GRATET
RESEARCH GROUP ON TERRITORIAL ANALYSIS AND TOURISM STUDIES

The evolution of tourism destinations
New approaches

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GEO

GOBIERNO DE ESPAÑA
MINISTERIO DE CIENCIA E INNOVACIÓN
AGENCIA ESTATAL DE INVESTIGACIÓN

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Universitat d'Alacant
16th of February 2023

Context

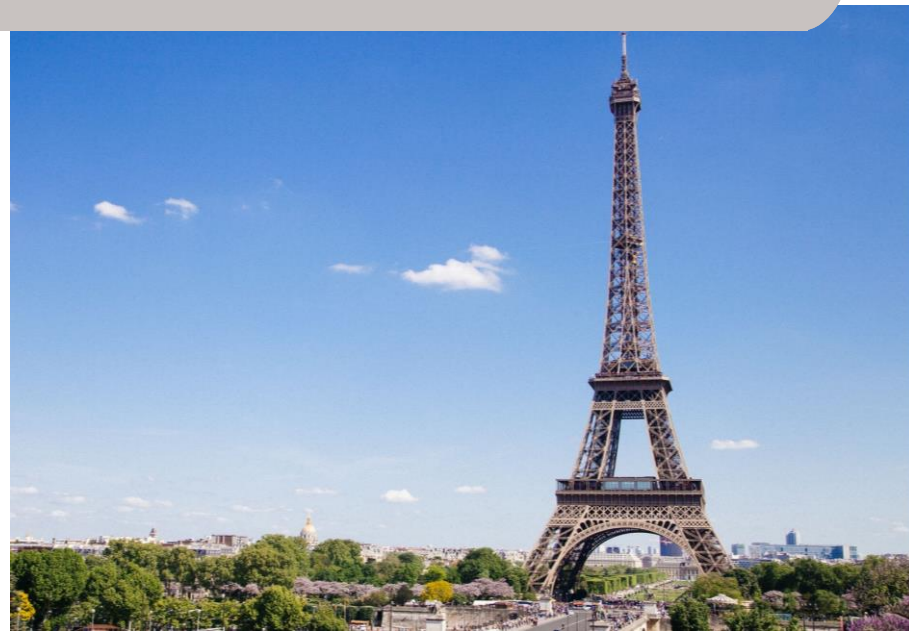
1 Theorizing destination dynamics: the evolutionary models

2 New approaches: Evolutionary Economic Geography (EEG)

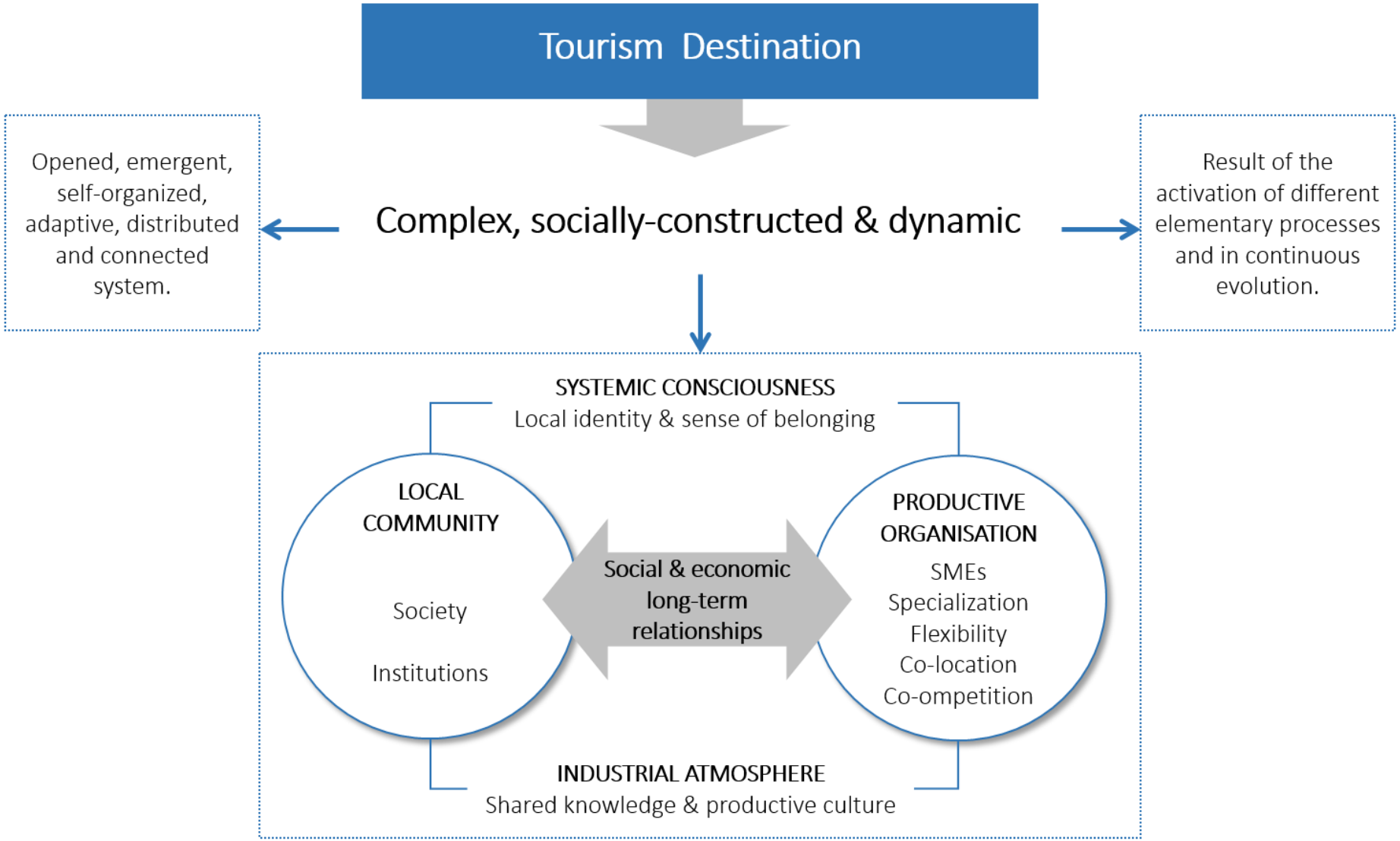
3 Exploring evolutionary paths of Catalan destinations

Concluding remarks

Context: reflections on destinations and evolutionary dynamics



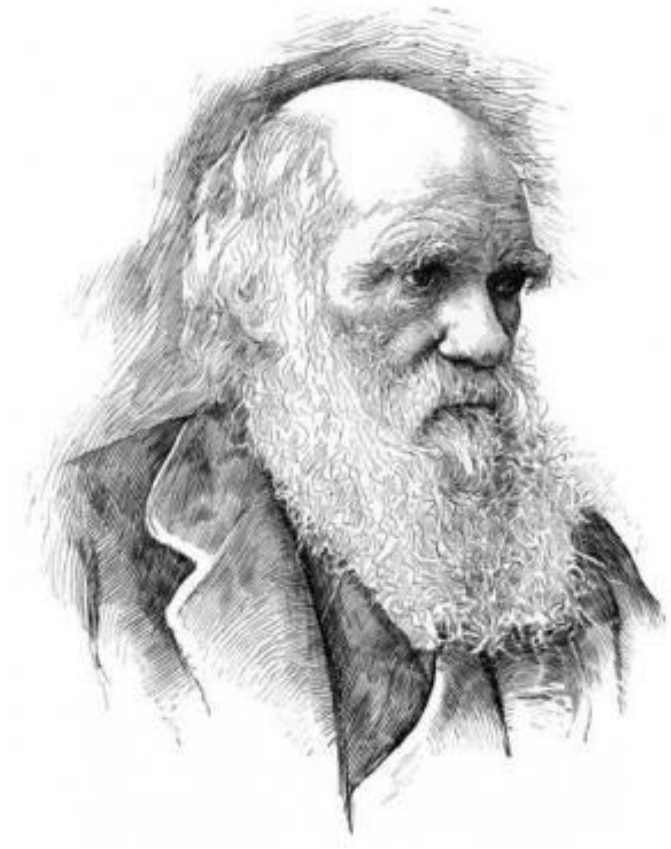
Context: reflections on destinations and evolutionary dynamics



Context: reflections on destinations and evolutionary dynamics

- Trends indicate the continuous and geographically generalized **growing of tourism**.
- Tourism is a mobile **driving force** impacting communities, life styles, culture and heritage.
- Places tend to **replicate "successful" paths** to attract increasing numbers of visitors (e.g., public space enhancement, urban landscape improvement, heritage interpretation, organization of global events, branding and global image, mega projects, etc.)
- Destinations face **local and global challenges** and are in permanent place/path reshaping (e.g., economic crises, COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, energy crises, competitive market, political changes)
- Increasing **conflicts** are surrounding (urban) tourism: immediate inconveniences (congestion, overcrowding, privatization, litter, uncivil behaviour, crime, noise); structural transformation and tourist "conquest" of the city (increase of tourist apartments, opening of hotels and hostels, sharing economy related issues, rent increases); and cultural commodification (loss of distinctive attractiveness, distortion of cultural identity, overuse of heritage, gentrification)

Context: reflections on destinations and evolutionary dynamics

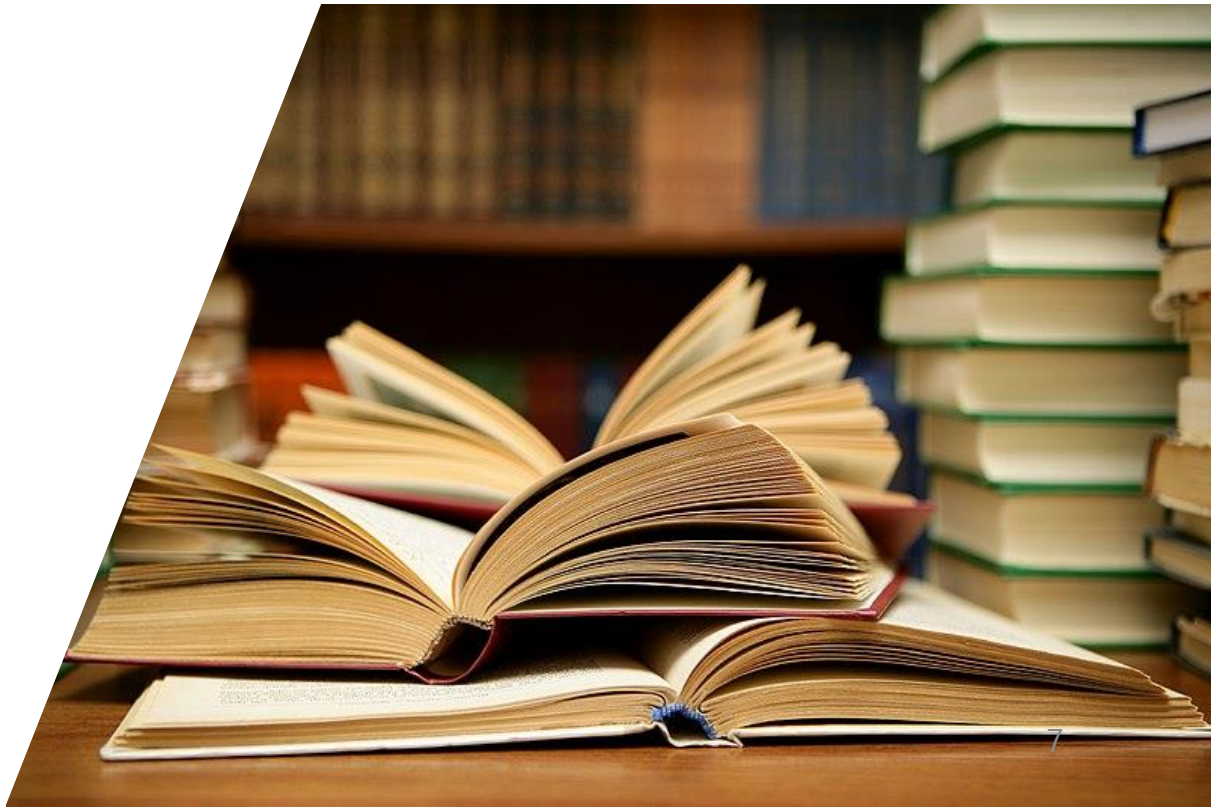


"It is not the strongest of the species that survives,
nor the most intelligent.

It is the one that is most adaptable to change"

Charles Darwin

1 Theorizing destination dynamics: the evolutionary models



1.1 Approaches to research on evolution of destinations

Transformation of destinations	Stages of change processes	Framework for comparison and forecasting
Demand as driver of spatial change	Destination development stages	Development of destinations as places
Pre-TALC models Gilbert, 1939; Wolfe, 1964; Christaller, 1963; Plog, 1973; Doxey, 1975; Miossec, 1977; Stansfield, 1978; Cohen, 1979	**Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC): Butler, 1980**; Hovinen, 1981; Haywood, 1986; Cooper, 1992; Getz, 1992; Ioannides, 1992; Agarwal, 1994; Baum, 1998; Priestley & Mundet, 1998; Russo, 2006 **Other models:** Chadefaud, 1987; Smith, 1992; Gormsen, 1981, 1997	**Post-TALC models** Agarwal, 2002, 2012; Équipe MIT, 2002; Papatheodorou, 2004; Prideaux, 2004; Andriotis, 2006; Anton Clavé, 2012; Clivaz et al., 2014; Pavlovich, 2014; Ioannides et al., 2014; Anton Clavé & Wilson, 2017

	Pre - 1980	1980s – 1990s	2000s	2010s
Focus	**Tourism and geographical change**	**Evolution of tourism in destinations**	**Tourism dynamics after maturing stages of evolution**	**Dependency on the enactment of human agency**
Interest	**Typologies**	**Impacts**	**Responses**	**Context**

1.2 The TALC model

Background

Tourism destination development

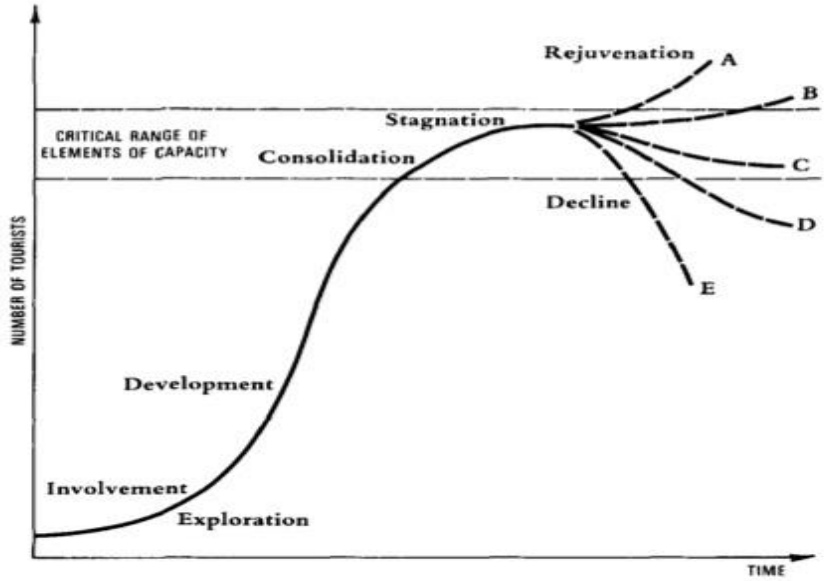
(Gilbert, 1939; Wolfe, 1964; Christaller, 1963; Plog, 1973; Miossec, 1977; Stansfield, 1978; Butler, 1980; Gormsen, 1981, 1997)

Tourism Area Life Cycle

(Butler, 1980, 2006a, 2006b, 2009, 2011; Hovinen, 1981; Haywood, 1986; Getz, 1992; Agarwall, 1994, 1997, 2002; Baum, 1998; Lagiewski, 2006)

Product Life Cycle

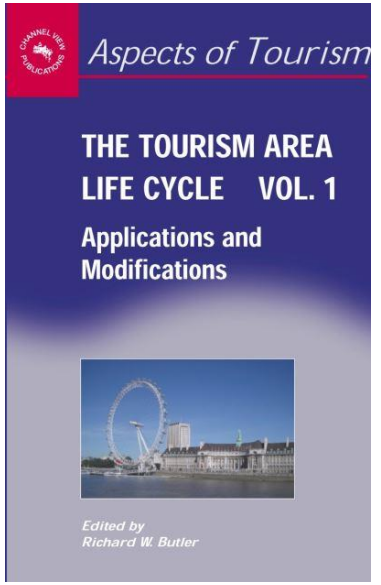
(Dean, 1950, Cox, 1967; Dhalla & Yuspeh, 1976; Kotler, 1976; Baker, 1991; Klepper, 1996)



Butler (1980)

Criticisms

- Scale of analysis (Haywood, 1986)
- Lack of contextuality (Butler, 2004; Haywood, 2006)
- Lack of contingency (Choy, 1992, Agarwall, 1994; Bianchi, 1994)
- Role of human agency (Butler & Russell, 2010)



2 New approaches: Evolutionary Economic Geography (EEG)

2.1 EEG as an emerging paradigm in EG

How the economic landscape is transformed from within over time

EEG
(Boschma & Frenken, 2006; Boschma & Martin, 2007, 2010; Kogler, 2015)

Generalised Darwinism

(Essletzbichler & Rigby, 2007, 2010; Abatecola et al., 2015)

Evolution is shaped by competition between agents and rests on processes of variety, selection, continuity and co-evolution

Complexity theory

(Beinhocker, 2006; Martin & Sunley, 2010, 2011; Martin & Sunley, 2015)

Evolution is characterized by emergence, self-organization, adaptive behaviour and non-linearity

Path Dependence theory

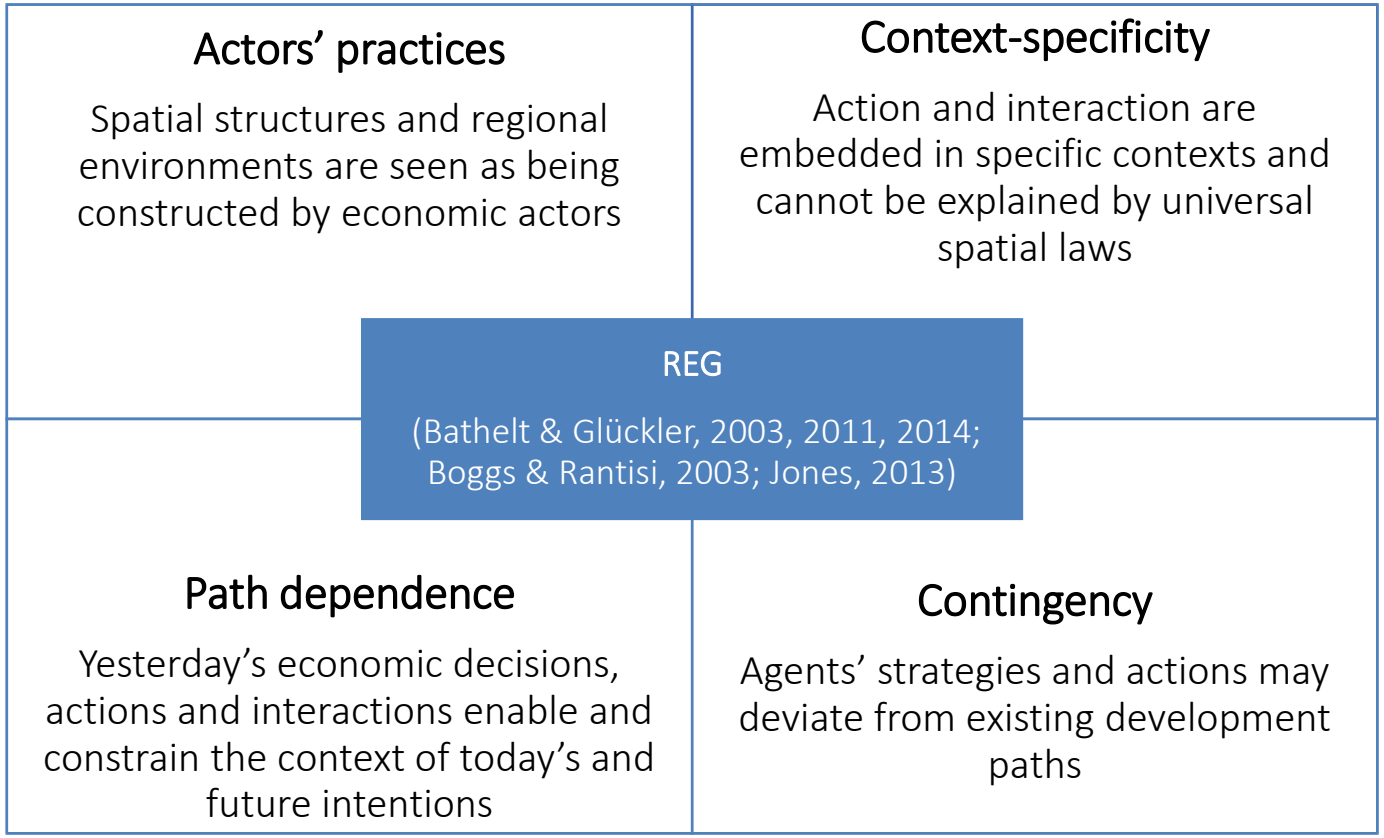
(Martin & Sunley, 2006; Martin, 2010; Martin, 2014)

Evolution is shaped by past development paths but does not necessarily lead to or involve lock-in

Path creation (Garud & Karnoe, 2001; Dawley et al., 2015)
Path plasticity (Strambach, 2010; Strambach & Halkier, 2013)

2.1 REG as a complementary paradigm to EEG

How economic action and interaction take place in different locations and between agents in different places



2.2 EEG and tourism destination evolution analysis

New perspective aiming to understand the (often unexpected) ways in which destinations can break with their historical legacies and structures and change their paths.

path creation
path development
variety
Path dependence
co-evolution
regional branching
path plasticity
trigger events
context
reorientation
Resilience

Evolutionary Economic Geography

knowledge
human agency
leadership
mindful deviation
institutions
policy intervention
adaptation
Complexity
networks
entrepreneurship

2.2 EEG and tourism destination evolution analysis

Evolutionary Economic Geographies of Tourism

Brouder et al., 2017

Destinations as complex places with economic, urban and residential functions that are transformed over time

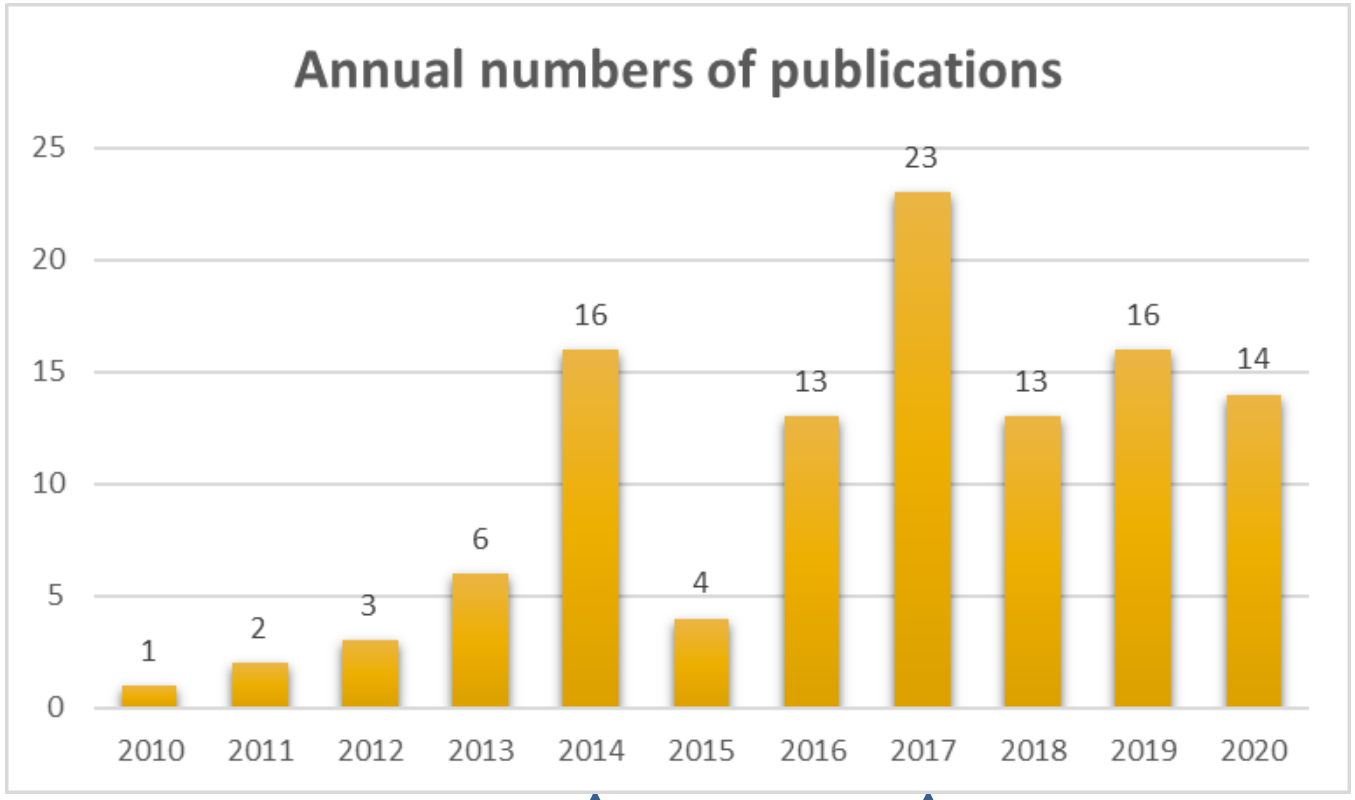
Focus on **dynamics of place** beyond and integrating the evolution of tourism activity

Evolution as path-dependent, place-dependent, contingent and **continually transforming**

Process shaped by the interplay of multiple forces, which produce distinctive and **co-evolving development paths**

2.3 EEG of tourism literature

An increasing strand of research



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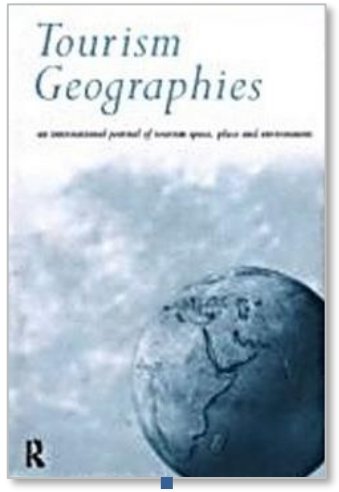

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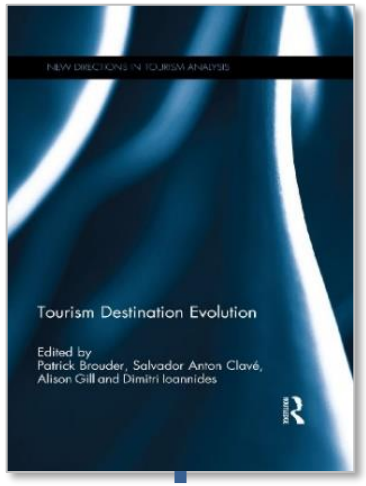


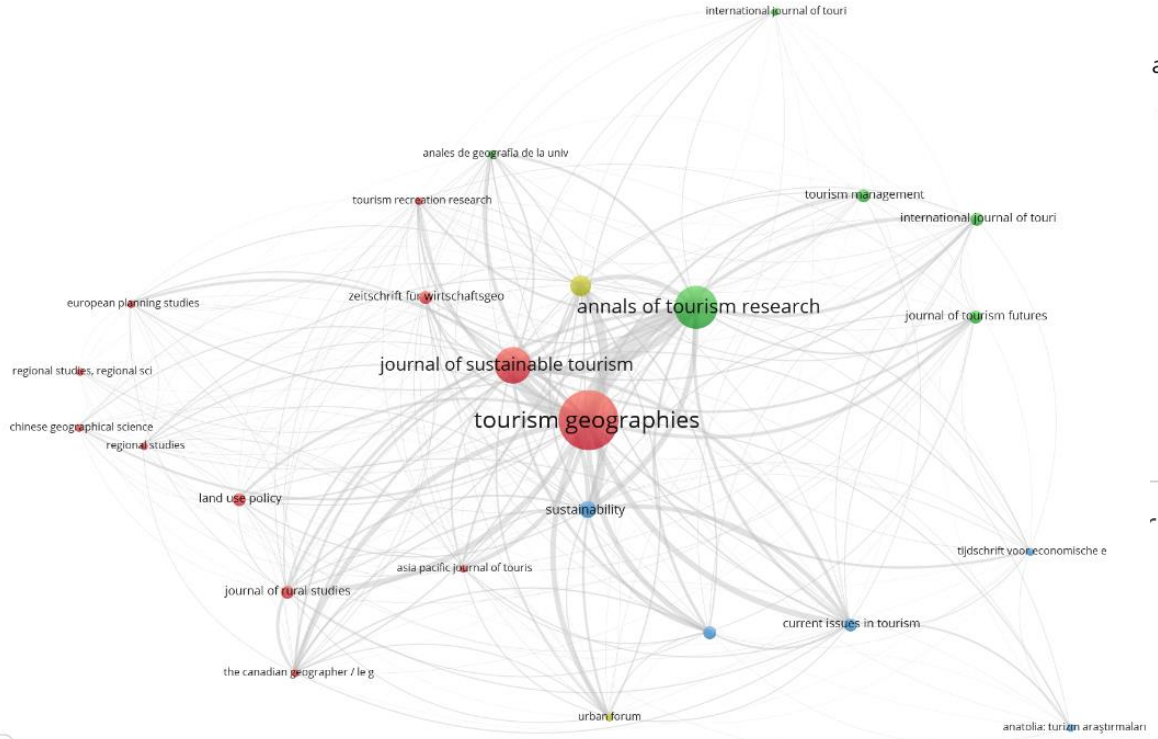
2.3 EEG of tourism literature

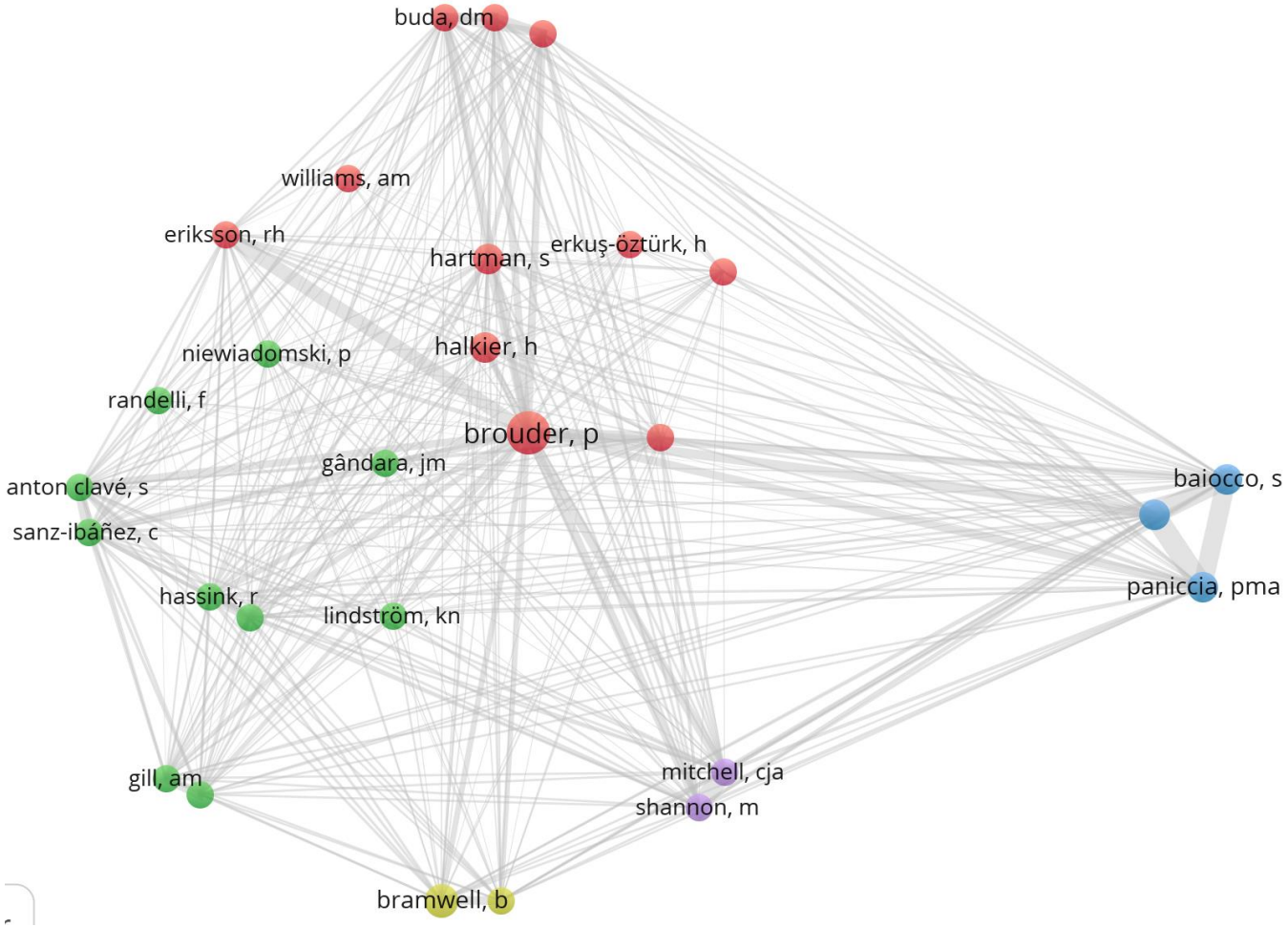
10 most influential papers

Rank Google Scholar	Authors	Year	Title	Journal	Citations Google Scholar (Feb 2023)
1	Brouder, P.	2020	Reset Redux: possible evolutionary pathways towards the transformation of tourism in a COVID-10 world	*Tourism Geographies*	518
2	Ma, M., Hassink, R.	2013	An evolutionary perspective on tourism area development	*Annals of Tourism Research*	325
3	Brouder, P.	2013	Tourism evolution: On the synergies of tourism studies and evolutionary economic geography	*Annals of Tourism Research*	215
4	Sanz-Ibáñez C., Anton Clavé S.	2014	The evolution of destinations: towards an evolutionary and relational economic geography approach	*Tourism Geographies*	175
5	Brouder P., Eriksson R.H.	2013	Staying Power: What Influences Micro-firm Survival in Tourism?	*Tourism Geographies*	166
6	Randelli F., Romei P., Tortora M.	2014	An evolutionary approach to the study of rural tourism: The case of Tuscany	*Land Use Policy*	149
7	Brouder, P.	2014	Evolutionary economic geography and tourism studies: extant studies and future research directions	*Tourism Geographies*	102
8	Gill A.M., Williams P.W.	2014	Mindful deviation in creating a governance path towards sustainability in resort destinations	*Tourism Geographies*	100
9	Williams, A.M.	2013	Mobilities and sustainable tourism: Path-creating or path-dependent relationships?	*Journal of Sustainable Tourism*	92
10	Brouder, P.	2014	Evolutionary Economic Geography: A new path for tourism studies?	*Tourism Geographies*	85

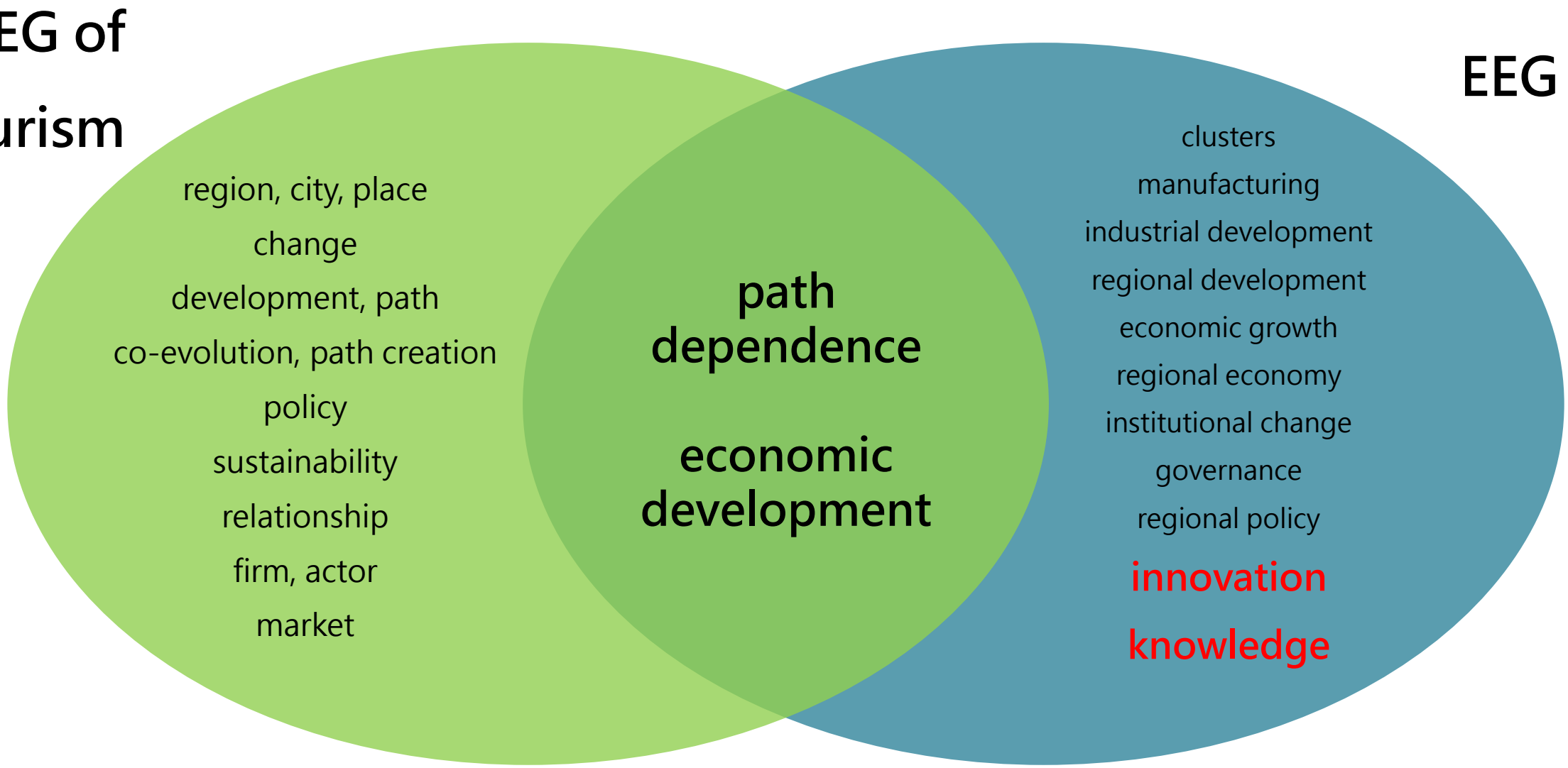
2.3 EEG of tourism literature

A growing research community





2.3 EEG of tourism literature



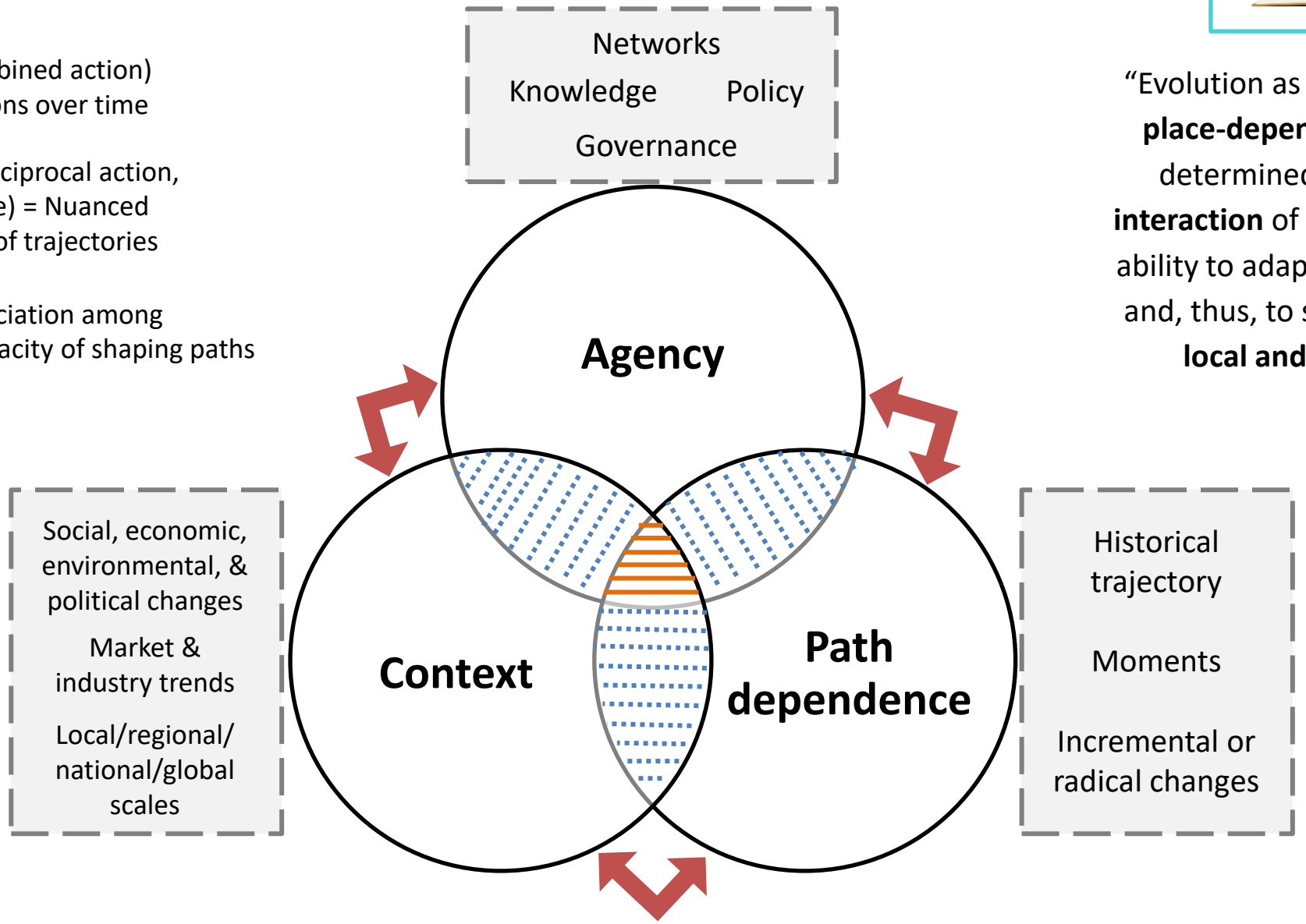
2.4 Catalysts for tourism destination evolution

Sanz-Ibáñez & Anton Clavé (2014, 2022)

Synergies (combined action) = Transformations over time

Interactions (reciprocal action, effect, influence) = Nuanced characteristics of trajectories

Relations (association among catalysts) = Capacity of shaping paths



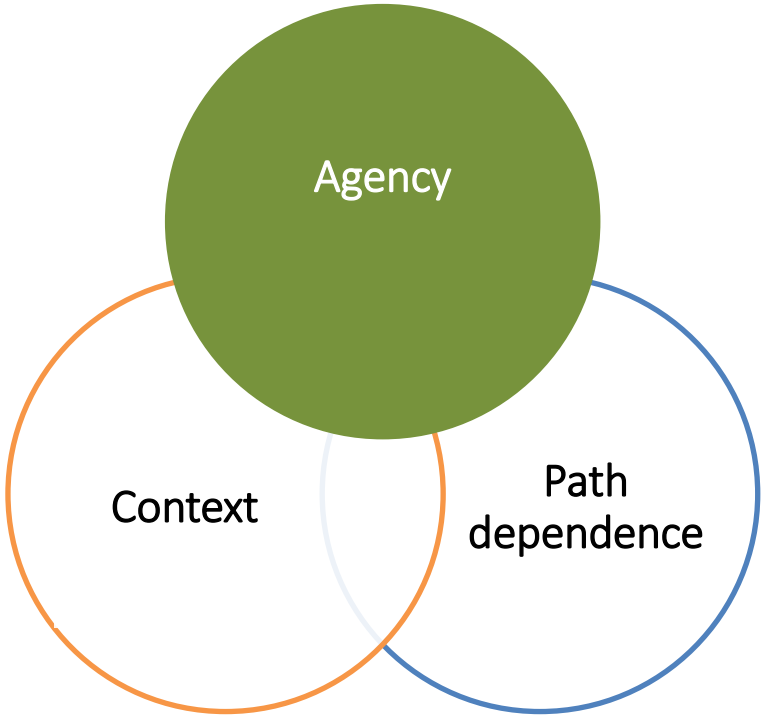
"Evolution as a **complex**, **path- and place-dependent** process that is determined by the **action** and **interaction** of stakeholders and their ability to adapt or create new paths, and, thus, to survive in response to **local and global changes**."

2.4 Catalysts for tourism destination evolution

Sanz-Ibáñez & Anton Clavé (2014, 2022)

Destinations as socially constructed systems (Lazzeretti & Capone, 2006)

Agency can deliberately and mindfully shift away evolutionary paths from their inertia (Li & Bathelt, 2011)



Interaction + **Action** + **Knowledge**

Formal and informal networks (Balland et al., 2016; McLeod & Vaughan, 2015; Ostergaard, 2009)

Dynamics of cooperation/competition (Jackson & Murphy, 2006; Van der Zee & Vanneste, 2015)

Strategic policy intervention (Anton Clavé & Wilson, 2017)

Private and individual practices/initiatives (Feldman, 2014)

Tacit and explicit (Cooper, 2015; Shaw & Williams, 2009; Xiao, 2006)

Local forms of production and expertise (Novelli, Schmitz & Spencer, 2006))

Administered networks (Sanz-Ibáñez, Lozano & Anton Clave, 2019))

Knowledge networks

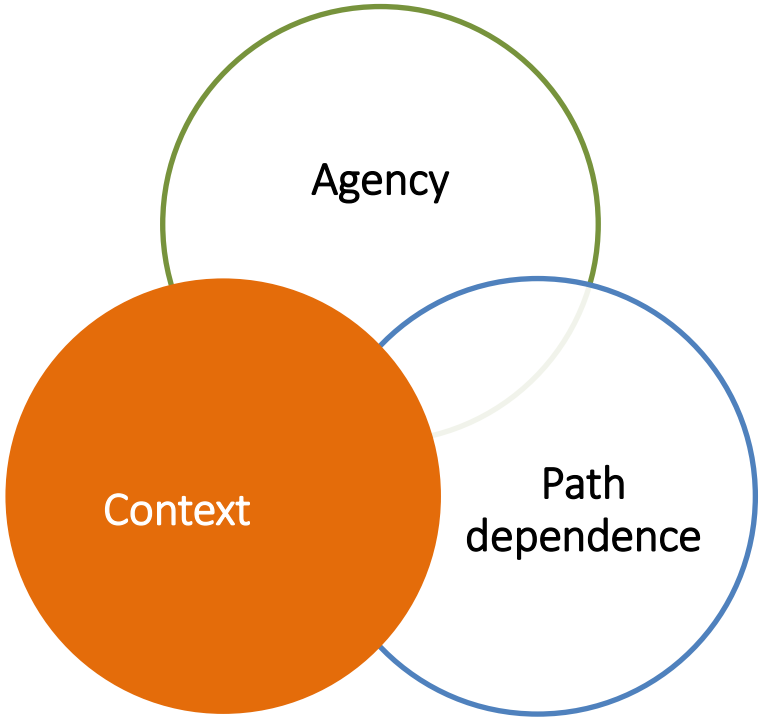
(Baggio & Cooper, 2010; McLeod & Vaughan, 2015; Giuliani, 2007; Vicente et al., 2011)

2.4 Catalysts for tourism destination evolution

Sanz-Ibáñez & Anton Clavé (2014, 2022)

Context creates or constrains opportunities for economic action and interaction (Li & Bathelt, 2011; Bathelt & Glückler, 2014)

Institutions might be shaped by the adoption of novelties in stakeholders' practices (Boschma & Martin, 2009)



Local level

Systemic consciousness and sense of belonging (Anton-Clavé & Wilson, 2017)

Variety of resources (Aarstad et al., 2016)

Political regulations (Halkier, 2013)

Global level

External environment (Ma & Hassink, 2013)

Visitor behaviour and decisions/demand markets (Ivars et al., 2013; Ma & Hassink, 2013; Halkier & Therkelsen, 2013)

Global production networks

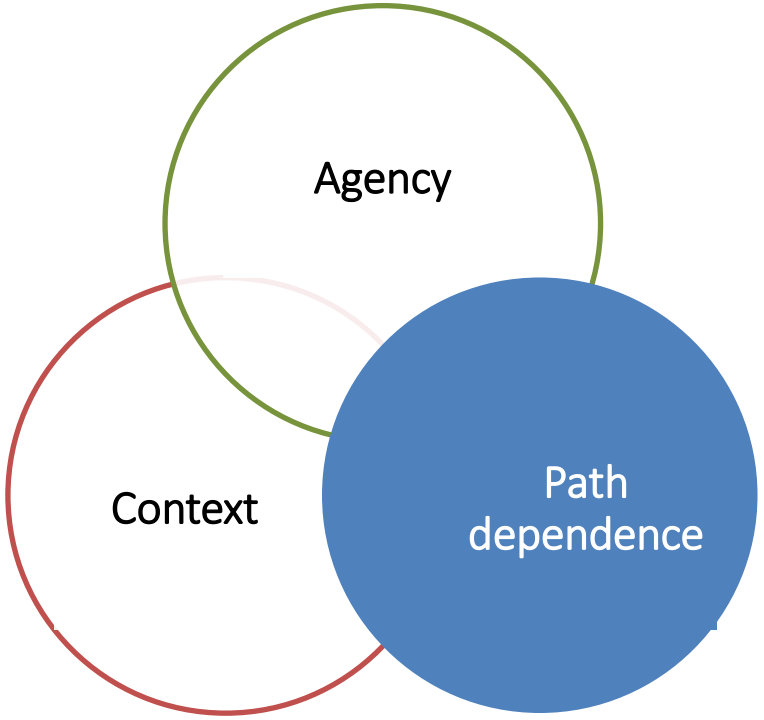
(Coe, 2012; Coe et al., 2008; Niewiadomski, 2014; Yang, 2009; Yeung, 2009; Yeung & Coe, 2015)

2.4 Catalysts for tourism destination evolution

Sanz-Ibáñez & Anton Clavé (2014, 2022)

Past events and decisions -even the most random and unintended- can have long-term consequences (Martin & Sunley, 2006; Martin, 2014)

"History" can have both positive and negative effects (Martin, 2010; Garud & Karnoe, 2001; Strambach & Halkier, 2013)



PATH METAPHOR

Path shaping (Bramwell, 2012; Jessop, 2008)
Path creation (Garud & Karnoe, 2001; Gill & Williams, 2014)
Path plasticity (Strambach, 2010; Strambach & Halkier, 2013; Halkier & Therkelsen, 2013)

Constantly in-the-making

+

Nuanced and local specific

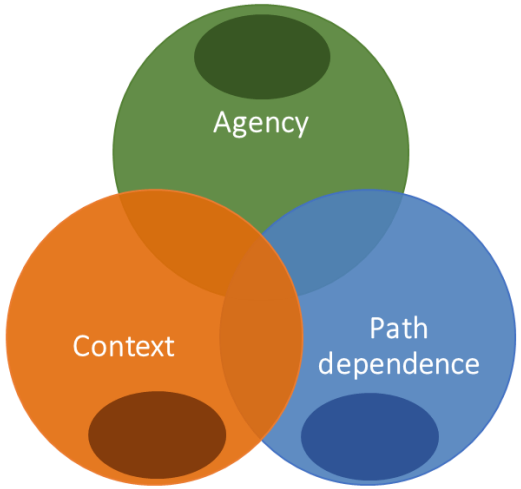
+

Evolving nature of places

Moments as evolutionary inflection points (Moulaert et al., 2007)

Scapes and flows (Williams, 2013; Van der Duim, 2007; Van der Duim, et al., 2012)

3 Exploring evolutionary paths of Catalan destinations



Knowledge networks:
Networks and localised systems of learning

Global production networks:
Strategic coupling and upgrading

Moments, scapes and flows:
Moments in evolutionary trajectories

3.1 Networks and localized systems of learning

Sanz-Ibáñez, Lozano & Anton Clavé (2019)

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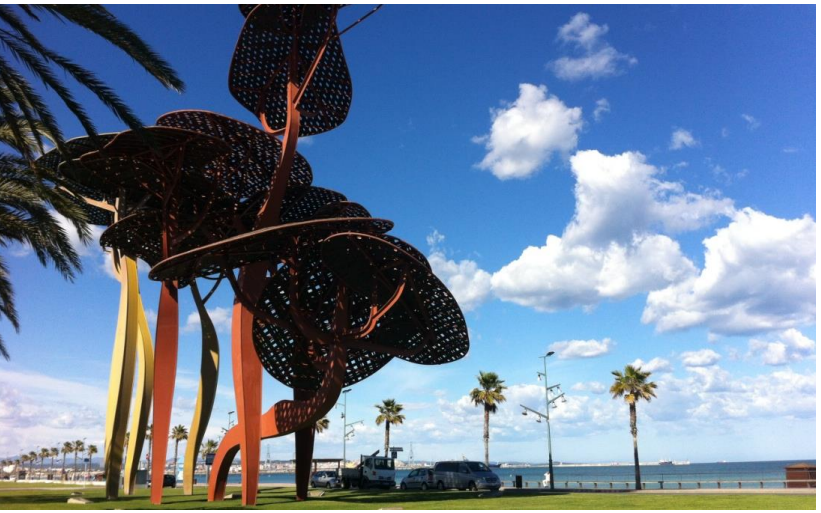
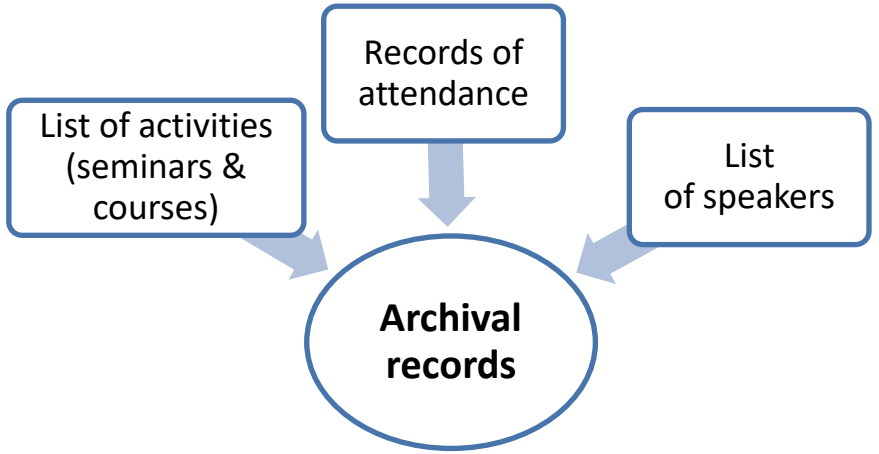


How are the networks of stakeholders structured in the process of formal and informal transfer of knowledge?

What role plays each type of stakeholder in the process of formal and informal transfer of knowledge?

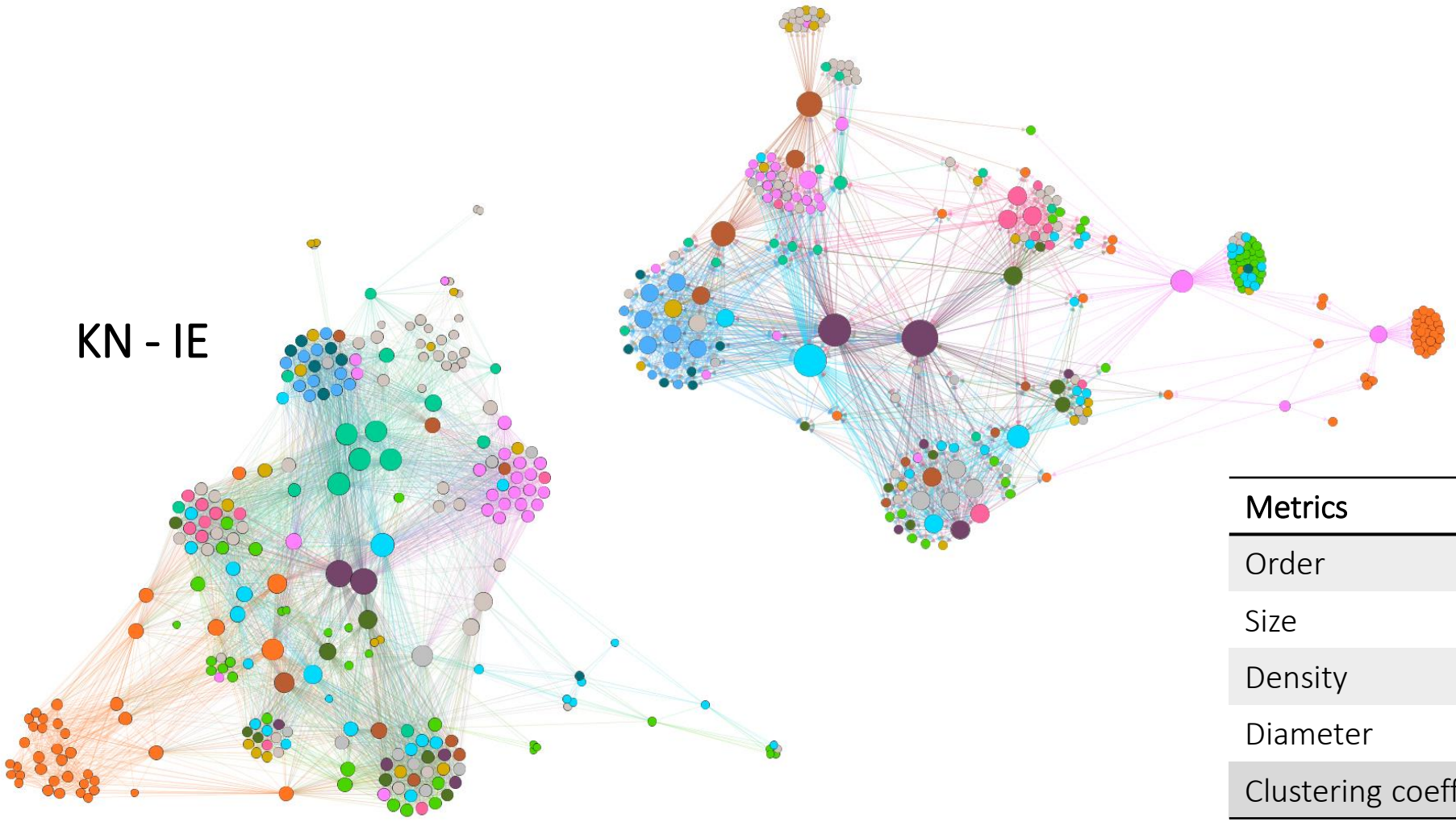


Bipartite SNA

3.1 Networks and localized systems of learning

Resulting networks: structural analysis

KN - IE



Metrics	KN-IE	KN-FT
Order	249	253
Size	4894	1804
Density	0.16	0.03
Diameter	4	3
Clustering coefficient	0.64	0.33

3.1 Networks and localized systems of learning

Brokerage analysis

KN-FT

Nodes	Coordinator	Consultant	Representative	Gatekeeper	Liaison
PCT – TIC	23.635	32.173	72.693	38.342	105.156
URV – University	5.805	24.787	54.507	29.249	84.912
GEN – Regional government	10.328	14.805	32.218	23.287	79.212
PTD – DMO	7.387	6.467	4.051	13.669	17.108
FEH – Business association	12.329	2.068	25.912	3.069	14.193
SCP – Business association	-0.182	-1.062	13.612	-0.445	1.251
EPS – Local hotel chain	-0.277	1.819	-0.561	11.973	7.879
IVT – Consultancy R&D	5.805	-1.351	-0.387	-0.387	-1.818
IPR – Consultancy MK	-0.161	4.621	-0.417	3.019	14.823
EST – Consultancy	-0.444	-1.281	1.354	11.973	0.439

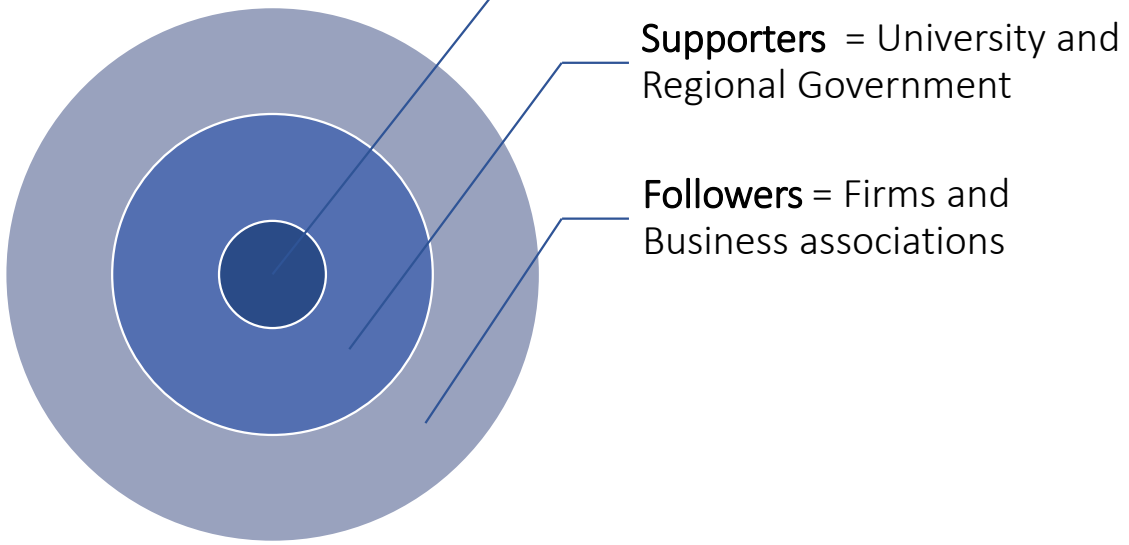
KN-IE

Nodes	Coordinator	Consultant	Gatekeeper	Liaison
PCT – TIC	8.584	34.334	20.365	72.061
URV – University	8.584	34.334	20.365	72.061
GEN – Regional government	8.986	17.177	17.711	46.737
EPS – Local hotel chain	10.290	22.727	16.067	38.490
TPR – Local camping resort	15.166	5.421	38.547	20.596
OHT – Local hotel chain	10.290	19.939	13.228	30.221
GRE – Local hotel chain	10.290	21.301	12.786	28.984
4RH – Local hotel chain	10.290	18.514	12.995	29.405
BEH – Local hotel chain	10.290	16.376	11.878	25.902
RSS – Local camping resort	16.573	2.289	27.221	6.222

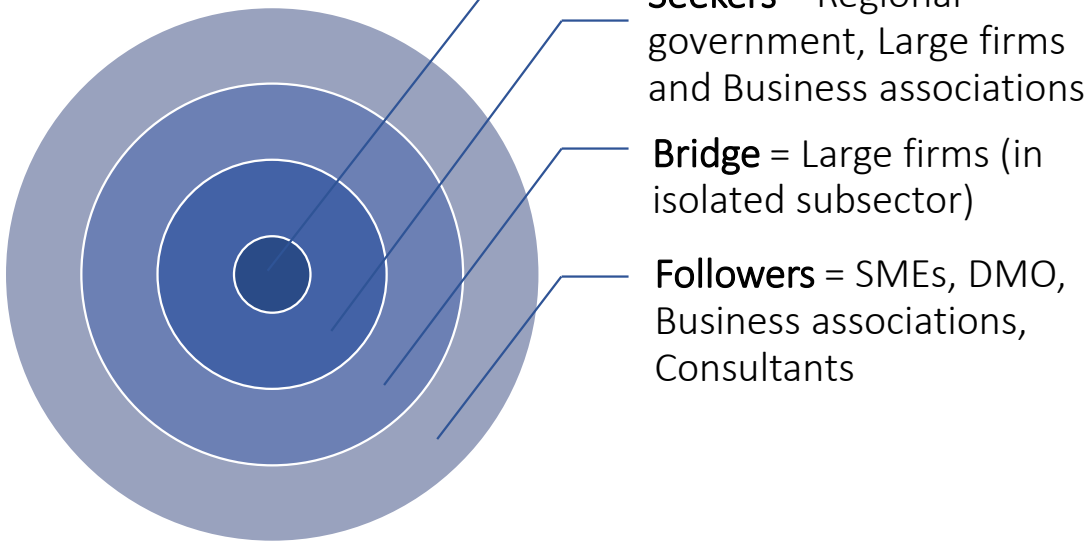
3.1 Networks and localized systems of learning

Cluster analysis (II)

KN-FT

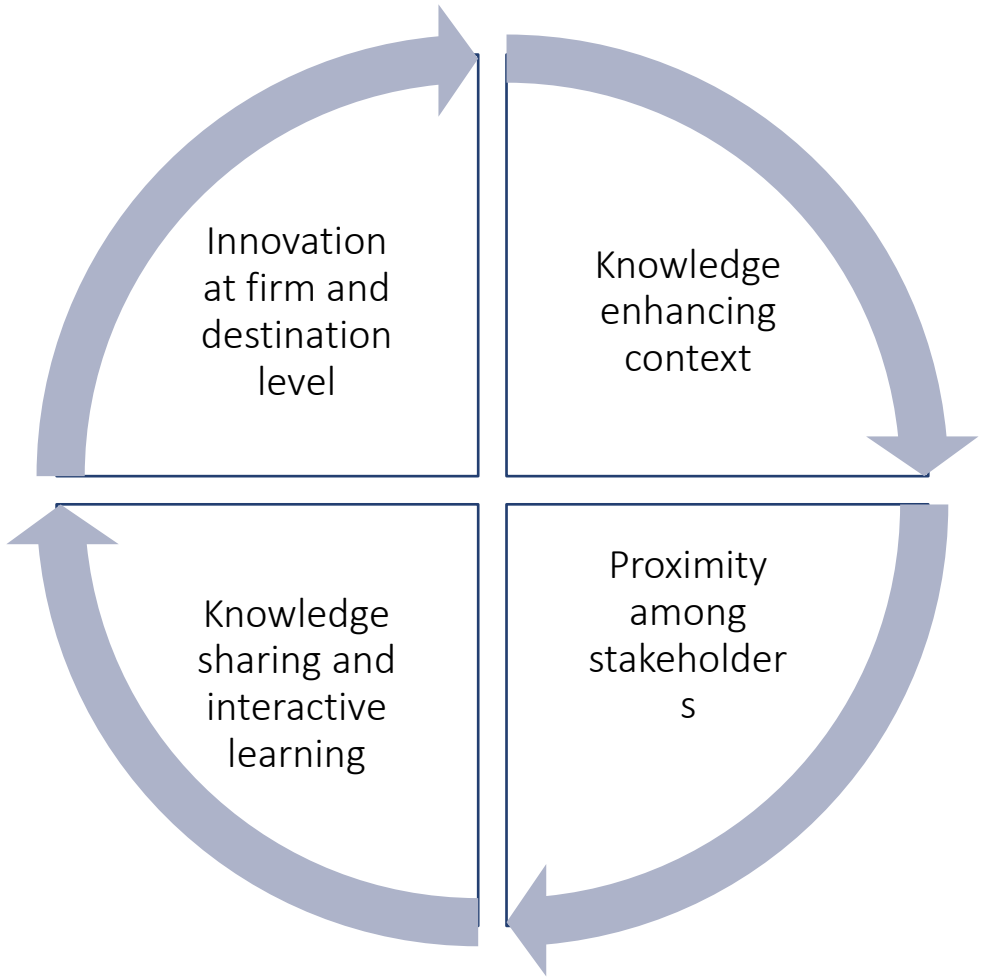


KN-IE



3.1 Networks and localized systems of learning

Discussion



Knowledge governance strategies leaded by a TIC

(Goddard et al., 2012; Haughland et al., 2011; McLeod & Vaughan, 2015)

Connect the different "communities of knowledge" (Cooper, 2006; Van der Zee & Vanneste, 2015)

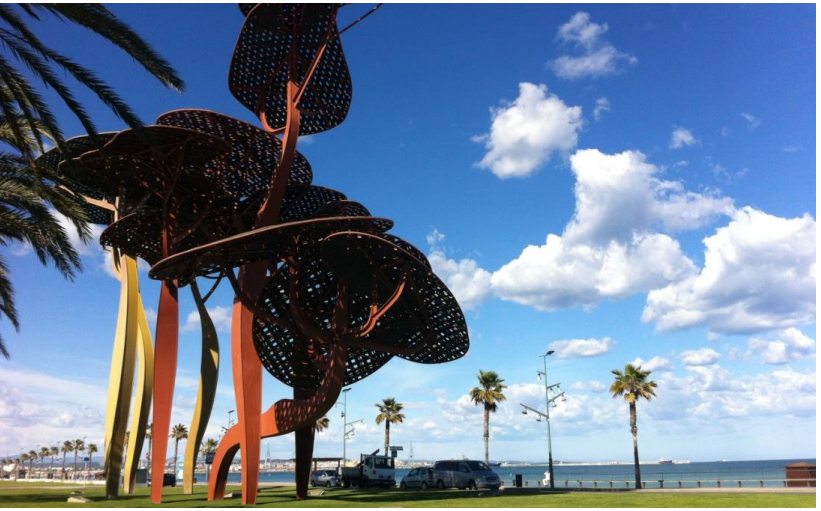
Enhance informal relationships and trust, which facilitates an easily transmission of tacit knowledge and localized learning (Bathelt & Glückler, 2011; Malmberg & Maskell, 2006; McLeod & Vaughan, 2015)

Orientate decision-making processes in innovative ways and support **institutional adaptability** to changing conditions (Anton Clavé & Wilson, 2017)

3.2 Strategic coupling and upgrading

Sanz-Ibáñez & Anton Clavé (2016)

CENTRAL COSTA DAURADA

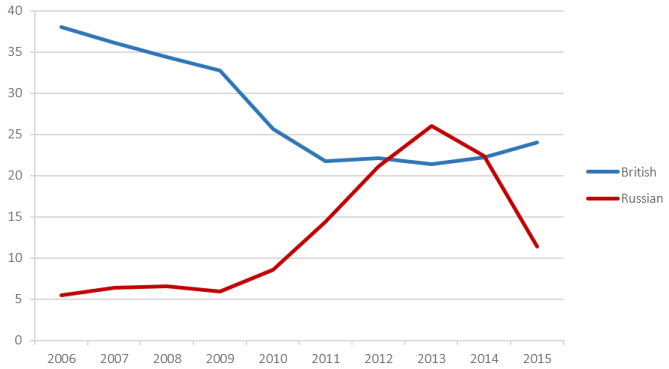


How are global-local relationships created within tourism distribution channels and how these evolve over time?

What are the repercussions of global-local linkages at the destination?

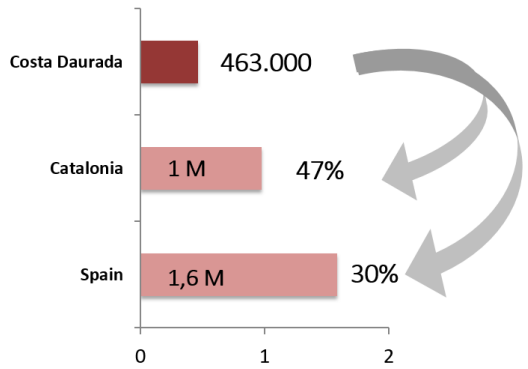
2013 – Russian market first international market, overtaking the British – traditional market for decades

Percentage of international overnight stays



2013 - Main destination for Russians in Catalonia & Spain

Number of Russian tourists



Interviews

18 stakeholders

(6 Hotel chains + 7 Incomings + 3 TTOO + 2 DMO)

Selection: snowball & reputation method

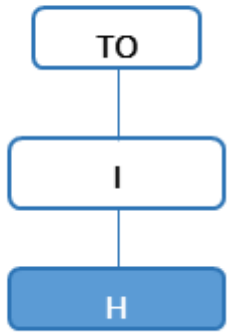
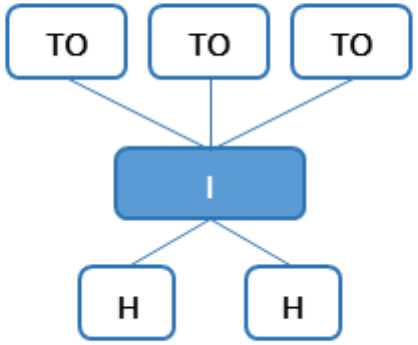
Secondary data

Sectoral studies, annual reports, informative documents, media articles and official statistics

3.2 Strategic coupling and upgrading

Strategic coupling dynamics (I)

1994 - 1999 | 2000 - 2007 | 2008 - 2014

	Cooperative	Mediated
		
Emergence	bottom-up (H)	bottom-up (I)
Coordination	high	high
Power	balanced	imbalanced (I)
Dependence	low	low

TO: tour operator

I: incoming travel agency

H: hotel firm

Leading partner/s

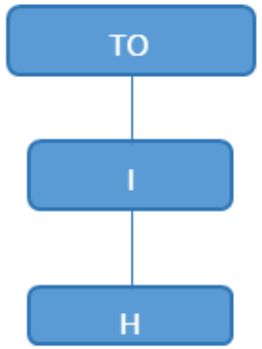
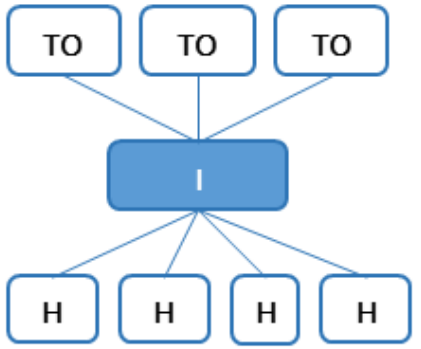
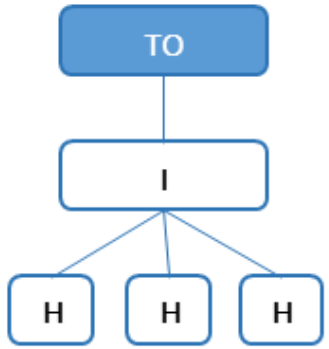
Size of firm

Hierarchy of relations

3.2 Strategic coupling and upgrading

Strategic coupling dynamics (II)

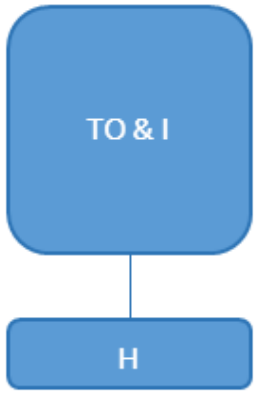
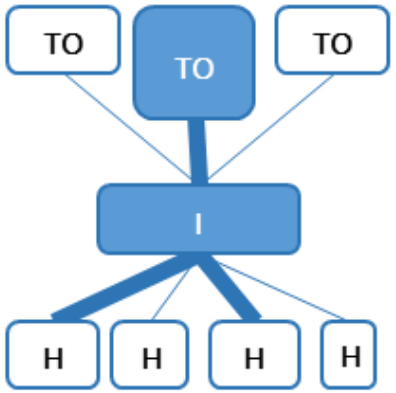
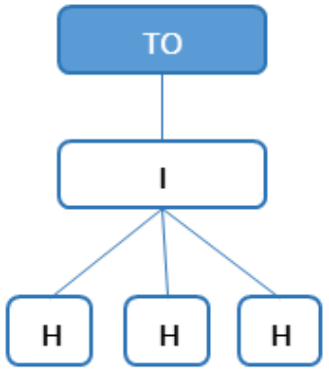
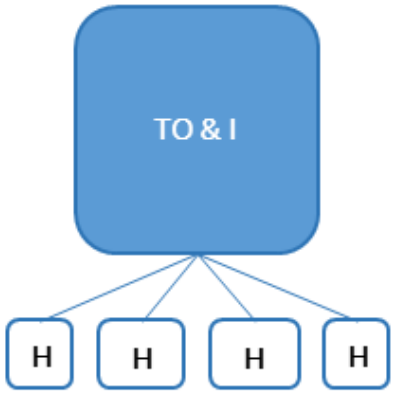
1994 - 1999 | **2000 - 2007** | 2008 - 2014

	Cooperative	Mediated	Self-interested
			
Emergence	-	-	top-down (TO)
Coordination	high	high	low
Power	balanced	imbalanced (I)	imbalanced (TO)
Dependence	low-medium	low-medium	Low-medium

3.2 Strategic coupling and upgrading

Strategic coupling dynamics (III)

1994 - 1999 | 2000 - 2007 | 2008 - 2014

	Cooperative	Mediated	Self-interested	Captive
				
Emergence	-	-	-	top-down (TO)
Coordination	high	high (hierarchical)	low	low
Power	balanced	imbalanced (I)	imbalanced (TO)	imbalanced (TO)
Dependence	medium	medium	medium	high

3.2 Strategic coupling and upgrading

Upgrading outcomes

			Strategic coupling patterns			
			Cooperative	Mediated	Self-interested	Captive
Upgrading outcomes	Process	Creation of employment opportunities and staff training				
		Reconfiguration of supply networks				
	Product	Improving extant hotel facilities				
		Development of new hotel infrastructure				
	Inter-sectoral	Activation of locally-driven processes of vertical integration				
	Functional	Reinforcement of networking synergies among stakeholders				
		Strengthening of local governance structures				

Contribution: None Low Medium High

3.2 Strategic coupling and upgrading

Discussion

Strategic coupling

(Yang, 2009; Yeung, 2009; Coe, 2012; MacKinnon, 2012; Yeung, 2015; Yeung & Coe, 2015)

Time–space contingent and mutually dependent cooperation between two or more actors from different spatial scales who collaborate to achieve a common strategic objective

Upgrading

(Gereffi, 1999; Humphrey & Schmitz, 2002; Schmitz, 2014; Gereffi & Lee, 2016)

Improve the ability of firms or regions to move to more profitable and/or technologically sophisticated economic niches

Local promoters

High coordination

Balanced power

Low dependence

Key determinants

Local firms as promoters (Yang, 2009)

Support of public organisations (Yeung & Coe, 2015)

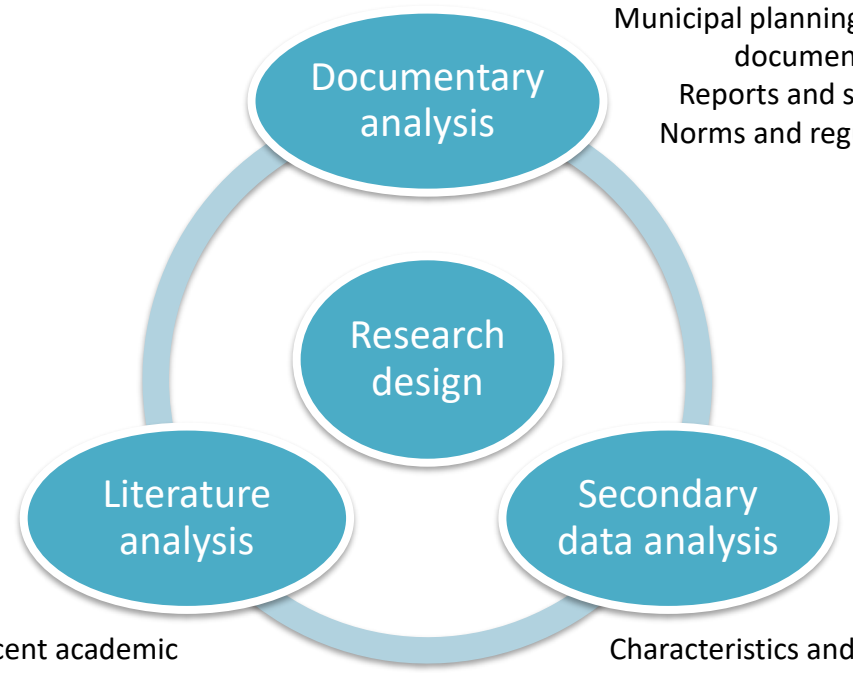
Attitude towards collaboration (Buhalis, 2000; Pan, 2008)

3.3 Moments in evolutionary trajectories

What are the enabling and constraining effects of path dependence in the shaping of tourism destination trajectories?

What role does agency play in path-shaping 'moments'?

BARCELONA



3.3 Moments in evolutionary trajectories

Shock events may be understood as spaces of rupture and reconfiguration, disrupting the existing economic or political balance in society that shape the path of economic and political institutions. SEs are not meant to be negative in terms of their consequences [...], but may also include events whose long-term effects are not easy to estimate (Urso et al, 2021).

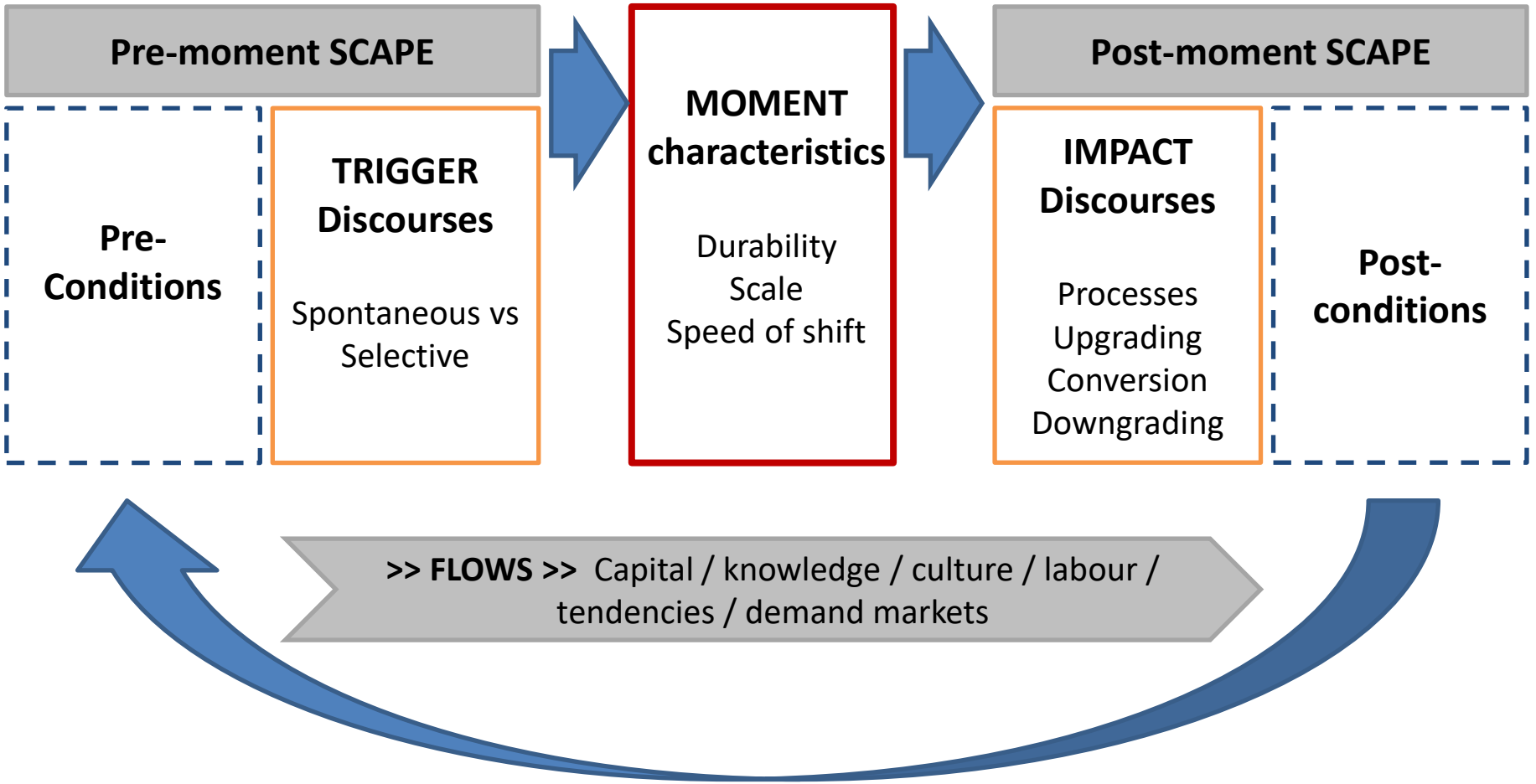
Key events are crucial occurrences in the process of change in industry or regional development. Decisions, strategies, and interventions of a set of influential actors are important as a response to or cause of these key events and shape regional economies over time (Grillitsch et al., 2021).

Moulaert *et al* (2007) study discursive, selective '**moments' in urban socio-economic change** and path dependency [including policies / key agencies]

Key moments can be positioned as singular events where everything changes, precursors to necessary societal revisions and disruptions to the status quo. Nevertheless, disruptions unfold unevenly, socially, spatially and temporally. What appears to be 'temporally discrete events with finite impact and recovery periods' (McKinnon, 2019: 205), are endured as **complex and on-going phenomena** connecting earlier lived experiences with present stresses (Gibson, 2021).

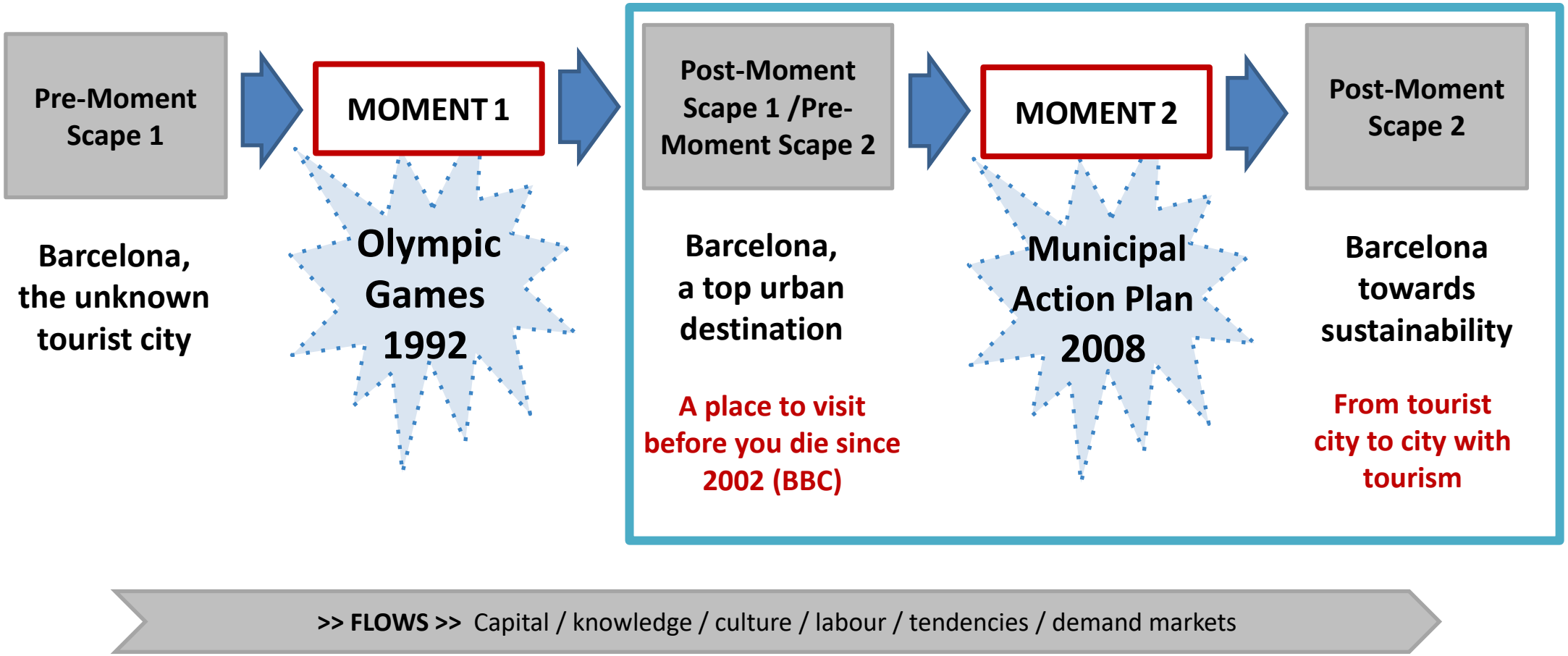
3.3 Moments in evolutionary trajectories

Sanz-Ibáñez, Wilson & Anton Clavé (2017)



POST-MOMENT SCAPE BECOMES A PRE-MOMENT SCAPE OF FUTURE MOMENTS

3.3 Moments in evolutionary trajectories



3.3 Moments in evolutionary trajectories

MOMENT

Barcelona

Municipal Action Plan (PAM)

2008

Post-moment SCAPE

IMPACT discourses	Post-conditions
Upgrading/Up-scaling **Growth of tourists and overnights** Tourism Strategic Plan 2015 (2009): **quality and sustainability** Conversion **Urban shifts** & new trends in the urban sphere **Disruptive innovations** in tourism production and consumption Postcrisis economic, social, political and environmental scenarios	Consolidated positioning as top international urban destination **Resistance movements** (localised overtourism) **Towards a paradigm of new sustainable urban management framework:** Tourism Strategic Plan 2020, City & Tourism Council, Observatori, Mobility, PEUAT, Marketing,

>> FLOWS >> Capital / knowledge / culture / labour / tendencies / demand markets

Turisme 2020 Barcelona

BIOSPHERE TOURISM

PEUAT Special Tourist Accommodation Plan

5 areas: Governance, Tourism Management, Territorial Strategy, Jobs and Enterprise, and Promotion and Marketing, covering **80 strategic challenges**.

10 strategic programmes detailing **30 lines of action** and **100 measures** which must respond to strategic challenges

COVID-19 seems to act as a shock that may reinforce the directions and discourses that generated the introduction of tourism in the local policy strategy.

3.3 Moments in evolutionary trajectories

Discussion

Moments framework

How change is produced instead of only evaluating the end results of path plasticity or path creation trajectories

Can be used for tackling **positive and negative** moments

Dependence and creation of **scapes** (Williams, 2013; Van der Duim, 2007)

Flows of capital, knowledge, culture, labour, tendencies and demand markets determine the specific response in a given scape (Williams, 2013)

Uneven destination trajectories (Clivaz et al., 2014)

Co-evolution of different paths within a destination (Brouder & Fullerton, 2015)

Recognition of **urban condition** of tourism places (Anton Clavé, 2012; Anton Clavé & Wilson, 2017)

Concluding remarks

Empirical research – Lessons learned for policy and decision-making

STUDY 1:

Administered Knowledge Networks with a TIC as main hub promote the involvement of stakeholders in collective learning, while drawing knowledge-based innovation and development.

STUDY 2:

Trans-local strategic coupling in new emergent **demand markets** can effectively contribute to increase the innovativeness of local firms and enable the upgrading of destinations.

STUDY 3:

Moments act as catalysts for change in the economic/social/urban development pathway of destinations facing lock-in situations.

Concluding remarks

Analyzing & managing tourism destinations in tranformation

- Tourism destinations – even those influenced by homogenous or similar **contextual environments and institutions** – face global and local challenges, overcome vulnerability and plan post-crisis recovery scenarios in different ways. **Place/path dependence** and **co-evolution** are at the forefront of this debate (Brouder et al, 2017; Halkier & James, 2017).

- A drastic social and economic crisis like the COVID-19 pandemic does not necessarily have to become a **moment** that force a tourism destination evolutionary path to shift in direction. Pre-moment scapes, triggers, impacts and post-moment scapes that might surround these shifts have to be examined (Sanz-Ibáñez et al., 2017).

- **Human agency** (stakeholder's **knowledge**, **leadership**, **policy intervention** and **collaboration** dynamics) largely explain the diverse capacity of adjustment of tourism destinations to cope with trigger events in the short term (Anton Clavé & Wilson, 2017). This role is even more catalytic when striving for change (MacKinnon, 2019; Grillitsch & Sotarauta, 2018) and shaping tourism development paths towards more **resilient**, **innovative** and **sustainable** goals in the long run (Gill & Williams, 2014).

- In theoretical terms, it is important to promote **cross-fertilisation** and consolidate connections of EEG with complementary notions and bodies of work (e.g. CPE, GPE, GPN, resilience, adaptive cycles), as well as to integrate developments from non-Anglophone academic traditions.

GRATET
RESEARCH GROUP ON TERRITORIAL ANALYSIS AND TOURISM STUDIES

More on #TourismGeographies #EEG #destinationevolution

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