritical conceptualizations of power relationships' with regard to managing and involving stakeholders in the planning process has led some researchers to suggest more critical

approaches that take into account the existing power dynamics to help facilitate inclusion (Mair and Reid, 2007, p. 412).

Structural approach to power in planning

While the study of power relations within an integrated tourism network largely applies post-modern approaches to power (i.e. Foucault), there is utility in the application of structural approaches (i.e. Marx, Gramsci and Althusser). For example, gender can be a barrier to participation in the tourism planning process. Duffy *et al.* (2012) explored the ways in which gender ideology influenced a community-based tourism planning process in a rural Ecuadorian community. The existing *machismo–marianismo* gender ideology influenced the ways in which women were involved in the planning process and how they perceived themselves being situated in the tourism industry in the future. Tucker and Boonabaana (2012) found a number of socio-cultural factors constrained (and enabled) participation of women in tourism development in Uganda and Turkey.

Race is also a structural barrier to participation, though there is a paucity of studies explicitly investigating this issue. Alderman (2013), for example, has identified the complex and conflicted history between tourism and hospitality and African Americans, noting that promotion and marketing campaigns in tourism are still markedly segregated. Relatedly, there is some attention being given to the involvement of racial minority counter-narratives that depart from the normative white narrative in the production of tourism heritage. For example, Barton and Leonard (2010) examined tourism as a mechanism for reconciliation through a tourism planning process that aimed to bring together perspectives of whites and African Americans in developing a tourism product that represents racial reconciliation in the Deep South. In their discussion, they also noted that inequality is not just along the lines of economic impact, but also in how narratives are represented in heritage tourism products. Further, in their project in the Mississippi Delta, they not only created a tourism narrative of reconciliation, but the planning process itself became a form of racial reconciliation as a discourse of social justice emerged for the participants. Thus, 'inequities arise in the construction of the narrative, as some voices are better represented than others, and some may be excluded entirely' (Barton and Leonard, 2010, p. 300).

In addition to gender and race, there is a multitude of other constructs that could and should be considered (e.g. nationality, ethnicity, religion) and there needs to be an appreciation of the intersections of these social structures. Additionally, a weakness of a structural approach to understanding inequality and oppression is that variations are not always dealt with appropriately. An integrated planning process should consider the unique cultural, political, historical and economic contexts in order to deal with these barriers effectively.

Dispersion of tourism impacts

Ultimately, the degree of inclusion or exclusion of stakeholders in the integrated tourism planning process will affect the ways in which tourism impacts are dispersed across them. Bramwell (1998) noted that marginalized and disadvantaged social groups are the bearers of the heaviest costs of tourism development and are often excluded from the planning process as the stakes grow with the increased demand in tourism (i.e. more money to be made). Similarly, Liu (2003) argued that:

> No due attention has yet been paid to intra-generational equity, that is, the fairness of benefits and costs, distribution among the stakeholder groups of tourism development. Where such attempts were made, and community involvement advocated, many writers fail to recognise that the host population is often not empowered to take control of the development process. (p. 461)

However, some studies have acknowledged the differential dispersion of tourism and, indeed, have made the explicit connection, noting that 'distributive patterns in tourism are situated within historical and political contexts and are directly influenced by power relations dictated by social constructions of gender, class, and race' (Duffy *et al.*, 2016, p. 36). For example, de Kadt (1979) found asymmetrical social, cultural and economic tourism impacts between more and less economically developed countries. Britton (1982) also provided an early critique of tourism development in the context of lesser economically developed countries by exploring the political economy that surrounds the exchange between foreign developers and the developing world countries and noted that it 'perpetuates class and regional inequalities, economic problems, and social tensions' (p. 332); that is, the economic benefits from tourism development were pouring back into the more economically developed countries instead of netting to the local communities. Dispersion of economic impacts is especially important because often the purpose of developing tourism in a community is to bring in outside money via jobs, income and taxes. For example, enclave, all-inclusive tourism development in the Dominican Republic has resulted in few economic benefits, in terms of jobs and income, to the local coastal communities (Duffy *et al.*, 2016).

Addressing Power in Integrated Tourism Planning

Whether conceptualizing power as it exists in the relationship between actors in a network, or as a hegemonic force that creates and reinforces barriers to participation along the lines of gender, race, ethnicity, class and so on, power is at play in the integrated tourism planning process. Thus, strategies must address competing agendas and different levels of influence or 'voice' that may result in unequal inclusion/exclusion and dispersion of impacts. Below are considerations for addressing power. Planners should:

- Understand the local culture, history, economic and political context of any community they are working in; understanding these will help to recognize the power dynamics that may be influencing the planning process.
- Use social learning or social mobilization approaches that engage and motivate a wide range of stakeholders to raise awareness about the planning process.
- Use a third-party convener to help facilitate inclusive techniques for gathering perceptions from various stakeholders and working through the decision-making process.
- Provide social networking opportunities among the various stakeholders in order to increase social capital and strengthen bonds (e.g. farmers meeting and greeting with developers).
- Focus on community capacity building and empowering stakeholders to take ownership of the planning process, as this will also strengthen buy-in of the process.
- Leverage the use of gatekeepers to access various stakeholder groups, especially those that are marginalized or underrepresented in community planning processes.
- Provide educational opportunities and material that can help bring awareness and understanding of tourism, the planning process and its impacts to secondary stakeholders that are not directly involved in the tourism industry.
- Consider the practical and strategic needs of the community broadly and integrate planning strategies that may also address these (e.g. lack of childcare opportunities, poor health care services, poor public transportation).
- Make sure to utilize various platforms for input (e.g. town hall forums, mailed surveys, intercepts, online feedback) as well as various marketing strategies for getting stakeholders involved (e.g. newspaper advertisement, Facebook group, acknowledgement in city council meetings, door-to-door solicitation).
- If structural barriers exist, host targeted focus groups and interviews with these marginalized members both in exclusive settings (just these members) and in settings that bring all the various stakeholders together.
- If certain groups need additional support in voicing their opinions, work with a third party representative who can help articulate their voice if necessary (e.g. community organizer).
- Employ popular and citizen education to bring awareness to certain stakeholder groups about the barriers they face to participating compared to other stakeholder groups.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed existing literature on stakeholder involvement in integrated tourism planning and considered the role of stakeholders by

reviewing factors that influence participation and dispersion of tourism impacts. The importance of this is that the success of integrated tourism is dependent on the strength of the connections and the ability to negotiate, collaborate and work towards common goals. This chapter has argued for the utility of investigating power within the planning process, which can be done through the application of a critical or social justice lens. In doing so, linkages with marginalized stakeholder groups can be further developed to help strengthen their collective voice in the decision-making process. Moreover, shifting towards critical integrated tourism planning will provide strategic intentionality to stakeholder inclusion, subsequently leading to more equal dispersion of the costs and benefits of tourism development within the urban–rural framework.

References

Aas, C., Ladkin, A. and Fletcher, J. (2005) Stakeholder collaboration and heritage management. *Annals of Tourism Research* 32(1), 28–48.

Albrecht, J.N. (2013) Networking for sustainable tourism: towards a research agenda. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 21(5), 639–657.

Alderman, D.H. (2013) Introduction to the special issue: African Americans and tourism. *Tourism Geographies* 15(3), 375–379.

Ateljevic, I., Pritchard, A. and Morgan, N. (2007) *The Critical Turn in Tourism Studies: Innovative Research Methodologies.* Elsevier, Oxford, UK.

Bahaire, T. and Elliott-White, M. (1999) The application of geographical information systems (GIS) in sustainable tourism planning: a review. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 7(2), 159–174.

Barton, A.W. and Leonard, S.J. (2010) Incorporating social justice in tourism planning: racial reconciliation and sustainable community development in the Deep South. *Community Development* 41(3), 298–322.

Bianchi, R.V. (2003) Place and power in tourism development: tracing the complex articulations of community and locality. *Pasos: Revista de Turismoy Patrimonio Cultural* 1(1), 13–32.

Bianchi, R.V. (2009) The 'critical turn' in tourism studies: a radical critique. *Tourism Geographies* 11(4), 484–504.

Bousset, J.P., Skuras, D., Těšitel, J., Marsat, J.-B., Petrou, A., Fiallo-Pantziou, E., Kušová, D. and Bartoš, M. (2007) A decision support system for integrated tourism development: rethinking tourism policies and management strategies. *Tourism Geographies* 9(4), 387–404.

Bramwell, B. (1998) Selecting policy instruments for sustainable tourism. In: Theobald, W.F. (ed.) *Global Tourism.* Butterworth-Heinemann, Woburn, Massachusetts, pp. 361–379.

Bramwell, B. and Lane, B. (2008) Priorities in sustainable tourism research [Editorial]. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 16(1), 1–4.

Bramwell, B. and Meyer, D. (2007) Power and tourism policy relations in transition. *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(3), 766–788.

Britton, S.G. (1982) The political economy of tourism in the Third World. *Annals of Tourism Research* 9(3), 331–358.

Byrd, E.T. (2007) Stakeholders in sustainable tourism development and their roles: applying stakeholder theory to sustainable tourism development. *Tourism Review* 62(2), 6–13.

Cardenas, D.A., Byrd, E.T. and Duffy, L.N. (2015) An exploratory study of community awareness of impacts and agreement to sustainable tourism development principles. *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 15(4), 254–266.

Cawley, M. and Gillmor, D.A. (2008) Integrated rural tourism: concepts and practice. *Annals of Tourism Research* 35(2), 316–337.

Church, A. and Coles, T. (2007) *Tourism, Power, and Space.* Routledge, London.

Clark, G. and Chabrel, M. (2007) Measuring integrated rural tourism. *Tourism Geographies* 9(4), 371–386.

Cole, S. and Morgan, N. (2010) *Tourism and Inequality: Problems and Prospects.* CAB International, Wallingford, UK.

de Kadt, E.J. (1979) *Tourism – Passport to Development?: Perspectives on the Social and Cultural Effects of Tourism in Developing Countries.* A World Bank Research Publication, Washington, DC.

Donaldson, T. and Preston, L.E. (1995) The stakeholder theory of the corporation: concepts, evidence, and implications. *Academy of Management Review* 20, 65–91.

Dredge, D. (2006) Networks, conflict and collaborative communities. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 14(6), 562–581.

Duffy, L.N., Mowatt, R.A., Chancellor, H.C. and Cárdenas, D.A. (2012) Machismo-marianismo and the involvement of women in a community-based tourism project in Ecuador, South America. *Tourism Analysis* 17(6), 791–803.

Duffy, L.N., Stone, G., Chancellor, H.C. and Kline, C. (2016) Tourism development in the Dominican Republic: an examination of the economic impact to coastal households. *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 16(1), 35–49.

Farrell, B.H. and Twining-Ward, L. (2004) Reconceptualizing tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 31(2), 274–295.

Flora, C.B. and Flora, J.L. (2013) *Rural Communities: Legacy and Change* 4th edn. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado.

Freeman, R.E. (1984) *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach.* Pitman, Boston, Massachusetts.

Gray, B. (1985) Conditions facilitating interorganizational collaboration. *Human Relations* 38(10), 911–936.

Hall, C.M. (1994) *Tourism and Politics: Policy, Power and Place.* John Wiley & Sons, New York.

Hall, C.M. (1999) Rethinking collaboration and partnerships: a public policy perspective. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 7(3–4), 274–289.

Harrison, J.S. and Wicks, A.C. (2013) Stakeholder theory, value, and firm performance. *Business Ethics Quarterly* 23(1), 97–124.

Hatipoglu, B., Alvarez, M.D. and Ertuna, B. (2016) Barriers to stakeholder involvement in the planning of sustainable tourism: the case of the Thrace region in Turkey. *Journal of Cleaner Production* 111, 306–317.

Holmes, G. (2010) The rich, the powerful and the endangered: conservation elites, networks and the Dominican Republic. *Antipode* 42(3), 624–646.

Hung, K., Sirakaya-Turk, E. and Ingram, L.J. (2011) Testing the efficacy of an integrative model for community participation. *Journal of Travel Research* 50(3), 276–288.

Jamal, T.B. and Getz, D. (1995) Collaboration theory and community tourism planning. *Annals of Tourism Research* 22(1), 186–204.

Kincheloe, J. and McLaren, P. (2008) Rethinking critical theory and qualitative research. In: Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2nd edn. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California, pp. 87–138.

Kojima, H., Kubo, T. and Kinoshita, A. (2013) Integrated coastal management as a tool for local governance of coastal resources: a case study of Munakata coastal zone. *Ocean and Coastal Management* 81, 66–76.

Koster, R., Lemelin, R.H. and Agnew, K. (2010) Frolicking in the fringe: an assessment of the state of exurban tourism in Canada. In: Beesley, K.B. (ed.) *The Rural-Urban Fringe in Canada: Conflict and Controversy*. Brandon University, Brandon, Manitoba, Canada, pp. 144–157.

Law, C.M. (1993) *Urban Tourism: Attracting Visitors to Large Cities*. Mansell Publishing Limited, London.

Laws, E., Agrusa, J. and Richins, H. (2011) *Tourist Destination Governance: Practice, Theory and Issues*. CAB International, Wallingford, UK.

Liu, Z. (2003) Sustainable tourism development: a critique. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 11(6), 459–475.

Mair, H. and Reid, D.G. (2007) Tourism and community development vs. tourism for community development: conceptualizing planning as power, knowledge, and control. *Leisure* 31(2), 403–425.

March, R. and Wilkinson, I. (2009) Conceptual tools for evaluating tourism partnerships. *Tourism Management* 30(3), 455–462.

Merinero-Rodríguez, R. and Pulido-Fernández, J.I. (2016) Analysing relationships in tourism: a review. *Tourism Management* 54, 122–135.

Mitchell, R.E. and Eagles, P.F. (2001) An integrative approach to tourism: lessons from the Andes of Peru. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 9(1), 4–28.

Panyik, E., Costa, C. and Ratz, T. (2011) Implementing integrated rural tourism: an event-based approach. *Tourism Management* 32(6), 1352–1363.

Reed, M.G. (1997) Power relations and community-based tourism planning. *Annals of Tourism Research* 24(3), 566–591.

Reimer, B. (2010) Rural–urban interdependence as an opportunity for rural revitalization. In: Beesley, K. (ed.) *The Rural–Urban Fringe in Canada: Conflict and Controversy*. Brandon University Rural Development Institute, Winnipeg, Canada, pp. 10–21.

Saxena, G. and Ilbery, B. (2008) Integrated rural tourism, a border case study. *Annals of Tourism Research* 35(1), 233–254.

Saxena, G., Clark, G., Oliver, T. and Ilbery, B. (2007) Conceptualizing integrated rural tourism. *Tourism Geographies* 9(4), 347–370.

Semone, P., Laws, E., Ruhanen, L., Wang, Z. and Scott, N. (2011) Governance approaches in new tourist destination countries: introducing tourism law in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. In: Law, E., Richins, H. and Agrusa, J.F. (eds) *Tourist Destination Governance: Practice, Theory, and Issues*. CAB International, Wallingford, UK, pp. 25–38.

Tosun, C. (2000) Limits to community participation in the tourism development process in developing countries. *Tourism Management* 21(6), 613–633.

Tucker, H. and Boonabaana, B. (2012) A critical analysis of tourism, gender and poverty reduction. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 20(3), 437–455.

United Nations World Tourism Organization. (2004) *Indicators of Sustainable Development for Tourism Destinations: A Guidebook*. WTO, Madrid.

Weaver, D.B. (2005) The distinctive dynamics of exurban tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 7(1), 23–33.

Williams, A.M. (2004) Toward a political economy of tourism. In: Lew, A.A., Hall, C.M. and Williams, A.M. (eds) *A Companion to Tourism*. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, Massachusetts, pp. 61–73.

World Travel and Tourism Council (2015) Governing national tourism policy. Available at: http://www.wttc.org/research/policy-research/governing-national-tourism-policy/ (accessed 20 September 2015).

4 Foodscapes as Alternate Ways of Knowing: Advancing Sustainability and Climate Consciousness through Tactile Space

CHRISTINA T. CAVALIERE*

School of Business, Stockton University, Galloway, New Jersey, USA

Introduction

The act of eating food is the most direct energetic exchange that we engage in with the environment on a physical, psychological and, arguably, spiritual level. This direct absorption of the (un)natural world happens daily, along with the accompanying acts of cultivation, preparation and presentation of these energetic embodiments. Collectively, these food-based activities are rooted in multiple types of socio-cultural traditions, practices and performatives. Therefore, there is a significant prospect to use these acts as contemplative opportunities for alternative ways of understanding sustainable interactions within rural, peri-urban, and urban geographical and socio-political spaces. Foodscapes (Goodman, 2014) are defined as 'an exchange of representational and non-representational knowledge' that results in the 'decentring of the subject/objective dichotomy' as well as the senses. These ideological spaces of production can serve as various grounds to develop alternate connections to holistic understandings of ways to further 'embed and embody individuals within the social and natural world' (Carolan, 2007, p. 1265). I argue foodscapes can also provide opportunities to further develop sustainable tourism strategies spanning the urban, peri-urban and rural contexts.

This chapter serves the call to 'enliven socio-environmental' research from the perspective that human bodies are not simply 'vessels of

* E-mail: christina.cavaliere@stockton.edu

consciousness' (Carolan, 2009, pp. 1–2) but that our embodiment and our senses are critical aspects to multiple transformative ways of knowing. Therefore, this chapter explores the philosophical conceptualizations of the role of farms and foodscapes as literal and conceptual places of tactile space in the peri-urban environment. This exploration can be utilized by planners, academics, individuals and those involved in various aspects of food movements to further understand the role of foodscapes for sustainable tourism.

In addition, the link between approaches to sustainable tourism education and interpretation and the need for the further development of place consciousness is presented. Through the socio-environmental convergence of agriculture, tourism and climate change in peri-urban environments, there is an opportunity to understand the ways that food and farms can facilitate various alternative ways of knowing for sustainable development. There are opportunities for necessary and progressive socio-environmental change through deeper understandings of the cultivation of consciousness and reconnection of the culture–nature divide via unprocessed food and sustainable agriculture. The validity of these alternate ways of knowing has been explored in the academy through both Traditional Environmental Knowledge (TEK) and Indigenous worldviews. Currently, broader modern Western understandings of lifeworld (Turner, 2011) and how it is perceived and understood are being examined.

It is documented that there is a significant disconnect in overly developed societies between humans and food (Williams-Forson and Counihan, 2012). This disconnect is exacerbating a form of ignorance that is perpetuating a decline in the health of individuals, communities and the ecosystem. In addition, the direct link between food and greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions can serve as a learning point regarding climate change adaptation and mitigation (Gössling *et al.*, 2011) within sustainable tourism. There is a greater need and opportunity for deeper embodied and embedded connections to the natural world through food and food production, particularly within the actual foodscape. The sensuous (Kneafsey *et al.*, 2008) possibilities of experiences with food and foodscapes through utilization of non-representational ways of knowing is gaining attention in the social sciences and could be a way forward for deeper understandings of humans' relationship to sustainability and specifically climate change. As Carolan (2007, p. 1267) proposes, the concept of tactile space can 'create relationality between individuals and individuals and the environment', while concomitantly developing a 'consciousness that allows for a more enchanted way of knowing'. He further details this enchantment as being where interconnections between parts are seen as readily as the parts themselves. This is directly related to the premise of this book to further explore strategies in sustainability by linking urban and rural tourism.

Ecopsychology is a field that has addressed this deeper meaning in the divide between the human psyche and the natural world (Carolan,

2007). Capitalism is noted as divisively serving to fuel this disconnect in order to propagate production, inequality and domination in both the human and non-human realms (Salleh, 2010). The discussion of these alternate ways of knowing is presented in two subsections. The first section discusses examples of alternate ways of knowing, including tactile space and the role of farms and food producing areas as nature-based visceral experiences. The chapter explores the role of foodscapes and tourism in furthering strategies for sustainability via the facilitation of alternate ways of knowing.

Foodscapes and Alternate Ways of Knowing: Tactile Space, Embodiment and Embeddedness

The study of the sensuality of food is beginning to serve a function both theoretically and, to a lesser extent, empirically/ethnographically to move researchers further beyond the Cartesian duality of structuralist separations and dualism of symbolism and materialism (Sutton, 2010). The following section explains one approach to understanding non-representational ways of knowing. This link is summarized by Hayden and Buck (2012, p. 334) as follows:

> Active engagement in sensuous tactile space over time can reduce the epistemic distance wrought by modernity's over-emphasis on representational knowledge, thereby enabling holistic understandings that foster social and environmental commitments that in turn encourage sustainable lifestyles.

Carolan (2007) has developed the concept of tactile space with a goal of understanding attitudinal change and 'new intelligibilities' focused on care for others and the environment. The concept of tactile space is not necessarily intended as an authentic space but instead is explained as having both a participatory/embedded component and a physical/embodied component. Carolan's research found that Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) initiatives intentionally sought to 'nurture' non-representational ways of knowing, and that the knowledge accumulated in the farm spaces was both socially embedded and sensuously embodied. His earlier research recognizes that the creation of tactile spaces can be challenging, specifically with the scale and complexity of climate change (Carolan, 2006). However, he sees the value of tactile space to be in the deliberative process and that 'attempts must be made to ground such problems in the lived worlds of citizens' (2007, p. 1265).

The physical bodily act of growing food, gardening, farming or simply digging in soil while volunteering in a CSA scheme is an embodied engagement with nature and place. These engagements can promote deeper connections to the food system, seasonal eating and an understanding of food miles. Turner (2011, p. 518) extrapolates that this

is not obscure knowledge but rather 'intimately linked to the health of the body'. At the same time, research shows that households sensitive to environmental and local social issues are more likely to participate in CSA schemes. Yet, even with these 'previously converted' groups, it has been documented that they continue to learn and develop consciousness about where food comes from and the growing, transporting and process impacts. CSAs are seen as a social movement with the ability to 'gradually forage a new understanding of what it means to eat' (Bougherara *et al.*, 2009, p. 114).

Interesting explorations in the field of landscape architecture present notions of spaces that support the Western societal need for a reduction in speed and stress (Ostrom, 2007) while encouraging opportunities for contemplation. This connects the 'nexus between geographical terrains and terrains of consciousness' (Nicholls, 2013, p. 36). Contemplative spaces can involve natural features that 'capture one's fascination, withdrawing consciousness from one's everyday world that can lead to an introspective frame of mind' (Moura, 2009, p. 90). Moura's (2009) study of contemplation spaces also demonstrates an 'overwhelming affinity for vegetation and nature in contemplation spaces' (p. 105). Tourism to natural areas and the theory of restorative environments associated with the positive notions of 'being away' are explained in relation to environmental psychology (Moura, 2009, p. 105).

There is a gap in the literature regarding the role that farms, specifically diversified polycrop sites, can play in supporting contemplation of climate consciousness (Cavaliere, 2016). However, the relationship between the nature–culture divide and the disconnection to our food production, specifically in urban areas, is documented (Kler, 2009). Turner (2011, p. 518) further elaborates that through the actual slow embodied engagement with nature there is an 'enchanted, contemplative space outside of the frantic neoliberal order that defines much of life in industrialised nations'. The material essence of food and its role in connecting people to the natural world and how they relate to the environment has been examined through collecting stories. This has been done in order to try to determine embedded understandings of the human/food/environment relationships.

The notion of the role of the feeling of trust is also a strong component to desires for direct interaction with food producers. 'People valued the opportunity this close connection (producer/consumer) gave of restoring links and ties with the local community, feeling part of one's surrounds and making a contribution to supporting local life, including production' (Kneafsey *et al.*, 2008, p. 124).

The basis of this chapter is succinctly summarized through the work of Friese *et al.* (2011) in the five principles below (Table 4.1). The interrelationship between biocultural and gastronomic restoration to climate change mitigation is critical.

Table 4.1. Eating and growing food in ways that counter climate change. (Adapted from Friese *et al.*, 2011.)

Principle One: Diversity	Now, more than ever before, we need a diversity of food crop varieties in our fields and orchards in order to be able to adapt to change and to keep our food system healthy, resilient and delicious. Explore, celebrate and consume what diversity can be found locally
Principle Two: Farmer's knowledge	Farmer's knowledge and problem-solving skills are key assets for coping with and adapting to climate change, assets that have not yet been sufficiently honoured, understood and drawn upon by the scientific community
Principle Three: Consumer action	Eaters or chefs and consumers, if you will, need to vote with their wallets in support of more diverse and regionally self-sufficient food systems, reducing their carbon foodprints by whatever means they have available to them. But they also need to vote at the ballot for more climate-friendly food policies
Principle Four: Climate complexity	Climate change is best dealt with as one of many compounding factors disrupting agricultural, ecological and human health and not as an environmental impact apart from all others
Principle Five: Local empowerment	We need to empower local food communities, ones that link farmers, foragers, fishers and ranchers with chefs, consumers and educators to be 'co-designers' of local solutions to global change, and then to creatively transmit their solutions to other communities for adoption, refinement or rejection

Tangible and Sensory Experiences as Ways of Emotional and Somatic Knowledge

Food can serve to take abstract and intangible ideas and re-encapsulate them into palpable and palatable knowing. When trying to encourage climate change contemplation at both micro and macro social levels, it is 'suggested that it is non-rational qualities such as attentiveness, responsiveness and emotiveness that lie at the heart of ethical relations' and are 'just as important as other more rational ways of knowing' (Nabhan *et al.*, 2010, p. 216). There is recognition among food studies that food purchased directly from farms and/or growers holds distinctly more positive 'symbolic and material qualities' than supermarket purchases (Richardson-Ngwenya and Richardson, 2013, p. 4). In addition, the type of food that is purchased often promotes diversity and health and can serve as a learning opportunity. According to Kneafsey *et al.* (2008) almost 40% of the US population consumes organic food products. This shows opportunity for increases in food diversity, organic products and in active civic sustainable food consumption.

> Working to reconnect traveller to travelled space is by no means the only way to strengthen Westerners' connections to the natural world. It is but one sensuous entry point out of many that would allow us to better feel the flesh of nature against our own. Ultimately, the goal of an embodied

> environmental politic is to bring people back into a sensuous kinship with
> the natural world – in their travel, play, work and rest – so this world can
> again be experienced from within. (Hinrichs and Lyson, 2007, p. 230)

The need for alternate ways of knowing is further supported by
Nicholls (2013, p. 43), who explains that learning processes need to be
contextualized 'in terms of the co-emergence of learner and environment'
(re-inhabitation), a participatory consciousness that posits 'an active
interplay, or coupling, between the perceiving body and that which it per-
ceives'. In order to move towards more sustainable rural, peri-urban and
urban livelihoods, Turner (2011) calls for a need to go beyond the disem-
bodied citizen-consumer.

There are numerous rituals related to food in ancient and modern
culture. Carolan (2009, p. 13) conducted a longitudinal empirical study
focused on adult education for critical transformation and found that
the majority of the participants were 'engaging in spiritual explorations
as part of a commitment to sustainability'. One interesting example that
surfaced, both during empirical data collection in the US and during
personal travels to India, is the concept of Prasad. Prasad can be ex-
plained as 'food that has been offered to temple deities, blessed by them,
and then made available to devotees for consumption' (Lange, 2008,
p. 218). Prasad is both a historical and contemporary Hindu tradition
involving the offering of edible food for spiritual honouring and recog-
nition of energetic exchange between humans, deities and the physical
world/environment.

This community connection between natural systems and ritualized be-
haviour is one that stands to remind people of the full cycles of human depend-
ence on ecosystems. A revived, renewed or continued approach to ritualizing
food could be a link to enacted climate consciousness. Mindful eating, inten-
tional consumption and spiritual ritual do not have to be lost with traditional
communities but are dynamic elements of modernity. Understanding this
link to the potential of generating deeper climate consciousness through
ritualizing food is of importance. Anthropological explorations of the role
that food plays in this context involve 'cosmologies, worldviews and ways
of life' and how taste and 'other sensory experiences of food' become cen-
tral to such perspectives (Madden and Finch, 2006, pp. 92–93). The term
'gustemology' is used to describe an approach to these sensory experi-
ences around food and how they relate to a myriad of cultural issues.

Irrelevant of the spiritual, religious or cultural affiliation, it cannot be
denied that eating is one of the most primordial, ancient and transbound-
ary experiences humans engage in many times a day. Sutton (2010, p. 215)
states 'the eating of food … is one of the most intimate of relationships
we, as corporeal beings and bodies, can have with the world, with others,
with nature'. In furthering the discussion around food, place and identity,
the Hindu notion of Prasad (in the context of traditional India and con-
temporary America) is one example of alternate ways of food embodiment
and place. Madden and Finch (2006, p. 90) discuss the role that Prasad
plays to connect people to place.

> It has become common in food theory studies to argue, 'You are what you eat.' And in Hindu studies, it is common to note that you are 'from whom you eat.' That is from whom you do and do not receive food indicates who you are. I would argue that studying food, utopias, and Hindus in America leads to another pithy saying; you are where you eat.

The requirement to consume food may be biological, however, the ways in which it is harvested, prepared and consumed are cultural (Madden and Finch, 2006). The socio-naturescape merges with the cultural cuisine over generations to form foodscapes. This type of encapsulated food culture experience is in direct juxtaposition to the globalized food system and the ever-increasing industrialized fast food-based world. The interrelationship between discourse of strong and purposeful political palates and the role this plays with notions of the interconnection to time, leisure and food is a platform for a critique of the MacDonaldization effect.

The foodscape that we create and consume is a temporal reminder of the types of interactions we are facilitating with our lifeworld. The local movement and notions of eating as a locavore have come to the forefront of food related studies. The relationship between place and identity can be understood through food (Gruenewald, 2003). Feagan's (2007) review of small-scale farms in both Norway and Scotland demonstrates that the farms can serve as a radical break with neoliberal universalism and can fulfil implicit social contributions to sustainability along with economic, environmental and cultural aspects of rural places. Thus, there are strong arguments for the role that local foods and their local production, distribution and consumption can play in linking people to landscape, emotion and community.

Farms and Food as Nature-based Visceral Experiences

Farms have long been recognized as sites of environmental and biodiversity conservation contention and threat. Indeed, growing unsustainable monocrop agricultural production is responsible for a large majority of global deforestation, GHG emissions, encroaching suburban and urban infrastructure development and agrochemical pollution. Yet, as people become more disconnected from their food sources and from the act of growing their own food, farms and food can serve as (tactile) spaces for (re)connection to life sources. Growing food and visiting farms can serve as immersive experiences that deepen environmental commitments (Carolan, 2007), and alternate ways of biochemically, physically and intellectually engaging. These sensual spaces can serve as facilitators of environmental knowledge and information sharing about biological, emotional and communal ways of learning from foodscapes.

At the same time, this type of connection is more holistically fostered in sustainable agricultural practices (as opposed to conventional production), where biodiversity, community and cultural inclusion are inherent

components to the organization of the system. It is important to note that tourism, especially nature-based tourism, relies on the biodiversity and the terrestrial and coastal ecosystems that support diversified life and healthy environments (Becken and Hay, 2007). Therefore, the potential for moments of visceral alternate ways of knowing and connecting to the non-human world increases with sites that are actively regenerating and working with biological diversity. For example, this would include sites that are working to integrate sustainable agroforestry, ecoagriculture and polycrop organic production. As the human population grows and food security becomes increasingly threatened, local, diversified agriculture needs to become further understood as a source of sustenance, resilience and reconnection to place and self. In addition and co-supportively, as people (farm visitors/food consumers) have sensory inclusive experiences with biodiverse foodscapes and whole foods, enjoyment and a deeper level of understanding can support actions at personal and political levels to mitigate micro and macro GHG-producing actions. At the very least, enjoyable, nature-based farm and food experiences may encourage general environmental and climate change contemplation (Friese *et al.*, 2011).

Farms are actual places and can be seen as pedagogical sites of learning. Friese *et al.* (2011, p. 175) explain that 'places are fundamentally pedagogical because they are contexts for human perception and for participation with the phenomenal, ecological, and cultural world'. Therefore, a deeper examination of the role that farms can play to facilitate a narrowing of the gap between the nature–culture divide is of importance to this research. Specifically, farms may begin to play new roles in knowing of 'self-others-environment' (Gruenewald, 2003, p. 645) in this period of globalization and time–space compression.

Farm Experiences: Agritourism and Agroecotourism

The following discussion of farm experiences is not intended to serve as an extrapolation of agritourism (and all of its derivatives) semantics, nor as a definition exercise. Instead this section is framed as a way of exploring the literature on how farm-based visits and activities can serve in connecting the visiting public with foodscapes, farming and food production with varying degrees of intensity. It is argued that these experiences may promote learning about the connection between climate change, sustainability and food production through exposure to time, seasonality and weather (Cavaliere, 2016). Holidays have changed and are now moving into the realm of physical, mental and even spiritual rejuvenation as people seek a better balance between themselves and nature. Increasing societal stress is creating the need for reflective retreats in natural environments (Gustafson, 2001). Farm-based experiences pull the visitor from indoors to the outdoors and into varying degrees of functioning nature-based ecosystems, depending on the type of farming that is being practised on the specific site.

For the purposes of this discussion, agritourism can be considered as any business conducted by a farmer for the enjoyment or education of the public, to promote the products of the farm and to generate additional farm income (Cavaliere, 2010). Agritourism can include a variety of facilities and activities such as agricultural festivals, farm visits, farm tours, demonstration farms, farm stays, wineries, nursery trails and agricultural museums. Often agritourism can be incorporated into rural tours that showcase agricultural production and operations (Timothy, 2005). Combining the tourism industry with the uniqueness and diversity of local agriculture has resulted in additional opportunities for farmers to diversify their operations and their revenue sources (Kline *et al.*, 2016). Some benefits of agritourism can serve to generate diversification opportunities for local farmers to increase revenue and enhance the viability of their operations, and can be used as a tool to inform the public about the importance of agriculture (Phillip *et al.*, 2010; Tew and Barbieri, 2012). Agritourism can also showcase the diversity of local agriculture, if there actually is a diversified product, improving the appeal of locally grown products, resulting in regional marketing programmes and public–private partnerships that can support and sustain the agricultural area (Phillip *et al.*, 2010).

Agritourism (and agrotourism), a farm-based visit, can be considered a subset of rural tourism and yet can indeed occur in areas that are embedded within urban surroundings, such as is the case with the entire state of New Jersey. Schilling *et al.* (2006, p. 1) define agritourism 'as the business of establishing farms as travel destinations for educational and recreational purposes'. Although in-depth typology is not the focus of this chapter, Phillip *et al.* (2010) have put forth a concise typology for agritourism that focuses on the relationship between tourists and their 'contact to agricultural activity'. Their typology is constructed as the progression ranging from no contact with the farm to direct contact with farm work and with soil as follows: (i) non-working farm agritourism; (ii) working farm, passive contact agritourism; (iii) working farm, indirect contact agritourism; (iv) working farm, direct contact, staged; and (v) working farm, direct contact, authentic agritourism.

Holidays are generally much shorter for American workers than for those workers in other countries, and coupled with rising fuel costs and ideally a focus on reducing carbon emissions, local rural holidays are becoming more popular (Torres and Momsen, 2011). Torres and Momsen (2011) identify gaps in existing agritourism literature in that the large volume of it examines the economic components and contributions of the enterprise to the farm. Yet, the elements of the sociocultural and environmental dimensions of agritourism have garnered fewer studies (Barbieri, 2013). Barbieri's examination of agritourism is more inclusive than most in that it utilizes the core pillars of sustainability and yet is situated from a neoliberal economic perspective. However, this is most likely due to the disconnection of sustainability dimensions from economic implications when examining tourism development (McAreavey and McDonagh, 2011). Barbieri (2013, p. 256) further explains:

> A focus on the local dimension and the adoption of an inductive and actor-oriented approach are invaluable to uncover meanings that different segments of a population attach to their environment and to understand how these meanings inform different representations of the past and views of the future.

Agritourism is a niche market within tourism and is a form of development that, in the past, has provided an approach to rural improvement, where individual farmers and the farms can be considered as parts of development and therefore are not displaced as a result of development. Sonnino (2004, p. 297) recognizes three primary stakeholders in agritourism systems: agritourism providers, destination marking organizations and agritourists. Agritourism can demonstrate a literal and/or a symbiotic relationship between tourism and agriculture, and is commonly described as holidays on, or visits to, farmland. Forms of agritourism include holiday farms, farmhouse bed and breakfasts, farm camping, mountain resorts, equestrian centres and other varieties of rural accommodations (El-Hage Scialabba and Williamson, 2004). Along with generating employment and additional income for rural landholders or farmers, agritourism can allow for the exchange of agricultural practices, artistic heritage, craftsmanship and culinary traditions with visitors (El-Hage Scialabba and Williamson, 2004). There is a large market for agritourism guests from urbanized contexts because people are increasingly living in cities and in many cases are four generations away from agricultural activities and living on farms (Schilling *et al.*, 2006; Tew and Barbieri, 2012). The intrinsic, transformative and socio-cultural components of agritourism hold value that is yet to be fully recognized or understood by increasingly urbanized, globalized and time–space-compressed societies.

Today, ecotourism is recognized as the fastest-growing sector of the tourism industry, and with its continued growth comes an escalating debate regarding the definition of ecotourism. The meaning is continually addressed by researchers; however, the World Conservation Union developed an official ecotourism definition:

> Ecotourism is environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas, in order to enjoy and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features – both past and present) that promotes conservation, has low negative visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations. (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996, cited in Luck and Kirstges, 2003, p. x).

The connection between ecotourism and the slow travel movement is an important bridge that is discussed by Tribe (2009, p. 255), who argues that 'slow ecotourism' can more effectively link conservation, the tourism industry, communities and nature and that it can also increase localized economic stimulus through visitation. Farms that are implementing practices aimed at showcasing sustainability measures in both production and in operations can serve as modelling and learning forums related to climate change challenges for visitors (Cavaliere, 2010).

Ecotourism practices can foster transformations in ecological consciousness (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2009). Combining agritourism with ecotourism (agroecotourism) practices can be a way to approach the human–nature divide and secure more sustainable human–environmental relationships. It is crucial to note that, although ecotourism is promoted as a consumer choice that benefits conservation, it is indeed enmeshed in political choices and the organizations that promote it, placing it within dominant development theories and neoliberal economics (Duffy, 2012). Agroecotourism and permaculture sites often strive to include practices and activities that work with the local bioregion and involve local residents and visitors: accommodation in buildings renovated/built according to ecological architecture using natural materials and landscape planning; consumption and selling of organic foodstuff; educational programmes and training including organic gardening, compost making, wild herbs collection and drying, and traditional food and beverage processing; and sensitizing guests on rational use of natural resources and energy, for example solar energy and water re-use and recycling (El-Hage Scialabba and Williamson, 2004).

Onsite agroecotourism activities, as seen with many permaculture site operators, include visits to nearby protected areas, naturalistic didactical activities, tactile and demonstrative laboratories involving organic agriculture and the environment, and offer visitors instruments and equipment for the observation of fauna and flora. According to Cavaliere (2005), offsite permaculture activities included surrounding ecoagriculture private farms, protected areas, industrial farms (for comparison lessons) and visits to local communities. Environmental and cultural interpretation is a fundamental aspect of agroecotourism ventures operated on permaculture sites. Permaculture trainings result in internationally recognized Permaculture Design Certificates (PDC) that are used by many homeowners and landscape architects. The emphasis on building strong global/local knowledge connections between international permaculture sites, permaculture trainers, and locals and tourists interested in permaculture is vital to the support of sustainable and low-impact communities (Cavaliere, 2005).

Recreational Foraging

Experiential outings to identify and collect food in wild/open areas can serve as conduits for transformative understandings of a deeper ecological awareness. Non-agricultural lands or those 'wild' spaces on the periphery of cultivated spaces can serve as places of sustenance and learning resources. Recreational foraging can serve as a way of conserving plant and other environmental knowledge, supporting community health from an ecopsychology and biophysiological perspective and protecting from 'build-out' via bio-cultural corridors in the post-industrial and/or peri-urban contexts.

Recreational foraging is viewed 'as a right, as a part of cultural heritage and as a healthy recreational activity' (Hall, 2013a, p. 229). Recreational foraging could be seen as a form of slow tourism and Hayes-Conroy (2010, p. 734) notes that slow travellers 'perform a mobile-existential praxis in which new possibilities for experiencing the relations between the self and the world unfold'. Interestingly, Howard *et al.* (2012) suggest that human foraging serves cognitive adaptations. Children are strongly inclined to forage for natural things, even when adults are not present, and there is an 'ontogenetic reliance on foraging in childhood to develop individual competence in assessing landscapes' (Chipeniuk, 1998). Foraging, then, can be understood as a deeply transformative and developmental process. Buhner (2004, p. 242) discusses how learning to deeply relate to plants is a mode of cognition that involves a 'continual perception of meaning' and stimulates 'internal ecological reclamation'. He discusses the medicinal, nutritional and transformational role of plants for humans and highlights that of the estimated 400,000 species of plants on earth only a fraction have been identified by Western science. He professes that by learning an alternate heart-centred mode of perception, people can make deeper connections with plants and the earth as a whole.

In a more applied context, Buhner (2004) suggests that a knowledge of foods and food preference determines the actual act of foraging or rather what species are being sought. Hall (2013b) also links the learning or information sharing that goes on between foragers and public observers. Hall (2013a, p. 228) notes several respondents 'started foraging after they themselves had stopped other people and realised what was available that they remembered from their younger days and/or what they had seen or heard in the media'.

Mindful foraging can also serve to encourage lessons on limits, as over-foraging can negatively impact the health of both flora and fauna species. The sustainability of foraging may be a learning opportunity for those who are receiving guidance and information from credible sources – for example, family from previous generations (often in indigenous cases, but not always), from current modern media, such as television shows, and through alternate knowledge networks.

There is a possibility for recreational foraging to support cultural heritage and connection to multi-functional foodscapes, while at the same time not serving as a source of unsustainable overharvesting of wild species. Recreational foraging tours are assisting to educate peri-urban communities about both alternate ways of knowing and landscapes and sustainable food consumption. Wild food species and spaces can serve as alternate ways of knowing and can increase discourse in sustainable economies and post-industrial societies. This nature-based and foodscape experience can also serve to bring forth a deeper understanding regarding wild foods and their relationships with commercial food products. Indeed, it is an interesting opportunity to examine the interrelationship between food, climate change and tourism (Friese *et al.*, 2011).

Food and Farms as Learning Experiences

During a visit to a farm, a natural food producing area, or through simply buying and eating whole unprocessed food, there is an opportunity for mind/body shifts to occur in terms of human–nature relationships and potential, and therefore in climate understanding. Participating in farm activities, agroecotourism classes, farm apprenticeships, gathering fruit or vegetables from a U-pick farm or even just selecting produce directly from a farm-run farm stand can result in moments of embodied experiences (Carolan, 2008). According to a study conducted with agritourism providers of 592 farms in the state of Missouri, 66.9% of agritourism providers viewed educating the public about agriculture as being very or extremely important (Hayden and Buck, 2012). Farmers as agricultural educators are an important part of social bonding and this relates to the ability of the farm family to interact with customers (Tew and Barbieri, 2012).

When visitors engage in experiential and didactical activities on these sites, there is a development of personal awareness and a deeper embodied understanding of external environments. These system realizations support more abstract concepts, such as the connection of personal action and climate impacts. Farm visits can contribute to a place-based connection and the development of stronger systems awareness (Tew and Barbieri, 2012). Carolan (2008, p. 408) again encourages an understanding that if we 'think with our bodies then we must think about the countryside with our bodies too' and that rural studies need to incorporate embodiment so that we may begin to understand how to 'give non-farming bodies a feel for production agriculture' (p. 419) in order to open up interests in on-farm activities and how they may shape people's attitudes towards nature, the countryside and agriculture. I argue this notion can and should also be applied to peri-urban and urban contexts.

Conclusion

Ultimately, the world is socially constructed and often by institutions and traditions that are beyond the forefront of our immediate daily lifeworld. The need to further sustainability, the climate crisis and interrelated trends towards bio-cultural extinction involve an ecological element 'but must also be seen as a crisis of consciousness or worldview' (Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles, 2013, p. 43). Climate change is a phenomena stemming in large part from economic globalization that can be seen as a psychic territory (Bodnar, 2008) and therefore cannot be addressed within the current dominant social, political and market-oriented economic logic (Nicholls, 2013). Hence, there is a need to further explore and understand alternate ways of knowing and, specifically, the role that foodscapes and tourism can play in facilitating shifts in understanding sustainability.

The opportunity to observe and validate alternate ways of knowing can help to bring forth a deeper contemplation of our consumptive patterning and connections to place and space. Sensory and visual experiences can occur on farms, with food/plants that may stimulate us out of unreflective rote activity. The transdisciplinary authors discussed in this chapter offer perspectives on how we can reconnect through alternate ways of knowing, specifically in relationship to the energetic and space interaction with farms and food. Depending on the context of these sensory, tactile spaces, visceral, didactic and artistic experiences, different realizations can be understood. As aforementioned, in sustainable polycrop and wild bordering areas, there are opportunities to experience and embody nature in a diversified (and stabilized) foodscape.

Connections to food and sustainable agriculture may be ways to increase individuals' carbon capability (Hall, 2013a) through increasing the connection of abstract information with embodied knowledge. This chapter discusses understandings in alternate ways of knowing that can result in embodied engagement through cultivating climate consciousness by way of experiences with mindful growing and eating of food and visiting agricultural areas as intentional nature-based experiences. Engagement in foodscapes with experiential and didactical activities provides opportunities for the development of a deeper understanding of external environments and human connections to biological and sociological processes. These system realizations support more abstract concepts, such as the connection of personal action and climate impacts. This chapter interweaves discussions on place-based connections and the development of deeper system awareness through foodscapes as vehicles for alternate ways of knowing.

References

Barbieri, C. (2013) Assessing the sustainability of agritourism in the US: A comparison between agritourism and other farm entrepreneurial ventures. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 21(2), 252–270.

Becken, S. and Hay, J.E. (2007) *Tourism and Climate Change: Risks and Opportunities*, Vol. 1. Channel View Publications, Bristol, UK.

Blanchard, L. and Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2013) *Peace through Tourism: Promoting Human Security through International Citizenship*. Routledge, London.

Bodnar, S. (2008) Wasted and bombed: clinical enactments of a changing relationship to the earth. *Psychoanalytic Dialogues* 18(4), 484–512.

Bougherara, D., Grolleau, G. and Mzoughi, N. (2009) Buy local, pollute less: what drives households to join a community supported farm? *Ecological Economics* 68(5), 1488–1495.

Buhner, S.H. (2004) *The Secret Teachings of Plants: The Intelligence of the Heart in the Direct Perception of Nature*. Inner Traditions, Rochester, Vermont.

Carolan, M.S. (2006) Ecological representation in deliberation: the contribution of tactile spaces. *Environmental Politics* 15(03), 345–361.

Carolan, M.S. (2007) Introducing the concept of tactile space: Creating lasting social and environmental commitments. *Geoforum* 38(6), 1264–1275.

Carolan, M.S. (2008) More than representational knowledge of the countryside: how we think as bodies. *Sociologia Ruralis* 48(4), 408–422.

Carolan, M.S. (2009) 'I do therefore there is': enlivening socio-environmental theory. *Environmental Politics* 18(1), 1–17.

Cavaliere, C.T. (2005) Diversity is stability: an analysis of agroecotourism within sustainable agroecosystems in Costa Rica. Unpublished Master's Degree Thesis, James Cook University, Cairns, Australia.

Cavaliere, C.T. (2010) *Sustainable Agroecotourism Ventures for Low-Carbon Societies.* Paper presented at the Recreation Values and Natural Areas Symposium Center for Recreation Research, 18–19 March 2010. University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

Cavaliere, C.T. (2016) *Cultivating Climate Consciousness: Connections to Farms, Food and Place.* Dissertation, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

Chipeniuk, R. (1998) Childhood foraging as regional culture: some implications for conservation policy. *Environmental Conservation* 25(3), 198–207.

Duffy, R. (2012) *A Trip Too Far: Ecotourism, Politics, and Exploitation.* Earthscan, London.

El-Hage Scialabba, N. and Williamson, D. (2004) The scope of organic agriculture, sustainable forest management and ecoforestry in protected area management. *Environment and Natural Resources*, Working Paper (18), 1–35.

Feagan, R. (2007) The place of food: mapping out the 'local' in local food systems. *Progress in Human Geography* 31(1), 23–42.

Friese, K.M., Kraft, K. and Nabhan, G.P. (2011) *Chasing Chiles: Hot Spots along the Pepper Trail.* Chelsea Green Publishing Company, White River Junction, Vermont.

Goodman, M.K. (2014) Eating Powerful Transgressions: (Re)assessing the Spaces and Ethics of Organic Food in the UK. In: Goodman, M.K. and Sage, C. (eds) *Food Transgressions: Making Sense of Contemporary Food Politics.* Routledge, London.

Gössling, S., Garrod, B., Aall, C., Hille, J. and Peeters, P. (2011) Food management in tourism: reducing tourism's carbon 'foodprint'. *Tourism Management*, 32(3), 534–543.

Gruenewald, D.A. (2003) Foundations of place: a multidisciplinary framework for place-conscious education. *American Educational Research Journal* 40(3), 619–654.

Gustafson, P. (2001) Meanings of place: everyday experience and theoretical conceptualizations. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 21(1), 5–16.

Hall, C.M. (2013a) Why forage when you don't have to? Personal and cultural meaning in recreational foraging: a New Zealand study. *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 8(2–3), 224–233.

Hall, C.M. (2013b) Framing behavioural approaches to understanding and governing sustainable tourism consumption: beyond neoliberalism, 'nudging' and 'green growth'? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 21(7), 1091–1109.

Hayden, J. and Buck, D. (2012) Doing community supported agriculture: Tactile space, affect and effects of membership. *Geoforum* 43(2), 332–341.

Hayes-Conroy, A. (2010) Feeling slow food: visceral fieldwork and empathetic research relations in the alternative food movement. *Geoforum* 41(5), 734–742.

Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2009) Indigenous ecotourism's role in transforming ecological consciousness. *Journal of Ecotourism* 8(2), 144–160.

Hinrichs, C. and Lyson, T.A. (2007) *Remaking the North American Food System: Strategies for Sustainability.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Howard, C., Fullagar, S., Markwell, K. and Wilson, E. (2012) Speeding up and slowing down: pilgrimage and slow travel through time. *Slow Tourism: Experiences and Mobilities* 54, 11.

Kler, B.K. (2009) *Tourism and Restoration.* Channel View Publications, Bristol, UK.

Kline, C., Barbieri, C. and LaPan, C. (2016) The influence of agritourism on niche meats loyalty and purchasing. *Journal of Travel Research* 55(5), 643–658.

Kneafsey, M., Cox, R., Holloway, L., Dowler, E., Venn, L. and Tuomainen, H. (2008) *Reconnecting Consumers*, *Producers and Food*: *Exploring Alternatives*. Berg, Oxford, UK.

Lange, E. (2008) *Re-Enchantment to Escape Empire: Spirituality, Sustainability, and Critical Transformative Learning*. Paper presented at the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, 27th National Conference, 2008. University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia.

Lück, M. and Kirstges, T. (2003) *Global Ecotourism Policies and Case Studies: Perspectives and Constraints*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, UK.

Madden, E.M. and Finch, M.L. (2006) *Eating in Eden: Food and American Utopias*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska.

McAreavey, R. and McDonagh, J. (2011) Sustainable rural tourism: lessons for rural development. *Sociologia Ruralis* 51(2), 175–194.

Moura, B.C.S. (2009) Contemplation-Scapes. Masters of Arts, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh College of Art, School of Landscape Architecture.

Nabhan, G.P., Walker, D. and Moreno, A.M. (2010) Biocultural and ecogastronomic restoration: the renewing America's food traditions alliance. *Ecological Restoration* 28(3), 266–279.

Nicholls, R. (2013) Peace (tourism) as critical ecological democracy. Doctoral dissertation, Routledge.

Ostrom, M.R. (2007) *Community Supported Agriculture as an Agent of Change: Is It Working?* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Phillip, S., Hunter, C. and Blackstock, K. (2010) A typology for defining agritourism. *Tourism Management* 31(6), 754–758.

Richardson-Ngwenya, P.E. and Richardson, B. (2013) Documentary film and ethical foodscapes: three takes on Caribbean sugar. *Cultural Geographies* 20(3), 1–18.

Salleh, A. (2010) From metabolic rift to 'metabolic value': reflections on environmental sociology and the alternative globalization movement. *Organization and Environment* 23(2), 205–219.

Schilling, B.J., Marxen, L.J., Heinrich, H.H. and Brooks, F.J. (2006) *The Opportunity for Agritourism Development in New Jersey*. Report prepared for the New Jersey Department of Agriculture. Available at: http://www.nj.gov/agriculture/pdf/ATReport.pdf (accessed 22 April 2010).

Sonnino, R. (2004) For a 'piece of bread'? Interpreting sustainable development through agritourism in Southern Tuscany. *Sociologia Ruralis* 44(3), 285–300.

Sutton, D.E. (2010) Food and the senses. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39, 209–223.

Tew, C. and Barbieri, C. (2012) The perceived benefits of agritourism: the provider's perspective. *Tourism Management* 33(1), 215–224.

Timothy, D.J. (2005) Rural tourism business: a North American overview. In: Hall, D., Kirkpatrick, I. and Mitchell, M. (eds) *Rural Tourism and Sustainable Business*. Channel View Publications, Clevedon, UK, pp. 41–62.

Torres, R.M. and Momsen, J.H. (2011) *Tourism and Agriculture*. Routledge, New York.

Tribe, J. (2009) *Philosophical Issues in Tourism*. Channel View Publications, Clevedon, UK.

Turner, B. (2011) Embodied connections: sustainability, food systems and community gardens. *Local Environment* 16(6), 509–522.

Williams-Forson, P.A. and Counihan, C. (2012) *Taking Food Public: Redefining Foodways in a Changing World*. Routledge, New York.

Part II   Fringe Tourism

5 Cool Suburbs: A Strategy for Sustainable Tourism?

ROBERT MAITLAND[1]*

Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, University of Westminster, London, UK

Introduction

The search for the authenticity, for the 'real', is a well-established strand in attempts to understand the tourist experience. Our work on tourism in London and other World Tourism Cities (WTCs) has shown that many visitors seek the 'real' city, and that synergies between tourists and residents are important in reconfiguring, reimagining and reimaging places (Maitland, 2007; Maitland and Newman, 2009; Maitland, 2010; Pappalepore *et al.*, 2011; Pappalepore *et al.*, 2014). Tourism off the beaten track has been evidenced in once unfashionable areas of the inner city (e.g. Brooklyn, New York City; Hoxton, London; Kreuzberg, Berlin) (Maitland and Newman, 2009), and tourism has played an important and synergistic role in the new economy of the inner city (Hutton, 2009), though one that has been largely unplanned. But as development pressures and tourism numbers increase, areas that were previously off the beaten track become incorporated into recognized tourism circuits. This means that 'urban explorers' (Maitland, 2007) must look further afield in their search for the 'real' places where they feel they can get 'backstage'.

Yet rapid and largely unplanned changes to London and its population, together with shifting views about what constitutes 'the tourist', complicate the idea of a 'real city' that can be 'discovered' by visitors; tourists in search of the real city may now have to look further off the beaten track – into the suburbs. At present, suburbs seem unlikely candidates for new tourist destinations. However, places' attractions for and meaning to visitors can change, sometimes radically; 25 years ago, attempts

* E-mail: r.a.maitland@westminster.ac.uk

to attract visitors to inner city areas were novel and often derided in the USA and in the UK (Beioley *et al.*, 1990). Yet such areas now constitute London's hippest destinations. We draw on evidence and ideas from our research on tourists' attempts to get off the beaten track in London and other WTCs to consider how far suburban areas can meet the demands previously satisfied by off the beaten track areas in the inner city, and whether their images and imaginaries can change as radically. If so, there may be opportunities for sustainable tourism development and creating links between urban and rural locales, usually seen as offering separate tourism experiences. Whilst the focus is on London, the ideas may prove applicable elsewhere. The chapter begins with a consideration of the appeal of off the beaten track areas for visitors, and examines the rapid changes in London that are shrinking what tourists have seen as the 'real city'. We identify the qualities that constitute the 'real city' for visitors, and assess how far those qualities can also be found in the suburbs. We conclude with an assessment of the potential of suburban areas for tourism, emphasizing that negative image and imaginaries are of crucial importance.

Visitors in Search of the 'Real'

The search for (lost) authenticity and a desire to get 'backstage' (Pearce and Moscardo, 1986) to discover 'real' places is a long established, though contested, theme in narratives of tourist practices and experiences. 'Getting off the beaten track' has been more strongly associated with rural or wild tourism, and backpackers exploring exotic (to them) countries far from home. However, getting off the beaten track has become increasingly important to many city visitors, especially in WTCs, with their capacity to generate new tourism areas. Getting off the beaten track is central to the experience that some visitors seek, but for many others it is an element in their overall experience of the city; they want to both 'see the sights' and 'experience the real city' (Maitland and Newman, 2009). In London, we can see this as a consequence of changes in the nature of tourists and of the experiences they seek. These are complex, but we can identify the main factors. As tourism has continued to expand, so inevitably has the number of experienced travellers who have already 'seen the sights' – both literally as they return frequently to cities like London or New York City and/or metaphorically because they have travelled extensively and no longer see manufactured tourist experiences as a main focus of their visit. At the same time, we have seen more 'connected tourists' (Maitland, 2008): people who know the city well because they previously lived, worked or studied there or are connected to it by their friends and relatives. Connections mean these tourists have ready access to the 'backstage' off the beaten track areas, and perhaps a strong motivation to continue to explore the city they used to live in, or to experience the city life their friends, relatives or colleagues know.

Moreover, for experienced and connected visitors, the focus of city tourism is shifting. It is moving away from relying principally on exploiting tangible resources like historic buildings or museums and galleries, towards a concern with intangible resources, like lifestyle and image. This means that 'having' a holiday, or 'doing' the sights has less appeal than 'becoming' different through the effects of the tourist experience (Richards and Wilson, 2007). For Andersson Cederholm (2009), 'being' is an emerging tourism value: being with oneself, in a contemplative fashion; being with co-tourists, especially those with shared values and interests; and being with local people – an essential element in experiencing place. At the same time, it has become increasingly difficult to isolate and separate tourists and touristic practices as tourism comes to be seen as simply one of a suite of mobilities (Hannam, 2009) and touristic practices overlap with those of city residents (Franklin and Crang, 2001).

All these changes mean that for urban explorers personal integration into the city has become increasingly important. As Oliver and Jenkins (2003) put it, they want to 'occupy the same physical spaces and satisfy their existential and material needs in the same manner as members of the host society' (p. 296). Oliver and Jenkins developed their ideas in an explicitly rural context, but they are equally valid for cities because 'the term integration is both fluid and evolving' but can be seen as 'tourism that is explicitly linked to the economic, social, cultural natural and human structures of the landscape in which it takes place' and that includes the urban landscape. They go on to distinguish vertical and horizontal integration. Vertical integration focuses on links with the world outside the city, but more relevant to this discussion is horizontal integration, which 'promotes greater embeddedness of the tourism product and tourism experience within … the landscape' so that visitors 'consume more local products and activities'. They describe this as 'soft tourism', whereby 'tourists albeit temporarily, "embed" themselves … and experience locally distinct cultural activities, products and environments' (Oliver and Jenkins, 2003, pp. 296–297). In the context of a WTC, urban explorers participate in soft tourism, as they enjoy a particular landscape of consumption, experience the distinctive aspects of place and embed themselves in everyday life. We can see embeddedness as key to experiencing the real. As Hall (2007) says, 'Fakery occurs when the form of the physical or social object loses its integration with the everyday life of the place in which it is situated', whereas 'authenticity is born from everyday experiences and connections which are often serendipitous, not from things "out there". They cannot be manufactured through promotional and advertising deceit or the "experience economy".' (pp. 1139–1140)

So urban explorers seek a soft tourism experience, which allows them to experience the real city by finding ways to embed themselves in it, and expose themselves to serendipity and the everyday. However, changes in the city itself mean they need to be resourceful to do so.

The Real Recedes: Change in a WTC

In one sense, any place is authentic and real – it is as it is. But as Knox (2005) points out, elements of the modern world – telecoms, technology, mass production, mass values – subvert the 'authenticity' of place so that 'city spaces become inauthentic and "placeless", a process that is, ironically, reinforced as people seek authenticity through professionally designed and commercially constructed spaces and places whose invented traditions, sanitised and simplified symbolism and commercialised heritage all make for convergence rather than spatial identity' (p. 3). We can see these commercial spaces as attempts to satisfy visitors' demands for existential authenticity where the place conforms to the city of their imagination. Salazar (2013) argues that imaginaries are 'socially transmitted representational assemblages that interact with people's personal imaginings and are used as meaning-making and world-shaping devices' (p. 34), and that exoticized imaginaries of otherness prompt tourism. Potential tourists imagine 'paradisiacal environments where local landscape and population are to be consumed through observation, embodied sensation and imagination'. Such paradisiacal environments are not of course confined to clichés of white beaches and waving palms: local landscapes, and population can be consumed in these ways in cities – by embedded tourists.

Imaginaries of cities are complex and in some ways contradictory. London is well known and well publicized, a global brand, and is undergoing radical and rapid change – yet imaginaries of London may be slow to change. Recent research on the images of London held by Czech non-visitors (Cherifi *et al.*, 2014) show that images that would appear very old-fashioned to Londoners can be stable and slow to change. There have been energetic attempts to refashion London's image – not least through the expensive staging of the 2012 Olympics. However, VisitLondon's (2015) advice to first time visitors features just three main images: Buckingham Palace, Tower Bridge and Piccadilly Circus. The imaginary of heritage, history and royalty remains well supported.

Yet over the past 20 years, London has been changing radically and profoundly. As Kuper (2015) shows, it has risen to the top of global reputational league tables – constantly vying with New York City. He argues that three factors account for this. First, London is now a global rather than a national capital and attracts money and talent from across the world. Second, it has become more colourful – for example, through renewed public spaces, spectacular architecture like Tate Modern or the London Eye, a renowned restaurant scene and street life. It has become more colourful too in its cosmopolitan population, attracted to London in part because now 'it is a place without a dominant national culture … to most foreigners London now looks like a place where you can self-actualise' (Kuper, 2015, p. 3). A good place for being and becoming, then, but one whose sense of place and of itself is blurred, complex and contradictory. Finally, and paradoxically, London offers stability – a long history, institutions

that have evolved slowly, and sufficient political stability to attract global elites who want somewhere safe to keep their money and their family. Whilst Brexit is an unusual disruption, there is as yet (2017) no evidence that it will substantially reorder this well established pattern.

These changes have had a profound effect upon places within London, most obviously through very rapid rises in property prices, seen by commentators as driving the working classes, lower middle classes and increasingly the professional middle classes from the central and inner city. This is what Erenhalt (2013) termed 'the great inversion' of a long established pattern of poor inner cities and prosperous suburbs. Now, wealthy elites have moved back to the central and inner city, whilst the less well-off and migrants move to outer areas. Indeed, once bustling parts of the most expensive areas of central London have become quiet, as more and more of the housing stock is acquired by foreign owners who are frequently absent (Rees, 2015). However, processes of real estate speculation and gentrification have reached into formerly unfashionable areas throughout inner London. As Erenhalt notes, 'creatives' and hipsters colonize rundown areas, attracted by low property prices and the opportunity to display their love of 'edginess'. They are followed by bourgeois-bohemians (bobos), many of them foreigners. As gentrification proceeds, the wealthy move in. In 2012, London residential property worth £83 billion was bought for cash – by those working in the City financial district and by rich foreigners seeking a safe and profitable investment (Goldfarb, 2013). This process provides an urbanism that is attractively well manicured and aesthetically appealing – but one where the private realm displaces the public (in gated communities or commercial spaces to which public access is permissive, not an entitlement), and ideas of mixed communities are absent. The urban atmosphere may be appealing, but has little connection with the real city. Tourism has played a significant role in this process of transforming and reimaging rundown areas, with some tourists' urban preferences linking synergistically and seamlessly with those of some residents, and with tourism spending and tourist presence supporting the gentrification process (Maitland and Newman, 2009). However, super-gentrification and the profitability of new residential development is undermining the qualities that made the areas attractive, as rising real estate prices force out even long-established independent small businesses, restaurants and shops.

All this has been accompanied by a very rapid increase in the number of visitors to London. There were a record 17.4 million overseas visitors in 2014, and 18.8 million visitors are projected for 2015 – almost 3.5 million more than in the Olympic year of 2012. London topped the Global Destinations Cities Index in 2013 and 2014 (London and Partners, 2015). Taken together, these processes have driven the transformation of central and inner London, with areas that were once 'undiscovered' increasingly drawn in to the commercialized tourist heart of the city. Although celebrated by much of the tourism industry, this process is not unproblematic. As Bell and Welland (2007) commented of an earlier stage, London is becoming as high-rise as New York City, and 'it can sometimes seem as though there is nobody over 30 on the streets and that a great experiment

in mass immigration and assimilation is under way … in an effort to capture the flag from NY, London risks losing what makes it London' (p. 2). Of course areas and places in a dynamic city change constantly. In the 1960s, 'Swinging London' saw the incorporation of once off the beaten track areas like Carnaby Street and the King's Road in a newly fashionable and vibrant commercial scene (Rycroft, 2002). But recent changes in London have been of a different scale. Perhaps, as Goldfarb (2013) claims, 'the delicate social ecology that made possible London's transformation into a great world city over the last two decades is past the tipping point' (p. SR5). For 'hard' tourism, often first time visitors in organized groups who want to see London's iconic sights, this may not matter too much; indeed the addition of new 'world class' developments may seem an advantage. However, those whose imaginaries are of a different London and who want a more integrated soft tourism will need to work harder to search out the 'real London'.

Soft Tourism in Inner London: Getting Off the Beaten Track

Our previous research in London and other WTCs has shown that some tourists want to get away from popular hotspots to places that seem off the beaten track. In London, the research has included visitor surveys with almost 400 respondents, and lengthy semi-structured interviews with a total of more than 200 interviewees, at non-central locations in the inner city. Drawing on this research, we can identify three aspects of their experience that allow urban explorers to get off the beaten track and feel they can embed themselves in the city. They are the combination of morphology and consumption landscape; image and imagined geography; and experiencing everyday life (Maitland, 2008; Maitland and Newman, 2009; Pappalepore *et al.*, 2011; Pappalepore *et al.*, 2014).

The morphology of the areas is crucial for visitors, and they frequently describe and comment on buildings and urban form in detail. The areas visited are characteristically formerly industrial, working class and under-privileged, often with a strong representation of ethnic minority populations. Their urban form seems organic and unplanned, is at comparatively high density, and has intricate street patterns and buildings of a human scale. Visitors contrast this with tourist hotspots, seen as having monumental architecture and layout, or commercialized environments that seemed planned for visitors. Unlike monumental or carefully choreographed commercial environments, such places offer simultaneous rather than successive arrangements of spatial elements (Gospodini, 2001), meaning that visitors have many options and choices in how they move around them. They are, in other words, easily and temptingly explorable. Indeed, a minority of visitors specifically commented on the pleasure of 'getting lost' – whilst knowing that they could and would regain their bearings. This intricate urban form contains a mix of land uses and a predominance of independent businesses, often in the creative sector – arts,

fashion, food, craft beers and so on – providing an attractive landscape of consumption. Branches of national and international chains are rare.

The imagined geography of space intersects with this objective material space and contributes to fulfilling the expectations many visitors have of the 'real London'. In these multi-purpose and heterogeneous spaces 'with blurred boundaries … a wide range of activities and people co-exist. Tourist facilities coincide with businesses, public and private institutions and domestic housing, and tourists mingle with locals, including touts … heterogeneous tourist spaces provide stages where transitional identities may be performed alongside the everyday actions of residents, passers-by and workers' (Edensor, 2000, p. 64). Novy and Huning (2009) point out, discussing Berlin, that 'particularly edgy, transitional and allegedly authentic urban settings such as industrial and warehouse districts, ethnic or immigrant enclaves and other neighborhoods where people on the margins of urban society live and work are today part of a growing number of tourists' travel itineraries (…) Former no-go-areas have been turned into desired travel destinations, as their "authenticity", the alternative lifestyles of their residents and their different tangible and intangible cultural resources – music, art, history, traditions, the aesthetic of their built environment etc. – became attractive for outsiders' (p. 87). This links to Nancarrow *et al*'s (2001) discussion of what constitutes 'cool'. For them it revolves around a search for the authentic and a valuing of insider knowledge about trends and consumption patterns outside the mainstream – a form of cultural capital. Off the beaten track areas can satisfy the demand for a real London hidden from the mainstream, known only to insiders, and are in some ways responding to a nostalgic desire for a city with an intimate villagey built environment and a consumption landscape of trend-setting independents, removed from homogenizing global businesses. These places are imagined and represented as distinctive, since they have emerged organically through micro interactions in the market, and have not been planned as spaces for consumption by developers or public authorities. They are yet to be 'commercially appropriated' (Neill, 2001) and their rundown origins offer 'grit as glamour' (Lloyd, 2000) where visitors can experience 'safe danger'.

As places that are distinct from established, planned or commercially developed tourist bubbles, they offer the opportunity to experience the everyday life of the city, and mundane activities and routines are invested with interest and meaning. Observing quotidian activities like daily shopping, people at work or going to a café is both interesting in itself and confirmation that these are not places planned for visitors. As one interviewee commented, 'it doesn't feel artificial … you don't feel like you're in Disneyland'. Local people are key markers and signifiers that these are real places, and provide both confirmation of authenticity and a sense of the exotic. This opportunity is valued: 'it's more authentic and fun, because local people and tourists, they also mix. Here, you are not treated as a tourist' (Maitland, 2008). A convivial relationship between tourists

and locals seems an essential element in the experience of everyday life – 'it is the site that contains the extraordinary within the ordinary if one is prepared to look' (Till, 2009, p. 139). However, we should bear in mind that 'local people' from the tourist perspective mean simply non-tourists. High levels of migration and rapid churn in the population of London's neighbourhoods means that meeting with truly 'local' people is comparatively uncommon – if by that we mean those born and bred in the area or who are long-term residents.

Subsequent work (Pappalepore *et al.*, 2011; Pappalepore *et al.*, 2014) has investigated the role creative clusters play in the development and experience of tourism off the beaten track. We found that concentrations of creative industries provide visitors with opportunities for consumption and for the accumulation of cultural capital, drawing on and exploiting the presence of creative producers and other creative visitors, who are themselves perceived as an attraction. In such creative tourism areas, these elements combine with others we have already discussed – a particular morphology, and the opportunity to embed oneself in the everyday life of the city – to produce places that visitors see as real, with a bohemian atmosphere and cool image. Whilst we identified several varieties of practice in the ways that visitors engaged with the areas, for most tourists the sense that they were getting away from the mainstream was central to the appeal of the areas.

Suburban Tourism: How Cool is That?

As Hinchcliffe (2005) says, 'the literature on suburbs is extensive, and yet the subject always seems elusive. For some, the suburb is a geographical space, for others a cultural form … for others a state of mind' (p. 2). In other words, different commentators put different emphasis on the components of suburbs: their objective material space, imagined geography and experience of the everyday. This helps account for one of the difficulties of discussing suburbs and their potential appeal – avoiding 'the dangers of over-generalizing about cities and suburbs' (Phelps, 2012, p. 259). It is especially important to avoid the illusion that the city's centre and periphery developed independently of one another. In reality, whilst suburbs have very different characters, they cannot be regarded in isolation from either the central city or its surroundings (Hinchcliffe, 2005); rather they form part of the complex urban region. Perhaps this means that traditional distinctions are now meaningless. For Lang and Knox (2009), 'the city' and 'suburb' – and perhaps 'rural hinterland' – are 'zombie categories', irrelevant in a contemporary context.

As Phelps (2012) points out, London's suburbs are disparate and varied in their character. The Victorian development of London saw the construction of suburbs in what has since become inner London, whilst the outer suburban areas were constructed mainly in the 20th century. In both eras, suburbs frequently grew, as had other parts of the city, from

a pre-existing village nucleus. Some were predominantly residential but others were substantially industrial (e.g. Wembley and Willesden), and others had a mix of small businesses and housing (e.g. Acton). The high amenity inner and outer suburbs (Camberwell, Hammersmith, Putney, Ealing, for example) provided for those moving in search of more personal independence and freedom; they helped create a market for arts and crafts products and provided a home for new colleges providing arts education and training (Phelps, 2012). Rather than there being a clear distinction between (inner) city and suburbs, we can see many shared qualities. The morphology of suburbs can echo many qualities of the inner city, with intricate street patterns stemming from village origins and complex patterns of land ownership. Nineteenth- and 20th-century suburbs mix housing with small industrial buildings capable of conversion to other uses – lofts, workshops, studios and so on – whilst some larger industrial buildings have been converted to residential loft apartments or re-used as performance spaces or complexes of studios and workshops. Indeed, it is argued that the 'bourgeois utopia' of high amenity suburbs are being reconstituted as locations for emerging small businesses including the professional and creative sectors, as urban businesses value proximity to home along with public and private services, amenities and green space whilst retaining links to regional professional and industry networks (Phelps, 2012, p. 266). We can see this trend spilling over into the accessible rural areas that can be seen as very low-density suburbs, often comprising small towns and villages. They are economically successful, and attractive to people and businesses priced out of the inner and central city. And suburbs are, of course, pre-eminently the scene of everyday life, since they are 'the principal residential environment for the majority of the population' (Whitehand and Carr, 2001, p. 182). Indeed, as London transforms into a global capital with central and inner areas colonized by global elites, the suburbs are increasingly where 'the locals' are to be found – if by that we mean those for whom the city is their permanent and long-standing residence.

So in terms of morphology, of objective material space, London's suburbs have many of the qualities of the inner city. Moreover they are the real city, in which visitors who want to experience the exotic of the everyday can find it. And suburbs already receive many visitors. Visitors who are there to see friends and relations go to where their friends and relatives are to be found – to a large extent in the suburbs. Meanwhile enterprises like Airbnb make it easier to let rooms to visitors in unfamiliar areas, and rising property prices in central and inner London encourage budget hotels in outer areas. Yet we hear little of the appeal of suburbs for tourism. This apparent paradox is resolved when we consider that the imagined geography of suburbs is relentlessly negative – and has increasingly diverged from reality (Collis *et al.*, 2010). Any suggestion that suburbs may be attractive to visitors or cool has run up against an apparently entrenched view that they are 'maligned … connoted an inferior form of city … an easy [insulting] epithet … shorthand for hypocrisy and

superficiality' not least because limited academic attention has meant our 'understanding [has been] ... restricted to an odd mix of cliché and dated pop culture' (Kirby and Modarres, 2010, p. 65).

This negative imagined geography of suburbs has been constructed from academic and professional discourse and from high and popular culture. Ideas of a suburban dystopia, destructive of both city and countryside, can be traced in England at least from the work of Ruskin in the later 19th century, and a key purpose of the planning system that emerged in the UK with the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act was to manage suburban development and prevent sprawl. However, there was always more to this than an attempt to manage land-use patterns, and attitudes were inflected with a criticism of the imagined culture and politics of suburbs. Nairn (1955) in a provocatively polemical contribution saw suburbs as: 'The creeping mildew that already circumscribes all our towns. This death by slow decay is called subtopia ... the world of low-density mess' (p. 365).

Whitehand and Carr (2001) point to the strong professional disdain of the suburbs by architects and planners, perhaps because of a built form that focuses on the individuality of single-family dwellings rather than the collectivist form of the Georgians or Modernists. They see this as accompanied by an intellectual disdain of the suburbs, seen as places inhabited by the undereducated lower middle classes, who are portrayed as conservative and status conscious. More recently, Florida's (2005) influential work on the Creative Class explicitly contrasts the bohemian enclaves of a dense inner city with the sprawl and (alleged) lack of creativity of the suburbs. So suburbs come to be 'mythologized as places that exist somewhere else and are inhabited by people unlike ourselves' (Vaughan *et al.*, 2009, p. 9): suburbanites are 'the Other'. Phelps (2012) sees this as intellectual snobbery, and comments that the 'privileging of the city within academic and policy discourse may simply be the latest incarnation of "suburb bashing" by elites' and reflect 'imaginings of their own social worth' (p. 268). Yet this sense of 'suburban otherness' may give a clue to what may attract tourists in search of the real. Indeed, as Webster (2000) says:

> There is a remarkable degree of consistency indeed uniformity in external perspectives on suburbia. The defining characteristics whether viewed from the country or the city tend to be reducible to unimaginative conformist design and behaviour determined by imitation rather than originality; a lack of individuality combined with excessive social homogeneity; spatially cramped and confined conditions and a neglect for, or undermining of, traditional values. (p. 4)

He goes on to point out that some critical attitudes are much more nuanced and interested in exploring the contradictions of suburbia. Some writing about suburbia displays a fondness, even nostalgia, or displays tensions and contradictions. And since the 1960s there has been a strand of English music that both mocks the suburbs and values them – The

Kinks, 'Shangri-La' and 'Muswell Hillbillies'; The Jam, 'Tales from the Riverbank' as well as 'Wasteland'.

So the relentless negativity of the imaginaries of suburbs is only part of the story; there is a fondness. But overwhelmingly, the portrayal of suburbs by academic and professional commentators, and reinforced and developed in popular and high culture, is negative. Despite countervailing and revisionist views, that is hard to change. As Salazar (2013) points out, tourism imaginaries can be immobile: 'in some destinations tourism imaginaries are so firmly established and all-encompassing that they are difficult to escape' (p. 36). Yet this is an imaginary that diverges from objective reality, and is out of date. Many suburbs share the morphological qualities of much of the inner city. In contemporary London, the juxtaposition of boring, conformist, inauthentic and standardized suburbs with an inner and central city that is vibrant and authentic is not only an inaccurate and unflattering portrayal of suburbs, it is an inaccurate and too flattering portrayal of the inner city. If London is turning into a 'mass gated community of the world's richest people' (Kuper, 2015, p. 5), then the suburbs are the place to go for visitors who want to get off that beaten track and experience the real life of the city.

Conclusions

This chapter has drawn on extensive research in London and other WTCs to argue that off the beaten track areas have become increasingly appealing to those in search of the real city, but that commercial development means the qualities visitors value are harder to find in inner areas. As a result, suburbs may become increasingly attractive to some visitors.

Growth in the numbers of tourists who are experienced travellers, often connected to the city they visit, has combined with the desire to experience the real and authentic to drive some visitors to leave well-established tourist beats and seek out new areas. These places seem to offer a real experience through a combination of morphology, an imagined geography that is distinctive and the opportunity to experience the everyday life of the city – where exoticism can be found in the everyday, and there is an opportunity to fit in rather than stand out, whilst mingling with co-tourists who seem cool. However, the radical changes that London is undergoing make getting off the beaten track more difficult. A previous development route that saw semi-derelict areas colonized by artists and creative industries seeking cheap space, developing in synergy with adventurous tourists and pioneer gentrifiers, is now largely closed. At the same time, central and inner London is increasingly defined by transience (Goldfarb, 2013), with the ultra-affluent more segregated and less committed to a city that is more of an asset store than a home. For locals and visitors who seek out areas that are authentic, for the opportunity to mingle with each other and co-tourists and pick up style tips, and who value the cultural capital

and cool image to be derived from knowing about places outside the main-stream, inner London has less to offer.

One possible spatial consequence would be for artists, gentrifiers and curious visitors to look further out, into the suburbs where property values are lower, where everyday life goes on and which are home to poorer residents and migrants. This would follow a pattern that saw, for example, the Kings Road reimaged as fashionable in the 1960s and 1970s, Notting Hill in the 1980s and 1990s, and Shoreditch and Hoxton in the early 21st century, and provide opportunities for new creative and tourist areas well away from the mainstream, undiscovered and therefore cool. Yet the very notion of cool suburbs as a place attractive to tourists or hipsters still seems unlikely. As we have seen, this is despite their similar morphology to much of inner London and their being the focus of the city's authentic everyday life. Rather, it is a consequence of a long-established and relentlessly negative imagined geography that has made it almost impossible to imagine the suburbs as cool places, attractive to experienced travellers. Yet there are reasons to think this may change.

The driving force of change is likely to be economy and demography as affluent incomers dominate inner areas, so that the suburbs and hinterland seem to have more to offer. But the very qualities that have made suburbs such objects of contempt may paradoxically build their attraction. If suburbs are home to 'the Other', then that in itself offers an exotic appeal for urban explorers. Webster (2000) sees the suburbs as liminal and ambivalent – not in the city, yet not outside it; not working class yet not upper class. This has been read as superficiality and depthlessness, but the absence of a strong set of narratives and profound cultural signifier status could be seen as strength. Wynn (2010) argues that the stuff of everyday experience, the free resources of culture, history and place can be transformed into something meaningful – a process he terms 'urban alchemy'. In this process visitors use their experiences to create their own imaginaries and their own narratives of the city, drawing on everyday life and interactions with local people – both readily available in the suburbs. Suburbs are places where the everyday life of the city goes on, but which do not carry strong historical or cultural narratives – provided one can get away from a disdain of all things suburban. They are more malleable for the visitor, so that individual stories can be constructed; their otherness can be read as edgy and authentic.

The growth of tourism in the outer city seems plausible, although we do not expect an immediate rush to the suburbs. It will be driven by the interplay of market forces and the developing desire of some tourists to escape places that have been commercially appropriated, as it was in off the beaten track areas in the inner city. The roles of tourism developers and marketers are strictly limited – partly because their ability to intervene in development is circumscribed, partly because overt marketing of areas inevitably makes them mainstream. What would be helpful would be support for research. Currently there is almost no empirical work on how tourism is developing in the suburbs, and whether the processes are in fact

comparable with those we have seen in the inner city. Tourism in the inner city was derided in the 1980s but is now integral to what London offers. Perhaps in future, a visit to the cool suburbs will be equally essential – but we need more research before we can say so with confidence.

Note

¹ Acknowledgement: This chapter is based on research and ideas carried out and developed by the author with Professor Peter Newman, Dr Ilaria Pappalepore and Dr Andrew Smith, University of Westminster.

References

Andersson Cederholm, E. (2009) *Being-with-others: Framing the Ordinary as an Extraordinary Experience*. ATLAS Annual Conference: Experiencing Difference – Changing Tourism and Tourists' Experiences, Aalborg, Denmark.

Beioley, S., Maitland, R. and Vaughan, R. (1990) *Tourism and the Inner City: An Evaluation of the Inmpact of Grant Assisted Projects*. HMSO, London.

Bell, E. and Welland, M. (2007) London: the other New York. *New York Magazine*, 25 October 2007.

Cherifi, B., Maitland, R., Smith, A. and Stevenson, N. (2014) Destination images of non-visitors. *Annals of Tourism Research* 49, 190–202.

Collis, C., Felton, E. and Graham, P. (2010) Beyond the inner city: real and imagined places in creative place policy and practice. *The Information Society* 26, 104–112.

Edensor, T. (2000) Staging tourism: tourists as performers. *Annals of Tourism Research* 27(2), 322–344.

Erenhalt, A. (2013) *The Great Inversion and the Future of the American City*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Florida, R. (2005) *The Rise of the Creative Class*. Basic Books, New York.

Franklin, A. and Crang, M. (2001) The trouble with tourism and travel theory? *Tourist Studies* 1(1), 5–22.

Goldfarb, M. (2013) London's Great Exodus. *New York Times*. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/13/opinion/sunday/londons-great-exodus.html (accessed 29 June 2015).

Gospodini, A. (2001) Urban design, urban space morphology, urban tourism: an emerging new paradigm concerning their relationship. *European Planning Studies* 9(7), 925–934.

Hall, C.M. (2007) The fakery of the 'Authentic Tourist'. *Tourism Management* 28, 1139–1140.

Hannam, K. (2009) The end of tourism? Nomadology and the mobilities paradigm. In: Tribe, J. (ed.) *Philosophical Issues in Tourism*. Channel View, Bristol, UK, pp. 101–113.

Hinchcliffe, T. (2005) Elusive suburbs, endless variations. *Journal of Urban History* 31(6), 899–906.

Hutton, T.A. (2009) Trajectories of the new economy: regeneration and dislocation in the inner city. *Urban Studies* 46, 987–1001.

Kuper, S. (2015) This is freedom? London's reinvention. *London Essays-Soft Power* 1, 1–5.

Kirby, A. and Modarres, A. (2010) The suburban question: an introduction. *Cities* 27, 65–67.

Knox, P. (2005) Creating ordinary places: slow cities in a fast world. *Journal of Urban Design* 10(1), 1–11.

Lang, R. and Knox, P. (2009) The new metropolis: rethinking megalopolis. *Regional Studies* 43, 789–802.

Lloyd, R. (2000) Grit as glamour. Cited in Judd, D. (2003) Visitors and the spatial ecology of the city. In: Hoffman, L., Fainstein, S. and Judd, D. (eds) *Cities and Visitors*. Blackwell, Oxford, UK, pp. 23–38.

London and Partners (2015) London Holds the Top Spot as World's Most Popular Tourist Destination. Available at: http://www.londonandpartners.com/media-centre/press-releases/2015/150602-london-holds-on-to-top-spot-as-worlds-most-popular-tourist-destination (accessed 22 June 2015).

Maitland, R. (2007) Tourists, the creative class, and distinctive areas in major cities. In: Richards, G. and Wilson, J. (eds) *Tourism, Creativity and Development*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK, pp. 73–85.

Maitland, R. (2008) Conviviality and everyday life: the appeal of new areas of London for visitors. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 10(1), 15–25.

Maitland, R. (2010) Everyday life as a creative experience in cities. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 4(3), 176–185.

Maitland, R. and Newman, P. (2009) *World Tourism Cities: Developing Tourism Off the Beaten Track.* Routledge, Abingdon, UK.

Nairn, I. (1955) Outrage: on the disfigurement of town and countryside. *Architectural Review* special edition.

Nancarrow, C., Nancarrow, P. and Page, J. (2001) An analysis of the concept of cool and its marketing implications. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 1(4), 311–322.

Neill, W. (2001) Marketing the urban experience: reflections on the place of fear in the promotion strategies of Belfast, Detroit and Berlin. *Urban Studies* 38(5 and 6), 815–828.

Novy, J. and Huning, S. (2009) New tourism (areas) in the New Berlin. In: Maitland, R. and Newman, P. (eds) *World Tourism Cities: Developing Tourism Off the Beaten Track*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK, pp. 87–107.

Oliver, T. and Jenkins, T. (2003) Sustaining rural landscapes: the role of integrated tourism. *Landscape Research* 28(3), 293–307.

Pappalepore, I., Maitland, R. and Smith, A. (2011) Exploring urban creativity: visitor experiences of Spitalfields, London. *Tourism, Culture and Communication* 10, 217–230.

Pappalepore, I., Maitland, R. and Smith, A. (2014) Prosuming creative urban areas: evidence from East London. *Annals of Tourism Research* 44, 227–240.

Pearce, P. and Moscardo, G. (1986) The concept of authenticity in tourist experiences. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Statistics* 22(10), 121–132.

Phelps, N. (2012) The sub-creative economy of the suburbs in question. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 15(3), 259–271.

Rees, P. (2015) London needs homes not towers of safety deposit boxes. *The Guardian*. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jan/25/planners-must-take-back-control-of-london (accessed 29 June 2015).

Richards, G. and Wilson, J. (2007) Tourism development trajectories: from culture to creativity? In: Richards, G. and Wilson, J. (eds) *Tourism, Creativity and Development*. Routledge, New York, pp. 1–34.

Rycroft, S. (2002) The geographies of swinging London. *Journal of Historical Geography* 28(4), 566–588.

Salazar, N. (2013) The (im)mobility of tourism imageries. In: Richards, G. and Smith, M. (eds) *Routledge Handbook of Cultural Tourism*. Routledge, London, pp. 34–39.

Till, J. (2009) *Architecture Depends*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Vaughan, L., Griffiths, S., Haklay, M. and Jones, C. (2009) Do the suburbs exist? Discovering complexity and specificity in suburban built form. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 34(4), 475–488.

Visit London (2015) Visiting London for the First Time. Available at: http://www.visitlondon.com/discover-london/london-highlights/visiting-london-for-the-first-time?ref=nav-dl (accessed 6 June 2015).

Webster, R. (2000) Introduction: suburbia inside out. In: Webster, R. (ed.) *Expanding Suburbia: Reviewing the Suburban Narrative.* Berghahn, New York, pp. 1–14.

Whitehand, J.W.R. and Carr, C.M.H. (2001) *Twentieth Century Suburbs, a Morphological Approach.* Routledge, London.

Wynn, J. (2010) City tour guides: urban alchemists at work. *City and Community* 9(2), 145–163.

6

The Urban–Rural Tourism Relationship: A Case of Suburban Farm Shops

Susan L. Slocum[1]* and Kynda R. Curtis[2]

[1]*Tourism and Events Management, George Mason University, Science and Technology Campus, Manassas, Virginia, USA;*
[2]*College of Agriculture and Applied Sciences, Utah State University, Logan, Utah, USA*

Introduction

The urban–rural fringe, more commonly known as suburbia, has been recognized as 'a unique product amalgam' (Weaver, 2005, p. 23) that warrants more attention in the tourism literature. Characterized by increasing development of tourism infrastructure and visitation, Weaver (2005) defines suburban tourism as 'exurban' with distinctive characteristics inclusive of both urban and rural development patterns. The appeal of suburban development includes access to urban markets and relatively inexpensive land. Furthermore, many suburbs are well connected to urban transportation corridors that facilitate the ease of travel. Suburbs maintain the appeal of small towns offering 'authentic' or non-traditional tourist experiences (Maitland, 2008), where visitors immerse themselves in local culture. As tourism opportunities increase along the urban–rural fringe, interactions and dependencies in relation to tourism development are increasing (Nadin and Stead, 2000), and more research is needed to understand the nature of these relationships.

Farm shops provide a unique opportunity to explore the urban–rural relationship, especially when they occur within these fringe areas. Many farm shops are located on agricultural land, which has been traditionally classified as rural (Wilson, 2007), and most farm shop studies do not delineate between urban, suburban or rural operations. However, the popularity of sourcing local has increased market opportunities in high density

* E-mail: sslocum@gmu.edu

living areas, such as the suburbs. As a result, farm shops are increasingly part of the urban–rural fringe development stream (Kikuchi *et al.*, 2002) and thus deserve closer examination.

This chapter provides insight into the role of farm shops as tourism businesses that navigate the urban and rural environments, utilizing both to create a unique tourism product. Through seven semi-structured interviews with farm shop managers and owners in suburban England, this chapter attempts to highlight the operationalization of urban–rural fringe entrepreneurship, explain the role of farm shops in suburban development and explain how these environments are negotiated for tourism.

Literature Review

Suburban development is a result of the industrialization patterns of the past century (Berry and Gillard, 1977). Rural residents came to cities looking for employment, followed by wealthy urban residents moving away from noisy, polluted city centres, looking for a more idyllic lifestyle (Weaver, 2005). The rise in automobile ownership allowed easy access from the suburbs to city attractions, such as theatres and restaurants (Lucy and Phillips, 2000). With the increased concentration of residents outside the urban areas and less expensive land and development costs, this migration gave rise to businesses in these fringe areas (Weaver, 2005). Within tourism development, it was primarily the availability and low cost of land that encouraged the development of six specific activities: theme parks and allied attractions, tourist shopping villages, modified nature-based tourism, factory outlet malls, touring and golf courses (Weaver, 2005). This chapter argues that farm shops are another type of tourism activity that is on the rise along the urban–rural fringe.

A farm shop is best described as a type of retail outlet that usually sells produce directly from a farm. Unlike farm stands, farm shops are traditionally standalone buildings that offer a wide variety of farm produce and processed goods, delicatessen items and possibly prepared foods. Some farm shops specialize as butchers, artisan cheese makers or fruit and vegetable outlets, but more commonly farm shops today offer a variety of all food types, which are sourced on location or from neighbouring farms around a local area. In the UK, it was estimated that farm shops were a dying tradition, with over 4000 shops closing between 1991 and 1997 (DETR, 2000). However, in 2003, Renting *et al.* claimed that 'It is now suggested by many that we are witnessing an impressive growth of a variety of new food-production and trade circuits falling outside the conventional model of agriculture … making clear that their occurrence is by no means restricted to peripheral areas' (p. 395). While it is unclear how many farm shops there are in the UK, the number is estimated to be in the thousands (*The Guardian*, n.d.).

There is very little academic research on farm shops, with most literature combining farm shops and farmers' markets as rural direct-

to-consumer retail operations. However, from an urban–rural fringe perspective, Kikuchi *et al.* (2002) provide the most insightful description of farm shops in the urban fringe of Tokyo. The authors describe the increasing conflict between traditional agricultural land and urban development patterns, particularly the increased value of residential and commercial land, which reduces the investment and intensity for agricultural production. Simultaneously, the rurality, or social construction of the area, was changing in light of increased development, and the reduction in environmental quality was affecting the character of the community. The result was a rise in the recreation of rurality through the celebration of agriculture, land use, farmland and farms. Amidst the interconnectedness of these values emerged the farm shop, which 'is the indispensable establishment for both urban residents and farmers because it is the node that has connected with the community and rurality' (p. 93). They write, 'In term of rural restructuring, farm shops play a more important role in the conservation of rural land use because they are the key establishment of linkage between urban and rural land uses' (p. 97).

Similar values can be applied to the urban–rural fringe of England's cities. Regeneration of the historically industrialized cities has resulted in a high cost of living, with limited living space in the core cities of London, Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester (Maitland, 2008). As *The Telegraph* (2016) writes, 'suburbs are not simply dormitories for weary commuters. [They] focus on the quality of life, not just property prices, and ease of access to the cities. Good schools, shops and leisure facilities, plus a strong sense of community, all play their part' (n.p.). The English suburbs have also become the hub of creative industries, including artisans, musicians, craft beverage producers and foodie restaurants (Freeman, 2009).

The 'local food movement' has resulted, in part, from the increasing separation of food consumers from the productive assets of agriculture (Slocum, 2015). While local food is usually presented as an economic opportunity for rural regions, it seems obvious that those disconnected from food production are more likely to live in urban or peri-urban areas. Therefore, it is not surprising that the academic literature has begun to recognize the importance of the urban food movement over the past 10 years (Kuusaana and Eledi, 2015; Pearson and Pearson, 2015; Walker, 2016). Walker (2016) writes, 'The literature supporting urban agriculture often touts its benefits for building community, providing healthy food and recreation, beautifying neighborhoods, and making productive use of vacant land' (p. 165), which supports the greening of cities and the increasing pressure towards sustainable urban and suburban development. Therefore, food production becomes a natural partner for development when a community's population is unable to live in the idyllic rural utopia. Furthermore, the quantity of local food produced in urban areas is substantially smaller than the demand for local food, pushing definitions of 'local' food into the urban–rural fringe.

Bardone and Kaaristo (2014) see tourism farms as brokers of local culture. They highlight the staging of narratives that these brokers portray as a means to 'engage [tourists'] senses and bodies in varied and active ways' (p. 109). As commercial ventures, these businesses have the flexibility to provide their own dialogue that presents certain versions of rurality. In the same light, Azizi and Mostafanezhad (2014) show how farmers support local food issues in a way that supports local culture and the environment. As a form of sustainable tourism, this 'movement helps promote larger social transformations towards local, alternative, and sustainable economies' (p. 148). While these authors are discussing rural food tourism businesses, there appear to be commonalities with farm shop operations, especially those located on agricultural properties. This chapter argues that suburban farm shops are also in a position to promote rural narratives through the staging of a local food shopping experience, which in turn supports the sustainable development of both the urban–rural fringe and the neighbouring rural areas.

This chapter explores the role that farm shops, in particular, play in linking urban and rural food systems, as well as highlighting the influx of tourism partnerships resulting from suburban farm shop growth. Farm shops provide a viable distribution channel that supports both urban and rural needs, whilst simultaneously offering an experiential component to shopping for local sourced food items, which attracts tourists and locals alike. This chapter will explain how suburban farm shops in England are linking urban and rural tourism markets.

Methodology

One-on-one semi-structured interviews were conducted during the summer of 2014 with ten farm shop managers and owners in England. Only seven of the farms shops were located in urban–rural fringe areas, so these data are presented here. All the farm shops were located within the urban–rural fringe of either London or Leicester and were located on working farms. Snowball sampling was used, where one interviewee would suggest another distinctly different interview site within close proximity. The questions were developed from themes in food tourism and agricultural marketing literature. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. All data were hand coded into themes by two separate researchers and then compared for accuracy. Three main themes are discussed here: merchandising, sourcing and developing tourism.

Results

This research provides three general themes that reflect both supply and demand challenges for farm shops. Merchandising refers to defining local foods, finding an appropriate mix of products, as well as service opportunities

to satisfy customers. Sourcing refers to the supply challenges facing farm shops, including working with local farmers, regulatory requirements and supporting the local community. Developing tourism describes access to tourism markets, image creation and presenting an authentic farm experience for visitors. It can be argued that merchandising denotes satisfying urban and suburban customers, whereas sourcing shows the interconnections with rural communities and agriculture.

Merchandising

The theme of merchandising refers to the development of the product mix, which is different for each farm shop in the study. While all the farm shops interviewed are located on a working farm, differentiation is important, while simultaneously maintaining the perception of sourcing local. Most farm shops must supplement their inventory to provide a well-rounded selection that satisfies both the local markets and the tourists. Therefore, vegetable farms must find meat, cheese and bread in order to provide a one-stop shopping experience. Local patrons may need ingredients for a home cooked meal, while tourists may want a full picnic lunch to take on an outing.

> It's kind of having a balance between not looking like every other farm shop in the area but also having the things that people accept and what they like. It's also the branding and the store and all that, you really have to be very 'on it' in terms of stock levels, how much to have, and to know what people are looking for. (Farm shop #1)

Defining local is also a struggle for the farm shops. Most businesses work within a radius, sourcing as close to their farm as possible and moving outward to find the best products. The core distance was 30 miles, but some products were considered local if they were from anywhere in England. The key concern was avoiding imported products. Furthermore, knowing where their vendors sourced their ingredients was important.

> We source local English wine, but some people expect a bit of gourmet, so there is pressure to carry French wines. We carried buffalo mozzarella, but it was from Italy, so now we carry a local mozzarella, but it doesn't come from buffalo milk. It's a trade-off to stay true to what your customers want and maintaining your integrity as an outlet for local produce. (Farm shop #2)

Sourcing local is defined differently between urban and suburban customers. Suburban customers seem to prefer defining local by distance, whereas urbanites look for British themed and British sourced products. For example, Londoners often look for rare breed meats, which cannot be sourced in quantity within a 30-mile radius of the urban area (Farm shop #3). Coming to the suburbs expands that radius, where neighbouring areas to the farm shop have the land requirements for cattle raising (a land intensive product). However, artisan produce, such as processed meats

and cheeses, can be produced in the urban and suburban areas, where the inputs are imported from the rural areas, but the food is made locally. Finding a balance, therefore, is challenging.

> We have award winning sausages that we sell at Borough Market in London. It's almost 100 miles from our location outside Leicester to central London, but the Londoners think this is local meat and they love our product. I can't sell it on the west side of Leicester because that's 15 miles away and there are other meat producers over there that are closer, maybe more local. (Farm shop #4)

However, travelling to suburban farm shops is also an activity, different from buying at the urban markets. Some urbanites may travel a path frequently (such as commuting or visiting family on weekends) and have a farm shop that they frequent. Others will plan an outing that will include a regular stop at a farm shop. For example, the Chilterns, a rural mountain range known for hiking and biking, is located 30 miles from central London. The area between these two points is clearly suburban (e.g. Hemel Hampstead, Reading, Maidenhead) and some of the farm shops interviewed are located in this area. As one manager states:

> We do find a lot of our customers are from London. Our raw meat customers make the pilgrimage up here and have a chat and a look at what we have. And they may only do it once, but many do it regularly. They want to come talk to the farmer and discuss the harvest or whatever. If their potatoes are full of lichens or someone's garden has got live butterflies, they know they can come and have a chat about it. (Farm shop #6)

Since the visit to a farm shop is experiential in nature, all the farm shops interviewed offer activities and events to encourage visitation. Some have small petting zoos where children can interact with sheep, goats or rabbits. Others have opened a café, where parents can enjoy lunch while children play. On weekends, when visitation is the highest, there may be pottery classes, falconry displays or cooking classes.

> Yeah, events, definitely because it's easier to market a special event than it is something that's permanent. I don't know if it's just something about the psychology and something about limited time but you're much more likely to have success, to have people coming out and people buying on the day of an event. But even things like going to the farm and being a part of the harvest or being a part of an activity where you can get people out, I think that's the way to go and get the younger traveller to stay as well as having a good experience. (Farm shop #3)

Merchandising for suburban farm shops is a time intensive process as different customers define local food in different ways and seek different experiences at the farm shop. Locals are looking for product; visitors are looking for experiences. However, almost all the managers recognize that their customers are either urban or suburban dwellers. Their interactions with the rural come through the farm shops' supply chain.

Sourcing

The sourcing theme refers to the supply chain of the farm shop. It is through this channel that farm shops work with rural farmers and producers. Farm shops also work with artisans to encourage locally processed food that is currently unavailable within the local areas. Lastly, farm shop operators operate as experts in the field as they negotiate both the supply opportunities and the consumer demand for specific products as well as the regulatory environment for food production.

Since most farm shops require additional inventory above their on-farm production, farm shop managers are constantly searching their communities for innovative food inventory. That process involves visiting farms and meeting farmers in an effort to establish a long-term partnership. Part of the issue in working with rural producers is finding both quality and quantity. Since many of the customers come from urban or suburban areas, they must make sure the quality of food is worth the driving distance. Farmers usually produce commodities, so encouraging speciality production is also important. For example, carrying organic produce may carry more weight than just locally sourced non-organic produce.

> My husband and I were always keen that we should do a tasting of everything, even the wines and the cures and things like that. It was very much part of our philosophy, for our customer experience, to make it different from going to a supermarket or a big shop. We want our customers to try things before they buy it. So when we find something with potential, but it may be a bit of work, we help the producer make it better, to our quality level. We put photos around the shop that we have taken when we go to visit the farms and the producers so we can literally point to the wall and say, 'that's so-and-so's product, that's where it's from and we have been there'. (Farm shop #5)

Discovering people willing to craft specific food items is also something these managers find rewarding. Making sure that new producers maintain the values of the farm shop, such as sourcing local, is always challenging, but by starting with new entrants and providing a retail outlet for their products, long-term partnerships have developed.

> We have people coming along with almost nothing and creating incredible bread, you know, selling loaves of bread for almost 3 or 4 or 5 pounds. We also helped a young man start a juicing business. It's a way you can add massive value to the margin very quickly. And that has been very successful. We create businesses in the local areas that need it most. (Farm shop #4)

Ensuring health and safety standards also falls to the farm shop managers. Unlike retail operations that require distributors to ensure appropriate certifications and labelling, farm shop managers must inform producers of these legal requirements, as they are often more knowledgeable and more experienced than farmers or producers. In many ways, these farm shop managers become mentors to new start-up companies.

> Traceability in the UK and in Europe is important. So we have to keep all the labels of everything. So when the beef is killed, its passport comes with where it lived and all that. So when we get a carcass in here, we'll have the cow's passport that comes with it. So, we visit some of our suppliers and go out and check their health and safety and stuff like that. My head butcher today is actually at one of our meat suppliers doing a check on what they're doing and they're selecting beef for us and stuff like that. It's all part of the job. (Farm shop #6)

By being actively involved with rural farmers, farm shop managers are often well integrated into their neighbouring local communities, both suburban and rural. Marketing partnerships and local development agencies provide both support and networking for farm shop managers. At the same time, these agencies offer small grant and loan opportunities as farm shops are classified as agricultural businesses. Marketing partnerships include local food promotional agencies, as well as tourism partnership (discussed in the next section).

> As a retailer you can build capacity for these producers to be able to access the marketplace. You see your role as less than 'I'm just running a shop' and more of 'I'm creating a marketplace'. There are a lot of people who maybe don't have a huge marketplace right now, and as more people do that, it really helps raise the community as well. (Farm shop #7)

Within the urban–rural framework, farm shops view their role as bringing new money into the rural communities by providing a middle ground where urban consumers can purchase rural products, yet also supporting the rurality of the area and providing sustainable development options that celebrate rural heritage and culture.

> What we're doing in our tiny way, we are sucking money out of London and applying it up here and beyond. So that's a benefit for the local economy and our neighbouring rural areas here. The recession has hit small rural businesses very hard and we are helping to remedy that. (Farm shop #7)

The nature of farm shops ensures a tight network between the rural communities where agriculture is produced and the surrounding suburban areas. As economic drivers and mentors to new businesses, farm shops offer new skills, knowledge transfer and distribution channels for rural agricultural producers as a means to ensure quality and quantity of produce to supply their customers. They also provide a valuable tourism service, as discussed in the tourism partnership theme.

Developing tourism

The developing tourism theme describes access to tourism markets, image creation and presenting an authentic farm experience for visitors. Each farm shop has created a unique image, or brand, that drives their selection

of inventory and activities. Yet all the branding is based on local sourcing and a rustic atmosphere. Each farm shop interviewed is located on agricultural land and emphasized rurality in their marketing messages. Additionally, most of the shops were located in historic buildings that helped support the traditional English farm shop image. Another large part of the branding is the visibility of the farmer and the family. Each farm shop presents a story of its own personal history.

> Because you wouldn't get this anywhere else, it's very typical of the area and an enjoyable day out. You get the lovely scenic drive, you know, to come here and go back home. We sell our story to them, then we're not just a nameless, faceless company that's doing lunches but we're actually this farm. The owner, he runs the kitchen and have you met the parents? You know there's a face behind it. It's this lovely farmer cooking his kids' lunch, and it's keeping that story going. (Farm shop #1)

This image creation also extends to the suppliers. Many farm shops highlight local farms that distribute through the shop. They offer 'meet the producer' days where local farmers set up booths for farm shop visitors. The shop may supply local pubs or restaurants and many sell produce at special events around the area. These partnerships help emphasize the sense of community and create brand awareness.

> The next four days are the folk festival, the single biggest after Christmas probably, the single biggest injection of income of the year. And we have one next week over in Oxfordshire, which is slightly smaller but you know those two things set us up. It makes people aware that we are here and part of our community. (Farm shop #2)

There are also a number of formal tourism partnerships that assist in marketing. These organizations promote regions or counties and usually emphasize local food and beverages. These partnerships may also spill over into destination marketing, but the majority of interviewees avoid these larger tourism networks. They feel their uniqueness is lost in the larger destination message (such as luxury accommodations, theme parks and golf courses). Instead, they work with food groups that highlight food and drink trails, farm visits and agricultural producers. Many bed and breakfast establishments also partner with the farm shop in their marketing efforts. However, it should be noted that farm shops do not work directly with other farm shops, as the industry is still highly competitive. The main theme of these networks is the promotion of quaint, rustic and traditional English countryside establishments. These partnerships also provide knowledge sharing and access to new suppliers around the area.

> There's a ton of farmers market associations so they do quite a lot of marketing for the different farmers markets that are out there. And they're there as an advisory body. There's a conference every year. Each person kind of contributes what they're good at, what they enjoy doing. And that's how it's been. (Farm shop #4)

However, proximity to tourist attractions is also a necessity for successful farm shops that cater to tourists. Country estates, local museums and other countryside tourism activities help promote the concept of rurality and support visitation. At the same time, limited signage is a large barrier to tourist visits and many farm shops rely on food trail maps to direct new visitors. The interviewees all utilize Facebook and websites as many tourists will map out their holiday before arriving in the area. Therefore, having an internet presence coupled with a tourist attraction is the best avenue for success.

> We've pick up a lot of business from the Stowe Estate, which used to be part of the National Trust. People go and visit the gardens. That used to be their entrance there, so they'd drive past the end of our road. Then they moved the new visitors' centre and it has hurt our business. (Farm shop #5)

While many farm shops acknowledge that local customers, those in close proximity to the shop, are the primary market, access to tourism is a lucrative and growing niche market for farm shops. To access this market, farm shops must maintain an image of rurality and support local heritage, both through their physical environment and through the brand image established through their selection of inventory and services. Local area partnerships help support the sense of community tourists expect from traditional farm shops. It is through these practices that farm shops reinforce the sense of rurality to the travelling urban populations.

Discussion

This chapter has highlighted farm shops as a form of suburban tourism development. Farm shops are distinctly different from Weaver's (2005) six tourism activities commonly found within the urban–rural fringe because their core business strategy is to negotiate the sense of rurality inherent in agricultural businesses (Kikuchi *et al.*, 2002). The advancement of creative food and beverage industries has also supported, and is supported by, the suburban image as a place for creative exploration (Freeman, 2009). These entrepreneurs link urban visitors with rural food production through an experiential shopping opportunity that highlights a sense of local, or the 'authentic' experience visitors seek. Their location within the urban–rural fringe offers unique opportunities to support local development (Walker, 2016), not only in the suburban areas in which their business resides, but in the neighbouring rural areas where agricultural diversification is occurring.

Suburban farm shops benefit from the infrastructure and farm land available along the urban–rural fringe. This same infrastructure that once provided easy access to city attractions for suburbanites now works in reverse, giving urban residents convenient access to the suburbs (Lucy

and Phillips, 2000). Tourist attractions, such as estate houses, once located firmly in rural areas, are now easy day trips for city dwellers looking to experience the historical rurality nestled in the modern day suburbs (Berry and Gillard, 1977). For farm shops, the suburbs offer all the conveniences of the urban core. Yet, the availability and relative affordability of land allows suburban farm shops to flourish. While affordability is relative, these farm shops do provide income for existing farms, preventing their sale as residential or commercial developments (Kikuchi *et al.*, 2002).

At the same time, suburbs offer many of the images of the rural that appeal to the urban residents (Weaver, 2005). Suburban farm shops craft the narrative that supports the rustic heritage of rurality (Bardone and Kaaristo, 2014) and maintain historic buildings in which their farm shops are located. Onsite activities, such as petting zoos, tea shops and farm tours, reinforce the quaint, rustic image not normally found in close proximity to urban centres (Maitland, 2008). Their involvement in special events and regional activities provides a sense of community inherent in rural imagery (Azizi and Mostafanezhad, 2014). This is all accomplished through a variety of branding strategies based around local food and agricultural production.

Lastly, farm shops promote local food, which in turn supports rural economies (Slocum, 2015). In many ways, these mentors not only provide new outlets for local grown agriculture, they bring new entrants into the local food movement and support innovation. They often provide knowledge exchange in the form of information on urban customer expectations and pass this information through networking channels. While their formal involvement with networks is through agricultural and local food initiatives, their personal knowledge on tourism markets is a valuable addition to rural communities (Azizi and Mostafanezhad, 2014).

Conclusion

This chapter has presented farm shops as a valuable link between urban and rural economies, which includes tourism as a connecting piece. Suburban farm shops are where tourism demand meets tourism production and where food tourism activities are created. It is through their merchandising that farm shops bring urban dwellers into the fringe. Their supply chain also pulls rural agricultural produce into this same fringe. Their environment, narrative and community commitment provide the crux of these interactions, which provide the foundation for the tourist experience. There are many urban–rural tourism opportunities, above and beyond Weaver's (2015) six suburban tourism activities, that need further attention. This chapter provides one example of how suburbia can provide advantages and linkages between urban and rural tourism markets.

References

Azizi, S. and Mostafanezhad, M. (2014) The phenomenology of world wide opportunities on organic farms (WWOOF) in Hawai'i: farm host perspectives. In: Dashper, K. (ed.) *Rural Tourism: An International Perspective*. Cambridge Scholar Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK, pp. 134–150.

Bardone, E. and Kaaristo, M. (2014) Staging sensescapes for rural experiences in Estonian farm tourism. In: Dashper, K. (ed.) *Rural Tourism: An International Perspective*. Cambridge Scholar Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK, pp. 98–114.

Berry, B.J.L. and Gillard, Q. (1977) *Changing Shape of Metropolitan America: Commuting Patterns, Urban Fields, and Decentralization Processes, 1960–1970*. Ballinger, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) (2000) Our Countryside: The Future. Available at: http://www.tourisminsights.info/ONLINEPUB/DEFRA/ DEFRA%20PDFS/RURAL%20WHITE%20PAPER%20-%20FULL%20REPORT.pdf (accessed 18 March 2016).

Freeman, A. (2009) *London's Creative Workforce: 2009 Update*. Working Paper 40. GLA Economics, London.

Kikuchi, T., Oishi, T. and Saitoh, R. (2002) *Recreating of the Rurality in the Urban Fringe of Tokyo Metropolitan Area: A Case Study of Kodaira City*. Department Bulletin paper, Tokyo Metropolitan University.

Kuusaana, E.D. and Eledi, J.A. (2015) As the city grows, where do the farmers go? Understanding peri-urbanization and food systems in Ghana – evidence from the Tamale Metropolis. *Urban Forum* 26(4), 443–465.

Lucy, W. and Phillips, D. (2000) *Confronting Suburban Decline: Strategic Planning for Metropolitan Renewal*. Island Press, Washington, DC.

Maitland, R. (2008) Conviviality and everyday life: the appeal of new areas of London for visitors. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 10(1), 15–25.

Nadin, V. and Stead, D. (2000) *Interdependence Between Urban and Rural Areas in the West of England*. Centre for Environment and Planning, Working Paper 59, University of the West of England, Bristol, UK.

Pearson, D. and Pearson, T. (2015) Branding food culture: UNESCO creative cities of gastronomy. *Journal of Food Products Marketing* 28(2), 164–176.

Renting, H., Marsden, T.K. and Banks, J. (2003) Understanding alternative food networks: exploring the role of short food supply chains in rural development. *Environment and Planning* 35(3), 393–411.

Slocum, S.L. (2015) Local food: greening the tourism value chain. In: Reddy, V. and Wilkes, K. (eds) *Tourism in the Green Economy*. Routledge, London, pp. 242–254.

The Guardian (n.d.) Industry Sector: Farm Shop. Available at: http://image.guardian.co.uk/ sys-files/Guardian/documents/2012/02/17/SectorGuidefarmShops.pdf (accessed 18 March 2016).

The Telegraph (2016) Britain's Best Suburbs. Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/property/pictures/10089376/Britains-best-suburbs.html (accessed 18 March 2016).

Walker, S. (2016) Urban agriculture and the sustainability fix in Vancouver and Detroit. *Urban Geography* 37(2), 163–182.

Weaver, D. (2005) The distinctive dynamics of exurban tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 7(1), 23–33.

Wilson, G. (2007) *Multifunctional Agriculture: A Transition Theory Perspective*. CAB International, Wallingford, UK.

7 Resident and Tourist Perception of People, Towns and Amenities in Fringe Settings

Carol Kline[1]*, Lauren Duffy[2] and Dana Clark[1]

[1]*Walker College of Business, Department of Management, Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina, USA;* [2]*Clemson University, College of Behavioral, Social and Health Sciences, Clemson, South Carolina, USA*

Introduction

Rural and urban have often been treated as dichotomous categories in which scholars can conceptualize differences between communities, whether looking at population and demographics, employment and occupations, migration patterns, social mobility or environmental factors and the like. However, with recent trends in urbanization, the rural–urban divide is not always a relevant construct in many contexts (Champion and Hugo, 2004). From a geographic perspective, there is the ever increasing urbanization of landscapes on the outskirts of metropolitan areas, often fuelled by residential development beyond the suburbs. Known as ex-urbia, peri-urban or urban–rural fringe communities (henceforth, 'fringe communities'), these were some of the fastest growing areas in the US with primarily white, upper- to middle-income commuters moving to them (Berube *et al.*, 2006). The peak growth for fringe communities in the US was before the 2008/09 economic recession, which came with the mortgage crisis and high fuel costs that led to an influx of residents back to city centres (Wiltz, 2015). However, stabilization of the housing market, low interest loans and affordable home costs have led to yet another rise in these communities (Wiltz, 2015).

The notion of fringe communities that are defined neither as urban nor rural is being expanded to include not only commuter communities, but rural communities that are becoming a hub for second-home development

* E-mail: klinecs@appstate.edu

(Timothy, 2005; Koster *et al.*, 2010), as well as a destination for relocatees and retirees, where the contrasts between existing and new residents are distinct. Thus, moving beyond the geographic aspects of the diminishing rural–urban division, it is also important to address the sociological implications of dual community identities. Moreover, there is an explicit need to recognize the role of tourism in creating layered identities in these communities where it is both a factor that contributes to the rapid growth of land and business development, and a mechanism for new residential growth when tourists relocate to the area permanently (Weaver and Lawton, 2001; Weaver, 2005). This raises important questions related to how residents perceive their community identity. Are there differences in perceptions towards the community and its residents across different social groups and socio-demographic variables? And further, what role do tourism amenities play in the larger scheme of community identity and quality of life?

Fringe Communities

Characterized by both the features of rural, natural settings (e.g. pastoral, lakes, rivers, mountains) and urban and built landscapes (e.g. residential communities, shopping centres), fringe communities often lack defined boundaries and are located in relative proximity to an urban area. Many of the new residents may commute to higher-paid jobs in the city (e.g. white collar jobs, corporate management), while local occupations still reflect traditional rural livelihoods that are connected to the resources of the land (e.g. agriculture, and to some extent manufacturing, textiles), service work in support industries (e.g. restaurants, gas stations, grocery stores, mechanics) and location-neutral industries (e.g. technology). Additionally, tourism businesses often arise in fringe areas; Weaver (2005) categorized these as theme parks and allied attractions, tourist shopping villages, modified nature-based tourism, factory outlet malls, touring and golf courses. A corresponding idea to this phenomenon is amenity migration, which can be defined as the movement of people to recreational, natural and/or cultural amenity-rich areas (Pavelka and Draper, 2015). Amenity migrants are often older, wealthier and with higher education levels than the local population, and come to these areas buying second homes, which contributes to the transformation of rural communities (Gosnell and Abrams, 2009).

Significant to the identity of these gateway communities between the urban and rural is the essence of continuous, rapid change (Weaver, 2005; Zhang *et al.*, 2006). In this regard, development policies and planning frameworks are often not prepared for the pace of development in fringe areas. For example, Chase (2015), who examined exurban development and the negotiation of economic and social identities based on land use change, found that rural counties need to move away from ad-hoc

planning styles to more comprehensive processes that can help protect their rural identity (e.g. farming vs. shopping complexes). Other issues that may arise from ineffective planning processes in fringe communities and that can lead to conflict include 'loss or fragmentation of farmland, environmental problems caused by the proliferation of septic tanks and wells, road congestion caused by commuting, and the high costs of servicing a dispersed population' (Weaver and Lawton, 2001, p. 440).

Important to this study is the way in which in-migration that threatens traditional livelihoods and values (Weaver and Lawton, 2001) can also challenge community identity and perceptions of quality of life. Individuals migrating to fringe communities often merge both their urban and rural identities; they 'are connected to cities and suburban areas through commuting, migration, tax policies, political power, and ideology' (Chase, 2015, p. 859), while aspects of their rural identity are defined by space, land and homeownership (Berube et al., 2006; Jun and Conroy, 2013). Layered with the increased pace of development brought about by tourism (which can also present issues of authenticity, commodification and commercialization of space), understanding community identity in these communities can be complex but salient to a positive trajectory in planning processes.

Tourism and Fringe Communities

Fringe communities have received little attention in the tourism literature, with the exception of a handful of studies (e.g. Weaver and Lawton, 2001; Weaver and Lawton, 2004; Timothy, 2005; Weaver, 2005; Zhang et al., 2006; Zhang, 2008; Koster et al., 2010). Weaver and Lawton (2001), one of the first substantial works related to the topic, examined resident perceptions of tourism and found differences between long-term residents and newer arrivals, where newer arrivals tended to support and/or work in the tourism sector. Of importance, they noted that, 'length of residence per se does not associate with perception, but is mediated by such factors as the reason for relocating to the community (such as lifestyle choice vs. employment) and the ability to adapt to tourism-induced changes within the community' (p. 442). Zhang (2008) also examined resident attitudes and found that while overall perceptions of tourism in the fringe community were positive, there were differences in perception based on individual personality factors and community segment profiles, including support for Weaver and Lawton's (2001) finding that newer residents tended to more positively perceive tourism than long-term residents. Weaver and Lawton (2004) examined visitor attitudes towards tourism development in a fringe community where they found varying degrees of support that differed by respondent characteristics and trip characteristics. While they found most to be positive towards tourism, it was generally with the caveat that they did not want to see further development that would compromise the natural resources of the area; however, as the authors noted, that is a problematic notion in fringe areas where growth and development are

inevitable, which raises concerns for how the delicate balance of urban and rural might be maintained. This idea was also reiterated by Timothy (2005) in his exploration of North American fringe tourism, and Weaver and Lawton (2008) in a study looking at a US National Park in the exurban fringe of a major urban centre.

Finally, Weaver (2005) explored fringe communities in the US and suggested that exurban tourism is a distinct product where the landscape is vital to the success of tourism and the market is characterized largely as day-trippers/excursionists (where some individuals are not technically tourists because they are from nearby urban areas or they are tourists who are still staying in accommodation in urban areas). Conflict and tension are often high in fringe communities because of the quick progression of these areas along the destination lifecycle curve, rapid development and poor planning (Weaver and Lawton, 2004).

With the exception of Weaver (2005) and Weaver and Lawton (2008), most research draws on data from other national contexts. The importance of this was raised by Zhang *et al.* (2006) who noted that fringe areas are markedly different between countries as population density, land ownership and other factors that can influence the way in which these landscapes are developed. The current study contributes to the paucity of tourism research conducted on fringe communities in the US. Also building on the work that looked at perceptions of tourism in fringe communities (e.g. Weaver and Lawton, 2001; Weaver and Lawton, 2004; Zhang, 2008), differing perceptions between socio-demographic variables towards entrepreneurship (Kline *et al.*, 2012) and other resident attitudes towards tourism studies, this study expands on the literature by using variables such as generation, race, educational background, type of employment, household income, whether they live or work in the county, their location in the rural or urban part of the county and length of residency to look at differences in view of community identity and quality of life.

Study Area

Moore County, which includes the towns of Pinehurst, Southern Pines and Aberdeen, covers approximately 700 square miles (112 km) and is located in the south-central region of North Carolina in a rural area situated between the cities of Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham, Raleigh and Fayetteville. It is also adjacent to Fort Bragg Army Base. Reflective of many communities in the region, it can be characterized as a fringe community: 'Five million people live in exurban areas of the South, representing 47% of total exurban population nationwide' (Berube *et al.*, 2006, para. 2). Much of the county is in the Sandhills, a longleaf pine ecosystem that has become the setting for dozens of premier golf courses and golf clubs, including the eight courses within Pinehurst Resort and Country Club, as well as 30 other independent courses (Moore County Partners in

Progress: Demographics, n.d.; Convention and Visitors Bureau Pinehurst, Southern Pines, and Aberdeen Area, n.d.). The area has been branded as the 'Home of American Golf'.

The population of Moore County is over 93,000, and is projected to grow at 1.4%, with about half the people in the county described as 'urban' and half as 'rural'. The majority of the population is white (83%), followed by 13% African American and 6% Hispanic/Latino. Most (92%) of the population has a high school degree and 32% hold a Bachelor's degree at a minimum. The per capita income in 2014 was $27,437 and 75% of the active labour force works in the county (North Carolina Department of Commerce, n.d.). The primary forms of employment are healthcare and social assistance, tourism and hospitality, and retail (Moore County Partners in Progress, n.d.).

Moore County prides itself on providing an atmosphere for a high quality of life that has contributed to a number of 'relocatees' and 'returnees' to the area. The tourism industry has also contributed to new residential growth. While tourism is primarily driven by golf, outdoor recreation, equestrian activities, historic tours, food and beverage-related experiences and special events are also prominent tourism products (Convention and Visitors Bureau, n.d.). In 2014, direct tourism expenditures totalled US$438 million, a 7.06% increase over the previous year. State tax receipts related to tourism were $21 million and local tax receipts were $12 million (Economic Development Partnership of North Carolina, n.d.).

In addition to the healthy economy and recreational/tourist amenities, the traditional agrarian industries of the country have also had an important role in quality of life in the county; croplands, pastures and forests have contributed 'greatly [to] the quality of life enjoyed by county residents, providing economic opportunities, environmental services and social benefits like scenic beauty, open space and rural character' (Bonham, 2012, p. i). The Moore County Chamber of Commerce, who provides relocation information to the county, has described this marriage of the urban and rural as a 'small town feel while providing the amenities of a metropolitan community' (para. 1).

Methods

The study presented here was part of a larger consulting project focusing on resident, visitor and outside perceptions of Moore County. The insights gleaned were to inform a marketing campaign by the local economic development group Moore County Partners in Progress (PIP) to attract, retain and support talented residents; however, this chapter only features one portion of an online survey executed from 7 May – 10 July 2013. The survey was comprehensive in soliciting both forced-choice and open-ended responses from the sample regarding their impressions and perceptions of Moore County. More specifically, respondents were asked to

comment on specific elements that shape the business environment, amenities within the county that shape the social and community environment, and their concerns about the county's direction and pace of growth.

This chapter focuses on a set of descriptors for how residents view/perceive towns within Moore County, as well as how they view/perceive the residents within the broader context of Moore County. In addition to identifying the most appropriate descriptors, a list of amenities available within the county was also provided. Respondents were asked to simply select the words they associated with the towns, and with the residents, and which amenities they felt were readily available/easily accessible in the Moore County area. These lists were created from Moore County marketing collateral (e.g. brochures and websites), discussions held with members of the PIP Marketing Committee, and literature describing the ideal community climate to support entrepreneurial activities that attract relocatees and tourists (Kline *et al.*, 2012). In this regard, the descriptors/amenities were intended to reflect important, intangible community elements that contribute to quality of life and vibrancy of the community, and are factors that have contributed to attracting tourists and new residents to the community. As such, these descriptors also provide insight into how residents view their community identity and if that identity is shared among different resident groups.

The PIP Marketing Committee provided feedback to the final version of the instrument. Snowball sampling was used with members of the PIP Marketing Committee distributing within their social networks, followed by the primary researcher also contacting representatives in the K-12 school system, the community college, local political groups, military-related organizations, faith communities, the business community and other prominent groups to ask for their cooperation and support in disseminating the survey. Because many of the networks extend beyond the county, impressions of non-residents were collected. This was intentional and related directly back to the overall project's goals. Socio-demographic variables were explored (e.g. generation, gender, race, educational background, type of employment, household income), as well as characteristics of residents that define their association with Moore County (e.g. resident or non-resident, if they work in the county, if they live in the rural or urban part of the county and their length of residence in the county). Additionally, residents were asked to evaluate their level of entrepreneurial spirit. To determine if various residents view their county differently, chi-square analysis was conducted. Data analysis was conducted in SPSS 22.0.

Results

Descriptive results

Respondents were asked for socio-demographic information. Of 581 respondents, 32.9% were male and 67.1% female. Nearly all respondents

(93.3%) were white and 6.7% were non-white. Almost half (46.0%) of the sample considered themselves 'Baby Boomers', born between the years 1946 and 1964; another third (33.9%) were from Generation X (born 1965–1980); nearly 12% were from the Silent Generation, born 1927–1945 and at minimum 70 years old. Another 8% were considered part of the Millennial Generation.

About half of the sample (48.6%) work in the public sector, while almost a quarter own their own business (17.4%) or work in the private sector (12.3%). One-tenth (11.1%) are retired and 6.7% work in the non-profit sector. The sample is educated, with 36.5% holding a graduate degree and another 40% a Bachelor's degree. Their household income is somewhat evenly distributed with a fifth (20.7%) earning less than $50,000 in annual income, 36.5% earning $50,001–100,000, 24.8% earning $100,001–150,000 and 18% earning more than $150,000.

Respondents were asked about their affiliations with Moore County: three-fourths of the sample (76.8%) reported currently living in Moore County. Over two-thirds (67.9%) have their primary home in Moore County and almost as many (64.4%) work full time or part time in the county. Around a quarter claim to be active volunteers (28.2%), moved to Moore County for professional reasons (24.9%), have parents who live in the county (23.6%) or have children in the K-12 school system (22.2%). Other responses of note include 19.4% being at least the second generation in their family to live in Moore County, 17.1% stated they have visited the county for leisure/vacation, another 16.8% were born in the county and 12.9% own a business in the county. Finally, around one-tenth have visited Moore County on business (11.5%), returned to live in Moore County after moving away (11.2%) and/or retired to Moore County (11.0%).

Additionally, respondents were asked to provide their zipcode, which was designated as rural or town (urban) by the primary researcher (Table 7.1). Finally, respondents reported the number of years they had lived in the county, which were grouped into 10-year increments. Because over one-third have lived there less than 10 years, this category was further divided. Most are residents who live in one of the towns and work in the county, and over half (58.7%) have lived there for more than 10 years.

Residents were asked to evaluate their entrepreneurial inclinations by indicating their level of agreement with the following statement: *I consider myself entrepreneurial either in my paid work or my volunteer work…* Interestingly, the responses were split into almost equal thirds (Table 7.2.).

Perceptions of the county

Respondents were asked to select the words that they associate with the towns and with the residents within Moore County. The most frequently cited words about towns were *retirement area* (55.4%), *charming* (54.2%),

Table 7.1. Relationship with Moore County.

Variable	Percentage
Resident status (*n* = 607)	
Resident	76.8
Non-resident	23.2
Work in Moore County (*n* = 607)	
Yes	64.4
No	35.6
Residential setting (*n* = 205)	
Resident: rural	35.6
Resident: town	64.4
Residential tenure (*n* = 351)	
<5 years	14.2
5–10 years	27.1
11–20 years	23.9
21–30 years	16.0
31 years +	18.8

Table 7.2. Self-reported entrepreneurial spirit.

Variable	Percentage
Are you entrepreneurial? (*n* = 577)	
Yes	35.7
Sometimes/somewhat	31.4
No	32.9

friendly (48.1%), *clean* (47.6%), *historic* (45.3%), *safe* (41.5%) and *quiet* (40.2%). Residents were most frequently described as *retired* (55.7%), *friendly* (46.6%), *military-friendly* (45.5%), *educated* (43.8%) and *conservative* (42.2%).

Additionally, respondents were asked to comment on whether the following amenities are readily available/easily accessible in the area. The amenities receiving the highest rating were *farmers' markets* (54.7%), *hotels* (52.9%), *coffee shops* (52.4%), *great restaurants* (48.6%), *gyms/ fitness centres* (46.6%), *local food* (41.7%), *mainstream movie theatres* (41.4%), *parks/open space* (45.8%), *public libraries* (45.1%) and *scenic beauty* (45.6%).

Test results

The set of tables below depict analyses results; unless otherwise noted, the *df* = 1. Because chi-square is an estimation of probability, results are to be interpreted as more or less 'likely than expected'. Among the town descriptors (Table 7.3), respondents agreed that Moore County towns are not *boring*, not *dated*, not *fast-paced*, not *hip and happening*, not *littered*,

Table 7.3. Town descriptors by demographics, county affiliation and self-reported entrepreneurial status.

	Generation (df = 3)	Gender	Race	Education (df = 2)	Employment	Income (df = 4)	Resident status	Residential setting	Residential tenure (df = 3)	SRER (df = 2)
Artsy	7.681	0.097	2.153	1.834	0.749	2.386	0.085	5.375*	2.643	2.286
Boring	6.982	0.000	3.814	4.407	0.787	7.841	0.214	0.001	2.039	4.220
Boutique	0.302	2.462	0.362	8.240*	0.978	0.481	3.269	1.617	0.987	4.638
Bucolic	9.575*	10.661**	0.217	6.605*	0.502	5.542	0.691	0.569	4.054	0.966
Charming	8.982*	0.004	7.825**	4.021	0.256	5.691	10.658**	10.541**	3.372	3.040
Clean	8.156*	0.020	2.359	4.244	1.233	1.469	18.970**	7.765**	2.016	0.234
Closed	3.967	3.097	2.478	2.202	0.503	2.750	0.063	0.020	7.858*	2.221
Conservative	2.102	11.322**	3.197	12.531**	0.260	1.115	6.647**	7.273**	8.612**	4.288
Culinary	7.991*	0.781	0.000	0.091	0.525	2.088	13.636**	4.496*	0.937	7.878*
Cultured	40.619**	1.184	6.089*	0.675	0.000	3.505	1.327	0.929	9.321*	4.500
Dated	4.959	2.067	0.002	1.825	0.485	2.400	0.066	0.489	1.965	1.060
Diverse attractions	40.879**	1.300	0.019	1.189	0.411	6.504	2.440	1.128	4.678	1.021
Dynamic	13.008**	0.311	0.020	0.227	0.289	8.296	4.340**	0.000	5.084	4.222
Entrepreneurial communities	5.076	0.261	0.468	0.616	0.440	1.662	0.435	1.098	4.403	8.020*
Exciting	19.539*	0.000	0.037	2.200	0.231	1.671	0.066	0.022	3.843	0.963
Exclusive	1.497	0.025	0.267	9.113**	3.183	1.272	0.049	0.372	2.866	0.963
Family-oriented	1.747	0.029	1.894	0.011	3.832*	4.023	9.176**	0.379	1.230	0.497
Fast-paced	3.540	0.359	0.000	3.522	0.142	3.489	0.073	1.363	2.203	2.123
Friendly	9.829*	1.176	5.032*	2.255	0.097	5.572	18.450**	3.243	0.329	0.518
Green (environmentally)	17.984**	0.000	1.585	0.239	0.003	5.956	1.503	0.361	1.672	2.138
Growing	10.653*	2.711	0.509	0.533	0.594	12.623*	11.299**	4.119*	3.748	0.601
Historic	7.410	0.763	2.434	0.744	0.126	3.712	20.378**	2.629	3.986	1.333
Hip and happening	6.689	0.000	0.000	3.647	0.831	2.348	0.221	0.001	6.383	0.029
Homogenous	0.401	0.058	0.486	9.511**	0.002	3.654	0.193	0.208	1.831	0.632
Littered	6.699	0.000	0.000	4.367	1.526	2.601	1.769	0.000	1.562	1.955
Picturesque	30.153**	1.913	2.759	2.142	0.658	7.229	6.198*	2.549	1.185	1.501

Pricey	8.292*	1.799	0.060	0.729	5.652*	11.037*	0.263	0.000	0.910	6.945*
Progressive	3.730	2.753	0.000	0.208	0.962	1.298	0.005	0.069	10.790*	0.307
Quiet	4.942	0.343	0.022	4.770	0.697	1.209	22.466**	3.786	8.882*	0.855
Remote	1.176	0.051	0.147	2.804	0.418	4.819	0.815	0.099	12.674**	4.190
Retirement area	4.567	0.599	0.187	3.135	2.410	5.159	9.038**	11.956**	4.086	0.699
Rural	3.200	0.196	0.000	1.128	3.871*	3.560	8.492**	1.216	1.176	0.025
Safe	3.652	2.962	0.491	5.962	0.400	4.845	12.378**	7.337**	12.123**	5.068
Sleepy	1.355	1.258	0.401	2.622	0.106	2.691	0.000	0.000	8.621*	1.147
Smart	26.134**	5.862*	0.887	0.413	0.007	3.932	0.416	3.312	6.540	3.799
Stagnant	3.385	0.000	3.934*	1.751	0.010	7.411	0.891	0.000	11.236*	0.640
Strong economy	4.967	0.372	0.000	0.580	0.002	3.999	1.546	1.581	1.164	3.813
Tacky	0.401	0.932	0.663	0.053	2.148	4.626	0.242	0.000	5.979	1.547
Trendy	4.827	0.506	0.000	0.209	0.411	5.202	0.017	0.035	1.962	2.045
Upscale	4.697	0.952	0.000	4.205	0.000	1.639	0.234	2.138	4.421	0.770
Vibrant	6.157	0.016	0.060	0.936	0.740	0.445	3.817	1.919	11.282**	6.152*
Walkable	2.260	0.048	5.592**	3.796	0.000	6.289	5.493*	1.139	6.320	0.803
Well-located	3.662	0.592	0.041	0.279	0.397	10.263*	7.565**	0.036	5.154	0.498

Note: SRER = self-reported entrepreneurial. When df = 1, continuity correction was used; *$P < 0.05$; **$P < 0.01$.

not *tacky*, not *trendy*, not *upscale* and did have a *strong economy*. The town descriptor with the most disagreement was *conservative*, in which five of 11 groups felt differently about the county. Four groups felt differently about *charming*, *culinary*, *growing* and *pricey*, and three groups about *bucolic*, *clean*, *cultured*, *family-oriented* and *friendly*. Planners and marketers should take note that these words may be 'hot buttons' or areas of conflict.

To understand how groups view the county differently, respondent characteristics must be examined. Among town descriptors, the largest number of disparate views occurred between generations, residential status (resident or non), residential setting (rural or town) and residential tenure. In the case of the statistically significant differences among generations, both Gen X and Gen Y respondents were more negative about Moore County than the older age groups, considering the county *bucolic*, *charming*, *clean*, *culinary*, *cultured*, with diverse attractions less than expected. Residents were more likely to see the county as *charming*, *clean*, *conservative*, *culinary*, *dynamic*, *family-oriented*, *growing*, *historic*, *picturesque*, *quiet*, *a retirement area*, *rural*, *safe*, *walkable* and *well-located*. Rural residents were less likely to regard the county as *artsy*, *charming*, *clean*, *conservative*, *culinary*, *growing* and a *retirement area*. Respondents living in the county for more than 20 years were less likely to consider the county *conservative*, *quiet*, *remote*, *sleepy* and more likely to consider it *cultured*, *progressive* and *vibrant*. Newer residents (living in the county for five or fewer years) were more likely to consider the county *stagnant*, *sleepy*, *closed* or *remote* and less likely to consider it *vibrant* and *cultured*.

Focusing only on those descriptors with the most discrepancies between groups, residents, town residents, residents with a graduate degree, residents living in the county between six and 20 years, and men were more likely to consider the county *conservative*. Residents, town residents, older (Baby Boomer and Silent Generation) and white respondents were more likely to consider it *charming*. Residents, town residents, older and the entrepreneurial and somewhat entrepreneurial were more likely to consider it *culinary*. Residents, town residents, older (Baby Boomer and Silent Generation), and those with annual incomes of $50,001–100,000 and $100,001–150,000 were more likely to consider it *growing*. Government and non-profit employees, respondents with an annual household income less than $100,000, members of Gen X, and self-reported non-entrepreneurs found the towns to be *pricey*. In general, older residents, residents with longer residential tenure and town residents viewed the towns in a positive light.

Among resident descriptors, the largest number of disparate views occurred between residential status and generation. In the case of the statistically significant difference among residents and non-residents, residents were more likely to perceive the residents of their county as *easy-going*, *educated*, *friendly, healthy*, *innovative*, *kind*, *middle class*, *military-friendly, multi-cultural*, *poverty-stricken*, *racially diverse*, *religious*, *retired*, *savvy* and *young families*. Gen Xers were more likely to perceive the residents

Table 7.4. Resident descriptors by demographics, county affiliation and self-reported entrepreneurial status.

	Generation (df=3)	Gender	Race	Education (df = 2)	Employment	Income (df = 4)	Resident status	Residential setting	Residential tenure (df = 3)	SRER (df = 2)
Anti-growth	0.996	1.241	3.752	2.909	0.047	8.558	1.854	5.626*	2.698	4.420
Arrogant	8.065*	0.689	4.534*	5.190	0.660	5.119	0.160	0.080	1.843	1.891
Artsy	8.264*	0.006	2.526	0.526	0.014	1.017	1.972	1.905	4.258	3.720
Business people	4.790	0.200	0.088	1.515	2.099	7.466	2.258	3.227	2.431	5.789
Cliquish	7.469	2.031	0.218	4.172	4.399*	0.794	0.475	0.067	5.251	0.654
Conservative	8.674*	4.317*	0.658	18.359**	0.023	3.460	10.904**	11.348**	5.580	6.532*
Cosmopolitan	30.311**	0.296	0.000	0.096	1.231	0.342	1.391	0.851	2.938	4.213
Easy-going	9.574*	2.199	1.005	3.407	0.000	5.281	5.321*	1.569	1.439	0.436
Educated	24.139**	0.599	4.209*	3.234	0.000	3.546	8.772**	7.524**	2.608	2.270
Entrepreneurial	9.303*	0.000	0.398	0.115	5.234*	3.460	0.008	3.456	2.212	16.837**
Environmentally conscious	33.016**	0.345	1.680	0.906	0.511	1.283	3.433	0.238	0.691	0.854
Forward-thinking	13.793**	0.000	0.079	2.231	0.740	2.911	2.229	0.518	2.487	5.062
Friendly	12.394**	2.785	3.012	1.803	0.035	3.004	11.031**	9.858	3.243	0.148
Healthy	20.914**	0.195	1.015	3.955	0.090	0.950	5.149*	0.589	2.437	1.309
Ignorant	4.356	0.139	0.654	1.377	1.908	5.610	2.241	1.670	1.701	1.254
Innovative	11.513**	0.891	0.001	1.381	0.655	1.551	3.915*	2.218	1.759	6.273*
Kind	8.151*	0.737	0.405	1.752	1.772	3.106	10.578**	4.072*	2.976	1.450
Liberal	0.137	0.000	1.804	0.445	0.655	2.851	0.277	0.000	0.780	0.319
Middle class	3.979	0.049	0.670	2.908	2.097	3.720	12.286**	0.114	2.882	1.255
Military-friendly	9.517*	0.000	2.573	2.854	3.178	1.497	28.407**	8.248**	3.757	1.770
Multi-cultural	9.934*	0.322	0.029	0.834	1.406	8.184	5.866*	0.004	3.275	0.262
Non-partisan	1.369	0.150	0.019	2.536	0.000	8.995	0.000	0.099	2.017	2.632
Old	14.126**	0.062	1.145	3.016	0.019	1.593	0.096	0.734	6.898	1.861
Overweight	4.633	0.112	0.468	1.116	0.093	4.309	3.197	9.744*	1.021	1.791
Poverty-stricken	0.120	4.299*	0.000	1.005	11.415**	11.616*	5.353*	0.134	2.168	2.957
Progressive	1.266	0.176	0.000	0.469	0.143	2.509	0.310	1.135	6.410	0.539

Table 7.4. Continued.

	Generation (df=3)	Gender	Race	Education (df = 2)	Employment	Income (df = 4)	Resident status	Residential setting	Residential tenure (df = 3)	SRER (df = 2)
Racially diverse	5.638	0.876	0.029	1.842	12.736**	7.997	15.602**	0.011	5.603	6.717*
Religious	5.140	0.162	0.006	5.027	3.327	4.206	19.743**	4.031*	5.062	2.835
Reserved	2.460	1.617	5.519*	3.915	0.102	4.313	0.000	2.249	4.201	2.965
Retired	4.150	0.230	0.000	3.769	3.312	3.896	10.837**	7.548**	8.219*	1.583
Rich	2.849	0.763	0.269	1.344	4.111*	2.140	0.263	3.757	3.129	15.302**
Savvy	3.813	0.000	0.000	0.555	0.172	15.786**	4.795*	5.485*	6.405	0.468
Snobby	11.358**	0.223	0.019	5.537	3.230	3.439	1.920	0.047	0.977	5.820
Uneducated	2.165	2.446	0.000	0.307	3.392	4.774	3.062	0.519	1.100	0.375
White	13.666**	1.984	0.171	5.181	0.000	5.501	2.315	6.666**	8.543*	0.257
Young families	2.610	1.135	0.096	0.588	0.241	3.950	10.305**	1.081	3.218	0.074
Young professionals	10.714**	0.000	2.713	0.479	0.168	3.806	1.577	0.866	6.446	5.275

Note: SRER = self-reported entrepreneurial. When df = 1, continuity correction was used; *$P < 0.05$; **$P < 0.01$.

Table 7.5. Amenities by demographics, county affiliation and self-reported entrepreneurial status.

	Generation (df = 3)	Gender	Race	Education (df = 2)	Employment	Income (df = 4)	Resident status	Residential setting	Residential tenure (df = 3)	SRER (df = 2)
Art galleries	61.164**	1.808	0.003	1.587	8.804**	10.949*	2.025	10.027**	1.407	30.157**
Athletic programmes for children	0.961	1.700	1.434	11.690**	8.125**	3.999	31.304**	7.800**	1.318	7.641*
Coffee shops	3.259	2.042	2.244	0.849	2.156	7.710	20.225**	5.408*	3.754	2.326
Craft beers	3.121	2.137	1.176	2.603	3.517	3.160	7.009*	1.099	10.980*	3.718
Diverse architecture	26.239**	0.536	0.896	2.429	2.037	1.736	2.615	10.292**	2.210	12.499**
Farmers market	9.633*	2.030	1.376	2.467	2.609	5.589	30.538**	10.294**	4.797	1.797
Forested areas	6.868	7.586**	0.000	4.921	2.831	3.618	7.016**	2.291	7.347	6.204*
Great restaurants	2.747	0.008	2.935	1.447	0.533	2.354	23.161**	10.758**	1.170	0.468
Greenways	2.243	0.057	5.382*	4.888	4.592*	3.588	17.300**	4.486*	7.184	3.893
Gyms/fitness centres	12.552**	.076	1.970	1.919	1.281	6.944	29.601**	9.431**	8.850*	1.751
Hotels	8.402*	0.273	1.635	0.278	0.000	1.321	21.472**	7.548**	4.675	2.077
Independent bookstore	6.007	1.200	6.069*	5.627	0.670	1.595	15.098**	8.928**	1.130	0.291
Library (public)	12.558**	0.569	0.053	2.658	3.094	2.542	21.752**	6.628**	4.630	1.866
Local food	4.492	1.404	2.063	1.124	0.594	2.338	6.692**	3.944*	0.462	0.399
Parks/open space	2.294	0.441	2.644	4.624	0.278	6.333	19.818**	9.769**	8.999*	0.819
Public parking	4.992	2.006	0.101	7.461*	0.007	2.095	6.819**	9.880**	4.708	0.006
Public recreation opportunities	5.521	3.343	0.748	1.586	0.003	5.173	8.399**	1.200	0.482	2.011
Safe biking paths	2.573	0.800	0.222	0.287	0.398	8.165	6.275*	0.007	4.948	3.082
Safe walking/running routes	1.975	1.422	0.557	1.066	0.260	5.211	8.234**	1.236	1.240	1.804
Scenic beauty	4.535	0.522	2.503	4.176	0.000	1.655	17.768**	8.786**	0.539	6.132*
Spas/salons	6.535	5.570*	3.188	2.257	0.631	5.747	10.919**	7.484**	4.327	4.351
Theatres (performing arts)	14.068**	0.000	0.305	0.358	0.000	2.401	7.260**	.963	6.520	3.346
Theatres (independent movies)	30.995**	0.592	2.646	3.170	1.233	5.658	20.246**	8.046**	5.322	2.553

Continued

Table 7.5. Continued.

	Generation (df = 3)	Gender	Race	Education (df = 2)	Employment	Income (df = 4)	Resident status	Residential setting	Residential tenure (df = 3)	SRER (df = 2)
Theatres (mainstream movies)	3.145	0.003	7.358**	2.774	6.980**	4.858	23.437**	3.644	0.592	3.216
Wine selection	3.068	0.732	6.264*	6.698*	0.135	2.511	24.221**	15.579**	7.484	1.218

Note: SRER = self-reported entrepreneurial. When df = 1, continuity correction was used; *$P < 0.05$; **$P < 0.01$.

as *arrogant*, *old* and *snobby*, and less likely to perceive residents as *artsy*, *conservative*, *cosmopolitan*, *easy-going*, *educated*, *entrepreneurial*, *environmentally conscious*, *forward thinking*, *healthy*, *innovative* and *young professionals*. Their older counterparts, the Silent Generation, held contrasting opinions on each of these descriptors, viewing residents in a very positive light, but in particular *kind* and *multi-cultural*. Boomers were more likely to perceive the residents as *entrepreneurial* and *racially diverse*. Millennials were less likely to feel the residents are *environmentally conscious, friendly* or *military-friendly*, and more likely to perceive them as *old*, *snobby*, *white* and somewhat *entrepreneurial*.

The most contentious resident descriptors were *conservative* with six groups that viewed residents differently on this matter, and *poverty-stricken* with five. Four groups saw residents differently on *educated*, *military-friendly* and *racially diverse* variables, and three on *arrogant*, *entrepreneurial*, *kind, religious* and *retired* variables. Those who were more likely to deem the residents *conservative* were county residents who lived in town, male, older (Silent Generation) and held a graduate degree. Those who saw the residents as poverty-stricken were residents who worked in the county, were employed in the public or non-profit sector, female, and in the lowest three income brackets (spanning $0–150,000 annually). In general, older residents and town residents viewed the towns in a positive light.

Respondents were provided with a list of community elements and asked to indicate *Which of the following amenities are readily available/ easily accessible in the Moore County area?* The amenities with the most disagreement among groups were *art galleries* and *athletic programmes for children*, for which six groups perceived differently. Other disagreement was found on *theatres (mainstream movies)* and *wine selection* (five groups each) and *greenways* and *gyms/fitness centres* (four groups each). The largest number of disparate views occurred between residential status and residential setting. Not surprisingly, residents, more than non-residents, were more likely to indicate that the amenities were available. Additionally, the town residents appeared to be more aware of amenities than their rural counterparts.

Discussion

Looking across the analyses, some patterns can be detected. First, residents and non-residents have a dissimilar view of the county. While this may seem like an obvious result, the implications are nonetheless important for marketing and education interventions. PIP wished to know how to attract and retain talented new residents, therefore this study sought to understand what county elements appealed to current residents and what could appeal to outsiders. Knowing the perceptions of non-residents can fuel targeted marketing campaigns for relocatees as well as tourists. Second, similar to previous studies that found length of residency to be an

important factor in attitude towards tourism in their community (Weaver, 2001; Zhang, 2008), this study found residential tenure also positively influenced views towards community identity; however newer and younger residents had some negative impressions.

Moreover, it appears that the rural and town residents view the county differently, giving credence to the notion that the county holds a dual identity. Rural residents do not view Moore County as artsy, charming, clean, conservative, culinary, growing and a retirement area, in contrast to non-residents who do. From a planning perspective, this information could help navigate contested areas of development by better understanding what characteristics to build upon (Weaver and Lawton, 2001; Weaver and Lawton, 2004). Additionally, with an idea of how the county is viewed by various audiences, planners can focus on a particular audience they are trying to attract (e.g. entrepreneurs or Millennials) or on a particular image they desire or wish to debunk. In this regard, the study has also given support to the importance of differential marketing across generational segments, especially when purposefully attracting younger generations back from urban areas. Along with growing opportunities for employment, Moore County's tourism industry has also played a pivotal role in attracting new residents to the county because many of the amenities are connected with demand from tourism (Timothy, 2005; Weaver, 2005). The amenities within the county that attract these new residents to the area include *craft beer*, *gym and fitness centres* and *parks and open spaces*. This is important to consider with regard to attracting and maintaining new residents to the county.

The underlying purpose of the study was to provide strategic direction for future growth. Compared to other fringe communities embracing tourism as an economic development strategy, Moore County has an advantage because of the historic draw of Pinehurst as a tourist icon, while for many other counties tourism is an emerging industry. This study can help Moore County protect their vital and unique sense of place, while carefully adding lifestyle elements that will make the county more attractive to coming generations and demographics. Part of strategic planning is to protect communities from negative elements in dynamic environments, which have been identified in the study. By identifying perceptions about the county, leadership can be proactive to gain and/or leverage their competitive advantages over other areas. Additionally, they can inform residents and market to non-residents regarding the 'undiscovered' amenities of the county. This study contributes to the literature as a case study of a dual-identity county (town and rural, rich and poor, etc.). Various perspectives about the county were observed based on these dual identity characteristics. The concepts of rural and urban are not so straightforward because regions sometimes exhibit elements of both. By understanding the characteristics of fringe areas, and perceptions of the residents within them, future tourism and economic growth efforts have a better chance of developing sustainably.

References

Berube, A., Singer, A., Wilson, J. and Frey, W. (2006) Finding Exurbia: America's Fast-Growing Communities at the Metropolitan Fringe. Brookings Institution, Washington, DC. Available at: http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2006/10/metropolitanpolicy-berube (accessed 11 January 2016).

Bonham, J.G. (2012) Moore County Working Lands Protection Plan. Available at: http://www.umoag.com/farmlandpreservation/docs/Moore_County_FLP.pdf (accessed 18 January 2016).

Champion, T. and Hugo, G. (2004) *New Forms of Urbanisation: Beyond the Urban-Rural Dichotomy*. Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Aldershot, UK.

Chase, J. (2015) Bending the rules in the foothills—county general planning in exurban Northern California. *Society and Natural Resources* 28(8), 857–872.

Convention and Visitors Bureau Pinehurst, Southern Pines, Aberdeen Area of North Carolina (n.d.) Things to See and Do. Available at: http://www.homeofgolf.com/things-to-see-do (accessed 15 August 2015).

Economic Development Partnership of North Carolina (n.d.) Travel Economic Impact Model. Available at: http://partners.visitnc.com/research-3/economic-impact/teim.html (accessed 21 August 2015).

Gosnell, H. and Abrams, J. (2009) Amenity migration: diverse conceptualizing of drivers, socioeconomic dimensions, and emerging challenges. *GeoJournal* 76(4), 303–322. DOI 10.1007/s10708-009-9295-4.

Jun, H.J. and Conroy, M.M. (2013) Comprehensive planning and sustainability in Georgia's exurbs. *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning* 15, 329–351.

Kline, C., McGehee, N., Paterson, S. and Tsao, J. (2012) Using ecological systems theory and density of acquaintance to explore resident perception of entrepreneurial climate. *Journal of Travel Research* 52(3), 294–309.

Koster, R., Lemelin, R.H. and Agnew, K. (2010) Frolicking in the fringe: an assessment of the state of exurban tourism in Canada. In: Beesley, K. *The Rural-Urban Fringe in Canada: Conflict and Controversy*. Rural Development Institute, Brandon, Manitoba, Canada, pp. 144–157.

Moore County Partners in Progress (n.d.) Demographics. Available at: http://www.moore-business.org/demographics/ (accessed 12 September 2015).

North Carolina Department of Commerce (n.d.) ACCESSNC: State, Region and County Profiles. Available at: http://accessnc.commerce.state.nc.us/docs/countyProfile/NC/37125.pdf (accessed 1 October 2015).

Pavelka, J. and Draper, D. (2015) Leisure negotiation within amenity migration. *Annals of Tourism Research* 50, 128–142.

Timothy, D.J. (2005) Rural tourism business: a North American overview. In: Hall, D. and Kirkpatrick, I. (eds) *Rural Tourism and Sustainable Business*. Channel View Publications, Bristol, UK, pp. 41–61.

Weaver, D.B. (2005) The distinctive dynamics of exurban tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 7(1), 23–33.

Weaver, D.B. and Lawton, L.J. (2001) Resident perceptions in the urban–rural fringe. *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(2), 439–458.

Weaver, D.B. and Lawton, L.J. (2004) Visitor attitudes toward tourism development and product integration in an Australian urban–rural fringe. *Journal of Travel Research* 42(3), 286–296.

Weaver, D.B. and Lawton, L.J. (2008) Perceptions of a nearby exurban protected area in South Carolina, United States. *Environmental Management* 41(3), 389–397.

Wiltz, T. (2015) Returning to the Exurbs: Rural Communities are Fastest Growing. The Pew Charitable Trusts. Available at: http://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2015/4/15/returning-to-the-exurb-rural-counties-are-fastest-growing (accessed 11 January 2016).

Zhang, J. (2008) Understanding Host Community Attitudes Towards Tourism and Resident-Tourist Interaction: A Socio-Behavioural Study of Melbourne's Urban-Rural Fringe. Doctoral dissertation, RMIT University Melbourne.

Zhang, J., Inbakaran, R.J. and Jackson, M.S. (2006) Understanding community attitudes towards tourism and host–guest interaction in the urban–rural border region. *Tourism Geographies* 8(2), 182–204.

Part III   Strategies in Sustainability

8

The Urban–Rural Tourism Mix: A Partnership of Convenience or Sustainability Imperative

ACHA-ANYI PAUL NKEMNGU*

Department of Tourism Management, Tshwane University of Technology, Pretoria, South Africa

Overview

The city of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, commonly referred to as the City of Tshwane, houses the political capital of South Africa (Pretoria), but equally incorporates within its jurisdiction more than ten townships. This city/township divide does not bear the hallmarks of South Africa's historic past of racial segregation (apartheid), but symbolizes the present status quo of economic imbalance. Government efforts aimed at correcting this imbalance have expanded since the dawn of the democratic dispensation in 1994. It is in this context that tourism presents itself as a possible solution to extend opportunities to local people, especially those previously disadvantaged. Tourism research has acknowledged the great potential of the tourism sector to serve as an engine for local economic development. This is substantiated by the tourism industry's propensity to create jobs, generate incomes for local people and stimulate other subsidiary industries, especially small, micro and medium-sized entreprises. However, for such economic gains to materialize, the destination must, as a prerequisite, possess a rich variety of tourist attractions to pull and encourage the tourists to spend within the local economy. This chapter argues that while urban centres, such as the Pretoria Central Business District (CBD), generally attract a good number of tourists, this advantage should be extended to less developed communities (townships) that are in close proximity to the CBD. Through a quantitative survey of 401 tourists at various attractions in the Pretoria city centre, the study concludes that a good number of tourists to urban destinations are also attracted to tourism products in rural areas, notably because of the natural environment

---

* E-mail: achaseatt@gmail.com

and cultural 'authenticity'. Hence the study recommends that rural destinations be marketed in conjunction with their urban counterparts as this will be beneficial to the tourists, urban centres and rural areas as well.

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the potential benefits of the urban–rural mix for the tourism sector in general, and local communities in particular. This is embedded in the fact that even though many tourists enjoy the cosmopolitan attributes of city life, they equally admire the natural environment and the 'authenticity' of rural communities. It is in this light that this study explores the potential for a viable tourism mix between the city of Pretoria and the township of Soshanguve. The two communities fall within the jurisdiction of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, with the difference that Pretoria lies in the CBD, while Soshanguve is about 25 km from the city centre. This, therefore, presents an ideal scenario to explore the possibility of a viable urban–rural tourism mix.

Research into the business and economic opportunities within the tourism sector has greatly increased over the past decade. Subsequently, tourism literature attests to various economic benefits from the industry, notably in job creation, foreign exchange earnings, the stimulation of local industries and general economic uplift (Hall *et al.*, 2009; Mordue, 2009). Adopting a timeline perspective, Sebele (2010) purports that the community approach to development gained popularity in the 1950s and 1960s as it was deemed more effective in rural development. The success of the community approach to development was widely attributed to the active participation of local people acting towards their collective good and prosperity. Hence, advocacy for a more constructive and meaningful engagement of residents in developmental issues gained further impetus in the 1980s (Murphy, 1985; Müller and Jansson, 2007; Sin and Minca, 2014). Furthermore, Kauppila and Karjalainen (2012) assert that through their participation in tourism, communities also ensure the sustainability of the industry by taking practical steps to secure their long-term employment, developing positive attitudes towards tourists, ensuring the conservation of local resources, and protecting the ecological and physical environment. It is in the interest of enhancing the aforementioned benefits that this research goal was kindled; to explore the potential for a tourism symbiosis between the urban (CBD – Pretoria) and rural (Soshanguve) communities in the City of Tshwane.

Background

The City of Tshwane is home to the administrative capital of South Africa (Pretoria) and houses over 130 international diplomatic missions, making it the second largest geographical concentration of embassies after Washington, DC (Statistics South Africa, 2014). On the outskirts of the CBD lie more than ten

vibrant communities (townships), notably: Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Soshanguve, Mabopane, Ga-Rankuwa, Centurion, Akasia, Winterveldt and Hammanskraal.

Development planning in the City of Tshwane takes due consideration of the City's unique status as the administrative and diplomatic capital of South Africa as evidenced in the Tshwane Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (COT, 2012), the Growth and Development Strategy for Tshwane (COT, 2006a), the Tshwane Integrated Development Plan (COT, 2006b) and the City of Tshwane Tourism Master Plan (2005). This implies maximizing the City's tourism potential, among other economic opportunities. The 2015 state of the capital address, subtitled 'Building the people's capital', alluded to this by specifying four economic sectors ear-marked to drive development within the next 15 years towards the attainment of its 2055 vision. These four sectors are identified as:

- education and the knowledge economy;
- agriculture and agro-processing;
- business and diplomatic tourism; and
- the green economy.

Peculiar among the many challenges facing the City of Tshwane is the considerable decline in economic growth and high level of unemployment (COT, 2015). With a population of 2.9 million, the unemployment rate stands at 24.2% (Statistics South Africa, 2014).

Fondly referred to as the jacaranda city because of the beautiful jacaranda flowers that cover the city in spring, major tourist attractions in Pretoria include the Union Buildings, Freedom Park, Church Square, Voortrekker Monument and Transvaal Museum, among others. It is evident from the foregoing that Pretoria, like many cities and urban destinations, is dominated by heritage attractions.

Soshanguve community: A tourism perspective

Situated about 25 km to the north of the City of Tshwane CBD, the Soshanguve Township at first glance displays the typical characteristics of any informal settlement, such as crowded habitation, high unemployment, poor infrastructure and a bustle of informal traders. All these bear the remnants of the defunct apartheid system of government during which black people were forcibly removed from the urban centres and re-settled in the outskirts of the cities to fend for themselves (Setswe, 2010). Paradoxically, at the heart of this bleak history lies the rennaissance, a cultural amalgam in the Soshanguve community emanating from the fact that people from different ethnic groups were forced to live together. In other words, the unique historical attribute of Soshanguve Township lies in the fact that it was not designed to accommodate one, but four ethnic groups, hence its name, 'So' for Sothos, 'Sha' for Shangans, 'Ngu' for Ngunis and 'Ve' for Vendas. This is the genesis of the rich and diverse cultural heritage (Figs 8.1 and 8.2) of the community. In addition to this historical factor is the special natural advantage that Soshanguve enjoys by having the Tswaing crater and ecological nature reserve within its surroundings.

Figs 8.1. and 8.2. Exhibition of the Soshanguve cultural heritage.

The historical and natural factors mentioned above offer the Soshanguve community a unique competitive advantage over other townships in terms of tourist attractions. Even though the City of Tshwane recognizes the potential for the development of other tourism products in Soshanguve such as architecture, arts, natural environment, culture and heritage, and shopping and entertainment (COT, 2005), its realization is still a distant reality. Substantial economic benefits from tourism have not accrued to the local people, especially because bus-loads of tourists pass through the community to the Tswaing crater and ecological reserve without stopping in the community or interacting with the local people. Evidence of the economic deprivation and social imbalance between the City of Pretoria and the township is visible in the high unemployment rate, which stands at above 40% (Setshedi, 2007). This is the principal motivation of this study, which proposes an urban–rural tourism mix between the City of Pretoria and the community of Soshanguve. The successful implementation of such a strategy will not only enrich tourist experiences in the City of Tshwane but also alleviate poverty and unemployment in the community of Soshanguve. Furthermore, the successful development of a composite tourism product for the City of Pretoria and Soshanguve Township is likely to increase the competitiveness of the City of Tshwane as a tourist destination with more diverse attractions.

Conceptual Framework

Tourism destination competitiveness

In order for the urban–rural tourism mix between the city of Pretoria and Soshanguve township to be sustainable, it has to be competitive. Porter (1980) defines competitiveness as the ability of an organization to stay in business, protect its investments, benefit from those investments and sustain jobs in the long run. Jonker (2005) points out that at the macro level, the competiveness of national governments is measured in terms of how their social, cultural and economic variables or resources perform in international markets with the ultimate objective being the real incomes of their citizens. Since 1979, the factors identified in Porter's competitive advantage model constitute the basis for the global competiveness report compiled by the World Economic Forum (WEF) (Keyser, 2009).

Tourism research has demonstrated keen interest in the application of competitiveness theory to tourism in general, and destinations in particular (Keyser, 2009). Ritchie and Crouch (2003) define destination competitiveness as the ability to manage tourism assets, processes, attractiveness and proximity in such a way that these are included in the destination's economic and social model in order to create value and increase wealth. Hassan (2000) further states that for a destination to remain competitive, it must sustain the resources being used and equally retain its position in

the marketplace relative to its competitors. However, D'Hauteserre (2000) indicates that beyond retaining their position in the marketplace, competitive destinations should improve their market share over time.

The World Economic Forum Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index (2008, p. 38) proposes three categories for the assessment of various national destinations: regulatory frameworks; business and environment frameworks; and human, cultural and natural resources, as these elements drive the tourism industry. This chapter specifically looks at the natural and cultural resources through an assessment of visitor activities and preferences as a baseline to determine the appropriateness of tourism for Soshanguve Township, in partnership with the larger urban destination of Pretoria. As a first step to assess the viability of tourism, this chapter recognizes that further assessments of the other aspects of the Competitive Index are warranted.

A pro-poor tourism approach

Tourism research has attributed the absence or slow spread of economic prosperity from the more affluent cities, like Pretoria, to their less fortunate peripheral neighbours, like Soshanguve Township, to the absence of economic linkages between the two communities (Sandbrook, 2010). Such a nexus can only be enacted if local businesses in the township form part of the tourism supply chain. This connection will provide the enabling environment for the transfer of economic opportunities and cause pro-poor tourism to thrive. In this regard, pro-poor tourism has been described as the use of tourism as an instrument of poverty alleviation through job creation and income generation among poor communities (Ashley *et al.*, 2000); the concept of pro-poor tourism has gained prominence around the world (Lacher and Nepal, 2010; Rogerson and Rogerson, 2010). Nonetheless, pro-poor tourism is not without its detractors, some of whom disagree on the use of the term itself, preferring the term 'anti-poverty tourism' (Zhao and Ritchie cited in Hall, 2007), while others see pro-poor tourism as just another form of neo-liberalization that fails to address the fundamental challenges of local people (Christian *et al.*, 2011). In spite of these differences, this study takes the stance that maintaining the pro-poor tourism objective will be a strong motivation for the urban–rural tourism mix between the city of Pretoria and the Soshanguve community. Hence, this study undertook to find out the perceptions of visitors to the city of Pretoria regarding the attractiveness of the Soshanguve tourism product.

Methodology

Survey instrument

This survey aimed to explore and test the attractiveness of the Soshanguve Township tourism product to visitors to the City of Tshwane's CBD attractions.

Considering that the Soshanguve community has unique tourism products, such as the eco-friendly natural environment found around the Tswaing meteorite crater, to complement the community's diverse cultural heritage, the survey instrument was constructed around an inventory of activities that the respondents would like to engage in during a holiday. The survey instrument was composed of both natural and man-made attractions.

The motivation was to give the respondents a comprehensive spectrum from which to portray their holiday interest and through this means reveal whether they would be interested in complementing their holiday to Pretoria (urban tourism) with a visit to the township (rural tourism). The survey instrument consisted of a scale ranging from 1 to 4, with 1 corresponding with 'not important', 2 indicating 'less important', 3 indicating 'important' and 4 corresponding with 'very important'. Respondents were asked to indicate the importance they attached to each activity during their holiday.

Sampling

Statistics from South African Tourism (SAT, 2012) reveal that the province of Gauteng received the greatest number of tourists in South Africa during the year 2012, capturing 44.6% of all tourist arrivals in the country. Further details indicate that, of this number, 3.86 million (46.3%) were international visitors, while 5.1 million were domestic tourists. In the same vein, the City of Tshwane (COT, 2009) states that approximately 5 million tourists visit the city annually. This study therefore considered the number of 5 million tourists to the City of Tshwane as the sampling frame from which a total sample ($n = 401$) was drawn to take part in the study. Any one of them could have been there during the study period from 23–27 September 2013. To find visitors to the City of Tshwane, key attractions in the city were targeted. These attractions were the Union Buildings, Freedom Park, the Voortrekker Monument, the South African Police Museum, Burgers Park and Church Square.

Following Sekaran (2003) and Krejcie and Morgan (1970), 401 ($n = 401$) respondents were approached to participate in the study in conformity with a convenience non-probability sampling method. Thereby each visitor to the City of Tshwane during the study period had a 'non-zero chance of being selected' for the study. This number (401) conforms to the sample size required to validate the study (Krejcie and Morgan, 1970; Sekaran, 2003). These studies validate a sample of 384 (n) for a population of 1 million and above (Krejcie and Morgan, 1970).

Data collection

During the period between 5 and 27 September 2013, visitors to various City of Tshwane attractions were approached and invited to take part in the study. After a brief narrative explaining the purpose of the study, visitors who fitted into the definition of tourists and agreed to take part in

the study were handed the questionnaire to complete. Those who were not residents and agreed to participate in the study were provided the questionnaire for completion. In total, 401 questionnaires were successfully completed, 34% were from the South African Police Museum, 26% were collected at the Union Buildings, 22% from Freedom Park, 11% from the Voortrekker Monument, 3% from Church Square, 1% from Burgers Park and 3% from various events around the city.

Data analysis

The data collected were coded and initially captured on an Excel spreadsheet before being transferred into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software program for analysis. Descriptive statistical methods were then used to portray a general perspective on the issues considered important by visitors.

Findings and Discussion

Potential demand for the Soshanguve tourism product

Central to this study was the quest to explore the co-relation between the unique tourist attractions in the Soshanguve Township and the tourism interests of visitors to the city of Tshwane's CBD. In essence, the research sought to establish the extent to which the Soshanguve tourism product could complement the tourism potential of the City of Tshwane. To this end, the results of the statistical analysis revealed that the top five most preferred activities among visitors to the City of Tshwane CBD attractions are appreciating nature (87%), visiting historical places (80%), visiting cultural attractions (78%), visiting museums and galleries (77%) and appreciating architecture (75%). This finding was established by combining the percentages of the activities that the respondents rated as 'very important', and 'important'. Details of the respondents' individual rating of each activity as presented in Table 8.1 indicate that the activity with the highest incidences of 'very important' is visiting historical places (49%). This is followed by 'appreciating nature' at 45%, 'visiting museums and galleries' at 45%, 'visiting cultural attractions' at 43% and 'sightseeing' at 36%. On the other hand, the least preferred activities, with the highest rating on the 'not important' column are 'hunting' (29%), 'hiking' (28%), 'fishing' (27%), 'drinking' (26%), and 'cycling' and 'horse riding' at 25% each.

Given the large spectrum of interests displayed by the respondents, a factor analysis was further conducted on the data in order to arrive at the key underlining factors defining the respondents' interests. This yielded the results displayed in Table 8.2, and for convenience reasons these are labelled as 'adventure activities', 'cultural activities', 'nightlife activities' and 'passive activities'. The baseline characteristic defining the adventure theme is the desire to experience some adrenalin rush or

Table 8.1. Summary of visitors' preferred holiday activities.

Activity	Rating (%)			
	Very important	Important	Less important	Not important
Visit historical places	**49**	31	14	6
Visit museums and galleries	**45**	32	14	9
Appreciate nature	**45**	42	7	6
Visit cultural attractions	**43**	35	14	8
Appreciate architecture	35	**40**	17	8
Sightseeing	**36**	**36**	18	10
Dining	29	**37**	20	14
Dancing	25	**32**	21	22
Drinking	23	**29**	21	27
Mountain climbing	23	26	**29**	22
Hiking	21	21	**31**	27
Horse riding	20	21	**33**	26
Cycling	19	24	**31**	26
Fishing	19	**27**	**27**	**27**
Hunting	19	24	28	**29**
Swimming	27	**36**	20	17
Sunbathing	22	**34**	25	19

Note: Bold numbers indicate the most common response for each activity.

Table 8.2. Results of the factor analysis for preferred holiday activities among visitors.

Visitor holiday activities	Impact loadings			
Factor label	Adventure activities	Cultural activities	Nightlife activities	Passive activities
Cycling	0.832			
Hiking	0.823			
Horse riding	0.802			
Fishing	0.723			
Hunting	0.719			
Mountain climbing	0.646			
Swimming	0.429			
Visiting historical places		0.681		
Visiting museums and galleries		0.665		
Appreciate architecture		0.644		
Appreciate nature		0.552		
Visit cultural attractions		0.549		
Drinking			0.783	
Dancing			0.696	
Sightseeing				−0.660
Dining				−0.554
Sunbathing				−0.497
Cronbach's Alpha	0.869	0.767	0.712	0.640
Inter-item correlations	0.525	0.397	0.553	0.373
Mean values for holiday activities*	2.44	3.15	2.56	2.81

Note: *Mean is based on a scale of 1–4, with 1 being 'not important' and 4 being 'very important'.

greater excitement, and such activities include cycling, hiking, horse riding, hunting, mountain climbing and swimming. On the other hand, the cultural theme is characterized by the desire for greater awareness and exposure to other people's way of life commonly derived from visiting historical places, museums and admiring architecture. Nightlife activities can be associated with the longing for greater interaction, usually during night time. The Cronbach's Alpha is acceptable, as all the coefficients are higher than 0.5. The inter-item correlation is even higher in this case and is therefore acceptable.

The factor 'cultural activities' had the highest mean value, with a rating of 3.15 out of 4. In other words, among the respondents, cultural activities were given the highest consideration. This should serve as a positive indicator for tourism planning and development for the Soshanguve community, considering the cultural bonanza readily available in the community. This study therefore considers cultural tourism as one of the unique selling points (USPs) that can serve as a link for the urban–rural tourism mix between the City of Tshwane CBD and Soshanguve.

Factor correlation analysis between the activities of visitors to the City of Tshwane

Further analysis was deemed necessary to identify possible correlations between any of the activities preferred by the visitors. As illustrated in Table 8.3 below, the highest correlation of 384 was observed between adventure activities and cultural activities. Although the value of this correlation was not significant, it is however worthy of note that both adventure and culture could co-exist in relatively undisturbed natural environments. In the Soshanguve contexts, this would find favourable expression around the pristine eco-friendly Tswiang crater region. Tourists to the area would most likely be attracted primarily by the uniqueness of the Tswaing meteorite crater, then the ecological nature reserve and the cultural attractions within the township. The correlations between the other factors were not significant enough to warrant attention.

Table 8.3. Factor correlation analysis for preferred holiday activities among visitors.

Factor	1	2	3	4
1. Adventure activities	1.000	**0.384**	0.191	−0.396
2. Cultural activities	0.384	1.000	0.027	−0.310
3. Social activities	0.191	0.027	1.000	−0.192
4. Outdoor activities	−0.396	−0.310	−0.192	1.000

Note: ≤0.5 indicates significant correlations, 0.3 indicates visible correlations and 0.1 indicates small correlations.

In concluding this section, it is necessary to highlight the prevalence and potential propensity of cultural and historically inclined visitors to the Soshanguve community. There is empirical evidence to suggest that most tourists to the City of Tshwane attractions would appreciate a visit to the natural environment around the Tswaing meteorite crater. The implication for tourism planning in the Soshanguve community is that four USPs would provide the most viable positions for the urban–rural tourism mix between the City of Tshwane CBD and the Soshanguve community.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The conclusion from the travel and tourism competitiveness index (WEF, 2008), as discussed in the theoretical framework, is that for destinations (urban and rural) to stay competitive, they must maintain a diversity of tourist attractions. It therefore makes business sense for urban destinations, such as Pretoria, to brand and market themselves with rural destinations such as Soshanguve. This partnership would not just be for convenience but a sustainability imperative.

This study also recommends the implementation of the urban–rural tourism mix between the City of Pretoria and Soshanguve in order to make available the benefits of pro-poor tourism to the Soshanguve community. Results from the empirical study reveal that most of the visitors to the Pretoria City attractions (87%) appreciate nature, while 80% of the tourists enjoy spending time at historical places, which exist in Soshanguve. The factor analysis also brings to prominence four factors of preference to visitors to the Pretoria city attractions: adventure activities, cultural activities, social activities and outdoor activities.

Information on the background to this study indicates that, while Soshanguve provides the ideal location for adventure and cultural activities, the City of Pretoria excels in the provision of social and outdoor activities. This study therefore concludes that the urban–rural tourism mix is not only convenient but indispensable for both Pretoria and Soshanguve, as this will offer the tourists more things to do and see in both destinations, assist in projecting Soshanguve into the limelight of tourism and afford Pretoria a greater product offering.

However, it is recognized that this study only assessed the cultural and historical resources available to Soshanguve. Additional research is needed to investigate the other economic linkages available (Sandbrook, 2010), as well as the governance system (Ashley *et al.*, 2000), especially relationships between the urban centre and rural destination. This chapter is just the first step in assessing the destination competitiveness of the region (World Economic Forum, 2008).

References

Ashley, C., Roe, D. and Goodwin, H. (2000) *Pro-poor Tourism Strategies: Making Tourism Work for the Poor – A Review of Experience. Pro-Poor Tourism Report No. 1. ODI/IIED/ CRT*. The Russell Press, Nottingham, UK.

Christian, M., Fernandez-Stark, K., Ahmed, G. and Gereffi, G. (2011) *The Tourism Global Value Chain: Economic Upgrading and Workforce Development*. Center on Globalisation, Governance and Competitiveness, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

City of Tshwane (COT) (2005) Tourism Master Plan: Situation Analysis. City of Tshwane, Pretoria.

City of Tshwane (COT) (2006a) Growth and Development Strategy for the City of Tshwane. Draft. Available at: http://www.tshwane.gov.za/Business/Related%20Documents/ GDSFinalDraft _Oct2006[1].pdf (accessed 15 July 2013).

City of Tshwane (COT) (2006b) Integrated Development Plan (TIDP), 2006–2011. Available at: http://www.tshwane.gov.za/sites/Council/Ofiice-Of-The-Executive-Mayor/IDP%20 REVIEW%20201318/IDP%20Review%202013-18%20IDP%20Final%20Draft%20 14062013%20website.pdf (accessed 24 July 2014).

City of Tshwane (COT) (2009) News Release: First Ever Tshwane Tourism Fair to Grow Tourism in the City. Available at: http://www.southafrica.net/uploads/legacy/1/333747/ SA%20Tourism%20Annual%20Report%202009-10.pdf (accessed 31 October 2013).

City of Tshwane (COT) (2012) Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF). Available at: http://www.tshwane.gov.za/sites/Departments/City-Planning-and-Development/ MSDF%202012%20Approved%2028%20June%202012/Chapter%201.pdf (accessed 28 July 2013).

City of Tshwane (COT) (2015) State of the Capital Address: Building the People's Capital. Available at: http://www.gov.za/speeches/mayor-kgosientso-ramokgopa-city-tshwane- state-city-address-14-may-2015-0000 (accessed 15 July 2015).

D'Hauteserre, A. (2000) Lessons in managed destination competitiveness: the case of Casino Resort. *Tourism Management* 21(1), 23–32.

Hall, C.M. (2007) *Pro-poor Tourism: Who Benefits? Perspectives on Tourism and Poverty Reduction*. Channel View Publications, Bristol, UK.

Hall, C.M., Müller, D.K. and Saarinen, J. (eds) (2009) *Nordic Tourism. Issues and Cases*. Channel View Publications, Bristol, UK.

Hassan, S.S. (2000) Determinants of market competitiveness in an environmentally sustainable tourism industry. *Journal of Travel Research* 38(3), 239–245.

Jonker, J.A. (2005) The strategic identification and integration of critical success factors to achieve international competitiveness for South Africa as a tourism destination. Unpublished Thesis. University of Pretoria, South Africa. Available at: http://repository .up.ac.za/handle/2263/25993 (accessed 13 April 2017).

Kauppila, P. and Karjalainen, T.P. (2012) A process model to assess the regional economic impacts of fishing tourism: a case study in northern Finland. *Fisheries Research* 127–128, 88–97.

Keyser, H. (2009) Developing Tourism in South Africa: Towards Competitive Destinations, 2nd edn. Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

Krejcie, R.V. and Morgan, D.W. (1970) Determining sample size for research activities. *Journal of Educational and Psychological Measurement* 30(4), 607–610.

Lacher, R.G. and Nepal, S.K. (2010) Dependency and development in Northern Thailand. *Annals of Tourism Research* 37, 947–968.

Mordue, T. (2009) Angling in modernity: a tour through society, nature and embodied passion. *Current Issues in Tourism* 12, 529–552.

Müller, D.K. and Jansson, B. (eds) (2007) *Tourism in Peripheries: Perspectives from the Far North and South*. CAB International, Wallingford, UK.

Murphy, P.E. (1985) *Tourism: a Community Approach*. Methuen, London.

Porter, M.E. (1980) *Competitive Strategy: Techniques for Analyzing Industries and Competitors*. Free Press, New York.

Ritchie, B.J.R. and Crouch, G.I. (2003) *The Competitive Destination: A Sustainable Tourism Perspective*. CAB International, Wallingford, UK.

Rogerson, C.M. and Rogerson, J.M. (2010) Local economic development in Africa: global context and research directions. *Development Southern Africa* 27, 465–480.

Sandbrook, C.G. (2010) Local economic impacts of different forms of nature-based tourism. *Conservation Letters* 3, 21–28.

Sebele, L.S. (2010) Community-based tourism ventures, benefits and challenges: Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust, Central District, Botswana. *Tourism Management* 31(3), 136–146.

Sekaran, U. (2003) *Research Methods for Business. A Skill-Building Approach*, 4th edn. John Wiley & Sons, Queensland, Australia.

Setshedi, G.P. (2007) *Product Development for Soshanguve as a Unique Tourism Destination*. GPS Architects, Pretoria.

Setswe, G. (2010) Township Communities and Urbanisation in South Africa. Human Sciences Research Council. Discussion guide for the 4th AMREP World Health Day workshop session on 'Current Challenges in Urbanisation and Health'. Burnet Institute, Monash University.

Sin, H.L. and Minca, C. (2014) Touring responsibility: the trouble with 'going local' in community-based tourism in Thailand. *Geoforum* 5(3), 96–106.

South African Tourism (SAT) (2012) Annual Tourism Report 2012. Available at: http://www.southafrica.net/media/en/page/annual-reports (accessed 31 October 2013).

Statistics South Africa (2014) Quarterly Labour Force Survey: Quarter 1, 2013. Available at: http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/PO211/PO2111stQuarter2013 (accessed 8 May 2013).

Sutawa, G.K. (2012) Issues on Bali tourism development and community empowerment to support sustainable tourism development. *Procedia Economics and Finance* 4(2), 413–422.

World Economic Forum (WEF) (2008) Travel and Tourism Index. Available at: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_TravelTourismCompetitiveness_Report_2008.pdf (accessed 12 July 2015).

9 From Centre to Periphery: Inequality, Indigeneity and Domestic Tourism in Guatemala

Chantell LaPan*

Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, North Carolina, USA

Introduction

Tourism in the 21st century has largely been studied as a global phenomenon (Aramberri, 2009), with attention given predominantly to international travel. Generally, tourism policies in the Global South have been geared towards the arrival of visitors from the Global North (Ghimire, 2001). However, as developing countries have strengthened economically and middle classes have continued to grow, domestic tourism has expanded rapidly. Nevertheless, in nearly all developing countries domestic tourism development is occurring without any systematic government planning (Ghimire, 2001). Several scholars have positioned domestic tourism as a lesser evil than the mechanism of global tourism (León, 2007; Espinosa Abascal *et al.*, 2015), but this follows a number of assumptions that have yet to be confirmed. Further, tourism studies rarely differentiate the impacts of international and domestic tourism, so the consequences of domestic tourism remain unclear. Additional research is needed to understand specific challenges related to the expansion of domestic tourism and how these may be similar to, or distinct from, international tourism.

For developing countries, tourism was initially promoted as an export-oriented strategy to increase international tourist arrivals (Brohman, 1996). Institutions, such as the United Nations World Tourism Organization, have encouraged the development of international tourism, claiming little investment is necessary by governments to reap a variety of benefits (e.g. tax revenue and foreign currency). It is regularly assumed

* E-mail: cmlapan@ncsu.edu

that environmental and cultural resources are abundant and are readily available to convert to tourist attractions (Bowman, 2013). Tourism is subsequently promoted to residents due to potential benefits (e.g. infrastructure investment, economic development) for host communities. Yet, these benefits are often elusive for the majority of residents. Research suggests that existing issues of inequality and poor inter- and intra-regional linkages can prevent benefits from reaching the most vulnerable (Fenton, 2013).

One approach to enhance linkages is integrated tourism. Integrated tourism focuses on tourism that is linked to economic, social, cultural, natural and human structures of the region (Oliver and Jenkins, 2003). One might assume that these linkages would be stronger in the context of domestic tourism, where travellers visit locations within their home country. However, this has not been explored in depth in the research. Therefore, this chapter examines the implications of domestic tourism in Guatemala, a country with high levels of economic inequality and ethnic disparities. It looks at how urban and rural areas are linked physically, economically and culturally, as well as considering areas of separation, and offering recommendations to improve outcomes for residents of tourism destinations.

Methodological Approach

This study is based on qualitative research that was conducted in Guatemala (primarily the Lake Atitlán region). The data presented in this chapter are drawn from a larger study. Formal research was conducted in 2013 and is supplemented by observations carried out during a follow-up trip in 2015. The research followed a case study design, which involves the use of multiple data sources to provide in-depth data collection of a 'bounded system' (Creswell, 1998, p. 61). Case studies are particularly appropriate in contributing to our knowledge of contemporary issues and explore individual, group, organizational, social and political phenomena (Yin, 2009). Research methods included a variety of approaches that yielded both qualitative and quantitative data. Quantitative methods were embedded within the qualitative methods, with qualitative methods being dominant (Creswell, 2011). Data collection included ethnographic observations, free-listing exercises, document analysis, and formal and informal interviews. A total of 30 (15 women; 15 men) in-depth semi-structured interviews were completed with Maya-speaking adults involved in the tourism industry. The interviews ranged between 15 min to 1 h in length. Sixty adults (28 women; 26 men; six preferred not to disclose) participated in the free-listing exercises. A variety of topics were explored, including benefits and drawbacks of tourism development, issues of poverty and inequality, and changing gender roles.

Tourism in Guatemala: Strangers and Neighbours

Travel to Latin America has occurred for centuries (Bowman, 2013). The region was initially frequented by backpackers and adventurers in search of remote and authentic experiences (Baud and Ypeij, 2009). By comparison to other countries in the region, international tourism in Guatemala has developed rather slowly. Rapid tourism expansion in Guatemala has been hindered by the 30-year civil war that ended in 1996. While tourism grew steadily until the global recession of 2008 (Williams, 2011), international arrivals dropped off during the years following the economic collapse. The industry has begun to recover, but arrivals remain unsteady (Instituto Guatemalteco de Turismo-INGUAT, 2014). Although Guatemala has an abundance of natural and cultural resources, it suffers from issues with crime and violence. The US Department of State (2015, para. 1) writes, 'Guatemala is a developing country characterized by wide income disparities. Violent crime is a serious concern due to endemic poverty, an abundance of weapons, a legacy of societal violence, and weak law enforcement and judicial systems'. Due to this perception, Guatemala has encountered challenges with attracting foreign tourists as successfully as some of its neighbours (notably Costa Rica). While challenges do exist, Guatemala remains visited by international tourists, with approximately 1.5 million international tourist arrivals in 2014 (World Bank, 2016a).

Despite fluctuations in international tourist arrivals, domestic tourism has been growing at a rapid rate in Latin America in the past decade (Baud and Ypeij, 2009; Ruggles-Brise, 2012). Domestic travel is one of the oldest forms of tourism and constitutes nearly three-quarters of overnight visits (Pierret, 2011). Spending by domestic travellers in Latin America has increased 15% since 2006, accounting for 85% of all regional tourism spending (Ruggles-Brise, 2012). This is more than three times the global average. This has been partly state-driven, but has also been fuelled by 'an increasingly affluent middle class and a growing awareness of, and admiration for, the indigenous past among national politicians and populations' (Baud and Ypeij, 2009, p. 1). Even with these regional trends, there is little reliable data with regard to domestic tourism in Guatemala. Domestic travel is especially difficult to track, as travellers do not have to cross borders, apply for visas or engage in other requirements that generate a paper trail (Ghimire, 2001). Guatemalan statistics from 2014, however, indicate that nearly 1.3 million domestic travellers visited sites within the country that year (INGUAT, 2015a), rivalling international tourist arrivals. With an overall population of 16 million (World Bank, 2016b), this amounts to approximately 12% of the population travelling domestically, quite likely an under-representation due to poor record keeping.

Though international and domestic tourism occur concurrently in Guatemala, there are differences in style and scope between these two subsets of the industry. Like other Latin American countries (de Oliveira Santos, 2015), national and religious holidays play a large part in Guatemalan vacationing and travel, especially for in-country trips. While

the high and low tourist seasons in Guatemala are partially influenced by local weather (i.e. wet and dry seasons), they are also impacted by the North American and European holiday calendars. This creates periods of lull, when few foreign travellers visit. Domestic travellers, on the other hand, often travel around national and religious holidays, which occur throughout the year and can help to fill some of the dips in international tourism. Some destinations tend to be favoured by international tourists (e.g. Semuc Champey and Tikal), whereas others are popular among domestic tourists (e.g. Xela and Monterrico). Other areas (e.g. Antigua and Lake Atitlán) are regularly visited by both international and domestic tourists.

Several systematic attempts have been made by the Guatemalan government to promote domestic tourism. This includes a campaign titled 'go on vacation without leaving your country', which was in place from 1996 to 2014. A new initiative, 'Paseo Guatemala' was launched in 2014 and showcases a number of travel packages aimed at domestic travellers. These travel packages include both self-guided itineraries and bundled tour packages (INGUAT, 2015b). The tour packages are offered primarily from August to December, which coincides with the dry season in Guatemala, and last from 1–3 days. Most trips feature national monuments and historic sites. While the government is promoting these regions to domestic tourists, the country lacks a cohesive management plan to deal with large influxes of individuals in these predominantly rural destinations. Though it may seem straightforward to develop a domestic tourism product for Guatemalans, the country lacks integration between urban and rural areas, and suffers from issues of economic inequality and cultural divisiveness. Therefore, domestic tourism development should be approached with caution.

Urban–Rural Mobility: Shared and Contested Spaces

Guatemala is primarily a rural country and remains highly agricultural (International Fund for Agricultural Development – IFAD, n.d.). There are several cities, with the largest (by a good margin) being Guatemala City, boasting a population of 2.8 million (United Nations, 2016). The remainder of the country is composed of small- and medium-sized cities and rural communities. Guatemala City is the political, economic and transportation capital of the country. It is also one of the most violent cities in Latin America, averaging 47 murders per 100,000 inhabitants in 2015 (Ortega Sánchez, 2016). Yet Guatemala City is integral to the transportation system in the country, both for residents and visitors. It houses the major international airport and is a major connector for domestic and regional bus travel.

Transportation is one example of how Guatemalans move together, yet separately. Though transportation routes and hubs are shared among most travellers in Guatemala, there is considerable discrepancy between

the types of transportation employed by those of varying socioeconomic class. Most indigenous Guatemalans travel by bus (often repurposed US school buses), which are both dangerous and crowded. These public and privately owned buses are especially vulnerable to armed robberies (Roberts, 2010). Even though it is the least expensive form of transportation, a trip to the capital from rural areas is sometimes outside the reach of the poorest Guatemalans. Foreign tourists customarily travel by shared or private van (microbus), and upper-class Guatemalan travellers most often travel by private car. Road maintenance is sometimes prioritized for more affluent neighbourhoods and travel routes. Roberts explains,

> Guatemala City now possesses a superhighway that circles the city and around which gated communities cluster. It is not complete, however, and access to the densely populated municipalities of the west and south of the city is limited by poor road links. The transport system in Guatemala has long been plagued with problems of old, overcrowded, unreliable buses. (2010, p. 604)

Numerous roads in Guatemala are dangerous, both in terms of upkeep and crime. The average Guatemalan cannot afford private security to travel these roads, which has become popular among members of the upper class (Bevan, 2013). This luxury affords wealthy Guatemalans with the freedom of mobility to travel where they want, when they want. Road bandits also pose potential threats to international visitors. In the summer of 2015, a young American missionary recounted to me a tale of how his wallet was stolen at gunpoint when he was travelling on a rural road with his interpreter. No one was injured, but he was relieved of approximately US$200 and his passport. Had he not been able to pay the robbers, the outcome may have been different. Poor Guatemalans usually do not have the means to pay the robbers or the security firms to protect them.

While wealthy domestic tourists are able to avoid some issues that come with transportation, they also create a specific set of challenges. Generally, domestic tourists in the Global South who travel for leisure purposes come from urban areas and are from higher income groups (Ghimire, 2001). This has created some tension in Guatemala, especially with regard to automobile travel. Guatemala still has a relatively low rate of automobile ownership (68 per 1000 individuals) (World Bank, 2014), and most of these are either owned commercially or by members of the upper classes. For comparison, the rate in the US is 797 per 1000. Many parts of the country, particularly non-urban areas, are not equipped for large modern automobiles. The presence of these automobiles can cause issues in spaces that were originally intended for foot traffic, travel by horse, bicycle or, at most, motorized scooters and small taxis.

Despite the fact that all international tourists travelling by air are obligated to pass through Guatemala City, the majority of tourist activity occurs outside the urban centres. As many tourism destinations in Guatemala are either historic, cultural or environmental in nature, they

were not developed with infrastructure to accommodate mass automobile travel. One example of this is the colonial capital of Antigua. Antigua is located approximately 45 min from Guatemala City. Its proximity to the capital makes it a 'must see' for tourists, both foreign and domestic. Unlike Guatemala City, which is the modern capital and economic and transportation hub of the country, attempts have been made to preserve Antigua as a relic of the past, as it is a protected World Heritage Site. This causes a number of congestion issues.

Transportation headaches abound in Antigua. Little (2009) explains that 'capitalinos' (residents of Guatemala City) come to Antigua on the weekends to party, where they frequently cause destruction and sometimes even commit violent crimes. Automobiles driven mainly by domestic tourists have damaged cobblestone streets and colonial era buildings. Similar issues are emerging in the Lake Atitlán area of the Western Highlands. Whereas few local residents own personal automobiles, domestic tourists oftentimes bring cars into the area. During one particular holiday, I witnessed a traffic jam on a narrow street when two cars attempted to pass each other and got stuck. The street is barely wide enough for one full-sized automobile and is primarily used by scooters and local taxis (tuk tuks). On another occasion, I observed a *ladino* (non-indigenous) couple driving a Porsche Cayman down a narrow cobblestone street. This outward display of luxury and impracticality was greatly at odds with the transportation utilized by locals. If domestic tourism continues to grow at a rapid pace, it will place additional strain on the already poor infrastructure of rural areas, an issue that will certainly need to be addressed in the coming years.

In addition to the movement of tourists from urban to rural areas, rural to urban migration has resulted in a flow of people in the opposite direction (Baud and Ypeij, 2009). Rural Guatemala has seen mass migration towards the capital city over the past several decades by individuals looking for greater economic opportunity (Roberts, 2010). Unfortunately, these individuals often survive in precarious conditions, either in squatter developments or semi-legal housing (Roberts, 2010). It is generally difficult for them to escape their previous socio-economic status, as their opportunities are limited to unskilled and informal work. On the other hand, city dwellers of the elite and middle classes are able to pay for private education and healthcare, live in gated neighbourhoods and are not reliant on the weak public services available in the city (Roberts, 2010). Further complicating economic challenges, rural (usually Maya) migrants are geographically dispersed throughout Guatemala City. Subsequently, they lack social support networks they may have enjoyed in their home communities (Roberts, 2010). Therefore, despite living in close proximity, there are many boundaries (both physical and social) that separate urban and rural residents, as well as urban residents from diverse socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds. These issues contribute to the high levels of inequality in Guatemala.

Economic Inequality: The Space Between

Latin America, as a region, has been plagued by inequality for as far back as data exist (de Ferranti *et al.*, 2004). Moreover, Guatemala has one of the most unequal income distributions as well as one of the highest poverty rates in the region (Cabrera *et al.*, 2015). More than 50% of the population of Guatemala lives in poverty and 15% live in extreme poverty (Bruni *et al.*, 2009). The Gini coefficient stands at 0.52, making Guatemala the 12th most unequal country among countries that submit income data (World Bank, 2015). Though some advances have been made in reducing poverty in the past 15 years, these benefits have gone to the middle class rather than the poorest individuals, actually increasing the equality gap (Bruni *et al.*, 2009). Poverty in Guatemala is highly correlated with being indigenous, with Maya families being twice as likely to live in poverty as non-indigenous families. Poverty rates are also much higher in rural areas than urban areas (Baud and Ypeij, 2009; Bruni *et al.*, 2009). Furthermore, researchers have found weak and/or negative linkages between urban and rural regions in Guatemala, leading to increased negative outcomes for rural residents (Fenton, 2013).

Although tourism does generate income, it can actually aggravate many economic issues. Baud and Ypeij (2009) explain, 'There is growing pressure on scarce "cultural" and other resources and the revenues generated by tourism often provoke political and economic tensions' (2009, p. 4). Even with well-meaning government initiatives, it is sometimes difficult for marginalized groups to benefit. As Ghimire (2001) has pointed out, 'In spite of the government's aim of creating employment, the fact that most of the local population is not skilled or trained to initiate and manage tourism businesses further reinforces the existing social marginalisation' (2001, p. 22). In areas around Lake Atitlán, many tourism businesses are either owned by *ladinos* or foreign expatriates. There are a few exceptions where national and international non-governmental organizations have generated capacity building initiatives that have led to indigenous owned (or managed) enterprises. Despite these initiatives, the locals often lack true autonomy as they are indebted to funding agencies (LaPan, 2014).

Oftentimes, it is hoped that education will help level the playing field for citizens. Even with major gains in education in Guatemala over the past several decades, higher education levels have not been able to vastly improve the livelihoods of rural indigenous Guatemalans. The highest wage gap in the country (estimated at 13.41Q – US$1.75 – per hour) is currently the one between indigenous and non-indigenous individuals who have completed a college degree (Bruni *et al.*, 2009). The wage gap between urban and rural residents who have completed college is 4.12Q (US$0.54) per hour. Women, on average, earn 23% less with the same education as men. Though education is widely viewed as a tool for economic and social mobility, these goals have not been realized for many rural indigenous Guatemalans (particularly women). Although a strong national education could be viewed as a tool for linking urban and rural areas, this is not the reality that has played out in Guatemala.

Some authors have suggested that the promotion of domestic tourism may have positive economic impacts on destinations, including the reduction of economic leakages or fluctuations in tourist arrivals due to weather conditions and international political or economic crises (Leon, 2007). However, a number of tourist businesses in Guatemala are owned by foreign companies or expatriates. This can result in significant economic leakages, the exploitation of resources and people, and can exacerbate inequality (Baud and Ypeij, 2009). Previous research (LaPan *et al.*, 2016) has shown that residents are resentful of their presence for both economic reasons (i.e. they compete with their business) and social reasons (i.e. the introduction of illegal drugs). Gibbons and Ashdown (2010) found strong in-group favouritism among both *ladinos* and indigenous groups in Guatemala. Therefore, it is plausible that middle and upper class *ladino* tourists would prefer to frequent *ladino*-owned businesses, further marginalizing indigenous residents in tourist zones.

Given these divisions, the trend in Guatemala appears to be to position Maya residents as producers of tourism and *ladinos* as consumers of tourism. Domestic tourism initiatives seem to be aimed at non-indigenous travellers for the consumption of natural and historic areas, as well as the Maya culture. The current 'Paseo Guatemala' campaign offers ten self-guided tour options throughout the country. These packages provide a few days' worth of activities for the domestic traveller in each location. In addition, the site offers a number of bundled packages that range from 250Q (US$33) for day activities, to 3325Q (US$433) for a two-night stay to Coban, Lanquin and Semuc Champey. All trips are clearly targeted at urban dwellers, as they begin and end in Guatemala City. Day trips include destinations that are easily accessible from the capital. The cost of the packages would be prohibitive to the majority of Guatemalans, as my interviews uncovered that individuals working in organized tourism in Lake Atitlán make approximately 25Q (US$3) per day. Coffee labourers might make 40Q per day (US$5). With more than 50% of the population of Guatemala living in poverty, these packages are clearly not geared towards the masses. The website is also visibly promoted to *ladino* tourists, as the majority of images used of tourists are white. The few Maya that are included in images are generally part of the background, as if to be gazed upon by visitors (Urry, 1990). Therefore, despite the variety of destinations presented, the consumers of domestic tourism are assumed to be wealthy, urban and non-indigenous.

Culture and Ethnicity: Constructed and Reconstructed Identities

Even with substantial research on cultural or ethnic tourism (MacCannell, 1984; George *et al.*, 2009; Baud and Ypeij, 2009), there remains a shortage of research on domestic tourists as the consumers of ethnic tourism in developing countries (Yang and Wall, 2009; Xie, 2010). Yang and Wall (2009) explain that, 'Most studies on this subject concentrate on visits to exotic

and often peripheral destinations, which involve performances, representations, and attractions portraying or presented by small, often isolated, ethnic groups' (p. 235). Ethnic tourism is increasingly being viewed as a strategy to generate income and foreign exchange, which is evidenced by several tourism strategies that have emerged in Latin America in recent years to promote 'authentic' ethnic destinations (Xie, 2010). This is also becoming an important component of domestic tourism (Baud and Ypeij, 2009).

Maya ethnic groups are a large part of the Guatemalan landscape, and are therefore integral to the tourism infrastructure. The population of Guatemala is approximately 40% indigenous (Söchtig *et al.*, 2015). Some regions, such as the communities surrounding Lake Atitlán, boast an indigenous population of more than 90% (Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, 2008). Due to a number of factors, including relative isolation for a period of time, the various Maya groups in the Western Highlands have retained many of their outward cultural markers (i.e. language, dress). It is estimated that there are approximately 20 Maya ethnic groups in Guatemala. Other groups include *ladinos* as well as some residents of European or African descent (Söchtig *et al.*, 2015). The term *ladino* historically was used to describe individuals of mixed European and indigenous or African descent (Martínez Peláez, 2011). However, it has evolved to indicate most non-indigenous individuals in Guatemala. While Spanish is the first language of *ladinos*, it is the second language of most Maya. It is not uncommon for rural Maya, particularly of older generations, to speak very little or no Spanish. Yet, this is the language of commerce in the tourism industry. Subsequently, the cultural markers that make the Maya culture appealing to tourists can sometimes serve as barriers to success in the tourism industry.

As a result, rather than generating cultural linkages, domestic tourism can actually exacerbate existing tensions. Ghimire (2001) explains,

> In some ways, the development of national and regional tourism in itself is the result of a growing social differentiation: firstly, between the urban and rural populations, and secondly, with the rise of the middle classes usually bringing considerable penury among the mass of the population. (p.18)

In some ways, notions of what is rural have been constructed in contrast with what is urban (i.e. rural equals non-urban). Scholars have suggested that tourists perceive those in rural areas as having unusual social structures and cultures that are quite different from those in urban communities. Rural inhabitants are often perceived as 'backward' in relation to their urban counterparts (George *et al.*, 2009), a characteristic that has regularly been attributed to the Maya. Indigenous Maya have long been perceived as a relic from the past (Fernández and Fernández, 2011) and are viewed by tourists as ancient, simple and stagnant. This perception has been embellished for the purposes of tourism. This has specific consequences for women, who are generally perceived as the keepers of Maya culture, especially with regard to maintaining traditional dress. Most men (other than the very old) no longer wear traditional dress in their day-to-day

lives and many young women are choosing Western style clothing. These transformations are at odds with the perception of the Maya culture as static, and changes could threaten foreign tourists' satisfaction with their travels if they begin to perceive them as inauthentic. Furthermore, discarding outward markers of indigeneity (e.g. dress, language) is perceived by some as necessary for social mobility.

While domestic tourism may highlight tensions, international tourism is elevating the Maya culture in certain ways. In interviews with Maya residents, I found that there has been a resurgence of indigenous pride among the Maya around Lake Atitlán, some of which was directly attributed to tourism. One young man explained, 'Because if you practice the culture, tourists like that – it calls attention to tourism. And maybe that is why so many come to visit San Juan … because they still maintain a tradition'. In this way, *ladino* and expatriate residents are both dependent upon and intolerant of Maya residents. Foreign tourists generally expect to see Maya when they visit Guatemala, but there are occasionally conflicts between Maya vendors and non-Maya business owners, particularly regarding the presence of street merchants. Little (2009) observed these types of conflicts in Antigua. He argues that this tension is rooted in historical racism and ethnocentrism and is aggravated by Antigua's World Heritage designation. Mayas are viewed as both essential and a nuisance. He explains, 'Because Mayas are considered to both beautifully adorn and pollute this contested city, their sociocultural place in Antigua can be ambiguous' (p. 217). Little describes instances of racism he observed when he's heard *ladinos* refer to Mayas as 'an Indian pig' and a 'typical filthy Indian' (2009, p. 236). In several interviews, Mayas also described to me how there has historically been much discrimination against them. One woman explained, 'Because previously … those 35 and older, truthfully, suffered a lot of discrimination… Yes, because unfortunately in our areas, they have discriminated a lot'. They emphasized that this was especially intense for older generations as well as women.

Therefore, ethnic tensions in Guatemala are complicated by the presence of foreign tourists. Little explains, 'Although Antigüeños feel that they must temper their attitudes about Mayas when they are around tourists, more recent, wealthier Guatemala City immigrants do not feel such compulsion, since they are less concerned about what foreigners think of them' (2009, p. 26). He explains that middle class and poorer *ladinos* who find themselves competing more directly with Mayas have to soften their opinions due to their dependence on international tourism. In some ways, foreign tourists have been powerful in elevating the status of the Maya in Guatemala.

Discussion

Despite many linkages in Guatemala that are related to a shared economy, transportation structure and national culture, a number of divisions remain. The deepest divisions occur between rural and urban residents and

between indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants, qualities that often-times correspond with each other. In many ways, to be urban is to be *ladino*; whereas, to be indigenous is to be rural. The historical context in which these divisions developed is essential in understanding how to strengthen linkages moving forward. Issues related to culture, economic equality and mobility are problematized within the context of domestic tourism.

Culture is particularly vulnerable to exploitation through tourism. Fanon (1967) theorized about the psychology of the oppressed in formerly colonized areas. Regarding perceptions held by the oppressed, he wrote, 'The cause is effect: you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich' (p. 34). Domestic tourism in Guatemala, as it currently stands, has the potential to reinforce long-standing social hierarchies and undermine efforts towards equality. In some ways, domestic tourism can intensify the contrast between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' (or at least those who have very little by comparison). Domestic tourists arrive in their personal automobiles, sporting the latest smartphone and wearing designer clothes. They stay in hotels and eat at restaurants aimed at tourists. The contrasts can be stark.

The distinctions between Mayas and non-Mayas in Guatemala are not only constructed by *ladinos*, however. Adams (2005) explains that native Mayas claim separate cultural identities from *ladinos*. He also suggests that *ladinos* lack cohesion other than that they identify as non-Maya. This dichotomy is complicated by the fact that these boundaries are shifting. For example, it is possible to become *ladino*, even if one is born Maya, simply by becoming more urban and casting off Maya cultural markers (Shea, 2001). Adams does suggest that *ladinos* could unify around a national identity, an identity which does not necessarily require the exclusion of Maya groups. Unfortunately, this remains difficult in the current climate, where scars of the civil war endure. Many of the divisions that deepened during that time remain entrenched.

In the literature, international tourism is more often treated as a force of destruction, whereas domestic tourism is seen as a benign transaction. Nevertheless, in Guatemala foreign tourists have actually done much to raise the status of indigenous Maya. Rather than a loss of Maya identity, tourism offers the potential to elevate the Maya culture to a position of respect. It is critical, however, that this position be integrated into domestic tourism as well. Both Maya and non-Maya residents must see each other's value in order for a collaborative relationship to emerge. While it will take much time for inequality in Guatemala to diminish, some initial steps can be taken to reverse discriminatory behaviour by tourism promoters. First, real images of Guatemalans who live in a tourist destination can be used (e.g. in both modern and traditional dress). By using only idealized images, tourism marketers are maintaining the perception of backwardness. Additionally, images of Maya individuals *as* tourists should be included. Though indigenous Guatemalans are disproportionately impacted by poverty, many do belong to the middle class and are able to travel for leisure.

Excluding images of them as tourists perpetuates a variety of stereotypes. Furthermore, tourism packages should be offered for rural residents to visit urban areas, eliminating the assumption that domestic tourism is unidirectional. International and domestic tourism organisations are uniquely positioned to strengthen linkages between urban and rural as well as indigenous and non-indigenous residents of Guatemala, while minimizing long-standing divisions between the groups.

Even with structural challenges, domestic tourism does have the opportunity to redistribute some of the wealth from affluent Guatemalans to poorer Guatemalans. One way to do this is through entry into the tourism industry by indigenous Maya. This will remain difficult, however, if *ladinos* and foreigners continue to control much of the tourism infrastructure. One possible avenue to achieve this is through Spanish language acquisition. In spite of a history of ethnic discrimination, some research in Guatemala has found that the ability to speak the Spanish language is more significant in terms of wage inequality than whether a person is indigenous (Bruni *et al.*, 2009). While there are dozens of Mayan languages spoken in Guatemala, the language of education and commerce is Spanish. For most Mayan speakers, Spanish must be learned as a second language. This is especially relevant to tourism, as my research has found that indigenous residents see tourism as an opportunity to improve their understanding and speaking of the Spanish language (LaPan *et al.*, 2016). For older residents who have had limited schooling, this may well be their only opportunity to acquire the official language of the country and the unofficial language of social mobility. My informants also perceived tourism as an opportunity to learn additional languages, including English. Even the most remote villages in Guatemala that are popular among tourists have some residents who speak English. Tourism interactions, both with domestic and foreign tourists, can provide Maya residents with the opportunity to acquire language skills that give them entry into a variety of jobs and economic sectors.

Haddad *et al.* (2013) found that domestic tourism was an efficient means of redistributing income between wealthy regions and poor regions in Brazil and can even contribute to reducing inequality. With greater economic integration of businesses that provide services to domestic tourists, the results could be promising. Additionally, these businesses could also serve international tourists, multiplying the impact. Haddad and colleagues suggest that tourism can accomplish this wealth redistribution with less distortion of the market than government interventions. If greater integration can occur among cultural groups and within transportation systems, there will be fewer barriers to creating these economic linkages.

Nonetheless, indigeneity and culture cannot be separated from problems with inequality in Guatemala. Inequality affects issues of social justice in the areas of physical and economic mobility. Better (e.g. safer, more accessible) transportation networks would go a long way in providing rural residents with access to the amenities available to urban residents. Automobile restrictions for visitors to historic areas would permit safer

foot travel and reduce damage to historic sites. Safe, clean, affordable public transportation would alleviate a number of stressors for residents and foreign and domestic tourists. The ability of the Guatemalan government to provide a clear national strategy in this regard remains questionable. Nonetheless, a number of accommodations have been made to enhance the appeal of Guatemala for foreign travellers and pressure from international tourists may result in action.

Urban–rural divisions will be difficult to rectify if residents of urban areas maintain positions of privilege in the eyes of Guatemalans. Though Roberts (2010) found that relatively few Maya had migrated to Guatemala City, this is likely underreported, as many individuals begin to be identified as *ladino* as a result of their urban residence (despite belonging to a particular indigenous cultural group). A 2010 study among Guatemalan college students showed that a full 50% of respondents identified as neither indigenous nor *ladino*, but rather a mixture of both (Gibbons and Ashdown, 2010). This indicates that ethnic boundaries among young people may be becoming more fluid, perhaps as a result of increased co-integration among the groups in educational settings. Therefore, as young Maya look to shake off their indigenous heritage in an effort to become more *ladino* (or vice versa), it may increase linkages between the two groups, but it may also create new challenges. For example, if this trend continues, it will have important implications for cultural tourism in Guatemala. Foreign tourists may perceive the erosion of Maya culture as disagreeable and fewer visitors may come in search of an ancient culture.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Most research related to domestic tourism, including this study, has been done in a country-specific context. While the dynamics of domestic tourism certainly vary from country to country and region to region, systematic approaches that can be applied in a variety of contexts would give a broader understanding of the phenomenon. Future research might include comparative case studies across countries and/or regions. This study also focused primarily on an indigenous perspective and would be balanced by future research with *ladino* residents to better understand potential areas of integration. Furthermore, the systematic collection of quantitative data on domestic travel would go a long way towards providing a more complete picture of domestic tourism worldwide.

Conclusion

Although tourism has provided integration in some contexts, it has deepened divisions in others. Despite claims that domestic tourism is less troublesome for communities than international tourism, additional challenges exist. Furthermore, longstanding and historical challenges can exacerbate tensions,

which may or may not be present with foreign tourists. In Guatemala, foreign tourism has actually renewed indigenous pride and tempered outward racism by non-Maya Guatemalans, particularly in popular tourism destinations. Tourism has fuelled a variety of transportation networks that move people from urban to rural areas, but transportation systems remain disparate depending on the traveller's means. Economic linkages are in many ways dependent on strengthening connections in the areas mentioned above. Observations show that international tourism can enhance linkages where domestic tourism falls short, but greater familiarity with the destination may give domestic tourism an advantage in other ways. Therefore, a better integration between international and domestic tourism can work to enhance linkages and reduce divisions between urban and rural areas, as well as indigenous and non-indigenous Guatemalans.

References

Adams, R.N. (2005) The evolution of racism in Guatemala: hegemony, science, and antihegemony. *Histories of Anthropology Annual* 1(6), 132–176.

Aramberri, J. (2009) The future of tourism and globalization: some critical remarks. *Futures* 41(6), 367–376.

Baud, M. and Ypeij, A. (2009) Cultural tourism in Latin America: an introduction. In: Baud, M. and Ypeij, A. (eds) *Cultural Tourism in Latin America: The Politics of Space and Imagery*. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands, pp. 1–20.

Bevan, A.C. (2013) The rise of the private security industry in Guatemala. *The Tico Times*. Available at: http://www.ticotimes.net/2013/09/18/the-rise-of-the-private-security-industry-in-guatemala (accessed 23 March 2015).

Bowman, K.S. (2013) *Peddling Paradise: The Politics of Tourism in Latin America*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colorado.

Brohman, J. (1996) *Popular Development: Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Development*. Blackwell, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Bruni, L., Fuentes, A. and Rosada, T. (2009) *Dynamics of Inequality in Guatemala*. Research for Public Policy, Inclusive Development, ID-08-2009, RBLAC-UNDP, New York.

Cabrera, M., Lustig, N. and Moran, H. (2015) Fiscal policy, inequality, and the ethnic divide in Guatemala. *World Development* 76, 263–279.

Creswell, J.W. (1998) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California.

Creswell, J.W. (2011) *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California.

de Ferranti, D., Perry, G.E., Ferreira, F.H.G. and Walton, M. (2004) *Inequality in Latin America: Breaking with history?* World Bank, Washington, DC.

de Oliveira Santos, G.E. (2015) Latin American economy and tourism. In: Panosso Netto, A. and Trigo, L.G.G. (eds) *Tourism in Latin America: Cases of success*. Springer International, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 17–47.

Espinosa Abascal, T., Fluker, M. and Jiang, M. (2015) Domestic demand for indigenous tourism in Australia: understanding motivations, barriers, and implications for future development. *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 10(1), 1–20.

Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, Universidad de San Carlos De Guatemala (2008) *Informe General: Diagnostico socioeconómico potencialidades productivas y propuestas de*

inversión: Municipio de San Juan La Laguna, Departamento de Sololá. Volumen 1. Impresos Ramírez, Guatemala, Central America.

Fanon, F. (1967) *The Wretched of the Earth*. Penguin, Ringwood, Australia.

Fenton, L. (2013) Problematizing the effect of rural-urban linkages on food security and malnutrition in Guatemala's Western Highlands (Development Research Working Paper No. 03/2013). Institute for Advanced Development Studies, La Paz, Bolivia.

Fernández y Fernández, J.M. (2011) Campesinos in search of a different future. In: Grandin, G., Levenson-Estrada, D. and Oglesby, E. (eds) *The Guatemala Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, pp. 311–313.

George, E.W., Mair, H. and Reid, D.G. (2009) *Rural Tourism Development: Localism and Cultural Change*. Channel View Publications, Bristol, UK.

Ghimire, K.B. (2001) The growth of national and regional tourism in developing countries: an overview. In: Ghimire, K.B. (ed.) *The Native Tourist: Mass Tourism Within Developing Countries*. Earthscan, London, pp. 1–29.

Gibbons, J.L. and Ashdown, B.K. (2010) Ethnic identification, attitudes, and group relations in Guatemala. *Psychology* 1(2), 116.

Haddad, E., Porsse, A. and Rabahy, W. (2013) Domestic tourism and regional inequality in Brazil. *Tourism Economics* 19(1), 173–186.

International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (n.d.) Rural Poverty in Guatemala. Available at: http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/country/home/tags/guatemala (accessed 1 April 2015).

INGUAT (2014) Boletin estadístico de turismo 2014. Available at: http://www.inguat.gob.gt/media/boletines/boletin-anual-2014.pdf (accessed 23 March 2015).

INGUAT (2015a) Instituciones preparadas para visita de turistas en la semana mayor..

INGUAT (2015b) Sector público y privado invitan a los guatemaltecos 'salir de paseo'. Available at: http://www.inguat.gob.gt/posts/sector-publico-y-privado-invitan-a-los-guatemaltecos-ldquosalir-de-paseordquo-232.php?searchresult=1&sstring=programa+de+-turismo+interno (accessed 26 September 2016).

LaPan, C. (2014) Communitarian micro-entrepreneurship and gender in the Maya touristscape. Doctoral dissertation. Available at: NCSU Libraries (NCSU3101148), https://repository.lib.ncsu.edu/handle/1840.16/9430 (accessed 10 April 2017).

LaPan, C., Morais, D.B., Barbieri, C. and Wallace, T. (2016) Power, altruism and communitarian tourism: a comparative study. *PASOS. Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural* 14(4), 889–906.

León, Y.M. (2007) The impact of tourism on rural livelihoods in the Dominican Republic's coastal areas. *The Journal of Development Studies* 43(2), 340–359.

Little, W. (2009) Contesting heritage in Antigua, Guatemala. In: Baud, M. and Ypeij, A. (eds) *Cultural Tourism in Latin America: The Politics of Space and Imagery*. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands, pp. 217–245.

MacCannell, D. (1984) Reconstructed ethnicity: tourism and cultural identity in third world communities. *Annals of Tourism Research* 11(3), 375–391.

Martínez Peláez, S. (2011) The Ladino. In: Grandin, G., Levenson-Estrada, D. and Oglesby, E. (eds) *The Guatemala Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, pp. 129–132.

Oliver, T. and Jenkins, T. (2003) Sustaining rural landscapes: the role of integrated tourism. *Landscape Research* 28(3), 293–307.

Ortega Sánchez, J.A. (2016) Metodología del ranking (2015) de las 50 ciudades más violentas del mundo. *Seguridad, Justicia de Paz: Consejo Ciudano Para La Seguridad Pública Y Justicia Penal A.C.* Ciudad de México. Available at: http://www.seguridadjusticiaypaz.org.mx/biblioteca/prensa/send/6-prensa/231-caracas-venezuela-the-most-violent-city-in-the-world (accessed 25 January 2016).

Pierret, F. (2011) Some points on domestic tourism. Available at: http://cf.cdn.unwto.org/sites/all/files/elements_on_domestic_tourism.pdf (accessed 23 September 2015).

Roberts, B.R. (2010) Moving on and moving back: rethinking inequality and migration in the Latin American city. *Journal of Latin American Studies* 42(3), 587–614.

Ruggles-Brise, O. (2012) Tourism: Latin America's travel boom and challenges. *Americas Quarterly* 6(3), 126–127.

Shea, M. (2001) *Culture and Customs of Guatemala*. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut.

Söchtig, J., Álvarez-Iglesias, V., Mosquera-Miguel, A., Gelabert-Besada, M., Gómez-Carballa, A. and Salas, A. (2015) Genomic insights on the ethno-history of the Maya and the 'Ladinos' from Guatemala. *BMC Genomics* 16(1), 1.

United Nations (2016) Country Profile: Guatemala. UN Data. Available at: http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=Guatemala#Social (accessed 25 January 2016).

Urry, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze*. Sage Publications, London.

US Department of State (2015) Guatemala Country Specific Information. Available at: http://travel.state.gov/content/passports/en/country/guatemala.html (accessed 25 January 2016).

Williams, A.M. (2011) An inside glimpse into the Guatemalan tourism industry. *Huffington Post*. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ashley-michelle-williams/the-economic-domino-effec_b_854151.html (accessed 12 April 2013).

World Bank (2014) Motor Vehicles (per 1,000 people). Data. Available at: http://web.archive.org/web/20140209114811/http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IS.VEH.NVEH.P3 (accessed 25 January 2016).

World Bank (2015) Gini Index (World Bank Estimate). Available at: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI (accessed 25 January 2016).

World Bank (2016a) International Tourism, Number of Arrivals. Available at: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ST.INT.ARVL (accessed 25 January 2016).

World Bank (2016b) Guatemala. Available at: http://data.worldbank.org/country/guatemala (accessed 25 January 2016).

Yang, L. and Wall, G. (2009) Authenticity in ethnic tourism: domestic tourists' perspectives. *Current Issues in Tourism* 12(3), 235–254.

Yin, R.K. (2009) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 4th edn. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California.

Xie, P.F. (2010) *Tourism and Cultural Change: Authenticating Ethnic Tourism*. Channel View Publications, Bristol, UK.

10 Beyond Economic Development: Can the Arts Lead Communities Out of Poverty?

JOHN DELCONTE*

Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, University of Massachusetts Amherst, Amherst, Massachusetts, USA

Rural America has undergone major economic challenges in the past several decades. Industrial jobs have been disappearing as factories seek cheaper labour overseas and automation increases. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, manufacturing employment in the US has dropped from 19.6 million in 1979 to 13.7 million in 2007 (Pierce and Schott, 2012). Family farms have been closing down – one in three Americans lived on a family farm in 1900, but the percentage had dropped to under 2% by 2000 (Lobao and Meyer, 2001). As buildings that once produced textiles, tobacco and any number of goods lay shuttered, sometimes for decades, and as farmlands are sold off, residents look upon the built landscape as a reminder that the old way of life has passed. Meanwhile, political polarization grows as a consequence of the loss in manufacturing jobs to overseas (Autor *et al.*, 2016), and there has been a corresponding increase in middle aged white mortality due to suicide and drug overdose (Case and Deaton, 2015). The buildings, open farmlands and people need reinvention.

Poverty continues to be a significant issue throughout the US, but particularly in rural areas. The US Census Bureau cites the poverty level for an individual in 2014 as $12,071 (US Census Bureau, 2016). In 2014, 46.7 million were living in poverty, or 14.8% of the total population. This was 2.3% higher than 2007 levels, which was before the most recent recession. A total of 8.2 million people live outside of metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs)[1], and a higher proportion of them are poor (16.5% versus 14.5% within MSAs). Poverty is a multidimensional problem that can

---

* E-mail: jdelconte@umass.edu

be self-perpetuating, with factors relating to substandard housing, health problems, increased crime and dropout rates, and employment dislocations (USDA, 2016).

The notion of investing in arts and culture as an economic development strategy began in the early 20th century (Ashley, 2015). The New England Council has been a leader in recasting the arts as a business cluster, similar to the way we look at technology or finance. In their seminal report prepared with Mt. Auburn Associates (NEC, 2000), they state how the arts and other cultural activities have always been integral to New England, and are necessary for the economic health of the region. This was the beginning of a movement across the country towards what is now known as the creative economy. This idea received a boost with Richard Florida's publication *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002), which argued that having cultural things to do in a city was a way of attracting creative people, which in turn was attractive to technological and cutting edge businesses. Researchers and policy makers became convinced that the cultural sector stimulates the economic sector. However, economic gains do not necessarily translate to a reduction in poverty. This exploratory study was undertaken to gain a better understanding of the relationship of the arts to poverty alleviation. The results from this study suggest that the arts can play a role in what Baum (1997) referred to as 'the organization of hope' for distressed communities.

Methods

For this study, key informants were interviewed to explore how the arts have the potential to alleviate poverty in rural towns in the northeast of the USA. Four leaders in the rural cultural arts were interviewed in the autumn of 2015. A combination of purposive and snowball sampling was used to identify a sample of informants who had expertise in cultural tourism and knowledge of how rural areas are incubating and attracting artists as a means of revitalization (Table 10.1).

Interviews were semi-structured, with open-ended questions about how the arts might affect rural poverty. Three interviews were done by telephone and one was conducted in person. Interviews lasted from 30 min to 2 h. Results were supported by findings from the literature.

Data from the interviews are presented by arts-based strategies for economic development adapted from Tom Borrup's *The Creative Community Builder's Handbook* (Borrup, 2006). For the purposes of this study, Borrup's five categories[2] were slightly modified and compressed into four: providing direct employment, attracting investment and improving property values, keeping it local and equitable, and cultural tourism.

Table 10.1. Study participants. (From: US Census Bureau, 2010; US Census Bureau American Community Survey 5-Year Estimate, 2010–2014.)

Informant	Affiliation	Geographic area	Population	Individuals below poverty level
Meri Jenkins	Massachusetts Cultural Council (MCC)	State of Massachusetts	6.56 million	11.6%
Carmela Lanza-Weil	Greater Shelburne Falls Area Business Association	Shelburne Falls, Massachusetts	1731	14.5%
Robert McBride	Rockingham Arts and Museum Project (RAMP)	Bellows Falls, Vermont	3039	17.5%
Matthew Glassman	Double Edge Theatre	Ashfield, Massachusetts	1737	7.7%

Providing Direct Employment

In 2014, there were 2.27 million artists in the workforce, which is 1.47% of all workers aged 16 and older (Americans for the Arts, 2015). Artistic occupations are defined by the US Census Bureau to include the following 11 categories:

- actors;
- announcers;
- architects;
- fine artists, art directors and animators;
- dancers and choreographers;
- designers;
- musicians and singers;
- photographers;
- producers and directors;
- writers and authors; and
- other artists and entertainers. (National Endowment for the Arts, 2011)

Artists are 3.5 times more likely to be self-employed than the total US workforce (National Endowment for the Arts, 2011). State and local agencies have recognized this trend and have been establishing artist incubator programmes to help creative entrepreneurs. According to Carmela Lanza-Weil, the recently appointed Executive Director of the Greater Shelburne Falls Area Business Association (GSFABA), Franklin County is one of the most rural and economically challenged counties in Massachusetts. In order to counteract that, the GSFABA is partnering with a local group known as The Art Garden to fund artists creating community-based art programmes through their Hilltown Arts & Thriving Community Happenings incubator project. Though this is a modest local effort, they are participating in a nationwide creative

economy development strategy. This strategy is reflected in the rise of Arts Cooperative Extension programmes.

At the Community Development Society's annual conference in 2015, Pamela Schallhorn of the University of Illinois Extension (Extension) presented a study demonstrating how creative entrepreneurs led to community cohesiveness, placemaking and poverty reduction in the city of Rockford, Illinois. Although Rockford is an urban setting, the principles apply for rural settings as well. According to Schallhorn, the city had a 21% unemployment rate in 2010 after losing thousands of manufacturing jobs and at least 40,000 people lived under the poverty level (Schallhorn, 2015). Extension began offering training for creative entrepreneurs, including artists, bakers and craftspeople. The participants were from all socio-economic classes, but the majority were low-income African American females (Schallhorn, 2015). Out of 82 participants who originally registered for the course, 42% either started or expanded business in the Rockford region. Several others are selling in art galleries, and five have started online shops with Etsy, an online marketplace where people buy and sell unique crafts.

University Cooperative Extension programmes across the USA have training programmes specifically for arts programming. Idaho, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Missouri and Wisconsin have moved beyond the traditional model of engaging with agricultural and domestic life to foster rural arts work (Barrett, 2014). Extension programmes are ideal conduits for this type of training because community members are comfortable engaging with staff, they have the infrastructure to engage across wide geographic areas, and they can address large demographic and disciplinary diversities.

The creative marketplace is also moving towards a more decentralized, digital world where artists can independently live where they want, which is often in rural areas, where the quality of life can be attractive. A considerable proportion of Etsy's 4000 sellers are rural (39%) and most are women (86%) (Etsy, 2015). Approximately one-sixth (17%) of its sellers have incomes of less than $25,000. This platform is what the company calls the new face of creative entrepreneurship. This trend towards independence and self-reliance is ideal for sellers who need flexibility, such as stay-at-home moms. For 30% of sellers, their creative business is their sole occupation (Etsy, 2015).

Etsy's sellers are twice as likely to be young adults (under the age of 25) compared with other US business owners. Most (69%) want to manage just themselves as the only employee, and most (65%) do not want to take out a loan to expand their business (Etsy, 2015). Their ability to work independently has been enhanced by new technologies, such as 3D printing and computer-assisted design. New maker (do-it-yourself) work spaces make it easy to share these technologies among creatives.

These examples show how arts based strategies can help improve the economic lives of individuals. In addition to directly providing an

independent, flexible job option in rural areas, the arts and artists have been credited with revitalizing whole communities.

Attracting Investment and Improving Property Values

Robert McBride is the founding director of the Rockingham Arts and Museum Project (RAMP), an arts advocacy organization in Bellows Falls, Vermont, a mill town on the Connecticut River. RAMP is located in a historic building known as the Exner Block. Its lobby serves as a community art gallery for the building. In addition to the gallery, the Exner Block offers ten affordable live/work spaces in perpetuity, which are mostly occupied by artists and retail spaces (http://www.ramp-vt.org/exner/). When asked what RAMP has done specifically to alleviate poverty, McBride said, 'Art relieves cultural poverty. It reinforces values of tolerance, openness, simplicity, and respect through sharing people's stories. The arts transform places'.

RAMP participated in the restoration of the Exner Block, which came about through a partnership with Housing Vermont, Rockingham Area Community Land Trust, and the town of Rockingham. The renovation was completed in the year 2000 after the building had been dormant for nearly 60 years. Although RAMP has had many successes in helping to revitalize Bellows Falls, McBride does not want Bellows Falls to be considered an 'art town'. He does not look at gentrification as a model of success. 'I'd rather keep it real and cohesive, here'.

RAMP was founded in 1995 in part to demonstrate how artists and the arts can have a positive effect on the economic and cultural sustainability of the community. Over time, RAMP has developed a four-pronged approach to community development, which includes affordable housing, hosting quarterly artist town meetings, collaborating on public art initiatives and participating on a variety of boards of directors. The success of bricks and mortar projects, such as the Exner Block initiative, is being leveraged to bring in private investment in several other redevelopment projects around town. The organization also supports creative economy initiatives that attract creative people who collaborate with individuals, businesses, social service agencies and other arts and preservation organizations.

Marvelling at the village's compact historic downtown square, brick architecture and natural setting, McBride wondered, 'How many more people are out there who are charmed by their first visit to Bellows Falls, like he was, and would be willing to start up or relocate their current business here?' RAMP occupies an intersection of the arts, economic revitalization and tourism. One of their projects, Mills to Main Street, tells the story of the industrial history linking nearby mill towns along the Connecticut River by creating a brochure and web page, called Mills to Main Street. The RAMP office in the Exner Block maintains an open door policy, always open to creative possibilities.

Creative types are attracted to the beautiful architecture of the red brick mills that are available for redevelopment in several of the old

mill towns in New England, particularly in Massachusetts (Forman and Creighton, 2012). These towns already have a ready infrastructure of utilities and transportation, and the conversion of the economy into a digital one, where people can choose the place they would like to live and work, has led cities to compete for these knowledge workers. The towns, building off their built capital, add arts and cultural activities to their offerings. A virtuous loop emerges: with more outsiders attracted, dollars are spent and real estate prices climb, leading to revitalization (Forman and Creighton, 2012).

About 65 miles southwest of Bellows Falls, North Adams, Massachusetts is another example of a declining rural mill village that has developed a strategy of arts, culture and tourism as a means of rescuing it. Like many New England mill towns, North Adams saw growth peaking in the early 1900s, with a total population of 24,100 in 1900 (Ryan-Vollmar, 2014). During the second half of the 20th century, the mills started closing. In 1986, the Sprague Electric Company shut down, which had employed nearly one-third of the city's 16,000 residents (Ryan-Vollmar, 2014). Unemployment rose to 18% in 1986. The town's blue-collar workforce was gutted. Local businesses also suffered, as only 30% of storefronts were occupied (Ryan-Vollmar, 2014). The Sprague Electric factory complex lay vacant on 16 acres of downtown property. This scenario played out in many New England towns as manufacturing jobs were shipped overseas.

The town experienced a renaissance soon after it began envisioning a cultural arts centre to occupy the vacated space. Joseph Thompson and Tom Krens of nearby Williams College envisioned the site as a place for unconventional forms of contemporary art. The facility reopened in 1999 as the Massachusetts Museum of Contemporary Art (Mass MoCA) after attracting millions in state, federal and private support (Borrup, 2006). Although the town's population has continued to decline, there are signs of economic revitalization since Mass MoCA was established: upwards of 190 hotel rooms have opened, as thousands are visiting the centre and other nearby museums and art galleries. Mass MoCA now averages between 120,000 to 160,000 visits a year, North Adams lodging has a 70% occupancy rate (Ryan-Vollmar, 2014), and the unemployment rate in North Adams has declined to 4.5% as of November 2015 (US Department of Labor, 2016).

'Creative placemaking' is a term that has been evolving in the past 10 years to describe the role that the arts and culture play in community development. According to Markusen and Gadwa (2010a, p. 3):

> In creative placemaking, partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, tribe, city, or region around arts and cultural activities. Creative placemaking animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired.

ArtPlace America, a collaboration among a number of foundations, federal agencies and financial institutions with close ties to the NEA, defines creative placemaking as 'projects in which art plays an intentional and integrated role in place-based community planning and development' (Bennett, 2014, p. 77). Creative placemaking projects are place-based, involve community development, involve artists or arts activities and are evaluable (Bennett, 2015). Several foundations now support creative placemaking initiatives as well, such as the Kresge Foundation, the William Penn Foundation, the Knight Foundation and the Educational Foundation of America. Spurred on by the significant grant programmes, creative placemaking represents a new opportunity for policy-makers to transform places, where the arts are an integral part of community development.

Massachusetts' Gateway Cities programme is one example of a government programme that has embraced creative placemaking. A Gateway City in Massachusetts is defined as a mid-sized city that was anchored to its industrial regional economy but in recent decades has been somewhat struggling economically when compared to the rest of the state (Forman and Creighton, 2012). Creative placemaking is seen as a fresh approach to energize these cities in the new economy. Gateway Cities have many positive attributes as former industrial centres, including transportation infrastructure, museums, hospitals, universities and other major institutions. Planners can leverage these assets to shape a new economy. Often, creative placemaking initiatives can include or lead to buy-local campaigns.

Keeping it Local and Equitable

Large-scale public planning efforts to inject the arts into revitalization efforts have the danger of leading to gentrification (Grodach *et al.*, 2014). Most evidence is based on case studies, which makes generalization difficult. However, specific types of artistic activities are better linked to gentrification. Fine arts are associated with revitalization, whereas commercial arts activities lead to gentrification. Fine arts areas have stable slow growth, and commercial arts clusters trend to undergo rapid change (Grodach *et al.*, 2014).

Gentrification is what pushed the Double Edge Theatre from its original home in Boston to its current 100-acre site on a former dairy farm in Ashfield, Massachusetts. According to Matthew Glassman, the theatre's Co-Artistic Director, the group was facing a 'bloated' economy in Boston that 'forced people to the outside' when they moved to the farm in 1994. Matthew said that their Farm Center 'creates a new narrative for community'. By offering artists training and living space, the artist community becomes engaged in a 'living culture' that encompasses the local community.

Ashfield, like Shelburne Falls, is also in Franklin County, Massachusetts. The area had once been home to a larger number of family farms. From

1987 to 1997, the number of dairy farms in Franklin County decreased 20% and the farm labour force dropped 70% overall (Lass *et al.*, 2000). Regarding how the arts can alleviate poverty in rural areas, Glassman stated that artists change the perception of what is possible in a community. The arts can help people move beyond what is considered to be the traditional economy to an 'economy of happiness'.

Glassman went on to say that the arts bring purpose and meaning to a community and give people a perception of abundance rather than scarcity. Artistic activity, particularly in the theatre arts, requires collaboration, partnership and mutuality. These values, he said, are in line with the traditional values of a farming community. As the artist group came to occupy and renovate some of the oldest farm buildings in the state, they transformed an old farm that was vulnerable and changed the notion of what was thought to be possible for the area, which led to community pride.

The sentiment is echoed by Guingané (2010) of Burkina Faso, West Africa. Guingané found that dramatic art can change the way people view their economic plight. She believes the problem of poverty is one of misdiagnosis. People are not underdeveloped, poor or in debt. They have lost the values that have defined their culture and structured their lives. Dramatic art leads to trust in neighbours and the courage to fight for their way of life. The change comes through a sense of mission, and the mission is transmitted through information, education and drama.

The Double Edge Theatre was part of a Rural Initiative, which promoted locally made products to their theatre audiences. Their business partners shared their values, forming a partnership between local arts and local industry to promote the 'richness' of the region. Glassman said that the artists were serving as a catalyst for change as they took existing values of collaboration, hard work and community pride, and repurposed an old farm and began the process of building a local economy network, which included sweat equity, the gift economy and bartering as central notions. Cultural organizations naturally build connections between sectors, which is central to the concept of creative placemaking. Farmers, like artists, do not practise their craft because it is lucrative.

Building a strong local economy means building upon a diverse set of goods and services that are cultivated from within the community. Schuman (2007) writes that local businesses spend more locally and therefore increase wealth and jobs for their community. This is the opposite of the more traditional economic development model of attracting single large multinational employers to a region, which can easily leave when the economic winds change.

The Business Alliance for Local Living Economies (https://bealocalist.org/) suggests that real security comes from community instead of the Darwinian model of survival of the fittest. As proponents of the buy-local movement, they support commerce among local business networks, believing that local communities are strong and resilient. Because art is usually locally made, and much of it is produced collaboratively, the

principles of partnership and sharing, which are central to buying local, apply largely to the art scene. Having a diversity of many local interesting providers also makes the locale attractive to tourists.

Cultural Tourism

Cultural tourism is a form of special interest tourism. Cultural tourists have been described as creative tourists when they are attracted to intangible cultural experiences that are co-created between the hosts and guests (Richards, 2011). The US Department of Commerce and the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities define cultural and heritage tourism as:

> Travel directed toward experiencing the arts, heritage, and special character of a place. America's rich heritage and culture, rooted in our history, our creativity and our diverse population, provides visitors to our communities with a wide variety of cultural opportunities, including museums, historic sites, dance, music, theater, book and other festivals, historic buildings, arts and crafts fairs, neighborhoods, and landscapes. (US Department of Commerce, 2005, p. 1)

Developing cultural districts is a cultural tourism strategy. Some municipalities define specific boundaries that have a significant number of culturally related facilities, activities and assets, and designate them as cultural districts. Cultural districts, which were first formed in the 1980s in the USA, are walkable and compact, and are easily recognizable to visitors. There are currently over 500 cultural districts across the USA (http://www.americansforthearts.org/). One of the key characteristics of a cultural district is that their success depends on collaborations among stakeholders (Thorbeck, 2015).

Meri Jenkins runs the Cultural District Initiative for the Massachusetts Cultural Council (MCC). During a visit to Amherst, Massachusetts to help the townspeople apply to the MCC to become a cultural district, she described the benefit of performing artists coordinating with the commercial interests of the nearby town of Lenox: 'Only recently have the restaurants in Lenox started to coordinate with Shakespeare & Co'. She was referring to the renowned theatre company in the Berkshire Mountains. 'The restaurants might offer pre- or post-show options, and the cultural organisation might boost ticket sales because people have already dined – a win-win'.

Jenkins's example shows that communities are able to use cultural districts to create a coordinated tourism product, not only within their town limits but across nearby regions. Cultural districts help to create regional identities and serve as a basis for sustainable tourism and territorial development (Fanzini and Rotaru, 2012). In Massachusetts, the MCC partners with the Massachusetts Office of Travel and Tourism for marketing and promotion of their cultural districts. Massachusetts has

13 Regional Tourism Councils, which are responsible for marketing each area. The establishment of cultural districts and partnerships with regional tourism offices is one way to attract outside dollars into rural areas. This concerted way of growing cultural assets and cooperating among the artists and cultural producers of a community has been associated with declining poverty rates (Guingané, 2010).

Merfeld-Langston (2013) writes how the declining village of Montolieu, France decided to rebrand itself as a book village as a revitalization strategy in 1990. The designation brought into play a host of other artisanal cultural activities, such as calligraphy, poetry readings, preservation and education about the art of book production and other professions related to it. The town became part of European Book Town Network. There was a new focus on making the place hospitable for visitors. Although some residents became resentful of the increased traffic, abundance of summertime visitors and special perks given to artists, like subsidized rent, this new identity has given the town a stronger rural economy, hosting at least 52,000 visitors annually.

The presence of local arts agencies has been shown to have widespread impacts on community placemaking and heritage tourism when examined through a community development tool, the Community Capitals Framework (CCF) (Delconte *et al.*, 2016). The agencies were found to elicit positive changes to all seven CCF capitals, with the strongest effects being in financial, social, cultural and human capitals. The collective impacts contributed to the host community's positive sense of place, which makes a locale a strong heritage tourism draw. The impact of the arts on multiple community capitals suggests a potential multidimensional approach to the multidimensional problem of poverty.

A rural design perspective can also lead to new insights. This process allows the community to find the assets that they share; defines the landscape character; and connects the social, artistic and landscape to create a sense of place. It also links economic development, quality of life and entrepreneurship, and encourages regional, cross-border collaboration (Thorbeck, 2015).

There have been calls to make poverty alleviation a specific goal of tourism (Ashley *et al.*, 2000; Medina-Muñoz *et al.*, 2016). Pro-poor tourism is one approach to alleviating poverty, usually applied toward the Global South. However, there has been limited research on its effectiveness in reducing poverty (Medina-Muñoz *et al.*, 2016).

Discussion

Beyond what is reflected in sheer economics, 'the arts', according to Jenkins, 'can help community members look themselves in the eye and be in control of what is coming next'. On the psychosocial level, participation in artistic activity leads to self-affirmation, reparation (correction of mistakes) and transference (of artistic skills for use in other parts of their

lives), and is a preventive and protective resource to overcome problems (Daher and Haz, 2011). Skills in fine and applied arts contribute to self-reliance, thereby reducing poverty levels and contributing to national development (Palmer, 2014).

The arts directly support local economies by providing jobs (Americans for the Arts, 2015), revitalizing small post-industrial towns by drawing in other creative types and businesses (Ryan-Vollmar, 2014), increasing property values (for better or for worse) (Grodach *et al.*, 2014), and creating the attractions and events that are the basis of cultural tourism (Merfeld-Langston, 2013). A high proportion of artists are self-employed (National Endowment for the Arts, 2011). Fine arts and crafts making are independent and mobile ways to make a living, particularly in rural areas where traditional employers have relocated and moved their jobs overseas (Pierce and Schott, 2012). Artists are often the first to occupy the dilapidated or even abandoned buildings of the deserted factories and farms. In the process, they can trigger economic revitalization, increasing rents, and drawing in more commercial interest. Artists attract other creatives, who enjoy being in artists' company and spend money on art; this strengthens a virtuous circle of production, consumption and participation (Florida, 2002). The dollars spent on art stay longer in the community because most art is locally made. A vibrant arts scene plays a role in establishing a place as a destination. Visitors are attracted to the art and cultural events as well as to the eclectic artist community members who gather in the coffee shops, music festivals, galleries and on the sidewalks.

A participatory artistic culture is intertwined with the social fabric of communities. It builds connections between people and increases social capital. It has effects on all community capitals as well: in addition to financial, social and cultural capitals, it improves human capital, by increasing people's creative skills; political capital, by proving neutral ground for political discussions; built capital, through adaptive reuse of old buildings; and natural capital, by using green space to display art (Delconte *et al.*, 2016).

The results from this exploratory study show that, beyond the direct economic or community-building effects they might have, the arts serve as a catalyst to move communities beyond periods of distress to their next iteration. Robert McBride said that the arts transform places, at least partly by promoting community-based values, such as tolerance, openness, simplicity and respect. Mathew Glassman pointed to their ability to foster traditional values of partnership, collaboration and mutuality. Meri Jenkins stated that an art-based culture can lead people to take control of the narrative of their place – to be in control of what's coming next. As factories leave towns and family farms in the surrounding landscape are sold, all four of the informants for this study said that art plays the role of helping community members to take stock of their values, skills and assets, pointing them towards new ways to express themselves, conduct business and move beyond hardship in their rural environment. The Double Edge

Theatre is using these principles as it plays a central role in triggering a new rural economy in its old dairy farm in Ashfield. Similarly, RAMP is helping to transform Bellows Falls by injecting the same values into the ecosystem of the historic New England mill town.

As the artists and agencies work at the grassroots level to change perceptions and build community values and cohesiveness, they are simultaneously active participants in the traditional economy and, increasingly, in government. The patchwork of cultural expression throughout rural areas can potentially be stitched together to form an attractive product for the cultural tourist. As Meri Jenkins explained, connecting outlying artists and arts venues with urban cultural districts is one strategy to create a cross-flow of visitors between rural and urban settings. In the case of Massachusetts, cultural districts are listed and mapped on the state tourism website (massvacation.com) to give potential visitors an overall perspective of rural and urban options for travellers.

Critics challenge the assumption that using the arts and culture intentionally as a tool for economic development and cultural tourism leads to a concomitant decrease in poverty. If anything, they say the bohemian culture leads to gentrification, displacement of the poor and a plethora of trendy shops. However, Markusen (2014) refutes this notion, saying that gentrification is due to generalized market pressure that is often developer led. Other researchers have found little evidence of artist-led gentrification (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010b; Gadwa and Muessig, 2011)

This preliminary study was limited primarily by the sample size. Only four informants were interviewed. Also, the study does not provide empirical evidence of the relationship of the arts to poverty reduction. However, the majority of informants said that the arts serve a role in helping communities relieve their distress, if not strictly through economic means. This is not to say that a shift in values and perception can be a substitute for the hardship of economic poverty. However, the social infrastructure that the arts community brings, with its emphasis on civic engagement, interdependence, diverse human capital and shared experiences, might indeed help to 'alleviate' economic troubles by making communities more liveable and resilient, and recasting the dominant social narrative of accumulation.

Notes

[1] The US Census defines a metropolitan area as having an urban core of at least 50,000 people.
[2] Borrup's five strategies for arts-led economic development are creating jobs, stimulating trade through cultural tourism, attracting investment by creating live/work zones for artists, diversifying the local economy, and improving property and enhancing value.

References

Americans for the Arts (2015) Artists in the U.S. Workforce: 2003–2014. Available at: http://www.americansforthearts.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2015/by_program/reports_and_data/research_studies_and_publications/Artists_in_Workforce_2015.pdf (accessed 21 August 2015).

Ashley, A. (2015) Beyond the aesthetic: the historical pursuit of local arts economic development. *Journal of Planning History* 14(1), 38–61.

Ashley, C., Roe, D. and Goodwin, H. (2000) *Pro-poor tourism strategies: Making tourism work for the poor – A review of experience.* Pro-Poor Tourism Report No. 1. ODI/IIED/CRT. The Russell Press, Nottingham, UK.

Autor, D., Dorn, D., Hanson, G. and Majlesi, K. (2016) Importing Political Polarization? The Electoral Consequences of Rising Trade Exposure. Available at: http://www.ddorn.net/papers/ADHM-PoliticalPolarization.pdf (accessed 14 August 2015).

Barrett, S. (2014) The Currency of Connection: The Arts and the Cooperative Extension Service as an Alternative Model to Rural Arts Development. Available at: http://blog.americansforthearts.org/2014/02/19/the-currency-of-connection-the-arts-and-the-cooperative-extension-service-as-an-alternative-model-to (accessed 14 August 2015).

Baum, H. (1997) *The Organization of Hope: Communities Planning Themselves.* State University of New York Press, Albany, New York.

Bennett, J. (2014) Creative placemaking in community planning and development: an introduction to ArtPlace America. *Community Development Investment Review* 2, 77–84.

Bennett, J. (2015) Creative Placemaking? What Is It that You Do? Available at: http://www.artplaceamerica.org/blog/creative-placemaking-what-it-you-do (accessed 23 August 2015).

Borrup, T. (2006) *The Creative Community Builder's Handbook: How to Transform Communities Using Local Assets, Art, and Culture.* Fieldstone Alliance, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Case, A. and Deaton, A. (2015) Rising morbidity and mortality in midlife among white non-Hispanic Americans in the 21st century. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 112(49), 15078–15083.

Daher, M. and Haz, A. (2011) Changing meanings through art: a systematization of a psychosocial intervention with Chilean women in urban poverty situation. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 47(3–4), 322–334.

Delconte, J., Kline, C.S. and Scavo, C. (2016) The impacts of local arts agencies on community placemaking and heritage tourism. *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 11(4), 324–335.

Etsy (2015) Building an Etsy Economy: The New Face of Creative Entrepreneurship. Available at: http://extfiles.etsy.com/Press/reports/Etsy_NewFaceofCreativeEntrepreneurship_2015.pdf (accessed 3 September 2015).

Fanzini, D. and Rotaru, I. (2012) The Italian cultural district as a model for sustainable tourism and territorial development. *Journal of Tourism Challenges and Trends* 5.2, 11–34.

Forman, B. and Creighton, T. (2012, July) Building Vibrancy: Creative Placemaking Strategies for Gateway City Growth and Renewal. MassINC and Artplace America. Available at: http://massinc.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/creativeplacemaking.pdf (accessed 14 August 2015).

Florida, R. (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class.* Basic Books, New York.

Gadwa, A. and Muessig, A. (2011) *How Artist Spaces Matter II: The Riverside, Tashiro Kaplan and Insights from Five Artspace Case Studies and Four Cities.* Artspace Projects and Metris Arts Consulting, Minneapolis. Available at: http://metrisarts.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/1-HowArtSpacesMatter_II.pdf (accessed 16 September 2015).

Grodach, C., Foster, N. and Murdoch, J. (2014) Gentrification and the artistic dividend: the role of the arts in neighborhood change. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 80(1), 21–35.

Guingané, J.-P.D. (2010) The role of art in reducing poverty. *Museum International* 62(3), 9–12.

Lass, D., Rogers, R. and Damery, D. (2000) *Agriculture's Hold on the Commonwealth*. Department of Resource Economics, University of Massachusetts. Available at: http://www.massbenchmarks.org/publications/studies/pdf/changinglandscape00.pdf (accessed 14 August 2015).

Lobao, L. and Meyer, K. (2001) The great agricultural transition: crisis, change, and social consequences of twentieth century US farming. *Annual Review of Sociology* 27, 103–124.

Markusen, A. (2014) Creative cities: a 10-year research agenda. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 36(s2), 567–589.

Markusen, A. and Gadwa, A. (2010a) *Creative Placemaking*. National Endowment for the Arts, Washington, DC. Available at: https://www.arts.gov/sites/default/files/CreativePlacemaking-Paper.pdf (accessed 13 April 2017).

Markusen, A. and Gadwa, A. (2010b) Arts and culture in urban or regional planning: a review and research agenda. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 29(3), 379–391.

Medina-Muñoz, D., Medina-Muñoz, R. and Gutiérrez-Pérez, F. (2016) The impacts of tourism on poverty alleviation: an integrated research framework. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 24, 2, 270–298.

Merfeld-Langston, A. (2013) The bibliografting of Montolieu, village du Livre des Arts Graphiques. *Journal of European Popular Culture* 4(2), 173–193.

National Endowment for the Arts (2011) Artists and Arts Workers in the United States. Available at: https://www.arts.gov/sites/default/files/105.pdf (accessed 14 September 2015).

New England Council (NEC) (2000) The Creative Economy Initiative: The Role of the Arts and Culture in New England's Economic Competitiveness. Available at: http://www.mtauburnassociates.com/pubs/NEC.pdf (accessed 23 August 2015).

Palmer, F.M. (2014) Reformative role of fine and applied arts education in the alleviation of poverty, promotion of self-reliance and national development in Nigeria. *Journal of Visual Art Practice* 13(2), 130–137.

Pierce, J. and Schott, P. (2012) *The Surprisingly Swift Decline of US Manufacturing Employment (No. w18655)*. National Bureau of Economic Research. Available at: http://www.nber.org/papers/w18655 (accessed 29 August 2015).

Richards, G. (2011) Creativity and tourism: the state of the art. *Annals of Tourism Research* 38(4), 1225–1253.

Ryan-Vollmar, S. (2014) *Making the Most of Opportunity: How Art Fueled North Adams' Revival*. Mass Creative. Available at: http://www.mass-creative.org/northadams_art (accessed 3 September 2015).

Schallhorn, P. (2015) The Impact of Creative Entrepreneurs on Community, Placemaking & Poverty (PowerPoint slides). Available at: http://www.comm-dev.org/images/2015.Conference/PowerPoints/TrackTwo/ImpactofCreativeEntrepreneursonCommunityPlacemakingandPoverty.pdf (accessed 23 September 2015).

Schuman, M.H. (2007) *The Small-mart Revolution: How Local Businesses are Beating the Global Competition*. Berrett-Koehler Publishers, San Francisco, CA.

Thorbeck, T. (2015) Rural Design and Rural Futures (PowerPoint slides). Available at: http://www.comm-dev.org/images/2015.Conference/PowerPoints/TrackTwo/RuralDesignandRuralFutures.pdf (accessed 5 September 2015).

US Census Bureau (2010) Available at: https://www.census.gov/2010census/ (accessed 13 April 2017).

US Census Bureau (2015) American Community Survey (ACS) 2010–2014 ACS 5-year estimates. Available at: https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/technical-documentation/table-and-geography-changes/2014/5-year.html (accessed 13 April 2017).

US Census Bureau (2016) Historical Poverty Tables. Available at: https://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/data/historical/people.html (accessed 23 April 2016).

United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), Economic Research Service (2016) Geography of Poverty. Available at: http://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/rural-economy-population/rural-poverty-well-being/geography-of-poverty.aspx (accessed 23 April 2016).

US Department of Commerce (2005) The President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities for the 2005 U.S. Cultural & Heritage Tourism Summit. A Position Paper on Cultural & Heritage Tourism in the US. Available at: http://www.pcah.gov/sites/default/files/05WhitePaperCultHeritTourism_2.pdf (accessed 3 October 2015).

US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (2016) Local Area Unemployment Statistics. Available at: http://beta.bls.gov/dataViewer/view/timeseries/LAUIM507615000000003 (accessed 23 April 2016).

11 Theme Park as a Link between Urban and Rural Territories

Dominic Lapointe*

Département d'études urbaines et touristiques, Université du Québec à Montréal, Montréal, Canada

Introduction

The theme park is a major component in the leisure and tourism systems of many tourist regions in the world, especially since the Disney revolution in the industry. The close relationship between theme parks and the urban phenomenon has been stated by many authors (Sorkin, 1992; Didier, 2002; Baron-Yelle and Anton Clavé, 2014). According to these authors, theme parks are a spatial manifestation of dominant discourses about cities and their planning: mobility, individuality, consumerism and security. However, this focus on theme parks as an urban phenomenon neglects to address the many operations located on the fringe of urban agglomeration and in the rural zone. Looking at a theme park as a link between urban and rural environments for regional sustainable development raises questions.

Theme parks, because of their need for large spaces, tend to be located on the fringe of urban and rural space with highway connectivity. This major infrastructure can generate spectacular attendances, such as at Disney World, which hosted 19 million visitors in 2014 (Themed Entertainment Association, 2014). However, the integration of these infrastructures throughout a region is often ambiguous (Didier, 2002; Anton Clavé, 2010). Indeed, theme parks are insular in their conception, imaginary worlds separated from their surroundings, but also dependant on local infrastructure, mostly roads, to thrive (Didier, 2002). This separation is needed to delineate the theme park's imaginary world experience from the day-to-day activities within the local space. Three main dialectics can be identified in the academic literature: urban planning versus rural space; separation versus

---

* E-mail: lapointe.dominic@uqam.ca

dependence on the surrounding landscape; and the imaginary versus local territorial narrative (Didier, 2002; Anton Clavé, 2010; Pinggong, 2013). These dialectics can be explored through theme parks to understand the linkages between urban and rural spaces and their integration to regional dynamics of development.

This chapter will present a case study of a theme park in Quebec, Canada, and its regional integration. It will analyse the place the park takes in the evolution of local planning, the flows of visitors, the narrative that the park puts forward, and the narrative that the local rural environment puts forward in its promotions and experiences. Then, this chapter will use the three dialectics to discuss the role of theme parks as a link between urban and rural tourism and the perspectives they offer for sustainable development. However, first let us take a closer look at these three dialectics.

Literature Review

Urban planning vs rural space

The first dialectic at work is between urban and rural planning. This dialectic is expressed when theme parks are located in rural areas, or rather at the fringe between rurality and urbanity. Indeed, the location of theme parks takes into account two factors: highway access and proximity to urban centres (Didier, 2002). The primary market of a theme park is a radius of 50 km around the park, with the secondary market within 50 to 100 km (Price, 2004; Anton Clavé, 2007), as these locations are located ideally with one urban centre at the limit, and between the primary and secondary markets (Price, 2004).

The internal design of theme parks develops a harmonious and safe universe (Marling, 1997), where private space takes on the appearance of public space (Anton Clavé, 2007). This space accommodates a density of visitors who engage in ambulatory practices, consumption and leisure. These practices are made possible by a human-scale development where the pedestrian is the reference, rather than the automobile. These arrangements take the form of a Main Street where order and visual uniformity allow visitors to easily find their way through the park (Anton Clavé, 2007) and allow visitors to indulge in leisure activities, especially to consume and spend money (Davis, 1997).

While the internal design of theme parks suggests urbanization, consumption and density, they are often located in the countryside, or at the fringe, in jurisdictions that revolve around different planning logics. Rural space planning is dealing with residential dispersal, productive activities (mainly agriculture), maintaining populations, but also the protection of amenities (mainly environmental) that enable the productive functions of rural areas (Dugas, 1981). However, the transformation of the productive activities of rural life, the mechanization of agriculture and the relocation of

industrial production force those communities to redefine their planning and development agendas. New functions, recreational and residential, appear and create management challenges between the diversification of economic activities and the maintenance of traditional industries in harmonious coexistence. Thus, theme parks are part of the trend towards the diversification of rural activities.

Separation vs. dependence

The second dialectic is between the theme parks trying to separate from their surroundings yet maintain dependency on the territory where they are located. The parks are inherently insular spaces with clear markings between the space of leisure and everyday life (Davis, 1997; Didier, 2002). One of the main characteristics of theme parks is that they are designed as enclosed spaces with controlled guest access (Anton Clavé, 2007). They are invented spaces (Pinggong, 2013) that are built from scratch as an imaginary world, or as fantasized elsewhere. This invented space is expressed in the closure of the park and is staged and supported by discourses that reinforce a separation from their surroundings that leaves no ambiguity between a space of leisure and a space of daily consumption.

The importance of the staging separates the consumer space from the production space. Indeed, behind the invented space, where the visitor experiences the theme park, is a whole set of social and material relations that produce and enable the theme park's performance. These include labour relations, procurement, complementary companies, destination management organizations, development and maintenance of the road network, etc. While the invented space, where performance and consumption take place, is separated from the supporting environment, the production space is in relation to the outside world and is dependent on it for supplies, its workforce and infrastructure, including access roads.

Imaginary narratives vs. local territorial narratives

Theme parks are invented spaces (Pinggong, 2013) based on a narrative (Phillips, 1999). This narrative helps organize space for visitors. Indeed, the whole material setting of a theme park will follow the narrative set in place. This narrative dimension leads some authors (Marling, 1997; Mitrasinovic, 2006) to present the theme parks as the materialization of the cinema, where you can live the movies – whether it is the Disney universe, different artefacts inspired by MGM, the comic books of the Asterix Park in France, the British colonization or medieval, classical and even biblical times. This narrative operates within the park, but also in formal and informal dialogue with its environment (Philips, 1999).

If the narrative concept can easily be applied to a theme park, it can also be used to interpret the tourist development of a territory. Indeed,

the tourist is a semiotician who ignores it (Urry, 1995) because, through its experience, it decodes the elements that make possible and understandable its tourism performance. Thus, part of the tourism development of the territories beyond the mere provision of infrastructure and services consists of proposing elements of meaning and interpretation. These elements can be combined with narratives. The development of tourism territories expresses those narratives through key elements, such as landscapes, infrastructure and activities. These are linked to a certain consistency, or not, to give them an identity, a signature at the destination level. It is through this narrative that the theme parks transform a marginal space, with low identity, into somewhere else desired by visitors (Hall, 2011). This narrative marks the difference between inside the park and outside the park.

It is through these three dialectics that I will analyse the case of Parc Safari in Quebec, Canada. However, first, I will present my research methodology, and then describe the Parc Safari, the region, and the narratives at work within the park and in the surrounding area.

Methodology

The method used will be that of the case study. This is a research strategy that can include multiple research methods and data sources (Yin, 2003). Yin defines a case study as 'an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (Yin, 2003, p. 13). This research falls into this category because I present the Parc Safari within its context, as an ongoing phenomenon, and the narratives at work, which constantly evolve from year to year. The choice of the Parc Safari was made because of its historical quality. The Parc Safari is one of the oldest theme parks in Quebec, and it is an influential park for the other theme parks in the province. The analysis will use two methods: (i) content analysis of the land records; and (ii) thematic analysis of the promotional materials of the park and the county.

The data were extracted from a study conducted with the Parc Safari that was designed to examine the satisfaction components of visitors to the park. The qualitative analysis was conducted in two different ways. The first part was to identify the content of the local land planning documents that address the issues of tourism development and, more specifically, the issues of land uses of the Parc Safari. The second data collection was the analysis of the promotional material, specifically brochures and websites, of the Parc Safari and the other local tourism businesses to identify the themes used to promote the area, specifically brochures and websites. The brochures were collected at the main tourist information office in the region. The websites were selected from the destination management organization's listings. I analysed the narrative put forward on the front page of the businesses' websites and throughout the brochures.

Each brochure and web page was coded. The text was transcripted in NVivo, and each image transformed into a descriptive sentence. Then all the textual material was codified with the main theme of each document as a node. I then categorized the discourses for the two entities, the park and the local area.

The Case of Parc Safari in the Province of Québec

Founded in 1972, the Parc Safari is a theme park based on the experience of the African safari. It is located 65 km south of Montreal, a few kilometres from the border with the USA. The main attraction is the Safari Adventure, a drive-through circuit where the visitors can admire wild animals in semi-freedom. It also has more conventional zoological facilities to observe animals in captivity. The park is complemented by a swimming area and some rides. This theme park is privately owned and relies mainly on regional clientele. It employs 300 people on a seasonal basis and 30 on a yearly basis.

The park has an attendance, on average, of 300,000 visitors per year with the majority (68%), from the immediate vicinity, less than 2 h by car to the park. Only 10% of them spend a night or more in the region. The majority of customers who go to the Parc Safari are from Montreal and its two suburban areas. It is a destination of excursionists: 85% of them spend more than 4 hours at the park and come back home. Moreover, only 8% of customers of Parc Safari state that they have stopped at another tourist attraction as part of their visit.

The Parc Safari is active in the packaging of tourism activities. It has agreements with seven campsites nearby and with 12 hotels located between the park and the south shore of Montreal. In addition to these relationships with hoteliers, the leaders of the Parc Safari are involved in the various destination management organizations in their region, such as Tourisme Montérégie and St-Jean Tourism and Tourism Valleyfield. It is also the origin of initiatives to promote local farmers. This has evolved into different gourmet tours of the area and the Circuit du Paysan, of which the park is still a member. However, despite these efforts to promote tourism development of the region, Parc Safari has failed to generate the business cluster usually associated with the presence of a theme park. No hotel, stores or restaurant have sprouted in close vicinity to the park.

Description of the host area

The Parc Safari is located in the county of Jardins-de-Napierville. This county is included in the vast region south of Montreal and is bordered on the south by the US border. The Municipalité Régionale de Comté (MRC) has 27,000 inhabitants spread over 800 km² and 11 municipalities. The park is located precisely in the municipality of Hemmingford,

representing 6.6% of the demographic weight of the MRC with 1800 inhabitants. The MRC territory is crossed by the north–south Highway 15 between Montreal and US Highway 87.

Agriculture is the dominant activity of this county, with 98% of the area under agricultural use. Moreover, agriculture annually generates revenues of CAD$297 million, including market gardening and fruit production (MRC Jardins-de-Napierville, 2014b). While agricultural production in the county is intense, with 59% of agricultural land under cultivation, the canton of Hemmingford, where the park is located, is the area where agricultural intensity is lowest, with only 28% of agricultural land cultured. In Quebec, all of these lands are subject to the law on the protection of agricultural land and agricultural activities (Québec, 1978). This law prohibits the use of land for purposes other than agriculture. All other forms of land use in agricultural areas must be approved by the Commission de Protection du Territoire Agricole du Québec (CPTAQ).

The development plan of the County Jardins-de-Napierville recognizes recreational tourism uses in the agricultural zone (MRC Jardins-de-Napierville, 2014a). This intensive recreation assignment includes golf courses, campgrounds, a regional park, shooting ranges and the Parc Safari. These non-agricultural uses are allowed through acquired rights; it was the custom prior to the existing law on the protection of the agricultural land to gain permission through a decision by the CPTAQ. The Parc Safari is in the first category, which is not without consequences for its development.

With 300,000 visitors per year, the Parc Safari is the most visited tourist attraction in the Montérégie region, which includes the entire southern shore of Montreal. However, its development and expansion are slowed by the agricultural use of the surrounding areas. Indeed, the protection of agricultural land prevents the development of complementary attractions and tourist accommodations. The development plan textually mentions, in its policies on agriculture, the need to restrict non-agricultural uses in the agricultural zone. The plan allows only the intensive recreational uses currently active but targets the promotion of agritourism and rural tourism as a diversification avenue for farmers. Indeed, the county already has a significant agritourism offer, mainly in vineyards, and a cider house open for visits and tasting – but these are the least visited agritourism attractions (Canada Economic Development, 2006). Also, nine of the 17 agritourism facility members of Circuit du Paysan or Tourisme Montérégie are located directly in the Township of Hemmingford, where Parc Safari is located. The development plan clearly states that the types of accommodation allowed in the agricultural zone are houses and inns and tourist homes that have a maximum of five bedrooms and cannot have more than one employee other than the owners (MRC Jardins-de-Napierville, 2014a, p. 273). As for agroforestry areas in the south of the county, rural tourism activities may be authorized and should preferably be within the existing rural tourism areas. Lodging and activities are limited to two per municipality; additional accommodations need to be studied by the county before being

approved. However, as discussed in the next section, these two forms of tourism call for a divergent symbolic universe and tourism practices.

Tourism Narration at Work

The narrative of theme parks emphasizes a different 'elsewhere' within their host environment. We will, therefore, address the two narratives at work in our case, that of the Parc Safari and the host community, the county Jardins-de-Napierville.

Parc Safari tourism narrations

The park offers visitors the experience of an African safari from the comfort of their car. It is the Africa in the heart of Quebec. This experience takes place in a setting that replicates rural Africa and evokes the great African national parks. The materials used for buildings echo the rural houses associated with a fantasized wild, undeveloped Africa. They also echo the colonial representations with shades of sand, yellow and green. This discourse completely eliminates the human dimension of Africa and focuses only on the animals. The Parc Safari borrows African culture in the nomenclature of the place. Thus, the commercial area with souvenir shops is called the souk and the observation walkway for macaques, chimpanzees, hyenas and bears is called the Olduvai gateway, after the paléoanthropological site in Tanzania.

The other dominant discourse in Parc Safari is an environmental and educational discourse. Indeed, through the park's newspaper and radio station, information on animals in captivity and their level of extinction are transmitted to its visitors. These media emphasize the contribution of zoos to the conservation of the rare species. This superimposed speech from the African game reserve echoes television shows, such as 'Mutual of Omaha's Wild Kingdom'. Indeed, they tend to focus only on the animals, as if there were no dealings with the human systems, reproducing the idea of a wilderness where the human does not interact with nature. They also anthropomorphize animals by superimposing human behaviours and feelings.

The anthropomorphization is also at work in the narrative proposed by the Parc Safari. This is carried out through the use of technology. For two years, the Parc Safari has offered visitors, specifically children, the chance to become a virtual friend of six flagship park animals. As an example, here is the description of the elephant Carole: 'I am a dreamer and a true artist. I come from Zimbabwe, and I'd like to be your friend. I'll tell you how I use my trunk and why I love to roll around in the mud'. They send emails to children to tell their stories about their lives at Parc Safari. We find ourselves in a narrative based on a representation of a wild Africa where captivity is justified by conservation and education. Also, an anthropomorphization is added to the denaturalization of animals.

Host community tourism narrative

The promotional discourse of the county Jardins-de-Napierville presents the Parc Safari as a major tourist attraction and a structuring pole, while the rest of the discourse is radically different from the park, depicting a rural, authentic destination with a focus on active tourism, cycling and hiking.

The dominant tourism narrative of Jardins-de-Napierville County is that of rural life, with its share of rural images and references to land, terroir and expertise. It is a discourse that is based on historical land use and the authenticity of the products of farming. This discourse places particular value on vineyards and cider houses, even while they remain economically marginal in production compared to intensive agriculture – especially vegetables and cereals – in the region.

The other narrative discourse is that of active tourism, mainly cycling and hiking. These activities are presented as an escape from the urban metropolis that is Montreal. This is a getaway for a day or two, in a bucolic setting. These activities can be combined with agritourism site visits. This discourse is complementary to that of the local terroir and agriculture because they happen around the same sites in the rustic nature of the countryside.

Discussion

The information presented allows us to identify several contradictions between the Parc Safari and the host community. To discuss these contradictions, but also complementarities that emerged from the analysis, we will take the three dialectics described above. We will address the issue of the narratives and then look at the internal/external relationship of the park with its environment to finish with the question of land use as related to rural–urban issues.

Tourism discourses with divergent narratives

The narrative discourses of Parc Safari and those of the host environment, the county Jardins-de-Napierville, have different functions and origins. Indeed, the Parc Safari, as presented by Phillips (1999), is typical of the narrative discourse of the theme parks in its desire to create a foreign space within its walls. In this case, it is a wild Africa created from an amalgam of cultural references from the park's customers, North American and Western, with the big cats, giraffes and elephants on display. This discourse also echoes the televisual references of large animal programmes. However, these narratives are constructed because the animals are in captivity, and the safari adventure is to drive one's car through the fauna in a large enclosure.

Conversely, the host environment built its tourism identity from a narrative centred on authenticity and historical land occupancy. The use of terroir and peasant terms implies a set of skills resulting from a relationship between agriculture, history and everyday life on the land. Rather than create an 'elsewhere', these discourses strengthen the sense of place, to present a specific way of living on the land. These discourses are in contrast to the urban and peri-urban life that is the daily space of visitors who frequent the area, mainly from Montreal.

If both types of narratives presented in the case study seem to be radically opposed, they have the commonality of transforming the understanding of places to allow visitors to experience life outside their daily routine and projecting representations of used space. This phenomenon is more acute in the case of Parc Safari, which stands as a representation of Africa in Quebec. The performances of the locale and the peasantry used by the region, mainly by the Circuit du Paysan, mobilize a representation of agricultural land that is the result of the need to inspire visitors. It offers visitors another experience. Indeed, the concept of terroir in Quebec does not have the historical basis it has in Europe (Beaudet, 2006). This is especially true for the production of wines and ciders in the area, which are not historical activities but alternative agricultural practices issuing from the growing popularity of gourmet tourism. In both cases, there is a fantasized narrative construction of rural areas that addresses urban tourists. One is a fantasized rural elsewhere, the other is a romanticized rural sense of place, but both are a creation of tourism narratives.

An opening towards the surrounding areas struggling to give the desired results

In the dialectic of closure to and dependence on the surroundings, the Parc Safari differs from practices presented in the literature. If the difference between the African narration and the narration of rural tourism generates a clean break between the park and the outside, the park makes efforts to be open to its surroundings. Indeed, packaging efforts with local hotels, campsites and hotels in the city reflect an effort to redistribute economic impacts to the surrounding areas rather than integration within the park of all the tourism functions. The park also displays a willingness to promote the rural areas through its integration within the Circuit du Paysan and through promoting local agricultural products in its publications; this integration into an agritourism circuit is not without contradictions.

Negatively, this opening towards the surrounding areas offers a limited redistribution of tourist traffic because only a limited number of visitors attend other tourist sites during their visit to the Parc Safari. This is partly dependent on the time required to complete the tour of the park. Indeed, with an average visit time of six hours the Parc Safari is a self-contained tourist experience, which brings on the question of the enclosure of theme parks' recreational areas. The visitor passes through the gate in the morning and leaves six hours later to return home. The activity fills a day and the park

is mostly visited by day trippers, which adds to the divergent surrounding rural tourism narratives and makes it difficult to consider the park as a step within a circuit, despite partnership efforts.

One of the avenues considered by the park and territorial planners is to increase the recreational offer of the park and encourage the establishment of complementary services and activities around the park. The objective is to create a real tourist commercial centre. This avenue is risky, however, because as this development could encourage visitors to stay longer in the area and attend other sites, it could also strengthen the self-containment of the park. These situations, potential and actual, bring us to our last dialectical, the one between urban and rural development. As a strong dependency on the surrounding areas of the park increases, so does the dependency of the county planning authorities.

A planning framework at crossroads

As we have seen above, Montreal has a land planning tradition and a restrictive policy to preserve agricultural land. In the case of the Parc Safari, the contradiction between urban and rural development is marked. We can see this not only in narratives that control different facilities: the park needs infrastructure to manage concentration during heavy days of traffic, business services and additional tourist services. On the other side, the development of rural areas surrounding the park limits the non-agricultural settlements and provides strong constraints for tourism development, even though it is presented as desirable by planning documents. If constraints to rural accommodations are a result of this situation, the park would benefit from the establishment of a tourist complex in the vicinity to move from a regional park status to a destination park status. In this context, it could not only increase its attendance but also be less dependent on weather hazards (Milman, 2009). Finally, the spillover effect on other tourist organizations would be increased.

This contradiction is presented in the recognition of tourism stakeholders of the development deficiencies of the Parc Safari owing to the lack of a recreational tourism cluster close to the park. Right now, the current land planning constraints do not allow such development to take place. The neighbouring areas of the park are considered agricultural, and allow rural tourism development centred on a diffused attendance and facilities on the farm. They are intended to generate additional revenue for agricultural activity. It is clear that the current situation is not advantageous to the various stakeholders. While the park does not hesitate to make available its various communication tools to highlight the tourism stakeholders around it, the lack of amenities in its periphery and the difficulty of enabling the park to become a destination for more than a day hamper its capacity for spillover effects.

Conclusion

A theme park can be a major component of a tourism system. Their tendencies to locate at the rural fringe (Didier, 2002) make theme parks an interesting phenomenon to link urban and rural tourism. Indeed, their attractiveness and the flow of visitors they generate can be spectacular. For rural areas, this flow of visitors can be an opportunity to diversify part of this flow to different attractions and facilities. However, the theme park generates some contradictions in its relationship to the surrounding areas and other facilities.

As we can see in the case of Parc Safari in Montreal, high attendance and a steady flow of visitors do not automatically create a destination. The surroundings might not be ready to accommodate and supply tourists with all the services and amenities they need. Particularly in a context where rural tourism stands on low intensity, authenticity and agrarian landscape, a theme park is often based on a high density of visitors, imagined or fantasized space and a built environment. Even when the local stakeholders make an effort to collaborate, the discourses and expectations of those two forms of tourism do not necessarily complement each other. The constraints of rural development and the needs for the density and attendance of theme parks do not naturally go hand in hand. Therefore, we need to call for a middle ground to create gateways between the two logics. These gateways could be through the forms of common narratives and bridging land planning rules to consider (re)producing a common tourism space.

Finally, more research on the way theme parks shape and interact with their host community is needed. Theme parks have been studied mostly as a self-contained phenomenon and as a cultural artefact, but not as a socio-geographical phenomenon. Our study explored three dialectics to analyse the interaction of the Parc Safari with its host community and the local tourism system. These dialectics bring to light some interesting findings on the actual case, but we need more cases to refine these dialectics and better understand the complex relationship between theme parks and their host community.

References

Anton Clavé, S. (2007) *The Global Theme Park Industry*. CAB International, Wallingford, UK.

Anton Clavé, S. (2010) Leisure parks and destination redevelopment: the case of Port Aventura, Catalonia. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events* 2(1), 68–78.

Baron-Yelle, N. and Anton Clavé, S. (2014) Leisure parks: components and creators of the new urban landscapes? *Loisir et Société / Society and Leisure* 37(1), 37–41.

Beaudet, G. (2006) La géographie du tourisme gourmand. *Téoros* 25(1), 10–14.

Canada Economic Development (2006) *L'état du tourisme en Montérégie Ouest: Portrait et diagnostic*. DEC, Montréal, Quebec, Canada.

Davis, S. (1997) *Spectacular Nature: Corporate Culture and the Sea World Experience.* University of California Press, Berkeley, California.

Didier, S. (2002) L'ambiguité de l'expérience Disneyland en matière de gestion des flux de visiteurs. *Flux* 4(50), 34–43.

Dugas, C. (1981) *Un pays de distance et de dispersion.* Presses de l'Université du Québec, Sainte-Foy.

Hall, D. (2011) Tourism in semi-rural environments: sustainability issues and experience from the Baltic States. In: Macleod, D. and Gillespie, S.A. (eds) *Sustainable Tourism in Rural Europe: Approaches to Development.* Routledge, London, pp. 75–90.

Marling, K.A. (1997) *Designing Disney's Theme Parks: The Architecture of Reassurance.* Centre Canadien d'Architecture, Montréal, Quebec, Canada.

Milman, A. (2009) Evaluating the guest experience at theme parks: an empirical investigation of key attributes. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 11, 373–387.

Mitrasinovic, M. (2006) *Total Landscape, Theme Parks, Public Space.* Ashgate, Aldershot, UK.

MRC Jardins-de-Napierville (2014a) *Schéma d'aménagement et de développement révisé.* MRC Jardins-de-Napierville, St-Michel, Quebec, Canada.

MRC Jardins-de-Napierville (2014b) *Schéma d'aménagement et de développement, révisé.* MRC Jardins-de-Napierville, St-Michel, Quebec, Canada.

Phillips, D. (1999), Narrativised spaces: the functions of story in the theme park. In: D. Crouch (ed.) *Leisure/Tourism Geographie: Practices and Geographical Knowledge.* Routledge, New York, pp. 91–108.

Pinggong, Z. (2013) *Culture and Ideology at an Invented Place.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle, UK.

Price, H. (2004) *Walt's Revolution! By the Numbers.* VP Publishing, Orlando, Florida.

Québec (1978) *Loi sur la protection du territoire et des activités agricoles.* Québec, Québec, Canada.

Sorkin, M. (1992) Introduction: variation on a theme park. In: Sorkin, M. (ed.) *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space.* Noonday, New York, pp. 205–232.

Themed Entertainment Association (2014) Global Attrations Attendance Report. Available at: http://www.teaconnect.org/images/files/TEA_103_49736_150603.pdf (accessed 18 March 2016).

Urry, J. (1995) *Consuming Places.* Routledge, London.

Yin, R.K. (2003) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods.* Sage, London.

12 Connecting Urban to Rural: Can the San Francisco–Napa Valley Relationship be Facilitated in Pennsylvania?

ALEXIS SOLANO* AND CHRISTOPHER PROCTOR

USDA Rural Development, Washington, DC, USA

Introduction

San Francisco and Napa Valley have a unique relationship. Both are tourist destinations on their own but also have the infrastructure in place to ensure convenient access between the two areas. San Francisco boasts attractions such as the Golden Gate Bridge, Alcatraz Island and Pier 39. Napa Valley is one of the world's most notable wine-producing regions. San Francisco is linked to Napa Valley through air travel, public transportation (Bay Area Rapid Transit – BART) and private transportation (San Francisco Bay Ferry). To add to this ease of access, many tour companies transport visitors in San Francisco to and from Napa Valley wineries. Visitors can experience both areas in a relatively short amount of time.

It may be possible to facilitate a similar relationship between other tourist destinations, such as Philadelphia and the wineries in its surrounding counties. Philadelphia has many historical attractions as well as a vibrant nightlife. Philadelphia is located near four counties (Bucks, Chester, Delaware and Montgomery) that contain several wineries. Though some infrastructure is in place, the transportation links that San Francisco and Napa Valley have do not exist within the Philadelphia region.

The research presented in this chapter is a comprehensive guide for those entities, such as tour companies, who may be interested in establishing this relationship. First, the relationship between San Francisco and Napa Valley will be examined to understand whether Philadelphia and the surrounding counties may enjoy the same benefits. Then, Philadelphia and the wineries located near the city will be discussed. This discussion

* E-mail: alexis.solano@wdc.usda.gov

will include Philadelphia's tourist sites, the wineries and the attractions they currently provide, and the existing transportation links and wine tours. Finally, a method to determine the demand for wineries, the travel cost method (TCM),[1] will be presented. The TCM examines the potential and actual visitors' demand for visiting wineries. This method considers the costs of travelling, the prices of wineries' substitutes and complements, visitors' household income, and visitors' preferences and tastes for wineries and their attractions. Hypothetical attractions are also included as they may interest potential and actual visitors.

Ultimately, this chapter will provide a methodology to explore whether such links are possible between Philadelphia and wineries based on the demand for wineries. This research does not provide data analysis. The goal of this research is to present a starting point to wineries, tour companies or other entities, such as local government, so that they can determine if this demand exists. These entities, if interested, may want to consider consulting with a researcher to assist with the data collection, its analysis and the interpretation of the results.

The San Francisco–Napa Valley Relationship

San Francisco/Bay Area visitor characteristics and economic impact

San Francisco consistently ranks as a top vacation destination in the USA. According to Trip Advisor (2015), San Francisco was ranked by the website's users as the sixth best destination in the USA. Some of the city's major attractions include the Golden Gate Bridge, Pier 39, the Asian Art Museum and Alcatraz Island (San Francisco Travel Association, n.d.a). In 2013, San Francisco attracted nearly 17 million visitors to the area; visitor spending in local businesses accounted for over US$9.3 billion, generated over $600 million in tax revenue and supported over 67,000 jobs (San Francisco Travel Association, n.d.b). California residents represent the majority of visitors, although the city draws many visitors from the wealthiest cities around the United States (San Francisco Travel Association, n.d.b). A survey released by the San Francisco Travel Association (n.d.c) found that 75% of visitors travelled to the city for leisure purposes and over half of respondents said they were on 'vacation' or a 'getaway weekend'.

Napa Valley visitor characteristics and economic impact

Napa Valley American Viticultural Area, located in Napa County, is also a premier tourist destination in California and the USA. Trip Advisor's users ranked Napa Valley second in the top ten winery regions in the USA (Napa Valley Register, 2012). This world renowned wine-producing region is located roughly 60 miles (96 km) north of San Francisco, which is the most commonly used gateway into Napa Valley (Destination Analysts, 2015).

According to a 2014 survey, Napa County hosted over 3 million visitors and tourism generated $1.63 billion in visitor spending, $64.2 million in tax revenues and supported an estimated 11,776 jobs (Destination Analysts, n.d.). The wine industry remains the primary driver of the local economy. A 2011 study showed that the Napa County wine industry had an economic impact of over $13 billion, supported 46,000 jobs and generated $1.05 billion in wine-related tourism expenditures. Direct-to-consumer sales accounted for nearly a quarter-billion dollars and brought in over $4.5 billion in revenue. Napa County bottled wine accounted for 20% of California's total wine produced and 17.5% of total wine produced in the United States (Stonebridge Research Group, 2012).

Napa Valley attractions

Geography plays a major role in the success of the Napa Valley. According to Napa Valley Vintners (2016), the region is one of the few places in the world with a Mediterranean climate, experiencing warm dry days and cool nights that create an environment conducive to growing grapes to produce wine. Though Napa Valley is known internationally, its growing area is small with strict environmental regulations (Napa Valley Vintners, 2016).

Napa Valley is home to more than 400 wineries, 95% of which are family-owned and operated (Visit Napa Valley, n.d.a). Of these 400-plus wineries, 250 are open to visitors, offering more than just wine tastings. Several have wine and food pairings or culinary classes where visitors can participate in culinary demonstrations (Visit Napa Valley, n.d.b). Many wineries hold special events, like concerts, themed parties and special tastings.

Many of the attractions separate from non-winery entities are centred around wineries, including outdoor recreation (Napa Valley, 2016). For example, visitors can take bike tours around the wineries. Hot air balloons provide visitors with a different perspective on the wineries and vineyards. Horseback riding tours take visitors around the countryside. Many golf clubs have their own restaurants which serve local wine, as do spas and resorts (Napa Valley, 2016). If visitors prefer to see the area on a guided tour, the Napa Valley Wine Train offers several wine tours through the valley while serving gourmet meals on-board.

There are also attractions that complement/support the wineries. Visitors can swim, boat or fish in the Napa River. Parks have trails, picnic areas and natural history; some permit visitors to bring their dogs (Napa Valley, 2016). Shopping, arts and culture, and a vibrant nightlife are available in the towns and cities located near wineries. Boutiques and outlets offer a wide variety of items, from cigars to artwork. Several galleries showcase local artists, while museums present the history of Napa Valley. During the evening, there are many options for live music and theatre. Those who are interested in culinary experiences can try any of the several restaurants and/or non-winery based culinary classes, most of which serve local wine. Moreover, breweries, distilleries and olive oil producers also have tastings.

Another support for winery visits is the great number of hotels, inns, resorts, and bed and breakfasts. Napa Valley (2016) lists nearly 160 establishments in six towns. Lodging varies from RV compounds to luxury spa resorts.

Transportation infrastructure

If visitors decide they would like to participate in activities in both Napa Valley and San Francisco, they have ways to get to both areas. San Francisco and Napa Valley are supported by visitor-friendly transportation that caters to a wide variety of preferences. One popular form of transportation is BART, a regional rail service. BART is accessible from the San Francisco International Airport (SFO) and Oakland International Airport (OAK), and connects to NAPA Valley through the Napa County bus service. Valley Intercity Neighborhood Express (VINE) provides transportation to the El Cerrito del Norte BART Station through its Regional Route 29 (Vine Transit, 2015). VINE also has eight local routes in the city of Napa, five regional routes and three inter-county routes. Instead of utilizing BART, visitors can take the San Francisco Ferry, which departs from the San Francisco Ferry Building, AT&T Park or Pier 41, to the Vallejo Terminal (San Francisco Bay Ferry, n.d.). Visitors then connect with Napa Valley through VINE at the Vallejo Transit Center.

The Napa Valley Wine Train is accessible through the San Francisco Ferry, SFO and OAK. Visitors travelling to Napa Valley on the San Francisco Ferry have access to the morning Wine Train shuttle via the Vallejo Ferry terminal. The Wine Train shuttle will also return visitors to this terminal in the early evening (Napa Valley Wine Train, n.d.). Travellers arriving via SFO or OAK have a shuttle option through Evans Airport Shuttle. This service operates seven days a week, runs approximately every two hours, and provides service to over 50 Napa Valley hotels (Evans, Inc., 2009). Visitors from select regional cities can fly into Santa Rosa's Charles M. Schulz-Sonoma County Airport (STS) via daily Alaska Airlines flights. STS is about 30 miles (48 km) from Napa Valley and is accessible from Seattle, Los Angeles, Portland, San Diego and Las Vegas. Private pilots may fly their aircraft directly into Napa County Airport located five miles (8 km) south of Napa City (Napa Valley Wine Train, n.d.).

Also, several tour companies transport visitors from San Francisco to Napa Valley. Viator will pick up visitors from their hotels in the city and take them to several wineries. Grayline offers visitors a guided tour of Napa Valley (Grayline, 2016). San Francisco Wine Tours provides visitors with a luxury wine tour. TripAdvisor (2016) lists many other wine tour companies in the area.

Once in Napa, visitors have several options to travel the region in different ways. Tours allow visitors to explore the area by walking, limousine, hot air balloon, train, personal driver, aeroplane or luxury chauffeur. Visitors can also create their own tour by selecting different destinations and generating a personal map that shows visitors the best route for their selected destinations (Visit Napa Valley, n.d.c).

This transportation infrastructure has made travelling between San Francisco and Napa Valley much easier. Both areas have prospered independently but have benefited together by having this connection. If they prefer, visitors can enjoy each destination in the same vacation or business trip. It may be feasible to implement this type of relationship between cities with high visitation rates and wineries located close by, only if there is demand for these wineries. The next section will examine the possibility that the same relationship can be facilitated between Philadelphia and nearby wineries.

Connecting Philadelphia and Nearby Wineries

Philadelphia visitor characteristics and economic impact

Philadelphia has many tourist attractions, several of them historical as the city was founded over 300 years ago. According to Visit Philadelphia (2015), the top attractions in the city are Reading Terminal Market, Liberty Bell Center, Independence Hall, Independence Visitor Center, Philadelphia Zoo, Franklin Institute, Franklin Square, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Rocky Statue and Rocky Steps, National Constitution Center and Betsy Ross House. The city itself is a United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage City (Philly.com, 2015). There are also attractions close to the city, such as the Valley Forge National Historical Park, Longwood Gardens and Winterthur Museum.

Philadelphia attracts a considerable number of leisure and business visitors. Table 12.1 shows the increase in visitors from 1997 to 2014.

Visitors come from all over the USA, though in 2013 the majority (57.7%) travelled from the Middle Atlantic region (Visit Philadelphia, 2014), which is inclusive of Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey (US Census Bureau, n.d.a). Visitors from the South Atlantic region were 22.9% of total visitors, while 5.6% were from New England and 5.1% were from the East North Central region. The remainder of the US Census designated regions each contributed less than 2.5% (US Census Bureau, n.d.a).

The economic impact of the tourism industry on the city has been considerable. In 2014, the industry generated nearly $10.4 billion, or about $28.6 million a day, in the Greater Philadelphia area. There were 92,000 jobs related to visitor spending in the region, which produced $655 million in

Table 12.1. Increase in type of visitor from 1997 to 2014 (in millions). (From: Visit Philadelphia, 2015.)

Year	1997	2014	Total increase (%)
Domestic	26.66	39.67	48.80
Overnight business	1.39	2.10	51.11
Day business	2.48	2.57	3.63
Overnight leisure	7.30	13.90	90.41
Day leisure	15.50	20.99	35.42

taxes. In 2013, hotels in the region had a 67% occupancy rate for the 12.8 million rooms available. The total revenue for hotel rooms, based on the average daily rate of $130.35, was $1.12 billion (Visit Philadelphia, 2014). In Center City alone, the number of hotel rooms increased from 254,000 in 1997 to 948,000 in 2014, or by 273% (Visit Philadelphia, 2015).

Both business and leisure visitors have a great effect on Philadelphia's economy. However, there may be a way to increase this effect not only on the city itself, but also on the surrounding areas. As shown in the previous section, San Francisco and Napa Valley have a mutually beneficial relationship. Philadelphia and the surrounding counties, home to many wineries, may be able to cultivate that same type of relationship. Demand for wineries could be increased, based on what wineries currently offer and what they could potentially offer visitors.

Wineries near Philadelphia[2]

There are four counties (Bucks, Chester, Delaware and Montgomery, also called the Philadelphia countryside; Visit Philadelphia, 2016) close to Philadelphia in which several wine producers are located. Table 12.2 shows the county and city/town where the wineries are located, the names of the wineries, if the wineries have adjacent vineyards, the distance of the winery from Philadelphia and if the wineries have special events in addition to tastings. Most of the wineries produce several varietals and some produce wine from other fruits. In Bucks County, there is no more than 15 miles (24 km) between each winery. In Chester, Delaware and Montgomery Counties, this distance is 12 miles (19 km), 10 miles (16 km) and 12 miles (19 km), respectively. While there are several wineries in this area, the Philadelphia countryside does not have the same winery-centred tourism as Napa Valley.

Philadelphia countryside attractions

Unlike Napa Valley, Philadelphia has a humid continental climate. The city and its surrounding counties are situated on flat land, which does not drain efficiently (The Pennsylvania State Climatologist, n.d.). These factors contribute to an environment that is less conducive to growing grapes. Also, the four counties that comprise the Philadelphia countryside have a greater total population (US Census Bureau, n.d.a.) than Napa County (US Census Bureau, n.d.b.). However, each of these four counties has less land area and a greater ratio of residents per square mile. In other words, Napa County has more land available to grow grapes. The population and climate differences, however, do not mean that the Philadelphia countryside's wineries do not have much to offer in terms of attractions.

Most of the wineries located in each of the four counties have wine tastings. Several also host special events, such as weddings, corporate events

Table 12.2. Wineries near Philadelphia.

County	City/town	Name	Vineyard	Distance from Philadelphia (in miles/km)	Special events
Bucks	Buckingham	Buckingham Valley Vineyards and Winery	Yes	37.9/ 60.9	Tastings Only
Bucks	Washington Crossing	Crossing Vineyard and Winery	Yes	34.5/55.5	Yes
Bucks	New Hope	The New Hope Winery	No	40.2/64.7	Yes
Bucks	Chalfont	Peace Valley Winery	No	34.2/55	Yes
Bucks	Newtown	Rose Bank Vineyard	Yes	31.9/51.3	Yes
Bucks	Jamison	Rushland Ridge Vineyard and Winery	Yes	28.8/46.3	Tastings Only
Bucks	Erwinna	Sand Castle Winery	No	47.7/76.7	Yes
Bucks	Quakertown	Unami Ridge Winery	No	45.8/73.7	Tastings Only
Bucks	Furlong	Wycombe Vineyards	Yes	37.2/59.8	Tastings only
Chester	Coatesville	Black Walnut Winery	No	47.6/76.6	Yes
Chester	Landenberg	Borderland Vineyard	Yes	50.7/81.6	Yes
Chester	Kennett Square	Flickerwood Wine Cellars	No	38.7/62.2	Yes
Chester	Kennett Square	Galer Estate Vineyard	Yes	36.6/58.9	Yes
Chester	West Grove	Kreutz Creek Vineryards	Yes	45.9/73.8	Yes
Chester	Landenberg	Paradocx Vineyard	Yes	47.5/76.4	Yes
Chester	Coatesville	Stargazers Winery	No	46.5/74.8	Yes
Chester	Avondale	Va La Vineyards	Yes	43.7/70.3	Yes
Delaware	Chadds Ford	Chaddsford Winery	No	36.0/57.9	Yes
Delaware	Chadds Ford	Penn Woods Winery	No	28.0/45.0	Yes
Montgomery	Landsdale	Boyd's Hollow Cardinal Winery	No	26.0/41.8	Yes
Montgomery	Telford	County Creek Winery	Yes	36.8/59.2	Yes
Montgomery	Landsdale	Patone Cellars	Yes	26.0/41.8	No tastings/ events[a]

Note: [a]Winery is not open to the public.

and bridal showers. Some wineries have concerts or music nights, game nights, wine and cooking classes, and holiday dinners/parties. In addition to wineries, the Philadelphia countryside has many other attractions.

All four counties have much for visitors to experience. Visitors will find shopping, historical sites and museums, outdoor recreation and restaurants.

Bucks County has attractions, such as the Washington Crossing Historic Park, several golf clubs, brewery and distillery tours, and theatres. Chester County's attractions include Longwood Gardens, historic towns and the Brandywine Ballet. Delaware County offers the Brandywine River Art Museum, the Brandywine River Antiques Market and several theatres. Valley Forge Park, Valley Forge Casino Resort and the Bryn Athyn Historic District are just a few of the attractions in Montgomery County.

Unlike Napa Valley, these varied and numerous attractions do complement wineries, but they do not incorporate the wineries as part of the tourism experience. For example, visitors can take bike tours of Napa Valley vineyards. The Philadelphia countryside does not have this activity. The issue of integrating wineries into attractions offered by other entities is one that should be considered when determining if the San Francisco–Napa Valley relationship could be facilitated in Pennsylvania.

Transportation infrastructure

Currently, the primary mode of transportation from Philadelphia to wineries is by car. For the wineries in Chester and Delaware Counties, the interstates that visitors can use are I-95, I-276 and I-76W. Visitors can use I-95, I-476 and I-76 to access the wineries in Bucks and Montgomery Counties.

The public transportation system in Philadelphia, the Southeastern Philadelphia Transportation Authority (SEPTA), does have a regional rail system with stations close to at least one winery in each of the counties (SEPTA, n.d.). A One Day Individual or Family Independence pass would offer visitors unlimited travel on SEPTA for one day. However, further transportation would be needed. Visitors may also utilize Uber and taxis, although such services may be expensive. For example, if a visitor leaves from Independence Hall to visit Unami Ridge Winery, the cost of using Uber one-way would be from $61 to $250 depending on the type of vehicle selected (Uber, n.d.). To visit the same winery using a taxi, the total cost of a one-way trip (with 15% tip) would be $129.20 (Taxi Fare Finder, 2016).

There are few winery tours. In Chester County, the Brandywine Valley Wine Trail leads visitors to Black Walnut Winery, Borderland Vineyard, Kreutz Creek Vineyards and Paradocx Vineyard. This tour is self-guided, and visitors can stop at museums and other nearby tourist attractions. Restaurants and hotels are also located near the trail. Group visits of six or more must notify the wineries before the visit. Buses and limousines must be approved by the wineries as many of the wineries are small and may not be able to accommodate these vehicles (Brandywine Valley Wine Tour, n.d.).

The Bucks County Wine Trail includes all of the county's wineries. Transportation is not provided for this tour. There is one company, Tasting & Tours, headquartered in New Hope, Pennsylvania, which takes visitors

to three wineries. This tour also includes lunch at a local restaurant. Though Tasting & Tours transports visitors to wineries, the company only picks up visitors in three towns in Bucks County. Trophy Limousine, located in Philadelphia, offers wine tours to Bucks County.

While tours and ways to get to the wineries do exist, there are no tour companies, with the exception of Trophy Limousine, that pick up visitors either in Philadelphia or at another specified location, such as a SEPTA rail station located close to a winery. As the description of the San Francisco–Napa Valley relationship demonstrated, wineries, local businesses, tour companies and public/private transportation can work in conjunction to increase visitation. However, to determine if such a relationship can be established between Philadelphia and its surrounding counties, demand for visiting wineries must be examined.

Owners of wineries or tour companies who are interested in creating a tourism link between Philadelphia and nearby wineries may benefit from determining this demand. Preferences for possible attractions and transportation should be obtained when determining demand as this information may have an impact. If the demand is great enough, either tour companies or the wineries themselves may decide to provide and/or arrange transportation from the Philadelphia region. One method that is often used to determine such demand is the travel cost method (TCM).

The Travel Cost Method

Several studies have used the TCM for determining demand for recreational sites. These studies take into account sites' attributes and/or attractions. Attributes, such as location or quality of the site, may influence demand. For example, Font (2000) found that the area in which the recreational site is located helps to promote the site itself. Johnstone and Markandya (2006) examined river site choice and found that rivers with higher quality attribute levels were preferred by those surveyed. Attractions (e.g. available activities), may enhance the experience of visiting the site. Shrestha *et al.* (2002) found that, as recreational fishing in wetlands was an extremely important activity to visitors, similar activities would increase the benefits of the site. Wineries may also offer additional attractions and attributes that visitors may enjoy. These additions may have a positive effect on the demand for visiting wineries.

In this research, the recreational sites are wineries. Based on their origin, visitors to wineries face varied costs, including the prices for accessing and participating in the activities. From these costs/prices, along with other factors enumerated below, demand for wineries can be determined. In order to collect this information, a survey would be distributed to a random sample (Boardman *et al.*, 2006, p. 354). Demand could then be found by analysing the data collected.

The demand by an individual, q, is expressed as a function of the price of actually visiting a particular winery (known as the own price), P, the price of substitutes (competing winery sites and alternative non-winery recreational sites), p_s, the visitor's income, Y, and the visitor's tastes and preferences, Z:

$$q = f\left(p, p_s, Y, Z\right) \qquad \text{[eqn 12.1]}$$

(Boardman *et al.*, 2006, p. 354). The authors have adapted this equation slightly to include a, which are the attractions that a recreational site potentially provides. The resulting equation is:

$$q = f\left(p, p_s, Y, Z, a\right) \qquad \text{[eqn 12.2]}$$

The full (complete) own price, P, of visiting the winery is a compilation of a visitor's opportunity cost of the time spent travelling to and from these wineries and the cost of travelling (fuel costs, tolls, the cost of the mode of transportation, lodging, vehicle use, admission costs, winery activity fees, etc.) (Boardman *et al.*, 2006, p. 354). The costs of visiting other recreation sites should be counted if these additional sites are visited on the same day as the wineries (complements). Complements may also be added to the right-hand side of the equation in one of two other ways: (i) as a distinct monetary value or (ii) as a dummy variable. To obtain the own price, the value of the time spent travelling and visiting the winery (opportunity costs) is converted into a monetary unit and then added to the financial costs of visiting. The common way to value the opportunity costs of travelling and visiting is to derive a monetary estimate based on the hourly wage of the visitor. This wage is the amount of compensation the visitor would have earned working instead of taking the trip.

The price of substitutes, p_s, is the prices of other activities or admission to different recreational sites. Visiting these sites or engaging in other activities is what visitors could be doing instead of visiting a particular winery. However, if an individual visits one of these sites in addition to a particular winery, that site would be considered as a complement. The researcher must review survey responses carefully to make the distinction.

If the researcher chooses to survey one visitor of all the visitors from the same household, the visitor's income, Y, should include all household income. If not, income may not be accounted for accurately. However, the researcher may decide to survey each member of the household as a separate observation to gain more information.

Visitor tastes and preferences, Z, may vary greatly among respondents. For example, some visitors may prefer a winery that has an adjoining restaurant; others may prefer to visit a restaurant in the town where the winery is located. One visitor may want to do a multiple-winery tour in one day; another may want to visit only one winery per day. Also, preferences for transportation should be asked about if researchers or wineries are interested in determining if that might be a factor in demand.

To find out which, if any, attractions would increase the number of visits to wineries, researchers may incorporate a set of hypothetical questions into *a*. These questions would comprise potential attractions that would enhance the winery experience, like special events hosted by the winery or scenic areas that visitors can explore. Attractions would be provided by either wineries or other entities, such as nearby towns. Table 12.3 lists some of the attractions the researcher may want to consider. The attractions presented are starting points that may be expanded upon by the researcher. Respondents would be given hypothetical questions about which attractions would be provided by wineries and/or by other entities. They would then state which attractions they would prefer and how many more visits they would make.

As mentioned above, to obtain this information, researchers would conduct a random sample survey. Potential visitors are surveyed about their preferences, their actual visits to the sites, the costs of their visits, their income and any other relevant information (Boardman *et al.*, 2006, p. 354). This sample would include four groups: visitors to Philadelphia who are not planning to visit wineries; Philadelphia residents who have not visited wineries; visitors to Philadelphia who have visited or plan to visit wineries during their trip; and Philadelphia residents who have visited or plan to visit wineries. The sites where respondents are surveyed would be determined by the researcher. The researcher might also survey respondents by telephone or through a combination of sites and by telephone. The table in the appendix shows a list of possible survey questions.

The resulting estimation of this equation will produce an empirical functional relationship of visitation and the price of travel and other variables (whether the effects of the variables are positive or negative). Another result of the estimation allows for predictions of visitation to

Table 12.3. Possible attractions offered by wineries and by other entities.

Wineries' attractions
Hosting events like weddings, showers and corporate retreats
Restaurants and bed and breakfasts adjoined to the winery
Musical events and concerts
Holiday activities
Other events such as movie or game nights
Vineyard tours (if winery has a vineyard)
Wine trails or tours
Culinary classes and wine pairing demonstrations
Purchased wine is shipped to visitor's home
Ability to purchase wine via website
Other entities' attractions located near wineries
Restaurants and hotels or bed and breakfasts
Museums
Tourist shopping areas
Scenic areas (e.g. parks) available to explore
Historic towns or cities

change if there are changes in the right-hand side variables. If SEPTA were to receive an increase in funding at the local, state and/or national levels, rail fares may be lowered. This reduction in fares could lead to a decrease in the own price and an increase in winery visitation.

From the answers provided to the questionnaires, demand can be estimated. The wineries and/or interested tour companies can quantify the answers into variables. After the OLS regression has been completed, the interested parties should examine the coefficients (betas) for significance, especially Z and a. The signs and significance of the coefficients for these variables may indicate how much interest visitors, both actual and potential, have in transportation between Philadelphia and the wineries and the attractions that could be offered to them.

The TCM does have limitations. One such limitation is the estimation of costs. Opportunity costs may not be accurately estimated. The costs of travelling, such as the cost of vehicle operation, may not be accurately accounted for either. As mentioned previously, if the visit to the winery included visits to other recreational sites, these visits must also be included in the cost of the trip (Boardman *et al.*, 2006, p. 360). There may be econometric issues as well. One issue is that visitors may decide, at the same time, not only to travel to a winery but how much the visit will cost as well. This problem is called endogeneity, which could arise because visitors who live close to wineries select specific wineries because of short travel time (Boardman *et al.*, 2006, pp. 360–361).

Conclusion

San Francisco and Napa Valley have a relationship that is supported by an infrastructure that links them together. Through both public and private transportation, visitors are able to travel to both areas with relative ease. Tour companies, ferries, BART and the wineries work together to make this connection happen. Both San Francisco and Napa Valley have reaped the economic benefits of visitors to the regions.

Philadelphia, like San Francisco, is an urban tourist destination that attracts millions of visitors yearly. Unlike San Francisco, the infrastructure in place does not support the same relationship to nearby wineries. Also, the wineries in the Philadelphia countryside are not as incorporated in recreation that is provided by non-winery entities. However, visitors to Philadelphia and/or its countryside may be interested in having easy access to wineries and to recreation related to them. First, though, it must be determined if there is demand for the wineries near Philadelphia.

To estimate this demand, the TCM was suggested. TCM has been used in several studies to estimate demand for recreational sites. This method takes into account the visitor's own price, the price of substitutes, the visitor's income, his or her tastes and preferences, and the attractions provided by wineries and other entities as factors that may affect demand. In this

chapter, the authors demonstrated how, if wineries, business organizations and government agencies are interested, information on which attractions visitors prefer can impact demand for wineries. Based on the results obtained, researchers can determine which attractions would increase the number of visits or would encourage potential visitors to consider travelling to wineries. These results may benefit not only wineries but other rural organizations or entities that offer attractions.

Appendix

The questions are grouped by the variable in which the answers would be included. Some of the questions may not necessarily be used in the analysis but may provide additional information to owners of the wineries who can use it to enhance the winery visit experience. This list is by no means exhaustive, nor must every question be used in the surveys. The researcher would decide which questions should be asked of the four groups of respondents (see 'The Travel Cost Method' section) and in what order.

Table 12.4. Possible winery visitor survey questions.

Own price of visiting the winery, p

1	From which city/town and state did you visit?
2	If you are a resident of the Philadelphia region, what is your zip code?
3	If staying overnight, where are you staying? City/town? Hotel, B&B?
4	How much are you paying for the hotel per night?
5	How many days are you staying at the hotel?
6	What is the total cost for your lodging? Include each day you are staying.
7	What was the method of transportation to the city/town and hotel? Please indicate plane, car, train, etc. Include all that apply.
8	How much did this transportation cost?
9	Are you planning to visit or have you visited Bucks, Chester, Delaware and/or Montgomery Counties (the Philadelphia countryside)?
10	If so, what specific attractions will you be seeing/doing or have you seen/done?
11	Are you planning to visit or have you visited any of the wineries in these counties?
12	If so, which wineries in which counties?
13	If not, why not (multiple choice)?
14	If you will visit or have visited wineries, how did you get to them?
15	How much did the transportation to this winery (and to other wineries if applicable) cost?
16	Including all travel (lodging, driving, plane tickets, winery admission, etc.), how much did your entire trip cost?
17	If you are visiting Philadelphia, what did you see or plan to see in the city?
18	When will you visit these other attractions and/or sites?
19	Which type of transportation would you have used?
20	How long would the transportation take?
21	What would have been the cost of transportation?

Continued

Table 12.4. Continued.

Price of substitutes, P_s
    22   If you had decided not to visit a winery, what would you have done instead?
    23   What is the fee or price of admission for this attraction(s) and/or site(s)?
    24   Which type of transportation would you have used?
    25   How long would the transportation take?
    26   What would have been the cost of transportation?
Tastes and preferences, Z
    27   Did you come to the area just to visit Philadelphia?
    28   Did you visit any other tourist areas?
    29   How many hours or days did you spend in Philadelphia?
    30   If you toured any wineries, did you visit them because the wineries are close to
           Philadelphia or because the wineries were the primary purpose of your trip?
    31   How easy was it to get to the wineries?
    32   How long did it take for you to get to the winery from your starting location?
    33   What did you like about the winery?
    34   What didn't you like about the winery?
    35   Did you do just a wine tour/tasting or were you here for a special event?
    36   Did you enjoy your visit enough to visit again?
    37   If not, what would improve the experience?
    38   If there were tours that picked you up and dropped you off at your starting location,
           would you use that method of transportation?
    39   How much would you be willing to pay for that transportation (multiple choice)?
    40   If the tours instead used a central location, would you be willing to use that method
           of transportation?
    41   How much would you be willing to pay for that transportation (multiple choice)?
    42   Would transportation to two or more wineries increase how much you are willing to
           pay for transportation?
Income, Y
    43   How many people, including yourself, are in your group visiting this winery today?
    44   What is the income of each individual in your group including yourself?
Potential attractions, a
Questions using the attractions listed in Table 12.3.
Additional questions that wineries find useful may be included.

Notes

[1] The TCM is not the only method to estimate demand. Random utility models, the zonal TCM and the hedonic model may also be considered.

[2] Visitor and economic data for the counties in which the wineries are located are not available in as much detail as they are for Napa Valley.

References

Boardman, A.E., Greenberg, D.H., Vining, A.R. and Weimer, D.L. (2006) *Cost-benefit analysis: Concepts and practices*, 3rd edn. Pearson Prentice Hall, Upper Saddle River, New Jersey.

Brandywine Valley Wine Tour (n.d.) About Us. Available at: http://www.brandywinetrail.com/about-us.html (accessed 15 June 2015).

Destination Analysts (2015) Visit Napa Valley: 2014 Napa Valley Visitor Profile. Available at: http://sodacanyonroad.org/docs/Napa%20Valley%202014%20Visitor%20Profile%20 Study%20-%20Final%20Report%20of%20Findings.pdf (accessed 14 June 2015).

Destination Analysts (n.d.) Napa Valley Visitor Industry: 2014 Economic Impact Report. Available at: http://sodacanyonroad.org/docs/Napa%20Valley%202014%20Economic%20 Impact%20Report.pdf (accessed 14 June 2015).

Evans, Inc. (2009) Evans Airport Service – Fares and Schedule. Available at: http://evan-stransportation.com/rates_scheduled_airporter.php (accessed 12 July 2015).

Font, A.F. (2000) Mass tourism and the demand for protected natural areas: a travel cost approach. *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management* 39, 97–116.

Grayline (2016) Deluxe Sonoma and Napa Valley Wine Country Tour. Available at: http://www.grayline.com/tours/san-francisco/deluxe-sonoma-napa-valley-wine-country-tour-5966_8 (accessed 31 May 2015).

Johnstone, C. and Markandya, A. (2006) Valuing river characteristics using combined site choice and participation travel cost models. *Journal of Environmental Management* 80(3), 237–247.

Napa Valley (2016) Things to do in Napa Valley. Available at: http://www.napavalley.com/thingstodo (accessed 5 June 2015).

Napa Valley Register (2012) Travel Website Ranks Napa Valley Second to Sonoma. Available at: http://napavalleyregister.com/news/local/travel-website-ranks-napa-valley-second-to-sonoma/article_d1e80c56-199f-11e2-b3b5-001a4bcf887a.html (accessed 5 June 2015).

Napa Valley Vintners (2016) Napa Valley American Viticultural Association (AVA). Available at: https://napavintners.com/napa_valley (accessed 5 June 2015).

Napa Valley Wine Train (n.d.) Winery Tours. Available at: http://winetrain.com/packages/winery-tours (accessed 5 June 2015).

Philly.com (2015) Philadelphia Selected as a World Heritage City. Available at: http://articles.philly.com/2015-11-08/news/68091029_1_world-heritage-city-sister-cities-global-philadelphia-association (accessed 5 June 2015).

San Francisco Bay Ferry (n.d.) Schedule Information. Available at: http://sanfranciscobay-ferry.com (accessed 5 June 2015).

San Francisco Travel Association (n.d.a) Top 20 Attractions in San Francisco. Available at: http://www.sanfrancisco.travel/article/top-20-attractions-san-francisco (accessed 5 June 2015).

San Francisco Travel Association (n.d.b) San Francisco Visitor Industry Statistics. Available at: http://www.sanfrancisco.travel/san-francisco-visitor-industry-statistics (accessed 5 June 2015).

San Francisco Travel Association (n.d.c) San Francisco Travel Association Releases Economic Impact Figures 2010 and Results Year-long Visitor Profile Research. Available at: http://www.sanfrancisco.travel/article/san-francisco-travel-association-releases-economic-impact-figures-2010-and-results-year-long (accessed 5 June 2015).

San Francisco Wine Tours (2016) Luxury Napa & Sonoma Wine Tasting Tour. Available at: https://www.sanfranciscowinetours.com/tours/wine_country_lovers.php (accessed 5 June 2015).

SEPTA (n.d.) Best buys. Available at: http://www.septa.org/fares/new/best-buys.html (accessed 15 June 2015).

Shrestha, R.K., Seidl, A.F. and Moreas, A.S. (2002) Value of recreational fishing in the Brazilian Pantanal: a travel cost analysis using count data models. *Ecological Economics* 42, 289–299.

Stonebridge Research Group (2012) The Economic Impact of Napa County's Wines and Grapes. Available at: http://www.napavintners.com/downloads/napa_economic_impact_2012.pdf (accessed 5 June 2015).

Taxi Fare Finder (2016) How Much Does a Taxi Cab Cost? Available at: http://www.taxifarefinder.com/main.php?city=Philadelphia (accessed 5 June 2015).

The Pennsylvania State Climatologist (n.d.) State Wide Data. Available at: http://climate.psu.edu/data/state.

TripAdvisor (2015) Top 25 Destinations – United States. Available at: http://www.tripadvisor.com/TravelersChoice-Destinations-cTop-g191 (accessed 5 June 2015).

TripAdvisor (2016) Search for Napa Valley Wine Tours in San Francisco. Available at: http://www.tripadvisor.com/Search?q=napa+valley+wine+tours&geo=60713&pid=3825&typeaheadRedirect=true&redirect=&startTime=1454234905870&uiOrigin=MASTHEAD&returnTo=__2F__ (accessed 5 June 2015).

Uber (n.d.) Uber: Philadelphia. Available at: https://www.uber.com/cities/philadelphia (accessed 5 June 2015).

US Census Bureau (n.d.a) Quickfacts: Pennsylvania. Available at: http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/42 (accessed 5 June 2015).

US Census Bureau (n.d.b) Quickfacts: California. Available at: http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/06 (accessed 5 June 2015).

Vine Transit (2015) Route 29. Available at: http://www.ridethevine.com/regional-routes-schedules/route-29 (accessed 5 June 2015).

Visit Napa Valley (n.d.a) Napa Valley Wineries. Available at: http://www.visitnapavalley.com/napa_valley_wineries.htm (accessed 5 June 2015).

Visit Napa Valley(n.d.b) Things To Do: Culinary Adventures in Napa Valley. Available at: http://www.visitnapavalley.com/napa_valley_culinary_adventures.htm (accessed 5 June 2015).

Visit Napa Valley (n.d.c) Local Travel Apps. Available at: http://www.visitnapavalley.com/local_travel_apps.htm (accessed 5 June 2015).

Visit Philadelphia (2014) Visit Philadelphia: 2014 Annual Report. Available at: http://files.visitphilly.com/2014-Visit-Philadelphia-Annual-Report-latest.pdf (accessed 5 June 2015).

Visit Philadelphia (2015) Homepage. Available at: http://www.visitphilly.com/ (accessed 5 June 2015).

Visit Philadelphia (2016) The Wineries and Vineyard Trails of Greater Philadelphia. Available at: http://www.visitphilly.com/itineraries/philadelphia/the-wineries-and-vineyards-trail-of-greater-philadelphia (accessed 5 June 2015).

13 Farm and Food Tourism as a Strategy for Linking Rural and Urban Land, People and Place: The Case of Western North Carolina

Leah Greden Mathews*

Department of Economics, University of North Carolina Asheville, Asheville, North Carolina, USA

Introduction

Tourism takes many forms and some are better than others at promoting local economic development and providing links between rural and urban constituencies. Many rural communities have agricultural fairs and festivals celebrating local products that draw tourists and residents alike. It is quite common for tourist boards to develop themed 'trails' related to food and agriculture, such as Oregon's Hood River County Fruit Loop (http://hoodriverfruitloop.com) and Kentucky's Bourbon Trail (http://kybourbontrail.com). Rural destination sites also abound, including casual farm dinners, overnight farm stays and corn mazes. While all of these activities have the potential to assist visitors in finding attractions that appeal to their sensibilities, in some cases they may not be effectively embedded in the region's natural or cultural resources or provide for much mixing of rural and urban experiences or local residents and visitors.

Oliver and Jenkins (2005) define integrated tourism as 'tourism that is explicitly linked to the economic, social, cultural, natural and human structures of the localities in which it takes place. In practical terms, it is tourism that has clear connections with local resources, activities, products, other production and service activities, and a participatory local community'. (p. 27). A genuinely integrated tourism will, therefore, be effectively embedded *in place*, or inextricably linked both physically and

---

* E-mail: lmathews@unca.edu

culturally with the resources and enterprises that are found in a specific geographic location. A place-based tourism is not likely to be replicated precisely in another location or exported; it can both reinforce regional identity and contribute to regional economic development. As a result, a place-based integrated tourism is more likely to support economic, environmental and social sustainability. Thus farm and food tourism has the potential to offer a form of sustainable integrated tourism because it has both the appeal and the durability of being truly place based.

The farm and food tourism sector – which combines culinary and agritourism – merges elements to create both attractive and effective locally based tourism: commodity and culture, rural and urban, natural and built environments, foreign and domestic visitors and local residents. When authentically derived, it is inherently embedded in place, offered by local entrepreneurs who provide a 'from-the-ground-up' community development mechanism that is attached to the heritage and traditions of the region, both historical and contemporary.

A successful farm and food tourism strategy will have cross-over appeal that is multi-directional and multi-modal: rural residents and visitors participate in urban food and farm-related activities while urban residents and visitors enjoy rural activities. This multi-directional flow of goods, services, people and tourist activity reinforces the integration of rural and urban sectors that strengthens the community and the economy of the region.

One region in which all of these characteristics appear is Western North Carolina (WNC). Using an instrumental case study approach, this chapter unpacks the integrated system of farm and food tourism in WNC into its constituent elements to better understand how its place-based tourism links rural and urban constituencies, forging relationships between its land and resources, people and places.

Agritourism, Culinary Tourism, Farm and Food Tourism

Farm and food tourism encompasses elements of both agritourism and culinary tourism. While each of these terms is explored in more detail, the differentiation provided by Green and Daugherty (2008) is useful to help situate the concepts: culinary tourism is a subset of cultural tourism and posits that food is an expression of culture. Agritourism is typically viewed as a subset of rural tourism and the focus is on-farm activities. Culinary tourism refers to activities both on and off the farm (p. 150). Farm and food tourism thus include elements of rural and cultural tourism and can take place in either rural or urban settings.

Agritourism

While there is no standardized definition of agritourism (Phillip *et al.*, 2010), for the purposes of this chapter agritourism will be defined as in

Rich *et al.* (2012): activities on working farms or other agricultural settings for entertainment or educational purposes. A long list of activities is encompassed by this definition, including farm or winery tours, farm-based lodging, entertainment such as corn mazes or pumpkin patches, pick-your-own operations, farm markets, choose-and-cut Christmas tree farms and other outdoor recreation including horseback riding, birdwatching or hiking.

According to the 2012 Census of Agriculture, between 2007 and 2012 the number of farms reporting income from agritourism and recreational services in the USA jumped 42% (USDA, 2014). While the largest number of farms engaging in agritourism tends to be the states with significant agricultural identities, such as Texas and California, the top five states that lead the way in agritourism sales per farm, Hawaii, New Jersey, Alaska, Utah and Massachusetts, are not states that typically come to mind when one thinks of agriculture (USDA, 2014). This suggests that it is possible for small farms, operations that typically struggle with profitability, to leverage their unique agricultural assets to enhance revenue with agritourism.

On the supply side of the agritourism market, most research has focused on the motivations of farmers to engage in agritourism enterprises (Nickerson *et al.*, 2001; Barbieri, 2013). These include a desire to increase farm income from existing resources and to diversify and smooth seasonal fluctuations in revenue (Nickerson *et al.*, 2001). In addition to economic motivations, for some operations it is a family or entrepreneurial goal, or social objective, that drives the farm to adopt agritourism strategies (Nickerson *et al.*, 2001).

Despite the abundance of research on farmers' economic motivations to engage in agritourism, there are surprisingly few studies that have examined whether farms that engage in agritourism actually realize economic benefits. Agritourism was reported to increase farm income by an average of US$46,000 annually in a 2006 national study of agritourism enterprises (Bondoc, 2009). Green and Dougherty (2008) find that in Door County, Wisconsin, culinary tourism has helped to diversify farm income but has not raised prices that farmers receive for their goods. In a more detailed economic study, Schilling *et al.* (2014) studied farms in New Jersey and found that operations with agritourism enterprises realized positive effects on farm profitability; in addition, the impacts on profits were differentiated by both farm size and type. Smaller farms with a primary focus on farming had larger impacts from agritourism than small 'lifestyle' farms, while larger farms did not realize any statistically significant impacts from engaging in agritourism. While these results are not representative of all agritourism operations in the USA, they suggest that small, dedicated operations may improve their bottom line with agritourism diversification.

On the demand side, there has been shockingly little research on agritourism demand at the national level. Using the 2000 National Survey on Recreation and the Environment, Barry and Hellerstein (2004) estimated

that 62 million Americans, almost 30% of the population, visited farms one or more times in 2000. Carpio *et al*. (2008) use the same national survey data to report that the average number of trips demanded by visitors is 10.3 trips per year, and significant factors affecting farm trip decisions include location of residence, race and gender. They speculate that public support for farm preservation programmes may be due in part to the scenic attractiveness of working farms to tourists. A 2006 study designed to inventory agritourism enterprises in the USA indicates a wide divergence of visitation levels, with farm responses ranging from 0 to 767,101 visitors. The aggregation of these responses suggests an estimated total of 3 million visitors in 2006, a fraction of the visitation that was estimated in previous studies (Bondoc, 2009).

Culinary tourism

Long (2004) defines culinary tourism as 'the intentional, exploratory participation in the foodways of another, participation including the consumption, preparation and presentation of a food item, cuisine, meal system, or eating style considered to belong to a culinary system not one's own' (para. 2). In contrast to sightseeing, she continues:

> Culinary tourism, utilising the senses of taste, smell, touch, and vision, offers a deeper, more integrated level of experience. It engages one's physical being, not simply as an observer, but as a participant as well. (para. 3)

Green and Daugherty (2008) believe that culinary tourism provides communities with a mechanism to herald their cultural heritage while providing quality food and dining experiences and promoting place-based economic development. The World Tourism Organization's (WTO) (2012) characterization of food tourism as sustainable indicates concurrence. They clarify by stating:

> It is not so much about creating in order to attract, but rather attracting visitors to participate in the destination's own cultural reality, well explained and interpreted, through cuisine, local products and all the services and activities that surround them. (p. 11)

The fact that culinary tourism can take place in restaurants, on farms, at farmers markets or other venues suggests that the tourism infrastructure to support culinary attractions is likely to be dispersed among many sites. This may facilitate a local entrepreneur-driven system characterized by a broad distribution of the benefits of the enterprises. According to the WTO's *Global Report on Food Tourism* (2012), it positively impacts the local economy, employment and cultural heritage 'as tourists seek to know not only the local food but its origin and production processes' (p. 9).

Tourist decisions on where to travel can be influenced by food experiences and unique dining opportunities (WTO, 2012). This is true in both

domestic and foreign tourist markets. Christopher L. Thompson, President and CEO of Brand USA, a private marketing firm that promotes the USA as a travel destination, was recently quoted as saying, 'We've recognised culinary as a real driver of tourism, with all the diversity that the United States offers. It is becoming one of the reasons that people are coming to the United States' (Associated Press, 2015). Thompson also indicated that drawing visitors 'to smaller towns and rural areas that also have food stories to tell' is part of Brand USA's goal, which reinforces the opportunities for culinary tourism for communities small and large.

Methods

This research utilizes an instrumental case study approach (Stake, 1995), a method that uses a specific case to develop a broader understanding of an issue. The instrumental approach contrasts with intrinsic and collective case study methods, as described in Crowe *et al.* (2011): an *intrinsic* case study is typically undertaken to learn about a unique phenomenon. The researcher should define the uniqueness of the phenomenon, which distinguishes it from all others. In contrast, the *instrumental* case study uses a particular case (some of which may be better than others) to gain a broader appreciation of an issue or phenomenon. The *collective* case study involves studying multiple cases simultaneously in an attempt to generate a still broader appreciation of a particular issue.

In this research, WNC provides an example of a region whose successful farm and food tourism contributes to a broader understanding of the role that integrated, place-based tourism may play in bridging rural and urban resources, people and places. The specific research question in this case is thus: how does farm and food tourism develop links between rural and urban lands, peoples and places? The case utilizes quantitative and qualitative sources to fully depict the region. Quantitative data examine trends in agriculture and tourism while qualitative sources provide more holistic access to the context, history and nuance of the region.

Case Study: Farm and Food Tourism in Western North Carolina

According to the 2012 Census of Agriculture, North Carolina was ranked fourth in the nation in the number of farms reporting income from agritourism and recreation services, growing an impressive 89% from 2007 (USDA, 2014). This trend seems a natural fit for North Carolina, where both tourism and agriculture are top economic drivers. North Carolina is ranked eighth in the nation in total value of agricultural products sold. Over one-quarter of all land area in NC, and one-third of the area in WNC, is agricultural land (ASAP, 2007; Farmland Information Center, 2012). Likely due to its diverse landscape, including both coastal and mountain environments, and ease of access to a significant portion of the country's population, North Carolina is

the sixth most visited state for travel (Economic Development Partnership of North Carolina, 2015). According to the US Travel Association, domestic travellers spent a record $21.3 billion in North Carolina in 2014, up 5.4% from the previous year (Economic Development Partnership of North Carolina, 2015).

WNC is an 18-county region characterized by a mountainous landscape, a longstanding history of tourism, a thriving local food scene and providing visitors with activities that combine rural and urban characteristics. Due to its mountainous topography, the agricultural history of WNC is one of relatively small, diversified operations. Historically, tobacco provided many farmers in the region with significant income but when federal agricultural policy changed in the 1990s to eliminate longstanding tobacco quotas, more than 3000 farm enterprises were forced to identify new sources of income (Kirby *et al.*, 2007). The community and individual farm transition was assisted by grants funded in part by a settlement with major North Carolina tobacco producers, as well as federal tobacco transition payments. Many growers converted to organic production, ornamentals or other enterprises that were not necessarily traditional to the area (Ammons, 2015). Tobacco barns, often empty, now serve as a picturesque and somewhat nostalgic reminder of that agricultural heritage; 'quilt trails' guide tourists to barns painted with traditional quilt patterns.

Part of the origin story of farm and food tourism in WNC is the successful local food campaign started in 2000 by the Appalachian Sustainable Agriculture Project (ASAP), a local non-profit born of the idea that rebuilding the local food system could help farms survive the tobacco transition (Barcas, 2015). A hallmark of their local food campaign – one of, if not the, earliest in the country – is the now ubiquitous green bumper sticker that states, 'Local Food: Thousands of Miles Fresher'. Like many regions across the country, rebuilding the local food system has provided farm enterprises with consumers hungry for more information about the food they are eating.

The first guidebook to focus on farm and food attractions in WNC, *Farms, Gardens and Country-Side Trails of Western North Carolina*, appeared in 2002. Created by HandMade in America, a non-profit that began operating in 1993 to 'grow economies through craft and creative placemaking' (HandMade in America, n.d.), the book featured farm stands, Christmas tree farms, farm tours, wineries and other attractions. Shortly thereafter, in 2003, Congress designated the Blue Ridge National Heritage Area that includes the mountains of WNC. The Heritage Area identifies agricultural heritage as one of the heritage 'pillars' for the region and thus helps protect and promote rural tourism and economic development throughout the region (BRNHA, 2014, p. 5).

Over a decade later, farm and food tourism activity is bustling in WNC. Though there are not any statistics focusing solely on this tourism segment, indicators of growth can be gleaned from ASAP's Local Food Guide as well as attendance at their annual farm tour. *The Local Food Guide*, an annual publication, lists farms, markets, artisan food producers,

farm stays, restaurants, and other means of accessing and experiencing local farms and their products. Tracking its contents over time provides an indication of the growing interest in local food and farm products as well as the evolution of these enterprises. The 2015 version of the *Guide* lists over 800 entries, including 400 agritourism enterprises, reflecting a growth of over 600% from 2002 (ASAP, 2015). In addition to drop-in farm tours, ASAP sponsors an annual farm tour, a weekend with many farms holding simultaneous open house events for ticketed visitors. In 2014, the farm tour weekend featured 35 farms and drew 2462 visitors who made 5639 farm visits (K. Descieux, Local Food Research Center at Appalachian Sustainable Agriculture Project, personal communication, 17 July, 2015). Though statistics are not available on the percentage of urban visitors, observations suggest that a great number of farm tour participants are urban dwellers from both within and outside the region (ibid). Like many other regions, WNC has a Wine Trail – the number of participants has doubled since its start in 2010 – as well as a Cheese Trail launched by local cheesemakers (Ammons, 2015). The Farm Heritage Trail is specifically designed to attract urban residents and visitors to rural Sandy Mush by providing a cycling trail, events, and lists of farm stores (T. Wells, Buncombe County Agricultural Advisory Board, personal communication, 29 January 2016). And of course, there are community festivals throughout the region heralding the joys of apples, ramps and other locally important or distinct products.

While farm tours and themed trails point visitors to myriad rural settings, farm and food tourism is not merely a rural phenomenon in WNC. The Convention and Visitor's Bureau in the city of Asheville, the most populous city in the region, developed its 'Foodtopia' campaign in 1998. Providing 'foodtopian' profiles of local culinary entrepreneurs including craft brewers, bakeries, a hunter of wild edibles, as well as chefs and restaurateurs, the campaign links visitors to restaurants, bakeries, artisan chocolatiers, craft breweries and other food experiences through its website and storefront window stickers. In addition, many farm-to-table restaurants feature locally grown products, identified through the Appalachian Grown brand. Diners can easily find the over 70 restaurants in Asheville that feature Appalachian Grown product by looking for the icon or individual farm names on menus and storefronts.

Asheville frequently finds itself in the same category as Berkeley, Seattle, New Orleans, Boulder and other well-known 'foodie' destinations due to its many farm-to-fork restaurants and James Beard Award-nominated chefs and restaurateurs. It was named one of 'six small cities with big food scenes' (Pacella, 2014), and one of the city's most popular restaurants, Tupelo Honey Café, was listed among the top ten farm-to-table restaurants in the USA (Camas, 2015). As expected in any such destination, chefs regularly shop the city's 17 tailgate markets to select products they will feature on their menus. However, there are at least two factors that set Asheville apart from most other 'foodie' cities. One is its proximity to the rural areas, which makes it easy to visit a farm in the morning

and consume its bounty just a few hours later in a restaurant, bar or tapas lounge. A second distinguishing feature is the extent to which local products have been integrated into offerings at not only high-end, farm-to-table restaurants but also fast casual restaurants, bars and even movie theatres. Add to this a thriving tourist sector, momentum around experiential tourism, and several non-profit and government agencies working to protect and promote the local farms, and one can begin to understand why farm and food tourism 'works' as a strategy for connecting rural and urban tourism in WNC.

Rural–urban linkages

Tourists have been drawn to Asheville (population 87,000) (US Census Bureau, 2015) for decades and throughout that history, they have likely encountered a blended rural–urban experience. The Biltmore Estate, first opened to the public in 1930, served as both the area's first 'farm-to-table' destination and a long-standing liaison between rural and urban tourist constituencies and experiences. As part of their visit to the Estate, visitors learn that George Vanderbilt founded the nation's first school of forestry and Biltmore Dairy was a commercial powerhouse for decades. More recently, the Biltmore's winery opened to the public (1985), on-site restaurants feature estate-grown products and, in 2010, new exhibits at Antler Hill Village began highlighting the Estate's agricultural history (Biltmore, 2013). The Blue Ridge Parkway, with its 469-mile (754 km) long stretch of scenic motor road stretching from Shenandoah National Park in Virginia to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in Tennessee, also provides a long-standing rural–urban connection for WNC visitors. The road itself is a literal point of connectivity between rural and urban areas. In many places, pastures line the road providing visitors with the opportunity to view, and in some cases experience, traditional mountain agricultural practices. Millions of tourists each year experience both rural and urban WNC via a trip on the Blue Ridge Parkway.

Within the past two decades, however, the links between 'the rural' and 'the urban' tourist experiences have been amplified due in large part to the increased intentionality of farm and food tourism in WNC, especially agritourism. Agriculture is an industry that has often been described as 'multifunctional' (Knickel and Renting, 2000) because it not only provides food, fibre and timber, but can also provide scenic amenities, flood control, pollination, water filtration and other ecosystem services, as well as recreation and a link to a region's cultural heritage. When a region is already a draw for natural amenity-seeking tourists, amplifying the recreation 'function' of agriculture via agritourism is a natural fit.

In 2012, one-third of North Carolina's agritourism operations were located in WNC (Xu and Rich, 2014). If we broaden our definition of agritourism to include any operation with direct-to-consumer (DTC) sales (Schilling *et al.*, 2014), such as those made at farm stands and pick-your-own

operations, the dominance of WNC's enterprises within the state becomes clear. According to the Census of Agriculture, DTC sales in NC increased 9% between 2007 and 2012 (USDA, 2014). However, in WNC, sales grew 69% (ASAP, 2014). In addition, in contrast to both the state-wide and national trends, the region added an impressive 10,000 acres of farmland in the same period (USDA, 2014). The relative strength of agriculture in WNC is no doubt due to the dispersed but coordinated efforts to rebuild the local food system, of which farm and food tourism plays an important role.

Several key elements are working to sustain the rural–urban connections. One is the longstanding heritage tourism tradition of both Asheville (urban) and rural WNC more generally, especially around craft and music. While most craft and music are produced in rural areas, their consumption, either in the form of viewing/listening or purchasing, has traditionally relied on Asheville's urban market. Another feature that helps bind rural and urban tourism is that natural amenities have long been a draw for both WNC residents and visitors alike. The scenic beauty of the mountain landscapes is the primary attraction for visitors to the Blue Ridge Parkway (Mathews *et al.*, 2003) as it was to George Vanderbilt over a century ago (The Biltmore Company, 1997). Much of this scenic beauty is tied directly to agricultural land, with one of the most iconic viewsheds being composed of pasture land in the foreground with forested hillsides in the back, reflecting the traditional small-scale, diversified agricultural practices that have predominated the region.

The region's water resources also promote farm and food tourism in WNC. While there are plenty of water recreators in the region, WNC is one of the top kayak destinations in the country, and the Nantahala Outdoor Center attracts over one million visitors every year (Bacon, 2013). The abundance and pristine quality of the water in the region means that industries, such as craft brewing, are a natural fit for the area. While there are no comprehensive data that capture its volume, it is clear that a significant amount of craft beverage tourism is taking place in WNC, especially around craft beer. Asheville is currently home to 18 breweries (a number that grows each year), which gives the city the highest brewery-per-capita ratio in the nation (Bland, 2014). Forty-four of the 46 breweries in WNC are locally owned (T. Kiss, Craft Beverage Reporter, *Asheville Citizen-Times*, personal communication, 3 February 2016), a clear sign of community embeddedness.

System dynamics

An indicator of integrated tourism is its ability to enhance local development by creating new partnerships that connect previously disparate activities and resources (Jenkins and Oliver, 2001). Examples of these activities abound in WNC, such as the hyper local restaurant or bar that grows its own food, herbs or other key ingredients. Rural and urban

breweries send spent grains to local farms to produce meat consumed in brewpub restaurants. Farms grow key ingredients such as hops, fruit and herbs for inclusion in local brews. Some farms also vertically integrate their operations by processing their bounty into salsas, jams and charcuterie, facilitated by Blue Ridge Food Ventures, a commercial kitchen for budding food entrepreneurs. Market diversification is also occurring among food entrepreneurs. Riverbend Malt House produces malts from North Carolina-produced grains that are frequently used in craft beers. Over time, its malt has also been incorporated into artisan chocolates and other local food products sought after by visitors. The diverse and dynamic manners in which the rural and urban experiences are connected suggest both expanding and maturing networks.

Yet there are efforts underway that suggest even greater maturation of farm and food tourism. Sponsors of farm tours in WNC are currently networking to better coordinate their activities (K. Descieux, Local Food Research Center at Appalachian Sustainable Agriculture Project, personal communication, 17 July 2015), which will help visitors to better identify and differentiate the agricultural enterprises highlighted on the fee-based, drop-in style tours that serve as fundraisers for local non-profits.

There are also opportunities for new or expanded themed 'trails' that could draw new visitor segments to the area and encourage existing visitors to extend their stays or visit new attractions. One potential trail would make visible the historic link between the area's mountainous topography, moonshine production and National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR) heritage, as described in Pierce (2013). Given the popularity of outdoor recreation among visitors and residents alike, recreation activities on food and farms could easily be expanded, such as the Cycle to Farm tour or *al fresco* meals paired with farm hikes. Building on existing wild edible hikes, another trail could link activities and attractions that highlight herbs, the region's genetic biodiversity and other natural products. Most visitors who experience a WNC winery do so at the Biltmore Estate, home to the most visited winery in the country (Biltmore, 2013), but there are 47 other WNC wineries to be discovered. The first guided wine tours in the region began in 2015 (Kiss, 2015), which will help connect visitors to Asheville with wineries in the surrounding area, and additional development of local wine tourism infrastructure is sure to follow. Finally, the region's history of apple production means that the area currently supports nine of the state's 16 cideries and meaderies (NC Beer Guys, 2016). This points to additional opportunities to yoke rural and urban visitor experiences.

It thus appears that WNC provides a model of the integrated tourism described by Oliver and Jenkins (2005). The farm and food tourism links the economic, social, cultural, natural and human elements of the region in an expansive and embedded network of activities that are economically viable, socially important and culturally relevant. The use of both land (soils, plants) and landscape (scenic quality) as inputs into the products enjoyed by food and farm tourists serves as a model for place-based

activities that are embedded in and with a region's natural amenities. The growth of new farm and food enterprises, as well as the increased numbers of participants in them, demonstrates the manner in which the industry has achieved a meaningful scale.

Discussion

What does the case of WNC teach us about how farm and food tourism develops linkages between rural and urban lands, peoples and places? Several key elements emerge.

First, multi-directional and multi-modal connections between rural and urban markets are essential for both the flow of goods *and* people. Baskerville (2013) identified urban influence as a key factor in determining an area's potential for agritourism and the case of WNC demonstrates significant historical and contemporary urban influences. Proximity to urban markets is essential for farmers wishing to command premium prices for products and sufficient revenue to ensure a healthy return on investments in agritourism infrastructure. And of course, the local produce featured in restaurants will taste much better if it is harvested soon before it appears on one's plate. Urban tourists drawn to rural sites and rural residents to urban sites demonstrate additional threads in the cobweb of rural–urban linkages.

A second element that appears central to the success of WNC's farm and food tourism is that the sector's local champions come from many different locations and represent diverse interests. Producer groups, non-profits, government agencies, and travel and tourism professionals representing both rural and urban constituencies all play a role in successful planning and implementation of tourism infrastructure, thus effectively demonstrating Oliver and Jenkins' (2003) network, embeddedness and empowerment characteristics.

The region's success also appears to be due to the fact that the tourism community is dynamic and innovative while staying true to its roots. It has capitalized on current trends including the local food movement, the popularity of craft beverages, the quest for authentic and experiential activities, and a desire to connect across generations and with history. Residents seek to educate visitors about the heritage they are interested in protecting, demonstrating that even significant threats to farm viability can be leveraged as opportunities.

Community benefits

The benefits of an integrated farm and food tourism strategy can be significant for participating communities. One of these benefits is that farm and food tourism may be less susceptible to recessionary swings in visitation. Many agritourism activities have fairly cheap entry costs relative to other

attractions, making them more desirable when budgets are tight. Often these attractions provide benefits that last beyond that day's experience, such as a history lesson, a holiday decoration (Christmas tree or pumpkin) or food products, which can make the experience a wise investment for a traveller looking for activities that 'offer more for less'. Tourists may choose a driving vacation over a trip that requires an airfare purchase, to relatively affordable destinations with an abundance of clustered, diverse activities from which to select – especially if they are within comfortable driving distance of an urban market.

As demonstrated by Schilling *et al.* (2014), agritourism can improve the profitability of small- and medium-sized farms, thus increasing their likelihood of staying in operation. This helps preserve both family and local history and, depending on the operation, may also contribute to a region's cultural legacy through preservation of historic structures, crop production patterns, livestock breeds or plant varietals. Keeping the land viable in agriculture may yield spillover benefits such as scenic quality, water filtration, habitat provision and pollination. This in turn may benefit off-farm residents through improved scenic amenities and, in situations when natural capital is available to substitute for built capital infrastructure expenditures, lower tax payments. Tourists in other sectors, such as water recreation or bird watching, may also benefit.

Perhaps not surprisingly, this cycle can serve to reinforce the embedded and sustainable nature of the farm and food tourism enterprise. In regions where open space provides scenic quality amenities, residents and visitors alike benefit from, and may be willing to pay for, its protection (Mathews, 2012). Identifying places with these positive spillovers can help a region identify local 'hotspots' prime for food and farm tourism. This provides both opportunities for creative financing and additional linkages between key stakeholders that can further protect essential resources (Mathews and Rex, 2011). In WNC, this takes the form of land trusts working with farmers and local governments to finance the purchase of conservation easements on properties that have both significant agricultural production and tourism potential.

Conclusion

Given the recent resurgence of interest in local food systems, the companion compulsion to support local farms, and a tourist demographic seeking authenticity and experiential activities, it is not surprising that farm and food tourism is hitting its stride. However, tourism does not automatically possess the explicit links between the economic, social, cultural, natural and human structures of the region that Oliver and Jenkins (2003) claim are necessary for fully integrated tourism. The case of WNC demonstrates that farm and food tourism can provide an integrated, place-based model of economic development that helps coalesce regional identity while successfully linking rural and urban resources, people and places. The farm and food tourism of WNC has organically developed in such a way that it authentically represents the region's landscape, products and community

values while also protecting natural resources, spurring new enterprises and enhancing the region's sense of place. Future research in this region could further quantify the impact of tourism in the area and examine whether the economic gains from tourism accrue primarily to the rural or urban sectors.

Because of the endogenous characteristics essential to integrated tourism, the specific successes of WNC will not be exactly replicated in other regions. Future research should examine additional regions where farm and food tourism appears to have potential for linking rural and urban resources, people and places. A collective case study of the farm and food tourism profiles from diverse regions would lead to an even broader understanding of how to develop integrated tourism that links rural and urban sectors. Forging a deeper understanding of tourism's multi-modal and multi-directional rural–urban connections could then lead to further investigations of the resiliency of these systems to shocks in economic conditions, weather events and tourism trends.

A significant limitation of this (and most other) research is that it depicts a snapshot of a dynamic system. Though the farm and food tourism of WNC is currently integrated, without sufficient maintenance from tourism sector participants and policy-makers things could pivot in a different direction. Success attracts new businesses, some of which may not be as effectively embedded in the community, nor able to gain connection to the networks necessary for integration or to ensure an authentic tourism product. Though the stakeholders embedded in WNC appear to possess the necessary conditions for sustaining and nurturing the sector, maintenance of the integrated farm and food tourism system must keep pace with changes to the region's land, people and places in order to sustain them.

Note

References

Ammons, J. (2015) *Coming of Age: WNC's Growing Wine and Cheese Industries*. WNC Wine, Cheese & Cider Guide. Mountain Xpress Guides. Available at: http://mountainx. com/guide/wnc-wine-cheese-cider.

Appalachian Sustainable Agriculture Project (ASAP) (2007) Growing Local: Expanding the Western North Carolina Food and Farm Economy. Available at: http://asapconnections. org/downloads/growing-local-expanding-the-western-north-carolina-food-and-farm-economy-full-report.pdf (accessed 16 May 2015).

Appalachian Sustainable Agriculture Project (ASAP) (2014) Local Food Sales Surge in WNC. Available at: http://asapconnections.org/front-page-posts/local-food-sales-surge-wnc (accessed 16 May 2015).

Appalachian Sustainable Agriculture Project (ASAP) (2015) Local Food Guide. Available at: http://www.appalachiangrown.org (accessed 16 May 2015).

Associated Press (2015) Culinary Tourists Drive Growth in US Tourism. Available at: http://www.voanews.com/content/culinary-tourists-drive-growth-in-us-tourism/2875927.html (accessed 31 May 2015).

Bacon, S. (2013) *Testimony of Sutton Bacon, Nantahala Outdoor Center*. House Committee on Natural Resources Subcommittee on Water and Power Hearing on 'A Washington, DC-Based Bureaucratic Invention with Potential Water Conservation Property Rights Impacts: The National Blueways Order'. Available at: http://docs.house.gov/meetings/II/II13/20130717/101167/HHRG-113-II13-Wstate-BaconS-20130717.pdf (accessed 13 April 2017).

Barbieri, C. (2013) Assessing the sustainability of agritourism in the US: a comparison between agritourism and other farm entrepreneurial ventures. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 21(2), 252–270.

Barcas, P. (2015) Regional roots. *Mountain Xpress.* 4 March, p. 12.

Barry, J.J. and Hellerstein, D. (2004) Farm recreation. In: Cordell, H.K. (ed.) *Outdoor Recreation for 21st Century America. A Report to the Nation: The National Survey on Recreation and the Environment*. Venture Publishing, State College, Pennsylvania, pp. 149–167.

Baskerville, B. (2013) Building a GIS Model to Assess Agritourism Potential. PhD Dissertation, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Available at: http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1017&context=geographythesis (accessed 12 June 2015).

Biltmore (2013) Estate History. Available at: http://www.biltmore.com/visit/biltmore-house-gardens/estate-history (accessed 11 June 2015).

Bland, A. (2014) *Big Breweries Move into Small Beer Town and Business is Hopping*. NPR, The Salt, 28 May 2014. Available at: http://www.npr.org/sections/thesalt/2014/05/28/316317087/big-breweries-move-into-small-beer-town-and-business-is-hopping (accessed 12 June 2015).

Blue Ridge National Heritage Area (BRNHA) (2014) The economic benefits of the Blue Ridge National Heritage Area. Available at: http://www.blueridgeheritage.com/sites/default/files/images/PDFs/Research/BRNHA%20Economic%20Impact%20and%20Benefits%20Report%20-%20Final.pdf (accessed 23 June 2015).

Bondoc, I. (2009) Finding Fun in Food Farming Characteristics of US Agritourism Industry. Doctoral dissertation, University of Florida.

Camas, J. (2015) The Top 10 Farm-to-Table Restaurants. Available at: http://www.epicurious.com/archive/diningtravel/restaurants/farmtotable_arvalentien (accessed 12 June 2015).

Carpio, C., Wohlgenant, M. and Boonsaeng, T. (2008) The demand for Agritourism in the United States. *Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics* 33(2), 254–269.

Crowe, S., Robertson, A., Huby, G., Avery, A. and Sheikh, A. (2011) The case study approach. *BMC Medical Research Methodology* 11(100). doi: 10.1186/1471-2288-11-100.

Economic Development Partnership of North Carolina (2015) Fast Facts-2014 Impact of Visitor Spending. Available at: http://partners.visitnc.com/uploads/fast-facts/2014-Visitor-Spending-Fast-Facts.pdf (accessed 31 May 2015).

Farmland Information Center (2012) North Carolina Statistics. Available at: http://www.farmlandinfo.org/statistics/north%20carolina (accessed 16 May 2015).

Green, G.P. and Dougherty, M.L. (2008) Localizing linkages for food and tourism: culinary tourism as a community development strategy. *Community Development* 39(3), 148–158.

HandMade in America (n.d.) HandMade in America. Available at: http://www.handmadeinamerica.org/about.html (accessed 14 December 2014).

Jenkins, T. and Oliver, T. (2001) *Integrated Tourism: A Conceptual Framework* (SPRITE Deliverable 1). University of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales.

Kirby, L., Jackson, C. and Perrett, A. (2007) *Growing Local: Expanding the Western North Carolina Food and Farm Economy*. Appalachian Sustainable Agriculture Project. Available at: http://asapconnections.org/downloads/growing-local-expanding-the-western-north-carolina-food-and-farm-economy-full-report.pdf (accessed 13 April 2017).

Kiss, T. (2015) WNC wineries getting boost thanks to new tour service. *Asheville Citizen-Times*, 11 July 2015, pp. 1A, 4A.

Knickel, K. and Renting, H. (2000) Methodological and conceptual issues in the study of multifunctionality and rural development. *Sociologia Ruralis* 40(4), 512–528.

Long, L. (2004) Culinary tourism: a folkloristic perspective on eating and otherness. In: Long, L. (ed.) *Culinary Tourism*. The University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

Mathews, L.G. (2012) From the ground up: assessing consumer preferences for multifunctional agriculture. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development* 2(2), 51–69.

Mathews, L.G. and Rex, A. (2011) Incorporating scenic quality and cultural heritage into farmland valuation: results from an enhanced LESA model. *Journal of Conservation Planning* 7, 39–59.

Mathews, L.G., Kask, S., Rotegard, L., Johnson, G. and Stewart, S. (2003) How much do visitors value scenic quality? Results from the blue ridge parkway scenic experience project. In: Harmon, D. (ed.) *Proceedings of the 12th Conference on Research and Resource Management in Parks and on Public Lands, The 2003 George Wright Society Conference*. The George Wright Society, Hancock, Michigan, pp. 111–115.

NC Beer Guys (2016) NC Cideries & Meaderies. Available at: http://www.ncbeerguys.com/nc-cideries-meaderies (accessed 23 July 2015).

Nickerson, N.P., Black, R.J. and McCool, S.F. (2001) Agritourism: motivations behind farm/ranch business diversification. *Journal of Travel Research* 40, 19–26.

Oliver, T. and Jenkins, T. (2003). Sustaining rural landscapes: The role of integrated tourism. *Landscape Research*, 28(3), 293–307.

Oliver, T. and Jenkins, T. (2005) Integrated tourism in Europe's rural destinations: competition or cooperation? In: Jones, E. and Haven-Tang, C. (eds) *Tourism SMEs, Service Quality and Destination Competitiveness*. CAB International, Wallingford, UK, pp. 25–37.

Pacella, M. (2014) Six small cities with big food scenes. *USA Today Travel*. March 11. Available at: http://experience.usatoday.com/food-and-wine/story/best-of-food-and-wine/2014/03/11/small-cities-big-food-scenes/6187081 (accessed 5 June 2015).

Phillip, S., Hunter, C. and Blackstock, K. (2010) A typology of defining agritourism. *Tourism Management* 31(6), 754–758.

Pierce, D. (2013) *Corn from a Jar: Moonshining in the Great Smoky Mountains*. Great Smoky Mountains Association, Gatlinburg, Tennessee.

Rich, S., Xu, S., Barbieri, C. and Arroyo, C. (2012) *Agritourism, Farm Visits, Agro Tourism – Oh My! Do Farmers, Residents, and Extension Faculty Speak the Same Language?* North Carolina Cooperative Extension Service, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Schilling, B., Attavanich, W. and Jin, Y. (2014) Does agritourism enhance farm profitability? *Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics* 39(1), 69–87.

Stake, R.E. (1995) *The Art of Case Study Research*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California.

The Biltmore Company (1997) *A Guide to the Biltmore Estate*. The Biltmore Company, Asheville, North Carolina.

US Census Bureau (2015) State & County QuickFacts. Available at: http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/37/3702140.html (accessed 5 June 2015).

United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) (2014) *National Agriculture Statistics Service: 2012 Census of Agriculture*, Table 6: Income From Farm-Related Sources, 2012 and 2007. Available at: http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/2012/Full_Report/Volume_1,_Chapter_2_US_State_Level/st99_2_006_006.pdf (accessed 5 June 2015).

World Tourism Organization (WTO) (2012) *Global Report on Food Tourism*. UNWTO, Madrid. Available at: http://dtxtq4w60xqpw.cloudfront.net/sites/all/files/pdf/global_report_on_food_tourism.pdf (accessed 31 May 2015).

Xu, S. and Rich, S.R. (2014) *Agritourism in North Carolina: Comparison of 2005 and 2012 Survey Results*. North Carolina Cooperative Extension, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, North Carolina.

14 Utah Farm-Chef-Fork: Linking Rural Growers with Urban Chefs to Enhance Local Food Sourcing

Kynda R. Curtis[1]* and Roslynn Brain[2]

[1]*College of Agriculture and Applied Sciences, Utah State University, Logan, Utah, USA; [2]College of Natural Resources, Utah State University, Moab, Utah, USA*

Growth in Food Tourism and Demand for Local Foods

The rise in consumer demand for local foods in the US is demonstrated by a number of measures, including the 185% increase in farmers' markets from 2000 to 2014, the 275% increase in community supported agriculture (CSA) programmes from 2004 to 2014 and the 288% increase in regional food hubs from 2007 to 2014 (Low *et al.*, 2015). In 2012, 7.8% of US farms sold US$6.1 billion in food through local direct marketing channels, which included intermediate sales of local food to grocers, restaurants, institutions and food service (USDA-ERS, 2008). The National Grocers Association 2014 Consumer Survey Report found that the availability of local foods was a major influence on grocery shopping decisions, as 87.2% of respondents rated the availability of local food as 'very or somewhat important' and 44.2% rated it as 'very important' when choosing a grocery store (National Grocers Association, 2014). Locally grown food availability was the second most desired improvement among surveyed grocery shoppers. In fact, 32% of respondents said they would consider purchasing their groceries elsewhere if their preferred store did not carry locally sourced foods. While only 15% of the respondents indicated they shop at national supermarket chains, Wal-Mart and Kroger have incorporated local food sourcing into their long-term growth strategies (Rushing, 2013).

This trend towards local food is also illustrated by the growing emphasis on food-related tourism. The US Travel Association reports that

---

* E-mail: kynda.curtis@usu.edu

27 million travellers (17% of American travellers) engaged in gastronomic activities while travelling, across a three-year period (Sohn and Yuan, 2013). Food tourism is the practice of exploration through food consumption, in which individuals eat unfamiliar food or participate in foreign food customs in order to learn about or understand other cultures (Ryan and Brown, 2011). Food tourism examples include farm stays, beer and wine festivals, food festivals, brewery tours, ethnic restaurants, etc. Food tourism has become such a worldwide trend that Brand USA (a US destination-marketing programme) specifically promotes regional cuisines to draw visitors to the US.

Patronizing traditional and local-sourcing restaurants is a common way in which food tourists explore and experience a destination. The desire to visit local-sourcing restaurants is evidenced by the National Restaurant Association's 2015 Restaurant Industry Forecast, which reported that 70% of consumers were more likely to visit a restaurant offering locally sourced items. Additionally, the 'Top 5 2015 Menu Trends' included locally sourced proteins (meats, seafood, etc.) and locally grown produce as the top two trends (National Restaurant Association, 2015). Schmit *et al.* (2010) found that restaurant patrons in New York strongly supported the sourcing of local food in restaurants and preferred to eat at those that prepare local foods. These studies demonstrate the benefits of sourcing local food for chefs and restaurant owners, given customer interest in local foods, especially while travelling.

Utah is a primary tourism destination for National Park visitors, skiers and other outdoor enthusiasts, as well as those wishing to experience Mormon heritage. In 2013, Utah had 23.5 million visitors, including 4.2 million skier visits and 10.4 million State/National Park visits. Tourism is a key industry for Utah, as total visitor spending in 2012 was $7.5 billion (Leaver, 2014). The cuisine offered in cities near key tourism destinations, such as Salt Lake City, Park City, Moab and Springdale, has become an important attraction for visitors and has resulted in the expansion of locally owned restaurants (Yang, 2014). Rural–urban linkages, in terms of connections between urban chefs and rural growers and ranchers, will be necessary to improve the tourist experience in Utah, especially for those visitors interested in food culture. The following case study will examine Utah Farm-Chef-Fork, a programme of Utah State University (USU) Extension, which focuses on fostering connections between growers, ranchers and chefs in Utah, and, ultimately, on increasing the volume of locally sourced restaurant ingredients in urban areas.

Local Food Sourcing Benefits to Growers and Communities

Utah experienced agricultural land losses of 301,300 acres (121,931 hectares) between 1982 and 2007 (Vilsack and Clark, 2009). Research has shown, however, that when farmers direct market their products to local restaurants, farmer income is increased and farmland losses decrease due

to increased farmer revenues (Adam *et al.*, 1999). As mentioned in a recent US Department of Agriculture (USDA) report, local food sourcing not only helps sustain small-scale farms but also supports a more diverse and wider variety of products, as opposed to monoculture farming normally associated with large-scale agriculture (Martinez *et al.*, 2010). Sourcing to restaurants provides direct benefits to farmers through expanded markets and improved pricing for their speciality crops. Additionally, farmers have more control over the production and processing methods they employ, as well as the opportunity to learn entrepreneurial business skills (Martinez *et al.*, 2010). These results are associated with longer-term economic impacts for rural communities in that 'a climate of entrepreneurship and risk-taking' is encouraged (Gale, 1997, p. 25). Overall, the key benefits of selling to chefs/restaurants for growers include increased farm sales (Schmit *et al.*, 2010), ability to develop a unique product brand and differentiate farm products (Curtis and Cowee, 2009), securing a market for products that may otherwise be lost due to excess supply in peak production seasons (Thilmany, 2004), and providing insight into current market trends and changing consumer demand (Pepinsky and Thilmany, 2004).

Local food sourcing has been linked to generating economic development in local communities, fostering public health outcomes related to food security, addressing food safety issues linked to the spread of disease, fostering an improved sense of community, and providing opportunities for both farmers and restaurants to promote environmental sustainability, leading to positive public perceptions (Pearson and Bailey, 2012). For example, studies in Iowa found that replacing imports with locally produced goods created jobs and boosted local retail returns in industries throughout Iowa (Swenson, 2010a, b). In Florida, local food purchases created 183,625 jobs and $10.47 billion in added value to the community (Hodges *et al.*, 2014).

The contribution of local food to total food sales varies substantially by region, primarily due to differences in the products or varieties grown, the proximity of consumers to farming areas, and population density. For example, between 1992 and 2007, local food sales grew three times faster in the Far West and Rocky Mountain regions than other US regions (Low and Vogel, 2011). Fresh fruits and vegetables dominate local food sales, and, thus, areas where growing conditions favour their production see strong sales. The value of local foods is highest in areas where farmers markets and farms are near a large urban population centre. Overall, the value of local food sold is highest in the Northeast and Western US regions (Rushing, 2013).

Thus, the benefits associated with local food sourcing extend beyond the farmer to the community as a whole. This is demonstrated by Bachmann (2004), who states, 'selling to local chefs is among the alternatives that will help to build a diverse, stable regional food economy and a more sustainable agriculture' (p. 1). Other studies have shown that local food sourcing, or the reduction in food miles, may benefit the environment by reducing carbon emissions associated with traditional food supply systems (Pirog and Benjamin, 2003).

Barriers to Local Food Sourcing

Despite the documented benefits of direct marketing local farm products to chefs, research shows that many barriers exist to fostering the required relationships. For example, Curtis *et al.* (2008) discovered via focus groups with growers in Nevada that nearly all would like to enter this type of market but that a lack of information was the biggest barrier to doing so. The growers were unsure of how to enter the market, saying they needed more information about what types of products and quantities chefs desire, as well as the timing and delivery methods preferred. In a study of restaurants in New York, the top three barriers listed by chefs in sourcing locally included lack of time to contact or communicate with farmers, lack of confidence in product consistency and a lack of confidence in consistent product quality (Schmit *et al.*, 2010).

This is not surprising as restaurants typically rate product attributes, such as taste or quality, unique items and dependability, which includes receiving expected quantities and quality consistently, as most important in their purchasing decisions (Curtis and Cowee, 2009; Schmit *et al.*, 2010). In fact, studies find that chefs are not aware of high-quality local foods available and discuss the need for growers to provide samples to chefs along with seasonal availability information (Curtis *et al.*, 2008). Unfortunately, restaurant owners commonly voice frustration regarding the high transaction costs associated with local food purchases (Brimlow and Matson, 2015), including lack of information regarding product availability, inconvenient ordering processes, difficulty setting up and enforcing contracts, and poor grower communication.

Chefs of higher-end or gourmet restaurants, however, were open to adjusting menus to include seasonal fresh products, willing to take the best products, even in small quantities, and willing to provide input on the varieties desired prior to planting (Curtis *et al.*, 2008). These chefs were also the most interested in knowing the growers and their production methods; they saw the value in production methods such as organic. These chefs thus provide a prime market for smaller local growers using speciality production methods.

Utah Farm-Chef-Fork Programme Overview

The benefits and barriers to local-sourcing restaurants prompted the development of a state-wide programme aimed at connecting growers and chefs, called Utah Farm-Chef-Fork. Utah Farm-Chef-Fork was established in 2012 through a USDA Specialty Crop grant and is a collaborative project between Utah State University Extension and Slow Food Utah. The programme's primary goal is to 'enhance community vitality and reduce food miles by connecting Utah growers and restaurants' through workshops, mingles (meet and greets), farm and restaurant tours and other local-sourcing food events.

Farm-to-restaurant sourcing programmes – including New York's *Columbia County Bounty*, *Home Grown Wisconsin*, *Red Tomato* in the Northeast US, *Practical Farmers of Iowa* and *Colorado Crop to Cuisine* – have been successfully launched in many other states. As a result, several 'how to' guides exist regarding direct marketing to restaurants developed by the USDA, Cooperative Extension and others (Pepinsky and Thilmany, 2004; Gregoire *et al.*, 2005). These guides provide suggestions to growers for dealing with chefs, including product availability, brochures on farm history, mission and products, and providing chefs with free samples. Other tips include guidelines for establishing relationships and specifics on product handling. The existing research, programmes and associated curricula provided a foundation for developing the Utah Farm-Chef-Fork initiative.

Prior to programme delivery, a comprehensive needs assessment was conducted, including an in-depth literature review and web-based (SurveyMonkey) interest surveys conducted with growers and local chefs. The surveys were conducted state-wide in the spring of 2013 in an effort to understand perceived barriers and benefits to sourcing locally, and the types of information and interaction that would increase the incidence of local-food sourcing at Utah restaurants. The interest survey was completed by 20 chefs and 36 growers. Survey results were used to customize programme materials, delivery methods and activities to the needs of the target audience.

The initiative was launched with four major objectives to guide programming:

- Educate chefs/owners of locally owned restaurants on effective communication and outreach techniques to use with local growers via a series of state-wide workshops.
- Educate growers regarding effective communication, marketing and production planning via a series of state-wide workshops.
- Conduct mingles and farm and restaurant tours for growers and chefs to increase communication and understanding of each other's abilities, needs and requirements.
- Organize farm dinners for the general public, with local chefs preparing the meal from products provided by host farms, to promote and educate residents and visitors on the cuisine and food culture of Utah.

Impacts on Local Food Sourcing

After the programme launch, the project team developed a programme logo, website and curricula for grower and chef workshops. To measure the impact of programme activities on decreasing barriers to local sourcing for growers and chefs, a comprehensive programme evaluation plan, including retrospective post activity and annual follow-up surveys, was conducted.

Educational workshops

From 2013 to 2015, nine grower workshops and chef workshops were held across Utah. Over 150 growers and 60 chefs participated in these workshops, representing 18 Utah counties and three surrounding states.

Workshop evaluations analysed through paired-sample *t*-tests indicated that, as a result of workshop attendance, the overall post-workshop score on growers' confidence in performing a selection of marketing activities was significantly higher (series average = 3.68, SE = 0.11) than the overall confidence score prior to the workshop (series average = 2.50, SE = 0.18) (see Table 14.1). All grower participants also listed an increased intention to implement various marketing activities, such as developing a delivery plan and preparing a list of product prices, as a result of workshop attendance (see Table 14.2). Growers (80%) anticipated sale amounts to restaurants ranging from $50 to over $1000 per week. Also, over 88% of growers anticipated sourcing to between one and ten restaurants annually.

Chefs showed similar results following the one-day workshops, as paired-sample *t*-tests indicated that the overall post-workshop score on chefs' confidence in performing a series of activities was significantly higher (series average = 3.77, SE = 0.20) than the overall confidence score prior to the workshop (series average = 2.42, SE = 0.19) (see Table 14.3). Additionally, 62% of chef participants said they would complete a number of marketing activities within six months of the workshop, including developing delivery and payment procedures; highlighting locally sourced products and their growers on table tents and restaurant windows; and developing food safety, insurance and/or production method (organic, grass-fed, etc.) requirements (see Table 14.4). Approximately 71% indicated that they would increase the percentage of their restaurant ingredients sourced locally as a result of the workshop.

The following quotes from two chefs who attended the workshops perhaps best illustrate the impact of the programme:

> The most critical hurdle to overcome in our effort towards building a sustainable infrastructure between local producers/artisans and chefs has, in my experience, been communication. As we have laboured to make those connections on our own, it has become apparent to our team that we needed more help. Someone who has a vested interest in strengthening the fabric of our food community but isn't directly involved with the day to day operations of running a farm or a restaurant. How lucky we now are to have the Farm-Chef-Fork programme and those at Utah State who are concerned about the same issues we are and are willing to help find solutions to the problems we are facing. I was honoured to represent my company this past week in sharing our experiences buying locally, supporting those in our community and the benefits that our company has seen as a result of this effort. I have no doubt that the Farm-Chef-Fork programme can go on to play a crucial role in bringing our community together thereby allowing all of us to benefit from the shared efforts of each other. I look forward to continued support of this program and the positive outcome I know it can bring.

> We are a food truck and catering company in Salt Lake City, Utah, and we specialize in seasonal handcrafted street food. UT Farm-Chef-Fork provides

Table 14.1. Grower respondent pre- and post-workshop confidence results.

Activity	Pre-workshop		Post-workshop					
	M	SD	M	SD	t	df	P	Cohen's d
Knowing the best time of day to call on a new chef contact	2.55	1.35	4.21	0.7	7.71	32	0	1.57
Knowing which restaurants in my area want to source locally	2.29	1.19	3.76	0.99	7.94	33	0	1.36
Knowing what chefs need to know about my farm/business	2.35	1.23	4.03	0.72	8.72	33	0	1.69
Understanding the nature of restaurant business	2.79	1.32	3.76	0.7	5.35	33	0	1.99
Understanding the needs of restaurant business	2.73	1.26	3.73	0.8	5.93	32	0	1.8
Understanding the quantities chefs will purchase	2.33	1.11	3.18	0.95	6.13	32	0	1.28
Ability to meet the quantities chefs will require	2.12	1.14	3.03	1.1	5.51	32	0	0.84
Understanding the delivery methods preferred by chefs	2.28	1.22	3.28	1.09	5.25	31	0	0.91
Understanding the variety of produce required by chefs	2.58	1.18	3.45	1.09	5.07	30	0	0.76
Ability to meet consistency required by chefs	2.39	1.14	3.36	1.05	6.07	32	0	0.88
Understanding the level of commitment needed to supply chefs	2.69	1.18	4.03	0.97	6.6	31	0	1.29
Understanding how to price my products when selling to chefs	2.15	1.25	3.88	0.7	9.55	32	0	1.73

Continued

Table 14.1. Continued.

Activity	Pre-workshop		Post-workshop					
	M	SD	M	SD	t	df	P	Cohen's d
Understanding the billing process of restaurants	2.33	1.29	3.85	0.83	6.95	32	0	1.42
Understanding the best medium for communicating with chefs	2.24	1.15	3.88	0.7	2.04	32	0	1.75
Understanding the information chefs need on an on-going basis	2.33	1.19	3.88	0.74	8.35	32	0	1.59
Understanding of the speciality items chefs will require	2.31	1.28	3.28	1.02	5.16	31	0	0.85
Knowing the expectation of the restaurant's customers	2.44	1.29	3.47	0.98	5.66	31	0	0.91

Note: Confidence was measured on a Likert scale: 1 (not at all confident), 2 (slightly confident), 3 (neutral), 4 (very confident) and 5 (completely confident).

important communication channels between the farm and us (the chefs), and the consumer. Local food practices NEED to grow in order to sustain not only our community/economy, but our Earth. This training was a great way to meet those farmers face-to-face and develop a level of understanding and trust, and build further the relationships that will continue throughout time. We have placed local food as a staple and priority in our business plan, and will continue to reach out and obtain product from several farms within the area.

Workshop follow-up evaluations conducted with grower attendees online (SurveyMonkey) one year following the workshops found that 42% of the participants had increased the number and range of products grown as well as their local sales. Sixty-six per cent had expanded their customer base, 58% had increased their land use and 17% had increased the number of marketing outlets used. Almost half (50%) felt their operation was more economically viable, and 19% felt their operation was more efficient, while 62% and 83% felt their quality of life and their community had improved, respectively.

Grower attendees indicated their level of confidence with 12 of 18 skills related to marketing their locally grown produce to chefs or restaurants was relatively high (rated a 3 or higher on a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 = not at all confident and 5 = completely confident). The highest ranked skills were 'knowing the best time of day to call on a new chef' (M = 3.5, SD = 1.06) and 'understanding what chefs need to know about their farm/business' (M = 3.5, SD = 0.74).

Table 14.2. Grower respondent intention to complete future activities.

Activity	M	SD
Develop value-added products (salsa, breads, jam, etc.)	3.44	1.54
Develop partnerships with other growers to ensure consistency in supply	3.32	1.34
Prepare sample recipes for chefs	3.31	1.45
Prepare a joint marketing plan with the restaurants I supply	3.27	1.2
Investigate my competitors' competitive advantage	3.07	1.44
Develop a delivery plan	2.88	1.36
Establish a food safety plan	2.68	1.08
Develop a marketing plan for supply chefs	2.66	1.31
Prepare a list of produce prices	2.58	1.26
Prepare a script for approaching new chef contacts	2.5	1.38
Approach chefs/restaurants to initiate sales	2.44	1.21
Prepare produce samples for chefs	2.41	1.29
Make a list of chefs I want to approach	2.36	1.25
Differentiate my produce from my competitors'	2.35	1.33
Develop a social media site	2.34	1.31
Prepare a list of seasonal availability	2.3	1.19
Prepare a list of potential produce availability	2.24	1.17
Use season extension technology (hoop houses, etc.)	2.17	1.58
Develop a website	2.13	1.31
Eat at restaurants I plan to approach	2.09	1.49
Establish a system to ensure my produce is fresh when delivered	2.06	1.4

Note: Intention was measured on a Likert scale: 1 (already doing it), 2 (done in 3 months), 3 (done in 6 months), 4 (done in 12 months) and 5 (will not implement).

On the follow-up evaluations, growers were asked to describe what they felt to be the primary factors that contributed to the achievements made by them and others as a result of participating in the programme. Comments from various participants included:

> I was able to get an agreed weekly delivery to one restaurant and occasional to four others; this is mostly a result of having lists of interested restaurants and learning ice-breaking techniques for approaching chefs.

> I gained a better understanding of what chefs need and how to communicate with them.

> The workshop opened my mind to many potential challenges and possibilities as I move forward building our farm.

> I learned how to approach restaurants for the first time, learned about current Farm to Table operations in the area and what they charge or how they value their products, resource and networking from the programme that helped me with current ideas.

When asked to identify economic, social and environmental benefits that resulted from their participation in the workshops, comments from various participants included:

Table 14.3. Chef respondent pre- and post-workshop confidence results.

Activity	Pre-workshop		Post-workshop					
	M	SD	M	SD	t	df	P	Cohen's d
Contacting a local farm for the first time	2.64	0.93	4	0.68	6.82	13	0	1.73
Knowing the best time of day to make a new contact	2.47	0.99	3.53	1.06	4	13	0.001	1.07
Knowing which farms in my area sell locally	2.43	1.15	3.71	0.91	5.83	13	0	1.28
Understanding what farmers need to know about my restaurant/customers	2.27	0.8	3.8	0.78	7.12	14	0	2
Understanding the seasonal production capabilities/ growing conditions in Utah	2.8	1.08	3.6	1.06	4.58	14	0	0.77
Understanding the needs of local farmers	2.13	0.74	3.6	0.63	8.88	14	0	2.21

Note: Confidence was measured on a Likert scale: 1 (not at all confident), 2 (slightly confident), 3 (neutral), 4 (very confident) and 5 (completely confident).

> I am able to approach new marketing opportunities, chefs with confidence. I will be able to convert this skill into cash flow next season.
>
> I think we will save a lot of money in the long run by being better prepared.
>
> The income from restaurant sales far exceeds farmers markets
>
> I have expanded the number and variety of crops that we are growing and used techniques that allow us to extend our growing season. It has definitely benefited our own family's table.
>
> My increased knowledge of local food production and the exciting possibilities this presents.

Networking mingles

The Utah Farm-Chef-Fork programme also hosted 'mingles' across Utah in conjunction with Slow Food Utah. The mingles provided an opportunity to connect growers and chefs at private venues, where growers set up tables with samples and promotional materials and chefs/owners walked through and 'mingled' with the growers. Approximately 32 chefs and 48 growers participated in the six mingles held across Utah in 2013 and 2014, with some growers attending multiple events.

As a result of attending the mingles, 71% of the growers stated they believe their sales to local chefs will increase in the following year. The mingles provided a venue for starting conversations, making connections with chefs who care, and gaining a better idea of what products chefs/owners desire and in what seasons they need them.

Table 14.4. Chef respondent intention to complete future activities.

Activity	M	SD
Investigate competitors' local sourcing activities	3.81	1.11
Highlight locally sourced products and farmers on table tents of restaurant windows	3.75	1.18
Develop food safety, insurance and/or production method (organic, grass-fed, etc.) requirements	3.75	1.13
Develop an instruction sheet for local farmers regarding contact needs (samples, prices, etc.)	3.56	1.15
Develop delivery procedures	3.56	1.03
Develop a payment plan	3.5	1.1
Develop chef/restaurant contact procedures (time, format (email, phone) etc.)	3.5	1.03
Develop local product ordering plan	3.5	0.97
Prepare a list of products you locally source now	3.44	1.37
Prepare listing of local farms you currently source from	3.44	1.03
Design a 'for farmers/local sourcing' tab	3.4	1.12
Prepare a list of products and quantities you would like to source locally	3.38	1.2
Train service staff on locally sourced products	3.37	1.26
Provide and update menus on website	3.25	1.44
Incorporate sourcing of local foods into business plan	3.25	1.29
Develop 'commitment to sourcing local' statement	3.25	1.13
Highlight locally sourced products and farmers on menus	3.19	1.17
Approach local farmers to initiate purchases	3.19	1.17
Research/visit farms I plan to approach	3.13	1.02
Develop a social media site	2.94	1.77
Develop a restaurant website	2.94	1.73
Make a list of farms I want to approach	2.87	1.19

Note: Intention was measured on a Likert scale: 1 (already doing it), 2 (done in 3 months), 3 (done in 6 months), 4 (done in 12 months) and 5 (will not implement).

The following quotes from two growers who attended the mingles illustrate the impact of the programme:

> We were able to make connections and leads with a local grocery that may lead to selling eggs through their store. Additionally it was great to meet other producers and make additional connections for our network.

> I thought it was a great experience overall. As for how it has changed my business, I feel like I have a better idea of how to approach restaurants in our area and what the restaurant owners/chefs' expectations are.

Almost all (96%) chefs/owners attending the mingles stated that they are showcasing local sourcing on their promotional materials, and 80% stated they will source a higher percentage of local food next year as a result of attending the mingles. Reasons given for increasing local food sourcing included knowing more farmers/vendors, access to farm produce and other resources they did not know were available, and the appeal to their clientele.

Discussion and Future Direction

The Utah Farm-Chef-Fork programme has clearly reduced barriers to sourcing local food and expanded the availability of locally produced foods at restaurants across Utah. The rural–urban linkages established through programme efforts have created additional economic opportunities for rural growers and urban chefs while also improving the tourist experience and enhancing Utah's overall destination image and, more specifically, its potential for food- and drink-related tourism. The number of Utah restaurants publically sourcing locally rose by 140% from 2012 to 2016 (Utah's Own, 2016). While tourists may continue to be initially drawn to Utah for its National Parks and outdoor activities, they will now have more opportunities to enjoy the tastes of Utah as well.

The Utah Farm-Chef-Fork programme is currently organizing farm and restaurant tours, as well as farm dinners for the general public. The tours provide educational opportunities for chefs and growers regarding farm practices, seasonal challenges, and restaurant needs and challenges, and continue to establish connections between the two groups. Farm dinners in a range of locations, from just outside Zion National Park to a county-owned experiential farm in Salt Lake City, will be the next step in the initiative. These dinners will provide local food opportunities for both residents and tourists to Utah. More information about the Utah Farm-Chef-Fork programme can be found at https://extensionsustainability.usu.edu/programs/.

References

Adam, K., Balasubrahmanyam, R. and Born, H. (1999) *Direct Marketing.* National Center for Appropriate Technology. Available at: https://attra.ncat.org/attra-pub/summaries/summary.php?pub=263 (accessed 15 April 2015).

Bachmann, J. (2004) *Selling to Restaurants: Business and Marketing.* National Center for Appropriate Technology. Available at: https://attra.ncat.org/attra-pub/viewhtml.php?id=266 (accessed 23 April 2015).

Brimlow, J. and Matson, J. (2015) Buying local? An exploratory analysis of barriers to local food sales from the perspective of intermediary buyers in California and North Carolina. Paper presented at the 2015 Annual Meeting of the Agricultural and Applied Economics Association, San Francisco, California, 26–28 July.

Curtis, K.R. and Cowee, M. (2009) Direct marketing local food to chefs: chef preferences and perceived obstacles. *Journal of Food Distribution Research* 40(2), 26–36.

Curtis, K., Cowee, M., Havercamp, M., Morris, R. and Gatzke, H. (2008) Marketing local foods to gourmet restaurants: a multi-method assessment. *Journal of Extension* 46(6).

Gale, F. (1997) Direct farm marketing as a rural development tool. *Rural Development Perspectives* 12(2), 19–25.

Gregoire, M.B., Arendt, S.W. and Strohbehn, C.H. (2005) Iowa producers' perceived benefits and obstacles in marketing to local restaurants and institutional food service operations. *Journal of Extension* 43(1).

Hodges, A., Stevens, T. and Wysocki, A. (2014) Local and regional food systems in Florida: values and economic impacts. *Journal of Agriculture and Applied Economics* 46(2), 285–298.

Leaver, J. (2014) The state of Utah's tourism, travel and recreation industry. *Utah Economic and Business Review* 73(4), 1–15.

Low, S.A. and Vogel, S. (2011) *Direct and Intermediated Marketing of Local Foods in the United States*. US Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service Economic Research Report ERR-128. Available at: http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/err-economic-research-report/err128.aspx (accessed 23 April 2015).

Low, S.A., Adalja, A., Beaulieu, E., Key, N., Martinez, S. *et al.* (2015) *Trends in US Local and Regional Food Systems: A Report to Congress*. US Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service Administrative Publication AP-068. Available at: https://www.ers.usda.gov/webdocs/publications/ap068/51174_ap068_report-summary.pdf (accessed 27 April 2015).

Martinez, S., Hand, M., Da Pra, M., Pollack, S., Ralston, K. *et al.* (2010) *Local Food Systems: Concepts, Impacts and Issues*. US Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service Economic Research Report ERR-97. Available at: http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/err-economic-research-report/err97.aspx (accessed 15 April 2015).

National Grocers Association (2014) Supermarketguru Consumer Survey Report. Available at: http://origin.library.constantcontact.com/download/get/file/1102509927195-2152/ConsumerSurveyReport2014.pdf (accessed 23 April 2015).

National Restaurant Association (2015) Restaurant Industry Forecast. Available at: http://www.restaurant.org/News-Research/Research/Forecast-2015 (accessed 23 April 2015).

Pearson, D. and Bailey, A. (2012) Exploring the market potential of 'local' in food systems. *Locale: The Australasian-Pacific Journal of Regional Food Studies* 2(2), 82–103.

Pepinsky, K. and Thilmany, D. (2004) *Direct Marketing Agricultural Products to Restaurants: The Case of Colorado Crop to Cuisine* [AMR04-03]. Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics, Colorado State University. Available at: http://hdl.handle.net/10217/44603 (accessed 2 May 2015).

Pirog, R. and Benjamin, A. (2003) *Checking the Food Odometer: Comparing Food Miles for Local Versus Conventional Produce Sales to Iowa Institutions*. Leopold Center for Sustainable Agriculture, Iowa State University. Available at: http://www.leopold.iastate.edu/pubs-and-papers/2003-07-food-odometer (accessed 15 April 2015).

Rushing, J. (2013) *Buying into the Local Food Movement*. A.T. Kearney. Available at: http://www.atkearney.com/paper/-/asset_publisher/dVxv4Hz2h8bS/content/buying-into-the-local-food-movement/10192 (accessed 20 June 2013).

Ryan, B. and Brown, L. (2011) *Evaluating Restaurant and Culinary Opportunities*. University of Wisconsin – Extension. Available at: http://fyi.uwex.edu/downtown-market-analysis/files/2011/02/Restaurant101211.pdf (accessed 23 April 2015).

Schmit, T.M., Lucke, A. and Hadcock, S. (2010) *The Effectiveness of Farm-to-chef Marketing of Local Foods: An Empirical Assessment from Columbia County, NY.* Cornell University Department of Applied Economics and Management. Available at: http://publications.dyson.cornell.edu/outreach/extensionpdf/2010/Cornell_AEM_eb1003.pdf (accessed 3 May 2015).

Sohn, E. and Yuan, J. (2013) Who are the culinary tourists? An observation at a food and wine festival. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 7(2), 118–131.

Swenson, D. (2010a) *Investigating the Potential Economic Impacts of Local Foods for Southeast Iowa*. Leopold Center for Sustainable Agriculture, Iowa State University. Available at: https://www.leopold.iastate.edu/pubs-and-papers/2010-01-local-foods-southeast-iowa (accessed 3 May 2015).

Swenson, D. (2010b) *The Economic Impact of Fruit and Vegetable Production in Southwest Iowa Considering Local and Nearby Metropolitan Markets*. Leopold Center for Sustainable Agriculture, Iowa State University. Available at: https://www.leopold.iastate.edu/pubs-and-papers/2010-01-fruit-and-vegetable-production-metro-markets (accessed 17 April 2015).

Thilmany, D.D. (2004) Colorado crop to cuisine. *Review of Agricultural Economics* 2(3), 404–416.

USDA-ERS (2008) Agricultural Resource Management Survey. Available at: http://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/arms-farm-financial-and-crop-production-practices.aspx (accessed 2 May 2015).

Utah's Own (2016) Dining Guide. Available at: http://www.utahsown.org/Dining (accessed 23 April 2015).

Vilsack, T. and Clark, C. (2009) *2007 Census of Agriculture*. US Department of Agriculture. Available at: http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/2007/Full_Report/usv1.pdf (accessed 23 April 2015).

Yang, B. (2014) *Setting the Table*. Devour Utah. Available at: http://www.cityweekly.net/utah/setting-the-table/Content?oid=2562288 (accessed 3 May 2015).

15 Corporate Sustainability as an Opportunity for Tourism Partnerships: A Case Study on Fairmont Hotels & Resorts

KARLA BOLUK*

Faculty of Applied Health Sciences, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada

Introduction

Contemporary sustainable tourism discussions are a consequence of the Brundtland Report publication in March of 1987. The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (1987, p. 43) defined sustainable development as 'development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. The Brundtland Report has clearly drawn attention to sustainability debates and played a role in influencing a number of industries striving to reconcile their impacts, including the tourism industry. The sustainable tourism concept emerged from sustainable development and is defined by UNESCO (2015) as 'tourism that respects both local people and the traveler, cultural heritage and the environment'. Debates about what constitutes sustainable tourism, and questions regarding if it can be achieved, are questioned in the literature (e.g. Moscardo, 2008). Clearly, sustainable tourism cannot be realized without modifying mass tourism practices (Budeanu, 2005) and ensuring that large-scale tourism businesses such as travel agencies, airlines, restaurants, resorts and hotels place sustainability at the heart of their business. Accordingly, a direct result of the commonplace corporate participation in sustainability activities is that sustainability goals cannot be achieved without corporate support.

While sustainable tourism was initially perceived in opposition to mass tourism, which was blamed for all negative impacts, it was later

---

* E-mail: kboluk@uwaterloo.ca

accepted that sustainable tourism should be positioned as a goal to strive for (Inskeep, 1991); for all tourism businesses despite their size. Remarkably, discussions in the tourism literature have advanced accepting sustainable tourism as a central paradigm. However, limited attention has been paid to identifying solutions for the mass tourism industry to practise tourism more sustainably (Budeanu, 2005). This chapter will focus on some of the practices and initiatives incorporating sustainable value into an international hotel chain, Fairmont Hotels & Resorts (FHR). Literature on Integrated Rural Tourism (IRT) and tourism partnerships will be discussed in detail below as theories that may support the sustainable operation of FHR.

Integrated Rural Tourism

IRT is an alternative approach to tourism, working with communities to develop tourism systems that support rural people and their lifestyles (Comen, 2006). IRT is 'linked into a normative conceptualisation of sustainability, often invoking that of the WCED' supporting the promotion of sustainability in tourism, empowering local people and contributing to the sustainability of the wider rural ecosystem (Cawley and Gillmor, 2008, p. 318). The goal of IRT is to optimize the use of resources working to enhance the economic opportunities of rural communities via low impact economic development (Comen, 2006). Accordingly, IRT is small-scale, authentic (reflecting rural life patterns), a link between agriculture and the tourism experience, educational, and reliant on partnerships formed between a community and parties interested in the tourism experience (Comen, 2006). IRT is understood in a variety of ways, according to Oliver and Jenkins (2005), to include:

> Institutional integration, as in the integration of agencies into partnerships or other formal semi-permanent structures; economic integration, as in the integration of other economic sectors with tourism, particularly retailing and local industries such as farming; policy integration, as in the integration of tourism with broader national and regional goals for economic growth, diversification and development; and personal integration, as in the integration of tourists into local communities as 'guests', such that they occupy the same physical spaces and satisfy their existential and material needs in the same manner as members of the host society. (p. 27)

Seven features are identified as being characteristic of integration in the domain of IRT: an ethos of promoting multidimensional sustainability, the empowerment of local people, endogenous ownership and resource use, complementarity to other economic sectors and activities, an appropriate scale of development, networking among stakeholders and embeddedness in local systems (Cawley and Gillmor, 2008). Central to IRT is local participation and decision-making power. Saxena and Ilbery (2008) put forth that some actors may be more or less integrated into tourism than others and use the example of accommodation providers as being well integrated into

the local tourism product. Accordingly, the notion of integrated tourism engages diverse actors and resources into networks of collaboration. The goal of integrated tourism is to stimulate local development, creating new partnerships that have the ability to link previously incongruent activities and/or resources (Oliver and Jenkins, 2005). Coupling local resources can thus lead to economic viability and socio-cultural benefits that may help in sustaining local cultures and traditions (Clark and Chabrel, 2007). One of the goals of integrated tourism is to develop partnerships that may empower communities and facilitate sustainability.

Tourism Partnerships

Tourism partnerships are a well-researched area; however, emphasis is often placed on developing partnerships in either rural *or* urban contexts. Accordingly, there has been less attention paid to the integration of partnerships between settings. Bramwell and Lane (2000) remind us that vertical and horizontal integration in tourism operations is a rarity given that the industry comprises individually owned airlines, hotels and various other tourism products, sometimes within one region. Partnerships are interactions or 'arrangements devoted to some common end among otherwise independent organizations' (Selin and Chavez, 1995, p. 844). Collaborative approaches, according to Bramwell and Lane (2000), can help to further the core principles of sustainable development. Collaboration between urban and rural contexts can therefore result in an important force.

Collaboration among an array of stakeholders has the opportunity to promote varied natural, built and human resources that require protection. Partnerships can also democratize decision-making and empower participants (Bramwell and Lane, 2000). Ultimately, collaborative arrangements among stakeholders have the ability to concentrate on a variety of areas reflecting mutual interests. However, Austin *et al.* (2016) found that partnership working is complicated and can be ineffective. Specifically, the authors determined that there are governance factors that stakeholders have a high degree of control over, including appointing actors and defining roles, shared priorities and pooling resources, and governing documents and evaluations. Furthermore, the authors found three behavioural factors that stakeholders have a low degree of control over, such as quality of leadership, effectiveness of actor interactions and personality factors. Austin *et al.* (2016) found it was important for people to understand the reason for their inclusion in the partnership and for transparency between actors. It was established that long-term partnerships need to be dynamic and open to inviting new actors with different ideas.

Sustainability necessitates 'modifications to human society so as to reduce its aggregate impacts' (Buckley, 2012, p. 529). Clearly, from the perspective of businesses, *impact* is determined by the size, structure and value set. A single measurement to assess the sustainability of tourism

businesses is currently lacking, potentially due to the difficulties in defining sustainability as a concept and determining what should be taken into consideration (Buckley, 2012). Tourism businesses have been criticized for adopting only those practices that have the potential to boost their profits, create public relations opportunities (Sheldon and Park, 2011) or comply with legal requirements (Buckley, 2012). Discussions in the area of sustainable tourism lack new ideas and progress (Bramwell and Lane, 2005; Sharpley, 2009) and there is a lack of evidence demonstrating the implementation of sustainable tourism in practice (e.g. Ruhanen *et al.*, 2015), post the publication of the Brundtland Report. Such criticisms support a case study with the aim of investigating the various practices and initiatives implemented by FHR to support their sustainability goals. Specifically, the chapter will examine the FHR partnerships and programmes that facilitate IRT and their corporate sustainability (CS) business approach.

Corporate Sustainability

CS emerged from the broader discourse on sustainable development initially defined by the WCED in 1987 (Sharma and Henriques, 2005). CS is a company's delivery of long-term value in financial, social, environmental and ethical terms. Following the WCED definition, CS was identified as a tridimensional construct encouraging firms to balance the triple bottom line in order to achieve long-term sustainability and social responsibility. CS extends the sustainable development definition appropriate in a corporate setting. In transferring the idea to the business level, Dyllick and Hockerts (2002, p. 131) describe CS as 'meeting the needs of a firm's direct and indirect stakeholders (such as shareholders, employees, clients, pressure groups, communities etc), without compromising its ability to meet the needs of future stakeholders'. CS suggests a parallel to the different dimensions of organizational culture (Schein, 2004) including the observable culture, espoused values and underlying assumptions. This case study on FHR will pay particular attention to the observable culture including the processes, partnerships and behaviours representative in sustainability efforts.

Some researchers, such as Holcomb *et al.* (2007), blur the meanings of CS with corporate responsibility and corporate social responsibility (CSR). However, Bansal and DesJardine (2014) suggest that businesses are either responsible or sustainable but not both. Montiel's (2008, p. 22) analysis suggests that the 'conceptualizations and measures of CSR and CS seem to be converging'. A convergence may create clarity for managers who are attempting to illuminate their sustainability goals.

de Grosbois' (2012) research found that a growing number of hotels engage in sustainability related activities that are then communicated to customers and the general public. A few hotels have received recognition as being industry leaders in the area of CSR; for example, Scandic Hotels

(Bohdanowicz and Zientara, 2008), Hilton Hotels (Holcomb *et al.*, 2007), Marriott Hotels and Accor (Holcomb *et al.*, 2007). FHR has been recognized as a leader for being attentive to its environmental impact (Reid, 2006), and leads in the area of sustainability (Sloan *et al.*, 2012). Many of the socially responsible practices implemented in hotels are in line with greening practices (Lee and Heo, 2009); common activities include encouraging guests to reuse their towels and bed sheets, conserve water and sensored lights. Such efforts may be recognized as mutually beneficial for the environment and hotel as there are typically cost savings associated with environmental conservation. However, there is a dearth of research to date that has explored the specific CS programmes of hotels.

Most contemporary managers recognize and accept CS as a necessary requirement for doing business (Holliday, 2001). CS is a journey requiring modification and improvement to internal activities, structure and management, and consideration as to how companies will both engage and empower stakeholders (including the environment) to contribute to sustainability (Lozano, 2013). Fostering partnerships with community stakeholders within the tourism industry can assist in the achievement of sustainable tourism goals and will be explored further in this chapter.

The discussion so far has provided evidence that the amount of theory development and research on CS in tourism is limited. Accordingly, a case study exploring the CS approach of FHR is appropriate. The case study is used as an example to highlight details of partnership programmes that facilitate IRT as a way to achieve sustainability goals. The chapter will now move on to discuss the case study methodology employed, followed by the presentation of the case study. The final section will discuss the main insights of the chapter, limitations and directions for future research.

Case Study Methodology

As highlighted, a case study methodology was employed for this study. FHR was chosen as the focus for the case study because it has been recognized as a socially responsible hotel chain (Reid, 2006), it demonstrates sustainability leadership within the accommodation sector (Sloan *et al.*, 2012) and has received limited attention in the literature. The case study description is based on FHR including both internal and publicly available documentation, information gathered from the property websites and newspaper articles. A case study draws attention to what can be learned about a single case (Stake, 1995). The intention is to optimize understanding of the CS practices and initiatives carried out on FHR internationally.

The case study researcher is faced with determining how much information to collect and questions around the complexity of the case (Stake, 1995). A case study can be used in the preliminary stages of an investigation to generate suppositions, which is one of the goals of this project. Websites, secondary documentation and newspaper articles are used to explore the implementation of CS in theory. Accordingly, the scholarly

questions explored in this chapter include: In what ways are CS practices carried out at FHR? What partnerships exist at FHR to support sustainability interests? In what ways has FHR facilitated product enhancement?

Fairmont Hotels & Resorts Background

FHR, formerly referred to as the Canadian Pacific Hotels & Resorts, is a Canadian luxury hotel brand. FHR manages hotels under two subsidiaries, Fairmont and Delta, each with their own distinct brand identity. Fairmont's ethos reflects a 'connection to the environment, as well as the communities where their business takes place' (FHR, 2013). Fairmont has 78 properties internationally. Several of the Canadian Fairmont properties are recognized as famous historical hotels, such as the Chateau Frontenac, Quebec City; Banff Springs, Alberta; the Royal York, Toronto; Chateau Laurier, Ottawa; and the Empress Hotel, Victoria, British Columbia. A few international landmark properties include The Plaza, New York; Savoy Hotel, London; Peace Hotel, Shanghai; and the Makkah Clock Royal Tower Hotel, Makkah (FHR, 2015).

In 2007 FHR released *The Green Partnership Guide*, providing practical information on how large-scale hotels and businesses can incorporate green practices (FHR, 2016a). FHR has demonstrated a commitment to, and on-going interest in, striving to improve its environmental impact through minimizing its impact on the environment by making operational improvements in regard to waste management, and energy and water conservation. Second, it is working at a corporate level to foster partnerships and accreditations that can assist in the promotion of environmental issues and be an active steward. Third, FHR strives to follow best practices including working with individual properties to develop innovative community outreach programmes involving local groups whilst ensuring local ecosystems are protected (FHR, 2010). A socially responsible tone and concerted interests in sustainable operations are evident in the way FHR conducts business; accordingly there is a need to better understand how it operates. The following discussion will explore the CS practices of FHR based on the documents, websites and newspaper articles reviewed.

Partnerships

In addition to the 17 global partnerships with which Fairmont has aligned for the purpose of brand development (e.g. Air Canada, BMW, Mastercard, Reebok, etc.) (FHR, 2016a), Fairmont has also partnered with a number of programmes (internationally, nationally, externally and internally) signifying its sustainability interests. For example, the World Heritage Alliance is an example of an international partnership established by Fairmont based on an interest in protecting the cultural heritage and traditions of

locals and ensuring that the benefits of tourism are shared. The World Heritage Alliance is an industry-leading initiative jointly formed by the United Nations (UN) Foundation and Expedia, Inc. to promote conservation, sustainable tourism and economic development for communities in and around United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage sites. The first project undertaken was with Fairmont Mayakoba, an ecologically diverse resort located on Mexico's Yucatan Peninsula, near the Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve, a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Mayakoba partners with Community Tours Sian Ka'an, a service alliance with three tour operators. The tour operators carry out tours in selected areas, work closely with park managers to ensure minimal impact and ensure that a percentage of the revenue is directed towards conservation efforts (FHR, 2010). The Pembina Institute, a Canadian non-profit environmental organization supporting clean energy transition, is an example of a national partnership with which FHR sought assistance. Since 2006, Fairmont has purchased enough wind power to offset greenhouse gas emissions generated by all 837 front desk check-in and corporate office computers in North America (James, 2008).

In 1990 Fairmont created the Green Partnership Program (Fairmont Royal York, 2015). Reid (2006) pointed out that Fairmont developed its Green Partnership Program before the development of the International Hotels Environmental initiative (IHEI), whose goal was to raise awareness of the necessity for hotels to consider their environmental performance. A number of environmentally focused services are captured in the programme, including Eco-Services (e.g. composting food waste, reusable meeting materials), Eco-Accommodation (e.g. water saving showerheads, temperature controls, sheet/towel exchange programmes), Eco-Cuisine (e.g. local food sourcing) and Eco-Programming (e.g. nature walks). Fairmont's Green Partnership Program is recognized as an industry-leading approach and demonstrates the hotels' commitment to reducing their environmental impact, which is a key component of their overall operating philosophy. This approach provided a way for Fairmont to achieve goals at the corporate, employee committee and operational level.

FHR sets environment specific policies and goals at the corporate level and employee volunteer committees are then tasked with the implementation (Reid, 2006). The primary goal from the corporate level is to be seen from a public relations perspective as a hotel chain that cares for the environment (Reid, 2006). Accordingly, the Green Partnership Program was focused on improving areas of energy and water conservation, waste management and community outreach programming involving local groups and partnerships, focusing on sustainable and responsible practices. Responsible practices include recycling, kitchen-waste diversion, retrofitting energy-efficient lighting, conducting community outreach programmes and purchasing green power. In order to reflect Fairmont's broader sustainability goal, Fairmont's Green Partnership Program evolved into the Fairmont Sustainability Partnership, established in 2013. The Fairmont Sustainability Partnership emerged based on a realization at

the corporate level that sustainability is about 'more than just the environment' (FHR, 2013). Thus, Fairmont sought to demonstrate its accountability and integrity in its business conduct, going beyond its immediate interests. The articulation and commitment to a holistic ecosystem rather than just one element of the sustainability model demonstrates industry progress. Furthermore, a refocusing demonstrates Fairmont's continuous interest in adjusting and improving its internal activities to more effectively contribute to sustainable societies (Lozano, 2013). Fairmont's broadening focus, from its emphasis on its environmental impact to a sustainability partnership, supports the WCED definition and a tridimensional construct (Bansal, 2005) focused on sustainability and social responsibility blurring the line between CS and CSR (Montiel, 2008).

The Green Partnership Program established 'Green Teams', later referred to as 'Sustainability Teams'. The goal of the teams established on each of the properties is to ensure Fairmont accomplishes its wider sustainability goals and is driven by a volunteer committee. As such, employees and some representation from management are responsible for demonstrating the broader commitments of the hotels (Reid, 2006). Empowering hotel staff to engage with the company vision is clearly strategic; however, it could be interpreted as deflecting responsibility and/or the costs associated with carrying out such programmes. FHR Sustainability Teams worldwide volunteer 15,000 hours through, for example, the Giving Program (Fairmont Hotel and Resorts, 2016a). A critique presented by Reid (2006) about such programmes is the direct impact the high turnover rate of young hospitality employees could have on programme success. This was clearly considered from an operations perspective, as indicated below in Table 15.1. One of the guiding principles of the Sustainability Partnership Program (8th principle) would be to 'focus on our people', thus providing ways for employees to upskill in order to assist in the retention of hospitality staff interested in growing with the hotel.

The Fairmont Sustainability Partnership Program comprises four key pillars including: *responsible business*, striving to conduct business with integrity and accountability for sustainability commitments; *ecosystem*, enhancing the well-being of local communities and making a positive impact beyond the immediate Fairmont properties; *environment*, striving to reduce environmental impact by strategically integrating innovative practices across all properties; and *engagement*, striving to engage, support and collaborate with stakeholders. All four pillars present opportunities for hotels to demonstrate integrity with regards to the environment, society and economy. The guiding principles of Fairmont's Sustainability Partnership Program demonstrate Bansal's (2005) tri-dimensional construct of CS.

Several of the guiding principles presented in Table 15.1 demonstrate the priority given to communities (1, 3, 7, 8) who are either involved in or affected by FHR. A number of programmes and specific activities align with the sustainability commitments outlined by FHR properties. The process of identifying and seeking external support to achieve Fairmont's

Table 15.1. Guiding principles of the Fairmont Sustainability Partnership Program (Adapted from FHR, 2013.)

Guiding principles	Explanation
1. Responsible business	Conduct business in an ethical, honest, transparent way that is environmentally responsive
2. Sustainable growth	Growth in consideration of the unique environments of Fairmont properties in consideration of communities and benefits for the future
3. Integrity	Imbedded into decision-making, aligned with strategic goals, benefiting people, community and the environment
4. Innovation	Use dynamic thinking and innovative technology to enhance the luxury experience, while adapting and responding to the changing market and grand contemporary issues
5. Resource efficiency	Reduce the negative impact of operations
6. Equality and respect	Conduct business using practices that meet global standards of ethical conduct, and support equality and mutual respect
7. Communities	Invest in communities to provide growth and positive benefits
8. Focus on our people	Provide people with opportunities to succeed, grow and give back to communities

sustainability goals is evidenced in these partnerships. A component of Fairmont's Sustainability Partnership Program is exploring how properties can integrate sustainable practices with regard to their culinary and property specific offerings. The chapter will now move on to discuss the significance of local sourcing in line with most of the above guiding principles.

Local Sourcing

FHR prioritizes local sourcing and the provision of seasonal dishes via the Eco-Cuisine programme. In accordance, a campaign called Going Local, established in 2009, stimulated a number of *hyperlocal* initiatives on Fairmont properties all over the world. Approximately 28 Fairmont properties have installed beehives, including 20 honeybee apiaries and eight pollinator bee 'hotels' (Fairmont Hotels & Resorts, 2016b). This is significant since honeybees have been on the decline due to viruses, pesticides, genetically modified crops and poor beekeeping practices, and the shortage of honey has resulted in its popularity as a gourmet ingredient (Gordon, 2008). Furthermore, 30 Fairmont properties now have organic rooftop gardens growing herbs and vegetables. The Royal York, for example, has a 4000 square foot (371 square metre) herb garden costing approximately CAD$3000/year to maintain. The herbs from the garden are used on/in approximately 6000 meals per day during the summer months (Fairmont Royal York, 2015). Another hyperlocal example is Fairmont Le Chateau Frontenac, which created an onsite chicken coop housing five

hens, producing about one egg per day. The adoption of goats, housed in neighbouring farms (FHR, 2011a) has allowed Fairmont Queen Elizabeth, Montreal (two goats) and Fairmont Newport Beach, California (seven goats) to produce goat's milk and organic and sustainable goat cheese. Supporting local farmers in surrounding rural areas demonstrates Fairmont's interest in providing locally sourced food whilst also supporting local economies; thereby enhancing the well-being of local communities and making a positive impact beyond the immediate urban landscape of Fairmont properties. The examples outlined provide evidence of Fairmont's sustainability leadership and corporate support in praxis, reducing the ecological footprint and food miles associated with importing food.

In addition to the Eco-Cuisine programme is Fairmont's Eco-Programming, which encourages Fairmont properties to organize nature-based activities and carbon offsets to deliver carbon-neutral events (Fairmont Royal York, 2015). The two programmes are complementary in the case of Fairmont Battery Wharf in Boston, which arranges private, authentic lobster boat excursions. Such excursions provide an example of integrated tourism as Fairmont Battery Wharf partners with local fishermen to take guests out on the water and learn how to 'bait, drop, and haul in lobster traps'. Guests then return from the experience with their catch and have it prepared by the chef in the restaurant (FHR, 2011a). This is a useful example of IRT as the programme takes hotel guests out of the urban context and allows them to gain first-hand experience (Comen, 2006) and appreciation of the local food movement. Furthermore, the lobster boat excursions are authentic, reflecting real life patterns, and provide an additional income stream for fishermen (Oliver and Jenkins, 2005).

The various instances of Eco-Cuisine highlighted, such as the installation of beehives, rooftop gardens and chicken coops on Fairmont properties, provide examples of Fairmont's commitment to achieving sustainability goals. However, deeper level sustainability efforts may be evidenced in the examples of FHR adopting goats at both Fairmont Queen Elizabeth and Fairmont Newport Beach. This example demonstrates Fairmont's support of local farmers in surrounding rural contexts. Furthermore, the lobster boat excursions offered at Fairmont Battery Wharf provide a clear example of IRT where Fairmont guests can gain first-hand experience from local fishermen and catch their dinner in a non-urban setting. The inclusion of local fishermen may ultimately enhance the tourism experience. Such efforts demonstrate the role of Fairmont's operations level support rather than deflecting responsibility and decision-making onto its staff and/or consumers. Such practices are juxtaposed with surface level efforts approaching sustainability, such as asking guests to reuse their towels and bed sheets, which also results in cost savings for hotels. Participating in the local food movement not only supports local economies but also reduces pollution from long distance transportation, thereby reducing the carbon footprint of Fairmont properties and contributing to sustainable tourism. The last section will explore some activities on Fairmont properties that create direct benefits for neighbouring communities.

Community Interests

FHR has established a variety of Eco-innovation Signature Projects that serve as unique partnering projects, relevant to local community interests. Such community focused projects address environmental issues, encourage interaction between hosts and guests, and ultimately provide examples of IRT. The conservation efforts of Fairmont properties in partnership with the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) to preserve endangered species, such as sea turtles, demonstrates FHR's commitment to its rural communities. Endangered sea turtles are vulnerable to being caught and potentially dying in shrimp nets and other fishing gear. The WWF encourages the shrimping industry to use turtle excluder devices, allowing turtles to safely escape nets, as well as the use of circular hooks in Pacific fisheries, which are more difficult for turtles to swallow and do not adversely affect the catching of fish. FHR partners with the Marine Stewardship Council (MSC) to reduce the incidental catching of sea turtles. The MSC logo is presented on FHR menus to illustrate responsibly and sustainably produced seafood (WWF, 2016).

Further to these preservation efforts, some Fairmont properties encourage interaction between hosts and guests in their pursuit of environmental agency. For example, the Fairmont Kea Lani in Maui, Hawaii has partnered with a locally owned sailing company called Trilogy Excursion's Blue'aina Program. The programme started in 2010 and facilitates monthly excursions to remove harmful debris such as fishing line and discarded plastics from beaches and ten coral reefs. The programme enables interaction between local Maui residents, tourists, Trilogy volunteers, representatives from the Maui Forest Bird Recovery Project and members of the Fairmont Kea Lani Sustainability Team. The programme incorporates elements of citizen science (e.g. checking the coral reef, fish counts and water quality) and education as both local volunteers and tourists learn from local ecologists. The programme also supports philanthropy among community members, local businesses and tourists. The General Manager of Fairmont Kea Lani sponsored a clean-up through the programme along with a US$1000 donation to the Maui Forest Bird Recovery Project on Earth Day in 2015. Fairmont Kea Lani demonstrates its continued support of conservation efforts in Hawaii by selling plush birds in the property gift shop and returning a portion of the proceeds to the Maui Forest Bird Recovery Project's conservation efforts (Fairmont Kea Lani, 2015). This example demonstrates IRT as Fairmont Kea Lani facilitates embeddedness in local systems and encourages networking between stakeholders (e.g. tourists, the community and conservationists) outside of the urban landscape (Cawley and Gillmor, 2008). Such programmes make a sustained impact on landscapes and demonstrate the corporate support of FHR and rural commitments.

Regional projects specific to each Fairmont property were later termed 'Fairmont CARES' (Community Assistance and Responsibility to the Environment) in 2011 following a pilot project carried out in the Middle

East (FHR, 2011b). Fairmont CARES is another evolution from the initial Green Partnership Program. Where Fairmont corporate provided no financial resources in the Green Partnership Program (Reid, 2006), the Fairmont CARES programme provides seed funding to projects. For example, the Fairmont Mount Kenya Safari Club in 2011 was provided with CAD$5000 to aid with a women's community micro-farming project (FHR, 2013). The grant funds were used to purchase rabbits and goats, which were raised by 12 women in the community. The women sold the meat and milk provided by the animals, which allowed them to provide basic sustenance for their families and gave them the financial means to be self-reliant. The basic seed funding was noted by the government in Kenya, resulting in the donation of additional lands to assist women with the expansion of their business (FHR, 2011b). Fairmont Mount Kenya Safari Club also supports the Nanyuki 'Spinners and Weavers Project', which started in the 1970s as a way to train the poor in villages surrounding Nanyuki town (the town itself is approximately 10 km from Fairmont Mount Kenya Safari Club) in craft spinning with the goal of making them self-reliant. A majority of the visitors at the centre are foreign tourists from Fairmont Mount Kenya Safari Club. Visiting the centre provides visitors with an authentic rural village experience and education about the struggles and progress made within the village, thus providing an example of IRT. Half of the proceeds acquired go directly to the women weavers, while the other half is reinvested into the centre. The weaving centre has trained over 282 women and currently 137 women are at the centre starting their own projects in the craft of spinning, knitting, dyeing and weaving, resulting in carpets, throws, bedcovers, shawls, cardigans, pullovers and scarves. As an outcome of the centre, most women involved have been able to move from being squatters in the village to acquiring their own pieces of land and building their own homes. Furthermore, most women have been able to educate their children in primary, secondary and in some instances post-secondary education with their share of profits (Nanyuki Spinners and Weavers, 2016). Fairmont Mount Kenya Safari Club's role in linking the women in the spinning centre in a rural context with the tourism experience demonstrates corporate support of sustainability goals and opportunities for meaningful exchanges between hosts and visitors.

Another example of IRT in Kenya is via the Fairmont Mara Safari Club. Fairmont Mara Safari Club facilitates visits to the rural Masai Manyatta village, providing opportunities for visitors to experience traditional ways of living. Tourists can visit Masai women in their traditional huts and interact with them while they create colourful jewellery and belts. Visitors also have the opportunity to discuss customs with the male villagers and watch a traditional Masai dance (Fairmont Mara Safari Club, 2016). These examples demonstrate, at a property level, efforts to include and support neighbouring communities and empower local people specifically, stimulating local development and creating partnerships that have the ability to link previously incongruent activities and resources (Oliver and Jenkins, 2005). Furthermore, the partnerships cultivated between Fairmont Mount

Kenya Safari Club and Fairmont Mara Safari Club and their communities have clearly created economic viability and socio-cultural benefits that may help in sustaining local cultures and traditions (Clark and Chabrel, 2007). Such partnerships have the ability to democratize decision-making and empower participants (Bramwell and Lane, 2000), whilst also leading to competitive advantage (Kotler *et al.*, 1993). Such examples represent what Saxena and Ilbery (2008) refer to as actors who may previously have been less integrated into tourism. However, the Eco-Innovation Signature Projects and the broader Fairmont CARES programme highlight how FHR has been actively involved in integrating rural communities into the success of the local tourism product. While the examples echo the goals of IRT they also promote sustainability in tourism by empowering local people (Cawley and Gillmor, 2008; Bramwell and Lane, 2000). Inviting new actors to bring in new ideas can improve the value of the product offered. Furthermore, partnerships between businesses (e.g. Fairmont property) and communities, if they are going to last, must be dynamic, and continually invite new actors to contribute their new ideas (Austin *et al.*, 2016).

Discussion

FHR places sustainability at the heart of its business, contesting the notion that mass tourism is responsible for all negative impacts. As an alternative, similarly positioned with Inskeep's (1991) work, the Fairmont case illustrated in this chapter demonstrates that indeed sustainability is the goal of business operations and, in line with Budeanu's (2005) work, suggests that mass tourism is a channel to integrate sustainability. The case study presented on FHR has demonstrated many ways in which the company integrates sustainability practices alongside its operating principles. However, the sustainability programmes implemented could also be perceived as opportunities to enhance value proposition, by way of cost savings or because they are directly in line with its organizational vision. Furthermore, it was also recognized that some sustainability efforts were delegated onto employees, which created questions around the long-term viability of the company's sustainability vision.

Moscardo's (2008) research regarding the consideration of tourism as a resource to communities was highlighted in Fairmont's Green and later Sustainable Teams, who enact the hotel values and wider sustainability goals through voluntary, community focused initiatives. The subsequent partnerships that were created with local communities presented opportunities for Fairmont properties to share benefits, promote educational experiences and aid preservation of cultures and environments through IRT. The case study presented on FHR demonstrates the businesses' commitment to CS and reflection on its journey. Specifically, the realization of its emphasis on the environment was adapted to represent the broader sustainability goals in the Fairmont Sustainability Partnership established

in 2013. Consequently, its employees, the broader community and the environment benefit. The distinction between CS and CSR was demonstrated at the outset of this chapter as being muddled in the literature. Lozano's (2013) notion that CS represents a journey for companies as they seek to continuously adjust and improve their activities in their efforts to contribute more effectively to sustainable societies seemed fitting, given the FHR programme modifications. The examples provided in this case study obscure the CS and CSR distinction, as FHR seemingly balances its sustainability goals whilst also being responsible in the communities in which it operates. Accordingly, this case study fits with Montiel's (2008) assumption that CSR and CS may be converging. Ultimately, CS as discussed in the case of FHR represents a vehicle with which to facilitate partnerships between urban and rural landscapes, thereby enabling IRT.

Conclusion

As stated at the beginning of this chapter there is a lack of evidence demonstrating the implementation of sustainable tourism in practice (Ruhanen *et al.*, 2015). As such, the aim of this chapter was to investigate the various practices and initiatives implemented by FHR to support its sustainability goals. Specifically, the chapter examined the FHR partnerships and programmes that facilitate IRT and its CS business approach. The chapter explored the CS practices carried out at FHR via the array of internal (Green Partnership Program, Sustainability Partnership Program, Fairmont CARES, Going Local), national (Pollinator Partnership Canada) and international programmes (World Heritage Alliance, WWF). Second, the chapter explored how sustainability principles were integrated into the corporate plan of FHR. It was found that sustainability was clearly integrated and in fact an integral part of FHR. FHR demonstrated leadership through the publication of *The Green Partnership Guide* and its partnerships with programmes that would encourage continual progress. However, it was also noted that some employees and management heavily relied on volunteer programmes via the Green and now Sustainability Teams. This raised questions about the long-term contribution of such community sustainability programmes.

The chapter also sought to explore the integration of CS for product and service enhancement. The on-site sustainability initiatives in line with the Going Local campaign supported the development of rooftop vegetable and herb gardens, honey bee production, chicken coops and goats for the purpose of producing goat's milk and cheese on-site. The locality of the food may enhance the products on offer. IRT experiences were also described in the case of the lobster boat excursions at the Fairmont Battery Wharf in Boston; the Trilogy Excursion's Blue'aina Program at Fairmont Kea Lani in Maui, Hawaii (e.g. community/tourist rubbish removal and education); visiting communities surrounding Fairmont Mount Kenya Safari Club (e.g. women's micro-farming project, Nanyuki Spinners and

Weavers centre); and Fairmont Mara Safari Club (e.g. Masai Manyatta village cultural experiences). Such examples of IRT provide opportunities for community partnerships, cultural immersion/preservation, education and ultimately product enhancement,

This chapter was limited in that it predominantly focused on secondary documents and websites. As such, it is recommended for future research that qualitative studies and, specifically, interviews with upper management at FHR are carried out to enhance our understanding of sustainability practices and clarify a more comprehensive overview of the broader organizational and sustainability strategies adopted by FHR and other large hotels. Furthermore, a quantitative study exploring sustainability barriers for the hotel industry may be a starting point to determine what kind of assistance hotels require to identify their sustainability goals and enhance their sustainability programmes and ultimately progress.

References

Austin, R., Thompson, N. and Garrod, G. (2016) Understanding the factors underlying partnership working: a case study of Northumberland National Park, England. *Land Use Policy* 50, 115–124.

Bansal, P. (2002) The corporate challenges of sustainable development. *Academy of Management Executive* 16(2), 122–131.

Bansal, P. (2005) Evolving sustainability: a longitudinal study of corporate sustainable development. *Strategic Management Journal* 26(3), 197–218.

Bansal, T. and DesJardine, M. (2014) Don't Confuse Sustainability with Corporate Social Responsibility. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/ivey-business-school/sustainable-business_b_5678831.html (accessed 17 January 2016).

Bohdanowicz, P. and Zientara, P. (2008) Corporate social responsibility in hospitality: issues and implications. A case study of Scandic. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 8(4), 271–293.

Bramwell, W. and Lane, B. (2000) *Tourism Collaboration and Partnerships Politics, Practice and Sustainability* (ed.). Channel View Publications, Clevedon, UK.

Bramwell, B. and Lane, B. (2005) Editorial: sustainable tourism research and the importance of societal and social science trends. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 13(1), 1–3.

Buckley, R. (2012) Sustainable tourism: research and reality. *Annals of Tourism Research* 39(2), 528–546.

Budeanu, A. (2005) Impacts and responsibilities for sustainable tourism: a tour operator's perspective. *Journal of Cleaner Production* 13, 89–97.

Cawley, M. and Gillmor, D.A. (2008) Integrated rural tourism: concepts and practice. *Annals of Tourism Research* 35(2), 316–337.

Clark, G. and Chabrel, M. (2007) Measuring integrated rural tourism. *Tourism Geographies* 9(4), 371–386.

Comen, T. (2006) *Integrated Rural Tourism: Weaving Low Impact Tourism into the Economic Fabric of Rural Communities.* Institute for Integrated Rural Tourism, Johnson, Vermont.

de Grosbois, D. (2012) Corporate social responsibility reporting by the global hotel industry: commitment, initiatives and performance. *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 31, 896–905.

Dyllick, T. and Hockerts, K. (2002) Beyond the business case for corporate sustainability. *Business Strategy and the Environment* 11, 130–141.

Fairmont Hotels & Resorts (FHR) (2010) Green Partnership Program Overview. Available at: http://www.fairmont.com/pdf/program-overview-brochure/ (accessed 21 March 2016).

Fairmont Hotels & Resorts (FHR) (2011a) Fairmont Zooms Past Mere "local" Cuisine with New "hyperlocal" Menu Items. Available at: http://www.restaurantcentral.ca/Fairmonthyperlocalmenu.aspx (accessed 21 March 2016).

Fairmont Hotels & Resorts (FHR) (2011b) Fairmont Hotels and Resorts Brings Cares Programme to the Middle East. Available at: http://www.albawaba.com/business/pr/fairmont-hotels-resorts-brings-cares-programme-middle-east-404055 (accessed 21 March 2016).

Fairmont Hotels & Resorts (FHR) (2013) Our Sustainability Commitment. Available at: http://www.fairmont.com/pdf/fsp-brochure/ (accessed 21 March 2016).

Fairmont Hotels & Resorts (FHR) (2015) Company Timeline. Available at: http://www.fairmont.com/about-us/company-timeline/ (accessed 21 March 2016).

Fairmont Hotels & Resorts (FHR) (2016a) Global Partnerships. Available at: http://www.fairmont.com/about-us/programs-partners/global-partners/ (accessed 21 March 2016).

Fairmont Hotels & Resorts (FHR) (2016b) Fairmont's Bee Sustainable Program. Available at: http://www.fairmont.com/promotions/fairmontbees/ (accessed 21 March 2016).

Fairmont Mara Safari Club (2016) Culture. Available at: http://www.fairmont.com/masai-mara-safari/special-offers/hotel-offers/culture/a-masai-cultural-experience/ (accessed 21 March 2016).

Fairmont Royal York (2015) Greenroofs. Available at: http://www.greenroofs.com/projects/pview.php?id=557 (accessed 21 March 2016).

Fairmont Kea Lani (2015) Environmental Initiatives. Available at: http://www.fairmont.com/kea-lani-maui/press-room/earth-day-reef-cleanup/ (accessed 21 March 2016).

Gordon, D. (2008) Royal York rooftop garden a hive for bees. *The Toronto Star*. Available at: http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2008/06/05/royal_york_rooftop_garden_a_hive_for_bees.html (accessed 2 April 2016).

Holcomb, J.L, Upchurch, R.S. and Okumus, F. (2007) Corporate social responsibility: what are top hotel companies reporting? *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management* 19(6), 461–475.

Holliday, C. (2001) Sustainable growth, the DuPont way. *Harvard Business Review* September 79(8), 129–134.

Inskeep (1991) *Tourism Planning: An Integrated and Sustainable Development Approach*. Van Nostrand Reinhold, New York.

James, J. (2008) Eco hotels of the world. *Financial Times*. Available at: http://www.ecohotelsoftheworld.com/press-2008.html.

Kotler, P., Haider, D. and Rein, I. (1993) *Marketing Places: Attracting Investment, Industry and Tourism to Cities, States and Nations*. Free Press, New York.

Lee, S. and Heo, C.Y. (2009) Corporate social responsibility and customer satisfaction among US publicly traded hotels and restaurants. *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 28, 635–637.

Lozano, R. (2013) Are companies planning their organizational changes for corporate sustainability? An analysis of three case studies on resistance to change and their strategies to overcome it. *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management* 20, 275–295.

Montiel, I. (2008) Corporate social responsibility and corporate sustainability: separate pasts, common futures. *Organization and Environment* 21(3), 245–269.

Moscardo, G. (2008) Sustainable tourism innovation: challenging basic assumptions. *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 8(1), 4–13.

Nanyuki Spinners & Weavers (2016) Available at: http://www.nanyukispinnersandweavers.org/about_us.html.

Oliver, T. and Jenkins, T. (2005) Integrated tourism in Europe's rural destinations: competition or cooperation? In: Jones, E. and Haven-Tang, C. (eds) *Tourism SMEs, Service Quality and Destination Competitiveness*. CAB International, Wallingford, UK, pp. 25–37.

Reid, R.E. (2006) The greening of the Fairmont Palliser. In: Herremans, I.M. (ed.) *Cases in Sustainable Tourism: An Experiential Approach to Making Decisions*. Haworth Publishing, Binghampton, New York, pp. 51–70.

Ruhanen, L., Weiler, B., Moyle, B.D. and McLennan, C.J. (2015) Trends and patterns in sustainable tourism research: a 25-year bibliometric analysis. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 23(4), 517–535.

Saxena, G. and Ilbery, B. (2008) Integrated rural tourism a border case study. *Annals of Tourism Research* 35(1), 233–254.

Schein, E.H. (2004) *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. Jossey-Bass, A Wiley Imprint, San Francisco, California.

Selin, S. and Chavez, D. (1995) Developing an evolutionary tourism partnership model. *Annals of Tourism Research* 22(4), 844–856.

Sharma, S. and Henriques, I. (2005) Stakeholder influences on sustainability practices in the Canadian forest products industry. *Strategic Management Journal* 26(2), 159–180.

Sharpley, R. (2009) *Tourism Development and the Environment: Beyond Sustainability?* Earthscan, London.

Sheldon, P.J. and Park, S.Y. (2011) An exploratory study of corporate social responsibility in the US travel industry. *Journal of Travel Research* 50(4), 392–407.

Sloan, P., Legrand, W. and Chen, J.C. (2012) *Sustainability in the Hospitality Industry: Principles of Sustainable Operations*. Routledge, London.

Stake, R.E. (1995) *The Art of Case Study Research*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California.

UNESCO (2015) Teaching and Learning for a Sustainable Future. Available at: http://www.unesco.org/education/tlsf/mods/theme_c/mod16.html (accessed 2 April 2016).

World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (1987) Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future. Available at: http://www.un-documents.net/our-common-future.pdf (accessed 25 March 2016).

World Wildlife Fund (WWF) (2016) Sea turtles and shrimp cocktail: what's the connection? Available at: https://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/sea-turtles-and-shrimp-cocktail-what-s-the-connection (accessed 2 April 2016).

Index

Note: Page numbers in **bold** type refer to **figures**
Page numbers in *italic* type refer to *tables*
Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes

Linking Urban and Rural Tourism

Strategies in Sustainability

Edited by Susan L. Slocum and Carol Kline

Destinations rely on regional strategies to support and enhance the tourism product through regional partnerships and integration. Integrated tourism is defined as tourism that is explicitly linked to the economic, social, cultural, natural and human structures of the region in which it occurs. Integrated tourism has evolved to include numerous meanings and definitions, but generally includes a vertical business or industry approach.

The first of its kind, this book applies a more inclusive approach to integration by providing insight into inclusive regional development strategies that support the needs of both urban and rural areas whilst enhancing the tourist experience, supporting the positive impacts of tourism and mitigating the negative. Regional studies tend to portray either an urban or rural focus without acknowledging that often these spaces constitute joint governance structures, similar historical and cultural roots, and economic dependencies. Sustainable tourism promotes sourcing locally, such as using rural agricultural products in urban tourism experiences. Furthermore, innovative rural marketing strategies linking tourism heritage, attractions, food and drink trails, and artisans with urban visitors are emerging.

Including theoretical and applied research and international case studies, this will be a valuable resource to academics, students and practitioners working in tourism development and regional policy.

Front cover artwork provided by Tracy A.Friend