

***Tourism development, community participation and  
community empowerment  
The case of Shiraz in Iran***

Maryam Hamedi

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London Metropolitan University

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# Abstract

This research was an attempt to investigate the relationship between community empowerment and tourism development in the context of developing country. Three objectives were identified as follows:

- 1) To examine the current nature and pattern of community participation in the tourism development process in Shiraz,
- 2) To assess and evaluate how community participation in Shiraz is affected by broader socio-political context and,
- 3) To investigate the existing level of community empowerment in relation to tourism development and evaluate contributory factors to empowerment and ascertain the nature and significance of any obstacles to empowerment.

This was a qualitative research and employed semi-structured interviews and participant observation as data collection techniques. The fieldwork took place from May 2013 to September 2013 in Shiraz in Iran.

Drawing of analysis of the results of the primary research, the major findings of this research are as follows:

- 1) Tourism literature has not paid enough attention to the importance of the impact of power relations and pre-vailing socio-political conditions of different contexts on the tourism development process.
- 2) Tourism development in the context of developing countries is generally challenged by a set of operational and structural obstacles.
- 3) The study suggests that adopting a participatory approach could, economically and socially, contribute to community empowerment; however, it is not the final solution.
- 4) In the context of Iran and other developing countries with similar conditions, there is a need for a strong political power to adopt and implement participatory tourism development approach.
- 5) Analysis of the results indicates that the level of community participation is co-related to the level of community empowerment. In the case of Iran, participation via consultation could involve more tourism related stakeholders in the process of decision-making. At this level, the community enjoys the economic and social aspects of empowerment; however, an opportunity to influence the decisions regarding tourism development is still due.

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# **Chapter One**

## **Introduction to the thesis**

### **1.1) Introduction**

This chapter introduces this thesis. It provides a brief background on the subject of the research and continues by discussing the objectives of this study. This is followed by stating the significance of the study, the conduct of the fieldwork and finally, the outline of the thesis is presented.

### **1.2) A brief background**

Tourism has become a major phenomenon after the World War II (WTO 1996) and experienced a rapid growth thereafter (WTO 1997). A wide range of impacts such as economic, socio-political and environmental ones, therefore, have been associated with tourism development over the past half century or so. Generally these impacts were assumed to be positive and this meant tourism was often out at the core of development plans (Inskeep 1991). Tourism development, however, created a high level of pressure on communities at tourist destinations (Wearing 2001). A call for ‘community participation’ thus emerged throughout tourism literature claiming that community involvement could be mutually beneficial in a way that: a) the tourism industry could benefit from local communities knowledge and skills; and b) local communities could have access to more job opportunities and income, advance their own interests and take control over what affects their livelihoods (Stiefel and Wolfe 1994; Butler and Hinch 1996).

Tosun and Jenkins (1998) argue that although tourism development plans were mostly concentrated on the physical requirements and economic consideration, they have evolved over time from being market oriented to community appropriate. In one of the earliest major studies of the topic the community approach to tourism development was discussed by Murphy (1985) and it has continued to receive a great deal of attention through much of the tourism literature (Haywood 1988; Inskeep 1994; Brohman 1996; Pearce et al. 1996). Nevertheless, there are still several issues with respect to tourism and community development. These issues are as follows:

- To some extent, there is a gap between academic tourism studies and what actually happens on the ground particularly in the context of developing countries;
- There has been a tendency in tourism studies to assume communities are homogenous entities. This necessitates to bring other integral factors such as existing structure and struggles into discussion;
- The significance of the unique character of each destination has been relatively neglected in studying the tourism development process.

These issues encouraged the current researcher to investigate the relationship between tourism and community development in a developing country. The particular focus was on the city of Shiraz in Iran and the rationale for this is provided below.

### **1.3) Research objectives**

There are three factors that influenced the choice of Shiraz as the case study. Firstly, as an Iranian, the researcher was able to concentrate her study on Iran, and specifically one area in the country due to her familiarity with the country, its culture and language. Secondly, Iran's specific economic and socio-politic characteristics provide an opportunity to investigate a new perspective on tourism development with special reference to developing countries. Thirdly, within the country, Shiraz is one of the most visited tourism destinations, with a rich cultural heritage and other tourism attractions, including its semi-natural landscape. It is an old city which has experienced tourism for a relatively long time including during the more recent period of Iran's history. With regards to the above discussion, three objectives have been identified for this research:

- 4) To examine the current nature and pattern of community participation in the tourism development process in Shiraz,
- 5) To assess and evaluate how community participation in Shiraz is affected by broader socio-political context and,
- 6) To investigate the existing level of community empowerment in relation to tourism development and evaluate contributory factors to empowerment and ascertain the nature and significance of any obstacles to empowerment.

### **1.4) Significance of the research**

As briefly indicated above, the community approach to tourism development with its emphasis on participation has been advocated as a solution to the problems associated with tourism development particularly in developing countries. However, relatively little research

has taken place on this topic and there is still a need to add to the debate in relation to specific local conditions.

This study is therefore important due to the following reasons:

- Examining the concept of community participation in the tourism development process in the context of developing country requires a literature review from not only tourism studies point of view, but also sociological one. This multi-disciplinary view adds more elements to the analytical framework which should widen the understanding of the issue and could be helpful for future research,
- Analysis of the current pattern of participatory tourism development in the local context provides better understanding of the strengths, the weaknesses, the challenges and the prospects of the way participatory tourism is implemented in destination areas. This could help to reduce the gap between theory and the reality. Furthermore, Iranian tourism authorities and other actors may find it useful in order to develop better policies and strategies,
- This research approach, methodology, findings and conclusions could provide an important source of knowledge and information for other developing countries with similar conditions. This could be useful in policy-making and implementation.

## **1.5) The fieldwork**

The fieldwork of this research took place from May 2013 to September 2013 in Shiraz in Iran. It was a qualitative research and employed semi-structured interviews and participant observation as data collection techniques. Interviews were conducted with key informants from stakeholder groups which were identified based upon tourism literature. The collected

data was then translated into English by the research, transcribed and prepared for the data analysis.

## **1.6) The structure of the thesis**

There are seven chapters in this thesis which are organised in the following order:

- Chapter One *Introduction to the thesis*: This chapter introduces the thesis, provides an overview of the background of the study, discusses the research problems, the objectives of the research, brief introduction of the fieldwork and ends with an outline of the thesis.
- Chapter Two *Understanding the concept of community participation in the tourism development process*: This chapter provides an account of debates on related concepts of community, community participation, the typologies of power relations, the typologies of participation, civil society in the context of tourism development, empowerment and the ladder of empowerment. This chapter therefore provides a review of tourism literature on community participation from a multi-disciplinary point of view.
- Chapter Three *An overview of the tourism development in Shiraz/Iran*: A general profile of Iran and tourism development in Iran is presented in this chapter. It includes a brief review of history, geography and population of Iran, followed by an analysis of the modern political economy of the country. A chronological review of tourism development in Iran is also provided in this chapter. The chapter ends providing background material on tourism development in Shiraz and critical discussion of tourism development in Shiraz.

- Chapter Four *Methodology*: This chapter presents the methodological choices that were made in this study. There is discussion about different research approaches, specifically quantitative and qualitative, and research design and techniques associated with them. Then it provides the rationale for the choice of a qualitative research through case study research design and why this was considered the most appropriate for this study. Then, the research techniques employed in this research are introduced. These are: semi-structured interviews as the main technique and participant observation as the complementary one. The chapter continues by discussing the process of selecting respondents, how the fieldwork took place and the process of data analysis.
- Chapter Five *Tourism development in Shiraz: Results*: The empirical results of the primary research, the data collected from the fieldwork in Shiraz, are provided in this chapter. It describes and explains how different stakeholder groups are involved in the tourism development process in Shiraz and how these stakeholder groups are related to each other in the process of participation. The chapter also discusses the obstacles to be overcome if meaningful participatory tourism approach is to take place.
- Chapter Six *Tourism development in Shiraz: Analysis*: This chapter links the results of the fieldwork to the tourism literature on community participation. In this way, it is devoted to contextualising tourism development in the socio-political conditions and power structure of Shiraz in Iran and indicates the key issue and problems relating to this. It includes discussions of planning and implementation, political instability, lack of co-ordination and collaboration and concludes with identifying the type and level of community participation and empowerment in Shiraz.
- Chapter Seven *Conclusion*: This chapter summarises the entire thesis including analysis of literature, draws out important findings of the research and provides

several major concluding statements. The chapter also indicates the limitations that have been experienced during the study and suggests how the thesis adds to our understanding of community participation in tourism development.

# **Chapter Two**

## **Understanding the concept of community participation in the tourism development process**

### **2.1) Introduction**

Tourism has become a major agent of transformation in every destination it has touched. Yet, the social structures that affect the participation and the outcome of participation have not been addressed appropriately or discussions have been limited to the different participative techniques rather than focusing on a deeper meaning of the value of participation per se (Mowforth and Munt 2009; Simpson 2008). The association of tourism development and public participation in terms of power and profit is certainly a perplexing proposition (Mowforth and Munt 2009) and necessitates to address questions of ‘who’ does participate and ‘how’ (Richards and Hall 2003). This is to say that ‘participation in tourism’ happens differently in each context and will bring different outcomes. As argued by Henderson (2003) such a fragmented industry as tourism, involving public and private sectors as well as locals at destinations, cannot be analysed without connection to its socio-political context.

Bramwell and Meyer (2007) also draw attention to local patterns of power and its relationships with actor involvement and interactions in the process of tourism development.

As asserted by Bramwell and Meyer (2007: 769), “power emerges out of social relationships, while also being sustained by specific patterns of resource distribution and competition”. Thus, this is to say that the social interactions that mirror the power relations may encompass values, authority and control. In other words, actors involved in tourism development are associated with identification of their roles, framing and negotiation (Bramwell and Meyer 2007).

Studying participation in tourism development in any context then involves studying the “interaction and negotiation process between those seeking to put policy into effect and those upon whom action depends. This process reflects the societal context; including the social groupings in society, the prevailing social rules and practices, and the continuities and changes within society” (Krutwayscho and Bramwell 2010: 671).

Moreover, acknowledging different stakeholders (for example destination residents, cultural institutions, the tourism industry and state organizations) and their roles as actors in tourism development does not mean that they are equally powerful. Typically, the state is more powerful in a way that can exclude less powerful actors (Krutwayscho and Bramwell 2010). Varying interests and power among involved stakeholders is likely to produce conflicts. Scholars such as Seng (2005) suggested that ‘civil society’ may engage in the negotiation process to challenge the unequal power relations. Yet, the shape of civil society and the amount of space that it has differs across different destination societies. This is to say that therefore it is, important to examine the role of civil society in relation to the bargaining between social groups and tiers of government within the process of tourism development and how the nature of civil society can encourage or discourage participation in the process

of tourism development. As the process of tourism development varies in different destinations, it is important to take into account the specific socio-political context.

This chapter presents the debates on the process of community participation in the tourism development process in general and in the context of this thesis. As such, it begins by reviewing the literature on the concept of community, and this is followed by discussion around the notion of participation in tourism development and empowerment. The chapter continues by providing an account of debate on civil society and concludes with discussions about how community participation in the tourism development process is influenced by the shape of civil society.

## **2.2) Community**

Throughout the evolution and development of tourism, ‘public participation’ has become part of the apparatus of tourism development (Hardy and Beeton 2001). The recognition that communities can participate in and leave impacts on the tourism development process has created a great deal of literature on community approaches towards tourism development (Richards and Hall 2003). According to Mowforth and Munt (2009: 225) “the association of participation with ‘empowerment’ and ‘sustainability’ and multi-beneficial direct and indirect impacts identified as arising from it have tended to place it on a pedestal”. However, as indicated by Richards and Hall (2003) it is important to pose the following questions in the context of tourism development, ‘who is the community?’, ‘how defined in spatial and socio-economic term?’ and ‘who in the community could participate?’

In a dictionary of sociology (Mitchell, 1968: 32) indicates that “originally the term community denoted a collectivity of people who occupied a geographical areas; people who were together engaged in economic and political activities and who essentially constituted a self-governing social unit with some common values and experiencing feelings of belonging to one another”. This definition has pinpointed that the concept of community takes in demographic, geographic, economic and political dimensions which leads the community to act as an autonomous social unit which is strengthen by common values and experiencing sense of belonging to one another.

Gottschalk (1975: 20) has also argued that “a community is local society, a communal organisation including formal and communal subsystems”. Gottschalk’s definition, however limits the meaning of community via accepting space as a basic element; and secondly, suggested that permanency of a communal organisation as a condition for being a community. Nevertheless this definition is very useful in relation to community participation in the tourism development process.

Furthermore, Poplin (1979: 8) defines community as “the place where people maintain their homes, earn their livings, rear their children and carry on most of their activities”. Therefore Poplin (1979) has considered unity of social and territorial organisation (that may be villages, towns or cities depending upon their size) as significant in his definition of community. His definition is endowed by geographical, economic, socio-cultural and time dimensions, which are important with regards to community participation in the tourism development process.

Etzioni (1995) also demonstrates that community involves people sharing certain practices. These practices establish a web of interconnection that transforms individuals into a group of people who care for one another and who help maintain a civic, social and moral order. Mattersich and Monsey (2004: 56) additionally suggest that the term community refers to “people who live within a geographically defined area and who have social and psychological ties with each other and with the place they live”. The mentioned definitions appear in agreement on area, common ties and social interactions as basic elements of community. Green and Haines (2007) suggest that community includes three elements: (1) territory or place; (2) social organisations or institutions that provide regular interaction among residents, and (3) social interaction on matters concerning a common interest.

Nevertheless, there is another line of arguments in literature which differentiates between geographical communities and interest communities. Gusfield (1975: xvi) distinguishes between two major uses of the term community. The first is the territorial and geographical notion of community, as neighbourhood, town or city. The second is “relational”, which is concerned with “quality of character of human relationship, without reference to location” (Gusfield 1975: xvi). It is possible to say that geographical communities refer to the population of particular territorial community, whereas ‘interest communities’ does not require physical proximity but rather focuses on people who share something in common, and this is referred to as a functional community by Anderson (1983). Ife (1995) argues that interest communities have ‘togetherness’ with others, often share a combination of ‘interest’ and specific characteristics such as ethnicity, religion, political ideology, occupation, sexuality or leisure pursuit. This means that community does not need to be ‘place-bound’; rather people can form their own communities to the extent that their social relations are bound by a sense of community, McMillan and Chavis (1986) argue. Furthermore, according

to Schulenkorf (2012), dedicated interest groups tend to show interaction and a common sense of identity even if the relationships among members are less personal and/or frequent than those between friends or relatives. Interest communities are the concern of tourism development studies especially with regards to tourism development impacts and when it comes to community empowerment (Heath 2003).

Summarizing the abovementioned definitions, the word 'community', either referring to geographical or interest communities, has a very positive connotation and evokes images of personal relationships characterised by warmth, care and understanding of shared values and more commitments; of social cohesion and solidarity; of continuity in time and place. Elias (1974: xiii) points out that "the use of the term community has remained to some extent associated with the hope and wishes of reviving once more the closer, warmer, more harmonious type of bonds between people". However we should be cautious of simplistic understanding of 'community' when it is perceived as homogeneous, static and harmonious units within which people share common interests and needs. Commentators such as Cooke and Kothari (2001) suggest the need for caution, in that existing heterogeneity and unequal power relations in a community should not be assumed away. Bauman (2001, 2004) also argues that often a community not only constructs comfortable 'sameness' but also fearful 'otherness' between people of in-groups and out-groups. In other words, while a community is able to unite a certain number of people, this may come at the expense of excluding others and contribute to dividing societies even further. This is to say that communities do not exist in a vacuum, but rather occur within specific contexts which must be considered (Leipins 2000a).

Communities, encompasses people and components that are subject to change. In other words, communities are perpetually being reproduced, sustained, undermined and reconfigured by cultural, political, economic, and socio-ecological processes that occurred in the past and are still occurring in the present (Verburg 2004; Urry 2003). As a result, a robust and dynamic understanding of 'community' should address community as an amalgamation of meanings, the diversity and heterogeneity in social life, the interconnections and struggles between identity, space and place and the notion of fluidity and change (van der Duim *et al.* 2006). This heterogeneity and power relations are very crucial to the study of community participation in the tourism development process (Bramwell and Sharman 1999). Communities cannot be seen as a single homogeneous group of hosts, but in fact are made up of 'an agglomeration of factions and interest groups often locked in competitive relationships' (Joppe 1996) over limited resources.

The discussion up to here has aimed to demonstrate that the concept of community is not necessarily an easy to identify entity and is subject to adaptation according to the specific context. The next section then addresses the concept of community in the context of tourism development.

### *2.2.1) The concept of community in tourism*

In tourism literature one group of scholars, including Murdock (1995) and Hodgson (1995) are more inclined to the geographical characteristics of community. Murdock (1995) refers to any social group, which lives in a territory and meets all its problems of continuity, as a community. Hodgson (1995) also illustrates that members of a community, bound to each

other through their physical environment and this connection, is vividly reflected in lifestyle and economic activities. Williams and Lawson (2001: 271) further define community as “group of people living in the same geographical area who share a common goal or opinions”.

In contrast to the geographical advocates, there is another group of scholars that takes the dynamic aspect of community into account. For example, Stacy (1969) defines community as a network of inter-relationships. As such, community relationships can be characterised by conflict as well as by mutuality and reciprocity. Moreover, Urry (2000) asserts that community is a cluster of like-minded people who isolate the unlike believer as non-commune. Urry's (2000) assertion is in relation with that line of thought that defined community regarding their shared interests. Jary and Jary (2000) also describe community as a particular type of social relationships in that it infers the existence of a sense of community.

Although community has received a significant amount of attention in tourism literature; it needs to be dealt with cautiously. It is very possible that the heterogeneity and unequal access to power in a tourism context is assumed away when community is seen as a natural social (Swarbrooke 1999). When discussing tourism development, Swarbrooke (1999) also emphasises the complexity of the term ‘community’ and highlights that it involves geography, ethnicity, demography, governance, stakeholders and the power structure that exists within the community. Furthermore, Van der Duim *et al.* (2006: 120) argue that studies on tourism and community development should “undertake the laborious work of unscrambling the complicated interconnections of the local and global, as well as the ways in which communities are fractured along lines”. Therefore, any attempt to define community in terms of tourism development should critically investigate the diversity of people, values,

practices and spaces that are indicative of each particular community (Leipins 2000b). However, Bossleman *et al.* (1999) suggest that communities include all such persons, the public and the private sectors that may potentially be affected, positively or negatively, by tourism development within the boundaries of the destination area. In a similar manner, Mason (2003: 118) explains that “the community is likely to be a mixture of individuals and groups of different gender and age with varied political persuasion and attitudes to tourism, and will include those with vested interest in tourism”.

For the purpose of this thesis, amalgamating the ideas of Swarbrooke (1999), Bossleman *et al.* (1999) and Mason (2003) it is possible to state that the term community means *a group of people living in the specific boundaries of the tourism destination, where the tourist experience takes place, as well as a group of people who may not live within the geographical boundaries of the tourist destination but their lives are affected, both positively and negatively, by tourists and tourism industry, and who have to live with social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts of tourism development.*

While finding a working definition for the term community is a major concern of this study, it is not its focus. The community is seen as a context in which the tourism development process will be examined with a special reference to participation. The next section thus will discuss participation in the tourism development process.

## **2.3) Participation in tourism development**

### *2.3.1) Public participation: the concept*

It is claimed by scholars such as de Kadt (1982) that public participation has been considered and promoted as an important element of development. The United Nations Economic and Social Council resolution proposed the concept of participation in development as follows:

... participation requires the voluntary and democratic involvement of people in (a) contributing to the development effort, (b) sharing equitably in the benefits derived there from and (c) decision-making in respect of setting goals, formulating policies and planning and implementing economic and social development programs (cited in Midgley 1986: 25).

Overtime, through the evolution of development theories, participation has been viewed as part of the apparatus of development, and indeed an inseparable process from development (Botchway 2001). Prentice (2007) notes that the growing shift towards sustainable development led to encouraging public participation and ‘bottom-up strategies’. According to Mowforth and Munt (2009: 225) “the association of participation with ‘empowerment’ and ‘sustainability’ and the multi-beneficial direct and indirect impacts identified as arising from it have tended to place it on a pedestal”. This is to say that the quest for sustainable development mandated multi-stakeholder involvement at all levels of planning and policy-making in a way that brings together governments, NGOs, residents, industry and experts (Choi and Sirakaya 2006).

Participation has also come to the forefront of tourism studies. According to Hardy *et al.* (2002), since the 1980s, there has been a call for the inclusion and involvement of local residents in tourism as they are seen as a key resource in tourism development. Heller *et al.* (1984: 339) called citizen participation as “a process in which individuals take part in decision making in the institutions, programs and environments that affect them”. Murphy (1985), in his seminal work ‘Tourism: A Community Approach’, emphasised participation at the local level to facilitate physical development, the inclusion of community wishes in tourism planning and to ensure economic returns from the industry. Haywood (1988: 106) goes further and defines public participation, in the context of tourism planning, as a “process of involving all [stakeholders] (local government officials, local citizens, architects, developers, business people and planner) in such way that decision-making is shared”. Askew (1989) reiterates Haywood’s assertion referring to participation as active involvement and control of citizens over the decision-making process. Kaufman and Poulin (1994) also argue that participation creates opportunities for the destinations’ residents to be involved in decision-making and planning process and they believe that participation leads to a greater sense of empowerment in addressing community problems, as well as greater ownership over the plans and activities that result from the participatory process. Tosun and Timothy (2003) add to the argument that participation has the potential to increase awareness and furthermore the public participation process incorporates democracy and the rights of individual, which often encourage various forms of equity and empowerment. Additionally, Bianchi (2003: 15) asserts that local public participation could be effective “as a central mobilising concept around which governments could construct more equitable planning of tourism development and simultaneously overcome resistance to tourism within some segments of the [society]”. Beeton (2006: 50) also argues that public participation presents a way “to provide an

equitable flow of benefits to all affected by tourism through consensus-based decision-making and local control of development”.

The above discussions on the definition of participation focus on two points. The first point is that, from the 1980s to the early 2000s, widespread recognition of the concept of participation enhanced its scope from being concerned about “individuals” to a more collective consideration (Kilpatrick *et al.* 2002). Participation has been seen, by scholars such as Sanoff (2000) and Uruena (2004), as a partnership built upon the basis of a dialogue among the various actors (stakeholders), during which the agenda is set jointly, and local views and knowledge are deliberately sought and respected. Buanes *et al.* (2005) also argue that citizen participation is essential and encouraged as long as those who participate are representative of the whole community and are capable of looking after collective interests as well as those of their own group.

The second point is that the essence and the main purpose of participation is power redistribution, thereby enabling the destinations’ residents to fairly redistribute benefits and costs (Okazaki 2008). Attention to ‘power distribution’ is quite noticeable from early efforts regarding the definition of participation. Although the UN definition (1929), mentioned earlier, did not explicitly state distribution of power, the proposed concept requires a certain level of power sharing and transferring to the hitherto excluded. Similarly, Arnstein (1969), Cohen and Uphoff (1980), Gunn (1994), Roseland (2005) and Sebele (2010) also emphasize the power redistribution and gaining control over shaping local decisions as a result of citizen participation.

Partly as a result of there being a number of reasons for public participation in the tourism development process, it is subject to a great deal of debate. Debates surround the point that the term 'public participation' is elusive, ambiguous and vague. Several scholars (Mitchell 2001; Richards and Hall 2003; Mowforth and Munt 2009) pointed out that public participation is multi-dimensional and has to deal with the issue of representation, which is to say that the concept has to answer the questions of: (1) in what should the 'public' participate? (2) who participates? (3) in which context does the 'public' participate? A number of scholars (e.g. Mitchell 2001; Richards and Hall 2003) argue that there is no 'one' answer to these questions. Answers vary according to the environmental and socio-economic characteristic of each community as well as the agencies administering the tourism development process. Timothy and Tosun (2003) state that the process of participation and involvement in tourism development efforts differs according to sectors of political-economy in a country and predominant local conditions under which participation will be practiced. It is therefore necessary to be quite specific about what is meant in any particular situation (Timothy and Tosun 2003).

### *2.3.2) Public participation: who, what and how*

There is considerable literature that addresses participation and participatory approaches as an effort to take local wishes into account and consequently offset the negative impacts of tourism (Murphy 1985, Ryan and Montgomery 1994, Ko 2005) as well as empowering locals "in a general process to take control over tourism development in particular and other local matters in general" (Tosun 2005: 337). Yet, authors such as Bramwell and Sharman (1999), Reed (1997) and Madrigal (1995) have commented upon the power-laden component of tourism development and tourism planning. Thus in Reid *et al.*'s words (2004: 625) "it is not

sufficient to determine that more voices need to be heard, but one must investigate how this might be done and the repercussions therefore”. Mowforth and Munt (2009: 228) point out that,

... the emphasis on solidarity in communities together with closed and bounded conceptualisation of place, culture and community leads to the relegation of conflict and exclusion in communities, and a failure to understand social and power structure that greatly influence the conduct and outcome of participatory process.

The tourism destination's society is not a homogenous social entity, rather it is shaped; in terms of tourism, in accordance with local population mix, length of residency, extent of local ownership, level of local involvement in tourism and the existing decision-making power structure and processes in place (Mitchell and Reid 2001). As discussed earlier in this chapter, local residents and communities are often divided between groups with divergent interests which may not coincide with or may be completely opposed to each other (Butcher 1997). The stakeholders' perspectives of tourism development vary due to the fact that stakeholders have various values regarding matters in which they are involved (Beeton 2001, Vincent and Thompson 2002). In this regard, Ritchie (2001) criticises 'public participation' for being ignorant of the existing heterogeneity in terms of actors and stakeholders involved in tourism development process. Ritchie (2001) suggests that there exist three stakeholder groups within the destinations' communities. The groups are: residents, the tourism industry, and the local government. Other scholars such as Cock and Pfuller (2000), Wearing and Neil (1999) and Wheeler (1994) also suggest that major groups in most destinations are: the public sector, the private sector and the voluntary sector. The public sector includes the policy makers, government agencies, regional and local authorities and planners. The private sector

compromises entrepreneurs, corporations and mostly the tourism industry. And finally, the volunteers are non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and generally resident populations which are not part of other two sectors.

Conflict of interest, values and goals occurs between stakeholders (Yang *et al.* 2013). There are many examples in tourism literature for conflict of interests between different actors of tourism development in communities; conflict between the indigenous owners of the land and entrepreneurs over tourism development (Sofield 1996), the conflict between local residents at destination and outsider tourism industry over economic benefits from tourism (Georing 1990), the conflict between tourists and locals over limited resources (Urbanowicz 1977) and conflict and tensions between locals and local tourism administration (Feng 2008). These conflicts, which result from the different interests and values of stakeholders, coupled with the resource allocation, policy ideas and institutional practices embedded within society may often limit the amount of influence some individuals and groups will have on the decision-making and planning process, Bramwell and Sharman (1999) argue.

Moreover, commentators such as Okazaki (2008), Reed (1997) and Taylor (1995) challenged the participatory approach because it assumes that the planning and policy process is a pluralistic one in which people have equal access to economic and political resources. This assumption can be referred to as an issue of representation (Reed 1997). This is to say that not all these different groups are equally represented and involved in the participatory process of tourism development. It is very simplistic assumption that residents of a destination are willing and able to participate equally, Mowforth and Munt (2009) say. The argument here is, then, that contrary to the highly romanticized view of communal responsiveness and cohesion, at any destination there are many stakeholders with conflicting agendas (Ioannides

2003). This also leads to the greater consideration of power relations. Neutralisation of power structures and political priorities are repeatedly noted by scholars such as Tosun (2005) as limitation of public participation in tourism development process, particularly regarding developing countries. It is frequently suggested in tourism literature (Reed 1997; Okazaki 2008) that participation of all stakeholders in a process that meets their needs can overcome power imbalances; however, power relations may alter the outcome of participative efforts. According to Church and Coles (2007: 3), the challenge is to progress beyond the conventional conceptualisation of power as “a notion that handily serves to explain ambiguous asymmetries among different stakeholders in the development process, or which helps to describe vaguely the unequal allocation of resources”. Rather, constructs of power should be placed firmly at the centre of tourism studies in order to understand that “how power manifest itself, how it is expressed, and the multiple ways in which it is articulated, circulated and not even used in tourism” (Church and Coles 2007: 3). With this regard, Reed (1997) points out that although some scholars such as Jamal and Getz (1995) have addressed the issue of power and authority by including legitimate stakeholders in the participative planning process, these propositions fail to explain why, how and under what circumstances, those with power would be willing to distribute it to others particularly where power is not initially equal. This is to say that the hidden but also often highly visible presence of power relations within the community as well as in the production, governance and consumption of tourism should be taken into account if the explanations of participatory tourism development are to be advanced. As such, Reed (1997) asserts there is a need for a typology of power relations in order to understand how power relations operate with community setting and how they influence tourism development.

### *2.3.3) A typology of power relations*

Reed's assertion (1997) of power relations implies that power is held and contested across multiple policy arenas: development, allocation and organisations. While these three levels can be separately addressed, in reality, they frequently overlap. However, by separating these issues, "the typology can help explain why certain elements of the community's power structure will be mobilised to act and what tactics they might use to respond to community-based planning processes" (Reed 1997: 570). The arenas are as follows:

- Developmental policy arenas: At this level, individual private entrepreneurs in the community determine the decision-making which is primarily market driven. Local government also plays a conventional role as it is responsible for land development within its own boundaries and it relies on local businesses to provide jobs and tax revenues.
- Allocational policy arenas: "allocational policies include a broad range of public services that have traditionally been provided by local government. Theories of community politics suggest that decision-making related to service functions is frequently subject to competitive political struggles at the local level involving a broad range of individual and groups" (Reed 1997: 571). In this arena, it is not access to the economic resources that defines who participates in decision-making, rather it is interest, activity, and information about the issues, knowledge of the political processes and organisational and public relations skills.
- Organisational policy arenas: organisational policies refer to those that address the issues of who will make decisions in the community and who will take responsibility for them. This is to say that authority for decision-making is shared among different tiers of government as well as among different stakeholders within a local community. It is no longer feasible for elected representatives and their delegated officials to make all decisions as a

result of the rise of public participation in different aspects of community development (Reed 1997).

Applying the typology of power relations to emergent tourism settings, tourism is conventionally viewed as a developmental matter. This is to say that within tourism destinations, residents and businesses may offer alternative economic perspectives. This may lead them to struggle with each other over the nature and direction of developmental policies. Moreover, emergent tourism within communities requires funds to be allocated to the local infrastructure and services which may only service visitors who do not contribute to local communities. Therefore, “questions about who will be involved in decisions about tourism may emerge where demographic and economic changes are occurring within local communities”, Reed (1997: 573) argues.

Discussions up to here imply that there are a number of different types of public participation in tourism development as a result of existence of power relations and different political, social and cultural practices which can build relations among relevant stakeholders. Three types of participation that are most cited in tourism literature will be discussed in the next section in order to have a better understanding of the concept of public participation in the tourism development process.

### *2.3.4) Public participation: Typologies*

It has been established earlier in this chapter that there is no one standard definition and process of participation, rather it varies according to different context. This means different destinations participate in tourism development in different ways.

In an attempt to have a better understanding of different levels of participation, two important authors have developed a participation typology which is frequently cited and applied in tourism community participation literature (see Mason, 2003). Those two are Arnstein (1969) and Pretty (1995). Arnstein (1969) developed a ladder (or typology) of citizen participation with levels of non-participation, tokenism and citizen power.

- Non-participation levels: the first two rungs of the ladder are: ‘manipulation’ and ‘therapy’. Arnstein (1969) argues that these levels of non-participation have been shaped by some substitute for genuine participation because their real objective is not to enable people to participate in the development or planning process, but to enable those in power to educate or cure the participants.
- Tokenism levels: the third rung of the ladder is ‘informing’ and the fourth is ‘consultation’. At these levels the participants have the opportunity to speak and their voice may be heard. However, under this tokenism condition, they lack power to ensure that their message will be heeded by the powerful. As described by Arnstein (1969), commonly in this context, the public just follows the plan and they have no power to change the status quo. The fifth level is ‘placation’, which is a higher level in tokenism because the public is allowed to have ground rules, but the power or right to decide still belongs to the hands of the elites.

- Citizen power levels: these levels of ladder have increasing levels of citizen control. The sixth level is 'partnership' that allows citizens to negotiate and engage in trade-off with those in power. At the seventh level of 'delegated power' and the eighth, level of 'citizen control', citizens have the majority of the decision-making seats or they have full managerial control.

Arnstein's (1969) typology reflects possible forms of participation to some good extent; nevertheless, it has been modified by Pretty (1995). Seven stages of community participation that were suggested by Pretty (1995) are as follows:

- manipulative participation,
- passive participation,
- participation by consultation,
- bought participation,
- functional participation,
- interactive participation,
- self-mobilisation and connectedness.

In the first two stages, manipulative and passive stages, people participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. People are consulted in the second stage; however, the process does not concede any share in decision-making. The next form of participation is that people participate in return for material incentives. In functional participation, the next stage, participation is seen by external agencies as means to achieve their goals, in other words, people participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives. In the fifth stage, people participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or

strengthening of local groups or institutions. And in the final two stages, people participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over resources. (Also see Table 2.1)

Table (2.1): Pretty's typology of participation

Typology	Characteristic of each type
Manipulative participation	Participation is simply a pretence: 'people' representatives on official boards, but they are unelected and have no power
Passive participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened: involves unilateral announcements by project management without any listening to people responses: information shared belongs only to external professionals
Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions: external agents define problems and information gathering processes, and so control analysis: process does not concede any share in decision-making: professionals under no obligation to account for people's views
Participation for material incentives	People participate by contributing resources (e.g. labour) in return for food, cash or other material incentive: this is commonly called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end
Functional participation	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goal, especially reduced costs: people may participate by forming groups to meet project objectives: involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision-making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already been made by external agents: at worst, local people may still only be co-opted to serve external goals
Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and strengthening of local institutions: participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals: the process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and use systematic and structured learning process. As groups take control of local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they

	have a stake in maintaining structures and practices
Self-mobilisation	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change system: they develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over resource use: self-mobilisation can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. Self-mobilisation may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power

Pretty (1995)

Pretty's typology was focused on the development process in developing countries; however, it could be helpful for tourism studies in terms of the emphasise on the importance of the power relationships involved in any tourism development project.

Building upon the work of Arnstein (1969) and Pretty (1995), Tosun (1999a) created his model. Tosun's model is distinguished by elaborating each type of public participation with special references to the tourism industry while Arnstein's (1969) and Pretty's (1995)' models are built up in the context of developmental studies in general.

Tosun's typology (1999a) classifies three types of public participation: spontaneous, induced and coercive. Spontaneous participation is the highest and corresponds to what Arnstein (1969) named the degree of citizen power and also to self-mobilisation in Pretty's (1995) model (Tosun 1999a). Spontaneous participation denotes full managerial responsibility and authority to the destination's residents. The middle category in Tosun's model, induced participation, tallies with Arnstein's citizen tokenism, and functional participation with participation by consultation or participation for material incentives as described by Pretty (1995). In this middle level, the best of participation that could happen is that the public has

the opportunity to have its voice in tourism development process, but they are not powerful enough to ensure that their views will be taken into account by other powerful groups. “It is top-down passive and indirect. Destination communities may participate in implementation and sharing benefits of tourism, but not in the decision making process” (Tosun 2006: 495). The lowest rung of the ladder of Tosun’s (1999a) model is coercive participation representing ‘manipulative’ in Arnstein’s (1969) model and ‘passive’ in Pretty’ (1995) model. Coercive participation is manipulated and contrived as a substitute for genuine participation. “The real objective is not to enable people to participate in the tourism development process, but to enable power holders to educate or cure host communities to turn away potential and actual threats to future of tourism development” (Tosun 2006: 495).

The advantage of these typologies is that “unlike many other attempts to pin down the elusive nature of community participation, these categorical and flexible approaches for community power succeed in clarifying the concept of community participation, which is analytical and comprehensive” (Tosun 2005: 336).

The summary points of these typologies are that public participation takes place at different levels and each level has different actors. Moreover the importance of various power relations at each level of participation has been discussed. In this line of thought, therefore, the usual stance is that the local public is about to be empowered to decide what forms of tourism facilities and development plans they want to be developed, and how the tourism costs and benefits are to be shared among different stakeholders (Tosun 2006). Therefore, there should be some clarification on ‘empowerment’ and ‘power relations’.

## **2.4) Public participation: empowerment and power relations**

One suggested solution for difficulties in participation associated with tourism development is to develop ‘power to the people’ locally on the ground, including primarily, but not exclusively, destination residents and other destination stakeholders (Timothy 2007). This process of transferring power to local public and stakeholders has become popularly known as ‘empowerment’ (Goodman 2004). Rowlands (1997: 14) states that “empowerment is more than participation in decision-making; it must also include the processes that lead people to perceive themselves as able and entitled to make decisions”. Empowerment is also referred to as the capacity of individuals or community to exert control over factors that affect their lives. As explained by Cole (2006: 97),

... it represents the top end of the participation ladder where members of a community are active agents of change and they have ability to find solutions to their problems, make decisions, implement actions and evaluate their solutions.

O’Neal and O’Neal (2003) demonstrate that the very process of empowerment can only take place through the exercise of power in one form or another. This is to say that the core concept of empowerment is therefore “the taking on of power at both individual and social levels” (Sofield 2003: 50) which will subsequently open the door to confidence, self-esteem, knowledge and new skills (Dredge 2006).

Furthermore, Rocha (1997) links the variation in empowerment conceptualization to the variation in citizen participation. Rocha’s (1997) ladder explores empowerment in a manner similar to citizen participation.

### 2.4.1) *The ladder of empowerment*

“The ladder of empowerment is a typology, constructed with the intent of disentangling the web of conflicting empowerment theory”, Rocha (1997: 31) argues. She additionally explains that the ladder of empowerment is based on two similarities with Arnstein’s ladder of participation. First, the steps of the ladder progress from less to more – in Arnstein’s case from manipulative participation to meaningful participation of the community involved; and in empowerment from individual empowerment to community empowerment. Second, in the ladder of participation, each step represents a legitimate effort to provide some type of participation opportunity to the community. In the ladder of empowerment, also, each step represents a ‘good faith’ effort by organisations to facilitate a specific type of empowerment with its own methods, goals and appropriate locus. Building on Arnstein’s ladder, Rocha (1997) asserts the ladder of empowerment including five rungs (See Table 2.2).

Table (2.2): Rocha’s ladder of empowerment, from individual empowerment towards  
community empowerment

Rung one	Atomistic individual empowerment
Rung two	Embedded individual empowerment
Rung three	Mediated empowerment
Rung four	Socio-political empowerment
Rung five	Political empowerment

Rocha (1997)

According to Rocha (1997), the types of empowerment can be distinguished by examining four constitutive dimensions:

- Locus: the intended arena of change, from individual to community;
- Process: the actual methods used to obtain the desired results, from individual therapy to state challenging political action;
- Goals: the intended outcomes and changes in skills or circumstances, from simply increased individual coping to altering institutional arrangements;
- Power experience: from power being exercised over to exercising power.

Rocha (1997) elaborates further each rung of the empowerment ladder considering the mentioned dimensions.

*Atomistic individual empowerment* is the first step. The locus of this phase is the individual, the goal is to increase individual efficiency and the process includes altering the emotional or physical state of the individual. The power, in this step, is gained from the support of powerful others. “This type of empowerment is most usefully applied to individual problems [such as housing or employment] that do not require alteration in systems, social relations or structural changes, over which the individual has not control, for its success” (Rocha 1997: 35).

*Embedded individual empowerment* is the second rung in the ladder of empowerment. This variation emphasises on the individual’s immediate context. Moreover, this step’s process is about recognition of the importance of the surrounding environment. “Embedded individual empowerment considers the person-environment fit, contextual variables and their relationship to empowerment” (Rocha 1997). This is to say that not only participation is important but also the role the individual is allowed to have and how much decision-making power one could actually possess are crucial.

The third rung is called *mediated empowerment*. The process of this type of empowerment is mediated by an expert or professional. Depending on circumstances, the locus can be either the individual or community and providing necessary knowledge and information for individual or community decision-making is its goal. There are two types of mediated models, 'prevention' and 'rights', Rocha (1997) argues. The significant difference between these two models is that in the prevention model the individual, group and community are viewed as 'children' whose needs are prescribed by 'parents' which in this case is translated to social program or an expert; while in the rights model the individual and community are essentially viewed as citizens who are capable of exercising choice with guidance and expertise from the professional.

Rocha (1997: 37) explains that "until this point, the discussion has only addressed the power experience of those becoming empowered. Since the mediated empowerment model is explicitly predicated upon a relationship based on unequal knowledge, the power experience of the dominant partner is relevant to the discussion and often determines the potential for empowerment". This is to say in the next two stages of empowerment, the stages of socio-political and political empowerment, the emphasis is on the process of change within a community as well as the struggle to alter social, political and economic relations. Therefore, the forth and the fifth rungs of the empowerment ladder are *socio-political* and *political empowerment*. In Rocha's (1997: 38) words, "the core of the socio-political empowerment is the development of a critical socio-political awareness and shifting the focus from individual characteristics to the structure of public policy and social attitudes". In the last two phases of empowerment, then, a community's transformation from an object that is acted upon, to a subject capable of acting upon is expected. This is to say, that communities experience the competition for and winning resources as a result of a change of direction of actions toward

institutional alteration. Thus, the final level of empowerment consists of two core elements according to Rocha (1997: 38): “(1) critical reflection by the community and members of community (individuals) rethinking their relationship to structure of power and (2) collective actions upon those structures”.

Applying the ladder of empowerment in the context of tourism, scholars such as Parpart *et al.* (2002) and Rowlands (1997) state that empowerment is not simply about participation in decision-making, it must also include the processes that lead communities to perceive themselves as able and entitled to make decisions. As such, Scheyvens (2003), in line with the rungs of the empowerment ladder, asserts four dimensions for empowerment in a tourism context moving from individual to collective empowerment. The dimensions are: economic gain, self-esteem, social empowerment and political empowerment. Firstly, the most prominent benefits documented in the tourism literature to promote and support tourism development are economic benefits (Lindberg *et al.* 2001). Tourism development provides job opportunities, brings foreign exchange and contributes to government revenue and income per capita (Lickorish and Jenkins 1997). Increased investment (Liu *et al.* 1987) and more business activity at local level (Prentice 1993) are also mentioned as positive economic gains of tourism development. Moreover, it is expected that tourism development generates the impetus to improve and develop further community infrastructure and services (Var and Kim 1989). Not only are economic gains the most repeated positive impact of tourism in almost entire the literature, but also it is argued that economic empowerment could lead to psychological and social empowerment (Cole 2007).

The second dimension of empowerment, according to Scheyvens (2003), is psychological empowerment which is about self-esteem. Tourism development can bring the revitalisation of arts, crafts and local culture and to the realisation of cultural identity and heritage (Kousis 1996). Psychological empowerment then is about pride in cultural fabric as a result of outside recognition of the uniqueness and value of the culture. Through psychological empowerment, destination residents gain a sense of ownership and belonging (Nel and Binns 2002). Laverack and Wallerstein (2001) explain that psychological empowerment deals primarily with individuals but as individual self-esteem and confidence grow, empowerment is enhanced through collective social identity.

The third dimension is social empowerment (Scheyvens 2003). Empowerment from the social perspective should enhance the destination's equilibrium and cohesiveness (Timothy 2007). The social contribution of tourism development can be described as the effects on communities of direct and indirect relations with tourism industry, and of interaction with that (UNEP 2006). Authors such as Page (2003) and Ratz (2000) state a greater investment in education, improvement in health care and changes in value systems and collective lifestyle as aspects of social impacts of tourism development. Through the process of social empowerment it is expected that more access to information, knowledge and skills will be provided for communities enabling them to plan, develop and maintain projects in their destinations (Gonzales 1998). Tourism development may also modify the internal structure of the community (Bunt and Courtney 1999). This may aid a particular group of community such as women to have a say in or negotiate with existing unequal development delivery system (Goodman 2004). Goodman (2004) suggests that gender inequality in terms of distribution of tourism benefits is expected to be alleviated if a community is empowered in a real sense. Through providing tourism services such as handicraft production, women will

have more control over their own financial security. Yet, it has been argued by Cornwall (2003) that despite the fact that women are often faced with the greatest tasks and challenges associated with the implementation of tourism development, men tend to receive most of the tourism revenue. This is to say that if social empowerment is to happen, revenue distribution is not enough; rather it has to be through meaningful participation of have-not citizens in gaining skills, setting agendas and decision-making process (Edwards *et al.* 2003).

The fourth dimension, in Scheyven's (2003) view is political empowerment. This may be interpreted in a sense that empowerment is about a change in power balance between actors; a shift in balance between the powerful groups and those with less access to power. Clark *et al.* (2007) assert that empowerment requires recognising the interdependence of individuals and social groups and a shift from 'power over' to 'power with'. Campbell and Marshall (2000) argue that political perspective focuses on the rights of individual people to be able to express themselves and pursue their own self-interests. When people are able to organise and mobilise themselves for the common good, they will become politically more powerful, Laverack and Wallerstein (2001) argue.

Sofield (2003: 112) encapsulates empowerment as a multidimensional process that provides the public with,

... the opportunity to choose; the ability to make decisions; the capacity to implement/apply those decisions; acceptance of responsibility for those decisions and actions and their consequences; and outcomes directly benefiting the community and its members, not directed or channelled into other communities and/or their members.

While discussions about empowerment seem to share the same notion and dimensions, it appears strange, as Tosun (2005) argues that participation does not automatically lead to empowerment. Researchers such as Page (2003) argue that although good practice of participation may be noticeable in some destinations, public participation and consequently empowerment cannot be separated from the complex interrelationships between locality, socio-economic characteristics and power realities that impact upon destinations and that can either help or hinder participation and empowerment. This is also to say that latent in empowerment are the socio-cultural backgrounds, value and identities brought to the political-economic episode by all parties, as well as the socially constructed nature of the 'power' and 'empower' (Taylor 2000; Coles and Scherle 2007).

Moreover, these socio-political characteristics of destinations are not concrete, but rather new forms of social values and power relations are formed as a result of continuous interactive relations between communities and tourism development. Power relations then should be regarded as being negotiated and a contested notion (Wearing *et al.* 2002) and thus the dynamic of power relations between residents, tourists and tourism industry are always subject to change (Cheong *et al.* 2000). Taking the fluid character of power relations into account, empowerment should be perceived as the effect of dynamic process of tourism development in which residents, tourist organizations, non-governmental organizations, governmental as well as development agencies interact. It should be clear by now, that public participation takes place with regards to the unique characteristic of the destination in question; hence, power relations may act differently and empowerment may emerge differently.

These arguments discussed above leave enough room to pose questions about the practicality of public participation proposals (Tosun 2006; Jackson and Morpeth 1999): what is the form and mode of participation? Is participation effective in all conditions? Who is responsible for deciding on the form and level of participation? Rather than finding immediate answers, these questions are helpful to draw attention towards understanding how members of a community communicate and interact, how they are influenced in their opinions and how this dynamic process of influence might be successfully managed for participation and empowerment (Bramwell and Sharman 1999). As argued by Church and Coles (2007), asking for more equitable, fair and locally empowering forms of tourism production, governance and consumption are inevitably political processes and are the subject of power relations amongst constituencies. Contestation, consensus and dissonance among competing participants necessitate “an interest how power is exercised, by whom, in what manner of political arrangement and to what end” (Church and Coles 2007: 8). Therefore, the process of a community-wide dialogue and negotiations over power and control, as central elements affecting participation and empowerment (Pearce *et al.* 1996), are understood better in the light of the realisation of the shape of civil society in any destination (Burns 2004).

In tourism literature there are several references to the role of civil society in the process of public participation in tourism development (See for example, Bramwell and Meyer 2007; Burns 2004; Krutwayscho and Bramwell 2010; Seng 2005). Civil society is not necessarily a place of civility, but can be the site of struggle, multi-vocality and paradox, as well as an arena for politics and power relations and should be important for any research with participation concerns (Seng 2005). It is therefore inevitable to address the notion of civil society, its roots and implications in order to have a better understanding of how public participation in tourism development is influenced, shaped or challenged by it in different contexts. The following section addresses the concept of civil society and goes further in

illuminating the interwoven relationships between civil society and the type and extent of participation in tourism development and empowerment.

## **2.5) Conceptualising civil society**

The first step in addressing civil society is to understand its concept. Civil society has been defined in a variety of ways, from the very specific, which focuses on types of organization, or aspects of a society, that are deemed to be a component of civil society, to a more general and more ambiguous understanding that does not offer precise explanation of the distinguishing value of civil society (Hawthorne 2004). It is not the purpose of this section to present an exhaustive account of literature on the definition of civil society; however, it provides a review of key arguments and issues.

The concept of civil society emerged in the late eighteenth century; however, it seems to have largely disappeared from intellectual discourse until the 1990s and early 2000s (Lewis 2002). With the end of the Cold War, civil society re-emerged as a panacea leading to the socio-political changes (for example in Eastern Europe countries) (ibid). However, the understanding of civil society has changed between the earlier meanings and more recent ones.

One of the earlier visions of civil society is the Hegelian one. In Hegelian understanding, civil society is seen as a battlefield of potentially conflicting interests (Cohen and Arato 1992). The Hegelian perspective also suggests that within the development of civil society

one part may impede or oppress other parts (Cohen and Arato 1992). Another important understanding of civil society is Gramsci's, which considers civil society as a tool against coercive power of an existing state structure (Howell and Pearce 2001). Lewis (2002: 572) indicates that Gramsci's civil society is the arena, separate from state and market, in which ideological hegemony is contested, implying that civil society contains a wide range of different organizations and ideologies which both challenge and uphold existing order.

In a similar vein, Cohen (cited in Buechler 1995: 450) defines civil society as "a sphere that is both differentiated from and connected to the state and that gives social actors the space to translate life-world concerns into systemic priorities of change".

Additionally, there is another argument that considers civil society as a sector which mainly counters the state. For example, Fukuyama (2001) advocates civil society as a check on state power. According to Fukuyama (2001: 11), "the role of civil society is to balance the power of the state and to protect individuals from the state's power". Civil society, in this line of thought, represents a set of voluntary organizations such as non-governmental organizations, labour unions, business associations and interest and advocacy groups which are believed to moderate the state and market and are often used in reference to promoting democracy.

It is not the purpose of the field research to suggest a definition for civil society; however, reviewing definitions is intended to be helpful to understand the overarching concepts which indicate the structure of civil society and the role it plays, as both a concept and in practice, in shaping and influencing participation. Ishkanian (2008) asserts that there are three themes for

civil society: (1) as a space for critical discourse; (2) the space where individuals negotiate with political and economic control centres and (3) a collective of formal non-governmental institutions. Each of these visions of civil society draws attention to a key element of it. However, it is important to address civil society with a more inclusive and integrated approach with regards to the need for acknowledging civil society as a space in which a continuous transformation is happening.

Carothers and Brandt (1999) argue that it should be remembered that civil society is not a cohesive group of noble causes and earnest, well intentioned actors; rather it is an amalgamation of a diverse group of actors. This is to say, as established earlier, that public interest is itself disputed and conflict of interests and cracks within civil society are expected. Keane (1998) argues that civil society as a complex and inter-wined notion has a different implication depending on the socio-cultural context in which it is used. Therefore, civil society is not a natural occurrence, but rather an outcome of changes which take place over a period of time, (Keane, 1998).

In summary, literature indicates that civil society is a dynamic construct which generates and is generated by dialogue among heterogeneous social groups. Civil society becomes particularly relevant to this thesis in understanding how civil society in any context can play a role in the process of community participation in tourism development.

## **2.6) Civil society, participation and power relations**

It has been discussed, earlier in this chapter, that the type and extent of the participatory approach in tourism development and its likely outcome, empowerment, are influenced and

challenged by the existing power relations in and socio-cultural structures of the destination (Telfer and Sharpley 2008). Moreover, it has been indicated that civil society is deemed as the sphere where power relations are not only reproduced, but also challenged (Howell and Pearce 2001). Participation in tourism development thus relates to civil society where civil society can frame an emerging relationship between community, tourism industry and the state (Burns 2004). Civil society, as an arena which allows debate, contestation and negotiation, has come to play a major role in theoretical and practical views on participatory approaches towards development (Ottaway and Carothers 2000). Carothers and Brandt (1999) argue that civil society can discipline the state and foster a participatory environment in which citizens are encouraged to take part in social life. Furthermore, civil society and its various components has come to our attention because of its potential impact on the decision-making process and improving policies (Benford and Snow 2000), which is also an end goal of the participatory approach.

Authors such as Tosun (2005) argue that participation, in general, is a political activity which is an indicator of civic atmosphere of the context in which tourism development happens. Saxena (2005) also attests that participation in tourism development depends on taking control and accountability from central authorities and giving it to community organisations and civil institutes. Community associations and civil institutions can facilitate the mobilisation of residents for engaging in tourism development (Saxena 2006), in addition to, establishing channels of communication among the various stakeholders (Aas *et al.* 2005). However, a key question particularly in many developing countries is, are community organisations and associations strong enough to challenge authorities on this matter. This can be investigated by taking into account the shape and extent of the civil society in specific contexts.

The state as a well-known powerful actor should be subject to a critical investigation. One of the main barrier that challenges adopting a participatory approach is ‘centralized planning’ by the state (Burns 2004; Bianchi 2002). Central public administrations of tourism development mostly in developing countries have seen tourism as a relatively easy and effective means to gain maximum economic benefits. Thus “tourism is too important for the central government to leave to locals and non-governmental organizations at local level” (Tosun 2005: 346). Commentators such as Clark (1995) argue that an autonomous civil society is necessary to guard against the excesses of state power. Mercer (2002) also suggests that civil society’s components can play roles at different levels, either in mobilizing pressure for change in patterns of participation, or in publicly scrutinizing the state and open more room for wider citizen participation.

However, not everyone argues that a participatory civil society is necessarily a more effective, or, indeed, a better form of society. Yuksel *et al.* (2005) assert that shifting the power from state to either the private sector or non-governmental organization does not automatically lead to strengthening the participatory approach. This is to say that in a socio-political context that power relations are a matter of debate, control over tourism development is most likely transferred from the state to another elite group. State or tourism development administrations mostly tend to ensure that considerable central government influence will remain (Turner and Hulme 1997) and it is very likely that power transfers from the state organizations to the selected actors entailing patronage relationships with the state. Therefore, the public is still given little more than a symbolic opportunity to participate in order to defuse discontent (Sofield 2003). The process of transferring authority towards civil society hence should be cautiously addressed bearing in mind that civil society is not a homogeneous entity. Chandhoke (2007) argues that civil society groups such as non-

governmental organizations may be in the 'business of democracy' and may widen the political agenda to include more plural voices, but these organizations or groups are not necessarily representative of popular will or accountable to the people for their acts of omission and commission.

## **2.7) Summary**

This chapter has provided an account of debates about the notion of community in the context of tourism development. It was discussed that, although there has been a tendency to define the term 'community' in general and in the context of tourism development; there are disagreements on the scope of community. The definition of community, thus, differs according to each particular study to fulfil the requirements of particular research. A working definition of community based on amalgamation of discussions therefore was suggested for the purpose of this thesis. Discussions then moved to the notion of participation in tourism development and the typologies of participation. Although it was suggested that participation is often considered to be a 'bottom-up' approach seeking a positive share of power, skills and capabilities for all stakeholders, analysis has revealed that participation does not guarantee empowerment. It has been suggested that the socio-economic characteristics and power structures of each context are the main conditions determining the practicality of participation in tourism development process and its effectiveness. In connection with power relations and the need for negotiation among different actors, the notion of civil society has been raised. As a legitimate public actor, civil society participates alongside, not replaces, state and market institutions in the decision-making to resolve collective problems (Edwards and Foley 1998). Yet, the shape and amount of space that civil society obtains in each context circumscribes its scope of activities and the impacts it has on participation. It has been argued, in line with

Wiktorowicz (2000), that it is crucial to understand the context created by state-civil society dynamic when examining whether civil society institutions are a source of collective empowerment.

# **Chapter Three**

## **An overview of the tourism development in Shiraz/Iran**

### **3.1) Introduction**

This chapter aims to place tourism development in the context of Shiraz. In order to do so, the fact that tourism development is a reflection of the socio-economic characteristics of Iran cannot be ignored. It has been discussed in Chapter Two that arguments for public participation in the tourism development process and empowerment need to be accompanied by attempts to uncover the power relations that shape tourism development. As such, this chapter discusses the socio-political economy of Iran, as the broader context of this research and focuses on the contemporary political economy of Iran from the discovery of oil to the present time since the oil revenue is one of the main features of Iran's socio-political economy. However, the main aim of chapter is to provide background material on the history of Iran and the nature of Iranian civil society. It is provided in particular in relation to how the components of civil society in Iran interact in the process of tourism development. The chapter then provides background information on tourism status in Shiraz and ends with critical investigation of tourism development in Shiraz.

### 3.2) Iran: a brief history

Figure (3.1): Map of Iran



Iran, a country with 1,648,000 square kilometre area located in the south-west of Asia, is a Middle-Eastern country. Iran is a country with long coastal lines in both the North and the South, plains in North and West, central deserts surrounded by mountain ranges. This geographical diversity formed diverse climate and ecology within the country. In addition to this ecological variety, there is a history of three thousand years of civilisation which results a cultural diversity or in better words a mosaic of different ethnicities such as Turks, Kurds, Lurs, Baluchs and so on, and different life-style and mode of production such as nomadic,

rural and modernised urban. These diverse geographical features and relatively long history of well-developed human settlements results in a variety of potential tourism attractions.

According to the National Population and Housing Census (NHPC) (2011), Iran's population exceeded 75 million in 2011. The NPHC also indicated that 50.4 % of the population are male and 49.6 % are female; 71.4 % are urban based, 28.5 % are rural based and 1 % are unsettled (e.g. nomadic) in 2011.

### *3.2.1) Pre-revolution: 1950s to 1979*

The discovery of oil in 1901 was significant in the socio-economic development of Iran. During the course of 1954 to 1976, oil provided Iran with more than \$55 billion (Fesharaki 1976). In most years of this period, it gave the government more than 60 % of its revenues and 70 % of its foreign exchange (ibid). Abrahamian (2008) elaborates that the Shah of Iran, the then ruler, expanded the state structure, the military and the bureaucracy, thanks to rising oil revenue. In the period between 1954 and 1977, the military budget grew twelvefold and its share of the annual characteristic of Iran (Abrahamian 2008). The state's source of income changed from the agricultural surplus to the oil/petrol revenues paid in foreign exchange directly to the state from 1954 (See Table 3.1).

Table (3.1): Turning points of oil revenues 1954-1976

Year	Oil revenue as (%) of foreign exchange receipt
1954-1955	15
1960-61	60
1962-63	70

1964-65	76
1968-69	53
1972-73	58
1973-74	66
1975-76	72

Drived from Fesharaki (1976)

The expansion of the state bureaucracy was also significant (Graham 1979). By 1977, the state was directly paying the wages of one in two full-time employees. The state also financed indirectly a number of quasi-government institutions such as the Central Bank, the National Radio and Television and the National Film Company (Abrahamian 2008). The Shah “took full advantage of the oil boom to inaugurate with even more fanfare his new Great Civilisation”, Abrahamian (2008: 132) states. A minor industrial revolution occurred: port facilities were improved, the trans-Iranian railway was expanded linking Tehran to other big cities like Mashad, Tabriz and Isfahan; main roads between Tehran and other provincial capitals were asphalted; as well as the major financing of oil refineries and the petrochemical industries. Moreover, educational institutions grew and health programs increased (Abrahamian 2008). Oil revenue affected the patterns of development and administration, but “promoted a reliance on import services and speculative activity rather than long-term investment” (Karl 1997: 53).

As the ‘Shah state’ expanded, the economy became more dependent on exporting oil. In 1976, Iran was the world’s second largest oil exporter (Fesharaki 1976). However, Iran, which was a net exporter of food in the 1960s, spent \$1 billion a year in the mid-1970s importing agricultural products (Cage 1978). Furthermore, the Shah’s preferred development widened the gap between social groups (Mansour 1979). The International Labour Office (1972) indicated that Iran was one of the worst in the whole world, in terms of unequal income distribution.

As Graham (1979) explains the Shah's strategy was to give oil wealth to the court-connected elite who would be helped then set up factories, companies and agro-businesses. In practice, however, "wealth tended to stick at the top, with less and less finding its way down the social ladder" (Abrahamian 2008: 140). Twenty years before the end of the last century, Frances FitzGerald (1980) claimed that,

Iran is basically worse off than a country like Syria that has neither oil nor political stability. The reason for all this is simply that the Shah has never made a serious attempt at development... The wealth of the country has gone into private cars rather than buses, into consumer goods rather than public health, and into the salaries of soldiers and policemen rather than those of teachers.

### *3.2.2) Post-revolution: 1979 to the present time*

Social inequalities coupled with political clashes were key factors behind the revolution in 1979. Kurzman (2004) asserts that the revolution of 1979 was the result of expanded state bureaucracy and military, divided social classes and overwhelming pressures and political tensions. In other words, while the Shah's state was concentrating on 'modernisation project', it failed to improve living conditions of peripheral regions and marginal groups which consequently mobilised the oppositions.

The new revolutionary regime survived despite the conventional assumption that revolutionary people, mostly clergies, are not capable of running a country. The state consolidated its power and the central bureaucracy grew from twenty ministries in 1979 to twenty-six in 1982 (Abrahamian 2008). As happened in the period of the Shah's rule, the

expansion was only possible due to the oil revenues which on average brought \$15 billion a year throughout the 1980s (Economist 2003). However, the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988) changed the situation. The oil revenue reached its lowest level, \$6 billion in 1986 while the state was responsible for providing all basic goods. It introduced price controls, food cooperatives and even tried to nationalise all foreign trade (Abrahamian 2008). The Industries Ministry took over factories abandoned by sixty-four entrepreneurs (Iran Times 1980). In addition to expansion of ministries, the state created some semi-public foundations which were also at least partly religious (Schirazi 1993). In particular, Bonyad Mostazafan va Janbazan (Foundation for the Oppressed and Disabled) was one of the most important foundations as it became a resourceful organisation which is excused from taxation (Schirazi 1993). Its assets increased as a result of confiscation of the properties of some pre-revolution millionaires. By the late 1980s, its assets were more than \$20 billion (ibid).

At the end of the Iran-Iraq War, the oil revenue, again, started to flow in again and increased from \$6 billion in 1987 to \$19 billion in 1990 (Benia 1992). As a result, the state abolished rationing, eased price controls and tried to balance the budget and began to import consumer goods (Schirazi 1993). Significantly, the state reduced the defence budget to less than two percent of GNP (it was 17 % in 1976) (Abrahamian 2008). Therefore, there were more resources available to inject into development programs such as education, health, electrification, rural roads, urban renewal and petrochemicals.

However, in 1994 the oil price dropped from \$20 per barrel of 1991 to \$12 per barrel. This factor, coupled to Iran's external debt and American sanctions led to an economic recession. Then an era of reform was begun, using the "themes of nourishing 'civil society', and curing

the sick economy” (Abrahamian 2008: 187). The oil price also increased from \$10 per barrel IN 1997 to \$65 in 2003. This enabled the state to continue its development programs such as access to medical facilities and safe water, literacy, mortality rate and gender inequalities. The economic growth provided the state an opportunity to financially assist NGOs, local clubs, theatres and cultural centres, newspapers and book publishing; as part of the promised civil society (Abrahamian 2008).

The oil revenue boom also enabled the state to put aside a portion of its income for emergencies. Moreover, a new approach in international affairs increased the foreign investment. For example, European, Russian and Japanese firms invested \$12 billion in the oil, gas and automobile industries between 1999 and 2004 (Economist Intelligence Unit 2004).

However, towards the end of the second round of the presidency of President Khatami (2005) political clashes grew. The reformists, partially members of the cabinet and parliament, were in more trouble particularly after President Bush designated Iran part of the international terrorist network (Abrahamian 2008). Consequently, conservatives hit back. During the period of conservatives (2005-2013), international relations became hostile once again and international sanctions, both with respect to investment and financial intermediation, increased, yet Iran continued to have the oil revenue as its main source of income (Abrahamian 2008). According to the CIA World Factbook (2012), the annual export bill of Iran was \$66.37 billion including 80 % oil and petrochemical products; while total annual imports were \$66.97 billion including technical services, industrial supplies and consumer goods. However, government tax revenue had increased from 7.3 % in 2008 to 13.8 % in

2012 (CIA World Factbook 2012). As Kazemi (2001: 89) noted, dependence on one major export, “with its significant social and political implications, continued to define the essential for economy”.

This review of the contemporary political-economic history of Iran has been provided in order to understand the nature of Iranian civil society and its effect on tourism development in Iran. Prior to discussing tourism development in Iran, the nature of Iranian civil society is discussed.

### **3.3) The nature of Iranian civil society**

Iran’s civil society, it is claimed began to emerge and develop following the President Khatami victory in 1997 (Abrahamian 2008). However, scholars such as Kamali (1998) argue that civil society in the form of voluntary organisations outside the realm of the state and economy has a long history in Iran. This has been the result of cultural norms and is in the form of traditional community-based organisations such as charities and mosque organisations.

However, Razzaghi (2010) differentiates these traditional civil society organisations from the modern civil society in Iran and describes traditional civil society in Iran as lacking respect for democratic values, human rights and gender rights. Razzaghi (2010) argues that the movement for the so-called ‘modern’ civil society began in the early 1990s. Kian-Thiebaut (1999) explains the call for reform by some politicians and social groups was the result of an

economic pressure, caused by the dropping of the oil price between 1991 and 1994, coupled with inflation and decline in income and purchasing power of households. It was in this atmosphere, that seeds for socio-political reform were planted (Kian-Thiebaut 1999). The reform movement led to the victory of President Khatami in 1997 and the term ‘civil society’ entered the broader socio-political language in Iran (Abrahamian 2008).

President Khatami’s promise to ‘create civil society’, generated discussion about citizen rights, citizen participation and the relationship between citizens and the state (Abrahamian 2008). After president Khatami’s election, the state gave priority to the centrality of people in the development process. This led to increasingly greater scope and importance to the role of civil society organisations such as non-governmental organizations (Kazemi 2001). As such, in 2000, there were 1500-2000 traditional community-based civil society organisations, more than 5000 women-run co-operatives and 1500 modern NGOs (Namazi 2000). Furthermore, this coincided with the City and Village Council election which happened in 1999. These councils election are very important in Iran’s political history since the councils did not exist before Khatami came to power and provides evidence of a shift from centralised administration to local oversight (Kazemi 2001).

However, Razavi (2010) criticises the civil society establishment in Iran for being top-down. Following the establishment of 33,000 council organisations in one day by the Khatami administration as a way to apparently hand power to the ‘people’, he argued: “if the state realises that some kind of civil society is needed to shape public opinion, in order to contain changes, then the state tries to form and influence civil society from above” (Razavi 2010: 191). Similarly, Abootalebi (2001) reveals an important point regarding the understanding of

civil society among its advocates: acknowledging an elected body of state as civil society apparatus indicates the ambiguous nature of civil society for those envisioned it.

Furthermore, Kamrava (2001) illustrates that dedicating a crucial role to 'rule of law', implies directly and indirectly that the state is not only indispensable to the project of civil society, but also has a primary role and function as an integral part of civil society. In this situation, the relationship between civil society and the state is largely determined by the state, Razavi (2010) claims.

Moreover, it is significant to note a key element that framed Iran's historical development as it related to civil society: the rentier character of Iran's state (Kazemi 2001). The term rentier state here refers to the country's reliance on abundant natural resources, such as gas and oil for state funds (Schwarz 2008). This rentier character has two implications according to Chaichian (2003): first, the state earns its wealth from the sale of resources (in this case gas and oil) which diminishes accountability towards citizens whose tax burden is limited; and second, in the monopolistic economy using the enormous gas and oil revenue, the state is a major employer. This means a large slice of the population is financially dependent on the state and as Chaichian (2003: 37) argues, "this effectively increases the state's autonomy vis-à-vis citizens".

Politically, a rentier state is open for negotiation as long as sufficient resources are available besides the fact that a rentier state, in essence, minimise interaction between citizens and state which means minimised space for civil society formation (Schwarz 2008). Within the structure of a rentier state, as Schwarz (2008) explains, an independent civil society is

unlikely to emerge and non-governmental interests are usually organised around the state's allocation system.

This does not mean that the concept of civil society is not applicable to Iran. On the other hand, according to Chaichian (2003) the phenomenon of civil society does actually exist in Iran encompassing non-governmental organizations and associations, trade unions, and women/student/intellectual movements, yet it faces serious social and political obstacles. Socially, the private, non-state arena is under the excessive influence of the public, state domain (Abootalebi 2001). Quasi-governmental organizations such as 'Bonyad Mostazafan va Janbazan' or 'Komiteh Emdad' (Helping Committee, semi-governmental charity which is mostly involved in development and constructive projects in peripheral areas) performs a variety tasks of the private sector. In relation to this, Abootalebi (2001: 28) states, "these para-statal foundations enjoy extensive economic endowments and political backing, and have become a source of wealth and political power". This leaves very little space for the autonomy of social actors in that area. Politically, the state tends to see any delegation of authority to non-state actors as a sign of weakness and as a result remains firmly in control of all aspects (Kamrava 2001). Thus any movements within civil society could face a large amount of scepticism and become paralysed (Abootalebi 2001).

To sum up, groups, organisations and associations that are fundamental to the functioning of civil society do exist in Iran. However, as Kazemi (2001) argues, their degree of autonomy from the state and the scope of their activity are affected by their relationships with the state and even sometimes with one another.

The nature of Iranian civil society has been discussed above, but it is necessary to also understand the nature of tourism development in Iran in order to explore how particular characteristic of Iranian state-society relations are reflected in the patterns of tourism development.

### **3.4) Iran: tourism development**

#### *3.4.1) Pre-revolution*

The first tourism related organisation in Iran was an official bureau inaugurated within the Ministry of Interior in 1934, called the 'Bureau of Tourism. Its role was to realise tourism potentials in Iran. The Bureau of Tourism was renamed as the 'Higher Council of Tourism' in 1940 and by 1953, the Ministry of the Interior approved rules and regulations in favour of 'establishment of tourism industry' (Alipour and Heydari 2005). With the onset of the 1960s, tourism was given more attention; for example, twelve members from different ministries and departments(including The Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Roads and Urban Development and The Budget and Planning Organisation) were responsible for developing policy decisions for tourism development (Alipour and Heydari 2005). This process led to further tourism activities and finally 'Sazman Jalb e Sayahan' (The Organisation to Attract Tourists) was established in the year 1962 (Dibaei 1995).

It has been indicated above that the 1950s to the early 1970s was the period of economic boom and development programs were favoured. In this period, 'Sazman Jalb e Sayahan' established and re-organised tourist facilities and superstructures (Dibaei 1995). By 1966, 14.2 % of non-oil revenue was coming from tourism (Sarлак 1997). The Budget and Planning Organisation (1967) also established the Comprehensive Tourism Plan and started to develop

some regional tourism plans such as the Caspian Sea Coastal Tourism and the Sarein and Larijan Tourism and the Kish Island Tourism. Following that, 'Sazman Jalb e Syahan' merged into the Ministry of Information and was called the Ministry of Information and Tourism in 1975 (Alipour and Heydari 2005). Baum and O'Gorman (2010) state that, "investment in tourism infrastructure was in line with the high-end destination image that the Shah's regime sought to cultivate" (Baum and O'Gorman 2010: 4), and according to Baum and O'Gorman (2010) hotel investment was supported and management contracts were signed with major international brands such as Hilton, Hyatt, Intercontinental and Sheraton.

The national airline, IranAir, was ranked second (only to Qantas) as the world's safest airline in 1976 (Baum and O'Gorman 2010). IranAir served a wide range of cities in Europe. There were over 30 flights per week to London alone (ibid). The inflow of money that resulted plus the administrative change led to an increase in tourist arrival and tourism revenue (ibid). In 1978, tourism share in non-oil revenue was 27.06 % (Sarлак 1997). According to Ebrahminzadeh (2007), most tourist activities were concentrated on facilitating business and conference travel, transit travel, young and low budget trips, as well as cultural tourism. Ebrahimzadeh (2007) explains that these groups of tourist were targeted as a new emerging market.

In the late 1970s, there was an environment, politically and socially, which was close to the Western values (Hafeznia *et al.* 2007). As Baum and O'Gorman (2010: 4) claim, "although Iran was recognised as country with a predominantly Islamic ethos, from the international visitors' perspective, this was benign Islam, tolerant and welcoming to outsiders, provided that they were willing to observe appropriate respect for local culture and beliefs". However, the revolution of 1979, changed the tourism dynamic in Iran.

### 3.4.2) *Post-revolution*

The impact of the revolution of 1979 was immediate for tourism. There was a shift in political culture and then between 1980 and 1988, the Iran-Iraq war influenced the state's view and policies.

For the first few months after the revolution, IranAir had to reorganise its international operations and stop services to a range of foreign destinations (Baum and O'Gorman 2010). Tehran was designated as the only official gateway to Iran and all other cities including Isfahan and Shiraz lost their international status (ibid). Also, there was nationalisation and seizure of all assets of foreigners and people related to the Shah's regime (ibid). These assets subsequently became part of the government assets, particularly 'Bonyad Mostazafan va Janbazan', and this organization then became the owner of a range of activities including food and beverage, chemicals, cellulose items, metals, petrochemicals, construction materials, dams, civil development, farming, horticulture, as well as tourism, transportation and five-star hotels (Intercontinental, Hyatt, Hilton and Sheraton) (Abrahamian 1991). With the onset of the Iran-Iraq War, many of these hotels became places for accommodating War refugees and storing logistics equipment (Baum and O'Gorman 2010). The Revolution and the war thus dampened tourism, so that the portion of the currency revenue from tourism decreased to 2.4 % in 1988 (Hafeznia *et al.* 2007) and the number of international tourists arrival to Iran fell from 678,157 in 1978 to 9,395 in 1990 (ITTO 2002).

By the end of the War in 1988, the country was in urgent need of rebuilding itself. As such, the Iran Touring and Tourism Organisation was established as part of the Ministry of the

Culture and Islamic Guidance and the first Socio-cultural and Economic Plan after the revolution (1989-1993) addressed tourism as an effective economic activity (Mahallati 2002). Ebrahimzadeh (2007) reviews the highlights of the Socio-cultural and Economic Plans and indicates that tourism was used as a tool to promote Iran's cultural heritage and the plan suggested improving the tourism facilities (e.g. increasing the number of beds in accommodation centres from 2952 in 1987 to 4500 in 1993) and promoting Iran's tourism (e.g. producing post cards and calendars). The second Socio-cultural and Economic Plan (1994-1998) repeated these objectives in addition to considering tourism regulations. Although tourism was not properly planned and implemented, a discussion among elements of the public sector about the issue of 'tourism and tourism development' was generated. "The congruity of putting tourism on the agenda of the Iranian political landscape juxtaposed with reformists' victory of the presidential election on 1997 and parliamentary success in 2001" (Alipour and Heydari 2005: 47).

In the late 1990s, the impetus for tourism development had not been separated from the struggle to champion the political and social reform, which aimed to gain a brighter future for the youth, the expansion of civil society, freedom of expression and gender equality (Alipour and Heydari 2005). Furthermore, the success of reformists opened the new horizons in foreign policy (Saeidi 2002). President Khatami, in 1998, addressed the United Nations General Assembly in New York to delineate his idea of 'Dialogue of Civilisations'. This 'Dialogue of Civilisation' called for the ground of peace, constructive debate among nations, providing a context in which civilisations can learn from each other, replacing fear, blame and prejudice with reason, fairness and tolerance; and it was about facilitating a dynamic exchange of experiences among culture, religions and civilisations aimed at reform and enrichment (Baum and O'Gorman 2010). There was a clear tendency to plan and enhance hospitality and tourism as a part of this dialogue.

The third Socio-cultural and Economic Development Plan (1999-2003), was an attempt to make better policies and suggest meaningful strategies (Ebrahimzadeh, 2007). As part of this plan, The Iran Touring and Tourism Organisation was merged with the Iran Cultural Heritage Organisation. Handicrafts were removed from the Industries Ministry and added to the new organisation which was subsequently called The Iran Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organisation (ICHHTO). This reorganisation was supposed to expand the criteria and bring the co-ordination among sections of the tourism industry (Ebrahimzadeh 2007). Another highlight of the third plan was its attempt to offer incentives in order to encourage the private sector and international entrepreneurs' participation in tourism development (ibid).

The accommodation capacity increased from 524,000 in 1999 to 750,000 by the end of 2003, and the number of museums went from 130 to 151 (ICHHTO, Bureau of Statistics 2004). Additionally, human resource development occurred within the period of the third plan (Ebrahimzadeh 2007). There was an educational collaboration between Iran and international universities (for instance The University of Strathclyde) on degrees in Hotel and Hospitality Management (Baum and O'Gorman, 2010). This initiative owed much to the activities of the tourism leadership within Bonyad Mostazafan va Janbazan who recognised the management skills deficiencies within their hotels and wider tourism businesses, (ibid). An undergraduate degree and a Master's degree in tourism management were also established at Alammeh Tabatabaee University between 1995 and 2004 (ibid).

As a result of these improvements, the number of inbound international tourists grew from 573,449 in 1997 to 1,341,762 in 2001 (ITTO 2002) and gradually reached over 1.6 million in 2004 (UNWTO 2006).

In 2005, Conservatives (President Ahmadinejad) won the presidential election and their ideology influenced tourism development, once again. International affairs once again became unstable and the United Nation's Security Council, the EU and the USA subsequently imposed successive trade sanctions (Baum and O'Gorman, 2010). Many governments, especially Western ones, advised their citizens not to travel to Iran. For example, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office issued clear travel warning for visitors of Iran (FCO 2009). Not surprisingly, the number of international tourist arrivals gradually decreased (WTTC 2014).

Despite the drop of the inbound tourists, tourism remained important under the conservative government because of growing recognition of the links between tourism and the protection of Iran's national cultural heritage as well as its relatively small economic contribution (O'Gorman *et al.* 2007).

The Fourth Socio-cultural and Economic Development Plan (2004-2009), emphasised a reduction in the role of government and increasing the share of private sector involvement in tourism management (Ebrahimzadeh 2007). As such, it suggested amending the financial rules and regulations related to national and foreign investment and travel insurance for international visitors. According to ICCHTO (2010), by the end of 2009, 74 on-road-service

complexes were built and 140 special tourist zones (for example Caspian Sea Coastal, Khorasan, Zagros, Azerbaijan) were operationalized in corporation with the private sector. According to World Travel and Tourism Council's (WTTC) (2014) report on the economic impact of tourism development in Iran, capital investment in travel and tourism has increased to 4.5 % in 2004.

In an attempt to bring tourism into the frontline, the Twenty Years Tourism Development Plan (2005-2025) was established as the main document of tourism development for the next twenty years (Ebrahmizadeh 2007). Accordingly, the Twenty Years Tourism Development Plan is to assist the Five Years Development Plans in a way to ensure all other regional and local tourism development projects meet one set of criteria. The Twenty Years' Tourism Development Plan mainly emphasises the enhancement of tourism resources and improving the tourism infrastructure (e.g. roads, railways, airports, health and safety, electricity services, banking system) and reducing inequalities (e.g. equal job and income distribution, equal distribution of tourists and facilities) (Ebrahimzadeh 2007). The ICHHTO has responsibility to monitor and give guidelines to the provincial tourism offices and receive feedback from them.

As a result of paying more attention to tourism development, WTTC's (2014), reporting on economic impact of travel and tourism in Iran, indicate a growth both in direct contribution (which reflects the economic activity generated by industries such as hotels, travel agents, airlines and other passenger transportation services. But it also includes, for example, the activities of the restaurant and leisure industries directly supported by tourists) and total contribution (including wider effects from investment, the supply chain and induced income

impacts) of tourism industry to GDP. The direct contribution of travel and tourism to GDP in 2013 was 2.2 % of GDP and the total contribution of travel and tourism to GDP was 6.1 % of GDP in 2013 (WTTC 2014).

Although tourism development planning could reach economic objectives, what remains unaddressed in the Twenty Years Tourism Development Plan is the role of 'public participation' in the tourism development process (Alipour and Heydari 2005). This is to say that tourism development plans seem to be inclined to not only limiting the meaning of 'public participation' to the 'private sector' participation; but also maintaining the private sector's role as low key, particularly in policy making and involvement in setting an overall tourism strategies in Iran. Alipour and Heydari (2005: 47) state that,

... the private sector has had a miniscule part in the accommodation, travel agencies, and tour operation. The other departments (administration, finance, personnel, public relations, legislation, etc.) play a supporting role to the main operating functions. The monitoring and quality affairs, research training, and planning affairs department are each headed by government.

This quotation suggests that not only there is no formal channel to allow the private sector to raise its concerns to the public sector, but also the state approach lacks a strategic perspective which reflects locals' goals and preferred patterns of development (Hafeznia *et al.* 2007). Moreover, although adoption of a 'master plan' (The Twenty Years Tourism Development Plan) is a level of commitment to tourism development, these types of master planning are likely to remain alien and difficult to implement (Burns 2004). Burns (2004) demonstrates

that the ‘one-shot’ master plans are much driven by the structure of technical assistance, rather than by the economic and social needs of the destinations. Master plans “encourages a reductionist, homogenising approach” (Burns 2004: 28). This is also applicable to Iran master planning. It is highly general in nature and based upon the homogenising approach and in a broad sense; it is a non-participative approach (Hafeznia *et al.* 2007).

Discussion up to here tried to place Iran’s tourism development and planning into perspective. The next part of this chapter then will examine tourism development and planning in Shiraz.

### **3.5) Tourism development in Shiraz**

Shiraz is the capital of Fars Province which is located in the south of Iran. Shiraz is the most populated city within the Fars Province and has 1,711,000 residents.

Figure (3.2): The geographical location of Shiraz in Iran



Fars Province generally and Shiraz specifically are rich in terms of cultural heritage and natural landscapes. Shiraz was an important city in Iran from the Achaemenian era in the six century BC, to the Zandieh era in 1762s, the Pahlavis 1970s and remained important to the present time (An Introduction to Shiraz 2008). Shiraz is also named as the capital of art and culture in Iran (ICHHTO 2005). Moreover, UNESCO selected Shiraz as the first Iranian city to be registered in the list of UNESCO's city of literature (Heritage News Agency 2006).

Given the history and culture of Shiraz, it is one of the most visited tourist destination in Iran (ICHHTO 2010).

Unfortunately, there is no regular and reliable data for the number of tourist arrivals, average length of stay and the purpose of visit by nationality, neither at the local level nor the national level. This is the result of The Statistic Centre of Iran (SCI), The Iran's Border Police, The ICHHTO and The Hotels and Hostels Union (HHU) providing different numbers in relation to these tourism statistics. However, information from The Hotels and Hostels Union in Fars Province (HHU) (2009) indicates that 794,295 domestic tourists and 64,305 international tourists (all together 858,600) checked into hotels and hostels in Shiraz in 2009. In the same year, the ICHHTO reported 76,714 international tourists have visited Shiraz. The ICHHTO (2009) explains that data are collected from accommodation centres and tourist attractions (see also Table 3.2).

Table (3.2): Number of international tourist arrival with regards to their reason of travel

No.	Reason of Travel	Number of tourists	percentage
1	Leisure and tourism	64747	40.84
2	Business	5370	7
3	Personal reasons (e.g. family visit)	4219	5.50
4	Medical reasons (e.g. organ transplant)	2378	3.10
6	Total	76714	100

ICHHTO (2009)

The same report shows an increase in number of international tourist arrival, from 23,555 in 2007 to 76,714 in 2009. The ICHHTO (2010) also reported that there are 165 accommodation centres in Shiraz (28 hotels, 7 hotel-apartments and 130 hostels) that employed 1635 people. Hence, 80 % of accommodation centres are in Shiraz and it has 85 % of employment in this business. Moreover, the ICHHTO (2010) estimated the tourism revenue based upon the number of tourist arrivals at accommodation centres and the length of their stay. It is estimated that the tourism revenue from accommodation, on average, was at least 14.18

Million Dollars and at last 23.34 Million Dollars. This number increases dramatically during the Iranian New Year holidays (20 March-1 April) and reaches at 92.41 Million Dollars. Additionally, the ICHHTO's report (2010) illustrates a growth in tourism within a period of five years up to the report date (2005-2010). The average number of tourist arrival experienced 11.8 % annual growth and the length of stay has increased from 2.1 nights to 2.6 nights for domestic tourists and from 2.8 nights to 3.1 nights for international tourists. This growth has been reflected in increasing enterprise in tourism businesses. The ICHHTO (2010) states that 26 out of 44 tourism enterprises in the whole Fars Province is based in Shiraz.

While, quantity and quality of accommodation facilities that can meet tourists' different needs are essential for tourism development (Mill and Morrison 1985), other infrastructure such as transportation is great deal of importance. Olali (1990) argues that transportation can determine the level of tourism development at a destination. In the case of Shiraz, there is the third biggest international airport in Iran. More than 75 % of domestic tourism and almost 90 % of international tourism are distributed from Shiraz to other tourist destination within Fars Province (ICHHTO 2010). Furthermore, well maintained highways link Shiraz to all major cities of the south (e.g. Bushehr), the centre (e.g. Isfahan and Yazd) and the north (e.g. Tehran).

Overall, considering the variety of resources of the tourism supply besides the steady growth of tourism, Shiraz has received a great deal of attention in tourism development plans (Mohajer 2010). The Twenty Years Tourism Development Plan, as the main tourism development, introduces Shiraz as the centre of "Pars Tourist Zone" which means that

regional tourism development will be revolved around Shiraz and it is the main distributor of tourists to other destination within the region (Mohajer 2010). It is therefore important to critically investigate The Twenty Years Tourism Development Plans with regards to identified objectives and strategies for tourism development in Shiraz and examine to what extent they have been implemented or could be implemented given the broader socio-political economy of Iran.

### **3.6) Shiraz in tourism development plans: Critiques**

The Twenty Years Tourism Development Plan, with all its weaknesses and strengths, was created in 2000 and was notified to all related organisations by the end of 2002. According to the plan all the tourism related projects and activities should be done in a way to meet its criteria (TTYTDP: 126); however, there are concerns regarding the feasibility of its objectives and strategies. This is to say that participatory approach, which is seemingly adopted by The Twenty Years Tourism Development Plan, exhibits different intensity and persistence depending upon the existing limits of the context (Tosun 2000).

In the case of tourism development in Shiraz in Iran, although the main tourism plans call for ‘public participation’ and set some strategies to advocate public participation; there exist obstacles to implementation of those plans.

As such, “Decentralisation of decision-making and strengthening the provincial and local decision-makers” was suggested by the Twenty Years Tourism Development Plan. Yet, it is

arguable how far the central government is willing to go in terms of transferring its authority and power and to whom. This suspicion becomes stronger examining what has actually happened on the ground. In reality, The Comprehensive Tourism Development Plan for Fars Province was created in 2005 by the central ICHHTO in Tehran. Although members of ICHHTO-Fars Province, during the preparation of the plan, attended meetings in Tehran and provided recommendation based on their knowledge about local matters and very few surveys they have conducted; it cannot be accepted as decentralisation. Moreover, local authorities (The Head of ICHHTO-Fars Province and governor) are appointed by the central government. This is to say that under the control of the central government, provincial and local authorities follow the policies and guidance of the central government.

Furthermore, The Twenty Years Tourism Development Plan suggests to increase co-ordination among all related and effective organisation and calls for the private sector and NGOs collaboration. However, this is very simplistic and assumes that there is no conflict of interests among different organisations and actors. Indeed, there are several cases of conflict have been reported. The Rooyan Consultant Company which has conducted the monitoring study for the ICHHTO-Fars Province in 2010, reports a case of conflict between the private sector (A mineral water company) and the ICHHTO-Fars Province over the land for building a company, a case of conflict between the municipality of Shiraz and the ICHHTO-Fars Province over constructive projects in the cultural heritage sites and another case of conflict between the ICHHTO-Fars Province and Fars Department of Environment over issuing license for a hotel project (Rooyan 2010). Rooyan's report (2010) also indicates that each organisation and stakeholder group is pursuing their own interests; therefore, it is a difficult task to make them collaborate with each other. Conflict among different interest groups in the tourism development process is not specified to Iran; however, those appropriate policies and

initiatives that can alleviate them is absent in Iran (Mohajer 2010). In Shiraz, this absence of practical action plan is also coupled with state's favourism (Rooyan 2010). Scholars such as Jamal and Getz (1995) argue that although local authorities could mediate and facilitate collaboration, there is a strong possibility that local authorities lean towards the conventional power holders, for example entrepreneurs. As for Shiraz, according to the ICHHTO-Fars Province most of the main investments in accommodation projects are done by Mellat Bank and Tejarat Bank. This is to say that the objective of "facilitating tourism enterprise" in The Twenty Years Tourism Development Plan has been limited to serving the interest of certain type of entrepreneurs by tourism administrators.

To sum up, critical investigation of tourism development plans with regards to tourism development in Shiraz, suggests that largely master planning and very little strategic planning have been carried out. Therefore plans are characterised as not realistic and not feasible. Additionally, in spite of the emphasis on 'public participation'; top-down structure of plans besides the broader socio-political atmosphere of Iran where state is dominant, as discussed earlier in this chapter; left very little space for other stakeholders (i.e. the private sector, NGOs and local residents) in plans and in the process of decision-making. The current pattern of community participation in the process of tourism development and decision-making will be discussed in further details in Chapters Five and Six.

# Chapter Four

## Methodology

### 4.1) Introduction

This chapter is aimed to provide supporting discussions to justify the choice of qualitative research through the use of case study for this research. As argued by William and May (1996) the credibility of any research outcome will rest heavily upon the conduct of the investigation. There are different suggestions for research approach and methods and the approach and methods used by researchers are in relation with their philosophical stances in social research (Sekaran 1992). Therefore, the chapter begins with the account of debates on *social research* and how ontology, epistemology and methodology influence social research and different approaches of conducting a social research, namely deductive and inductive. Moreover, the link between deductive or inductive procedures and quantitative or qualitative research will be discussed. The chapter continues with discussions of qualitative research in the field of tourism studies and why a qualitative research as a case study was chosen for this research. This section will be followed by introducing the techniques of data collection deployed in this research, why a combination of two methods are deployed, how the participants in the research were selected and why purposive sampling via a snowball sampling technique was applicable. The conduct of the fieldwork comes next introducing Shiraz as the case study and explaining how the process of data collection happened on the ground. And finally, discussion of data analysis in qualitative research is provided.

## 4.2) Social Research

Social research is about exploring and understanding the social world (Snape and Spencer 2003). Williams and May (1996) assert that to ‘research’ means to seek answers that involve understanding and explanation, where the credibility of any research outcome will rest heavily upon the conduct of the investigation. To conduct social research, then, researchers are expected to diligently, critically and logically carry out the research inquiry in order to “discover new facts that will help us to deal with a problem situation” (Sekaran 1992: 4). Preece (1994: 18) defines the research in a broader sense as follows:

Research is conducted within a system of knowledge and that research should be probing or testing that system with the aim of increasing knowledge. The increase in knowledge may be something entirely new and original or, more commonly; it may consist of checking, testing, expanding and refining ideas, which are still provisional. In particular, research should continually question the nature of knowledge itself, what it is and how it is known.

Preece’s definition underpins the question of the nature of knowledge and how it is known by a basic set of beliefs that define the researcher’s worldview. This set of beliefs is known as a paradigm (Goodson and Phillimore 2004). Guba and Lincoln (1998) assert that inquiry paradigms define for researchers what falls within and outside legitimate inquiry. A paradigm is characterised by its main three elements: ontology, epistemology and methodology (Phillimore and Goodson 2004).

Ontology is the study of being which raises questions about the nature of reality; whether there is a social reality and how it should be constructed (Denzin and Lincoln 1998). Ontological debates also concern whether or not social reality exists independent from human conceptions and interpretations (Snape and Spencer 2003) and whether there is a law-like social behaviour that can be seen as immutable or universal (Ritchie and Lewis 2003).

Epistemology is the theory of knowledge (Goodsone and Phillimore 2004). Dalmiya and Alcoff (1993) assert that epistemology is concerned with the origins and nature of knowing and the construction of knowledge. In other words, questions such as how we can know about reality and what is the basis of our knowledge are focuses of epistemology (Goodson and Phillimore 2004).

Methodology addresses the issue of how knowledge about the world or reality should be collected (ibid). Methodology, fundamental to the construction of all forms of knowledge; therefore, is about a set of rules and procedures to guide a research in a way that its claims can be evaluated. Miller and Brewer (2003) argue that methodology is driven by the ontological stance of the researcher. Jones (1993) also elaborates that what researchers count as knowledge, their epistemology, relies on what they want knowledge about, while the kind of knowledge they seek determines their methodology. Thus, methodology is defined as a research design, which includes how to conceptualise, theorise and make abstractions and suggests the techniques or methods of data gathering and analysis (Miller and Brewer 2003, Daly 2003). Methods, with this regards, are tools to take on meaning according to the methodological approach (Silverman 2000). This is to say that methods and technique employed in each research project are linked closely with the research approach; therefore,

researchers must be fully aware of various ways in which they are connected to the topic and methodological approach, Marshal and Reason (2007) argue. In order to identify the inquiry paradigm, Guba and Lincoln (1998: 201) assert that researchers must answer three interconnected questions:

- The ontological question: what is the form and nature of reality and what can be known about reality?
- The epistemological question: what is the nature of the relationship between the researcher and what can be known?
- The methodological question: how can the researcher find out what she believes that can be known?

There are two well-known paradigms regarding the answers of the mentioned questions: positivism and interpretivism (Goodson and Phillimore 2004). Positivism suggests that only one 'real' world exists (Guba and Lincoln 1998). Hence, it holds that a value free, independent and objective social research is possible because human behaviour follows law-like regularities (Snape and Spencer 2003). In this paradigm, natural sciences methods are adopted into social enquiry (in disciplines such as economics and psychology as well as tourism) since it is believed that these methods are objective and impartial as well as immune from the influence of the researchers' values and beliefs (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). The positivist paradigm is associated with a particular view on the production of knowledge in which researchers can be substituted for one another because they are neutral and have no impact on findings (Kincheloe and McLaren 1994). Positivism therefore tends to deploy the quantitative methods such as social surveys or experiments (Clark *et al.* 1998). The quantitative methods are usually associated with numerical form or numbers (Punch 2005);

therefore, the quantitative research is claimed to be objective and capable of providing explanatory generalisation (Punch 2005).

The alternative approach to positivism is interpretivism. Thinkers in the interpretivist camp argue that undertaking research and creating knowledge are interconnected with values and politics of researchers (Alcoff and Potter 1993). In order to create knowledge; researchers are required to be aware “of the ideological imperatives and epistemological presuppositions that inform their research as well as their own subjective, inter-subjective and normative reference claims”, according to Kincheloe and McLaren (1994: 265). Moreover, the interpretivism paradigm asserts that social research has to explore and comprehend the social world through the participants’ and their perspectives; and explanation can only be offered at the level of meaning rather than causes (Goodson and Phillimore 2004). May (1993) explains that in the interpretivist approach, all findings are the result of an interaction between the researcher and researched. This is to say that values and context have a critical role in knowledge production. In this respect, Marcus (1998) suggests that only through openly reflexive interpretation of a particular temporal, geographical and social moment can validity be claimed for any social research.

The researchers’ stance, positivist or interpretivist, will generally affect their research design. The research design generally can be in the form of *deduction* or *induction* while the former is commonly associated with positivism and the latter with interpretivism (Daly 2003). Clark *et al.* (1998) describe deduction as the process of social research which begins with theory and is followed by hypothesis, data collection, testing of the hypothesis and finally deducing explanations of a particular phenomenon. On the other hand, induction is the process of

constructing a theory based upon the related exploration and observation (Clark *et al.* 1998). Inductive design is viewed as being predominantly associated with qualitative research and deductive design with quantitative research (Snape and Spencer 2003).

Table (4.1): Fundamental differences between quantitative and qualitative research

	Quantitative	Qualitative
Principal orientation to the role of theory in relation to research	Deductive, testing of theory	Inductive, generation of theory
Epistemological orientation	Natural science model, in particular positivism	Interpretivism
Ontological orientation	Objectivism	constructionism

Bryman (2004)

Qualitative researchers conduct a study in its natural setting and produces a complex analysis and reports with detailed views of informants enabling a researcher to make knowledge claims about the meaning of phenomenon from the views of participants, Creswell (2003) argues. According to Dann and Phillips (2001) the greatest advantage of qualitative research is that it is useful particularly in theory construction, for exploring relationships and concepts and in filling gaps in theories. While qualitative research has gained considerable attention due to its contribution to social theory (Rist 2000); quantitative research has been criticised for glossing over methodological issues that are critical to knowledge production (Goodson and Phillimore 2004). However, this is not to say that qualitative research is immune from criticism. Generally, critiques are concentrated on the lack of ability to generalise the qualitative research findings (Lewis and Ritchie 2002). The question of whether the findings from a particular study can be generalised beyond the sample context was raised by scholars such as Lincoln and Guba (1985). Other thinkers such as Arksey and Knight (1999) also

argue that how far theoretical proposition or principles can be drawn from a study for more general application. In response to these critiques another group of scholars including Silverman (2000) argue that the multiplicity of forms and functions of qualitative research should be acknowledged. In addition, although it is true that qualitative research cannot be generalised on a statistical basis; it is analytical generalisation, a map of the range of views and experiences or the factors and circumstances that shape and influence those experiences which are critical in qualitative research (Lewis and Ritchie 2003). In other words, in qualitative research generalisation happens at the level of categories, concepts and explanation (Yin 2003). Moreover, Veal (2006: 42) argues that, in social sciences, reliability cannot be referred to as the extent to which research findings would be the same if the research were to be repeated at a later date or with a different sample or subject; since “social sciences deal with human beings in ever-changing social situations”. Thus, this is to say that qualitative research rather than claiming representation of the world as it is, is more concerned with providing convincing rich descriptions which are the outcomes of reflecting on the whole research process (Denzin and Lincoln 2000).

While qualitative research has been at the centre of great deal of debate within social sciences, more recently debates have gained greater prominence in the field of tourism research as well (Jamal and Hollinshead 2000; Phillimore and Goodson 2004; Riley and Love 2000). The next section will discuss the qualitative research in the field of tourism.

### **4.3) Qualitative research in tourism**

Early studies of tourism usually came as a by-product from research in other disciplines such as sociology, geography, economic, psychology and social psychology (Veal 1992). Phillimore and Goodson (2004) explain that the tendency in tourism research has been to focus on the tangible, and arguably the 'objective' and readily measurable interrelationships and interdependencies between people and places, frequently forming an economic marketing and/or managerial perspectives. However, rapid growth in tourism necessitated the investigation and exploration of the multi-dimensional nature of it in the field. Within tourism research, a qualitative approach has received a growing acceptance (Jennings 2001). In an early attempt to make a plea for more qualitative tourism and leisure research, Kelly (1980) argues the following advantages over quantitative research:

- The methods respond with the nature of phenomenon being studied,
- The methods 'bring people back in' to research. By contrast, quantitative methods tend to be very impersonal,
- Tourism and leisure themselves involves a great deal of face-to-face interaction between people and qualitative research is well suited to investigate this,
- Qualitative research is better at providing an understanding of people's needs and aspirations.

It is noteworthy that advocating qualitative approach for tourism research does not mean that there is no place for quantitative approach in tourism research. Statistical insight into aspects like market trends and income generation is always needed and are mostly provided by quantitative methods. Dann and Phillips (2001) argue that if a research simply requires the validation of pre-existent theory or the replication of deduced hypotheses, that what is needed

is a quantitative approach; however, should the research project intend to go “beyond a close-ended, standardised check list of items prepared by the investigator to more open-ended and unclassified issues raised by the research subjects, a more qualitative, multimedia approach becomes necessary” (Dann and Phillips 2001: 251). With qualitative research social and cultural implications of tourism are emphasised. According to Rubin and Babbie (1993), an inductive process of qualitative research provides detailed descriptions from the perspective of the participant. This is very helpful to take the complex nature of tourism and numerous actors in it into account. For instance, Jordan (1997) elaborates that, in studying discriminatory practices in tourism employment, using in-depth interview as a qualitative research technique was far better than mailed questionnaires or a telephone survey. This is because qualitative research techniques allow participant theory to emerge through individual definitions of situations; rather than imposing a given theory on the subjects of investigation and then attempting to confirm or invalidate it, Dann and Phillips (2001) argue. By the same token, Dann and Phillips (2001: 255) add that generally the more freewheeling nature of qualitative research is “more likely to alight upon instances of serendipity, unanticipated findings which may have the effect of modifying initial theory or even of re-focusing an entire research project”.

Furthermore, Phillimore and Goodson (2004) demonstrate that a qualitative approach in tourism has evolved from having positivist tendencies (up to the 1970s) to a more dynamic and reflexive approach in more recent years. Jamal and Hollinshead (2000) assert that over the time it has been recognised that social agents are central to the construction of knowledge. Tourism spaces therefore are acknowledged as socio-cultural constructions rather than physical locations (Aitchison *et al.* 2001; Pritchard and Morgan 2000b) and it has become

important “to consider how the meanings relating to those spaces are constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed over time” (Goodson and Phillimore 2004: 40).

Comprehending tourism as a complex phenomenon based on inter-relations and interaction would suggest more qualitative approach enabling tourism research to address human subjectivity and its socio-historical antecedents (Dann and Phillips 2001). Qualitative research is thus seen suitable for studying complex processes of socio-cultural interactions of tourism due to the fact that:

- An analytical study is detailed and intensive (Bryman 2001),
- The phenomenon is studied in its natural setting, recognising its complexity and its context (Yin 2003),
- Multiple and rigorous data collection methods can be used, for example interviews and participant observation, which engage with one’s own impressions from the phenomenon (Robson 2002).

Table (4.2) also shows the significant differences between qualitative and quantitative research with regards to studying tourism.

Table (4.2): Differences between qualitative and quantitative research with regards to studying tourism

Quantitative research	Qualitative research
Measure objective facts	Construct social reality, cultural meaning
Focus on variables	Focus on interactive processes, events
Reliability is key	Authenticity is key
Value free	Values are present and explicit
Independent of context	Situationally constrained
Many cases, subjects	Few cases, subjects
Statistical analysis	Thematic analysis
Researcher is detached	Researcher is involved

Neuman (2000)

The discussion up to here has indicated that knowledge production depends upon the ontology of the researcher and her definition of reality. Also knowing about how and what the researcher wants to know is an epistemological question which generally influences the methodology of the research. Deductive and inductive stances and their associated approaches and methods, quantitative and qualitative, were additionally discussed. The next section will illustrate the ontological, epistemological and methodological stances for the primary research.

#### **4.4) Research design**

A research design is a logical process that enables the researcher to link the data to be collected to the conclusion and results. The primary research is based on the ontological stance that suggests knowledge is a 'process' in which the researcher tries to understand the social world, while this knowledge cannot be separated from values of the researcher (Haralambos and Holborn 2000). This is to say, discovering and recording social phenomena is not enough for social research, rather it should go further and explain phenomena in the light of understanding its socio-cultural and economic context (Miller and Brewer 2003; Porter 2003).

In line with its ontological stance, the primary research is inductive and employed qualitative methods. Quantitative methods were deemed not suitable because, by their characteristic, they cannot offer explanation for the actions of humans as the meanings of behaviours in humans are more complex (Porter 2000). This is to say that quantitative methods are to facilitate the examination of the 'truth' through the verification and duplication of observable findings directly regarding perceivable entities or procedures (Clark 1998). Thus it is best suited for testing an existing theory, to predict and control and to stress the importance of

measurement and explanation (Bryman 2004). On the other hand, qualitative methods are to explore the socially constructed nature of reality and are focused on the situational constraints that shape inquiry (Denzin and Lincoln 1998). Therefore, qualitative methods were chosen for this research due to their ability to collect data that reflects social reality, including the context and attributes of the phenomenon under study (Jennings 2001).

Moreover, reflecting on the conceptual framework, the aim of the empirical research in this research, is to develop an understanding of the different aspects of a complex multi-level process of participation in tourism development. This requires a strategy that could explore the structure and process in their context. Therefore, the following reasons can explain why qualitative methods were deemed suitable for this research:

- The research questions which were developed from the literature review are associated with *how* and *why*. How tourism development is happening in Iran and why? How local public is participating in tourism development and why. The information related to these questions is fragile in their manifestation and quantitative methods are unable to capture it,
- Qualitative research methods can gain detailed and intangible types of data related to the perceptions and thoughts of different actors of tourism development (Ritchie 2003). This is feasible through carefully framed questioning or observation,
- Tourism development studies, especially with regards to ‘public participation’ in tourism development, are new in the Iranian context. There is a lack of previous knowledge to explain and understand these social phenomena. The open and generative nature of qualitative approach then allows further exploration.

Moreover, within qualitative research, the case study approach was chosen as this research design.

#### *4.4.1) Case study*

A case study was considered the most appropriate strategy. In terms of situations and types of questions addresses, scholars including Yin (2003a) and Xiao and Smith (2006) argue that the case study design is recommended when ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions are being asked about a contemporary set of events, over which investigator has little or no control. Additionally, Altinay and Paraskevas (2008) assert that a case study strategy enables the researcher to generate new knowledge about the topic when there is inadequate or incomplete existing knowledge.

According to Punch (2005), a case study aims to preserve and understand the case in a holistic manner. The case study then aims to reach the in-depth understanding of the case in its natural setting and recognising its complexity. Within the fieldwork of case study, researcher can “examine ordinary social interaction in great detail to identify the rules for constructing social reality and common sense, how these rules are applied and how new rules are created” (Neuman 2003: 367). Robson (1993: 52) defines case study as:

... a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence.

Moreover, Yin (2003a: 13) suggests a definition for a case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”.

This is to say that the case study contains an “all-encompassing method, covering the logic of design, data collection techniques and specific approaches to data analysis” (Xiao and Smith 2006: 741). In this sense, a case study is a comprehensive research strategy rather than a merely data collection tactic (Platt 1992; Robson 1993). As a research strategy, the case study is argued (Yin 1981b) to be in contrast with experimental or quasi-experimental designs in which a phenomenon is deliberately divorced from its context so that attention can be focused on a few variables. This contrast is mentioned as the strength of case study design by authors such as Stake (2000). According to Stake (2000) the study of the particular, which comprises the nature, historical background, physical settings as well as socio-cultural of a specific case, is the vantage of the case study design. On the other hand, this ‘learning from particular cases’ has been criticised for, inevitably, reflecting the researchers’ values and perspectives in the reconstruction of case knowledge (Xiao and Smith 2006). Furthermore, criticisms of the case study design concern the generalisation of research findings which cannot be consistent and replicable (Botterill and Platenkamp 2012). In terms of disciplinary or field of research, Ghauri and Gronhaug (2002) noted that the case study design has frequently been used in anthropology, psychology, sociology, political sciences, community studies and planning and development. Moreover, the case study design has often been adopted in tourism research concerning tourism development, planning and community perceptions of or reactions to the impacts to tourism (Xiao and Smith 2006). There is also an extensive use of case studies in tourist consumer behaviour research (e.g. Lee *et al.* 2007) and in studies where researchers are about to explore analytical questions empirically; for example studying the tensions

between national and universal ownership of heritage attractions such as the case of the Acropolis (Rakic and Chambers 2007). In stances such as Getz *et al.* (2004) patterns of common characteristics and issues of concern have been investigated through multiple case studies on family businesses in tourism and hospitality.

A ‘case’ may refer to individual/several individuals, an event or entity (Miller and Brewer 2003), or single institutions, community or social group (Haralambos and Holborn 2000). This is to say that deciding on the ‘case’ is the starting point of using a case study (Botterill and Platenkamp 2012). According to Botterill and Platenkamp (2012) the ‘case’ should be defined in terms of boundaries which may be spatial (a neighbourhood, town or region), temporal (a particular era or period) or structural (a particular human condition, a group or an institution). After defining the ‘case’, researchers have to choose data collection techniques (Botterill and Platenkamp 2012). There are generally six techniques, Yin (2003a) claims, as follows: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct participation, participant observation and physical artefacts. Data collection techniques of the field research then will be discussed next.

## **4.5) Data collection techniques**

The main technique of data collection employed in this research is *semi-structured in-depth interviews*. “An in-depth interview is a one-to-one method of data collection that involves an interviewer and an interviewee discussing specific topics in depth”, Hennink *et al.* (2011: 109) describe. Moreover, Botterill and Platenkamp (2012: 121) assert that the qualitative interview is “a special type of conversation in which an interviewer asks questions on a

particular topic and carefully listens and record the respondent's answers. The purpose is to understand the meaning attributed to the topic by the respondent". This choice has been made due for several reasons. First, as Bryman (2001: 19) suggests, "methods are not simply neutral tools: they are linked with the ways in which social scientists envision the connection between different viewpoints about the nature of social reality and how it should be examined". Therefore, in-depth interviews are in line with the ontological stance of this research, discussed earlier. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) elaborate that in-depth interview is a 'special kind of knowledge production' in which interviewer and interviewee 'make meaning' through reflecting on each other's actions, identity and perceptions.

Table (4.3): Comparison of different types of interviews

Type of interview	Advantage	disadvantage
Structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interviewees answer the same questions, increasing the comparability of the responses</li> <li>• Interviewee bias reduced</li> <li>• Data easily analyzed using statistical techniques</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Very little flexibility and the standardized wording may inhibit responses</li> <li>• Pre-determined questions may not be relevant</li> </ul>
Unstructured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interviewer responds in a flexible way to the interviewees</li> <li>• Interviewer's role is minimal allowing interviewees to express ideas in their own words</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Comparability is much reduced and data analysis is more difficult</li> <li>• Data quality depends on listening and communicating skills of the interviewer</li> </ul>
Semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Combines the flexibility of the unstructured interview with comparability of key questions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bias may increase as interviewer selects questions to probe and may inhibit it comparability of responses</li> </ul>

Finn *et al.* (2000)

Second, semi-structured interviews are to “reveal existing knowledge in a way that can be expressed in the form of answers and so become accessible to interpretation” (Flick 2002: 84). The research would not reach its goal as effectively using either unstructured interviews or completely structured ones. Unstructured interviews could move away from the main research topic providing unnecessary information at the expense of diminishing required or related information. On the other hand, structured interviews seem more useful if the research acquired a basic set of information from a large set of respondents (Chadwick *et al.* 1984). In contrast to the other two types of interviews, semi-structured interviews enable the researcher to achieve vividly accurate information based upon personal real life experiences and to follow up and explore through additional line of questions (Stroh 2000). Furthermore, as explained by Altinay and Paraskevas (2008: 113), a semi-structured interview is useful to find out “what is happening, seek new insights, identify general patterns and understand the relationship between variables”. In semi-structured interviews, interviewer prepares a list of topics and issues that focus the conversation; nevertheless, the interviewer has the opportunity to sequence questions and modifying them according to the flow of conversation (Altinay and Paraskevas 2008). Semi-structured interviews; however, have been the subject of criticism.

Botterill and Platenkamp (2012) argue that critiques of the interviews are largely conducted on epistemological grounds since the interview depend on respondents’ memory recall and points of view. Additionally, Jennings (2001) provides a more comprehensive assessment of advantages and disadvantages of semi-structured interviews (see Figure 4.1).

Figure (4.1): Comparison of advantages and disadvantages of semi-structured interviews

#### Advantages of semi-structured interviews

- Useful way to get large amount of data quickly (Marshal and Rossman 1989)
- Questions are not predetermined, so detailed information could be gathered (Jennings 2001)
- Allows for immediate follow up questions for clarification of points (Marshal and Rossman 1989)

#### Disadvantages of semi-structured interviews

- Respondents may not be willing to share all the needed information (Marshal and Rossman 1989)
- Replication is impossible (Jennings 2001)
- Interviewees are able to lead the interaction and interpretation (Jennings 2001)

In spite of the mentioned disadvantages of the semi-structured interviews, the following summarises the benefits of the semi-structured interviews which made it appropriate primary data collection technique for this research:

- Semi-structured interviews enable the researcher to explore, probe and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate particular subjects (Patton 2002),
- Semi-structured interviews enable the researcher to understand the constructs that the interviewees use as a basis for their opinions and beliefs about a particular matter or situation (Easterby-Smith *et al.* 1991),
- Semi-structured interviews allows for the researcher to omit some questions in particular interviews, rearrange the order of questions depending on the respondent, and add some relevant questions where necessary (Finn *et al.* 2000).

Alongside the semi-structured in-depth interviews as the main method of data collection, *participant observation* was employed in this research as the complementary technique. Participant observation is defined as “the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the research setting” (Schensul *et al.* 1999: 91). Participant observation falls under the interpretivist paradigm (Mays and Pope 1995) and is often used to provide supplementary data to other research methods (Mulhall 2003). Hennink *et al.* (2011) illustrate the importance of participant observation in enabling researchers to obtain a ‘thick description’ of social settings or events in order to situate study group or community within their own socio-cultural context. According to Altinay and Paraskevas (2008) the researcher learn by being present in the research setting, by seeing what people do and how they interact with others, by listening to what they say and asking questions. This is to say as a participant observer, the researcher takes part in the situation being studied rather than simply acting as a researcher (Jennings 2001). Altinay and Paraskevas (2008) argue further that observation can take place in two stages of a research. First, in the early stages of a research, observation can be helpful to identify areas of study, to clarify research focus or to facilitate building trust and identify key informants (ibid). Second, during the research process, observation can be used as a technique to validate and cross-check findings from other data collection techniques (ibid). Having mentioned the usefulness of participant observation, this technique is criticized for several reasons including generally being a complementary technique and being in danger of misinterpretation of what is being observed (Jennings 2001). Figure (4.6) presents an assessment of advantages and disadvantages of participant observation.

Figure (4.2): Comparison of advantages and disadvantages of participant observation

#### Advantages of participant observation

- Researcher learns about how participants construct and describe their world
- Provides first-hand information
- May highlight unexpected behavior/events (Jennings 2001)

#### Disadvantages of participant observation

- Limited to one location or setting
- May not gather complete information sets
- May not gather complete information sets (Jennings 2001)

In the primary research, the main value of the participant observation was that it enabled the researcher to gain an understanding of the inter-personal dynamics between group members. Moreover, the researcher was continually observing and recoding contextual information that helped to build a picture of relevant tourism and community life. Conducting participant observation, the researcher maintained field notes focused on two elements of place (e.g. setting and activities) and people (e.g. action, interaction and conversations). Information on power dynamic occurring in the context, for instance who is speaking in a meeting, whose opinions are sought and who is going to whom for a meeting, as well as information on the extent of a specific context such as department (e.g. the Department of Community-based Organisations and Public Relations) and staff and facilities allocation within the department was particularly obtained via participant observation. Furthermore, the researcher took notes of details such as tourist attractions, availability of tourism information, public transport, car parking facilities and types of tourism products. Writing notes on what was considered

important, unusual, typical or unexpected by the researcher was particularly helpful for comparing to and contrasting them with the responses of interviews in order to develop a more detailed understanding of the context of study.

Overall, in-depth interviews and participant observation in the primary research provided the researcher an opportunity to:

- Work closely with various groups of tourism stakeholder whether they have vested interests in tourism development or not,
- Have access to the view of those participating in tourism development at a great extent.

## **4.6) Selecting respondents**

Once the research paradigm, approach and methods have been identified, the task is to select the unit of analysis or to select respondents (Merriam 2009). Selecting respondents is deemed inevitable for any kind of research in which researcher cannot observe or record everything and everyone. Punch (2005) suggests that decisions need to be made about people, experiences, setting or actions. Within the methodological literature, there is an account of debate on differences between sampling in quantitative research and in qualitative research. In quantitative research, sampling is very crucial in terms of the statistical validity of a study that should be able to infer for the entire populations and to generalise the findings (Altinay and Paraskevas 2008). However, in contrast, this is not the aim of qualitative research to generalise; rather it is about gaining an in-depth understanding of the topic or phenomenon and extrapolating the findings beyond the material in hand, Altinay and Paraskevas (2008)

argue. Moreover, Carson *et al.* (2001) assert that in a qualitative research, sample size is not the critical concern because the main purpose is not to gain representative information, but to gain insights into the phenomenon of interest. Therefore, this is to say that the sampling method in qualitative research must serve the purpose of in-depth understanding and must be selected for the information-rich data (Altinay and Paraskevas 2008; Morse 1991). This is a very important characteristic of sampling in qualitative research that can have a profound effect of the quality of a study.

Moreover, Merriam (2009) asserts that in a case study, two levels of sampling are necessary. First is to select a 'case', based on relevant criteria (Stake 1995). Within every case, there exist various sites, events, activities or people and social groups; therefore, the second sampling is to choose where, what, when and whom to observe or interview within the case.

Two basic types of sampling receive a great deal of attention within the literature: probability sampling and purposive sampling (Ritchie *et al.* 2003). While the former refers to the sampling in which each respondent in the studied community has a high probability of being chosen through a random sample; the latter is about deliberately selecting the samples in order to reflect particular features of groups within the studied community (Ritchie *et al.* 2003). Probability sampling allows the researcher to generalise the study results (Merriam 2009); however, since statistical generalisation is not a concern of qualitative research; probability sampling was not considered suitable for the primary research. However, purposive sampling was considered as the most appropriate strategy when the logic of the research was to discover what occurs, the implication of what occurs and the relationships linking occurrences (Patton 2002). Patton (2002: 230) further argues that,

... the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting *information-rich* cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry.

In purposive sampling approach, decisions about samples are made by the researcher based on their own knowledge of the population and the aims of the research (Rubin and Babbie 2001). Among different types of purposive sampling (e.g. convenience sampling) *snowball*, chain or network sampling is the most common form (Creswell 2003). While in convenience sampling participants are selected because of their convenient accessibility (Altinay and Paraskevas 2008); in snowball sampling a few key participants, who easily meet the criteria of the research, are identified by the researcher and as the interview goes on the researcher asks the participant to refer her to other participants (Merriam 2009). “By asking a number of people who else to talk with, the snowball gets bigger and bigger as you accumulate new information-rich cases” (Patton 2002: 237). Snowball sampling is particularly helpful when appropriate candidates for the study are hard to locate (Altinay and Paraskevas 2008). However, scholars such as Brown (2005) argue that snowball sampling can be highly biased since participants may want to draw the researcher into their ‘boundaries and alliances’. This may result in reducing the likelihood that the sample will represent a good cross-section of the entire population (Brown 2005).

In the primary research, after choosing a ‘case’, respondents were chosen with regards to the principles of purposive sampling which is justifiable given the qualitative nature of the research. Respondents of this research were chosen with a purpose to represent particular features. This enabled the researcher to explore the research questions. After introducing the

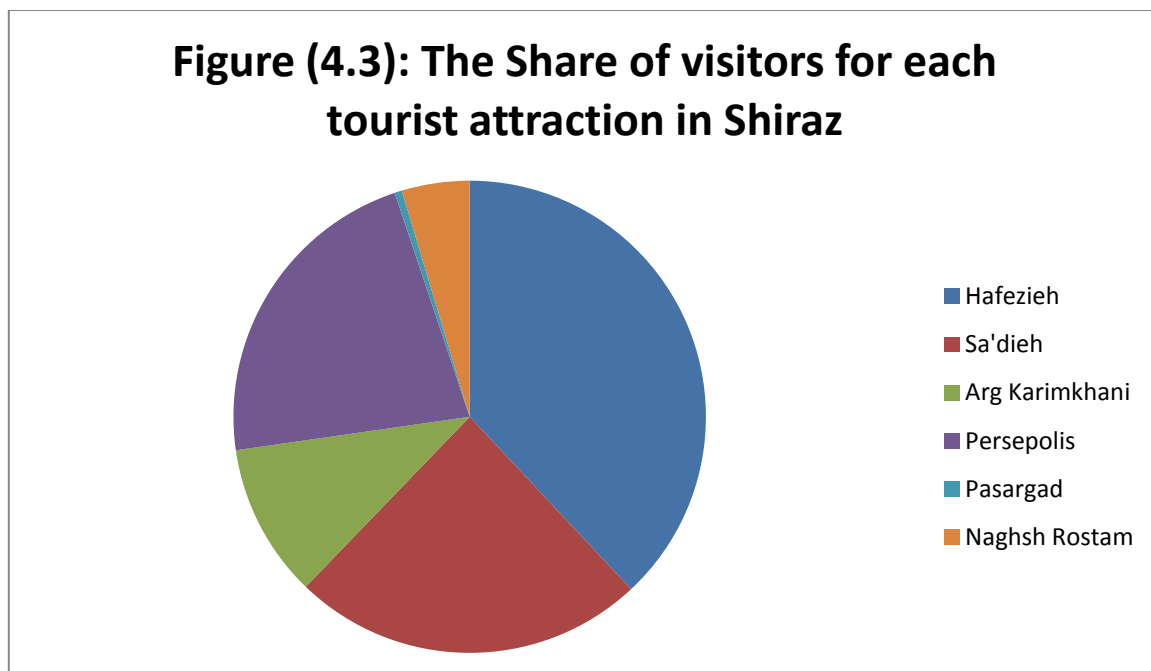
data collection techniques used in this research and sampling strategy, the more detailed accounts of the conduct of fieldwork of this research come next.

## 4.7) The fieldwork

This research's fieldwork took place May-September 2013 in Shiraz, the capital of Fars Province, Iran.

### *Shiraz:*

Shiraz was chosen as the case study because it is one of the most visited destinations, by both domestic and international tourists, in Iran and has a significant tourism industry. Figure (4.3) demonstrates the share of visitors for each tourist attraction in Shiraz in 2009.



ICHHTO Fars Province (2009)

#### *4.7.1) Data collection*

Prior to the fieldwork, the analysis of the literature had been used as the basis for the extraction of key study groups in Shiraz. As discussed in the literature, in studying the tourism development process, it is significantly crucial to gain an understanding of different stakeholders' involvement (Grimble and Wellard 1997). Analysis of interaction of various stakeholder groups and the perspectives and interests of stakeholders at different level provides a better understanding of the environment in which tourism development is happening. Therefore, in order to conduct fieldwork that can fulfil the goals of this research which are to explore how key actor groups participate in tourism development and to evaluate discrepancies between the actual and ideal level of participation; it is crucial to identify key stakeholders involved in tourism development.

One common method for identifying key stakeholders is stakeholder mapping (Markwick 2000). The mapping process is to assist in identify different stakeholder groups based on their relationships or their attributes such as power, interest and participation (De Lopez 2001). Sautter and Lesin (1999) suggest the tourism stakeholder map which shows the whole range of potential stakeholders such as local businesses, residents, activist groups, tourists, national business chains and government. However, the degree and type of stakeholders' involvement in tourism development vary. Gunn (2002) asserts four main groups of stakeholders which are considered to be more involved in and more directly influenced by the tourism development process. These are: the public sector, the private sector, the non-profit sector and the local public. In the fieldwork of this research, key stakeholder groups were identified on the basis of Gunn's (2002) suggestion.

Semi-structured interviews, as described above, were then conducted with key informants from each of the mentioned groups. These interviewees were selected due to their roles and responsibilities, experience and knowledge or relevance to tourism development in Shiraz.

The interviewees were as follows:

- The public sector:
  - The Head of Iran Cultural Heritage and Handicrafts Organization, Fars Province; this is the main organization responsible for tourism development and planning in Shiraz (and other cities in Fars Province),
  - The Director of the Department of Community-based Organizations and Public Relations in ICHHTO; this department is in charge of increasing public participation in tourism development in Shiraz (and other cities in Fars Province),
  - The Head of Tourism Development Management Office; this office works in between ICHHTO and the City Council and municipality of Shiraz in order to enhance the co-ordination among responsible organisations.
- The private sector:
  - Hotel managers,
  - Travel agency managers,
  - The President of the Handicraft Producers' Union,
  - The President of the Hotels and Hostels Association.
- The non-profit sector:
  - Tourism lecturer
  - Tourism related NGOs,
  - The previous Head of the Tour Guides' Association- Fars Province.
- Local public:

- Those who directly engage with tourism for example shop keepers in the Bazaar and souvenir shops at tourist sites,
- Those who indirectly involve in tourism for example restaurant owners and taxi drivers,
- Those who are not involved in tourism but affected by it for example residents of tourist sites' neighbourhood.

Before commencing the fieldwork, a list of key informants from the public sector, the private sector, NGOs and associations was prepared. The list was prepared, by the researcher in order to identify the main study groups. For example it had been identified that the tourism related public sector in Shiraz wished to be studied; therefore, a key informant from the ICHHTO was put on the list. However, the list was subject of amendment upon arrival at Shiraz. This was due to availability or willingness to participate of the wish list. For instance, although it was originally planned to interview a key informant from the city council and the municipality of Shiraz; it was cancelled because no one agreed to be interviewed. The researcher was not given a reason for this disagreement.

Moreover, the questions for the interviews were created by the researcher with regards the literature base and research objectives. As such, the questions generally addressed the following topics (An English translation of the interview questions is in Appendix):

- A brief introduction by the interviewees, their responsibilities, activities or relevance to the tourism development in Shiraz,
- The interviewees' general assessment of the tourism development in Shiraz,

- The nature and the scope of the interviewees participation in the tourism development in Shiraz,
- Tourism development's contribution to the interviewees' lives or activities,
- The interviewees' general assessment of opportunities and challenges of the tourism development in Shiraz.

Commencing the conduct of the fieldwork, the researcher contacted the academics that had useful link with the ICHHTO either in the central office in Tehran or in Shiraz. The researcher originally met the Dean of Tourism Management Department in Allameh Tabatabaee University in Tehran. This department collaborated with the ICHHTO-Fars Province in conducting The Comprehensive Tourism Development Plan for Fars Province. Therefore, the Dean and other academics could refer the researcher to their links in Shiraz. The local authorities investigate the nature of any research as well as questions and interviewee groups; being referred by the academics was particularly helpful going through the security check. The first group of contacts recommended another group with regards to the research criteria. This was in accordance with the snowball sampling strategy of the research. As such, the Tourism Development Management Office introduced the researcher to few hotel managers and travel agencies. Moreover, associations' (tour guides and handicraft producers) contact was provided by the ICHHTO as well as names and contacts of the tourism related NGOs. There are thirteen tourism and cultural heritage NGOs registered in Fars Province which five of them are based in Shiraz and have been interviewed. The remaining eight NGOs are based in other cities in Fars Province and were not the concern of the fieldwork of this research.

The researcher gained access to local individuals through gatekeepers. The gatekeepers were those who had links with members of the local residents (e.g. family, friends and colleagues), additionally, the researcher could build a trusting rapport with them. Welcoming behaviour, willingness to participate in the research and sharing personal information including home and mobile telephone number could be mentioned as an evidence of the built trust between the gatekeeper and the researcher. In one example, a member of an NGO introduced the researcher to his friend who worked in his father's shop in the Bazaar and the rest of the Bazaar's interviewees were arranged by him. On the one hand, this was particularly helpful as merchants of the Bazaar are not generally willing to talk about topics such as tourism impacts on their income. On the other hand, contacting people through the gatekeeper meant that the researcher should rely on his group of people as well as his time table. In order to alleviate this impact, the researcher tried to include interviewees being introduced by different gatekeepers rather than relying on the contacts of one gatekeeper. Overall, fifty-two initial interviews were conducted with members of the local public. According to Hennink *et al.* (2011: 111),

... a key characteristic of qualitative data collection is to use the key issues that are identified in one interview to refine questions and topical probes in a following interview. In this way you make inductive inferences and are able to go deeper into the issues with each subsequent interview.

Therefore, initial interviews with the members of local public were followed by twenty follow-up interviews. Time and availability of interviewees relatively affected the number of interviews. This is to say that, the researcher read the initial interviews with the intention to identify key issues and decided to conduct follow-up interviews with respondents who

provided greatly detailed information or mentioned unexpected issues. Not surprisingly, follow-up interviews were possible only with those who agreed to be involved. The final number of interviewees is presented in Table (4.4).

Table (4.4): Name and number of interviewee groups

Name of interviewee group	Number
The public sector	3
The private sector	9 (3 hotel managers, 4 travel agency managers, 1 union, 1 association)
The non-profit sector	5 NGOs, 1 association, 1 tourism lecturer
Local public	72 (fifty-two initial and 20 follow-up)

Upon contacting interviewees, by telephone, the researcher introduced herself as a postgraduate student conducting research on tourism development in Iran, with a case study of Shiraz. Furthermore, in the beginning of the interview sessions, background of the researcher was commonly raised by interviewees (e.g. where in the country I am from? How old I am? Where did I do my undergraduate? Where do I live now?). These introductory conversations helped to build rapport with interviewees and made them comfortable enough to start telling their experiences and opinions. Statements such as “I am ready whenever you are”, or “do you want to start the interview” or “let’s do the main conversation” by the interviewees could be mentioned as the sign of the trusty rapport with the researcher. The academic nature and purpose of the research was also emphasised in contrast to political or activism origin in order to decrease the concern about participating in the research. The researcher, as an Iranian, was familiar with the issue that people generally worry about expressing their opinion on matters with a political aspect; therefore, explaining the difference between an academic research and a social or political activity was reassuring for

the interviewees. The formal explanation about the researcher and the nature of the research was also provided in writing and was given to every individual interviewee by the researcher.

A great deal of attention was given to the opening questions and following ones prior to both round of interviews. The researcher consulted with a member of the Research and Development Team in the ICHHTO in order to familiarise her language and terminology for the interviewees in order to decrease the possibility of misunderstanding and conflict. It is crucial importance for the researcher to make sure that questions in an interview follow a logical order for the interviewee rather than the researcher plus meaning of dialogues and questions are as clear as possible. This research did not have a pilot interview since she was advised not to have one by a member of the Research and Development Team in ICHHTO-Fars Province. This is due to the fact that convincing participants was a difficult task especially when the researcher wished to conduct two rounds of interviews.

In addition, interviews with local public were conducted accompanied by a local female assistant. Having the company of a local resident was suggested by a member of the Research and Development Team in the ICHHTO-Fars Province in order to reduce the chance of distrust, conflict or resentment. The assistant was a young local female educated in tourism management and had a work experience in travel agency. The company of a local resident with better knowledge of local social norms and sensitivities helped building a trusting rapport between the interviewees and the researcher. This was particularly important in conducting interviews with male elderlies when the local assistant would call them in local expressions such as ‘pedar jan’ (dear father) or when the assistant mentioned her surname and her family network would put the interviewees at ease. This is the issue of researcher being

an insider or outsider in the group or area of study which is relevant to all approaches of qualitative methodology due to the fact that the researcher plays such a direct and intimate role in data collection. Dwyer and Buckle (2009: 55) assert that,

... whether the researcher is an insider, sharing the characteristic, role, or experience under study with the participants, or an outsider to the commonality shared by participants, the personhood of the researcher, including her or his membership status in relation to those participating in the research, is an essential and ever-present aspect of the investigation.

Kanuha (2000: 444) additionally argues that “being an insider researcher enhances the depth and breadth of understanding a population that may not be accessible to a non-native scientist”. This means being an insider researcher brings the researcher access into groups that might otherwise be closed to outsiders. In this research, the local assistance coupled with native Farsi speaking of the researcher minimized the ‘outsider’ aspect of the researcher to a significant extent. This claim could be supported by examples in which interviewees talked about their political stances and their criticisms to local authorities. These topics usually are left untouched if there is no trusting rapport. Regarding the researcher as less of an outsider and more of an insider, participants of the research were more rapidly accepting and consequently more open in sharing their opinions and experiences. Despite the fact that presence of a local assistant was significantly helpful, there was a disadvantage to it. The local assistant could interrupt the articulation of questions and lead the conversation or direct the interviewees.

There is also another factor needs to be addressed in order to conduct a more fruitful interview: to select a suitable location for the interview. “This is usually determined by considering what type of place would make the interviewee feel more at ease and where they may be able to talk freely” (Hennink *et al.* 2011: 121). As such, in this research interviews were conducted in the respondents’ premises for instance their shop, travel agency, office and in some other cases in another place of their convenience like hotel lobby or coffee shops. Apart from occasional difficulties in terms of commuting between two places in limited time in order to conduct two interviewees, this way of conducting interviews had no other disadvantages.

In an attempt to reduce the participants’ concerns, in the beginning of each interview session the researcher explained that interviewees are free to participate and free to withdraw at any time. The researcher also explained that the collected data will be used with no reference to the name or identity of the interviewees unless they give permission. This information was also provided in written form as mentioned earlier. Interviews generally lasted between forty-five minutes to one hour. Different length of interviews was due to the nature of semi-structured interviews which is to give the balance to capture the required information while allowing accumulation of unpredicted information on processes and bringing in depth (Miller and Fox 2004).

Interviews were recorded manually by the researcher taking notes during the interviews. This was in respect to interviewees not welcoming the voice recording devices. There was a general concern among interviewees, from NGOs and local public that they could be identified by their voice by local authorities or any other person. Local public expressed their

concerns about repercussions of their participation in the research in statements such as “they [local authorities] do not tolerate any criticism”. Moreover, writing notes instead of recording the voice had two advantages for the research: firstly, not to endanger the authenticity of data which was more likely to be modified by interviewees in presence of voice recording device; and secondly, to more easily encourage interviewees to participate in the research. Yet, there was a disadvantage to taking notes by the researcher. The researcher should be attentive in all senses; sincerely listen to the interviewee, encourage the interviewee, follow the logic of the interview and not to be distracted by the information coming from the interviewee. The researcher then may miss some valuable points and opinions while she is writing. In the primary research; however, the assistant helped in taking notes during the interview session. The assistant was instructed by the researcher to only write down the interviewees’ responses and leave no comments. This way made it feasible to record great detail of information without a voice recording device which also protected the answers from being circumscribed. Notes taken by both the researcher and the assistant subsequently combined into one transcript by the researcher in the stage of organising data. This is to say that the researcher reconciled the notes taken by the assistant and the notes taken by her; ignored the already mentioned points and added the points which were missing in her notes and made them as on transcript for each interview.

#### **4.8) Data analysis**

The stage after collecting qualitative data is to undertake a careful analysis of collected data so that the researcher can draw reliable and valid conclusion. Qualitative data are usually in the form of text, written words and phrases which describe people, actions, event or social situation. The qualitative researcher transcribes all notes on interviews, discussion groups or

participant observation. “Transcription is an act of representation on qualitative research” (Oliver *et al.* 2005). Silverman (1993) indicates that transcriptions provide the researcher with more detail and direct access to data as well as allowing the researcher to return to the exact extract to either analyse or refer back to. Next, the researcher begins the journey of analysis by organising the transcripts into categories on the basis of themes, concepts or similar features (Neuman 2003). Ritchie and Spencer (2002) argue that qualitative data analysis is essentially about detection; therefore, the tasks of defining, categorising, theorising, explaining, exploring and mapping are fundamental to the analyst’s role. As Hennink *et al.* (2011: 205) claims,

... it is through immersion in your data that you are able to identify the unique perspective of your study participants, understand social or cultural meanings attached to behaviour and begin to explain and develop theory about people’s actions or beliefs.

Patton (1980) suggests that the process of qualitative data analysis could reach the meaningful conclusion following three stages:

- 1) Bringing order to data, organizing what is there into patterns, categorises and basic descriptive units,
- 2) Interpretation which is about attaching meanings to collected data, explaining descriptive patterns and exploring the relationships between descriptive dimensions,
- 3) And finally to make conclusion and evaluate the value to it.

More recently, Ritchie and Spencer (2002: 31) have presented a framework for analysing qualitative data:

- 1) Familiarisation,
- 2) Identifying a thematic framework,
- 3) Indexing,
- 4) Charting,
- 5) Mapping and interpretation.

Ritchie and Spencer (2002) elaborate that in the stage of familiarisation, the researcher transforms the recorded interviews into transcripts. During this process and afterwards, interviews are read repeatedly in order to identify key issues and emergent themes. It is important at this stage, to set these issues and themes firmly in context. In the stage of identification, the researcher makes notes of the responses to questions posed and extracts recurrent themes and issues which emerge as important to the respondents themselves (Ritchie and Spencer 2002). There are sub-themes for every theme which are sifted and sorted through indexing and charting, according to Ritchie and Spencer (2002). And the final stage is mapping and interpretation. This is when the researcher begins to pull together key characteristics of data and to map and interpret the data set as a whole. As argued by Ritchie and Spencer (2002) the researcher explains the meaning of the displayed data in its context, for example people's attitudes, experiences and behaviours.

In this field research, the framework asserted by Ritchie and Spencer (2002) was adopted for data analysis. The process of analysis began with the researcher translating all interview transcripts from Farsi into English. In the fieldwork, all interviews were conducted in Farsi

which is the native language of the studied groups. Extra care also was taken in translating important quotes which is used later in writing the thesis. Each interview transcripts and observation notes were read and re-read carefully with the aim of extracting the key emerging themes and concepts revealed from that source. Within the process of reviewing the transcripts, the researcher located concepts, identified recurrent themes and issues which seemed important to the interviewees. This stage is generally referred to as 'open coding' (Strauss and Corbin 1998). In the process of open coding, the researcher considered all possible meanings then put interpretive labels on the data. According to Punch (2005) the researcher begins pulling different themes together by assigning labels of meaning to the data. This is to say that these concepts and themes represent the researcher's understanding of what is being described by the participants. Main themes were followed by sub-themes and explaining notes. After organising and identifying core themes, the researcher began the process of interpretation and adding meaning to data as a whole. In this stage, the researcher did the 'axial coding' in order to refine and interpret a more analytical categories. Axial coding serves to refine and differentiate concepts (Flick *et al.* 2002) and make conceptual connections between categories (Strauss and Corbin 1998). While open coding and axial coding are usually presented as distinguished stages, scholars such as Strauss and Corbin (1998) argue against. This is to say that in the process of open coding, the researcher breaks data apart and identify concepts while, in their mind, automatically put the data back together and make connections by creating the explanatory descriptors, also known as axial coding. Hence the analysis in the characteristic of analysis is to resolve data into its constituent components and reveal themes and patterns. In order to do so, in the final stage, the researcher looked for confirmation, contradiction, dominance, patterns of association or extension of the concepts being coded (Ritchie and Spencer 2002). This enabled the researcher to contextualise the meanings and understandings driven from data.

The process of analysis for the primary research then can be summarised as:

- Familiarising with the data- constructing initial codes manually,
- Defining concepts and sub-concepts,
- Relating the core categories into each other, validating those relationships by searching for confirming and disconfirming examples.

Table (4.5) shows an example of the typical coding process used by the researcher in the primary research.

Table (4.5): Example of coding

Theme	Axial coding	Open coding	Quotations
Tourism development impacts	Positive impacts	<p>Economic benefit and job opportunities</p> <p>Cultural pride,</p> <p>Infrastructure improvements</p>	<p><i>More jobs became available for people with no special skills.</i></p> <p><i>We are proud to introduce our city, culture and history to people of other nations.</i></p> <p><i>The airport became an international one which makes it easier for us to travel.</i></p>
	Negative impacts	<p>Traffic jam and increased waste</p> <p>Increased cost of living and sharing resources</p> <p>Cultural conflicts</p>	<p><i>In high seasons, everywhere you turn your head there is a pile of waste.</i></p> <p><i>Housing became more expensive either for renting or buying.</i></p> <p><i>Dress codes or behavioural codes of international tourists are somehow different from us.</i></p>

## **4.9) Summary**

This chapter has introduced the methodology adopted in this research. It has been discussed that the ontological and the epistemological stances of the researcher will define what she counts as 'evidence' to explain social phenomena and how evidence is collected. As the primary research was largely inductive research, a qualitative approach via a case study was selected. Qualitative research was also deemed the most appropriate due to the complex nature of tourism development. Shiraz was chosen as a case study and six months fieldwork took place. Within the course of fieldwork semi-structured in-depth interviews were employed as the main data collection technique along with participant observation to support the main interview technique. The gathered data subsequently has been analysed. As such, the researcher, after familiarisation with data, used axial coding to define themes and sub-themes and finally the researcher identified the core themes and issues which will be presented in Chapters Five and Six.

# **Chapter Five**

## **Tourism development in Shiraz: Results**

### **5.1) Introduction**

In the context of Iran, it has been previously identified that tourism development is influenced by the character of the central government and the nature of the state-society relationship. This chapter, then, presents the results of the interviews on how different stakeholder groups participate in the tourism development process and investigates the current pattern of community participation in the tourism development in Shiraz, as the case study. In the discussion parts of the chapter, there is exploration of the impact of the Iranian socio-political context on the extent to which stakeholders are involved in various aspects of the tourism development process in Shiraz. This is helpful to realise the difficulties of development of a more participatory and empowering tourism in Shiraz.

### **5.2) Results**

Having identified the main stakeholders of tourism development in Shiraz, the chapter is structured around presenting empirical material and discussions of each group's experience of tourism development and the type and extent of their participation in the process of tourism development as well as obstacles to their participation. This is to say that sequence of

presentation of the results is based on the interviewee groups as the public sector, the private sector, NGOs and local public.

### *5.2.1) The public sector's view on current practice of community participation in Shiraz*

As for Shiraz, The Iran Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Organisation (ICHHTO)-Fars Province is the main organisation responsible for tourism development. Moreover, The City Council of Shiraz and The Municipality of Shiraz are the next most related government organisations with regards to tourism development. Therefore, as explained in Chapter Four, interviews were conducted with key informants from these organisations. Interviewees were asked questions about the meaning of tourism development in Shiraz, the role of other stakeholders namely the private sector, NGOs and local citizen and the process of their participation (An English translation of the interview questions is in Appendix).

Tourism development in Shiraz is part of the national tourism development and it is planned in accordance to the national master plans, INT-1 explained. According to her, tourism development in Shiraz is aimed to create job opportunities, increase the foreign exchange income and improve infrastructure and quality of life for local citizens.

Moreover, INT-3 indicates tourism development plans are concerned with the principles of sustainability; therefore, tourism projects should be environmentally sound and reflect local

communities' opinion. INT-2 also states the significance of 'public participation'. In his words,

Public participation is very important for sustainable tourism development. Therefore we do our best to encourage local communities to participate in investment in tourism projects. We facilitate their participation for example by providing land or financial aid. In fact if any project is under advisement or proposed to us we always assess how locals can be part of it.

Regarding 'public participation' as an objective of tourism development plans, INT-1 and INT-2, in relatively similar statements, explained that their organisations look to include communities in different aspects of tourism development such as maintenance of the cultural heritage and infrastructure development.

For example, INT-2 stated that,

We welcome all locals and entrepreneurs to participate in the tourism development projects.

Also, INT-1 indicated that public can engage in tourism development through "investment or getting involved in construction of infrastructure".

This is noticeable in the interviewees' responses (INT-1 and INT-2) that public participation is mainly narrowed down to the entrepreneurs' investments. Moreover, responses of the local authorities disclose challenges of tourism development in Shiraz.

Lack of knowledge and skills was stated by all three interviewees as the main obstacle to local citizens' participation. INT-3 explained that,

The main problem is that people don't have enough knowledge. Even if we provide the financial aid they don't know, for example, how to provide high standard tourism services or how to present their authentic culture as a tourist product.

INT-1 and INT-2 also in relatively similar comments indicated that local citizens occasionally resist tourism projects because either they do not understand the benefits of those projects or they do not have enough skill to get involved in them.

Moreover, INT-2 from different point of view raised the issues of collaboration with the private sector. He explained that the challenge is not only to involve local citizens, but also the private sector due to the facts that entrepreneurs prefer short-term profits and the private sector can only get involve in small to medium scale projects.

Having said the difficulties of community participation, interviewees described some mechanisms for increasing the participation. As stated by INT-1,

Local authorities conduct plans and projects in collaboration with consultants. Part of these consultants' job is to find out about local needs and concerns. In order to do so they do surveys or sometimes face-to-face interviews.

INT-3 also describes another mechanism to include other stakeholders' opinion,

Projects will be discussed in a committee which is comprised of members of the city council, associations and sometimes NGOs. These are locals' representatives to reflect their opinions.

Having discussed the current state of tourism development in Shiraz, the role of public participation and the obstacles to it, interviewees were asked to state the overall positive and negative contributions of tourism development in Shiraz. These can be summarised as follows in the order of the most important to the least important:

Positive:

- Tourism is generally seen as a positive economic activity given the growing number of tourism related businesses (all interviewees had similar ideas),
- Tourism created more job opportunities (e.g. tour guides, hotel manager, museum curators) for the younger generation (INT-1 and INT-2),
- Tourism draws attention to the infrastructure development (INT-1 and INT-3). According to INT-1, the airport became the international airport which has direct flight from Turkish Airline and Gulf Air,
- Associations, unions and NGOs are given bigger share in the tourism industry compared to other industries (INT-1 and INT-2),
- Tourism enhances the cultural pride (INT-2),
- Tourism provides opportunities for sub-cultures and ethnic groups to be seen (INT-2).

Negative:

- Increased competition over resources such as land, water and electricity supply (INT-1 and INT-3),

- Increased conflict of interests between different groups of local community (INT-1 and INT-2),
- Increased migration from small towns to Shiraz (INT-2),
- Increased traffic jam and pollution (INT-3),
- Cultural conflict between tourists and locals (INT-2).

### *5.2.2) The private sector's view on current practice of community participation in Shiraz*

It was discussed in tourism literature that the private sector is one of the main stakeholders in tourism development (Gunn, 2002). Moreover, there was an account of debate on the political economy character of Iran and the dominant role of the state in Chapter Three. Therefore, in such an environment, it is of a great importance to investigate how the private sector, as a stakeholder, is functioning in the process of tourism development.

As such interviews were conducted in Shiraz with the tourism related businesses, tourism related associations and tourism academics. The details of respondents are provided in Chapter Four. It was the aim of interviews to gain an understanding about the interviewees' current experience of tourism development in Shiraz and their participation in the process as well as identification of factors affecting them. While the interviewees shared generally similar short responses about the state of their activities, such as 'business goes as usual'/ 'tourism businesses are growing slowly'/ 'investment in tourism increased recently', they provided a great deal of information about the factors which have impact on either their

businesses, but also on tourism development. The most discussed factors were: political instability, unqualified management, planning and infrastructure. These are discussed below.

All seven interviewees referred to different aspects of political sensitivity of tourism in Iran which means any political change has a significant impact on tourism development. For example, INT-4, a hotel manager, explained that,

Like all other sectors, tourism is deeply involved with the general political conditions in the country. We have all observed that when a government changes, most of the macro and micro policies and strategies regarding tourism development change.

Moreover, another impact of political instability was indicated by INT-4 which is regarding Iran's international image. INT-4 in a typical response indicated that,

As soon as some political crisis happens media will focus on presenting Iran as a dangerous destinations coupled with foreign governments' announcement that Iran is a high risk destination. These result in dramatic decrease in tourist arrivals and tourism income.

Furthermore, it was pointed out repeatedly (INT-4, INT-5/a travel agency manager, INT-6/ a member of The Tour Guide Association) that political instability not only affects the strategies but also the people in charge and the managers. Moreover, this issue was also mentioned by a tourism lecturer. In his words,

Followed by the change of the president/government which means changes in top appointments, most of the previous plans and projects, especially in the local and regional level, would be put aside, so they were not given enough time.

As responses of the representatives of the private sector reveal rapidly evolving political and economic situation besides changes of governments with subsequent changes of tourism policies and planning and repeated displacements in managerial positions are significantly affecting tourism development. The issue of appointing personnel also appeared to be critical since it was typically stated in interviewees' responses.

Appointing managers and personnel based on their political standpoint rather than their skills and experience was discussed as a factor influencing interviewees as tourism's stakeholders. INT-4, INT-5 and INT-7 in relatively similar answers explained that the members of the local authorities are assigned with no necessary tourism background but instead with regards to their relationship with the central government. INT-5 stated in details that,

I can name no top ranking manager and director of tourism organisations authorities that has tourism or management education. This is because they are selected based on their political wills. This not only brings inconsistency in tourism management, but also when it comes to communication between tourism actors and them, they fail to understand.

However, INT-6, atypically, stated that it is not only lack of skills and education among the government authorities that affect the tourism industry, but also lack of knowledge and experience among the private sector itself. According to INT-6,

Lack of skill, education and experience is the weakness of the private sector too. Tourism education is quite new in Iran and surprisingly is not very common among actors of the tourism industry. For example, most of hotel owners and managers know only about money. Or travel agency managers are retired pilots.

Although this is an atypical view among the private sectors, it is parallel to a more common view among the local authorities. Moreover, in line with political sensitivity of tourism in Iran, interviewees all indicated the issue of planning in response to the question of what is affecting tourism development in Shiraz.

As discussed previously, in Iran, the central government conducts all macro level planning and all regional and local planning should be in accordance to those master plans. The issue of central planning was discussed by interviewees from different points of view. The major points of these views can be summarised as tourism planning in Iran suffers from being politically inspired, vague and unrealistic. It was indicated repeatedly (INT-5, INT-6 and INT-7) that the central government has not managed yet to reach appropriate tourism planning.

INT-6 explained that,

The state in Iran, up to now, has not managed to define a compatible and appropriate tourism development plan which takes the unique socio-cultural character of the country into account.

Also, according to INT-5,

It doesn't matter how much they [the state] talk about the importance of tourism when there is no well-conducted long-term comprehensive plan. This is not to say that there is no tourism development plans in Iran, there exists many plans but a few of them are functional.

Moreover, the issue of unrealistic goals and objectives was indicated. INT-5 and INT-7, explained that the central government does not take the regional and local conditions, capacities and facilities into account in their planning. INT-7 provides good deal of information on this matter,

Reviewing tourism development plan in Iran shows that the government is either very optimist or as a political gesture, has great expectations... However, goals and objectives should be based on capacities, facilities and potentials. Iran's tourism problem is that there are many plans that never turn into action because when it comes to operational level it is realised that the basic requirements are insufficient.

The majority of respondents from the private sector indicated that tourism has never been a serious development tool in the national plans, mainly because the state is distracted by the substantial gas and oil revenue.

In addition to these more discussed shortcomings of the tourism planning, issues of competition and monitoring were mentioned by several interviewees (INT-4, INT-5 and INT-

8). INT-8, a member of The Association of Handicraft Producers, stated his concern about very limited competition among different tourism businesses and 'slim chance for creativity' which, in his opinion, is a result of a tight regulation and planning framework.

INT-5 also had a similar opinion,

Instead of stimulating tourism development and encouraging the private sector to compete and improve the quality of their services, the government imposes pre-planned objectives to the private sector.

From another point of view, lack of a monitoring mechanism was addressed as a shortcoming of tourism planning in Iran by INT-6 and INT-7. Their explanations suggest that plans do not consider how to track the suitability of objectives at each destination, what are the objectives that are not predicted and how to improve strategies to gain the objective. In INT-7's words,

In an absence of reliable data and a monitoring system, how can they [the authorities] assess if plans are suitable or not?

In addition to the issues related to the planning system, infrastructure was typically stated by the interviewees as the last but not the least factor influencing tourism development in Shiraz.

All of the interviewees raised the issue of insufficient tourism infrastructure as an obstacle to tourism development in Shiraz. While accommodation and transportation seem to be the main problem since all the interviewees stated, telecommunication and money transfer shortages were also suggested by three interviewees.

The interviewees' opinions about infrastructure can be summed up as:

- Poor public transport (all interviewees),
- The low quality accommodation (INT-4, INT-5, INT-6, INT-7),
- The insufficient budget accommodation (INT-5),
- Lack of rules and standards for accommodation (INT-7),
- Telecommunication and internet access (INT-5),
- Money transfer and credit card services (INT-4, INT-5).

INT-4 goes further and argues that underdevelopment of infrastructure is a two sided story in that, on one hand, poor infrastructure makes it difficult to attract tourists; on the other hand, unsustainable demand discourages investment in infrastructure. According to him,

Iran's tourism market experiences two very busy high seasons: the Iranian New Year and summer. During these seasons the tourism industry uses all its facilities, indeed overuses. However, at the end of the high season almost all tourism facilities become useless. There is no plan to prolong the demand. This makes the investment in tourism business, particularly accommodation, undesirable.

From another point of view, INT-5 drew attention to the issue of unequal distribution of infrastructure. His response suggested that tourism infrastructure is concentrated around well-known tourist sites and some other sites are left with no enough attention. With an explanation similar to the INT-4's opinion, INT-5 indicated that,

It is very difficult to encourage entrepreneurs to invest in development of less-known tourist sites; therefore, they are not facilitated and there is a limited chance to advertise or promote them.

### *5.2.3) The NGOs' view on current practice of community participation in the tourism development process in Shiraz*

As discussed in tourism literature, NGOs were suggested as having important roles in mobilising people and help them to gain some control in decision-making (Baccaro 2001, Desai 2005). However, scholars such as Mercer (2002) argue that considering the wider context, NGOs ability to fulfil their tasks as an autonomous actor is increasingly circumscribed by the political and economic forces. It is then important to examine the NGOs' role and functions in their contexts with regards to the institutional infrastructure and the socio-political atmosphere. Therefore, as outlined in the methodology chapter, five active tourism NGOs based in Shiraz were interviewed in order to have an understanding of how they participate in the process of tourism development. The interviewees were presidents of the following NGOs:

- Anjoman Doostdaran Hafez (The Association of the Advocates of Hafez)-established 2003,
- Khaneh Farhang Javedan (The House of Eternal Culture)-established 2004,
- Anjoman Farzandan Parseh (Fars Descendent Association)-established 2006,
- Anjoman Doostdaran MirasFarhangi Fars (The Association of the Advocates of Fars Cultural Heritage)-established 2000,
- Khane Farhang Boomgardan Pars (The House of Fars Cultural and Eco-tourism)-established 2011.

The interviewees were asked to indicate their activities and the level of their involvement in the tourism development process, describe their relationships with other actors namely the local authorities, the private sector and local citizens as well as identification of the challenges they face.

According to the interviewees, various activities of NGOs can be listed as follows:

- Attending at tourism exhibitions, festivals, providing information about tourism development and reflecting them in consulting reports on tourism development in Shiraz (INT-9),
- Preparing public lectures and workshops for locals to attend as well as educational programmes for primary and high schools and museums (INT-10),
- Discovering less-known tourist attractions and advertising them (INT-11),
- Training locals to be tour guide or host (INT-12).

Moreover, the interviewees stated different level of involvement in the process of tourism development. As for some NGOs, they are involved in higher levels that have better chance to have a voice in decision-making. On the other hand, some NGOs are struggled to express their concerns. For example, INT-9 explained that,

Our NGO is in good relationship with the ICHHTO and the Municipality of Shiraz. We provide consulting reports for them prior or during their projects or we propose some projects.

On the contrary, INT-12 indicated that,

We had a proposal for a programme to train locals as tour guides; however, we didn't have enough resources. We tried a lot to convince the ICHHTO to consider our proposal. It was a long way and too many obstacles and finally we couldn't.

Besides providing information on their activities and involvement in tourism development, the interviewees also explained how they interact with other stakeholders. Almost all interviewees indicated that no matter how far they are involved in the tourism development process, they are challenged by old attitudes of authorities, disabling legal environment and multiple decision making centres. Phrases such as 'everlasting process of registration' (INT-10), 'security-oriented approach of the authorities' (INT-9) and 'unwillingness of authorities to let NGOs to actively participate' (INT-12); were used by the interviewees to express their opinions on this matter. Although the majority of interviewees indicated difficulties regarding their activities, some of the interviewees described more participatory experiences.

INT-10 provided an example that,

The ICHHTO has agreed to include a member of our NGO in a committee which decides about issuing license for construction projects such as hotel building.

Also, INT-9 indicated that they are usually invited to participate in implementing tourism projects and sometimes to participate in the planning stage.

This is to say that not all NGOs have the same level of interaction with the local authorities in terms of raising their concern and reflecting upon people who are representing. However, different level of negotiation power is not the only factor affecting the NGOs' activities. All interviewees stated that financial resources have an impact on the type of their activities and their relationships with the local authorities.

Interviewees addressed the issue of limited financial resources from different points of view. For example, INT-10 related NGOs limited budget to the poor networking with international NGOs and fiscal institutions. INT-12 also explained that tourism NGOs are not very long established institutions and they were not capable of attracting donors. This tight financial resources, on one hand, limits the type and extent of NGOs' activities as brought up by INT-10, INT-11 and INT-12; and on the other hand, make NGOs rely on financial aid of the ICHHTO as all of the interviewees indicated that they receive aid.

This financial involvement of the state coupled with the fact that NGOs must obtain the approval of the authorities, concerns NGOs in terms of their independence. INT-10's response provided details on this matter. In his words,

On one hand, NGOs are challenged by their lack of money. On the other hand, a sum of the ICHHTO's budget and credit is allocated to 'help and support NGOs' according to law, and will be distributed among NGOs regarding their type of activities. This means that we, as NGOs, at most point give up on projects involving our interests and try to do something more appealing for the ICHHTO because otherwise we can't survive.

Given the difficulty of getting involved in the tourism development process in a meaningful way coupled with the limited financial resources, interviewees such as INT-9 and INT-11 concluded that NGOs suffer from the shortcomings of tourism planning in Iran.

INT-9 explained that,

The main problem is that NGOs place is not clarified in the tourism plans. It is not clear what 'supporting NGOs' means and how it should be done. Therefore it basically depends on the person in charge's opinion how to interpret 'support' and the easiest thing is to pay some money.

Additionally, INT-11 stated that,

They [the authorities] don't know what the role of an NGO is because no plans or guidelines identify the role of NGOs. They consider us more as the implementing institution to operationalise some projects, rather than a serious actor in the tourism development process. Considering us in this way, they think it is sufficient to provide financial help or facilitate to book venues or subsidise some fees.

Furthermore, NGOs' scope of activities is affected by their relationships with the private sector and local citizens. As discussed in Chapter Two, communities are not homogenous entities and various stakeholders' roles cannot be studied without addressing their conflicts they deal with.

A major issue raised by the interviewees (INT-9, INT-10, INT-11, INT-13) was the conflict of interests between NGOs and the private sector or/and local citizens. The reasons of these conflicts stated by the interviewees vary. INT-9 and INT-13, in relatively similar answers, related the conflict to the character of the private sector 'being benefit-oriented'. INT-13 explained that,

The private sector is too much worried about their financial benefits. Travel agencies are not willing to hire locals, trained by us to be a tour guide, because they [travel agencies] think locals are not experiences hence fewer travellers may wish to have a tour with them and consequently there will be less money for agencies.

INT-10, additionally, argued that part of the private sector particularly associations are unwilling to collaborate and INT-11 indicated local citizens do not trust NGOs. According to him,

People don't believe we are on their side. If we want to conduct a survey or ask for feedback about a project, they don't trust us and provide us with false answers.

INT-12 also, from another point of view, addressed the issue of establishing a rapport with local citizens. In INT-12's words,

Members of NGOs are mostly from the middle-class, educated and have fancy goals in the eyes of locals who are sometimes struggling with economic issues and willing to exchange anything for the immediate money that investors promise.

This response could be interpreted in the light of representation. This is to say that NGOs are mainly over-representing their own intellectually driven goals and often lacking mass-based constitution. Having learnt different levels of NGOs engagement in the tourism development process and discussed their interaction with other stakeholders, the interviewees were asked, in the conclusion, to assess the tourism development in Shiraz. The summary of their responses are as follows in order of the most important to the least important:

#### Weaknesses:

- Lack of co-operation among responsible organisations (INT-9, INT-10, INT-11, INT-13),
- Lack of understanding about public participation and the role of NGOs (INT-9, INT-12, INT-13),
- Inconsistency in the tourism related rules and regulations (INT-10, INT-11),
- Lack of attention to public opinion and feedback surveys (INT-13),
- Poor infrastructure (INT-9, INT-10),
- Poor advertising (INT-12).

#### Strengths:

- Developing new tourist sites and tourist activities (INT-9, INT-11, INT-12),
- Increasing tourism related education among local citizens (INT-10, INT-12),
- Various cultural, historical and environmental tourist attractions (INT-9, INT-13),
- Acknowledging the existence of NGOs and providing opportunities to hear their voices (INT-10, INT-11),
- Better communication among different stakeholders (INT-12),
- Diversifying handicrafts and souvenirs (INT-13),

- Increasing available information on the importance of tourism and tourism development options (INT-9).

#### *5.2.4) The Local residents' view on current practice of community participation in the tourism development process in Shiraz*

The local citizens are the other group of stakeholders who are the subject of investigation in this part of the presentation of results. As outlined in Chapter Four, interviewees of this group were selected from:

- Locals who are directly related to or affected by tourism development in Shiraz,
- Locals who are indirectly related to or affected by tourism development in Shiraz,
- Locals who are not involved in but affected by tourism development in Shiraz.

It was the aim of the interviews to gain an understanding of local residents' opinion about tourism development contributions and impacts, their assessment of the tourism development in Shiraz and their level of participation in the process of tourism development.

##### *5.2.4.1) Locals who are directly related to or affected by tourism development in Shiraz*

Almost all of the interviewees (25 out of 28) stated that tourism development has positive impacts on Shiraz. These impacts can be summarised as follows:

- More job opportunities (23 out of 28),

- Greater income (20 out of 28),
- Feeling proud of their culture and history (19 out of 28),
- Cultural communication with people from other parts of the world (17 out of 28),
- Improved image of Shiraz and Iran (15 out of 28).

Economic contribution is the most emphasised positive impact. However the majority of the interviewees (20 out of 28) indicated ‘increased cost of living’ and almost half of the interviewees (12 out of 28) stated ‘increased traffic jams’ as the negative impacts of tourism development in Shiraz.

Despite the generally positive perception toward the tourism impacts, the interviewees were concerned by the tourism development weaknesses. More than half of the interviewees (17 out of 28) indicated that the infrastructure did not improve in accordance with the tourism requirements. The typical statements regarding the poor infrastructure could be mentioned as follows:

At the moment we don’t have enough facilities for both locals and tourists (12 out of 28).

Accommodation, food services and transportation don’t meet the tourists’ needs especially during the high seasons (10 out of 28).

Insufficient infrastructure mentioned by this group of interviewees as a shortcoming is parallel to the private sector’s view. Moreover, advertisement was another shortcoming of

tourism development in Shiraz, stated by 10 interviewees out of 28 statements, which can be summarised as follows:

Tourism in Shiraz suffers from non-systematic advertisement which is mostly based on individual businesses or travel agencies (7 out of 28).

Advertisement is very poor and it mainly targets to attract domestic tourists (9 out of 28).

A small number of interviewees (4 out of 28) also indicated that tourism development in Shiraz was unable to overcome the issue of seasonality. According to one interviewee,

We experience a very dense high season in Norooz which is even more than what are capable of. And we have summer which is not as busy as Norooz but it lasts for about three months. And the rest of the year it is very stagnant. Some small businesses have to think about the second job for those quiet months.

Furthermore, it is not only tourism development weaknesses that concern local citizens, but also their level of participation in the process of tourism development. Typical responses can be found in phrases were as follows,

There is no such a thing as participation. No one invites us and if there is any other way we don't know about it.

It is a one way road. Local authorities let us know about tourism projects but there isn't a way for us to challenge that project or say our opinion.

What do we participate in? There is no meaningful participation. They tell you that there is going to be a project near you and it is going to be good for you.

Yet, in a somewhat different answer, one interviewee explained that local citizens' participation is limited not only due to the inappropriate bureaucratic structures, but also due to indifference of locals. In her words,

It isn't only authorities and rules and laws that stop us from participation. It's people too. The city council usually send us some people to do surveys or occasionally invite us to meetings about changes in our neighbourhood, but people don't go.

In addition to institutional obstacles and unwillingness of people, lack of information and knowledge about 'what is participation' and 'what are the mechanisms for participation' was indicated by several interviewees (8 out of 11). Other indicated factor influencing local citizens' participation can be summed up as:

- lack of belief that local participation may be effective (5 out of 11),
- lack of confidence for participation (4 out of 11),
- lack of trust to the local authorities (4 out of 11),
- being preoccupied by economic challenges (2 out of 11).

#### *5.2.4.2) Locals who are indirectly related to or affected by tourism development in Shiraz*

Similar to the previous group, the majority of the interviewees in this group (11 out of 13) consider tourism impact as positive mainly in terms of increased job opportunities. 'the economy is getting better' and 'there are more chances for young people to find jobs' were typical answers describing positive contribution of tourism. In addition, positive cultural

impacts such as ‘learning about other cultures’ and ‘having the chance to introduce Shiraz’ were stated by some of the interviewees (5 out of 13). Nevertheless, approximately half of the interviewees (7 out of 13) indicated that the cost of living had increased as a result of tourism development and categorised it as a negative impact. The category of negative impact includes also ‘increased waste and traffic jams’, stated by the majority of the interviewees (10 out of 13) followed by ‘cultural differences’, stated by a small number of interviewees (3 out of 13).

Along with the negative impacts, the majority of the interviewees (11 out of 13) discussed the issue of insufficient infrastructure such as accommodation, high quality roads and highways, poor sanitation services and low quality camping sites. Less frequently stated responses were: limited advertising (3 out of 13) and poor facilities such as English signs at tourist sites (2 out of 13). In a relatively unusual statement, one interviewee drew attention to the issue of negative attitudes and resentment among local citizens. She stated that,

Locals have to share infrastructure and other resources (e.g. water) with tourists and tourism industry. This causes clashes and conflict. Locals become negative and don’t treat tourists in a welcoming way.

Besides, it was stated by all interviewees that local participation in the process of tourism development happens in a very limited manner. Statements including ‘there is no room for our participation’, ‘we don’t have a vote in tourism development’ and ‘we do get to give feedbacks and sometimes they listen but sometimes it’s late’ can be categorised as typical responses describing local citizens’ participation. In an attempt to explain the difficulties of their participation, the interviewees indicated the following reasons:

- local participation does not significantly influence the tourism development process in Shiraz (4 out of 6),
- conflict of interests make it difficult to participate (3 out of 6),
- unknown mechanisms for participation (1 out of 6).

#### *5.2.4.3) Locals who are not involved in but affected by tourism development in Shiraz*

Unlike the other two groups, the respondents of this group indicate that the economic aspects of tourism development are not considered to be as important. Only four out of eleven interviewees stated that tourism is economically important. As other positive contributions of tourism, improved quality of services such as food and recreation (4 out of 11) and cultural pride (2 out of 11) were pointed out.

Nevertheless, this group of interviewees were more concerned than the other two groups by the negative impacts of tourism development such as:

- increased cost of living (8 out of 11),
- increased waste and traffic jams (6 out of 11),
- cultural differences (6 out of 11),
- quality of tourists (3 out of 11).

It was frequently argued by the interviewees that their life is affected by tourism development in Shiraz; yet, they do not enjoy the benefit of the tourism development directly. Examples of typical statements are:

It is inevitable that my life is affected. I am delayed in traffic on my way, I see piles of waste around the tourist areas especially during the high season, housing became more expensive; but my earning didn't change.

The number of cheap travellers has been increased in recent years. They mostly do camping not only in camping sites, sometimes in parks or even on the pavements. They don't spend much money and the trouble they cause is bigger than the benefit they bring.

Unlike the other two groups, participation in the process of tourism development was not a concern for this group. In an answer to the question of 'How do you assess your participation in tourism development in Shiraz?' the interviewees typically described themselves as non-participants and only one interviewee indicated the willingness to participate.

However, the responses of all three groups of local residents, generally, can be summarised as being largely in favour of tourism, despite some difference of opinions, and the local residents' attitude toward tourism development is positive. This view was stronger among local businesses such as shopkeepers in the Bazaar and souvenir shops. However, there is a concern amongst these respondents that the economic benefits outweigh the socio-cultural impacts.

### **5.3) Discussion of results**

This chapter has set out results on the level of key groups of stakeholders' participation in the tourism development process in Shiraz, based on the data collected from the fieldwork of this

research. The key groups of stakeholders were identified as the local authorities, the private sector, tourism related NGOs and local residents. The results of the primary research reveal that the key interests in tourism development among stakeholders are as follows:

- the local authorities: political and economic interests,
- the private sector: economic interests, participation in the decision-making process,
- tourism related NGOs: environmental and cultural heritage preservation, participation in the decision-making process, political interests,
- local residents: economic interests, well-being and quality of life, participation in the decision-making process and environmental and cultural heritage preservation.

Furthermore, the results suggest that although different groups of stakeholders are interested in participation, they do not have the same understanding of its notion and the level of participation varies with different groups' expectation from community participation, objectives and power.

The results indicate that the local authorities, as part of the centralised system of governance, are the most influential stakeholder and while they tend to share benefits of tourism development, they also wish to hold the power to decide who to share with, how to share and how much to share. Therefore, despite the emphasis on 'public participation', drawing on the interviewees' responses it could be argued that implementing so-called 'participatory tourism' through top-down planning, as in Shiraz, lacks meaningful discussion about public participation especially in planning and decision-making. This is to say that tourism strategy implementation in Shiraz is a state-led development exercise which means that tourism is often institutionalised and manipulated by bureaucratic initiatives.

This is possible for the local authorities as a result of the characteristic of the tourism planning and management system in Iran. This is to say that in centralised administrative system of Iran, decisions concerning regional and local matters are taken in the political centre of the country Tehran. Moreover, almost all local organisations' authority is derived from the central government which forms recruitments or dismiss officials. Among the tourism related organisation there is only one exception that is elected, The City Council of Shiraz. Yet, the Council itself has an ambiguous position since it is constantly supervised by the Ministry of Interior. Hence, while consulting, supervising, controlling, planning and executive affairs are described as the council's duties; development plans have been provided by planners within the centralised system with no or minimum involvement of other groups of stakeholders. The results then suggest that when local authorities, as the most influential stakeholders, are mostly appointed rather than elected; have the power to act within the limitation of the central government. This is to say as Liu and Wall (2003) argue, when the state is mainly dominant in tourism development, the only driving force for pursuing tourism is almost always to meet the state's political, social and economic agenda.

Despite these characteristics, the results indicate only patchy attempts to involve different groups of stakeholders in the current practice of tourism development in Shiraz. Drawing on the responses, there have been some attempts such as organising meetings to attract domestic or international entrepreneurs to participate in development of tourism infrastructure; however, the political climate in addition to lack of provision of necessary guarantees and ambiguity about the feasibility of projects discouraged them to participate. Moreover, responses are indicative of the fact that participation in the form of consultation takes place in Shiraz. At one level, the consultation process of developing the Comprehensive Tourism Development Plan for Fars Province reflected views from a range of tourism stakeholders. At the other level, representatives of NGOs and the private sector provide insights into levels of

stakeholder participation in the tourism planning or implementation process. Moreover, there is another type of consultation which gathers information from local residents through questionnaire or workshops. Yet, there is not enough evidence for a reflection of the local residents' views on the scale, form and location of the tourism development projects mainly due to lack of opportunity for them to participate together with lack of information about tourism development.

Although the consultation process recognised the significance of an approach which gives the specific remit of the regional tourism strategies and participating various stakeholder groups; what has remained neglected is concerns about the way final decisions are made. This is to say, in line with the typology of participation, that consultation is not a very meaningful form of participation since participants are not given much opportunity to make changes to what has been proposed. As the results indicate, different groups of stakeholders can express their views; however, decisions are made by the top level powerful organisations and participants, depending on the share of power they hold, can either negotiate to a limited extent or get along with the decisions. This is to say that in the current tourism development in Shiraz, the private sector (hotels, travel agencies and tour guides) and NGOs have the chance to represent a form of social institution which can help clarify objectives and make them more realistic and feasible. Yet, local residents have the lowest place in the hierarchy of power compared to other groups of tourism stakeholders which means that local residents cannot easily negotiate for a larger share in the decision-making process.

Furthermore, drawing on data collected from the fieldwork, centralised and hierarchical system of tourism development, which is also very political sensitive, caused uncertainty,

multiplicity and discrepancy in the organisations and regulations. This is to say that there are multiple organisations and policies and diversity of interpretations with no integrative mechanism which leave significant influence on the process of decision-making and participation in it. Therefore, one conclusive statement is that there exists a level of stakeholders' participation in the tourism development process in Shiraz, particularly for the private sector and NGOs; however, it can be described as sluggish. Obstacles to develop more meaningful community participation then can be summarised as follows:

- the central government and consequently the local authorities are hesitant to go beyond the tokenistic or consultative participation,
- lack of clarity regarding the legal and institutional status of the public participation in tourism planning and management,
- weak local organisations which are legally and financially dependent on the central government and are not able to encourage and facilitate local community participation,
- relative unwillingness of local residents to get involved in common affairs beyond their immediate needs couples with lack of information.

# **Chapter Six**

## **Tourism development in Shiraz: Analysis**

### **6.1) Introduction**

It has been discussed earlier in Chapter Two of this thesis that, in studying community participation in the tourism development process, it is impossible not to consider the broader context and issues related to that such as the state character, planning and policies and the state-society relationship. Calling for greater participation of stakeholders in the tourism development process, has been also related to ‘expansive democracy’ by scholars such as Warren (1992) and brought into attention the links between citizens and broad scale institutions and the political spheres in which decisions are made. This is to say that in order to understand the tourism development process, it is critical to contextualise and problematise it in the socio-political system and power structure of society as a whole (Yasarata *et al.* 2010). Therefore, this chapter is aimed to relate key results from the fieldwork of the primary research in Shiraz to the existing literature base. In order to do so, drawing on the extracted themes of the results, discussions will be presented under headings of planning and implementation, political instability and lack of co-ordination and collaboration and finally type and level of community participation and empowerment will be discussed.

## **6.2) Planning and implementation**

Drawing on the data collected from the empirical research, tourism planning system and policy making is one of the main elements shaping the current pattern of tourism development in Iran.

The USA Planning Association defined planning as “a comprehensive, co-ordinated and continuing process, the purpose of which is to help public and private decision makers arrive at decision that promote the common good of society” (Stiftel 1990: 67). Building upon this definition, tourism planning can be defined as *a process based on research and evaluation, which seeks to optimise the potential contribution of tourism to human welfare* (Tosun and Jenkins 1998). This definition emphasises on achieving goals of development rather than solely increasing the number of tourist arrivals and foreign exchange generated by that. This is to say that tourism planning should be an integrated process of decision-making between the tourism industry and other sectors of the economy, between various sub-national areas and between types of tourism (Tosun and Timothy 2001). However, in practice, not all destinations can reach this dynamic and integrated planning. Analysis of the primary research findings reveals that tourism planning in Iran is characterised by a lack of analytical details resulting in too broad and conceptualised plans instead of a feasible plan of action. The reasons for this can be examined in the following sub-headings.

### *6.2.1) Planning and policy making are centralised*

The planning and policy making organisations are highly centralised. This is to say that they are located within the office of the national political executive; for example, The Planning and Budget Organisation (responsible for national development plans) and The Iran Cultural

Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Organisation (ICHHTO, responsible for tourism development plans) are under the direct management of the President's office. This centralised and hierarchical system makes planning a politicised activity which is to satisfy power holders. Tosun and Timothy (2001: 354) argue that "within the rigid planning framework, the central government is the only authority to decide on the form and style of tourism development. The argument here is that tourism development planning largely refers to preparation of the end state master plan which is usually too rigid to cope with rapidly changing socio-cultural, economic, technological and other conditions under which the tourism industry operates". Moreover, with the centralised planning system, the central government decides on policies and provides much of the infrastructure services; hence, local authorities are only an extension to facilitate implementation of the central government's priorities. Having investigated how the policy and planning system has affected community participation in the development of tourism in Shiraz, the main priority for the central government regarding tourism is to increase tourism contribution to GDP through increasing foreign exchange earnings. Following that concern, increasing the number of international tourist arrivals and increasing physical capacity of the tourism sector are the secondary goals. In this myopic approach, tourism development plans mainly contain objectives to be achieved through an allocation of state-led resources, the provision of a range of incentives to facilitate the achievement of these goals and the rhetorical efforts to include local public in the tourism development process. This is to say that with promised economic contribution as the driving force for pursuing tourism, this is not surprising that adopting a participatory approach not only does not seem desirable for the central government, but also may be in conflict with its economic priorities. Implementing a participatory tourism development requires putting local needs first which may contradict with main interests of the central government such as earning foreign exchange and job creation. Moreover, participation may raise questions about

the current pattern of power distribution as well as the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development.

### *6.2.2) Implementing the plans is difficult*

Liu and Wall (2006) argue that in the developing world, tourism is usually implemented through a top-down planning approach. However, the merits of planning can only be possible given that a plan can be implemented in the first place (Lai *et al.* 2006). Examining the question about how tourism development is implemented, the primary research results suggest that within the rigid central planning framework, community and local conditions are not advanced enough to cope with the real conditions. This is to say as a result of a mismatch between central planning and local possibilities, the plans fail to contain a meaningful discussion about objectives and strategies. For example, while both the Twenty Years Tourism Development Plan and the Comprehensive Tourism Development Plan for Fars Province mention ‘increasing public participation’, they do not go beyond a sentimental statement. With this regard, Tosun and Timothy (2001: 353) assert that “developing countries are often anxious to plan but unable to govern. They too often accept the apparatus, symbols and rhetoric of planning, but lack the discipline and forethought to carry it out”. Furthermore, Yasarata *et al.* (2010) argue that the reasons that plans are prepared but not implemented are because they are disconnected from the institutional arrangements of particular destination, hence, unrealistic with regard to expectations of co-ordination, co-operation and participation and political management. In brief, tourism development planning in Iran is seen as a routine one-shot activity rather than a dynamic and continuous process at various levels.

### *6.2.3) Planning lacks community participation*

Analysis of the results reveals, as partially been discussed, that tourism planning is a state-led exercise which is to meet mainly its own socio-economic agenda. In this reductionist homogenizing approach, community participation receives no more than narrowed attention. This is to say that there is no evidence for a political will at the central government level to advocate participatory tourism development. This is in line with the argument of scholars such as Tosun (2000) that political structures determine pre-conditions for participation in the tourism development process. In the context of Iran, the state is the most powerful role-player in governing the interaction of those individuals, organisations and agencies that influence or try to influence the formulation of tourism policy and also the manner in which it is implemented. The central government, therefore, is unwilling to accept participatory approach since it will bring the struggle for power and underpins the question *cui bono*, who benefits and consequently the role of government and its representations in the distribution of power and resources may be questioned through moves toward community empowerment. Tosun and Timothy (2001: 355) assert that, “tourism as a socio-economic phenomenon seems to reinforce the limitless power of the government”, hence, in a struggle over the equitable use of requisite physical, cultural and financial resources; communities are likely to be manipulated and dominated by political elites in the process of decision-making and planning. As findings suggest, this happens in Iran where community participation has been minimally translated to providing incentives for building physical facilities such as hotels, restaurants, telecommunication systems and transportation. Moreover, while the results indicate a tendency to support community consultation in relation to tourism development, mainly through NGOs; tourism development plans do not seem to contain a serious strategy and action plan for increasing community participation. This is to say that in the absence of meaningful strategies and action plans with regards to ‘public participation’, tourism planning

and decision-making are mostly based on interventions of state agencies and quasi-governmental organisations.

### **6.3) Political instability**

Tourism policy and practice is the product of political, social, economic and cultural influence (Yasarata *et al.* 2010, Kotlinski 2004). Gunn (1988: 62-62) also states that “policies and practices for tourism will follow the overall policies and practices of the nation as a whole”. In this regard, political instability is one of the main problems of tourism development in Iran, according to the research findings. From the establishment of the first tourism organisation in Iran, the country experienced a revolution, an eight-year long war and political swing between conservatism and reformism. The symbiotic relationship between political instability and tourism development should be examined not only in relations to the fluctuation in tourism arrivals, but also within a broader context. The consequences brought by political instability could be discussed as follows:

- Emergence of civil society and autonomous organisations has been postponed if not prevented. It has been discussed earlier in Chapter Three of this thesis that the weak civil society in Iran is struggled in institutionalising and supporting a political culture which encourages co-regulation, co-steering, co-operation and participation. In the absence of a more inclusive political culture and active civil society organisations, tourism development can only be the subject of competition between the various public bodies seeking to enlarge their sphere of influence (Alipour and Kilic 2005),
- Very little attention has been given to participatory approach in general and particularly in the tourism development process as a result of the pattern of ever

changing political agenda. This is to say that policies and a management system are adopted based on the political wishes of the ruling government. Therefore, with any political changes priorities are changed ignoring the preceding policies. The argument here is that “the change in government gave birth to something of political hiatus and re-ordering of priorities, changes in policies and personnel. These unstable policies have caused uncertainty, which has led to the emergence of a laissez-faire approach to tourism development” (Tosun and Timothy 2001: 356),

- The above mentioned high turnover of governments increases inefficiency in the public administration system. A new government appoints its own bureaucrats whom they are in the same political lines without, necessarily, considering their abilities and effectiveness related to their departments. It is noted that from 1997 to the present, nine heads of the Iran Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organisation (ICHHTO) have been appointed with some in charge for less than a year. This is also attributable to lack of consistency and continuity in planning and implementing,
- Mistrust of stakeholder groups such as the private sector, NGOs and local residents, in their relationship with authorities, has been accelerated due to political instability. Change of strategies, priorities and personnel increase the confusion over the goals of tourism development, the decision-making process, target groups of customers and co-operation mechanisms among sub-sectors within the tourism industry and stakeholder groups. Drawing on the data collected from the interviews with the private sector’s key informants, it is noticeable that the private sector is sceptical towards government initiatives due to institutional confusion and the proliferation of structures. Moreover, as Theocharous (2004) asserts, local authorities’ fragmented plans and projects, diluted resources and unilateral actions add to private sector

antagonism. NGOs and local residents are also hesitant since different ruling governments have different attitudes towards 'public participation'.

#### **6.4) Lack of co-ordination and collaboration**

It is argued that community participation necessitates intensive co-ordination between and amongst different stakeholders and agencies since participatory approach invites more actors to play role in the tourism development process (Jamal and Getz 1998). However, the lack of participatory experience in the context of Iran due to its socio-political characteristic, as revealed in primary research, slows down co-ordination between and amongst stakeholder groups in the tourism development process. Additionally, the primary research results suggest that there are other reasons in this regard:

- Weak legal structure: this is in line with weaknesses of the planning and implementing system in which definitions of goals and strategies, responsible organisations, inter and intra organisational relationships are not well discussed. Moreover, in the political atmosphere that does not welcome citizens participation in their affairs, legislative structure tends to put distance between formal authorities and other groups of community rather than taking the community's right to participate into account,
- Lack of information: not all stakeholder groups have adequate knowledge of the notion of tourism development and how to participate in the process. Within the community, local residents seem to have the least access to information and knowledge which widens the gap between them and other stakeholder groups and makes the communication, negotiation and collaboration more difficult,

- Lack of financial resources: on the one hand financial resources are scarce; on the other hand, the government is the most resourceful player in the tourism development process which provides financial aid for other stakeholder groups. This not only results in loss of control for other stakeholder groups but also makes them compete over rare resources which consequently act as a barrier to collaboration and co-ordination among stakeholder groups,
- Conflict of interests: there exists a certain level of resistance to involvement of other stakeholder groups, particularly local residents, among the private sector due to conflict of interests. It has been contended that participation of all stakeholder groups demands significant time and effort which could be in contrast with the private sector's wish for reaching immediate benefits of their investments. The quick return may also be delayed as a result of local residents participation in the decision-making process given their lack of skill and knowledge. This resistance is exacerbated as a result of the government favouritism for the private sector. This is not surprising considering the government's economic priority and its inclination to sacrifice the long term goals over the short term benefits,
- Apathy of local residents: responses from local residents show a level of apathy among them. This is to say that on the one hand, local residents are willing to collaborate and co-ordinate with other stakeholder groups as a requirement of a participatory approach; on the other hand, they have been excluded from the affairs which have affected them for a long time leading them to believe that their opinions will not be considered. Furthermore, dominant state in addition to weak civil organisations which cannot guide and protect citizens, caused a fear of expressing opinions and objection among local residents. Due to these factors, even if local

residents are given a chance to participate in the tourism development process; they may hesitate which, in fact, makes the collaboration and co-ordination more difficult.

Overall, the critical conditions affecting tourism development in Shiraz and in a broader context in Iran have been discussed up to here (See also Table 6.1).

Table (6.1): Summary of the critical factors influencing tourism development in Iran

Factors at operational level	Factors at structural level
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The centralised system of governance and planning</li> <li>• Lack of information</li> <li>• Lack of co-ordination and collaboration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Inappropriate legal structure</li> <li>• Lack of financial resources</li> <li>• Domination of powerful groups with economic concerns</li> </ul>

## **6.5) Tourism development in Shiraz/Iran: the level of community participation and empowerment**

Having contextualised the effective conditions in which tourism is being developed, it is better understood that how community could participate in the tourism development process and how tourism could contribute to the community empowerment.

One of the departure points for this thesis is a result of tourism literature arguing that there should be a greater participation of stakeholders in tourism development. However, empirical studies show a gap between the desire for a participatory approach and achieving it since, arguably, the scope for action is a reflection of prevailing institutional and political complexities. The centralised tourism planning and management has been pointed out as one

of the main socio-political features which act as a barrier to develop a participatory tourism development (Yuksel *et al.* 2005; Tosun and Timothy 2001). Decentralisation is then suggested as a strategy to solve this issue (Araujo and Bramwell 2002). Decentralisation has been referred to as “a transfer of authority to perform some service to the public from an individual or an agency in central government to some other individual agency which is closer to the public to be served” (Yuksel *et al.* 2005: 850). While the literature promotes direct participation of ‘local public’ and interest groups in policy-making arena as a means of transferring power, it is important to go beyond the normative proposition and evaluate potential benefits and shortcomings in practice. Yuksel *et al.* (2005) suggests three issues should be addressed in relations to decentralisation:

- 1) Whether decentralisation does lead to authority shifting away from central government: transferring of authority may happen when central government gives additional responsibilities to local authorities in order to include more provincial and local interest groups’ representation such as associations or unions. According to the results, in the context of Iran, similar to most developing countries, the delegation happens to public officials at a more local geographical scale while they are still appointed tires of central government rather than local community representatives who are locally accountable,
- 2) Whether decentralisation genuinely strengthens control and power beyond central government: the argument here is that in the context of developing countries such as Iran, civil society has no predetermined essential qualities which means central government can and usually do ensure that there is considerable influence remaining. For example, in delegation through partnership with the private sector, the agreement on mutual benefits rather than societal benefits is most likely. This is to say it is more

of a patronage relationship between government and selected actors, with both limiting dispersal of influence and power,

- 3) Whether decentralised governance does serve to strengthen community participation in the policy-making process: the process of transferring central government authority towards civil society “serves to externalise the political process” (Yuksel *et al.* 2005: 868). This is to say that delegation of power to NGOs and other local social groupings can bring difficulty in the socio-political context with little tradition of civil society participation in the policy-making process. Scholars such as Mercer (2002) also argues that NGOs reflect struggle within wider society which means the existing socio-political cleavages in society are more likely to be reproduced or even exacerbated by NGOs and other civic organisations rather than being challenged. Findings of the primary research also reveal the existence of conflict between NGOs and local public where NGOs tend to make decisions for local public rather than facilitating their participation in the decision-making process.

Taking these concerns into account; the attention is drawn to the connection between policy-making, implementation and state-society relations. In other words, implementation of decentralising and more participatory policies revolves around the state’s intention for policies, the extent to which the state can or willing to convert these intentions in the world of action as well as the tensions and negotiations among different stakeholders around those policies. Therefore, scholars such as Nikkhah *et al.* (2011) argue that even if theories and literature suggest that the bottom-up tourism development can lead to community empowerment; it remains questionable to what extent it is applicable to Iran. Thus, typologies of participation and empowerment come to discussion in order to gain a meaningful measure. Identifying the existing level of community participation is crucial in order to evaluate the

strengths and weaknesses of the current tourism development plans and forecasting projects feasibility. In addition, typologies imply that different levels of power is held among competing participatory interests which, consequently, necessitate to address that how contestation, consensus and dissonance among different stakeholders are under the influence of the pattern of power exercise, by whom, in what manner of political arrangement and to what end (Church and Coles 2007). Results from the fieldwork of this research suggest that community participation in Shiraz/Iran is mostly in the form of tokenism; however, it may vary among different stakeholder groups.

It has been discussed earlier in Chapter Three that community participation if it is in the form of tokenism does, however, includes informing and consultation. Results from the primary research reveal that representatives of some groups of stakeholder (i.e. the private sector and NGOs) are invited for consultation in different levels of tourism development such as conducting The Comprehensive Tourism Development Plan for Fars Province. Moreover, in other small scale projects consultation took place through collecting information through questionnaire and workshops. City councils with elected members are also seen as another means of involving interests of local public in the tourism development process. While through consultation stakeholder groups gain some information about the process of policy-making, policies and projects as well as providing information for the policy makers, the power holders continue retaining the right to decide. Jamal and Getz (1999) assert that public participation requires both the right and the means. These two requirements, as shown in the results, are matter of debate in the context of Iran. This is to say that even the central government and local authorities provide some opportunities for stakeholder groups to participate in the tourism development process; they are not willing to go beyond this tokenism. This could be the case in most developing countries where civil society is weak, civic organisations have not been fully institutionalised and a supportive democratic political

culture may be only in the formative stage. In other words, although the growth of civil society will involve more actors, it does not necessarily proceed to a change of political attitudes in higher level. Wiktorowicz (2000) argues that in a political context which embeds civil society organisations in a web of bureaucratic practices and legal codes, there is a slim chance of challenging the state. This is very much applicable to Iran in which NGOs, unions and associations are not only subject of inspecting and monitoring, but also dependent on the financial aid of the state. This limited sphere and lack of financial resources, which was also mentioned by the representatives of the private sector, coupled with the highly centralised planning system and rule-bound inflexible governmental organisations, impede involving stakeholder groups in the decision-making process more than consultation.

Moreover, results from the fieldwork suggest that stakeholder groups with less share of power, mainly local public, are more likely to be given an even slimmer chance to participate. This is to say that participation of local public mostly occurs only through endorsing and implementing decisions made for them rather than by them. This is in line with what is called ‘passive participation’ in the typologies of participation where contribution of people to tourism development is limited to their performing assigned tasks (Okazaki 2008).

Drawing on the analysis of the data collected from the fieldwork, then, the following summary statements can be proposed:

- In the socio-political and economic context of Iran tourism has not been given a high priority; yet it is seen as a source of earning of foreign exchange and job creation. In

effect, this understanding has pre-dominated over the tourism development objectives and strategies,

- Community participation in the tourism development process in Iran is seen in tourism plans and policies; however, the extent to which stakeholder groups are actually involved varies,
- In practice, community participation can mainly be characterised as being informed and being consulted with limited or no opportunity to influence decisions,
- For emergence and implementation of a more inclusive participatory tourism development, the re-distribution of power and amending the public administration is due, for which significant political decisions have to be made,
- The current pattern of community participation necessitates examining whether participation is a source of empowerment for the community and to what extent.

In the tourism literature, as discussed in Chapter Two of the thesis, empowerment is seen as a desired outcome of the community participation. Empowerment is broadly understood as “encompassing a range of power experience” (Rocha 1997: 32). With this regard, the core constructing concept of empowerment is that power relations are dynamic and power is experienced in different ways; therefore, empowerment is not happening as zero-sum. This variation on empowerment, which is linked to variation in community participation, is helpful in identifying the existing level of empowerment in the context of the destination in question. In the context of Iran, the fieldwork results suggest that there exist significant indicators of empowerment such as economic and socio-cultural ones. The majority of interviewees from all stakeholder groups pointed out that tourism development has contributed to the economy of Shiraz and Fars Province. Moreover, as results reveal tourism development has brought a new range of job opportunities and increased access to information and skills. Additionally,

there is an increase in the number of women engaged in higher institution of power (for example the Head of The Iran Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Organisation-Fars Province (ICHHTO), the Head of the Research and Development of ICHHTO-Fars Province and the President of The Tour Guides Union), employed in the tourism related businesses (for instance travel agencies, hotels and museums) or involved in tourism related activities (such as collaborating with NGOs).

Nevertheless, in relation to the ladder of empowerment, tourism development in Shiraz could not empower the community further to the socio-political and mobilising empowerment. This is to say that there is only enough evidence to conclude that the current pattern of community participation in the tourism development process contributed to:

- Altering the emotional or physical state of the individuals,
- Enhancing the relationship between the individuals and their immediate surrounding environment,
- Providing knowledge and information and,
- Providing limited opportunity to have a role in the decision-making process.

Thus, the level of empowerment is in line with the level of participation in the typologies of community participation. Where participation happens in the form of tokenism mostly through consultation, the process of empowerment is also within the variations of individual or mediated empowerment. In other words, the community is being empowered either through prescription of appropriate plans and social action programmes by experts and authorities or through their guidance to gain knowledge to participate in pre-determined decision-making process.

The overall growth of tourism in terms of tourist arrivals and domestic travels, to some extent, brought about an increase in capacity requirements and demand for diverse products, facilities and services. However, although the community in Shiraz is economically benefiting from tourism development and its socio-political awareness and roles are relatively elevated; transformation of the structure of public policy and resource allocation is still due.

# **Chapter Seven**

## **Conclusion**

### **7.1) Introduction**

This thesis has investigated the relationship between community participation and tourism development. It has focused on Shiraz in Iran as a developing country. The main objectives of the research were as follows:

- 1) To examine the current nature and pattern of community participation in the tourism development process in Shiraz,
- 2) To assess and evaluate how community participation in Shiraz is affected by broader socio-political context and,
- 3) To investigate the existing level of community empowerment in relation to tourism development and evaluate contributory factors to empowerment and ascertain the nature and significance of any obstacles to empowerment.

This chapter is structured to presents the followings:

- The main findings from the literature review,
- The main results from the primary research,
- The overall findings of the thesis,
- The contribution of the thesis,
- The limitations of this research,
- Recommendation for future research.

## **7.2) The main findings from the literature review**

This thesis initially studied the concept of community participation in the tourism development process. As such, definitions of terms ‘community’ and ‘participation’ were analysed. The analysis suggests that a wide range of features such as geography, economy, culture and shared interests is associated with the term community. Based upon an amalgamation of existing literature, then, a definition of community was developed for the purpose of this thesis.

The concept of participation was examined in order to clarify ‘who’ participate and ‘how’ they participate in the tourism development process. Studying participation from a sociological and a tourism studies point of view, the issue of power relations was raised by this thesis. This key point that prevailing socio-political and power structure of the community has influence over the practice of participation led the discussion to the typologies of participation. Furthermore, the thesis continued to discuss the ladder of empowerment which is built upon the typologies of participation. These typologies, at a theoretical level, suggest that participation and empowerment happen in different ways according to each destination’s socio-political characteristics.

## **7.3) The main results from the primary research**

The results of the primary research disclosed that community participation in the tourism development process has been challenged by tourism planning and implementation system in Iran, political instability of the country and lack of co-ordination and collaboration between

and amongst different actors. Arguably, tourism plans in Iran seems not to be analytical and feasible as a result of the centralised planning system. Moreover, planning lacks a political will at higher level of decision-making hierarchy to advocate community participation in the tourism development process. Political atmosphere of the country also has other impacts such as high turn-over of policies and priorities, competence of public administration and of consistency in plans and projects. Furthermore, highly politicised tourism development in Iran suffers from dearth of co-ordination and collaboration. This is due to legal structure that cannot provide appropriate support in addition to scarce financial resources and conflict of interests among actors.

Drawing on the results, the strong state and the multi roles it plays in the tourism development process (i.e. planning, implementing and monitoring) coupled with weak civil society and lack of participatory tradition in Iran constrain the level of community participation although it has been mentioned as a tourism development objective here and there. This is to say that community participation could be identified as tokenistic. This means that although central government and local authorities encourage the local community to get involved in tourism development; opportunities are limited to investment in tourism projects or consultation.

Additionally, the results from the primary research that tourism development in Shiraz has contributed to the community empowerment, economically and socio-culturally; nevertheless, community is still not capable of collective action upon the existing unequal power relations and towards institutional change.

## **7.4) The overall findings of the thesis**

The major findings of this thesis are as follows:

- Tourism literature puts emphasis on a participatory approach, yet, it tends to neglect the importance of power struggles and dominant socio-political atmosphere of different contexts. Bearing in mind differences of contexts, therefore, it is impossible to prescribe one form of participatory tourism development approach that will work everywhere.
- Studying tourism development in Shiraz in Iran suggests that a participatory approach has to overcome several obstacles. While generally obstacles are categorised as operational and structural, they are inter and intra dependent on each other.
- The study reveals that although participatory tourism development is not a panacea, it could contribute to improvement of local conditions such as well-being and infrastructure. It also could raise awareness of constraining issues such as centralised planning system and poor governance and administration.
- In the context of Iran, a participatory tourism development approach could not be implemented without re-structuring the decision-making system. Currently, the central government, at the highest level of hierarchy of power, exercises control over most resources and the decision-making process. In this situation, which is also likely to be the case in similar developing countries, a political will is required to encourage and facilitate participation.
- It is arguable that a participatory tourism approach in developing countries will be conditioned not only by the central government attitude towards it, but also by the attitude of other stakeholder groups. This study demonstrated that in practice,

participation of stakeholder groups may be challenged by conflict of interests among them and domination of one group over others.

- The results of examining the current pattern of participation in tourism development in Shiraz and identifying the factors which have impact on the process of participation, make it possible to say that the level of community participation and the level of community empowerment are co-related. In the case of Iran, this is to say that participation in the tourism development process does not automatically empower a community. However, it is a platform to delegate some level of power from the group with the largest share of power, the central government, to other stakeholders with less access to power. Also, the findings of this study support the statement that different mechanisms of participation, for example consultation, could lessen the gap between different actors and mitigate the tensions among them. At this level of participation, the community should not only enjoy the economic and social benefits associated with tourism development, but should also be given the opportunity to raise its concerns about the nature and process of tourism development.

## **7.5) The contribution of the thesis**

This thesis investigated the role of civil society, in the destination in question, shaping the pattern of participation in the tourism development process. An account of debate on conceptualising civil society was provided; however, it was not the purpose of this thesis to suggest a working definition for civil society. There appears to be little research specifically focusing on civil society and tourism development within the context of countries such as Iran.

Examining the relationship between the size and shape of civil society and the practice of participation has offered a better analytical framework for identifying barriers to a participatory approach. This study has finally contributed a discussion of civil society to the debates on analysis of socio-political conditions that circumscribe a participatory tourism development approach.

## **7.6) Limitations of the study**

It is important to assess the findings of this research in the light of a number of limitations.

On a theoretical level, there appear to be a lack of literature on the role that civil society plays in shaping the practice of community participation, particularly within a country such as Iran. This lack of previous information created difficulties in building an analytical framework for the study. There is also a lack of detailed published material about tourism development in Iran. This is coupled with lack of reliable tourism related data in Iran.

During the fieldwork, the researcher experienced other difficulties. A major issue was to convince interviewees to participate in the research. The researcher, to some extent, was considered as an ‘outsider’ by members of the local public. Therefore, encouraging them to participate was particularly difficult. It was also difficult to arrange interviews with local authorities and representatives of the private sector due to their crowded calendar. Some of the meetings were rescheduled several times in order to find a convenient time and place for the interviewees.

The transcription and translation of interviews into English was a time consuming and sometimes difficult activity, particularly in terms of ensuring accuracy of phrases being translation.

Furthermore, the researcher, as a self-funded student, had limited financial resources for commuting and accommodation. Therefore, the fieldwork took place only from May 2013 to September 2013 and the researcher could not go back to Shiraz and enrich the collected data. Therefore as with all such research it is largely a 'snapshot' in time and in relation to place and should be viewed in this way.

And finally, conducting the research in two different countries was limiting. It would improve the research if the researcher could have easier access to data, documents or reports which are only available in the fieldwork.

## **7.7) Recommendations for future research**

This was a qualitative focused research studying only Shiraz in Iran. It would be of great benefit if a replication of this could be done in other major tourist destinations in Iran to compare the results. A similar study in other developing countries could also provide more insights into the field of participatory tourism development. Moreover, the researcher would add a tourist perspective if she would do the research again.

However, in spite of the difficulties and shortcomings, the researcher is grateful that she could conduct this research. It was a great opportunity to learn how to develop an intellectual understanding of social phenomena.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1:

*An English translation of the questions for interviews with members of local authorities*

- How do you define ‘tourism development in Shiraz’?
- What are your targets and strategies?
- How do you define ‘public participation’ in tourism development in Shiraz?
- What is your assessment of public participation in tourism development in Shiraz?
- How do you facilitate public participation in tourism development in Shiraz?
- What is your general assessment of current status of tourism development in Shiraz?

## **Appendix 2:**

*An English translation of the questions for interviews with representatives of the private sector and NGOs*

- Please introduce your business/NGO, its interests, activities and how does it relate to tourism development in Shiraz,
- How do you describe the current pattern of community participation in tourism development in Shiraz?
- How do you describe your relationship with the local authorities?
- What facilities have been provided by the local authorities for your activities?
- Have you been invited to participate in tourism decision-making and planning?
- If No, what was your further attempt?
- How do you describe your relationship with other tourism stakeholder groups?
- What do you consider as obstacles to community participation in tourism development in Shiraz?
- What is your general assessment of tourism development in Shiraz?

### **Appendix 3:**

*An English translation of the questions for interviews with members of local public*

- How do you describe tourism development in Shiraz?
- Do you consider tourism as an important activity for Shiraz?
- How did tourism development in Shiraz affect your life and/or business?
- What are the general positive and negative impacts of tourism development in Shiraz?
- How do you describe public participation in tourism development in Shiraz?
- What do you consider as impacts of public participation in tourism development in Shiraz?
- What do you consider as obstacles to public participation in tourism development in Iran?

