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The Development of Tourism Areas: a Comparative Case Study of the Factors Underpinning Tourism Development in Killarney and Clifden in Ireland

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**THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM AREAS:
A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF THE FACTORS
UNDERPINNING TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN
KILLARNEY AND CLIFDEN IN IRELAND**

THERESA RYAN

Submitted for the degree of PhD to the Dublin Institute of Technology

December 2009

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KILLARNEY AND CLIFDEN IN IRELAND**

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ABSTRACT

This research investigates the local, place-based factors that influence tourism development, and asks why some tourism areas develop more than others. It provides important insights into the dynamics that occur at the local level, and contributes to the existing literature on destination development by investigating the influence of local tourist influentials; the presence of a social and professional milieu and the propensity for co-operation.

Taking an inter-disciplinary approach, the research draws from existing tourism literature on models of tourism development, as well as literatures on entrepreneurship and industrial district theory. Underpinned by a pragmatic philosophy, it adopts a mixed-methods approach within a predominantly qualitative framework, and undertakes a comparative case study of tourism development in Killarney (a highly developed tourist town in the southwest of Ireland) and Clifden (a less developed tourist area in the west of Ireland). The research provides a comprehensive understanding of the way communities of individuals and businesses, with deep social roots and a common history, can influence tourism development. This detailed analysis of tourism development explores the way in which two tourism areas and communities have engaged with tourism, how their different histories have resulted in different factors of development, and how this has influenced their development as destinations.

The research enhances the academic literature on tourism development in Ireland, an area that is extremely underdeveloped. Furthermore, it contributes to our understanding of how destinations develop, and the transferability of its key findings to other tourism areas has implications for both academics and policy-makers alike.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis which I now submit for examination for the award of PhD, is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

This thesis was prepared according to the regulations for postgraduate study by research of the Dublin Institute of Technology and has not been submitted in whole or in part for another award in any Institute.

The work reported on in this thesis conforms to the principles and requirements of the Institute's guidelines for ethics in research.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

1.0 Introduction

The contemporary world is marked by ever increasing flows of people, and tourism as an industry has become increasingly dominant in strategic economic plans for countries and regions. At the beginning of the new millennium tourism probably had a higher degree of visibility than ever before (Hall, 2005a). The scale of tourism that now exists is phenomenal and the choice of places to visit is extensive as ‘the world has become one large department store of countryside’s and cities’ (Schivelbusch, 1986: 197). The extent of the growth of tourism is particularly evident in the World Tourism Organisations (WTO) statistics, which show that international tourist arrivals in 2006 numbered 900 million (WTO, 2008) compared to 592 million in 1996 (WTO, 1997) and 25.2 million in 1950. There is almost no country now which is not a sender and receiver of significant numbers of visitors (Urry, 2003) and there is no doubt that tourism has emerged as a leading economic driver for the 21st century.

Within an Irish context, tourism has become one of Ireland’s greatest economic success stories. Its recent unprecedented growth, which began in particular in the late 1980s, has had an impact on many aspects of the economy and society, assuming a greatly enhanced profile in Irish affairs (Gorokhovsky, 2003: 97). European Union funds and public and private sector investments since the late 1980s have helped to improve and develop infrastructure, accommodation and visitor attractions (Hurley *et al.*, 1994), while liberalisation of the airline industry has dramatically improved access (Gillmor, 1994a). Tourism is now a significant sector of the Irish economy, a

major source of foreign earnings, and a powerful instrument of national and regional development (Travers, 2003). The industry is an integral part of Irish society and many positive elements in Irish life today are the result of the realisation of the importance of tourism in the Irish economy (Furlong, 2009). In 2007, receipts from tourism were €6.45 billion, representing 3.2% of total exports and 3.7% of Gross National Product (Fáilte Ireland, 2007). The industry is a significant source of employment in Ireland, with an estimated workforce of 322,000 (Fáilte Ireland, 2007). Tourism is a particularly important source of economic activity in rural areas, in particular in the west and southwest regions of Ireland (Irish Tourism Industry Confederation (ITIC), 2007). Scenic rural areas in Ireland tend to be areas of agricultural disadvantage and look towards tourism as a source of supplementing income and as a source of direct and indirect employment (Gorman, 2005). Many have developed strong tourism industries and particular places have become synonymous with the word tourism.

Despite the fact that tourism is a critical part of the Irish economy, the academic literature on tourism development in Ireland is extremely weakly developed. Little research has tried to identify and understand the key factors that underpin the development of tourism areas. Consequently, a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of tourism development and the factors that influence its development over time is lacking. This gap in the literature is not limited to Ireland but is mirrored internationally, where relatively little focus has been placed on understanding key factors supporting tourism development. Examining and explaining the key factors underpinning an area's tourism development is a valuable exercise for academics, industry and policy makers, and now that the global economy is in a downturn this

task has become even more important. This thesis addresses the issue by identifying and explaining the factors underpinning the development of two tourism areas in Ireland. Adopting a case study approach, the study examines tourism development in Killarney (a mature, highly developed tourist town in the southwest of Ireland) and Clifden (a less developed tourist area on the west coast of Ireland). The choice of two areas for research allows for comparison, leading to fresh, exciting insights and a deeper understanding of issues that are fundamental to tourism development in different locales. The research provides important knowledge regarding the interplay of factors underpinning tourism development, explaining and discussing the way in which they have influenced its development in the case study areas.

1.1 Contextualising the research: Local places in a global world.

This section contextualises the development of tourism in local places within the wider context of a global economy, questioning the role that local places play within a global tourism industry and in particular, analysing the global and local factors that influence its development. The overall intention is to provide a clear understanding of the dynamics at work at a local level and how this informs, and is informed by global influences, which together dynamically influence tourism development. The main aim of the research is to produce an in-depth study of tourism development in Ireland that will influence international literature on the discipline. In policy terms, the research produces findings that will inform ‘best practice’ for the development and management of other similar tourism areas.

Tourism takes place within the wider context of globalisation of the world economy (Sugiyarto et al, 2003) and any study of tourism development must look at it from the context of globalisation and its impacts. While globalisation is a feature of all industries, tourism is one of the most powerful exemplars of globalisation as the movement of people is fundamentally affected by the globalisation of infrastructure; the ability to use the Internet for making bookings; the exponential growth in air transport; and the shift to free markets, have all facilitated the growth of international tourism (Shaw and Williams, 2002). Tourism and globalisation can be connected in many different ways and in general terms both have to do with the movement of people, the movement of ideas and the movement of capital across borders (Reiser, 2003).

The globalisation of tourism has engendered concerns over its effects on destination areas (Chang, 1999). In particular, the impact that global tourism has on the heterogeneity and autonomy of local places is a widely contested and debated subject. A key question about place is whether, as a result of globalisation, places are becoming 'placeless' – that is, losing their individual distinctiveness (Relph, 1976). The literature on globalisation in general offers many differing arguments that have relevance when discussing the role of local places in global tourism. One theme, which constantly recurs, sees the local represented as a collective area of resistance to the disruptive process of globalisation, and the global characterised as a threat to the continued existence and autonomy of local communities. Some authors argue that the consequences of globalisation include: the loss of autonomy of nations; a decline in the importance of place and local factors; and the homogenising of products and cultures (Dunning & Hamdani 1997; Castells 1993; Barnett & Cavanagh 1995).

Authors such as Relph (1976: 93) see tourism itself as a force that leads all places to eventually look and feel the same as 'tourism has a homogenising influence and its effect everywhere seems to be the same – the destruction of the local and regional landscape that very often initiated the tourism'. Similarly, Ritzer (1993) argues that the 'McDonaldization' effect of tourism leads all sites and tourism places to eventually look and feel exactly the same.

The precise nature of globalisation is contested and for some 'globalization' is what we are bound to do if we are to be happy, for others 'globalization' is the cause of our unhappiness (Bauman, 1998). At the heart of many arguments against globalisation is the concern that huge trans-national companies are becoming more powerful and more influential than democratically elected governments, putting shareholder interests above those of communities and customers. Globalisation is often associated with a transformation and erosion of the power of nations, as a result, development and success is determined by factors outside of their control.

The main thrust of these arguments posits the loss of power and identity at a local and national level resulting from globalisation. The central premise is that globalisation causes an increasing homogeneity between landscapes and societies (Featherstone, 1993) and an adverse effect on the local by the global (Chang, 1999). The global and the local are viewed as two separate entities, one, the global, with greater power encompassing the other, the local. These arguments have implications for tourism leading us to question the role of local places within global tourism. In particular, they call into question the role, if any, that local factors have on influencing tourism development at a destination. Does globalisation result in tourism development being

determined by external factors over which places have no control or influence, or can local factors play a role in shaping tourism development?

The arguments that position globalisation as an all encompassing force subsuming local places suggest that places are powerless recipients of global forces. They portray local places as passive, lacking any control over their own destiny; in general they disregard any influence that localities may have on shaping tourism development. These arguments present a polarised view of globalisation and according to Chang et. al. (1996) see local places playing only peripheral roles in the pace and form of tourism development. 'There is an implicit assumption that tourism exists as an all-powerful, virtually placeless phenomenon that, by definition, affects change, causes impacts and creates effects on 'defenceless' local places' (Quinn, 2003: 61). Contrary to this view, authors such as Gotham (2005), Chang (1999, 1998), Cooke (1989) and Murphy (1985) humanise the debate by asserting that local communities are not mere recipients of fortune or fate from above but rather are actively involved in their own transformation. Quinn (2003: 62) argues that 'this privileging of the global, and the presumption that structure prevails over agency, reflects a failure to appreciate the ability of human agents to initiate development, mediate and harness external tourism forces and capitalise on place-specific characteristics and resources to influence the shape of local tourism places'. The contention of these authors is that local agents are not passive recipients of the impacts of global tourism but actively engage them in dynamic processes (Chang, 1998).

The argument therefore, is not as simple as local versus global, as 'while there is much evidence to support the view that differences between many, though not all, places appears to be declining because of global forces, much of the evidence is anecdotal or media hyperbole, and not the result of detailed studies of places' (Horvath, 2004: 109). Horvath's research shows evidence that places are 'maintaining and perhaps deepening their particularity in conjunction with globalization' (2004: 109). He argues that 'the announcement of the death of place is not only premature but also that placelessness is unlikely even as the impact of globalization becomes more pervasive' (2004: 111). Robertson (1995) maintains that a process of 'glocalization' is occurring. He sees this as a multifaceted and interdependent process whereby localities develop direct relationships with the global system. Swarbrooke (2001) adds to this by noting that globalisation has changed the nature of competition between places and has increased the need to prevent product standardisation and the loss of uniqueness which globalisation can cause. Ironically, Swarbrooke argues, as the marketplace becomes ever more global, the uniqueness of individual local places may be the key to their survival and success as tourism destinations. Other authors claim that one of the notable aspects of globalisation has been the reassertion of the region or locality, so 'while on the one hand, we have the rise of global forms of economic ordering, on the other, it would appear that the local is also being reinforced, if not assuming a greater degree of prominence (Meethan, 2001: 36). Rather than a force that consumes local identities, globalisation may have created a need for local uniqueness and identity in order for tourism places to succeed in increasingly global markets. This argument presents a much more complex view, one of both globalising forces and local forces working in tandem with each other rather than against each other.

Arguments that view local places as powerless against globalisation view the process from a very simplistic perspective ignoring the complexity of local places and the influence of people who live there. Local places are complex and dynamic rather than neutral and objective segments of space (Suvantola, 2002). They are informed and shaped by many different forces and influences both at a local and global level (Sheller and Urry, 2004). The dynamism of local places and their critical role in tourism is central to Crouch's (2000) argument that places are a pervasive component of tourism, as is Murphy's (1985) argument that place is still important, particularly as 'tourism is place-oriented'. Similarly, Molotch (2002: 677) claims that tourism is a localised business 'with place as its raw material'. While Lash and Urry (1994) suggest that the more global interrelations become, the more the world's population increasingly cling to place and neighbourhood, to region and ethnicity, to tradition and heritage (Gotham, 2005). Johnston (2001: 22) probably best summarises the relationship between global and local forces by explaining that 'tourism, a global phenomena, manifests itself at locales'. So in the swirling contours of a global world, tourism touches down in local places. It represents encounters with people and places and its experience differs continually as 'there is no universal experience which is true for all tourists at all times' (Urry, 1990:1), as these experiences are influenced by many things at both global and local levels. Local places, therefore, should not be viewed as 'nodes devoid of particularity and effectivity' as 'spatial flows do not move around the world on a global isotropic plane, but cascade between and amid localities that deflect and transform the effects of these spatial flows' (Horvath, 2004: 114). Thus, there is evidence to suggest that both global and local forces inform and are critical to tourism. Meethan (2001: 35) summarises these broad perspectives on how global and local forces work by explaining that 'although there are clearly large-scale

processes at work here' (referring to globalisation) 'tourism is also about the local, the specific nature of places, people and culture'. The process of globalisation always takes place in some locality, while at the same time the local is (re)produced in discourses of globalisation (Salazar, 2005).

1.2 Global and Local – Evidence of a dynamic relationship.

The literature concerning the impacts of globalisation has now moved away from a polar view of global versus local to present us with a more nuanced alternative that uncovers a dynamic interplay between global and local processes. Localities have begun to interact increasingly with 'flows' of capital, technologies, goods, people, and cultural values generated by global actors (Bressi, 2003). The localities have also increasingly begun to dialogue with each other, to build networks and agreements among 'horizontal' alliances (ibid). Globalisation should therefore, according to Hall (2005b: 33), 'be seen as an emergent phenomenon which results from economic, political, socio-cultural and technological processes on many scales rather than a distinctive causal mechanism in its own right'. Hall views globalisation as 'both a structural and a structuring phenomenon, the nature of which depends critically on processes occurring at the sub-global level' (Hall, 2005b: 33). Drawing from Jessop (1999) and Dicken *et al.* (2001), Hall explains that global interdependence typically results from processes that operate at various spatial scales, in different functional sub-systems, and involves complex and tangled hierarchies rather than a simple, unilinear, bottom-up or top-down movement. The process, therefore, involves interdependencies between global and local factors where globalisation is interpreted and absorbed differently according to the culture and history of particular places.

Urry provides an interesting perspective that is similar, focusing on the complex interconnections between global and local processes he claims that 'it is the interconnections between them which account for the particular ways in which an area's local history and culture is made available and transformed into a resource for local economic and social development within a globally evolving economy and society' (Urry, 1995: 152). Urry specifically identifies how global and local forces combined influence tourism development at a locality, stressing that these forces together account for the 'particular ways' in which local resources are used to develop tourism. Urry highlights the differences that can exist between places and how each place can inform tourism development to create differences as well as similarities. According to Haven-Tang & Jones (2006), the social and cultural characteristics of tourism places can create a 'sense of place' that provides a unique and distinctive experience. Similarly, Gotham (2005: 312) recognises that 'tourism can be a mechanism for creating and maintaining place character, including articulating local identities and generating place-specific forms of collective action'. He argues that the persistence of old traditions and emergence of new 'are not residual products of global level changes', but are 'hybrid and emergent, and reflect local efforts to resist, absorb and transform' global processes 'to produce new and locally-distinctive cultural traditions' (Gotham, 2005: 312).

Jessop (2003) also recognises the dynamic relationship between global and local forces explaining that the outcomes or impacts of globalisation depend on how it is processed or interpreted at a local level. Therefore, the nature of globalisation is contingent on sub-global processes. This, according to Jessop, is seen in the continuing (if often transformed) significance of the local, urban, cross-border,

national, and macro-regional as substantive sites of real economic activities (Jessop, 2003). It is also seen in new place-based competitive strategies that maximize relatively local advantages – strategies such as ‘glocalization’ (Robertson, 1995), or international localization (Jessop, 2003). Therefore, rather than viewing globalisation as superior or as stronger than the local, the idea of glocalization recognises that both globalising and particular tendencies of local places co-exist and intertwine.

Globalisation results in both homogenisation and heterogeneity occurring in tandem, where similarities between destinations are apparent, so too are place-based differences. These differences and similarities operate together, while some destinations become more alike, others strive for difference, the extent of each seems to be dependent on individual places and their relationship with the global. How each locale translates global forces differs between places. This is illustrated clearly by Coleman and Crang (2002: 2) who explain that ‘if one is to observe the sprawl of concrete along the Mediterranean coast with its assorted ‘authentic English pubs’, the vision of tourism as homogenising and destroying local particularity might seem to have some credibility, but clearly this view does not exhaust the range of tourist places’. The way in which some destinations harness global forces to create uniqueness is explained by Sum and So (2004: 120) who discuss how Hong Kong has been seeking to reinvent itself and actively promotes itself as providing adventures where its ‘otherness’ is the main attraction of the visit. This ‘otherness’ is offered as a ‘modern tourist city with western consumption’ offering an experience that is a hybrid of east and west where the basis of its new role as a tourist destination is a combination of local and global factors. Its difference has been borne out of its similarities to western culture as well as its unique eastern culture.

Kneafsey (1998: 114) contends that 'tourism can be seen as an example of the unique ways in which the global-local relations are negotiated within the context of particular places, thus allowing for the maintenance of diversity and difference'. Similarly, Sheller and Urry (2006: 214) discuss how the 'performances' of different tourist places are not necessarily homogenous and can differ from place to place. Any differences or similarities can be explained by the fact that places do not necessarily respond in identical ways to general processes, and it is equally true that places do not react in entirely diverse ways (Massey and Jess, 1995) thus reiterating the fact that different places respond differently to global forces but each place has a role to play in proactively harnessing (or rejecting) global and local forces.

The tourism of everyday life is not simply a function of changing local cultures caught in the stream of globalising flows or the touristification of localities (Franklin and Crang, 2001). As the global economy grows, tourism places restructure and reposition themselves to meet the challenges and the opportunities that arise. It is necessary to view local places from a more dynamic perspective as places that capture the flows of globalisation, which become grounded inside the local. Quinn (2003: 62) explains that 'tourism is a classic example of a phenomenon that pivots on a local-global dynamic'. Tourism places interact with, and are informed by global forces, becoming tourism destinations that are marketed globally through global communications networks and accessed via global infrastructure. Tourism is performed at a local level, as Sheller and Urry (2004:2) explain, 'global flows of tourism and capital touch down in local places'. Meethan (2001: 167) shows how 'specific locales are asserting differences through commodified forms in order to compete in the global market' and that while 'culture and cultural forms are more

mobile ... they can still be rooted in particular localities'. 'Local-global interactions underpin the transformation of places existing as 'local' places into 'international' destinations; of dwellers into tourists; and they create the links between the producers of tourism products and services consumed in *situ*, and globally active multinational corporations' (Quinn, 2003: 62, 63).

In an increasingly competitive global tourism market place, tourism places are under pressure to construct and promote distinct identities in order to position themselves competitively in a global context (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003). The idea that globalisation may have a positive impact on tourism places allowing them to enter this global marketplace is highlighted by Sheller and Urry (2004:9) who explain that 'becoming a global place to play can enable places to enter the global order' and that 'the identity of place depends upon its location within and upon, this global stage'. Not all places are equal participants within global tourism; some have been more successful at tourism development than others. A more useful topic for discussion on the global local relationship therefore may be to identify the ways in which local places influence tourism development within a global order.

1.3 Harnessing the global

Urry (2006: vii) claims that almost all places in the world are 'toured or may be 'toured' and the pleasures of place derive from the connoisseurship of difference. Places are not passive units being changed and controlled by global forces but rather exert influence over their own development. Bauman (1998) highlights the control that exists at a local level by explaining that many places try hard to find something

that would make them into a 'must see' tourist attraction, and most will, with due imagination, find that something (Franklin, 2003). Similarly, Sheller and Urry (2004: 8) stress the dynamics that occur at local levels explaining that 'a global stage is emerging, bringing the curtain up on new places' and 'upon that stage towns, cities, islands, and countries appear, compete, mobilize themselves as spectacles, develop their own brand and attract visitors, related businesses and status'. They speak of places that 'go with the flow and those that are left with a spatial fixity of a no-longer cool infrastructure' referring to where places are situated at different stages and locations within global flows. Junemo (2004: 184) provides an example of this by discussing the growth of tourism in Dubai, explaining that 'the city has become a place where global flows of capital, people, culture, and information land and intersect' and that 'the style of leadership behind these achievements indicates a recognition that Dubai is deeply embedded in the flows of the global economy, for instead of seeing globalization as a threat, the society and economy have adapted to these circumstances'.

Urry (2000) argues that becoming a tourist destination is part of a reflexive process by which societies and places come to 'enter' the global order. Urry describes this reflexivity as the set of disciplines, procedures and criteria that enable each (and every?) place to monitor, evaluate and develop its 'tourism potential' within the emerging patterns of global tourism. Hall (2003: 41) explains that 'the growth of a high degree of 'reflexivity', of self-consciousness among the populations of contemporary industrial societies is a development in the ability of human subjects to reflect upon the social conditions of their existence'. Modern societies, therefore, 'have reached a point where they are not only forced to reflect on themselves but they

also have the capability of reflecting back on themselves' (Hall, 2003: 41). This growth of reflexivity creates new possibilities for places to identify their place in the emerging global order. Kumar (1995) sees this reflexivity as an expression of heightened individualism and according to Thrift and Glennie (1993), one of the ways in which this is evident is through the business of marketing individuality, with niche markets both creating and constituting new modes of individuality. While Thrift and Glennie are not referring specifically to tourism, this occurrence is very much apparent within tourism. Globalisation has transformed the tourism product over time from domination by mass tourism to a diversified industry catering for the individual needs of travellers. According to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, (2005), 'New tourism' is the term used to define the transformed tourism product. The concept of new tourism includes ideas and practices related to responsible, green, alternative and sustainable tourism. Globalisation has transmitted these ideas and practices worldwide, thus making the tourism industry more diversified and putting pressure on countries to create targeted, niche markets (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2005).

Reflexivity is concerned with identifying a particular place's location within the contours of geography, history and culture that swirl the globe, and in particular identifying that place's actual and potential, material and semiotic resources (Urry, 2000). Cultural differences between individual tourist destinations continue to play an important role, among other factors, in the choice of a holiday destination (Wahab and Cooper, 2001). Competition has taken up a new course under the pressure of globalisation, which reshapes the production conditions in various tourist destinations and changes marketing strategies. Quality, production conditions, the role of public

authorities, corporate structure and price strategies in tourism are likewise going to exert profound reciprocal influences on globalisation trends in tourism (Wahab and Cooper, 2001). In a globalized world, places still want to protect their unique identities, their culture, social norms and environmental assets. A global industry allows them to reflect on their differences and utilise place-based resources to position themselves on a global stage.

1.4 Summary and background to the research

Contemporary literature on the relationship between the global and the local has moved to uncover a dynamic interdependency between the two. It is now widely accepted that the issue is not global versus local but rather a complex interplay of both. Tourism can be both placeless at the global level and grounded in place at the local. 'While the production of tourist spaces is a globalised process of commodification, the effect and meaning of commodification are expressed at the local level, where particular conflicts and struggles actually occur' (Gotham, 2005: 311). That tourism places can be reflexive and inform their development is apparent in the literature. That they are a complex mix of sameness and difference and that the extent of this mix is dependent on their relationship with the global is also evident. 'It is this mix that matters and whether global or local influences are more important depends on the time and place being considered' (Gotham, 2005: 312). It is therefore the relationship between the global and the local that is of interest, if a comprehensive understanding of destination development is to be achieved. To truly understand this relationship it is necessary to understand the local and how it influences the global, as Cooke (1987, cited in Gale, 2001: 3) explains 'it is impossible to understand universal

processes without appreciating small scale local changes'. However, while there is a vast and expanding literature concerning the global, little exists that explains how local places shape and inform their own development.

The challenge of this thesis is to address this gap and to search beneath the local/global to identify and understand the driving forces of destination development. While academic thinking on the issue of destination development is well developed, little focus has been given to providing a comprehensive understanding of the factors that underpin this development, and as already mentioned, little if any attention has been focused on Ireland. This thesis focuses on explaining tourism development in two areas in Ireland that have achieved different levels of tourism development: Killarney (an established tourism area in the southwest of Ireland) and Clifden (a developing tourism area in the west of Ireland). While fully conscious of broader influences, the research seeks to explain the way in which these places have influenced their own development as destinations, and to understand the reasons why they have achieved different levels of development.

1.4.1 Aims of the research

This thesis is concerned with understanding the way in which local place-based factors underpin tourism development with particular emphasis on exploring the influence of local human agents. It addresses a gap in the literature by identifying and explaining the factors underpinning the development of two tourism areas in Ireland. Adopting a comparative case study approach, the research compares tourism development in a main case study (Killarney) and a reference case (Clifden), (the justification for the choice of cases is outlined in section 4.7 of the methodology chapter). The research aims to answer a key question: what are the local place-based factors that influence tourism development and in particular, what is the role of local human agents in that process? In order to do this it aims to achieve the following objectives:

1. To add to the existing literature on tourism development by identifying and explaining the complexity of factors that have underpinned tourism development in Killarney, a highly developed tourism area in Ireland;
2. To investigate and explain the influence of local tourist influentials, a propensity for co-operation and a social and professional milieu on tourism development in Killarney.
3. To compare tourism development in Killarney and Clifden (a less developed tourism area) in order to identify differences between the two areas.
4. To provide valuable insight for policy-makers on the key role local factors play in influencing tourism development.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis follows the standard format for a doctoral thesis and includes a review of the relevant literature, a background to the history of tourism development in Ireland (a chapter that provides context for the case studies) and a discussion of the research philosophy, approach and methods employed. Chapter five provides a background to tourism development in the main case study (Killarney) followed by a discussion and analysis of the findings of the main case study. Chapter six considers tourism development in the reference case (Clifden) and discusses and compares the research findings with the findings of the main case study. Chapter seven concludes the thesis with a summary of the main research findings and consideration of the contributions of the research and its policy implications.

While chapter one has set the context for the research, the next chapter explores the relevant literature. It reviews and considers a number of key areas including the literature on models of tourism development, which focus on explaining how tourism areas develop. While these models are informative and provide some noteworthy insights that are relevant to the research, they lack a comprehensive explanation of the dynamism that is inherent in tourism, in particular in relation to agents of development. For this reason the chapter moves on to a review of the broader tourism literature on human agents and their influence on tourism development. This literature provides valid insight into the extensive influence of human agents, focusing in particular on the role of entrepreneurs in tourism development. In general, this literature discusses the role of the individual entrepreneur and has only recently begun to consider how local agents can act collectively to influence tourism. The last

section of the chapter addresses this gap by moving outside of the tourism literature to a literature that explains how groups of firms and individuals, embedded in local areas, and particular social contexts can influence development. Industrial district theory moves beyond the boundary of the tourism literature and provides empirical support and a comprehensive understanding of the factors that influence development in local areas. This theory has not been applied within tourism contexts in any depth, and its use here adds to the research by providing a comprehensive understanding of the factors at play in local development. In so doing, it brings a dynamism and complexity to the research that has not previously been considered. Prior to the literature review figure 1.1 provides an overview of the conceptual framework informing the research.

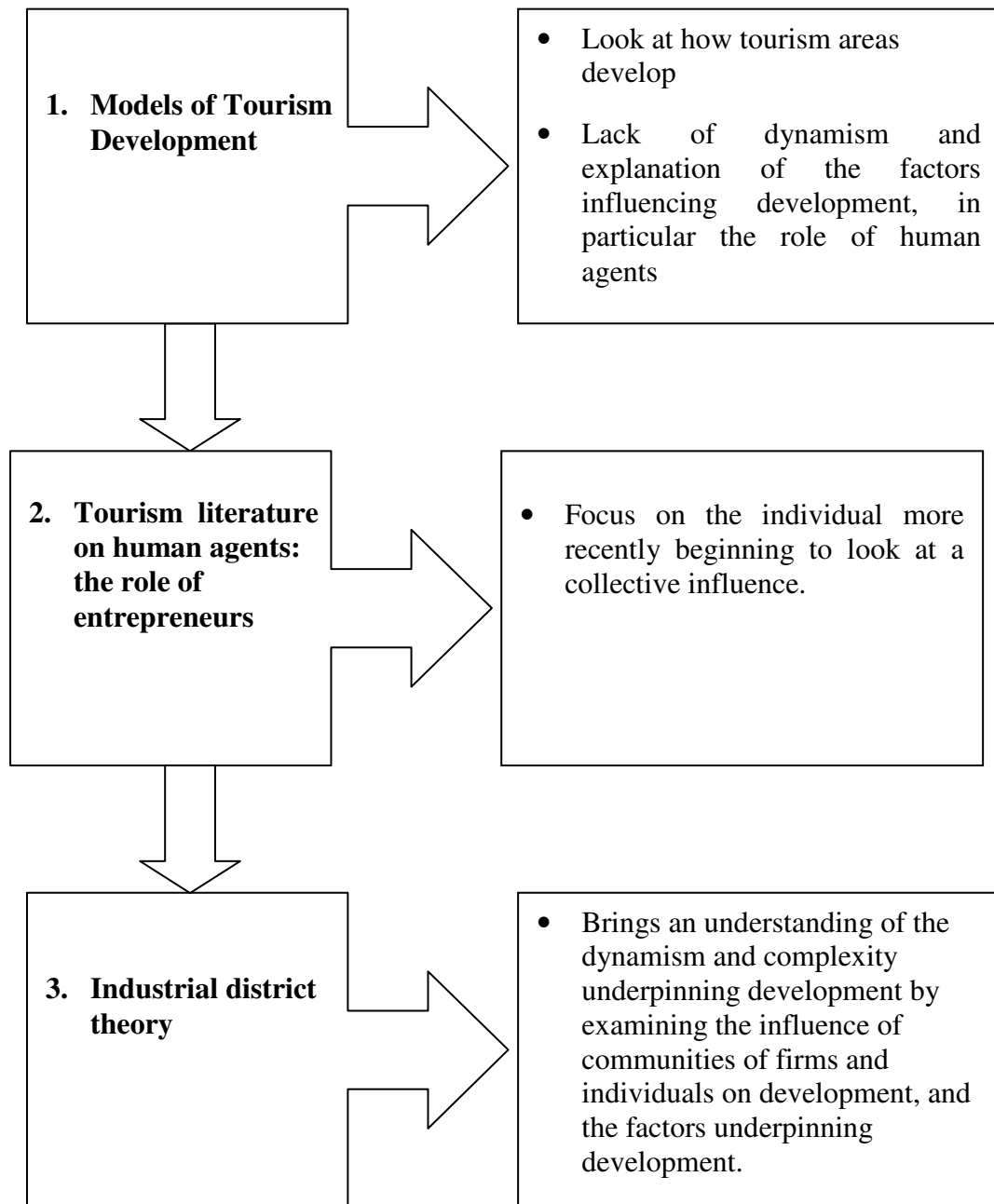


Figure 1.1: Conceptual framework informing the research

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

‘An analytical reading of the literature is an essential prerequisite for all research’ (Hart, 2001: 2). This chapter focuses on analysing and synthesising the literature that is of particular relevance to the research topic as outlined in the conceptual framework in the previous chapter. A key starting point for this literature review is to understand the ways in which tourism areas develop. A number of models of tourism development exist, all of which address the way in which tourism areas develop overtime. An assessment of these models provides a grounding for the research as in identifying *how* areas develop we may also begin to understand *why* they develop. Within this literature, Butler’s Tourism Area Life Cycle (1980) in particular, has achieved a high level of importance and continues to promote academic discussion on the topic of destination development. The model has proven valuable in articulating the evolution of tourism (Haywood, 2006) and has become one of the best known theories of destination growth and change, and remains one of the most cited works within the field of tourism studies (Hall, 2006). In addition to Butler’s (1980) Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC), the chapter also reviews models from Christaller (1963), Miossec, (1976), Gormsen, (1981), Lundgren, (1982), Keller, (1987), Lewis, (1998) and Ritchie & Crouch (2003). An analysis of this literature provides an understanding of how tourism areas develop and also provides insight into the interplay of factors that underpin this development.

The chapter then moves on to address the role of entrepreneurs as one specific human agent that is identified as playing a role in development, but whose influence is not explored in any depth in the tourism models. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, the chapter then moves to analysing industrial district theory in the area of economic geography. This literature, while not addressed in the tourism literature to any great extent, is of particular relevance as it adds to our understanding of the influence of entrepreneurs and small firms on development. In particular, it explains successful development and the factors that underpin development across a range of industries and so provides important knowledge that is fundamental to the research. Throughout the chapter, relevant literatures are reviewed with the aim of building a comprehensive picture of the factors that influence the development of tourism places.

2.1 Analysing models of tourism development.

Getz (1992) claims that models of tourism development have a crucial role to play in enabling us to describe and comprehend the complexities of the real world, to acquire, order and interpret information and to explain, understand and ultimately predict phenomena and the relationships between them. His reflection on the role of tourism models implies that examining these models will enable us to identify, understand and predict the factors that underpin tourism development. As the main objective of this thesis is to identify and understand these factors; a review of *how* tourism has developed in areas may lead us to understand the reasons *why* it has developed. Therefore an analysis of the themes found in the literature on tourism area

development, in particular a review of models of tourism development, may provide important insight into the factors underpinning tourism development.

Models of tourism development have been developed to provide a theoretical base and a general framework for examining the dynamics of tourism. According to Pearce (1995) a few early writers such as Wolfe (1952) and Defert (1966) outlined fundamental aspects of the patterns and processes of spatial interaction inherent in all forms of tourism. Later researchers have attempted to express these relationships more explicitly and to derive increasingly complex models of tourist space (Pearce, 1995). Models of tourist area evolution on the whole have been accepted as the basis for a generalised theory of tourism development, based upon the extrapolation of observed trends and arbitrary quantitative indices (Bianchi, 1994).

A number of models seek to explain how tourism develops in places. Of these, Butler's (1980) TALC has been most widely cited and empirically tested, and has had a significant impact on the literature devoted to the study of tourism development (Bianchi, 1994). While Butler's TALC is given particular attention in the literature review, two earlier models that influenced Butler's work, Christaller's (1963) and Miossec's (1976) are reviewed first, while later models by Lundgren (1982), Gormsen (1981), Keller (1987), Lewis (1998) and Ritchie & Crouch (2003) are reviewed later in the chapter.

As will become apparent throughout the literature review, each of the models brings different perspectives to the research by focusing on particular themes or aspects of tourism development. For example, Christaller's (1963), Miossec's (1976) and

Lundgren's (1982) models focus primarily on physical and spatial factors, while Butler's (1980) model is particularly concerned with planning and management. Others meanwhile focus more on the issue of local control and participation (Gormsen, 1981; Keller, 1987) as well as the influence of entrepreneurs, leaders and small firms on development (Lewis, 1998; Ritchie & Crouch, 2003). With this in mind, the models are reviewed according to the way in which they highlight these particular themes. In addition, while it is apparent that the key focus of the models is not to identify global-local relationships, in many cases they do provide important insight into this issue by highlighting the dynamic relationships involved in tourism development. The literature review is cognizant of their contribution in this regard.

2.2 Models focusing on physical and spatial factors

Christaller (1963) first introduced the idea that tourist areas evolve through an ongoing process of development. He recognised the tendency for tourism to avoid central places and 'agglomerations of industry' and to be 'drawn to the periphery of settlement districts as it searches for a position on the highest mountains, in the most lonely woods, along the remotest beaches' (1963: 95). The pattern of tourism development is one of 'continuous push to new regions on the periphery' as the tourist is attracted to 'lovely' landscape (1963: 103). According to Christaller, the first stage of tourism development is characterised by painters searching out untouched places to paint, with the area becoming known as an artist's colony overtime. Poets soon begin to follow and, then 'cinema people, gourmets, and the jeunesse dorée' (1963: 103). At this stage, Christaller explains, the place becomes fashionable and the entrepreneur takes note and begins to develop boarding houses and hotels. The original tourists

have begun to flee the destination in favour of less popular destinations and what remains are those with a commercial inclination who wish to capitalise on the 'gullability of tourists' (Christaller, 1963: 103). The area begins to grow as a tourism destination and subsequently those seeking 'real' recreation stay away. The next stage he claims, is characterised by the arrival of tourist agencies with their 'package rate travel parties' and 'the indulged public avoids such places' (Christaller, 1963: 103). The pattern as it occurs in one area is similarly beginning in another as more places come into fashion attracting new tourists. Christaller's tone is quite disparaging when describing these later stages of tourism development (for example his reference to the 'gullability' of tourists). He is torn in his desire to analyse the way in which tourism places develop over time, and his hesitation to 'mention' places that 'are not yet discovered or remain nearly unknown', as this may result in his participation 'in the guilt of making these known and help induce the passage ... along the same path of former islands or forgotten places to developed resorts' (1963: 105). Christaller, one of the most influential economic geographers of his time and also author of many travel guide books (Hall, 2006), is concerned with the spatial analysis of 'various occupations', the way that they (in this instance tourism) can change the character of locations (Christaller, 1963: 95). While his focus is not on identifying factors that influence tourism development, he does underscore the importance of landscape in attracting tourists through his recognition of it as 'the most important holiday destination' (1963: 103). Christaller claims that tourists are drawn to the periphery by the landscape as they 'look for the breadth of the sea, the brightness and fresh air of the mountains, and the silence and perceptibility of a rural milieu' (1963: 103). Therefore, in his view, the lure of the landscape acts as a trigger for the initial development of tourism. Tourism development is, according to Christaller, aided by a

steady supply of entrepreneurs (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003). The increased popularity of the area stimulates entrepreneurs and tourist agencies to develop infrastructure and services, thereby facilitating greater numbers of tourists. Christaller's (1963) findings reflect those of Sheller and Urry (2004), Horvath, (2004), Quinn (2003), Chang, (1999, 1998), Cooke, (1989) and Murphy (1985), amongst others, who contend that local places are actively involved in their own transformation and development. The model clearly depicts an interplay between global and local factors; the landscape stimulates the arrival of tourists and the entrepreneur responds by developing place-specific products and services for their consumption; each factor influences and supports the other and this is essential for tourism development.

A later model by Miossec (1976) is similar to Christaller's (1963), in that it also recognises that tourism areas pass through different phases of development and that tourist types change as resorts develop (a move from the more individual tourist to the mass tourist as the area becomes fashionable). In addition, Miossec, like Christaller, sees tourism developing in peripheral spaces that have not been interfered with by 'mankind' (Miossec, 1977). He also, however, identifies factors that impact on tourism development not previously highlighted by Christaller. Miossec's (1976) model stresses the spatial dynamics of tourism development through a consideration of four main elements: resorts; transportation; tourist behaviour, and the attitudes of tourist operators in the local community. Within this framework, Miossec identifies the relationships between phases of tourism development and changes in each of the four main elements. According to the model, resort areas pass through four major phases of development. Phase one is characterised by the establishment of a pioneer resort based on very limited transport networks with tourists only having a vague idea

about the destination and local residents tending to have a polarised view (expecting either wonders or woes) of what tourism will bring (Miossec, 1977). Phase two is characterised by increased transport links, a more complex hierarchical system of resorts and a greater awareness by tourists of the place. By phase three there is a more distinct hierarchy of resorts, a more complex transport network and tourists continue to become even more aware of the destination. Finally, in phase four, the resort becomes saturated under mass tourism and there is maximum transport connectivity. Miossec (1976) suggests that at this stage of development it is tourism itself rather than any original attractions that is now drawing tourists to the area and like Christaller (1963), suggests that this stage of development may result in some of the original tourists moving on to other areas.

Miossec's model is largely concerned with the effect of evolutionary change on resort hierarchies (Prideaux, 2000). What is particularly noteworthy is the key role that access and transport plays. The birth of the pioneer resort appears as a result of the provision of access to the area and the increases in tourist numbers overtime is influenced by the technology used to transport passengers (Miossec, 1976). The importance of improved access as 'a catalyst for development' is also acknowledged by Smith (1991: 201). Other aspects of development however, are less explicit in Miossec's (1976) model, for example, it is apparent that infrastructure and services are developed overtime, however the actual means of how these are developed or who develops them (the agents of development) are not elaborated on. Miossec's (1976) model also clearly shows global and local interdependencies as transport improvements open the area up to tourists, the local area responds through the

development of tourist facilities. However, other than a focus on transport and access it tells us little about the factors that cause and propel tourism development.

A later model by Lundgren (1982) also has similarities to Christaller's (1963) as well as Miossec's (1976) models, in that it acknowledges the influence of locational factors, transport and tourist agents on tourism development. Lundgren's model is based on evidence from Canada and recognises characteristics such as relative geographical centrality, geographic place attributes and the ability of places to supply tourist-demanded services from within their own local or regional economy as central to tourism. His work has connotations of Urry's (2006) claim that all places in the world are, or can be, toured depending on their individual characteristics and attraction. Lundgren sees places essentially in terms of their 'degree of mutual travel attraction', and examines these factors (geographic factors, accessibility & transport, and tourism agents) in the context of how they influence an area's relative positioning within what he calls the 'travel circulation hierarchy' (1982: 10).

Lundgren identifies four broad tourist destinations types as follows:

- *Centrally located metropolitan destinations* that have a high volume of reciprocal traffic and function both as a generating area and a major destination. These include high-order metropolitan centres well integrated into international and transcontinental transport networks.
- *Peripheral urban destinations*, which have smaller populations, a less important central place function and which tend to have a net inflow of tourists due to their

relatively weak travel generating capacity, weaker local economy and the larger tourist inflow to nearby metropolitan areas.

- *Peripheral rural destinations*, which are less nodal in character, depending upon a geographically more extensive environment, which draws visitors through a combination of landscape characteristics. The location is more peripheral and at distances further away from major tourist generating areas. The destination usually has a strong tourist net inflow due to its appeal.
- *Natural environment destinations*, which are usually located at long distances from the generating areas, very sparsely populated and often subject to strict management policies, as in the case of national and regional parks and other reserves. Moreover, Lundgren (1982: 11) suggests, ‘as the indigenous economic system for all intents and purposes is non-existent, these destinations can only function through importation into the region of various tourist services. This makes the destination completely dependent upon the tourist generating areas’

What is significant is that Lundgren recognises that a tourism area’s appeal is largely influenced by its relationship with, and location in relation to, central or metropolitan areas. Peripheral areas that are close to urban areas tend to have lower inflows of tourists, while peripheral rural destinations, have greater appeal due to their natural amenities or landscape. Natural environment destinations are seen by Lundgren to be controlled in terms of tourist inflows, these areas would include nature reserves etc. While this is not the first time that the issue of location has been discussed in the models (Christaller, 1963, discussed urban versus peripheral locations) it is the most

explicit explanation of the influence that location, in relation to proximity to urban centres, that has been provided.

Lundgren, like Miossec (1976), emphasises the importance of accessibility and transportation, claiming that 'convenient, inexpensive access into a destination is a sine-qua-non for the development of modern tourism' (1982:11). He adds that 'only by organizing efficient and well co-ordinated transport and destination area services can the full effects of tourist market demands be transmitted in to the destination' (1982:11). In later work he explains that tourism development depends not only on access to the periphery, but also on the opportunities to travel within the periphery, emphasising the importance of access both to, and within, the tourism destination (Lundgren, 1995). Lundgren also refers to the role of what he calls 'the outfitter operation' referring to the 'critical agent and provider of visitor services in the destination' (1982: 10). He sees their role ranging from the basic operator providing just food and shelter and some guide services to the 'fully fledged resort' offering a broad range of accommodation and services (Lundgren 1982: 14). The main contribution of Lundgren's model lies in the fact that it supports and emphasises the findings from the earlier models while also explaining the influence of location on tourism development.

The primary aim of each of these models, particularly in the case of Christaller (1963) and Miossec (1976) is on identifying patterns of change and development overtime. In particular, spatial and physical factors such as geographic location and natural amenities can be seen to act as triggers for development, while transport provides access, propelling an area through different stages of development. Equally

significant is the influence of tourists in generating demand and tourist agents (although their role is implicit in some of the models, for example Miossec's), in providing infrastructure and services to facilitate development.

2.3 Models focusing on planning and management

Other models, such as Butler's (1980) TALC emphasise factors not previously addressed in the models. The TALC is a hypothetical model that looks at the evolution and potential decline of tourism areas overtime. As well as building on the work of Christaller (1963) and Miossec (1976), it emphasises the issue of unsustainable growth and the need for planning and management at a destination. It has, similar to the models already discussed, very clear geographical antecedents (Butler, 2006) and represents one of the many possible patterns of tourism development (Johnston, 2006). What is of particular interest with the TALC is that it is acknowledged as one of the 'most significant contributions to studies of tourism development because of the way it provides a focal point for discussions of what leads to destination change' (Hall, 2006: xv). 'Its simple design and well-described stages appeal to researchers from a variety of disciplines' (Douglas, 1997: 1) and it has been credited with providing 'an analytical framework to examine the evolution of tourist destinations within their complex economic, social, and cultural environments' (Cooper and Jackson, 1989: 382). Of all of the models that exist, the TALC, Hall (2006) claims, provides the basis for ongoing rejuvenation of studies of destinations.

The concept of tourism growth and decline is largely the focus of Butler's (1980) TALC. Butler first popularised the idea of a resort cycle to explain the growth and

decline of resorts. He suggests a six-stage cycle of the evolution of tourism destination areas, expressed in terms of changes in the numbers of visitors' overtime (Shaw and Williams, 2002). Butler's TALC has proved very popular, evidenced by the extent to which it has been referenced and applied since its inception. The model builds on the work of Christaller (1963), in conjunction with the typologies of Plog (1974) and Cohen (1972), the resident's 'irridex' index (Doxey, 1975) and Miossec's (1976) model of tourism development (Papatheodorou, 2004). According to Butler (1980), the model is also based on the product life cycle, applied generally in business across many industries, whereby sales of a product proceed slowly at first, experience a rapid rate of growth, stabilise, and subsequently decline; in other words, a basic asymptotic curve is followed (Figure 2.1). The stages of development and their characteristics as identified by Butler are outlined in Table 2.1

Table 2.1: Stages and features of Butler's (1980) Tourism Area Life Cycle

Stage	Characteristics
Exploration	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Few adventurous tourists visiting sites with no public facilities.• Visitors attracted to the resort by an attractive physical feature.• Specific visitor type of a specific nature.
Involvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Limited interaction between local residents and the developing tourism industry leads to provision of basic services.• Increased advertising induces a definable pattern of seasonable variation.• Definite market area begins to emerge.
Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Development of additional tourist facilities and increased promotional efforts.• Greater control of the tourist trade by outsiders.• Number of tourists at peak far outweighs the size of the resident population inducing rising antagonism by the latter towards the former.
Consolidation	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Tourism has become a major part of the local economy, but growth rates have begun to level off.• A well delineated business district has taken shape.• Some of the older deteriorating facilities are perceived as second rate.• Local efforts are made to extend the tourist season.
Stagnation	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Peak numbers of tourists and capacity levels are reached.• The resort has a well established image, but is no longer in fashion.• The accommodation stock is gradually eroded and property turnover rates are high.
Decline/Rejuvenation	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The area will no longer be able to compete with newer attractions and so will face a declining market.• Property turnover will be high and many tourist facilities will be replaced by non-tourist related facilities.• Rejuvenation may occur, although Butler (1980) argues that this is unlikely without a complete change in the attractions on which tourism is based.• In many cases, combined government and private sector efforts are necessary and the new market may never appeal to the allocentrics but rather to specific interest or activity groups.• Even a rejuvenated area will eventually lose its competitiveness as only truly unique areas could anticipate an almost timeless attractiveness.

The basic assumption of the model is that the tourist destination, as a composite product, develops in a way similar to that outlined in the product life cycle. This assumption has been criticised for its simplicity by authors such as Agarwal (1994) who argues that each of the distinct elements that makes up tourism, exhibits its own life cycle and at a given point in time some may show growth and others may display signs of decline. However, this approach to viewing tourism as a composite product is similar to that approach taken by models in general, and is necessary in order to allow some level of understanding of tourism development and due to the complexity of reality (Miossec, 1977).

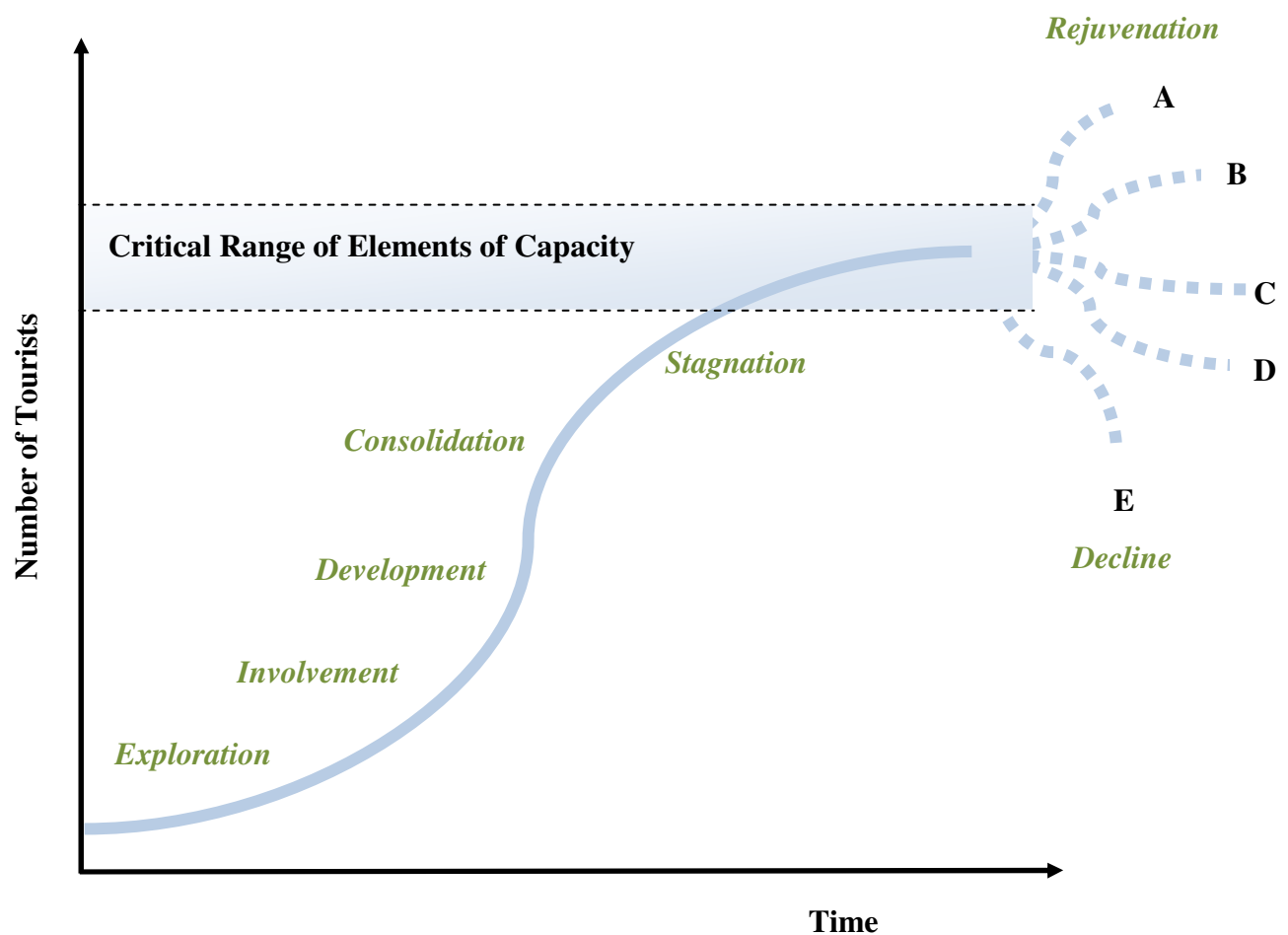


Figure 2.1 Butler's (1980) Tourism Area Life Cycle

Butler's (1980) work reflects the previous models in that it recognises that tourist areas are dynamic; that they evolve and change over time, apparent through the recognition of different phases of development. It explains that this evolution is brought about by a number of factors including changes in visitor preferences and needs, the gradual deterioration and possible replacement of physical plant and facilities, and the change (or even disappearance) of the original natural and cultural attractions which were responsible for the initial popularity of the area (Butler, 1980). The model shows similarities to Christaller's (1963) and Lundgren's (1982) models, which also highlighted the importance of natural attractions as triggers for development. Similarly, Butler (1980) identifies the role of local entrepreneurs and local developers at the involvement and development stages of the model in supplying services, tourist facilities and in promoting the area. However, he maintains that they are replaced by 'outsiders' at the development stage, but as the area enters decline it reverts once more to being locally controlled. Butler's model differs from those already reviewed, in dealing explicitly with the concept of decline as well as of growth. Butler suggests that although tourists may be attracted to an area initially by the mere presence of attractions and natural resources, without careful management and planning, over time tourism development will stagnate and decline. The model's main concern is with demonstrating what can happen in an area if tourism development is not planned and managed through its different stages. The model acts as a warning against complacency and of regarding tourism areas as 'finite and timeless' resources (Butler, 2006: 11). This observation is emphasised by Hovinen (2002) who explains that the TALC has value in suggesting that destinations have the potential to experience significant overall decline if appropriate planning, development and management decisions are not made.

The significance of Butler's model lies in the fact that it was among the first pieces of research to popularise the issue of tourism development and so induced a literature in this area that had previously not existed. Butler's main focus is clearly not on identifying triggers or causes of development, nor is it on identifying incidents that mark the transition from one stage of development to the next (Gale & Botterill, 2005); in fact it is not an exaggeration to say that Butler's main concern is with warning against unplanned and unmanaged development. In a later review of the model, Butler (2001) acknowledges that the model never focused on explaining triggers of development. These, he explains, were envisaged as including 'innovations in areas such as transport and marketing, as well as initiatives at the local and subsequently regional, national and international levels by developers' (Butler, 2001: 290). Butler (2001) acknowledges the importance of processes occurring at various spatial scales (Hall, 2005b and Dicken *et al.*, 2001) and the impact of these on tourism development; however their impact is not explained in any depth.

2.4 Models emphasising local control and benefits

Gormsen's (1981) model of tourism development is specific to coastal resorts (Gale, 2001) and provides a contrasting spatial-evolutionary model that describes seaside resort development at an international level (Shaw & Williams, 2002). The model attempts to incorporate three factors; the nature of holiday accommodation; levels of local and non-local participation in tourism development; and the social structure of tourists. The model is rooted in the historical evolution of European tourism and recognises four types of resort regions, which Gormsen terms 'tourism peripheries' (Table 2.2), these include: the resorts on both sides of the English Channel, as well as

those of the Baltic (Periphery I), the coasts of southern Europe (Periphery II), the North African Coast and the Balearic and Canary Islands (Periphery III) and the more distant resorts in West Africa, the Caribbean, South America and the Pacific (Periphery VI) (Gale, 2001).

Table 2.2: Gormsen's Tourism Peripheries (Shaw and Williams, 2002)

Gormsen's Tourism Peripheries	
Periphery one:	Channel and Baltic coast resorts;
Periphery two:	Mediterranean Europe;
Periphery three:	The North African coast;
Periphery four:	The more distant resorts in West Africa, the Caribbean, South America and the Pacific.

Shaw and Williams (2002) explain that in Gormsen's model each periphery passes through a development sequence, the early stages of which are characterised by external developers, elite tourists and mainly hotel accommodation providers. Later development stages show more local involvement, a greater diversity of holiday accommodation and a wide range of social classes using the resorts. There are obvious similarities to Christaller's (1963), Miossec's (1976) and Butler's (1980) models in that the model identifies stages of development and changes in tourist types at each stage of development. Gormsen's model, like Christaller's also identifies the tendency for tourism to develop in peripheral locations, away from urban settings.

What is of particular interest is the nature of local control, which Gormsen sees as increasing over time. Contrary to Butler (1980), Gormsen claims that the early stages of development are characterised by the involvement and initiative of external developers but over time regional participation grows. He proposes that at the early development stages external developers contribute to developing a structure within the destination but over time, local control becomes an important factor in the development process. Pearce (1995) notes that the model corresponds with earlier work by Lundgren (1972) and Britton (1980, 1982) who, like Gormsen, stressed the extent of local participation in the later stages of development. Lundgren and Britton imply that the structural characteristics required at the early stages of development would result in the dominance of external developers. It is clear that the models offer conflicting views on the level and extent of local or global control, and the importance of each in terms of their influence on development. While Gormsen suggests that external developers are central to the early stages of development in order to provide infrastructure etc. Butler (1980) recognises their role in later stages of development. The debate about the relevant importance of internal versus external developers in different stages of tourism development is considered in more detail later in the chapter.

Keller (1987) similarly concentrates on the hierarchies of control and capital inputs that appear to determine both the rate of development and the level of benefits flowing back to the community (Prideaux, 2000). Keller constructed a model based on development stages determined by the source of tourist arrivals. Similar to Miossec (1976) and Butler (1980), Keller parallels the stages of development with Cohen's (1972) and Plog's (1974) typologies of tourists. These typologies look at

how destinations typically follow a relatively predictable pattern of growth and decline in popularity over time, based on their appeal to certain classifications of tourists. Keller's model highlights some recurring themes in the models; in particular, the tendency for tourists to be attracted by the appeal of peripheral areas. In addition, the recognition that tourism passes through different stages of development. Each of these stages, he claims, are characterised by different levels and types of demand, infrastructure and services, and the degree to which they are controlled by local or non-local developers. In addition, similar in particular to Christaller (1963), Keller examines tourism development within a core-periphery framework focusing on the long-term outcomes of a peripheral region's diversification into tourism development. The model addresses the hierarchies of control and input and is particularly concerned with both the rate of development and who benefits from the development. Keller recognises that in some tourism development, peripheral areas ultimately receive only a fraction of the money that is spent by tourists in the region. He argues that a high percentage of personnel employed by the tourism industry and a high percentage of goods consumed by the tourists are imported; and that of the capital and profit that is received from tourism, a degree of leakage occurs. Over time the peripheries lose control over the decision-making process governing the industry's development.

Keller emphasises control as a major issue and stresses that for any tourism area, if it is a foregone conclusion that tourism areas would be exploited by the more developed industrial core; then diversification into tourism would be a poor development strategy. Keller reflects Butler's (1980) emphasis on the need for planning; however his focus on planning is different than that of Butler. While Butler emphasised the likelihood of a decline in the TALC in the absence of planning, Keller is concerned

with ensuring that peripheral areas derive benefit from tourism development. He argues that a tourism development planning strategy, devised and implemented by the peripheral authorities from the outset may ensure the positive development of tourism. In order for successful tourism to occur, Keller argues, development should be: development for the periphery, by the periphery's population. In addition, he argues that the objective of this development should be to stabilise and diversify the local economy, to create jobs, and to increase overall welfare. What is notable about Keller's model is that it places a destination relative to its broader environment (a factor also considered by Christaller (1963) and Lundgren (1982)). It also stresses the importance of local control and planning for tourism development, emphasising that tourism development must ultimately benefit the areas in which it is developed.

Up to now the models have drawn attention to a number of salient points. In general, locational factors are considered important, the attraction of peripheral destinations and the natural landscape are perceived to act as triggers for development. That tourism develops through a number of stages is also apparent and each stage is influenced by a range of factors including: tourism demand; the physical and spatial features of the area; transport and access to, and within the area; the influence of local (or non local) agents; the importance of planning and management of the area. The next two models differ as, unlike the models already reviewed, they not only identify factors that influence tourism development but also, to a degree, begin to explain how these factors influence development. Lewis's (1998) model, for example, identifies the role of local leaders as triggers of change as well as discussing the influence of co-operation between local entrepreneurs and firms on tourism development. While Ritchie & Crouch's (2003) findings are consistent with those of earlier models in

relation to the importance of local attractions (Christaller, 1963; Lundgren, 1982 etc.) they go further by explaining that it is not just the existence of these factors that is important but how they are used as resources by entrepreneurs and local firms to develop tourism. These models are reviewed next.

2.5 Models emphasising the role of local entrepreneurs, leaders, and small firms.

Lewis's (1998) rural tourism development model identifies and describes tourism development in four rural communities. Similar to Christaller (1963), Miossec (1972) and Butler (1980), it identifies different stages of tourism development based largely on the stages of Butler's model (Lewis, 1998). Lewis, like Butler, identified four basic stages of tourism development common to all four tourism areas: (1) evolution, (2) formation, (3) development, and (4) centralisation (Figure 3.2). Unlike Butler's model however, Lewis's research reveals a series of transitions between each stage, providing some understanding of why tourism passes from one stage of development to another.

In a similar way to Christaller (1963) and Butler (1980), the first stage of Lewis's model is characterised by the arrival of tourists, attracted by the natural resources of the areas. Lewis's formation stage (stage 2) highlights the first formal grass roots step taken by local people to develop tourism in the communities. Rather than being a large-scale community decision, Lewis identifies the role of local leaders as triggers of development. The model attributes individual business owners and entrepreneurs as key triggers for tourism development in the communities. The formation stage is also characterised by the development of local associations, which 'brought together

businesses and people interested in tourism' (Lewis, 1998: 98). This, however, was a feature of only some of the research areas as others were unable to formally develop a tourism organisation due to a lack of support by local businesses. The third stage of Lewis's model is designated 'development', as community organisations begin to programme, promote and advertise various tourism events and attractions. This stage of development is characterised by a high degree of local involvement as local businesses and entrepreneurs influence tourism development utilising place-specific characteristics and resources to influence the shape of local tourism, in a similar way to that identified by Quinn (2003).

The final stage, 'Centralization', is characterised by the establishment of one, or two organisations who plan, promote and advertise, and sometimes stage tourism festivals and/or events. At some point in the development process, Lewis (1998) explains, leaders in each community realised that it was better to co-ordinate tourism than to compete for tourists. In addition, these 'tourist influentials' (local individuals with a strong influence on tourism development) also realised that working together made it possible to attract tourists to a community for several days (Lewis, 1998). There was a general realisation that 'tourism was important to the social and economic fabric of the community' and that the centralisation of tourism would save time and effort, and generate revenue. (1998: 100). In addition, Lewis discovers that in each of the communities, the decision to implement tourism was a decision made by a few people, not the whole community.

Stage 1: Evolution

Tourists begin to arrive in the community
Tourism grows, but there are few services to support tourism
Resources, parks, or culture continues to attract tourists

Transition

Process begins to formalize
Involvement of individuals
Involvement of tourism organizations

Stage II: Formation

Formalization of the tourism process
Formation of tourism organizations
Involvement of business organizations
Examples: Merchants Association, PCI, NDC, HCI

Transition

Organizations take over tourism functions
Programming of festivals and events
Beginning of promotion and marketing

Stage III Development

Programming of special events and attractions
Individual promotion and marketing
Beginning of area scheduling

Transition

Dedicated tourism taxes
Movement towards centralization
Movement to packaging of area

Stage IV: Centralization

Genesis of CVB's
Tourism tax implementation
Centralized planning, promotion and advertising
Regional and county-wide planning and promotion

Figure 2.2: Rural Tourism Development Model, Lewis, 1998

Lewis's findings are interesting as they highlight a number of significant factors; firstly the model shows a strong influence on tourism development at a local level. The model reinforces Robertson (1990) and Jessop's (2003) claim that local places reposition and restructure themselves to inform tourism development by identifying the influence of local tourism communities in actively shaping tourism development. The model also gives an indication of how this occurs by identifying the role of local leaders as triggers of development while also highlighting the dynamics of local power relations where certain members of the communities were more influential with regard to tourism development than others.

The model also reflects Wahab & Cooper's (2001) claim that production conditions and marketing strategies at a local level will reshape under the pressure of globalisation by discussing the way in which local co-operation between tourism suppliers was adopted as a strategy for development. In the broader tourism literature, Morrison (1998) identifies the importance of co-operation for tourism development, particularly for those located in peripheral areas. The significance of co-operation between firms is discussed again later in the literature when Ritchie and Crouch's (2003) model is reviewed. In addition, a review of industrial district theory at the end of this chapter expands on the importance of this factor by recognising inter-firm relations in the form of co-operation and competition as key triggers for development.

Lewis (1998) makes an interesting observation when he discusses how one community in the study was unable to successfully develop tourism. He believes that residents of that community may have made a conscious effort not to develop tourism

and that it was possible that tourism declined in this community as there may have been little interest in keeping it alive. In highlighting this, Lewis demonstrates the way in which local areas can choose to interact and harness opportunities for developing tourism, while others may chose not to enter the 'global order' of tourism (Urry, 2000) , and so lead to differences between places and their relationship with tourism.

While Lewis based his model on Butler's (1980), a number of differences exist. Most importantly, and contrary to Butler's belief that as tourism grows and expands, 'local involvement and control of development will decline rapidly' (Butler, 1980: 8), Lewis identifies that control of the tourism process did not grow beyond the control of the local community. In fact, control of the process was important to all of Lewis's (1998) respondents, reflecting the claims of Gormsen (1981) and Keller (1987) that it is possible for local areas to control tourism development.

2.6 A focus on firms

Ritchie and Crouch's (2003) model of destination competitiveness and sustainability is a relatively recent model of tourism development. Its purpose is to provide a framework for understanding the complex and multi-faceted nature of the factors that affect destination competitiveness (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003). Ritchie and Crouch's model provides a comprehensive review of competitiveness at a tourism destination and in doing so focuses on factors that influence competitiveness. By focusing on the issue of competitiveness the model provides a different perspective than some of the earlier models reviewed which focused more on examining patterns of tourism

development. The model has relevance to the research in that it highlights a number of key factors that influence tourism development. It looks at factors in five broad areas including: supporting factors and resources, core resources and attractors, destination management, destination policy, planning and development and qualifying and amplifying determinants. In addition, Ritchie and Crouch (2003) discuss these factors within the context of broader variables such as the competitive (micro) environment and the global (macro) environment.

Ritchie and Crouch's model, unlike the earlier models reviewed, has been developed on the basis of industry research and is not grounded in theory. While the model is detailed and certainly addresses many of the factors identified in other models such as the role of core resources in attracting tourists to a destination (Christaller, 1963, Lundgren, 1982 and Lewis, 1998), the model also identifies the importance of planning and management (Butler, 1980) as well as the role of local businesses in deploying local resources (Lewis, 1998) and the influence of transport and access (Miossec, 1976 and Lundgren, 1982). The main focus of the model is on competitiveness and key factors that influence it, however, as the model does not rate the relative importance of the factors; it is difficult to know the level or extent of each factors influence.

Ritchie & Crouch's (2003) model clearly supports the idea that tourism development is a complex phenomena influenced by factors operating at both global and local levels. It is they claim, an open system, 'subject to many influences and pressures that arise outside the system itself' (Ritchie & Crouch, 2003: 62). Amongst the many global influences on tourism are: changes in a destination's attractiveness to tourists,

shifts in patterns of wealth to create new origin markets, changes in the relative cost of travel, and disruptions of relations between cultures and nations. The model is similar to earlier models in acknowledging the importance of local amenities for tourism development, however, it develops this further by drawing from Porter's (1990) diamond of competitiveness to discuss the role of basic and advanced factors in tourism development. The model explains how basic factors are passively inherited (such as landscape and other natural amenities); however, a region creates its own advanced factors such as skilled resources and technological base. These advanced factors, according to Ritchie & Crouch, are the most significant for competitive advantage. They are necessary to achieve higher-order competitive advantages such as differentiated products and proprietary production technology. According to Ritchie and Crouch (2003) it is not just the possession of factors (such as natural amenities or infrastructure) that is important, it is how these are managed and used that creates competitive advantage at a tourism destination. Advanced factors may be built upon basic factors, this means that basic factors, while rarely a sustainable advantage in and of themselves, must be of sufficient quantity and quality to allow for the creation of advanced factors. The creation of these advanced factors through the use of local resources is undertaken by entrepreneurs and small firms at the destination.

Ritchie & Crouch claim that the 'tourism enterprise – the small tourism business in particular – is of fundamental importance to the development of tourism as an industry' (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003: 140). Referring once more to Porter's (1990) theory of competitive advantage, the model explains that entrepreneurs and small firms contribute to destination development and competitiveness through their

strategy, structure and rivalry. In particular, small firms influence development through inter-firm competition and co-operation. According to Ritchie and Crouch the competition generated between small firms in a destination 'creates an environment for excellence' (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003: 141). The interdependence between firms encourages inter-firm co-operation which can be evident in the form of marketing alliances, sectoral associations and management structures. In addition, the existence of numerous tourism enterprises enables firms to concentrate on their core competencies and expertise, while new ventures and small businesses provide a mechanism for the identification and development of new ideas leading to innovative tourism services and experiences.

While Lewis's (1998) model introduced co-operation between tourism suppliers as a strategy for development, this model expands on this concept and, through using Porter's (1990) theory of competitive advantage provides a greater understanding of the way in which small firms use co-operation to influence tourism development. By drawing from Porter, Ritchie & Crouch (2003) suggest that success doesn't arise from the actions of individual firms but rather through a strategic collective approach by firms in related industries. They claim that 'to be competitive, a destination must ... have a sense of itself; it should have a purpose and be managed in a way that promotes the pursuit of that purpose' (2003: 67). This, they go on to explain, assumes that there is some system of governance, 'or a shared sense of purpose across organisations, companies, government departments, networks and individuals that together constitute the destination' (2003: 67). Ritchie & Crouch explain that how these relationships and interactions combine determines the course taken by a destination. The degree to which they are chaotic or uncertain, planned or deliberate

depends on the extent to which all events at the destination are in harmony. Ritchie & Crouch's model brings a very dynamic aspect to the research; it highlights not just a key factor that underpins development i.e. the role of small firms and entrepreneurs but also their importance in influencing development through strategies of co-operation and competition. It reveals the importance of relationships at the destination, where a collective sense of self and a willingness to co-operate can influence tourism development.

2.7 Summary of tourism models

It is clear that many models describing the evolution of tourism places exist. Most models characterise tourism development as a linear process starting with the establishment of a single tourism facility and the arrival of a few adventurous visitors, to the development of more hotels, the arrival of more tourists and ultimate industry stagnation (Lundgren, 1974). These models focus on patterns of change, identifying phases of development but rarely discuss or explore the processes underlying these changes. Shaw and Williams (2002) and Pearce (1987) agree that none of the models are general enough to provide a comprehensive all-embracing model of tourism. However, it could also be argued, that their generality is problematic, as it results in a lack of understanding regarding the specific factors underpinning tourism development. Bianchi (1994), for example, argues that a fundamental lack is any identification of the context of development, and the manner in which tourism has been introduced into an area, a criticism that is true of most of the models. McKercher (1999) claims that none of the existing models acknowledge the power dynamics that influence tourism development and fail to consider the complex

interrelationships that exist within a destination. Williams (2009: 29) poses similar criticisms in relation to Butler's TALC (1980) claiming that, 'as a universal evolutionary model it fails to capture the uniqueness of place and the capacity for local economies to resist broader national or international processes'. Williams goes on to explain that 'in particular, it does not reflect with any clarity the articulation of the internal-external relationships that affect resort development in differing ways, dependent upon a range of contextual attributes' (2009: 29).

Through their recognition of the influence of global and local factors the models in general suggest a dynamism that is inherent in tourism development; however, this dynamism is not explored. Many of the models such as Butlers (1980) and Lewis's (1998), identify stages or patterns of development, while others are largely concerned with the effect of evolutionary change on resort hierarchies (Miossec, 1976), and the physical and locational attributes of the destination (Christaller, 1963; Lundgren, 1982). Figure 2.3 synthesises the findings from the literature on models of tourism development outlining the factors they highlight as influencing tourism development.

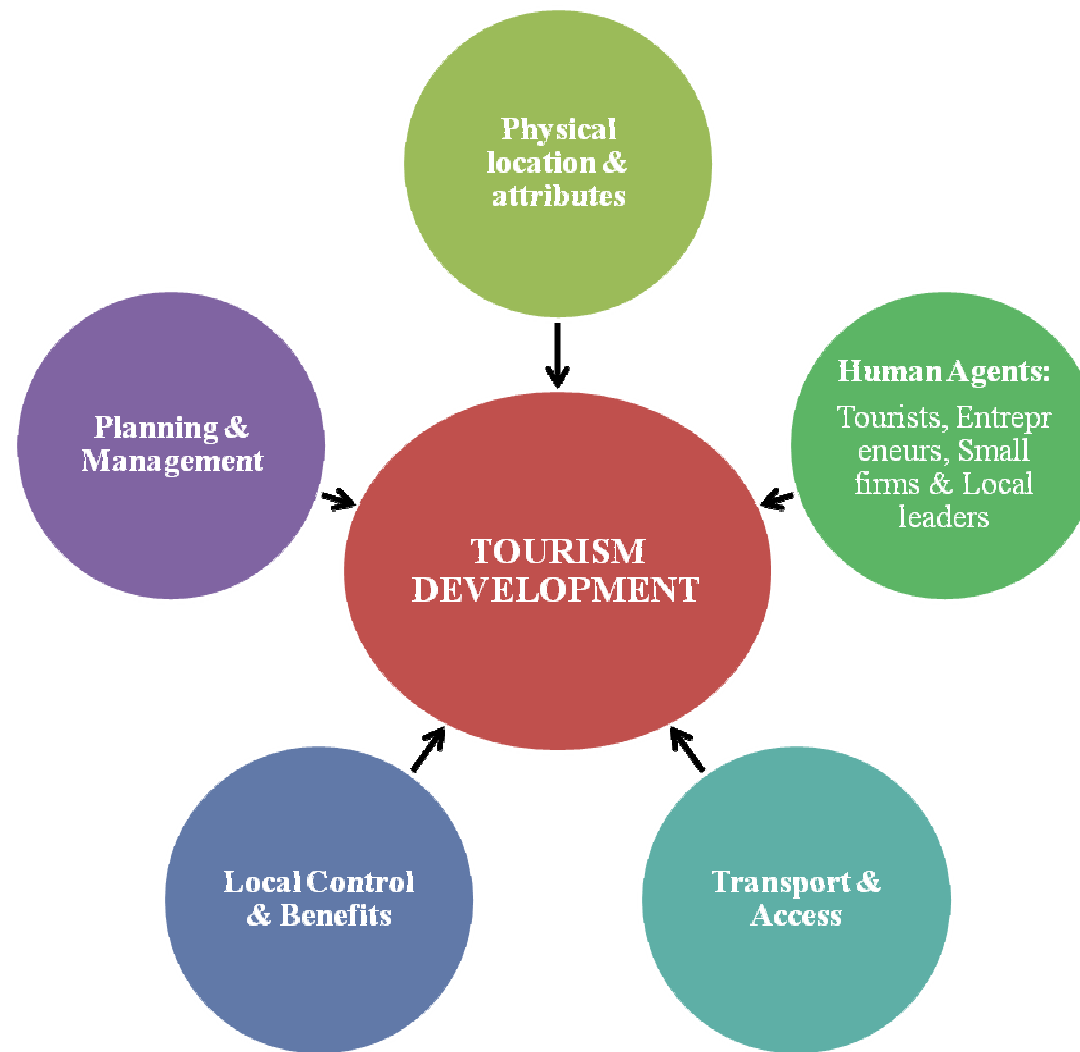


Figure 2.3: Factors that influence tourism development

Of these factors some, such as the physical attributes (landscape etc.) or locational factors, could be classified as basic factors (Ritchie & Crouch, 2003) and their existence alone cannot explain the movement of tourism through different stages of development. There is recognition of the role of human agents, for example, many of the models refer to the influence of tourists on development. Others, Lewis (1998) and Ritchie & Crouch (2003) in particular, provide some insight into the influence of entrepreneurs and small firms. However, Hovinen (2002) highlights that the importance of entrepreneurial activities as potential triggers for change is not addressed by the models. In general, the role of humans as agents of development is largely underplayed, with models such as Christaller (1963) and Butler (1980) paying only scant attention to them. This criticism is emphasised by Williams (2009: 29) who explains that Butlers TALC ‘... downplays the role of human agency in mediating processes of development and change’. While there are both explicit and implicit references to the influence of entrepreneurs as agents of development, their role remains largely unexplained. According to Coles (2006) the models have been critiqued for their tendency to treat the human as a passive entity that receives stimuli, which it dutifully processes. He argues the need to ‘explore the role of the individual human as an active subject with conscious designs’ and ‘to expose the logic which binds these designs together’ (ibid: 50).

Gale & Botterill (2005:159) criticise the TALC for failing to adequately define ‘the critical incidents that mark the transition from one stage [of the model] to the next’, explaining that ‘this leads to a reliance upon ‘best guesses’ when applying the model to individual cases’. They question its general applicability explaining that it is primarily a *resort* model with less applicability for ‘post-industrial urban and rural

areas that have turned to tourism for the purposes of economic (re)development while retaining diverse economies' (Gale & Botterill, 2005: 158). Similarly, Shaw and Williams (2002) claim that the model assumes a generalisation that fails to take into account differences in the competitive positions or resources of different resorts. In fact, it is clear from the review of the models that the influence of local resources is not explored to any extent and that in general, there is no in-depth understanding of the context of development or the factors underpinning development.

Gale & Botterill make an interesting point by noting that the TALC uncritically employed positivist criteria, and is based on objective facts and not subjective values (ibid: 161). It is possible that this positivist focus on objective facts is reflected in many of the models, and may explain the lack of focus on explaining development and the factors that influence it. As Gale & Botterill claim 'we cannot reduce the social world to small, atomised parts' and that 'explanations based on statistically significant associations between ... tourist numbers and time are not explanations at all' (2005: 161). Tourism is a complex phenomena and its reduction to tangible facts and patterns of development leaves us with little understanding of why it develops and what factors influence this development.

To understand tourism development comprehensively it is necessary to investigate its complexity and in particular, to understand the role of human agents in its development. It is clear however, that the models presented in this literature review have failed to explore and examine the impact of entrepreneurs in any depth and inspiration must be sought in the broader tourism literature. The literature on human agency provides a broad scope for examining the dynamics of tourism, however, the

focus of this thesis, will concentrate on exploring the way in which entrepreneurs, as important stakeholders, influence tourism development. Furthering understanding of the ways in which entrepreneurs inform tourism development is the aim of the next section.

2.8 Human agents: a focus on entrepreneurs as agents of development

A move to the broader tourism literature explores the multiple ways that entrepreneurs engage with tourism. Nash (1977) for example, reflects the findings of Lewis (1998) by highlighting the endogenous powers of local residents, elites and entrepreneurs at a destination. Reed (1997: 567) identifies these power relations as ‘pivotal’ to influencing the shape and form of tourism development in an area. The power of entrepreneurs as agents of development is also addressed by Morris & Dickinson (1987) who claim that some local developers can be so powerful they have the ability to manipulate an entire community in pursuit of their own economic goals. Russell & Faulkner specifically focus on the extent of entrepreneurial influence on tourism by contending that throughout history, entrepreneurs have influenced tourism development on a global scale, for example, the work of Thomas Cook as ‘the father of mass tourism’ and Walt Disney as the ‘father of theme parks’ (2004: 562). They note that the role of the entrepreneur has sometimes been overlooked, despite the fact that many have directly or indirectly played a significant role in tourism development. The fundamental role of entrepreneurs in the global/local interplay is highlighted by Koh & Hatten, (2002: 21) who explain that ‘a community’s quantity and quality of supply of entrepreneurs significantly determines the magnitude and form of its touristscape because the tourism entrepreneur is the persona causa of tourism

development'. They contend that 'it is only when tourism entrepreneurs are present, do a community's climate, landforms, flora and fauna, historic vestiges, and ethno-cultural enclaves become tourism resources that may be transformed into tourist attractions' (2002:27). Koh and Hatten reflect the findings of Ritchie & Crouch (2003) maintaining that without the influence of entrepreneurs it is doubtful that a tourism industry would evolve, even in areas that are favourably endowed with resources. In other words the existence of resources in itself is not enough but that purposeful action on behalf of the entrepreneur is what causes tourism to develop.

Authors such as Barnes & Hayter (1992) also emphasise the part that entrepreneurs play in shaping tourist destinations, while others acknowledge their impact on strategic planning efforts (Hovinen, 2002) and see them as 'rogues or chaos makers' playing an integral part in the development of destinations (McKercher, 1999:432). Waldrop (1992) recognises the influence of entrepreneurs in creating shifts from one stage of Butlers (1980) TALC to another. Russell & Faulkner (2004) revisit Butler's (1980) model and propose an alternative framework for analysing development processes. This, they claim, should stress the role of entrepreneurs in creating conditions for movement from one stage in the evolutionary cycle to another, thereby similarly identifying them as key triggers of change in tourism development.

Koh & Hatten refer to the work of Shapero (1981) who suggests that entrepreneurship provides communities with the diversity and dynamism that assures continuous development. Therefore, the influence of entrepreneurs may extend beyond their individual development projects by stimulating others to undertake development. The capacity for entrepreneurs to stimulate development in a tourism area through either

integrated or catalytic development is also addressed by Pearce (1995). Pearce explains that integrated development implies development by a single promoter or developer to the exclusion of all other participation, while catalytic development occurs when the initial activities of a major developer generates complementary development by other individuals or companies. Britton (1991) clarifies how the building of just one hotel in an area can trigger further development because it provides a base from which further construction can proceed and signals a confidence in the location. This view of entrepreneurs influencing development beyond their own individual contribution may be fundamental to understanding the factors that underpin tourism development.

More recently authors have begun to provide some insight into the way in which tourism entrepreneurs achieve their entrepreneurial objectives. Johns and Mattson (2005: 606) for example, recognise the critical part that entrepreneurs play in 'destination start-up' claiming that the 'nub of destination development ought to be apparent in the original entrepreneurial idea that transforms a location into a destination in the first place' and that ultimately development is strongly influenced by entrepreneurial activity. Their study of two destinations clearly identifies how in both cases the initial entrepreneurial spirit depended on two businessmen who both saw an opportunity and worked hard to achieve it. In their research, Johns and Mattson (2005) explain that the entrepreneurs (although different in their entrepreneurial goals) achieved their development objectives through the use of formal and informal networks at the destination. Hall (2004) similarly acknowledges that innovation in New Zealand has occurred primarily because of champions and individual innovators who have been able to generate local interest and involvement.

Hall goes further by highlighting the importance of social capital and communication flows in developing competitive areas as well as the role of intangible capital in binding small businesses together. He explains that many regions and small businesses have 'intangible assets – knowledge, relationships, reputations and people'. However, 'only some firms and regions succeed in converting these assets into tangible capital' (Hall, 2004: 170). Hall moves away from focusing on the influence of individual entrepreneurs by drawing attention to the impact of networks and cluster relationships between firms which, he explains, are 'a significant part of the development of intangible capital' (2004: 170). Using Porter's (1990) cluster framework he describes how concentrations of companies in a geographic region are interconnected by the markets they serve, their products, their suppliers, as well as by trade associations and educational institutions with which they interact. He refers to the wide range of co-operative behaviour that can occur between otherwise competing organisations and between organisations linked through economic and social relations and transactions (Hall, 2004). Hall explains that many commentators argue that such chains of firms are the primary 'drivers' of a region's economy and recognises the potential of groups of firms as engines of economic activity.

Novelli, Schmitz & Spencer (2006) and Ateljevic & Page (2009) also claim that small and medium sized enterprises (SME's) strongly influence the development of a region. They explain that as globalisation has placed increased pressure on SME's to be competitive; the concentration has to be on a local level in order to achieve competitiveness through small innovative steps, co-operation and collaboration. This idea of small firms as 'drivers' of development is also addressed by Tinsley & Lynch (2007: 162) who explain that 'much of the generic tourism literature suffers from a

lack of understanding of small businesses'. They address this omission by highlighting the over-arching importance of a destination's social network as well as business networks on development and explain that these community embedded business networks can demonstrate successful control over the destination's development (Tinsley & Lynch, 2007: 175). These authors (Hall, 2004; Novelli, Schmitz & Spencer, 2006; Tinsley & Lynch, 2007) bring new insight into factors underpinning tourism development by highlighting the role of networks of small business, embedded in local communities as key influences on tourism development.

This focus on communities of firms is also addressed by Michael (2003: 133) who discusses the 'creation of economic and social opportunities in small communities through development of clusters of complementary firms that can collectively deliver a bundle of attributes to make up a specialised regional product'. Michael (2007) provides a useful framework for understanding the activities of small businesses through the concept of micro-clusters as a development model (Tinsley & Lynch, 2007). He refers to the geographic concentration of a small number of firms in a cohesive local environment, 'where the complementary interaction between these firms contributed to an enhanced level of local specialisation' (Michael, 2007: 2). This, he claims, shifts the focus of analysis in economic development to individual localities, towns, villages and the people who live in them.

Outside of the tourism literature there has been extensive focus placed on the part that entrepreneurial leadership and small businesses play in development. Feldman, Francis & Bercovitz (2005) refer to 'the importance of entrepreneurs as economic-change agents, able to create or attract the necessary resources and institutions to

support their ventures, and able to draw on the rich historical and regional context in which they operate'. (ibid: 130). They argue that models of regional economic development have largely ignored the role of the individual change-agent in the development of regional economies (Appold, 2000), and have not considered how entrepreneurs actively interact with and shape their local environments (Boschma & Lambooy, 1999). The main perspective advanced by Feldman et. al. (2005) is that 'entrepreneurs spark cluster formation and regional competitive advantage. Entrepreneurs in the process of furthering their individual interests may act collectively to shape local environments by building institutions that further the interest of their emerging industry' (Feldman et al, 2005: 130). Good entrepreneurs, they explain, may create their own opportunity and thereby define an industry (2005: 138). Lawton Smith, et. al. (2005) contend that the influence of entrepreneurs can be seen in the quality of networks and collective actions taken in local development. They claim that the quality of these networks results from the talent of the individuals who have initiated development. Lawton Smith et. al. explain how the visions and actions of talented individuals shaped the Oxfordshire high-tech community, while also bringing visibility to the county's techno-economic and institutional achievements. 'Authors have emphasised how entrepreneurs' success spontaneously changes the local environment and to a greater or lesser extent the local economic structure, in so doing stimulating the local environment to further innovation and localised learning' (Garnsey, 1998; Feldman & Francis, 2002; Lawton Smith, 2003; cited in Lawton Smith et. al., 2005: 452). Therefore, entrepreneurship and the mechanisms by which it is encouraged can 'lay the basis for conditions in which networks arise, often creating new actors and articulated agendas that unite individuals' (Cox, 1998: 23). This presents a very dynamic account of the ways in

which local environments can be stimulated and changed by the influence of entrepreneurs'. One body of theory that can contribute further to a more detailed understanding of the connection between entrepreneurs' and local environments is industrial district theory.

Industrial district theory challenges us to view places as dynamic and vibrant, taking us to a new level of analysis that moves beyond focusing on the individual (entrepreneur or firm) to consider how communities of small firms and individuals can create dynamic and successful industries. It takes us to the field of economic geography and opens up a literature that speaks directly to this research by providing a comprehensive understanding of the successful development of particular regions operating within diverse industries. It provides compelling insight into the key factors that underpin this development and the dynamics at play beneath its surface. The theory has made a significant contribution to furthering the understanding of successful development in regions and provides relevant and important insights that may apply in a tourism context. Industrial district theory, however, has not been addressed to any great extent in the tourism literature. While Mottiar & Ryan (2007) apply the concept to a tourism destination in Ireland, and Hjalager (2000) acknowledges common features between tourism destinations and industrial districts, the contribution of this literature within a tourism context essentially remains unexplored.

2.9 Insights from Industrial District Theory

Industrial district theory attempts to explain the key elements for the development of a country or region and despite the lack of literature, appears to be particularly suitable to apply in the context of a tourism destination (Prats, Guia, & Molina, 2008). It provides an in-depth explanation of the way in which communities of small firms and supporting institutions (Newlands, 2003), embedded in local communities, have led regions to prosperity, propelling them from mediocre positions to the top of the regional income ladder (Pyke and Sengenberger, 1992). Defined as ‘a socio-territorial entity which is characterised by the active presence of both a community of people and a population of firms in one naturally and historically bounded area’ (Becattini, 1990: 38), industrial district theory provides a comprehensive understanding of the factors that have driven particular regions to success. It presents important and relevant proof that local areas are dynamic and have the capacity within them to influence their own success while also explaining the way in which they achieve this. It presents conclusive, empirical evidence that local places and ‘... regions offer an important source of competitive advantage even as production and markets become increasingly global’ (Saxenian, 1996: 161). The role and importance of these districts is well acknowledged in the literature, and supported by substantial empirical evidence (Pietrobelli, 2000).

Marshall (1920) provided the foundations for industrial district theory however; the main impetus for industrial districts has come from research undertaken in Italy in an area that has become known as the ‘Third Italy’ (Pyke, Becattini, & Sengenberger, 1990). These industrial districts captured the attention of researchers as they appeared

to be growing faster than the rest of the country and surviving recessions more successfully than others (Mottiar, 1997). Research into the causes of this success showed that the development of businesses took the form of the industrial district, with very particular characteristics (Triglia, 1992). These characteristics were found to exist in varying degrees across a range of districts and include a distinctive industrial atmosphere where social and economic boundaries blur and where co-operation and competition co-exist between firms in the district. It is these characteristics that are of particular relevance to this research as they provide a comprehensive insight into the interplay of factors that underpin successful development.

2.10 Industrial districts and their characteristics

While models of tourism development have been criticised for failing to consider the context of development, industrial district theory looks at the characteristics of development within particular regions and identifies some common features that, although they may differ in terms of the extent to which they exist, have been fundamental to each region's success. While the history of each district, 'including the early conditions and individuals involved – may be unique' there are commonalities in the path and development of successful districts (Feldman, et. al, 2005: 131). Nassimbeni (2003) provides an overview of these characteristics, which are outlined in table 2.4 and discussed below.

Table 2.3: Main characteristics of industrial districts

High proportion of small and very small firms. Clustering of firms in a geographical location. Firms engaged at various stages of production – intense specialization. Dense networks of a social and economic nature. Blend of competition and co-operation between firms. Rapid and mainly informal diffusion of information, new ideas, experiences and know-how. Adaptability and flexibility.
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Source: Nassimbeni (2003).

One of the first of these common characteristics is the geographic and sectoral concentration of mainly small firms (Pyke and Sengenberger, 1992). Industrial districts usually comprise of dense concentrations of interdependent firms located in a specific area or region (Dunford, 2006). In addition, the firms in the industrial district belong to the same industrial sector or a series of complementary industries (Belso-Martínez, 2006) and contain ‘all of the upstream and downstream processes and services going towards the manufacture of a family of products (Pyke and Sengenberger, 1992: 4). The Birmingham Jewellery Quarter, for example, contained goldsmiths, jewellers, silversmiths and electroplaters, each playing a key role in the production and sale of the final product (De Propriis & Lazzeretti, 2007). The relevance of geographic and sectoral concentration is that it provides a basis for the development of a strong network of mainly small, interdependent firms, which allows firms to maximise their profits through an interdependent specialisation of tasks (Pietrobelli, 2000). This interdependence is pervasive and results in the horizontal and vertical division of labour, where firms tend to remain focused on their core business, ‘and to aggregate with other firms specializing in complementary activities’

(Dei Ottati, 2002: 453). 'Through specialisation and subcontracting, firms share out amongst themselves the labour required for the manufacturing of specific goods and promote efficiency and collective capability' (Belso-Martínez, 2006: 92). This also impacts on inter-firm relations and combined with the close proximity of businesses 'may facilitate communication among firms and so help fuel a collective process of innovation' (Benton, 1992: 48).

The localised external economies that occur in industrial districts are the outcome of the overall size of the cluster of firms specialised in different activities of one or related sectors (Becattini & Dei Ottati, 2006). They are also the outcome of '... the social and institutional characteristics of the community of people (values, propensities, implicit rules of behaviour, action of public and private collective bodies) in which the firms are embedded. Consequently, the local milieu can be considered an additional factor of production that enhances labour productivity' (Becattini & Dei Ottati, 2006: 1158). This social milieu is the shared social environment that occurs between members of a district where 'the community of people possess an homogenous system of values and perspectives' (Belso-Martínez, 2006:793). This 'network of values and institutions ... holds this society together, and makes it a sort of community' (Becattini, 1991: 11). The embedding of economic relations into a wider social framework, is a fundamental characteristic and relations between members of the district are underpinned by a distinct social environment or milieu, where a 'strong community of individuals, families and firms ... are bound together by a socio-cultural identity and trust'(Schmitz, 1993: 26). This creates a 'sense of belonging', a 'local consensus', and 'social compromise' between members of the district (Paniccia, 1998: 670). As a result, the organisation of economic

relations tends to be intertwined with social relations and the boundary between the spheres of business and community tends to blur (Pyke and Sengenberger, 1992). 'The intermingling of production and everyday life means that 'production knowledge, as well as the rules of behaviour and values that sustain a district's development are normally acquired as a by-product of everyday life' (Dei Ottati, 2002: 454). They are 'in the air, and children learn of them unconsciously'' resulting in a distinctive 'industrial atmosphere' (Marshall, 1920: 271) which facilitates the acquisition of specialised skills through socialisation and the diffusion of innovation through frequent interchange between actors (Zeitlin, 1992).

This social milieu can occur where firms and communities are bound together by a common identity (Mottiar, 1997) or from a common professional identity; craft pride; as well as more obvious ties such as family origin, ethnicity, religion or political affiliation (Zeitlin, 1992). Its existence appears to be most common where business activity is conditioned by local politics, religion and close kinship and friendship relations' (Newlands, 2003: 524). Triglia (1990), for example, refers to the role of political sub-cultures in 'red' (communist) regions which he explains tended to have harmonious industrial relations as a result of the 'sense of belonging' or common identity, that resulted. Almost any set of common experiences can form the basis of a common culture (Zeitlin, 1992). An orientation towards long run development as an objective rather than short-term economic gains, for example, would be a typical widely shared value, while others might include a belief in strategies of innovation, pride in the district's products and name and a collective awareness (Pyke and Sengenberger, 1992).

Just as important is the influence of what Scott (1999) terms a professional milieu as evidenced in Silicon Valley (Zeitlin, 1992). Whereas social milieu consists of the ties and connections built through more social and family connections, professional milieu recognises the importance of social connections made through individuals having worked for each other, with each other, or for the same firm. The existence of a professional milieu means that firms and individuals in a district are tied together through strong professional links that have a similar effect as a social milieu in that they transcend normal economic boundaries in a district. De Bernardy (1999) for example, explains how researchers in Grenoble, having left their universities to exploit commercial opportunities, maintained close links with the laboratories from which they had come. Learning in Grenoble, he notes, 'has mainly operated through informal local networking linked to entrepreneurs' address books, word of mouth contacts and webs of personal relationships' (1999: 350). Shared professional experiences can reinforce a sense of community in the region even after individuals move on to different, often competing firms (Saxenian, 1996). This professional milieu also results in trust and willingness for co-operation and knowledge exchange. Saxenian (1996: 30) identifies the influence that a professional milieu had on development in Silicon Valley, where, while entrepreneurs lacked local roots or family ties, they '... saw themselves as pioneers of a new industry in a new region ... the shared challenges of exploring uncharted technological terrain shaped their view of themselves and of their emerging community providing a collective identity'. 'Informal conversations were pervasive and served as an important source of up-to-date information about competitors, customers, markets and technologies and entrepreneurs recognised social relationships as a crucial aspect of their businesses' (Saxenian, 1996: 33). In contrast, this blurring of social and professional identities

and the practises of open exchange of information never developed between entrepreneurs on Route 128. Instead the area was defined by the search for corporate self-sufficiency and lacked social cohesion and strong ties ... 'As they grew, local companies built self-contained and vertically integrated structures, just as Silicon Valley firms were experimenting with openness and specialization' (Saxenian, 1996: 69).

The result of this social or professional milieu is that the district members 'competitive advantage is entrenched in its territorial environment where relations and knowledge can be exchanged' (Belso-Martínez, 2006: 794). Emphasis within a district is on collective action (Newlands, 2003). Much of the regional capability found in industrial districts is rooted in inter-firm networking, inter-personal connections, local learning processes and 'sticky' knowledge embedded in social interaction (Muscio, 2006). The relationships between members of the district, in particular, the co-existence of co-operation and competition, can transform districts into productive environments leading to the development of a dynamic system of flexible production (Brusco, 1992). There is a close link between society and firms. As a result the relationships between the actors in the economy are not purely economic (Schmitz, 1993) and it is hard to say in many cases where the local community stops and where the industry begins (Zeitlin, 1992). Trust as a collective capital in the district is largely a by-product of this common culture and it is this culture which ensures the reproduction of this capital (Dei Ottati, 1994). This is made easier by the tendency of people to stay in the same area (Dei Ottati, 1994). It facilitates and encourages trusting relations between firms and provides

communication channels through which information can easily flow (Mottiar, 1997). The importance of a social or professional milieu in underpinning trust as a form of capital is made apparent by Knorringa (1994) who explains how the absence of a common identity in Agra in India, resulted in interaction based on trust being rare because the main groups involved in the industry came from very different socio-cultural backgrounds.

The tangible impact of the district milieu is the co-presence of a climate of strong competition and at the same time of widespread co-operation. The competitive advantage that exists in industrial districts is external to the single firm, but internal to the district (Becattini & Dei Ottati, 2006). The collective vision and social cohesion underpins inter-firm relations, and no firm stands alone but is part of a larger community of firms whose collective vision is for the success of the district and not just individual success.

2.10.1 Inter-firm relations – co-operation and competition

Inter-firm relations in industrial districts are ‘a complex web of interdependence, social ties, intense competition and co-operation’ (Mottiar, 1997: 63). Co-operation in a district can happen on both a formal and informal manner. In fact, Farrell & Knight (2003) maintain that formal contracts in industrial districts are relatively rare and subcontracting relations tend to depend more on word-of mouth agreements. Informal co-operation may be less obvious and can sometimes be apparent in what might be termed acts of ‘good neighbourliness’ (Pyke and Sengenberger, 1992). Relationships stretch beyond business networks and social and familial networks are

fundamental to the development of trusting relations in districts. Family members or individuals who have grown up together or have been neighbours for many years often co-operate, and support each other through very informal ways. This often results in entrepreneurs frequently denying the existence of co-operative relationships even when these are readily observable in everyday practice (Zeitlin, 1992). They may not even recognise the fact that they are co-operating but rather are acting within the norms of behaviour of people who know and trust each other (Mottiar, 1997). This trust, according to Knorringa (1994) is not based on idealism or naiveté, it is a trust based on the realisation by firms that they need each other, in such a way that they will have to trust each other. Trust is governed by the existence of mutual familiarity, a strong social cohesion and a sense of belonging that permeates the area. It accumulates from repeated interactions between members of the district where they both formally and informally 'strike deals, and help each other out' (Newlands, 2003: 524). Firms in the district 'may co-operate to get new work and may bid together on large projects. They may form consortia to access cheaper finance. They may jointly purchase materials and conduct or commission joint research. They may plan together and receive technical, financial and other services ...' (Newlands, 2003: 524).

The relationships between firms in the district are based on a principle of reciprocity and a climate of trust (Belso-Martínez, 2006), the importance of this trust is that the risks of co-operation are reduced especially the risk of opportunism (Newlands, 2003). Relationships are governed by a set of norms – generally informal – 'which characterise and shape the kind of social aggregation and the nature of the district

itself" (Pietrobelli, 2000: 5). Firms within this 'network of trust benefit from the reciprocal exchange of information - particularly tacit information that cannot be codified - but are simultaneously bound by ties of obligation which regulate behaviour' (Newlands, 2003: 523). These norms of reciprocity are 'accompanied by relevant social sanctions, such as the withdrawal of reciprocity and expressions of approval/disapproval' (Dei Ottati, 1994: 530). This helps to sustain and develop trusting relationships and provide informal rules that govern behaviour (Farrell & Knight, 2003).

While co-operation is a distinct characteristic in industrial districts this does not mean a lack of competition. While benefits of knowledge creation and innovation result from co-operation, Marshall believed it was competition which drove industrial districts (Newlands, 2003). Through the unusual combination of co-operation and competition firms' within the district meet competitive challenges through 'differentiated high quality products, flexibility of adjustment, and the ability for innovation' (Pyke and Sengenberger, 1992: 5). Saxenian (1996:46) explains how in Silicon Valley, 'firms both competed for market share and technical leadership while simultaneously relying on the collaborative practices that distinguished the region'. Co-operation supplements the mechanisms of competition as the focus of the firm is not on maximising short-term profitability but rather on co-operation to achieve medium and long-term advantage (Triglia, 1992). There is no contradiction between co-operation and competition, as co-operation between firms in the district can help them become more innovative as a means to creating or sustaining competitive advantage (Newlands, 2003).

2.10.2 Entrepreneurial dynamism and the embeddedness of firms

Co-operative competition and trust have been identified as the glue holding the districts together while socially embedded relationships have been demonstrated to form a crucial part of market exchanges, which are embedded in complex social processes (van Laere & Heene, 2003). The lack of social distance within the district leads to an easy exchange of knowledge supporting the development of an entrepreneurial culture (Dei Otatti, 2002: 453). The entrepreneur operates in and stimulates the local environment to further innovation and local learning (Feldman, et. al, 2005). Successful entrepreneurs move from their initial start-up to start other companies, becoming serial entrepreneurs with deep roots in the community (Feldman, *et al.*, 2005). In addition, the growth in the number of firms is assisted, encouraged and often financed by existing firms. 'District firms tend to foster the birth of new enterprises mainly to secure business partners on whom they can rely as regards professional competence, morality, and willingness to adapt to their requirements, thereby lowering the costs of external co-ordination' (Dei Ottati, 2002: 453). In the Montebelluna district, Pilotti (2000: 129) found that 'leading firms in the district set up satellite businesses, which, organised a putting out system to home based workers', a process that proved beneficial for both leading firms and subcontractors (Pilotti, 2000). Such long-term relationships go beyond temporary economic convenience and further promote the climate of reciprocal trust. Many small firms of the district are more the results of a project of life, this allows them a superior resilience during short crises, because they put an extra resistance to financial

difficulties, mobilising their own resources and those of relatives and friends, to overcome the recession (Becattini & Dei Ottati, 2006).

2.10.3 The role of institutions, associations and government

‘The social cohesion which fuels the continuous regeneration of the district’s competitive advantage may not be an entirely spontaneous outcome of shared values inherited from the past but is typically the result of conscious concerted action among different categories (workers, phase firms, final firms and local institutions or establishments) that contribute to local development’ (Dei Ottati, 2002: 449). ‘The ensuing social pact may initially be implicit, but it usually comes through mediation by the local government. This is because the local government is a credible guarantor by virtue of its powers of intervention, and of its organic concern in local development. This is important, of course, because it implies that the formation of industrial districts can be encouraged by appropriate policies’ (Dei Ottati, 2002: 451). Schmitz (1992) also points to the role that can be undertaken by local government in expanding economic opportunity and introducing innovation to existing districts. Pyke & Sengenberger (1992: 25) suggest that intervention by local government can lead to an upgrading of regions towards ‘ideal dynamic social and economic systems’. They explain that intervention can take the form of social co-ordinator in the sense of bringing together different interest groups; the provision of infrastructure, and the provision of adequate financial and educational services. ‘Intervention might also take the form of actively supporting efforts for an independent small firm employers association that can establish a strong political voice of its own to promote its specific sectoral interests’ (Pyke & Sengenberger, 1992: 26).

‘The existence of institutions, and perhaps ideologies, capable of sustaining collective co-operative relations would appear to be crucial’ to the district (Pyke and Sengenberger, 1992: 5). Relationships within an industrial district are enforced and enhanced by institutions which encourage the growth of the whole district (Pietrobelli, 2000). The social and institutional setting of the district shapes, and is shaped by, firms’ strategies and structures (Saxenian, 1996). ‘The concept of an industrial system illuminates the historically evolved relationship between the internal organization of firms and their connection to one another and to the social structures and institutions of their particular localities’ (Saxenian, 1996: 7). Institutions can affect trustworthiness and create ongoing relationships or trust (Farrell & Knight, 2003).

Benton (1992) found that in some districts in Spain a significant absence of strong leadership from local institutions undermined the forming of the kind of alliances that would underpin the emergence of dynamic industrial districts. While in Vallés Oriental in Spain, a vibrant entrepreneurial culture and long tradition of employer associations have provided a good framework for inter-firm co-operation (Benton, 1992: 84). Business associations also played an important role in Silicon Valley’s industrial system and as a result of the success of these associations co-operation between industry and government became the model for local policymaking while also helping to integrate the districts decentralised industrial structure (Saxenian, 1996). This integrative role, according to Saxenian (1996) was confirmed by many Silicon Valley managers who reported finding customers or business partners at association functions, they also viewed the association functions as a source of market and technical information as well as an opportunity for staying in touch with friends

and colleagues. Similarly, in Grenoble, traditional institutions and business associations together with a local networking initiative have established communications networks, as well as having had a significant impact on local innovative activity and strengthened the innovative milieu of the area (de Bernardy, 1999). In addition, local government have provided a supportive role (ibid).

The existence of institutes and associations appears to be crucial as a support for firm co-operation and can support the development of a professional milieu. They can provide a form of leadership, helping to determine and cultivate the norms of behaviour that forms the basis of the district, while supporting the development of trusting relations. Pilotti (2000) identifies these 'meta-organisers' (business associations, local authorities etc.) as most important to generating network creativity and innovation in districts. Pilotti's research into two districts in Italy, Montebelluna and Maniago, clearly shows the role of meta-organisers in stimulating a process of knowledge creation. He discovers that 'the most efficient district is the one with a high level of intermediate institutions (private institutions such as firms and public institutions such as local authorities and infrastructures) and with a broader base of SME's leadership' (2000: 122). He argues that a network of local institutions and meta-organisers 'function as dynamic integrators of local and global dimensions' (ibid: 122). Pilotti identifies that a restructuring phase of the Montebelluna district in the late 1980s was facilitated by local collective institutions, both public and private, within the district; the Chamber of Commerce, the museum of mountain shoes, professional and business associations etc. He explains that Montebelluna is a dynamic, evolutionary district and while its early phases of development were

influenced strongly by leading firms or district leaders, a later phase of development was characterised by the existence of economic and industrial associations (meta-organisers). He contrasts this with Maniago, where the absence of intermediary institutions and meta-organisers resulted in little innovation and learning taking place (Pilotti, 2000: 130). Similarly, Schmitz & Musyck found that institutions played more of a role in later phases of development of industrial districts when they became essential for 'steering enterprises towards the right road' (1994: 891). The interaction between firms is supported by the creation of local institutions, which help to produce and reinforce the set of rules and conventions governing innovative behaviour and interaction (Pras, Guia, Molina, 2007). These institutions can be thought of as 'shared spaces for emerging relationships' and 'knowledge creation' referred to by Nonaka & Konno (1998: 40) as 'Ba'. They allow for the shared values of the district to be 'spread throughout the district, supported and transmitted through generations' thanks to a 'system of institutions and rules' (market, firms, extended families, technical schools, churches, political parties, trade unions, employers' associations etc.) (Paniccia, 1998: 669). These institutions and associations provide a foundation for more formal networking that may be important at a more advanced stage of development of the district.

2.10.4 Summary of industrial district theory

This review of the literature on industrial districts provides a broader and more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of development. It moves away from focusing on the individual or on individual factors by focusing on complex relationships between communities of firms and individuals and the underlying characteristics of local systems that influence development. Industrial district theory gets beneath the surface of development to explain how communities of firms and individuals, operating within specific industrial sectors and geographic locations can achieve success through factors that are grounded within the local. It brings an awareness of the inherent dynamism in development. Of particular significance, it recognises the importance of socio-cultural and historical factors in determining the relationships between members of a district while also exploring how these relationships inform development. Industrial district theory shows how the sharing of knowledge between small firms and innovative milieu are key factors to development. It recognises business networks and socio-economic networks as fundamental to the development of the regions. It brings new perspectives to the research by stressing the importance of relationships and trust between firms and also between individuals, firms and local institutions. Effectively it draws attention to the importance of the society in which an industry develops. The agglomeration of communities of small firms, bound together by a common identity, through complex social and professional relationships, provide the right combination of local knowledge, skilled labour and intense competition and co-operation.

Industrial district theory addresses the key question of this research with regard to global/local relationships as the industrial district represents ‘the principal theoretical-practical locus for the local – i.e. geographically based-interpretation of development, given that the linkages between economic productive systems and socio-cultural relations are inseparable in the industrial district’ while at the same time, ‘the dynamic congruence of these linkages gives external competitiveness to the firms operating in it’ (Sforzi, 2002: 442). Contemporary industrial district theory emphasizes the contextual significance of communal non-economic institutions and the importance of relations of 'trust' in reproducing sustained collaboration among economic actors within the districts (Dei Ottati, 2002). Its significance lies in the fact that it brings awareness and appreciation of the dynamics that can occur at a local level, and causes us to question the extent to which these dynamics may also influence tourism development.

2.11 Summary of the literature review

This review of the literature has provided significant insights into the way in which local places inform tourism development. It is clear that tourism places are dynamic and evolutionary, and their development is strongly influenced by a complex interplay of factors. Models of tourism development highlight some noteworthy factors such as: the role of location and natural amenities, planning and management, transport and access, the role of human agents and small firms in developing products and infrastructure and the importance of local control and benefits. However, they fail to comprehensively explain the dynamics that are inherent in tourism development. In general, they pay only scant attention to the role of entrepreneurs, yet a review of the broader tourism literature highlights the relationship that exists between tourism places and entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurs can act as a trigger for initial development as well as underpinning continued development.

While the role of the entrepreneur in tourism development is emphasised in the broader tourism literature, traditionally this has focused on the individual, more recently it has begun to shift the focus of attention from the individual entrepreneur or firm to recognising a more dynamic interaction that can occur between people and place, and between groups of individuals and firms grounded in a locality. This move from the influence of the individual to the influence of the collective is fundamental to the literature on industrial districts, which emphasises the role of groups of small firms and individuals, embedded in a community where socio-cultural factors strongly influence development. This literature gets beneath the surface of development to explain how localised actions inform and shape development. Of particular

significance, industrial district theory highlights and explains how dynamic local environments can be, and how integral these environments are to development.

This review of the literature has identified a number of factors that influence tourism development but, just as important, through the introduction of a broader literature, it has begun to explain the dynamic system that underpins development. With this in mind, and in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of tourism development, and the factors that influence it, it is necessary to examine the process in the context of particular places. Chapters five and six address this by examining and explaining tourism development in two tourism areas in Ireland, Killarney Co. Kerry (a developed tourism area) and Clifden (a developing tourism area). The aim is to explain how and why each of these areas has developed as a tourism destination and to understand the interplay of factors that have underpinned this development. Chapter six specifically addresses the differences between factors of development in tourism areas and explains how these differences may impact on tourism development. Always mindful of broader forces at play, prior to addressing the empirical findings of the research, an overview of tourism development in Ireland in chapter three provides a context for understanding tourism development in the case areas, while chapter four outlines the methodology underpinning the research.

CHAPTER THREE: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN IRELAND

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the history of tourism development in Ireland providing a context for examining the development of tourism in the case study areas. While the aim of this research is to understand the way in which local places inform tourism development, it is also mindful of broader influences, to this end, this chapter addresses this by identifying factors at a national and international level that may have influenced tourism in the case study areas. This sets a backdrop for the story of tourism development in Killarney and Clifden, thereby rendering the research findings more meaningful. The chapter begins by providing an introduction to the contemporary tourism industry in Ireland going on to discuss the historical emergence of the industry, highlighting key factors and influences on its development.

3.1 An introduction to tourism in Ireland

Ireland is a small island country situated in north-western Europe. Although traditionally one of Europe's poorest countries today Ireland is a modern, trade-dependent economy with an average growth of 6% in the period between 1995-2007 (Irish Census, 2008). The performance of the Irish economy in general has been the focus of considerable commentary in recent years. The main reason for this attention has been Ireland's dramatic move from 'an economy with severe fiscal imbalances and endemic unemployment in the 1980s' to an economy that 'exhibited phenomenal economic growth and employment gains' in the 1990s (Deegan & Dineen, 2003:

147). While the turnaround in Ireland's economy can be attributed to many factors not least of which was the Irish governments policy for attracting foreign direct investment, there is no doubt but that 'tourism's contribution to the macroeconomic turnaround has been of consistent importance' (Deegan & Dineen, 2003: 162). The primarily locally-owned tourism industry has played an important role in the turnaround of the Irish economy (Volkman & Guydosh, 2001). Since the 1990s in particular, Ireland has experienced phenomenal growth as a tourist destination outperforming the rest of Europe and increasing its share of world tourist arrivals (Horwath Bastow Charleton, 2007). More recently, impacted by rising costs and a global recession, growth in tourism has slowed (Fáilte Ireland, 2008). Despite this, the industry continues to make a very strong contribution to the Irish economy, supporting high levels of employment (ITIC, 2007) and 'is arguably the most successful indigenous sector of sustained enterprise since the foundation of the State' (Travers, 2008).

Tourism has been, and continues to be a major force in Irish society (Cronin & O'Connor, 2003). It is currently Ireland's most important indigenous industry, accounting for almost 4% of GNP annually (Fáilte Ireland, 2008). The number of out-of-state visitors to Ireland reached a record 7.8 million in 2007 and revenue from tourism is now in excess of €6.5 billion, €5.5 billion of which was generated in the form of foreign exchange earnings (Fáilte Ireland, 2008).

Despite its obvious importance to the Irish economy, the story of Irish tourism is one of an industry that has developed erratically against a background of a more rapidly rising world tourism industry and increasing pressures on Ireland to solve its

endemically high unemployment problem (Deegan & Dineen, 1997). While tourism began to assume a level of importance from the 1950s, until the 1980s it was generally considered by the Irish Government as less central to economic development than other industry sectors. This position began to alter largely as a result of economic pressures that resulted in the Irish government seeking to develop alternatives to traditional industry sectors such as agriculture. In addition, the linkages between tourism and the goods producing sector of the economy and the forecasted growth projections for international tourism stimulated an interest in the industry (Deegan & Dineen, 1997). During the 1980s tourism began to be perceived as central to achieving economic and employment objectives and ‘growth in Ireland’s market share of world tourism since the mid-to-late 1980s has gone against the European trend, and against the previous 20 year Irish trend, and the employment contribution of tourism has almost doubled since 1989’ (Barry, 1999: 12). Despite its initial reluctant focus on tourism, Ireland’s approach to tourism development since the 1980s has allowed it to maximise its tourism potential through marketing its individuality and targeting niche markets (Thrift & Glennie, 1993). The expansion of tourism in Ireland has significantly contributed to the country’s performance throughout the 1990s and will undoubtedly remain a major factor in the Irish economy (Gorokhovskiy, 2003). Ireland’s economic and cultural fortunes are now intimately bound up with the success or failure of the tourist sector (O’Connor & Cronin, 1993). The country is deeply embedded in the flows of global tourism, where its unique identity, heritage and culture have become key resources for the continued success of its tourism industry.

An implication of the late recognition of tourism as an industry in Ireland is the lack of historical information about the development of the industry. Despite this dearth of information, it is possible to identify the existence of a tourism industry as early as the 1700s when the first spas had developed in Ireland at Lucan, Mallow and Castleconnell, among other places (Heuston, 1993). The following section provides an overview of the history of tourism development in Ireland focusing on key events that helped to shape the industry that exists today.

3.2 Early development

During the 1700s much of Irish tourism was based on the supposedly health-giving properties of the sea or of the mineral waters to be found at spas (O'Connor & Cronin, 1993). Although limited in comparison with continental and English spa centres, these Irish spas were effectively the first Irish holiday resorts (Gorokhovsky, 2003). Factors well outside of Ireland had an important bearing on the initial development of tourism in Ireland. Tourism was triggered largely by the demand created by the Romantic Movement which promoted an interest in beautiful scenery and a shift towards more rural settings to appreciate the natural landscape and to 'gaze on the wonders of nature' (Gorokhovsky, 2003: 97). The intellectual climate of the time led to the development of scenic tourism among the upper class, stimulating an appreciation of mountains, rivers and lakes, the sea and magnificent stretches of coastline (Heuston, 1993). Ireland, with its extensive natural beauty and rural landscapes attracted many of these visitors, and, at a time when the only form of mass communication was through the written word, the poets, writers and philosophers of

the Romantic era were hugely influential both in their writings as well as in their choice of places to travel.

The eighteenth century was a remarkable period in Ireland's history. It was a time of relative peace and the country benefited from a limited participation in Atlantic trade, evident from the prosperity of the ports (Moody & Martin, 2001). In contrast, Ireland of the nineteenth century was characterised by abject poverty and deep-rooted land problems. Tourism remained the privilege of the elite: the grand tour, the spas and the popular fashion for gazing on the wonders of nature were all the preserve of the aristocracy (O'Connor & Cronin, 1993). Only a tiny minority of the population could enjoy a period of time away from home for reasons unconnected with work (Heuston, 1993). The tourism industry was mainly concentrated in key locations such as Killarney, the Giant's Causeway, as well as seaside resorts including Bray, Portrush, Tramore and Kilkee (Evans, 1969). Much of Irish society was agrarian, dominated in many areas by a high number of small tenant farmers, cottiers and landless labourers (Ó Tuathaigh, 2007). These areas were ruled by landlords, 'whose interest in their property extended no further than the extraction from it of maximum rents' (ibid: 116). Rather than invest in, or encourage the development of their estates many landlords increased rents when tenants made improvements to the land and 'the prototypal landlord of propaganda – bleeding his tenants of rent while recognising no responsibility to them – too often corresponded to the reality' (ibid: 130). The impact of this was increased poverty and little or no development across much of Ireland.

3.3 Key influences on tourism development

A number of events in the 1800s had a profound impact on tourism development in Ireland. The first was the four visits of Queen Victoria to Ireland in 1849, 1853, 1861 and 1900. These were lavish affairs that were well publicised across the world bringing great attention to the country and stimulating increased numbers of travellers to Ireland. The second related to access, which presented a very real obstacle to the development of tourism in Ireland. Access improved with Charles Bianconi's 'Bianconi cars' in 1815. These offered a regular network of stage coaches covering an aggregate of 4,000 miles a day and pioneered 'low-cost transport at a time when public travel facilities – other than by canal – were confined to a few mail and day coaches on trunk roads at fares beyond the reach of the average man' in effect '... he opened up many areas for a new travelling public' (Bórd Fáilte, 1967:13). Even more important were the beginnings of a regular steam boat service between Ireland and England in the 1820s and the building of an extensive rail network in the 1840s and 1850s. This greatly improved access, in particular, the opening of the railway had a revolutionary impact on tourism as 'it was not until the development of an extensive rail network in the 1850s that the term 'tourist' could be applied in today's sense of the word' (Horgan, 2002: 34).

The growth of tourism in Ireland may have been facilitated by the huge technological advances in transport which took place during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but these events were paralled by the publication of numerous books about travel in Ireland (Furlong, 2009). During the nineteenth century over seven hundred books were written about Ireland and upto fifty were published during the Famine

years of 1840-1850 (ibid). 'In 1864 Murray's *Guide on Ireland* was published, and this was the first instance of Ireland being incorporated into an international series of guides' (Furlong, 2009: 19).

3.3.1 The role of the tour operator

The advent of the package tour also greatly influenced tourism development in Ireland as wealthy Americans began to visit Europe as part of the Grand tour. Cobh, in county Cork established itself as an important port for trans-Atlantic traffic and it was from here that the Sirius, the first steamer to cross the Atlantic, left for America in 1836. This was the port where most American visitors first set foot on Irish soil (Flynn, 1993). Cobh became the starting point for a series of tours of the surrounding region, the best known of which was a coastal tour beginning in west Cork and continuing overland by mountain to Killarney (Flynn, 1993).

Thomas Cook began to organise tours from England to Ireland during the nineteenth century (Bórd Fáilte, 1967). In 1895, he brought the first ever package tour from the USA to visit Glengarriff and Killarney and by the 1900s 'Cooks Tours in the Emerald Isle' consisted of a publication of over 100 pages providing an extensive range of holidays all over Ireland (Bórd Fáilte, 1967). In addition, Mr. F.W. Crossley, an employee of Thomas Cook & Sons travel agency, an avid supporter of Ireland as a tourism destination, established the 'Irish Tourism Association' in 1893 (Furlong, 2009). In 1899, he invited a number of high profile British residents, mainly journalists and politicians, to come and see what Ireland had to offer as a tourism

destination (Powell, 2002). The favourable reports received from these individuals resulted in Crossley opening the first ever Irish tourist office in London in 1909 (Powell, 2002).

3.4 Tourism in Ireland at the end of the nineteenth century

Tourism development during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was influenced by many factors not least of which was the Romantic Movement which created a demand for the rural and isolated landscapes of Ireland. Ireland became a fashionable destination for many members of English society who influenced the travel trends of others. Continual improvements in transport provided greater and more efficient access to Ireland and the advent of the railway revolutionised travel within Ireland. The work of tour operators and individual entrepreneurs such as Thomas Cook in developing the package holiday opened the area up to previously untapped markets. 'Irish men and women of means were not slow to avail themselves of the facilities offered by Cook ... and having seen what tourists could contribute by way of financial reward to regions which had been bypassed by the Industrial Revolution, by 1900 there was a small but vociferous body of Irish entrepreneurs anxious to promote the charms of 'the Emerald Isle' as a tourist destination' (Furlong, 2009: 9). However, tourism development in this period was haphazard and fragmented and reliant on many external factors not least of which was the fashion for travel at the time. Ireland's political position as a colony of Great Britain meant that tourism development in Ireland was reliant mainly on the English aristocracy. Ireland's economy depended heavily on agriculture and tourism as an industry was in its

infancy and as the twentieth century approached, tourism development in Ireland was to be influenced by many turbulent events.

3.5 Irish tourism in the twentieth century

Ireland at the beginning of the twentieth century was a place ‘with difference for those intrepid travellers who came to visit, replete with that picturesque wilderness so beloved of the Victorians’ (Furlong, 2009: 1 & 2). However, the beginning of the First World War in 1914 and the coming years proved difficult for tourism development. The 1916 Rising, The War of Independence, the Civil War, and the Second World War, combined with a world economic recession, all exacted a severe toll on Ireland’s tourism industry. Irish political independence in 1922 brought little change to the economic environment and the economy was still tightly linked to its former colonial master, Great Britain (Deegan, 2006). It continued to be heavily dependent on agriculture and in general performed poorly between the 1920s and the 1950s (Ó Gráda, 1997). During this period almost one million people left the country for good, and the living standards of those who stayed remained poor (Ó Gráda, 1997). In 1925 Ireland was at low ebb economically and tourist traffic was negligible, while services and facilities were disorganized (Fitzpatrick, 1961). Ireland had few ‘exceptional inducements’ to attract tourists, ‘nor were the majority of its inhabitants in any way alive to the advantages’ of tourists, ‘moreover, such improvements in accommodation and travelling facilities as existed was barely adequate to return the country to its pre-1914 condition’ (Furlong, 2009: 37).

Despite the poor economic climate and the fact that tourism was by no means a state priority (Thompson, 2003), the development of a tourist movement began very soon after the establishment of the Irish state (Deegan, 2006). The Irish Tourist Authority (ITA) was established in January 1925, unsurprisingly, however, it was hindered by a lack of funds that restricted its promotional and publicity activities (Deegan & Dineen, 1997). Although tourism was part of the remit of the Department of Industry and Commerce, it was not a priority of the Irish government and was effectively left in the hands of the voluntary ITA (Deegan, 2006). The tourism industry at this time continued to be almost entirely dependent on the British economy's fluctuations, as well as the traveling trends of the middle classes there (Thompson, 2003). Tourism as an industry was not recognised as an important component of the Irish economy.

An important initiative was taken by government when measures to encourage the development of tourism were included in the Tourist Traffic (Development) Act of 1931 (Deegan, 2006). The act ensured that the ITA was the official beneficiary of local government finance and provided extra finance for the promotion of tourism. The association published guides, folders and maps, set up its own photographic and film units and intensified its drive to promote Ireland's attractions abroad (Fitzpatrick, 1961). However, the funding available to the ITA to carry out their objectives for tourism development was miniscule and with the outbreak of the war in 1939 tourism development and all planned initiatives were put on hold (Deegan, 2006).

Access into Ireland and in particular to the west coast was dramatically improved by the opening of Shannon airport, on the west coast of Ireland in the early 1900s. In

addition, the 1936 establishment of the state owned airline, Aer Lingus, provided fast and comfortable access to Ireland (Guiney, 2002). Aer Lingus expanded rapidly after the Second World War and by 1958 introduced a transatlantic service to complement its comprehensive series of routes to the rest of Western Europe (Brunt, 1988). In addition to providing improved and extended access into Ireland, the role that Aer Lingus played in the direct and indirect promotion of the tourist industry in Ireland was of great significance to the development of Irish tourism (ibid). The increase in transatlantic flights into the country combined with the increased marketing of Ireland as a tourism destination played a major role in the development of tourism in Ireland, in particular in established tourist resorts whose developed infrastructure positioned them to take full advantage of the resulting increase in visitors. The inauguration of a scheduled air service between Ireland and Great Britain was deemed as a new era for tourism in Ireland (Furlong, 2009).

3.5.1 Post-war developments

Throughout the Second World War the ITA kept the home fires of tourism burning (Furlong, 2009). The industry encountered a short-term boom after the Second World War mainly because of the plentiful supply of fresh produce available in Ireland, which attracted large numbers of visitors from England where rationing was still in effect (Deegan, 2006). In addition, international currency restrictions and the poor state of transport infrastructure discouraged travel to Europe (ibid). During this time the Irish Tourist Board held a number of public meetings to gain first-hand information on the problems confronting tourism development (Furlong, 2009). One

such meeting was held in Connemara in the west of Ireland, as the board were convinced that the only industry that could benefit the region was tourism (Furlong, 2009).

Now, in the 1950s, the Irish state began for the first time to consider tourism seriously (Furlong, 2009). Prior to this a rather malign attitude to tourism development was quite common and many of the elected members of the Irish Parliament (The Dáil) were quite negative towards tourism development (Deegan, 2006). This new emphasis on tourism development at a state level in the 1950s was largely stimulated by outside forces. In particular, the threat by the United States to stop the Marshall Aid that Ireland had been receiving in the early post war years if tourism development was not given a priority by the Irish Government was instrumental in this change (Deegan & Dineen, 1997). This increased focus on tourism was manifest in the introduction of the Tourist Traffic Act in 1955 and the establishment of Bórd Fáilte¹ (The Irish Tourist Board). It also resulted in increased, although limited, financial support for tourism development, which Bórd Fáilte used to improve the inadequate accommodation base in Ireland (Deegan, 2006). Despite this increased focus, the role of tourism in Irish economic development remained ‘very much the poor relation of economic policy’ (Deegan, 2006: 4). Throughout the 1950s Ireland was engulfed by a severe economic recession which resulted in widespread unemployment and

¹ Bórd Fáilte later amalgamated with CERT (the state tourism training agency) to become Fáilte Ireland

emigration and Ireland ended the decade with less real earnings from tourism than in 1948 (Deegan & Dineen, 1997; Furlong, 2009).

3.5.2 Improved economic conditions and a more structured approach

An upturn in the world economy in the 1960s fuelled an increase in international travel. A similar upturn in the Irish economy during the same period meant that holidays became possible for middle and lower-income Irish families (O'Connor & Cronin, 1993). The provision of public funds to enhance tourism, which had begun in the late 1950s were significantly enhanced in the 1960s (Deegan, 2006). A movement towards a more positive stance on tourism development came with the passing of the Tourist Traffic Act in 1961 which provided for increased finance for tourism development (Deegan & Dineen, 1997). Two priority areas: accommodation and resort development were seen as sufficiently important to warrant special attention and absorbed almost two-thirds of the direct capital expenditure by the State in tourism from 1960-70 (Deegan, 2006). The major resorts and resort areas selected by Bórd Fáilte for development were Galway/Salthill, Killarney, Bray, Dunlaoghaire, Tramore, Skerries, Kilkee, Youghal, Ballybunion, Lahinch, Arklow, Greystones, West Cork, County Donegal, Achill Island, Dingle Peninsula, River Shannon and Lakes (Deegan & Dineen, 1997). This availability of state finance for the development of tourism enabled the provision of facilities and amenities for tourists and enhanced the overall tourism product (Deegan, 2006). Another key area for development during this period was innovation in product development and during the 1960s a number of innovative projects were developed (Deegan, 2006). Most

planning for tourism during this time was undertaken by Bórd Fáilte, and their plans were predominantly national in nature (Pearce, 1990).

One of the most important developments was the decentralisation of tourism administration in 1964 when eight regional tourism organisations (RTO's) were founded with the purpose of supporting tourism development throughout the regions of Ireland (Gillmor, 1985). The organisations were established to stimulate and co-ordinate the development of regional tourism resources, to provide regional leadership in the servicing and marketing of tourism and to promote the regional implementation of national policies and plans (ibid). During this period Bórd Fáilte became concerned with the conservation of countryside, coastline, areas of botanic and geological interest and the protection of wildlife and participated in the establishment of Derrynane National Park (in Co. Kerry) and the planning of Killarney National Park (also in Co. Kerry) (Furlong, 2009). Tourism exhibited strong growth in the number of visitors to Ireland during the 1960s and before the political instability began in Northern Ireland the registered growth to 1969 was 52% (Deegan & Dineen, 1997). The improved performance of tourism during the 1960s led to a greater recognition of the contribution of tourism to the national economy (ibid).

Many varied factors however, underpinned Ireland's poor economic performance from the 1970s up to the mid 1980s (Walsh 1996). During the first half of the 1970s Irish tourism suffered a decline, a direct result of violence in Northern Ireland, high inflation rates and poor product development, however it recovered at a slow but steady pace in the 1980s (Deegan, 2006). All of these factors, combined with two oil crises and their associated recessions, as well as the greater promotion of other

destinations by state agencies and tour operators negatively affected Ireland's attractiveness (Gillmor, 1985). The main emphasis on government investment in tourism development during this period continued to be subventions in the form of grants and interest subsidies to increase accommodation stock and special aids for resorts (mainly seaside) (Deegan & Dineen, 1997). Much of the work in product innovation that began in the 1960s was absent from this period, and policy design and delivery was largely left to *Bórd Fáilte*, overall there was no clear strategic focus on how the industry should develop as this was a decade of survival (Deegan & Dineen, 1997).

3.5.3 The impact of European funding and government policy

An important date in Irish history is 1973, when Ireland was accepted as a member of the European Economic Community. EC (now EU) membership provided a number of significant benefits to Ireland, not least of which was greater access to wider leisure markets and the development of new transport links in air and shipping (Carter & Parker, 1989). The European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) founded by the EU in 1975 provided direct funding for tourism development. Ireland, which was classified as an Objective One Region (regions whose development is lagging) was eligible for funding however, the general lack of any real focus on tourism development in Ireland is apparent by the fact that the Irish Government took little advantage of the funding until 1984 (Volkman & Guydosh, 2001).

It was against a rather bleak economic outlook for the Irish economy during the 1980s that a renewed Government interest in tourism emerged. A White Paper on Tourism

Policy (1985) was published and while this paper recognised the role of tourism in optimising 'the economic and social benefits to Ireland of the promotion and development of tourism' (Government of Ireland, 1985: 8), it downplayed the role of public expenditure in financing promotion and capital development schemes (Deegan, 2006). However, the belief that tourism had a central role to play in Ireland's economic development gained credence during the 1980s (Deegan and Dineen, 1997). There existed 'a new awareness of the economic importance of tourism as a vital national industry, crucial for its contribution to foreign earnings and jobs' (Furlong, 2009: 209). Compared with the relative stagnation of the 1970s, tourism visitors to Ireland increased by 119% over the period 1981-1994, from 1.680 million to 3.679 million (Deegan & Dineen, 1997). Tourism was Ireland's third largest export, with out-of-state earnings accounting for approximately 7% of the country's exports of goods and services, and 76,000 jobs (Furlong, 2009).

During the 1990s, there was substantial improvement in the Irish tourism product primarily as a result of the availability of EU Structural Funds and of tourism being recognised as an appropriate recipient of this assistance (Walsh, 1996). Two Operational Programmes for Tourism funded under the auspices of European Structural Funds allowed significant investment in new tourism product (Deegan & Dineen, 2003). The Operational Programme for 1989-1993 represented the most systematic approach Ireland had seen to planning and resourcing the industry (Walsh, 1996). Pearce (1992) notes that this change in official government policy accounts for increased tourist targets and investment plans. This period in Irish tourism began to show the benefits of a greater emphasis on tourism and tourism's share of GNP increased from 5.5% to 7% in 1993 (Volkman & Guydosh, 2001). Ireland's 1994-

1999 Operational Programme coincided with an increasing economic position and was Ireland's most comprehensive European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) request (Volkman & Guydosh, 2001). This programme also corresponded with an increased focus on tourism by the EU. The 1994-1999 Operational Programme incorporated the goals set out in the EU 'Green Paper' for tourism and overall the 1994-1999 period saw IR£700 million infused into the Irish tourism infrastructure from a combination of EU and Irish Government funding (Walsh, 1996). Tourism policy during the 1990s was adopted in large part from a report commissioned by the Irish Hotel Federation, a national sector organisation (Pearce, 1990). While in general, overall control of tourism policy and its implementation up to this period had remained the responsibility of Bord Fáilte (Deegan, 2006). The Irish Government began to bring policy more firmly under its own control and Bord Fáilte's activities became more focused on overseas promotion, and consumer marketing (Gorokhovsky, 2003).

On the fundamental issues of access, price competitiveness and product, there can be no doubt that public intervention played an important role in the performance of tourism from 1986 (Deegan & Dineen, 2003). According to Barrett (1991) Irish tourism enjoyed the highest rates of growth in the OECD from 1986 and saw significant upgrading in its product as well as enjoying greater international demand. He explains that it is likely that state support enabled this rapid progression by providing valuable funds for 'kick starting' small and medium sized tourism oriented commercial operations, as well as improving infrastructure. Barrett (1991) notes the importance of the introduction of a tighter fiscal regime in Ireland from 1987 onwards

considerably reducing price inflation and contributing to Ireland's competitiveness. Hannigan (1997) also observes that the tourism policy implemented since the mid 1980s facilitated rapid growth in tourism however, this occurred most noticeably in those areas that were already strong in the tourist industry.

In addition to these factors, Deegan & Dineen (2003) explain that Ireland benefited from being seen as a 'fashionable destination' in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This was strongly linked to the popularity of Irish music, dance and film and the fact that Ireland continued to be perceived as a destination that was quiet and unspoilt. The importance of Ireland's image at this time is stressed by Einri (2000) who explains that the 1980s and 1990s saw a new and remarkable emphasis on the ties between the Irish at home and those around the world. Einri explains that Irish identity was put on the map and even made cool at this time by the new wave of Irish singers, musicians and cultural artists both from within Ireland and also from within the Irish Diaspora. While it is difficult to calculate the number of people of Irish extraction worldwide, the figure of 70 million is commonly cited (Volkman & Guydosh, 2001). Combined with this, Ireland's image as a 'green', low density destination made it a popular choice for many Europeans. The Tourism Brand Ireland campaign (TBI), launched in 1996 by Bórd Fáilte and the Northern Ireland Tourist Board, maximised on this image and was according to O'Maolain (2001: 12) 'one of the world's largest tourism marketing ventures' and helped to establish Ireland as 'a green and pleasant land' (O'Maolain, 2001: 12).

The 1990s witnessed a phase of sustained development and tourism was recognised as an important contribution to the economy. Because of its island location the continued developments in air transport combined with the introduction of car ferries in the 1960s were of particular significance in the Irish context (Gillmor, 1994b). In the mid-1980s the policy-driven liberalisation of air access, and the opening of Ryanair, a new low cost airline, reducing airfares between Ireland and Britain by over 50%, and in its wake, bringing down sea fares by almost as much, was a major stimulus to tourism (Barrett, 1997).

3.5.4 Tourism as an important aspect of the Irish economy

While the growth rates of European tourism are evident for most years during the 1990s, not all countries benefited equally from this process (Walsh, 1996). Walsh (1996: 3) quotes from a report undertaken by Tansey, Webster & Associates (1995) who note that 'Ireland achieved the fastest growth in earnings from international tourism amongst fifteen prime European destinations in the period 1980-1992'. Walsh goes on to explain that 'Ireland's relative performance cannot be attributed solely to external factors, but probably to a combination of factors' (1996:3). Included in these factors are; 'the expansion of the Irish tourist product base, more effective marketing, improved access transport and an international trend to move away from sun holidays coinciding with the image of Ireland as a 'green' destination' (Walsh, 1996: 3). Ireland has benefited from its image as a green, nuclear-free and relatively non-industrial country (O'Maolain 2000). Its early recognition of the importance of migration/genealogical tourism, image tourism, and heritage tourism led to increased funding of the local tourism product and during the 1975-1988 period Ireland was the

only country to adopt this tourism strategy, a strategy that ‘has assisted in tripling the number of tourists visiting Ireland between 1988 and 1999’ (Volkman & Guydosy, 2001: 7).

After an uncertain start, the tourist industry in Ireland has expanded enormously in recent years, with visits from overseas increasing from 1.9 million in 1986 to about 5.7m in 1998 and 7.8m in 2007 (figure 3.1) and revenue from tourism is now in excess of €6.5 billion, €5.5 billion of which is generated in the form of foreign exchange earnings (Fáilte Ireland, 2008).



Figure 3.1 Overseas visitors to Ireland 1960-2008

Source: Fáilte Ireland reports: various

‘Now, in the first decade of the new millennium, tourism has become a crucial component in the Irish economy and an integral part of Irish life’ (Furlong, 2009: 4). Tourism is now Ireland’s most important indigenous industry, accounting for almost 4% of GNP annually (Fáilte Ireland, 2008). The complexity of the tourist industry and the multiplicity of influences to which it is subject ensure that no simple explanation for its development is adequate (Gillmor, 1994a). Its growth can be attributed to a range of factors, including government policy, capital investment by the private sector, the state and the EU in providing funding to improve accessibility, infrastructure and product. In addition, expansion of the industry has been related to those influences that have contributed to the development of international tourism in general including; greater affluence, more leisure time, improved transport, increased population and urbanisation, stronger desires to travel, and greater tourism organisation and promotion (Gillmor, 1994b). Tourism development in Ireland reflects influences from both a global and national level; fashion, affluence, transport, finance, promotion, publicity, and product development have all played a key role in its development. In addition, Ireland’s approach to product development, its success in developing heritage tourism and promotion of Ireland as a ‘green’ destination has underpinned its success as a tourism destination. Through its focus on heritage and culture it has constructed a place image that attracts tourists, harnessing global opportunities to create its uniqueness in a way that is similar to that described by Sum and So (2004) when discussing the development of tourism in Hong Kong. This provided Ireland with a place-based competitive advantage that allowed it to maximise local advantages in a similar way to that suggested by Robertson (1990). Ireland’s response to the opportunities afforded by its membership of the EU as well as the general increase in world travel in the 1980s allowed it to reposition itself as,

what Bauman (1998) referred to as a 'must see' tourist attraction. Its ability to niche market, and to focus on its individuality as identified by Thrift and Glennie (1993) allowed Ireland to develop its tourism potential and position itself within the global tourism industry.

The stronger economic climate of recent years has attracted international branded hotels into the Irish market, which has traditionally comprised of smaller, family run businesses (Horwarth Bastow Charlton, 2008). The majority of these are in the four and five star category and they have contributed to the increased quality of the hotel infrastructure, introducing international standards of professionalism (Melia, 2009; figure 3.1). This increased infrastructure has not been restricted to major cities as international branded hotel chains have opened in many rural and less developed tourism areas such as Sligo, on the north west coast of Ireland, Cavan town in the midlands amongst many others.

Table 3.1 International Hotel Chains in Ireland (Four and Five Star)

Group	Hotels	Rooms	Star Grade
Radisson	11	1,642	4 and 5
Clarion	7	1,510	4 and 5
Hilton	4	663	4 and 5
Marriott	3	450	5
Starwood	2	300	5
Shearson	4	600	5
Ritz-Carlton	1	280	5
Four Seasons	1	270	5
Westin	1	250	5
Conrad	2	260	5
Park Inn	1	150	5
Hyatt	1	220	5
Carlton	7	622	4
Ramada	5	550	4
Renaissance	1	230	4
Total	51		

Source: Adapted from Melia (2009)

Tourism policy has now shifted from job creation to sustained foreign exchange earnings and a growing emphasis on sustainable and spatially balanced development (Deegan, 2006). In 2002, a high level Tourism Policy Review Group was appointed to assess the performance and economic impact of the Irish tourism sector and to identify key elements of a strategy, both industry and Government led, for future sustainable development of the industry (ibid). The New Horizon report published in 2003, acknowledged the importance of tourism to the Irish economy and set out a strategy for tourism which was 'comprehensive, coherent and challenging for the industry itself and for Government' (Travers, 2003). Much of the report is startlingly similar in content to strategy set out in the 1980s, suggesting a failure of public policy, at least until recently, to solve many issues that are endemic to the industry such as the regional distribution of tourism (Deegan, 2006). However, the general conclusions and recommendations of the report are according to Deegan, appropriate and commendable. In 2006, a Tourism Strategy Implementation Group was established by Government to provide a continued impetus for the implementation of the New Horizons strategy and action plan. Also of significance is the National Development Plan 2007-2013 (NDP), which includes the largest-ever Government investment programme for the development of tourism. This Tourism Development Programme, which provides for an €800m Exchequer investment in tourism, also has as one of its fundamental objectives the stimulation of regional development (Government of Ireland, 2007). The programme includes an investment of €335m to promote the island of Ireland in key international markets in an effort to increase tourism revenue and visitor yield and to help achieve a wider regional and seasonal distribution of business. It also includes a 'Product Development and Infrastructure' sub-programme, which provides €317m to upgrade and supplement attractions and

activities and to deliver a National Conference Centre in Dublin. Additionally, it includes a Training and Human Resource Development Sub-Programme, which will invest €148m in the education and training of the tourism workforce, both domestic and international workers, as well as sustaining structured educational opportunities in the third level colleges and Institutes of Technology around the country (Government of Ireland, 2007). It also provides for the continuation of initiatives aimed at improving management capability and networking in SMEs and micro-enterprises at regional level (Government of Ireland, 2007). In addition to direct investment, the NDP includes a range of complementary programmes that are expected to greatly benefit the future development of tourism. These relate not only to the major planned capital investment in transport, energy and environmental services but also to the proposed investment of over €900m in culture infrastructure and €990m in sport infrastructure (Government of Ireland, 2007).

3.6 Patterns of tourism development in Ireland

While tourism in Ireland has grown substantially since the 1980s, this growth has not been equal in all areas across the country and some areas have developed more than others with regard to tourism. This has occurred despite numerous policies to achieve regional tourism balance (Deegan, 2006) and is evident over many years of the industry's development in Ireland. For example table 3.2 and 3.3 show the distribution of tourist revenue in the different tourism regions in Ireland between 1976, 1988, 1991 (table 3.2) and 2008 (table 3.3). While there are variations in the percentages, Dublin, the southwest and the west regions have consistently reaped the largest proportion of tourism revenue. Dublin is the smallest geographical region but

the single most important focus for tourism, reflecting the various attractions of the capital city in addition to it being the country's main international gateway and a centre for business travel (Gillmor, 1994b). The second largest region in terms of tourism revenue is the southwest (Cork/Kerry) tourism region. Kerry is a leading county in the southwest where Killarney town, one of Ireland's most important tourism centres is located (Gillmor, 1994a). While in the western part of the country, Galway-Salthill is a key tourism resort (ibid). The west is also home to Connemara one of the most popular regions for visitors in the area, a tour of which involves a circuit of about sixty-eight miles, centred on Clifden, the capital of Connemara (Moriarty, 2001). One explanation for the success of the southwest and west regions is that tourism is strongly oriented towards the coastal areas; this is partly because of the scenic attraction of the coast and the scope which it provides for beach and water based activities (Gillmor, 1994b). Just as Christaller (1963) found, 'tourism by its nature tends to distribute development away from the industrial centres towards those regions in a country which have not been developed' (Peters, 1981: 11).

Table 3.2 Tourism revenue per region, 1976, 1988, and 1991

Region	Revenue (%) 1976	Revenue (%) 1988	Revenue (%) 1991
Dublin	24.8	29.9	22.7
Southwest	22.3	22.1	20.4
West	14.1	12.8	14.6
Midwest	9.7	9.7	13.3
Southeast	9.7	9.6	10.5
East/Midlands	8.3	7.2	9.8
Northwest	11.2	8.7	9.4

Source: Gillmor, 1994 (a & b)

The disparity between different tourism areas in Ireland is also apparent in Bórd Fáilte's strategy 'Developing Sustainable Tourism' (1992) where a four-fold framework with a strong spatial dimension was proposed for the implementation of the strategy (Gillmor, 1994b). The aim of this approach was to co-ordinate investment decisions and promote 'realisation of the full potential of all parts of the state' (Gillmor, 1994b: 30). This four-fold framework divided areas into, tourism centres, rural tourism areas, tourism areas and special interest centres. The tourism centres further divided areas depending on their level of development and included 5 major centres, 10 established centres and 26 developing centres. The major centres in rank order include; Dublin, Killarney (the only rural town), Galway, Cork and Limerick, (Bórd Fáilte, 1992).

A later tourism development strategy by Bórd Fáilte in 2000 provided a similar 'Framework for Development', which viewed the country as falling into three distinct types in relation to tourism (Bórd Fáilte, 2000). These three types of areas included: established tourism areas, developing tourism areas and special interest tourism areas, classified on the basis of their stage of development, accommodation stock and potential for further development. The established tourist areas included 'mature areas around the cities of Dublin, Cork, Limerick/Shannon/Ennis, and Galway and the town of Killarney. Once again Killarney town is the only town designated an established tourism area, a direct reflection of its level of development, its accommodation stock and its potential to achieve continued self-sustaining growth (Bórd Fáilte, 2006). While Clifden, the capital of Connemara in the west region is designated a developing area, that has shown significant potential for growth.

An overview of the regional pattern of development is provided by the Irish Tourist Industry Confederation (ITIC, 2006) and shows a similar disparity between the regions between the periods 1999–2005. Dublin once again is the top performing region, while the Southwest (Cork/Kerry) region is second and the west region is third (figure 3.2).

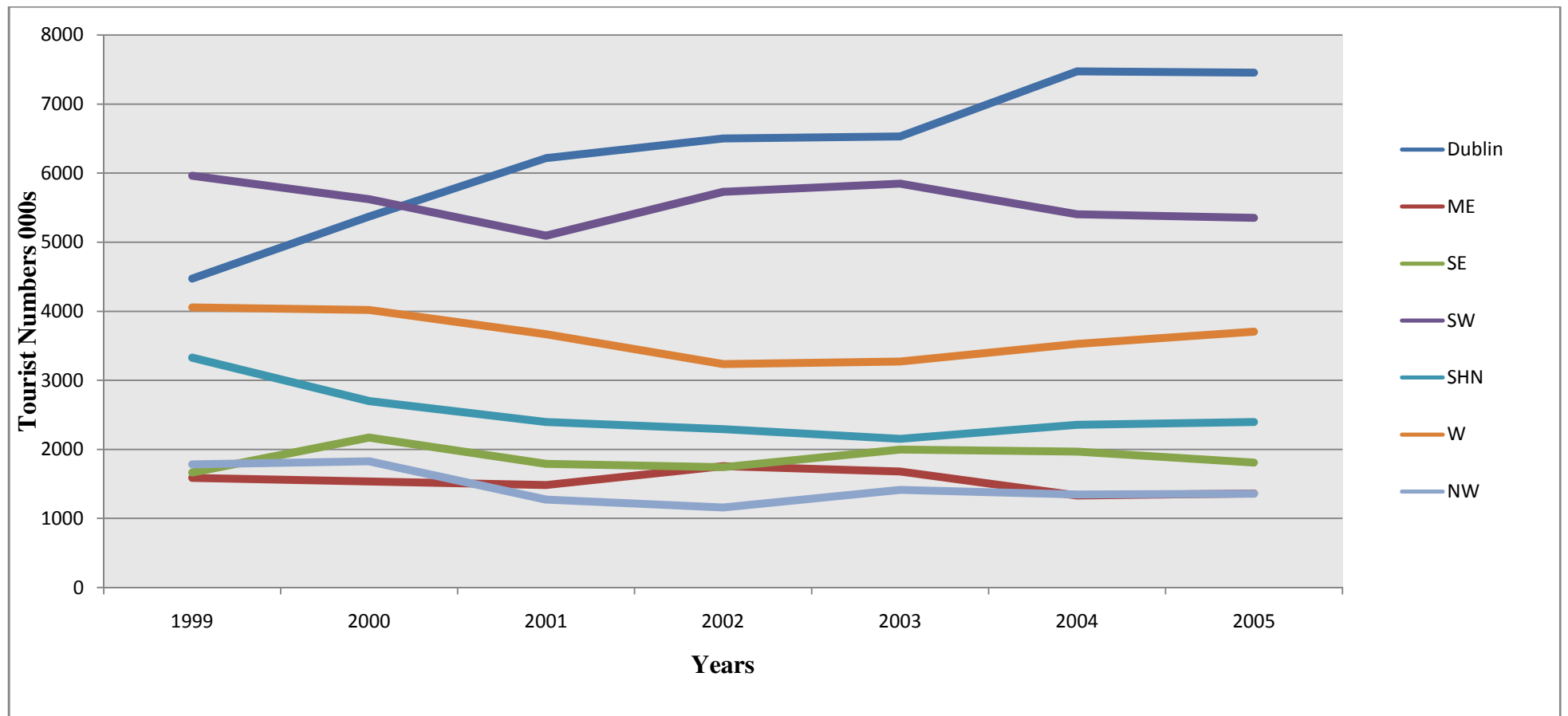


Figure 3.2 Regional Patterns of Tourism Development in Ireland

Source: ITIC (2006)

A similar picture is evident for 2008 with Dublin, the southwest and the west regions remaining on top, attracting the greatest number of tourists as well as the highest revenue from tourism (table 3.3). Dublin remains the main gateway for international travel and the recent growth in city break tourism as a result of the arrival of low cost airlines, goes a long way to explaining its top position. While statistical information on tourism in Ireland is available only on a regional basis, there is a general understanding both nationally and internationally that Killarney in the southwest region is a leading tourism destination.

Table 3.3 Tourism revenue and numbers per region 2008

Region	Tourism Revenue (€m)	Tourist Numbers (000s)
Dublin	1,665.8	5,627
Southwest	1,205.5	3,781
West	771.8	2,754
Southeast	526.2	2,190
East/Midlands	484.3	1,869
Northwest	423.1	1,596

Source: Fáilte Ireland Tourism Facts 2007 (Note: this data is not directly comparable with the 1991 figures because of some boundary changes.)

For this reason, as discussed in chapter three, the primary case study of this research is undertaken into tourism development in Killarney. The aim is to understand why Killarney has achieved this level of development and to identify the factors that have underpinned its success. While there is no doubt that many of the factors that

influenced tourism development in Ireland in general have influenced Killarney, this research is concerned with understanding the way in which the area has informed its own development. In addition, the research uses Clifden, Co. Galway as a reference case for drawing comparisons with Killarney. This provides a more comprehensive understanding of how areas inform tourism development, the factors underpinning their development and how these can differ between areas. Prior to these case studies, chapter four outlines the methodology underpinning the research as well as a review of the methods used to gather the research data.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

Research is concerned with understanding the world and is informed by how the researcher views their world(s), what they take understanding to be, and what they see as the purpose of understanding (Cohen, *et al.* 2000). This chapter turns to the subject of methodology and aims to describe and explain the journey taken in pursuit of an answer to the research question outlined in chapter one. The focus of this research is to understand why different places have differing experiences with regard to tourism development. It is concerned with gaining insight into the lived experience of two places in relation to tourism development with the ultimate aim of identifying the factors that have underpinned development, how these can differ between areas and the consequences of this for tourism development.

This research is concerned with places and in particular, it is concerned with understanding tourism development in places. This focus on place immediately privileges the use of case study (Quinn, 1998) as a methodological approach that can provide a holistic view of the phenomena being studied i.e. tourism development. The use of case study methodology allows for a research design that best captures the dynamics of tourism development in its context, providing a flexible framework that favours the use of both quantitative and qualitative data.

4.1 Research approach

This research takes a pragmatic approach to understanding the factors that underpin tourism development. This means that the decisions concerning methodology and methods were determined by the research topic and questions. The chosen methodology needed to support a framework that would provide a holistic account of the factors influencing the development of tourism in the research area. Case studies generally focus on the questions of how and why, typically using a variety of techniques and focusing from a comparatively broad outlook to a progressively narrower subject area (Yin, 1994). They are an effective way to make a detailed study of an area, such as this, in which the researcher has no control over influencing variables (Johns & Lee-Ross, 1998: 58). Case study methodology is appropriate when investigators desire to: (a) define topics broadly and not narrowly: (b) cover contextual conditions and not just the phenomena of the study: and (c) rely on multiple and not singular sources of evidence (Yin, 1993). This research looks at the topic of tourism development in the case areas, Killarney, an established tourism area in Ireland, and Clifden, a developing tourism area in Ireland. In doing so, it examines the phenomena of tourism within the context of the place itself as well as from the broad perspective of national and global influences. Tourism is a complex phenomena that cannot be separated from its surroundings, and the case study is the method of choice when the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context, and the richness of the context means that the study cannot rely on a single data collection method but will likely need to use multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 1994). A case study was considered an appropriate approach for this research because as Miles and Huberman (1994) amongst others (Patton, 2002; Stake, 2000; Yin, 1989, 1993, 1994) suggest, they are the best

method for analysing a complex process. Supporting the pragmatic approach taken by the research, the case study orientates towards the use of multiple sources of evidence and supports the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data (Stake, 2000). The multiple sources are used in a converging fashion, so that data should triangulate over the “facts” of the case. ‘By combining several lines of sight, researchers obtain a better, more substantive picture of reality; a richer, more complete array of symbols and theoretical concepts; and a means of verifying many of these elements’ (Berg, 2004: 5). Ultimately, this research drew from all of the following:

1. The nature of the case;
2. The case’s historical background;
3. The physical setting;
4. Other contexts (e.g. global and national)
5. Those informants through whom the case can be known.

(Source: Stake, 2000)

4.2 The use of mixed methods

As already stated, this research is underpinned by a pragmatic paradigm that supports the use of mixed-methods in research. While this research is primarily a qualitative study, the use of a quantitative data collection technique (survey) supported the qualitative research and guided the research in determining potential subjects for interview as well as highlighting key themes. In this way, the approach taken was to embed a quantitative method (survey) within a qualitative design. This methodology is supported by Morgan (1998) and Morse (1991) who claim that a researcher may decide

within a research project whether to give the quantitative and qualitative components of a mixed study equal status, or to give one the dominant status. Similarly, Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, (2004) support the idea that in a qualitative study the researcher might want to qualitatively observe and interview, but supplement this with a closed-ended instrument to measure systematically, certain factors considered important in the relevant research literature. The research, according to Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, is improved by the ability to add a component that surveys a sample from the population of interest. They claim that if findings are corroborated across different approaches then greater confidence can be placed in the conclusion; if the findings conflict then the researcher has greater knowledge and can modify interpretations and conclusions accordingly (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004: 19). However, the goal of this research was not to corroborate findings but rather as explained by Onwuegbuzie & Leech (2005), the objective was to use mixed-methods to expand the researcher's knowledge of the case areas.

4.3 Research philosophy

As a research paradigm, the mixed-methods approach incorporates a very distinct set of ideas and practices that separate the approach from other research paradigms (Denscombe, 2008). Its evolution can be placed against a backdrop of the 'paradigm war' (Denscombe, 2008). This paradigm war has been ongoing for the last two decades with much of the discussion in social science research methods focusing on the distinction between qualitative and quantitative research (Morgan, 2007). Denscombe (2008: 270) traces the beginnings of mixed-method research in the midst of this paradigm war, characterised by 'an early period in which the positivist paradigm (linked

with quantitative methodologies) was dominant (1950s to mid-1970s)'. This he explains 'changed to an era in which the constructivist' (also known as interpretivist) 'research paradigm (linked with qualitative methodologies) became established as a viable alternative (mid-1970s to 1990s).' Mixed-methods, as a research paradigm emerged from the 1990s onwards, establishing itself alongside the previous paradigms, and is linked with the use of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies (Denscombe, 2008).

Philosophically, mixed-methods 'is the 'third wave' that moves past the paradigm war by offering a logical and practical alternative (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004: 17). It is an alternative paradigm, to qualitative (Interpretivist paradigm) and quantitative research (Positivist paradigm) where both quantitative and qualitative research is considered important, and useful in answering the research question (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Its recognition is acknowledged in '... the way it combines quantitative and qualitative methodologies on the basis of pragmatism and a practice-driven need to mix methods' (Denscombe, 2008: 280). The goal of mixed-methods is not to replace either positivism or interpretivism, but rather to draw from the strengths of each in research studies (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). One of the ways in which mixed-method research can be used is to produce a more complete picture of the research by combining information from complementary kinds of data or sources (Denscombe, 2008) this is the approach that has been taken by this research.

Today's research world is becoming increasingly interdisciplinary, complex, and dynamic; therefore, researchers need to complement one method with another gaining a

better understanding of multiple methods used by other researchers to facilitate communication, and promote collaboration to achieve superior research (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Research in a content domain that is dominated by one method can often be better informed by the use of multiple methods, the bottom line is that research approaches should be mixed in ways that offer the best opportunities for answering important research questions (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). To understand the mixed-method paradigm it is of use to examine it in the context of both positivism and interpretivism, both of which are dominant paradigms in social sciences.

4.3.1 Positivism, interpretivism and pragmatism

‘For more than a century, the advocates of quantitative and qualitative research paradigms have engaged in ardent dispute’ (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Quantitative researchers (associated with positivism) maintain that social science research should be objective, that researchers should eliminate their biases, remain emotionally detached and uninvolved with the objects of study, and test or empirically justify their stated hypotheses (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Positivists believe that reality is separate from those who observe it, they consider the subject (the researcher) and the object (the phenomena being researched) to be two separate independent things (Weber, 2004). In short, Weber claims, positivistic ontology is said to be dualistic in nature. Positivism assumes that individuals have direct, unmediated access to the real world and subscribes to the theory that it is possible to obtain hard, secure, objective knowledge about this external reality (Carson, *et al.*, 2001: 4). It holds that ‘the world is external and objective, therefore its epistemology is based on the belief that observers

are independent and that science is value-free' (Carson et al 2001: 5). Positivists have, according to Tashakkory & Teedlie (1998), traditionally called for rhetorical neutrality, involving a formal writing style using the impassive voice and technical terminology, in which establishing and describing social laws is the major focus. Positivism underlies what are called quantitative methods of data collection (ibid).

Positivism has been criticised as a rigorous method that can lead to an oversimplification of reality (Walle, 1997). This may result from the exclusion of phenomena that cannot be processed by its methods, 'the rich complexity of the world as lived is side stepped' (Tribe, 2001: 444). The search for an alternative to the rigidities of positivism has led to a number of competing perspectives in the philosophy and sociology of science (Carson, *et al.*, 2001). Possibly the greatest shift within social science research from 1980 through 2000 was the renewed attention to qualitative research (Morgan, 2007). During this period, a new paradigm emerged that aimed to overcome the drawbacks of positivism. The introduction of interpretivism provided a choice of paradigms for researchers, previously constrained within the boundaries of positivism. Interpretivism avoids the rigidity of positivism by using a more personal process to understand reality, instead of trying to explain causal relationships by means of objective 'facts' and statistical analysis (Carson, *et al.*, 2001).

Unlike positivism, interpretivism believes that reality and the individual who observes it cannot be separated (Weber, 2004). It is based on an ontology that assumes that 'individuals do not have direct access to the real world but that their knowledge of this perceived world (or worlds) is meaningful in its own terms and can be understood

through careful use of appropriate interpretivist and relativist procedures' (Carson, *et al.*, 2001: 4). Interpretivism can be placed on the opposite side of the continuum to positivism and is concerned with understanding what is happening in a given context (Carson, *et al.*, 2001). 'It includes consideration of multiple realities, different actors' perspectives, researcher involvement, taking account of the contexts of the phenomena under study' (Carson, *et al.*, 2001: 5). The assumptions of interpretivism holds that individuals seek understanding of the world they live in, and develop subjective meanings of their experiences, these meanings are varied and multiple leading the researcher to look for a complexity of views rather than narrow meanings (Creswell, 2009). Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004: 14) explain that qualitative researchers 'are characterised by a dislike of a detached and passive style of writing preferring instead, detailed rich, and thick (emphatic) description, written directly and somewhat informally.

While positivism has been largely linked to quantitative research, interpretivism has been linked to qualitative research. These purist approaches to research have favoured particular research techniques that supported their ideological stand points (Gilbert, 2006). However, while the distinction between positivism and interpretivism may be clear at the philosophical level, when it comes to the use of quantitative or qualitative methods and to the issues of research design, the distinction breaks down (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Denscombe (2008) notes that there have been many contemporary instances of combining methods without explicit acknowledgement of how the practice relates to the mixed-methods approach. For example, Decrop, (2004) proposes method triangulation (the use of multiple methods, which can involve both quantitative and qualitative techniques) as a technique for establishing trustworthiness in qualitative

research. Similarly, Patton (2002: 14) contends that ‘both qualitative and quantitative data can be collected in the same study’. While Fielding and Fielding (1986) also advocate the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods suggesting that the important feature of this is not the simple combination of different kinds of data but the attempt to relate them so as to counteract the threats to validity identified in each. As ‘using multiple methods allows more perspectives on the phenomena to be investigated’ (Carson, *et al.*, 2001: 10). The use of mixed-methods therefore is not a new phenomenon; in fact, there have been plenty of examples of qualitative researchers combining their methods without it being heralded as a new paradigm (Denscombe, 2008).

Morgan (2007), however, points to some fundamental issues regarding the practice of combining methods without considering the epistemological and methodological implications of this approach. He claims that for those who wish to promote the combining of quantitative and qualitative methods, it is important that they treat this as more than just a mechanically superior way to answering research questions (where methods only are considered). The difficulty with this approach is that each of the paradigms under which the researchers’ operate (positivism/interpretivism) are distinct and incompatible with each other, and are seen to hold different views on researchers’ assumptions about the nature of knowledge and the appropriate ways of producing such knowledge (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Therefore, the mixed-methods approach must be considered in the context of a separate paradigm. Pragmatism is generally regarded as the philosophical partner for mixed-methods research (Denscombe, 2008).

Tashakkori & Teddlie (2003) refer to 13 writers who have advanced pragmatism as the philosophical basis for mixed-methods inquiry. Pragmatism provides a set of assumptions about knowledge and inquiry that underpins the mixed-methods approach and distinguishes it from purely quantitative approaches that are based on a philosophy of positivism and from purely qualitative approaches that are based on a philosophy of interpretivism or constructivism (Maxcy, 2003; Rallis & Rosman, 2003; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). 'Pragmatism refers to action and thus suggests a concept of science as a practical engagement with the world' (Delanty, 2005: 100). Morgan (2007) stresses that we need to acknowledge and pursue the epistemological implications of the mixed-methods approach. In mixing methods many researchers take a pragmatic approach (Bryman, 1988; Tashakkori & Taddlie, 1998; Patton, 1999) where different methods are not treated as exclusive to a particular perspective (Gilbert, 2006). The great strength of the pragmatic approach is its emphasis on the connection between epistemological concerns about the nature of knowledge that we produce, and technical concerns about the methods that we use to generate that knowledge (Morgan, 2007). It moves beyond restricting the researcher to particular methods or methodologies (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Patton, 1999; Creswell & Tashakkori, 2007a) allowing the researcher the freedom to use a range of methods and methodologies that cross traditional boundaries (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). It is an approach that can be used in the study of complex social phenomena where the inherent complexity consists of both interpretivist and positivist aspects (Sale *et al.*, 2002). While a mixed-methods approach with a pragmatists lens is notably absent as an approach to tourism research (Pansiri, 2009) it was considered an appropriate choice for this research, which involves the study of a complex phenomena i.e. tourism development, that would benefit from the use of both quantitative and qualitative data. A pragmatic approach enabled the

researcher to draw on whatever methods were considered most appropriate for attaining a comprehensive and rich understanding of tourism development in the case areas; Killarney and Clifden.

4.3.2 A pragmatic approach to the research

Morgan (2007) explains that one of the difficulties with metaphysical paradigms such as interpretivism is that they have led to a widespread assumption that everything about the interpretivist paradigm promotes the use of qualitative methods. Yet, he comments, Guba and Lincoln (1988), who were advocates of naturalistic inquiry (interpretivism) as the only valid and meaningful way to study human beings, ‘were never completely opposed to the use of quantitative methods – even within their own favoured form of naturalistic enquiry’ (Morgan, 2007: 63). Morgan (2007) notes that while any approval of quantitative methods in their work is rare and typically occurs only in passing, they provide at least one example of how a survey might be used within naturalistic enquiry. Just as important, he claims, ‘other strong supporters of the metaphysical paradigm ... explicitly stated that they had no objection to combining methods, as long as there was no attempt to combine the paradigms’ i.e. constructivism (interpretivism) or positivism (2007: 64). Morgan (2007: 64) summarises Guba & Lincoln’s position with regard to the relationship between paradigms and methods, explaining that ‘there was nothing about the metaphysical paradigm itself that was inherently opposed to quantitative methods’. From their point of view he explains, ‘the most important aspects of paradigm allegiances were ontological commitments, not the mundane use of research methods (2007: 64). Rather than coming down completely on one side or the other of the methods divide, he claims, almost all of the proponents of the interpretivist

paradigm insist that the research question should determine the choice of method. Similarly, Hammersley (2008) notes that while a positivist approach encourages the use of highly structured methods, there are, he explains, examples where it has used methods such as participation observation, which is typically associated with an interpretivist approach. With this in mind, this researcher had the opportunity to follow a process of triangulation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) however, this approach posed two potential problems for the researcher; one concerned the issue of a top-down approach to determining research (where ontological considerations are of paramount importance) and the other concerned the issue of epistemology.

The problem that arises from using mixed-methods within either the positivist or interpretivist paradigms is that it calls basic Ontological and Epistemological assumptions into question as each paradigm has distinct views regarding each. The issue arises if for example a researcher uses quantitative methods within an interpretive study, how do they see reality, and does their relationship with reality remain subjective or does the researcher adopt a more objective stance (as required by the positivist paradigm)? Morgan (2007) amongst others (Patton, 2002; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009) rejects the top-down privileging of ontological assumptions as too narrow an approach and advocates an approach that lets the research question determine the research design, methodology and methods. He contends that the top-down approach that characterises paradigms such as interpretivism (and indeed positivism) has a strong tendency not only to emphasise epistemology over methods but also to emphasise ontological issues over all others. Tashakkori & Teddlie (1998: 28) explains that 'from the pragmatist point of view, reality consists of two parts: a world independent of our minds, thus agreeing with

the positivists on the existence of an external reality'. However, pragmatists also deny that 'truth' can be determined once and for all, and are unsure if any explanation of reality is better than another (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Similarly, Morgan (2007) claims that in the pragmatic approach, there is no problem with asserting both that there is a single 'real world' and that all individuals have their own unique interpretations of that world. 'Truth is what works at the time, it is not based on a strict dualism between the mind and a reality completely independent of the mind' (Creswell, 2009: 12). From an epistemological perspective, Morgan (2007) explains that while one often hears arguments about the impossibility of 'complete objectivity' he claims that it is just as hard to imagine what 'complete subjectivity' would be, as any researcher has to work back and forth between various frames of reference. Pragmatism, he explains, emphasises an intersubjective approach, which captures this duality, allowing others to examine the logic behind the conclusion(s) of the research (Carson *et al.*, 2001). Rather than see the subject matter of social science as objectively given 'facts', pragmatists see the object of social science as issues or problems (Dalanty, 2005). For the pragmatist, knowledge is neither subjective nor observational, but has a practical role to play in improving social life (Delanty, 2005: 100). Pragmatism opens the door to multiple methods, different worldviews, and different assumptions (Creswell, 2009). This broader approach to truth and knowledge appealed to the researcher, the idea that there is both a singular as well as multiple realities, and that these realities may be tapped in to through the use of a range of quantitative and qualitative methods was felt to offer the best opportunity for truly meeting the requirements of this research.

Patton (2002) provides a pragmatic stance by suggesting that the methods used in research should be determined by the research questions and not necessarily by the researcher's philosophy. Morgan (2007: 68) expands on this idea by claiming that pragmatism treats issues related to research itself as the principle 'line of action' that researchers should study, with equal attention to both the epistemological and technical 'warrants' that influence how we conduct our research. He contends that more focus needs to be placed on the connections between methodology and epistemology and between methodology and methods. Morgan claims that we need to use our study of methodology to connect issues in epistemology with issues in research design, 'rather than separating out thoughts about the nature of knowledge from our efforts to produce it (2007: 68), figures 4.1 and 4.2 highlight the different relationships inherent in research under each of the paradigms.

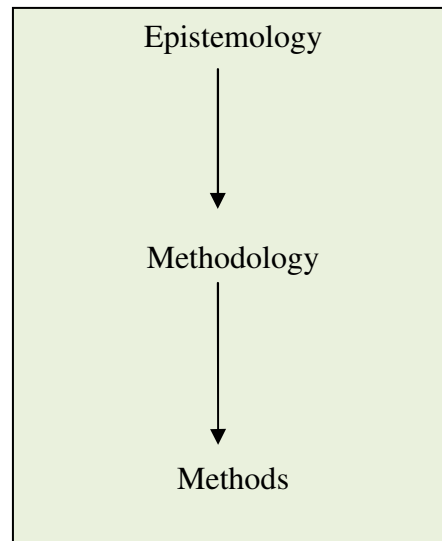


Figure 4.1: Positivist & Interpretivist approach to research

Source: Morgan (2007)

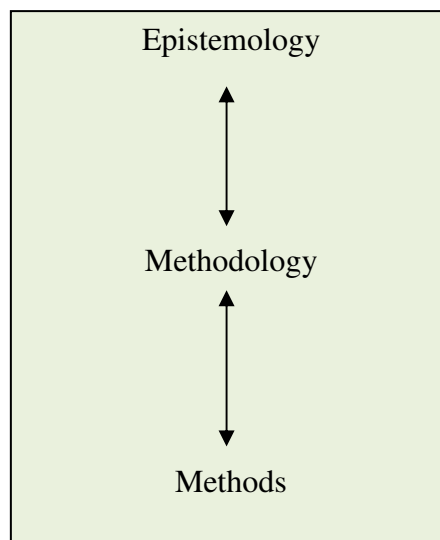


Figure 4.2: Pragmatist approach to research

Adapted from Morgan (2007)

According to Patton (2002: 71) a 'pragmatic stance aims to supersede one-sided paradigm allegiance by increasing the concrete and practical methodological options available to researchers'. Such pragmatism, he claims, 'means judging the quality of a study by its intended purposes, available resources, procedures followed, and results obtained, all within a particular context and for a specific audience' (2002: 72). Ultimately, Patton (2002: 72) claims, 'being pragmatic allows one to eschew methodological orthodoxy in favour of *methodological appropriateness* as the primary criterion for judging methodological quality, recognizing that different methods are appropriate for different situations'. A pragmatic approach would redirect our attention to investigating the factors that have the most impact on what we choose to study, and how we choose to do so (Morgan, 2007). Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, explain that mixed-method research is 'an expansive and creative form of research' that is not limiting rather 'it is inclusive, pluralistic, and complementary, and it suggests that researchers take an eclectic approach to method selection, and the thinking about, and conduct of research' (2004: 17). What is fundamental, they explain, is the research question – research methods should follow research questions in a way that offers the best chance to obtain the best answers. The approach taken to this research follows a mixed-method, pragmatic approach where the research topic and questions underpinned the decisions with regard to methodology and methods used. With its focus on understanding tourism development in places, the research uses qualitative case studies as a methodology and adopts both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection. The research uses transformative procedures, which Creswell (2009) describes as being where the researcher uses a theoretical lens as an over arching perspective within a design that contains both quantitative and qualitative methods sequentially (Creswell, 2009). The approach taken by this research is qualitative as the

research seeks to understand the factors that influence tourism development and the relationships between these factors. Therefore, while primarily a qualitative study, the research also uses a quantitative method in order to achieve the objectives of the research and to comprehensively answer the research question.

4.4 Theory testing or building?

The distinction between induction and deduction shows up in almost every methods book as one of the key features that distinguishes qualitative and quantitative research (Morgan, 2007: 70). Theory building consists of either constructing new theories or adapting old ones, while theory testing consists of logically deducing predictions from existing theories and stating these as new hypotheses for research (Brewer & Hunter, 2006). Theory testing is generally associated with positivism (deduction) while theory building is generally associated with interpretivism (induction). However, Morgan (2007) claims that the actual process of moving between theory and data never operates in just one direction. He explains that during the actual design, collection and analysis of data, it is impossible to operate in either an exclusively theory-or-data driven fashion. The pragmatic approach relies on a version of abductive reasoning that moves back and forth between induction and deduction – first converting observations into theories and then assessing these through actions. This process involves looking for points of connection where the inductive results from a qualitative approach can serve as inputs to the deductive goals of a quantitative approach, and vice versa. ‘Denzin (1978) has explained abduction in qualitative research as a combination of inductive and deductive thinking with logical underpinnings’ (Patton, 2002: 470). According to Denzin,

qualitative researchers ‘do not use a fully-fledged deductive hypothetical scheme in thinking and developing propositions. Nor are they fully inductive, letting the so-called “facts” speak for themselves. They must be interpreted’ (cited in Patton, 2002: 470). The method of abduction combines the deductive and inductive methods, ‘working from consequence back to cause or antecedent’ (Denzin, 1978, cited in Patton, 2002: 470). Table 4.1 highlights the contrasts between the different paradigms in relation to some of the key issues discussed. In the context of this research each of the methods employed, both quantitative and qualitative, interacted and informed each other. This intentional linking of methods during the study, constitutes the very heart of mixed-method inquiry (Greene, 2007).

Table 4.1: A Pragmatic approach to the key issues in social science research methodology

	Qualitative Approach	Quantitative Approach	Pragmatic Approach
Connection of theory and data	Induction	Deduction	Abduction
Relationship to research process	Subjectivity	Objectivity	Intersubjectivity
Inference from data	Context	Generality	Transferability

Source: Morgan (2007: 71)

4.5 Inference transferability

Table 4.1 also distinguishes between knowledge that is either specific and context-dependent or universal and generalised. In this case, the pragmatic approach once again rejects the need to choose between these extremes where research results are either

completely specific to a particular context or an instance of some more generalised set of principles. Morgan (2007) contends that it is not possible for research results to be either so unique that they have no implications for other actors in other settings or so generalised that they apply in every setting. From a pragmatic approach, an important question is the extent to which we can take the things that we learn with one type of method in one specific setting and make the most appropriate use of that knowledge in other circumstances (Morgan, 2007: 72). Pragmatism, therefore, is concerned with the issue of inference transferability and the degree to which the conclusions of the research may be applied to other similar settings (Teddle & Tashakkori, 2009). This involves the working back and forth between results and their more general implications, in other words pragmatism holds with the need to investigate the factors that affect whether the knowledge gained can be transferred to other settings (Morgan, 2007). Inference transferability arises from a solidly pragmatic focus on what people can do with the knowledge they produce and not on abstract arguments about the possibility or impossibility of generalisability. Tashakkory & Teddle (1998) explain that some degree of transferability of conclusions is important to all researchers. Within this research, the intention is that the key findings and conclusions from the research can be used to help explain tourism development within the context of other places.

4.6 Inference quality

Within a mixed-methods approach, the question of internal validity (a positivist term) or credibility (an interpretivist term) is referred to as inference quality (Tashakkori & Teddle, 2003). 'Inference quality is an umbrella term denoting the standards for

evaluating the quality of conclusions that are made on the basis of research findings' (Teddlie, & Tashakkori, 2009: 287). In making inferences, this research was guided by the suggestion made by Teddlie & Tashakkori (2009), to keep the research purpose and questions at the foreground of all analyses and interpretations. In addition, the extensive convergence of the findings from all data methods resulted in the presentation of findings that were 'mutually illuminating' (Bryman, 2007: 8), providing stronger results (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003) and more comprehensive insights (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). The use of data from multiple and diverse sources, in general, provided a high degree of interpretive agreement, providing a strong basis for the inferences that are made by the research.

4.7 A comparative approach

The overall aim of this research is to examine the process of tourism development so as to identify and understand the factors driving the process in the main case study area i.e. Killarney, (the choice of case studies is discussed in the next section) ultimately providing an answer to the research question. The research also set out to compare and contrast the findings from this main case study with those of a less developed tourism area in Ireland i.e. Clifden. In this context, Clifden is used as a reference case (Stake, 2000); that allows for comparisons with the findings of the main case study. This involved undertaking primary research into tourism development in Clifden, the findings of which provided a point of reference for comparison with the Killarney findings. The research into the reference case did however, involve the same research

process and methods as those used in Killarney; these will be discussed later in the methods section of this chapter.

This comparative approach allowed the researcher to confront the research findings in an attempt to identify and illuminate similarities and differences, not only in the observed characteristics of tourism in each of the areas, but also in the search for possible explanations in terms of likeness and unlikeness (Hantrais & Mangen, 1996). The comparison enabled a greater understanding of the processes that were generic and those that were place specific; which has implications for the transferability of the overall conclusions of the research. The comparison focused on understanding why Killarney and Clifden have achieved different levels of tourism development and sought to identify and explain both the differences and similarities in relation to tourism development in the areas. This approach allowed the research ‘... to go beyond description ... towards the more fundamental goal of explanation’ (Hayne and Harrop, 1982: 7). The overall aims of this research are to add to the existing body of knowledge on tourism development, and to provide valuable information and insight into the research topic for the purpose of policy makers. In order to achieve this, the question of why these tourism areas have achieved different levels of development was an important consideration. A comparative approach to the study resulted in fresh, new exciting insights and a deeper understanding of issues that are of central concern and importance with regard to tourism development. It provided insights into how different local development processes can affect development while also identifying common factors of tourism development across different areas.

There were seven distinct phases to the empirical work as outlined in figure 4.3 below.

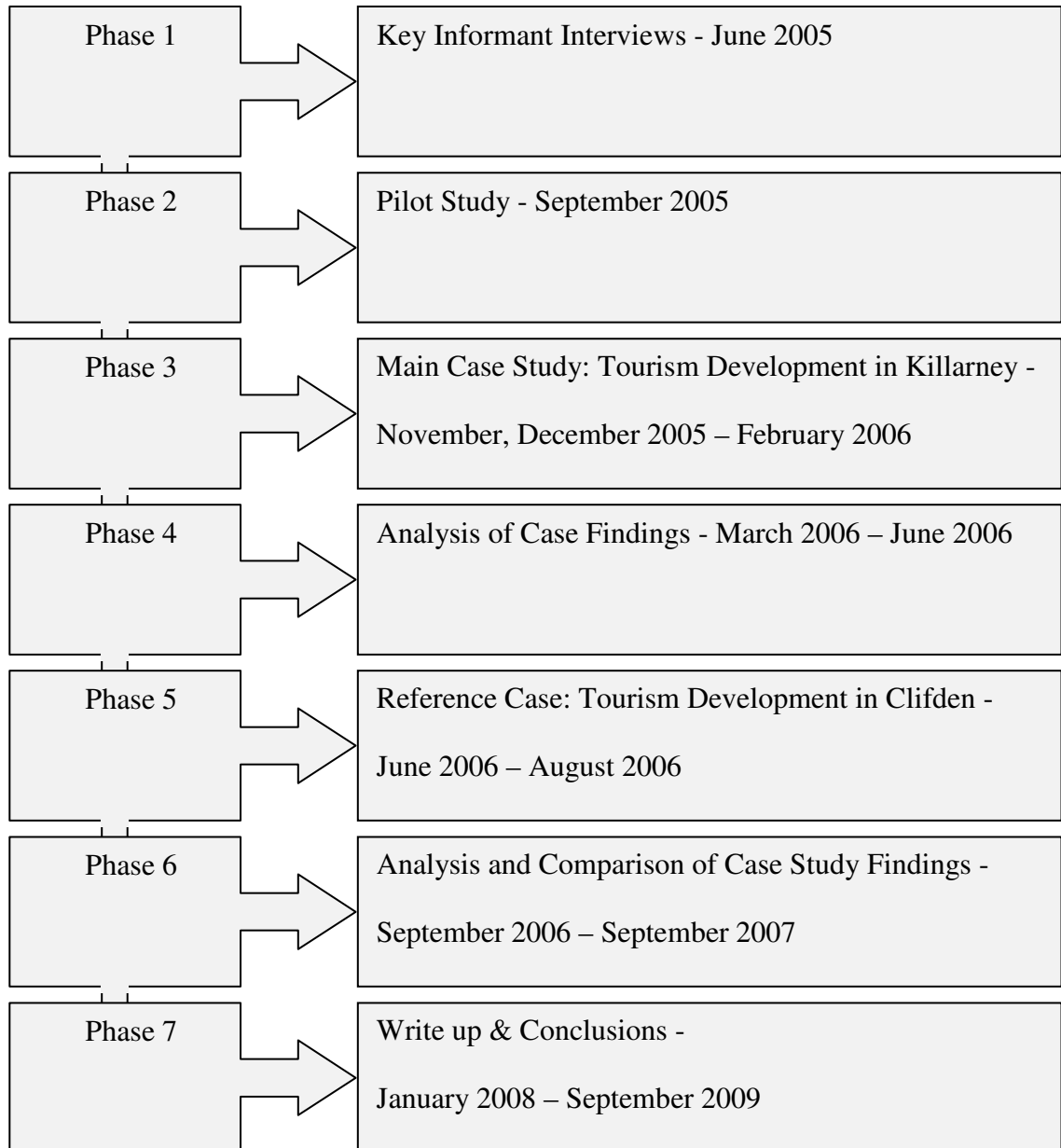


Figure 4.3: A seven-stage research process

4.8 Case selection

Miles and Huberman (1994) claim that qualitative researchers usually work with small samples nested in their context and studied in-depth, these tend to be purposive rather than random. Both the main case study and the reference case study for this research were chosen using purposive sampling. The cases were chosen following a theoretical, rather than a statistical logic (Bryman, 1988) which, according to Mason (2002), means selecting groups or categories to study based on their relevance to the research questions, the researcher's theoretical position and the explanation or account, which the researcher is trying to develop. This approach to case selection allowed the researcher to choose a case because it illustrates some feature or process in which we are interested (Silverman, 2000). Drawing from a purposive sample, builds in variety and acknowledges existing opportunities for intensive study (Stake, 2000).

The research seeks to understand why some areas in Ireland have developed to a greater level than others with regard to tourism. This immediately gave a focus to the case selection for the main case study. The researcher used information from the Irish tourism board to establish potential cases. Fáilte Ireland (formerly Bórd Fáilte), the National Tourism Authority classifies areas in terms of their level of development as follows:

- **Established Tourist Areas:** Mature tourism areas defined as areas that have the ability to achieve continued self-sustaining growth provided they adopt careful visitor management approaches.

- **Developing Tourism Areas:** Areas that have already shown a significant potential for tourism growth.
- **Special Interest Tourism Areas:** Tourism business in these areas is relatively limited.

(Source: Bórd Fáilte Tourism Development Strategy, 2000-2006)

This categorisation supplied the basis on which the first case study was chosen; the category of Established Tourist Areas provided a means of identifying an area that has a developed tourism industry. The choice of areas in this category included: Dublin, Killarney, Galway, Cork, Limerick/Shannon/Ennis (figure 4.4). Of these five major tourism centres Killarney stands apart from the others as the only tourism area that is not a major city. Killarney is a town situated in a rural setting located in the southwest of Ireland and is renowned both nationally and internationally for its successful tourism industry. It is one of Ireland's oldest tourism centres and tourism here dates back to the 1700s. Today it is one of Ireland's premier tourist destinations and is the second largest tourist centre after Dublin, the capital city. It possesses a world-class tourism infrastructure and tourism is a major component of the local economy. In addition, its presence as the only rural town on the Fáilte Ireland list of major tourism centres begs the question of why Killarney has been so successful at developing tourism, while other similar rural areas have not.



Figure 4.4: Established tourism areas in Ireland

The reference case, Clifden, was chosen on the basis that it provided a good comparison for Killarney for a number of reasons: firstly the importance of tourism to the town made it a suitable comparison. Secondly, the town is located in county Galway, in the west, the third largest tourism region in Ireland. After Dublin, the capital city of Ireland and the southwest region (where Killarney is located) the west region of Ireland has the third largest number of visitors (Fáilte Ireland, 2007). In addition, Clifden's prominence as the capital town in Connemara, a main tourism area in county Galway adds to its suitability. The area is designated a developing tourism area by Fáilte Ireland, providing the opportunity to compare two areas at different levels of tourism development.

Two cases were selected as emphasis was placed more on gathering rich, in-depth information than on the number of cases studied; as it was believed that the meaningfulness and insights generated from this inquiry had more to do with the information-richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher than with sample size (Patton, 1990).

4.9 Research methods

Tashakkori & Creswell (2007a) distinguish between mixed-methods as a collection and analysis of two types of data (qualitative and quantitative) and mixed-methods as the integration of two approaches to research (quantitative and qualitative). They explain that on the surface they appear interchangeable however; the former is more closely associated with methods and the latter on methodology. Studies are considered 'mixed'

Tashakkori & Creswell (2007a) explain because they utilise quantitative or qualitative approaches in one or more of the following ways:

1. Two types of research question (with qualitative and quantitative approaches),
2. The manner in which the research questions are developed (participatory vs. pre-planned),
3. Two types of sampling (e.g. probability and purposive),
4. Two types of data collection procedures (e.g. focus groups and surveys),
5. Two types of data (e.g. numerical and textual), and
6. Two types of data analysis (statistical and thematic), and
7. Two types of conclusions (emic and etic representations, “objective” and “subjective” etc.)

Source: Tashakkori & Creswell (2007a)

They define mixed methods as ‘research in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or program of enquiry’ (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007a: 4). Similarly, Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, (2004: 17) define mixed-methods research as ‘the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study’. In relation to this research, a mixed-method approach was taken, which involved using both qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection. Creswell & Plano Clark (2007) contend that when a qualitative design

such as a case study can be enhanced by the use of quantitative data, a mixed-methods design is the preferred design. They also note that while the use of quantitative data to enhance a qualitative study is less common than the reverse, quantitative data might enhance a description of results or the identification of salient themes. Following an extensive investigation of the various research methods available, a range of methods were chosen on the basis of their ability to provide rich and diversified insights into the factors that influence tourism development. The research incorporated the use of a number of methods including the analysis of documentation and other records, surveys, interviews, observation and field notes. The research methods are outlined in figure 4.5 and are followed with an explanation of the reason for choosing each method and its role in the research process

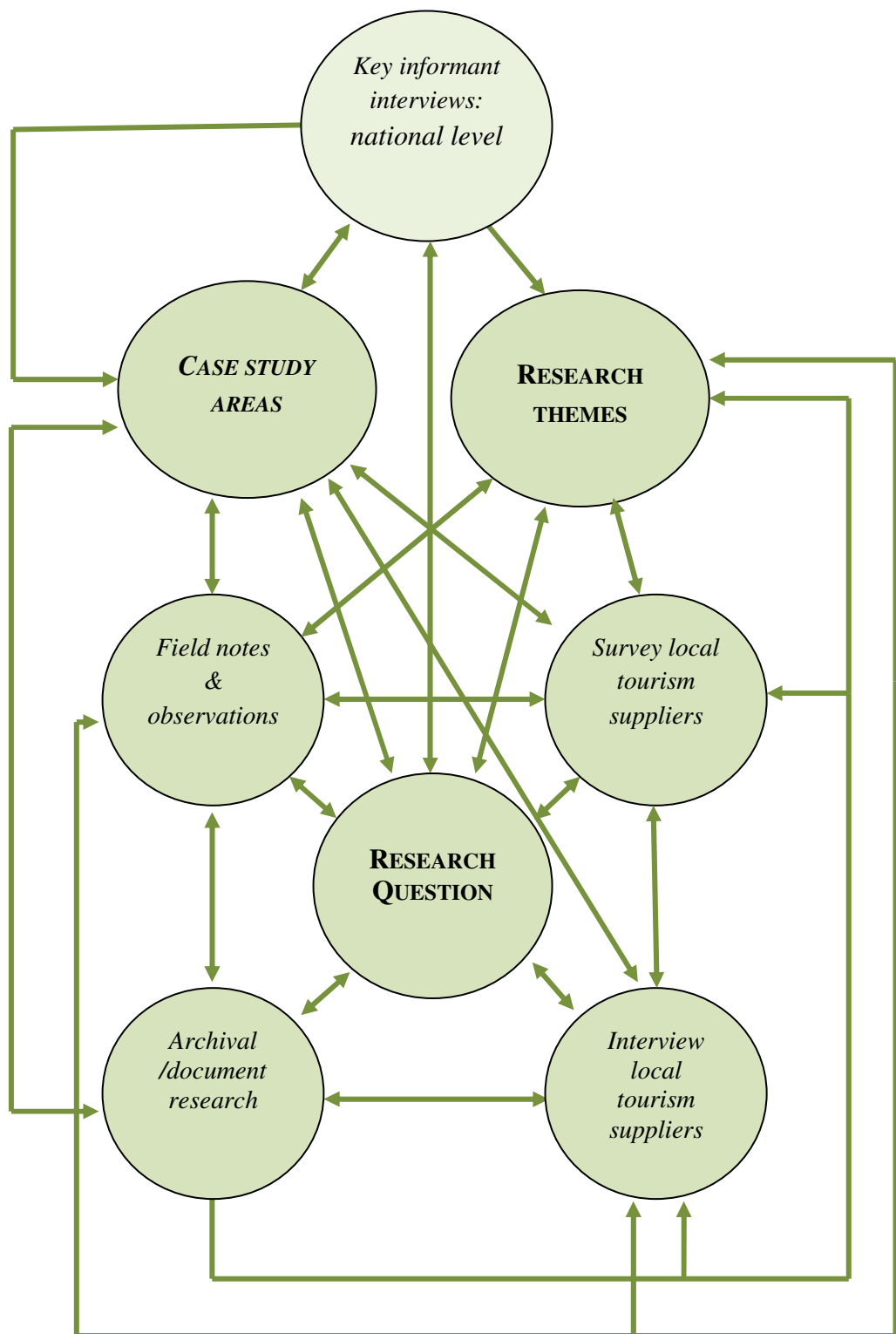


Figure 4.5: Research methods and how they informed the research

4.9.1 Interviews with key informants

The literature review provided the basis for the development of a protocol for in-depth interviews undertaken with key experts, at a national level. Snowball sampling was used to identify relevant individuals, enabling the researcher to locate information rich key informants (Patton, 2002) and directing the researcher to some valuable sources of information. These key informants were interviewed during the month of June 2005 and included:

1. Dr. Proinnsias Breathnach, Senior Lecturer, The National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis, Department of Geography NUI Maynooth,
2. Mr. Jim Barrett, City Architect, Dublin City Council.
3. Dr. Sheila Flanagan, Head of School, Tourism & Food, Dublin Institute of Technology.
4. Mr. Paul Allen, Head of Research and Planning, Tourism Ireland (Tourism Ireland is responsible for marketing Ireland overseas).
5. Mr. Brian Maher, Head of Research and Policy, Fáilte Ireland (National Tourism Board).
6. Councillor Sheila Jackson, Department of Arts Sport and Tourism

The emphasis was placed on interviewing a few key people that were representative of particular sections of the industry at a national level i.e. government body, academics, tourism authority. This part of the research process focused on small

samples, with the intention of gaining insight and understanding. The guiding principle was that 'less is more', that it is more important to work longer, and with greater care, with a few people than more specifically with many of them (McCracken, 1988).

The interviews were informal and unstructured enabling the respondents to speak freely, this enabled the researcher to gain an understanding of their perceptions regarding the research issues. These interviews were designed as 'guided conversations' (Johns & Lee-Ross, 1998), where the researcher could steer the respondents around specific topic areas, in whatever order seemed appropriate at the time. In such a responsive situation a particular reply could be re-examined, in the context of the interviewee's other replies. In this way, the in-depth interviews provided a high level of contextual understanding and helped to inform an impression with regard to the case areas (Killarney and Clifden). This stage of the research was important as it helped to further the process of identifying themes that began with the literature review, and supported the selection of areas to be studied.

4.9.2 Archival research

Archival strategies and techniques constitute part of the repertoire of field research and evaluation (Hill, 1993). A detailed analysis of archived sources of information on tourism development was ongoing throughout the research period and included: official and government statistics, historical documents, industry reports, administrative records and documents etc. According to Patton (2000), records, documents, artefacts, and archives, traditionally called 'material culture' in

anthropology, constitute a particularly rich source of information. This was a good source of information and provided extensive background knowledge of the case study areas. It supported data gathering on topics such as, when tourism developed, how and who was involved in the development, and what factors were key to its development. A major benefit of the archival study was its provision of a record of actual occurrences at the time, rather than relying on impressions and individual recollections, which can be less reliable. Archival research was continuous throughout the research period, as new sources of information became known.

4.9.3 Survey

This stage of the research involved the researcher administering a questionnaire to local tourism suppliers representing a variety of tourism firms in the case study areas. In Killarney eighty-one firms were surveyed between November and December 2005, while in Clifden thirty-five firms were surveyed in June 2006; representing approximately one third of the tourism firms in each of the areas. Each survey took between 20 minutes and 1 hour to administer and purposive sampling was used to ensure that different sub-sectors of the market were represented i.e. accommodation, attractions. The survey provided broad and basic information on factors underpinning tourism development and helped in the identification of factors that needed further and more in-depth investigation, as well as identifying important information regarding interview candidates.

The questionnaire (appendix 1) comprised of a number of questioning techniques including:

- Open-ended questions were used to gain insight into the respondents' opinions and perceptions in relation to factors that influenced tourism development. Kinnear and Taylor (1996) claim that open ended questions can serve as an excellent first question on a topic. These questions allow general attitudes to be expressed, which aid in interpreting the more structured questions. In addition, they help establish a rapport and gain the respondent's co-operation in answering more specific questions (Kinnear and Taylor, 1996).
- Closed questions were used as a measurement technique for the factors identified in the literature review and the fieldwork.
- Multiple choice questions required the respondent to choose an answer from a list provided. This technique allowed the respondents to express the intensity of their opinion at a point on a Likert scale. A high score on the scale denoted a favourable attitude i.e. 'strongly agree' whereas a low score denoted an unfavourable attitude i.e. 'strongly disagree'.

4.9.3.1 Pilot Study

Kinnear & Taylor (1996: 355) recommend that a questionnaire is well tested and revised prior to carrying out the final survey. With this in mind a pilot study was carried out in a small seaside location in north county Dublin in September, 2005, prior to undertaking the actual research. As suggested by Veal (2006) the pilot study allowed the researcher to evaluate factors such as the wording of the questions,

question sequencing, layout and time required for completing the questionnaire. Based on the pilot, revisions were made in relation to the wording of certain questions and to the layout and flow of the questionnaire. These revisions included beginning the questionnaire with some general questions regarding the respondent and their business, rather than beginning with a more general question on tourism in the area. This helped to establish a rapport while also providing important background information. In addition, question 3.2 (appendix one) which measures the extent to which certain factors played an important role in tourism developmentt was originally an open-ended question. Respondents however, seemed to have difficulty answering this, so the question was adapted to include a Likert scale enabling them to rate different factors. The question on co-operation was also an open-ended question and was adapted to provide examples of forms of co-operation while also enabling respondents to rate how frequent this co-operation takes place. One key amendment was that the researcher originally considered asking respondents to complete the questionnaire themselves but realised during the pilot, the benefit of administering the survey herself as this provided greater depth of information and ensured all questions were answered (as much as possible), while also enabling the researcher to query respondents with regard to potential interview candidates. The pilot also enabled the researcher to inform respondents of the approximate time required to complete the questionnaire during the actual research process.

4.9.4 Observations and field notes

Observation has been characterised as ‘the fundamental base of all research methods’ in the social science and behavioural sciences (Adler & Adler, 1994: 389). There are

‘limitations ... to how much can be learned from what people say’, and ‘to understand fully the complexities of many program situations, direct participation in and observation of the program may be the best methods’ (Patton, 1987: 12). The purpose of this stage of the research was to help the researcher develop an insider’s view of tourism development in the case study areas, and the factors that have underpinned its successful development. In particular, the use of naturalistic observation, an approach which does not interfere with the people or activities under observation (Angrosino & Mays de Pérez, 2000); enabled tourism to be viewed and analysed within the context of its development. This helped the researcher gain an understanding of local internal factors that have proved critical to its successful development. Without the use of observation these issues may have been overlooked by research respondents, considered unimportant or may have been something that the respondents themselves were unaware of.

This research seeks to understand tourism development within the context of places. In order to achieve this, and to uncover, and understand the factors that have underpinned its development, it was necessary to experience and understand tourism from within the tourism areas, observing tourism in the context of its environment. Travers (2001) maintains that a researcher can learn a great deal simply by spending even just a morning in the social setting in which the research is taking place. He argues that even without taking notes, the researcher should be able to come away with a reasonable understanding of the role played by different occupational groups. Patton (2002, p. 262) argues that direct, personal contact with, and observations of, a setting has several advantages. First, through direct observations the researcher is better able to understand and capture the context within which people interact.

Understanding context, according to Patton, is critical to a holistic perspective. Second, firsthand experience with a setting, and the people in the setting allows the researcher to be open, discovery oriented, and inductive because, by being on site the researcher has less need to rely on prior conceptualisations of the setting (Patton, 2000, p. 262). A third strength of observation fieldwork, Patton claims, is that the researcher has the opportunity to see things that may routinely escape awareness among the people in the setting. All social systems involve routines; participants in those routines may take them so much for granted that they cease to be aware of important nuances that are apparent only to an observer who is not fully immersed in these routines (Patton, 2000). Observation, therefore, allows the researcher to discover things of which others may not be aware. A fourth advantage of observation put forward by Patton is the chance to learn from things that people are unwilling to talk about in an interview. A fifth is the opportunity to move beyond the selective perceptions of others, this allows the researcher to arrive at a more comprehensive view of the setting than if forced to rely entirely on interviews (Patton, 2000). Finally, Patton explains, getting close to the people in a setting through firsthand experience permits the researcher to draw on personal knowledge during the formal interpretation stage of analysis. Reflections and introspection are important parts of field research, and the impressions and feelings of the researcher becomes part of the data to be used in attempting to understand a setting, and the people who inhabit it (Patton, 2000). During this research, time was spent in each of the areas under study, and the observations made were used to inform the research, and played an integral part in the development and interpretation of the findings.

4.9.5 Depth interviews

In order to develop the research further, a series of depth interviews were undertaken enabling a more nuanced examination of factors underpinning tourism development in the case areas. At this stage of the research, having conducted key informant interviews and the survey, a number of important variables were identified that required further, more in-depth investigation; for example the influence of local entrepreneurs and family businesses on tourism development; the extent and type of co-operation between businesses in the areas; the attitudes and opinions of informants with regard to key factors underpinning tourism development. Emergent themes were generated throughout the research and these were informed by the surveys, field notes & observations as well as the archival research, and were further investigated in the interviews (appendix 2). The use of interviews also allowed for the ‘teasing out’ of key issues such as the existence of social and professional milieux, and the way in which these influence development. The surveys provided initial informants, and these led to others, in this way snowball sampling was used. In Killarney, a total of thirteen interviews were undertaken with local key informants over the period of November 2005 to January 2006, while seven were undertaken in Clifden during June, 2006 (Appendix 3 provides an example of an interview transcript).

McCracken (1988) argues that the long interview is one of the most powerful methods in the qualitative armoury and for certain descriptive and analytical purposes; no instrument of inquiry is more revealing. According to McCracken (1988: 12) ‘every qualitative interview is, potentially, a Pandora’s box generating endlessly various and abundant data’. This stage of the research provided in-depth insights into the research

topic. The interviews provided an opportunity for the researcher to probe deeper into issues, to gain a greater and clearer understanding of the points of interest to the research. This was achieved through careful questioning and through listening to what respondents had to say on the particular topics. The protocol for the interviews was developed from what was learned in the literature review as well as the archival study, survey and observations. The interviews were informal and took place at a location convenient for the interviewee. In the majority of cases they were taped, however, due to the unwillingness of some respondents, this was not the case for all interviews. In a number of instances, the interviewees gave further insight on sensitive areas after the tape recorder had been turned off and during two interviews the researcher was asked to turn off the tape recorder to allow the interviewee speak freely. In these situations, the researcher discussed, and agreed with the respondents, the aspects of the conversation that could be used in the research.

4.10 Analysis and interpretation of data

One of the least visible parts of the research project is the ongoing process of interpretation (Gordon & Langmaid, 1988). According to Patton (2002) the challenge of qualitative analysis lies in making sense of massive amounts of data. This, he argues, involves reducing the volume of raw information, sifting trivia from significance, identifying significant patterns, and constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveal. Miles and Huberman (1994) state that there are few agreed cannons for qualitative data analysis, in the sense of shared ground rules for drawing conclusions and verifying their sturdiness. They

acknowledge that there is no formula for determining significance and no straightforward tests that can be applied for testing validity and reliability.

According to Gordon and Langmaid (1988) interpretation is much more than a conscious process of thinking about the study. They argue that whilst fieldwork is in progress, or after it has been completed, a subconscious process of interpretation takes place. They explain that thoughts creep into the mind whilst driving or eating; sudden flashes of insight occur whilst involved in completely different activities, sometimes a practitioner even wakes up with new ideas or hypotheses about a particular pattern of responses. Gordon and Langmaid maintain that these subconscious thoughts are like gold dust to the qualitative practitioner. Patton (2002) also maintains that in the course of fieldwork, ideas and directions for analysis will occur, that patterns will take shape and that themes will begin to emerge. This, he argues, constitutes the beginning of analysis. With qualitative research, Patton (2002) explains that insights can emerge almost serendipitously. Gordon and Langmaid (1988) explain that in addition to the continuous development and refinement of the research process, the practitioner needs to re-immers herself in the interviews and other sources of data, and organise and structure the content into a form relevant to the objectives of the study. Therefore, the data from this research was analysed based on key themes that emerged, and how these themes related to the research question. In other words, the purpose of the research and the variables identified in the literature review, guided the analysis. The analysis involved identifying recurring themes and patterns, across the different methods (both qualitative and quantitative), helping the researcher to identify critical incidences in the development of tourism in the areas studied. In

addition, the statistical software package, SPSS was used to aid in the analysis of the quantitative data. However, all of the findings from the data methods were converged throughout to identify and support an understanding of the key themes that emerged. The key issue was to ensure that the end product was greater than the sum of the individual quantitative and qualitative parts (Bryman, 2007). Creswell & Plano (2007), Bryman (2007) and Greene *et al.* (1989) maintain that in mixed-method research the data is rarely truly integrated. This research is an exception to this, as the data from all of the methods has been integrated throughout the findings and analysis chapters. Qualitative findings and quantitative findings are brought together to provide a holistic account of the findings, and their meanings in relation to the research question. This has provided a multi-faceted picture of tourism development and is a process similar to what Alexander *et al.*, (2008; 136) refer to as ‘following a thread’, in which an emergent theme in one data set is identified as having resonances in others. Multiple sources of data were used to inform many aspects of the research in addition to the findings and analysis section, for example the overview of the history of tourism development in Ireland (chapter three), and in the case study areas (chapters five and six) are a combination of both secondary and primary sources of data, where extracts from interview are used where relevant.

4.11 Research ethics

Ethics in research refers to the application of fundamental ethical principals and is a matter of principled sensitivity to the rights of others (Bulmer, 2008). Being ethical limits the choices we make as researchers in search of the truth (ibid). To a large extent research ethics is concerned with various issues of harm, consent, privacy, and the confidentiality of data (Punch, 1994). Among the most serious ethical concerns in the past two decades is the assurance that research subjects are voluntarily involved and informed of all potential risks (Berg, 2004). In undertaking this research, ethical principles considered included the informed consent of participants, full disclosure of the purpose of the research, as well as confidentiality and anonymity of informants' identity when requested. In addition, on the few occasions where confidential information was provided to the researcher on the basis that it helped to clarify a point or situation, but would not be used by the researcher, this request has been adhered to.

O'Leary (2004:51) also explains that 'it is the responsibility of the researcher to minimize the possibility that the results they generate are false or misleading'. Similarly, Tashakkori & Teddlie (2008) refer to the issue of interpretive rigor, which they explain, is the degree to which credible interpretations have been made on the basis of the results. The use of multiple methods in this research reduced the opportunity for misinterpretation of data findings. In addition, all efforts were made to truthfully and correctly represent the data and information as it was provided to the researcher. In order to support this, quotes and direct representations are used

frequently throughout the findings and analysis chapters, this allowed the respondents words to 'speak for themselves' reducing the likelihood of misrepresentation.

4.12 Conclusions

This research is concerned with understanding tourism development in two tourism areas in Ireland. The choice of a comparative case study methodology and a mixed-methods approach supports the research in presenting a complete understanding of the phenomenon under study. The pragmatic philosophy underpinning the research enabled the researcher to focus on identifying and choosing a range of methods that were best suited to providing a comprehensive answer to the research question. While the overall theoretical lens is qualitative, the use of a quantitative method supported the qualitative methods and increased the inference quality of the findings. The comparative approach strengthened the findings from the first case study and highlighted the way in which the findings and knowledge gained from one specific setting may be transferred to other settings, resulting in a greater depth of understanding of tourism development.

CHAPTER FIVE: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN KILLARNEY

5.0 Introduction

The overview of tourism development in Ireland showed an industry, influenced by numerous factors, which developed erratically over many years to become Ireland's most important indigenous industry. This has provided a context for exploring the key factors underpinning tourism development in Killarney, the main case study of the research. This chapter presents and analyses the findings of the empirical research, its aim is to move towards answering the research question outlined in chapter one. Specifically it addresses the first and second research objectives by identifying the ways in which the place attributes of Killarney, an established tourism area in the southwest region of Ireland, have influenced its development as a tourism destination and by identifying and understanding the key factors underpinning this development.

This chapter also sets a background for the following chapter (chapter 6) which explores and discusses tourism development in Clifden, Co. Galway, a less developed tourism area in Ireland. The chapter undertakes a comparison between two tourism areas that have achieved different levels of development. Ultimately, it addresses the third research objective by identifying ways in which local areas can differ in relation to tourism development and the reasons for this.

The chapter begins with a background to Killarney, providing an overview of the key features of the town. It goes on to present an account of the historical development of tourism in Killarney within the context of what was happening in Ireland and the broader European and global arena. Empirical data is used where relevant throughout the chapter in order to provide a holistic account of tourism in Killarney, the final sections (5.5 onwards) focus specifically on discussing and analysing the key findings from the empirical research.

5.1 A background to Killarney

Killarney town and its environs with a population of 14,603 (Irish Census, 2006) is situated in the county of Kerry, in the southwest of Ireland (figure 5.1). The southwest region is the second largest tourism region in Ireland after Dublin, (the capital city) and in 2008 a total of 3.781 million tourists visited the region (Fáilte Ireland, 2008). With an area of 1,815 sq. miles, Kerry is the fifth largest of Ireland's thirty-two counties and contains some of Ireland's most magnificent scenery, a combination of high mountains, low hills, lakes, rivers, bog land, rugged coastline and off-shore islands (Plate 5.1). Killarney is removed from centres of high population density, the nearest major city, Cork, is 86kms in distance, while Dublin, the capital of Ireland, is 345kms. It is home to Ireland's first national park which covers an area of approximately 10,236 hectares of mountain, moorland, woodland, waterways, parks and gardens (Killarney National Park, 2008). The town of Killarney nestles at the foot of Ireland's highest mountain range; the MacGillicuddy Reeks. Behind the town are the three famous Lakes of Killarney; the Upper Lake, Muckross Lake (the Middle Lake) and Lough Leane (the Lower Lake) which occupy a broad valley

stretching south between the mountains. The area is most notable for these world-famous lakes, combined with its rugged beauty of valleys, mountains and an extraordinary wealth of trees and rare flowering plants (Flynn, 1993). Industry in Killarney and its surrounding hinterland includes small scale light industry and agriculture. The town's main source of employment is tourism and Killarney is a primary tourism hub in the area (Kerry County Council, 2009).

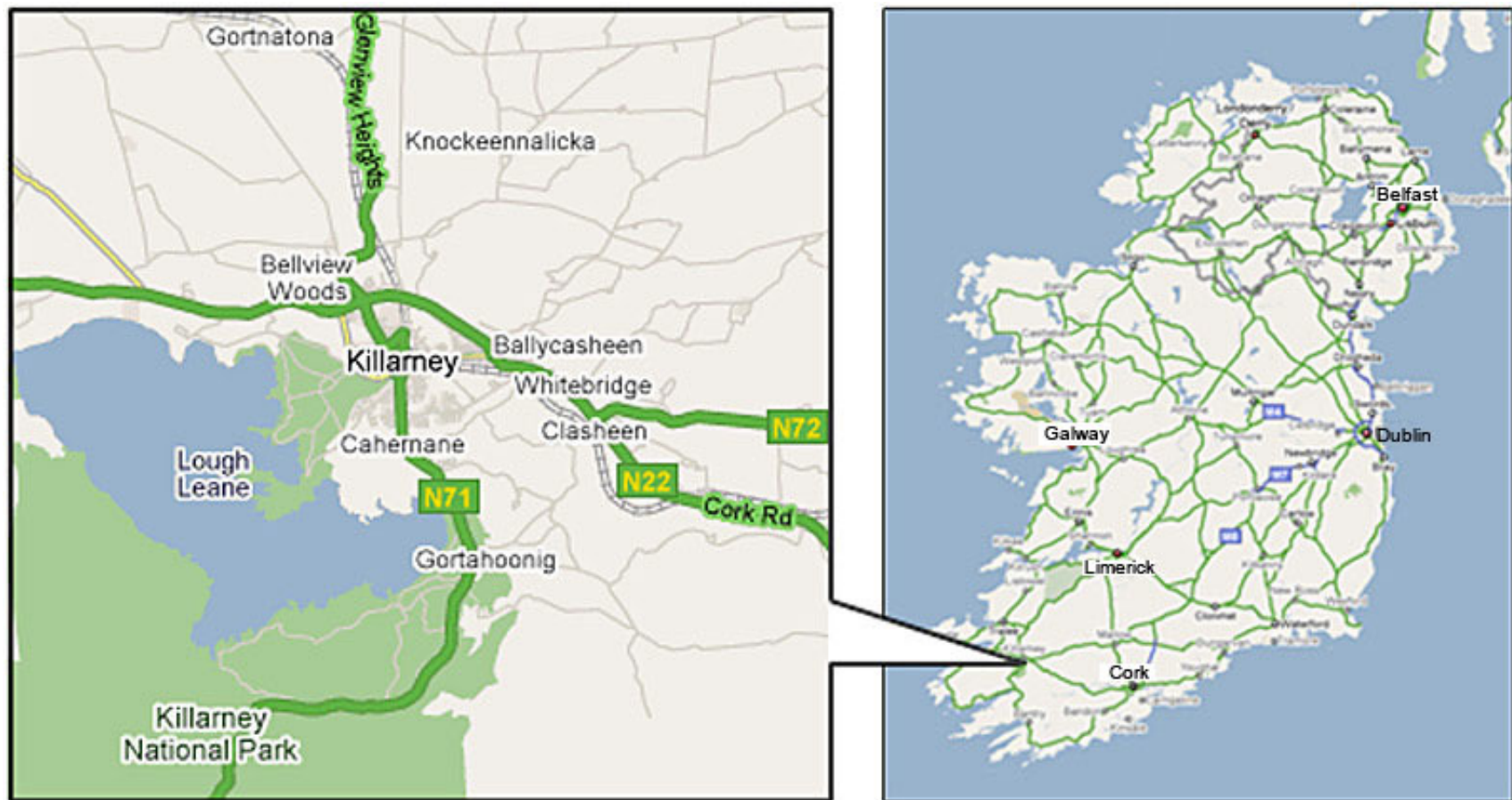


Figure 5.1: Killarney town situated in the southwest of Ireland



Plate 5.1: Killarney National Park

Source: <http://www.lakehotel.com/nat.park.htm>

Killarney is recognised both nationally and internationally as a significant tourism area and is referred to by Davenport *et al.* in the Lonely Planet guide to Ireland as ‘a well-oiled tourism machinery in the middle of sublime scenery’ (2008: 247). The town is ‘a market leader in Irish tourism’ (T. Kenny, personal communication, 14th December, 2005) and is one of Ireland’s premier tourist destinations. Although traditionally a market town, Killarney owes its growth primarily to the successful development of tourism. It is the oldest tourist centre in Ireland and tourism here dates back to the 1750s, and was acknowledged as dominating Irish tourism by one key informant (P. Breathnach, personal communication, 5th July, 2005). After Dublin, Killarney has more hotel rooms than any other tourism centre in Ireland (T. Kenny, personal communication, 14th December, 2005) and possesses a world-class tourism

infrastructure. While no official government statistics exist, unofficial estimates suggest that up to 1.5 million people visit the town each year (RPS Cairns, 1999). Tourism is a major component of the local economy, providing both direct and indirect employment (RPS Cairns, 1999). The scenic splendours of the area are without doubt its principal tourist attraction (Larner, 2005) providing it with formidable advantages as a tourist centre (Barrington, 1976). ‘What makes the Killarney area exceptional is the richness of the gifts with which it has been endowed’ (Barrington, 1976: 200). There are, Barrington claims, four main ingredients to Killarney’s endowment, each contributing to the others, ‘they are; the geology – the strangely shaped and jumbled mountains; the water – in lakes, streams and cascades, and in the air; the light – continually changing; and the vegetation – lush and colourful’ (Barrington, 1976: 200). ‘Add to these the mildness of the climate, the antiquities, and the sheer extent of the whole. All of this, mixed by some miracle of combination, accounts for the fame of the place’ (Barrington, 1976: 200). In Bórd Fáiltes 1989 tourism development plan ‘Development for Growth’, Killarney’s National Park with its outstanding natural landscape and major attractions such as Muckross House, was identified as the key resource in ‘Ireland’s oldest developed holiday resort’ (Bórd Fáilte, 1989). Observations made during the empirical work shows the area to be dominated by tourism firms (Plate 5.2) and there is a keen awareness in the town of the importance of tourism for the towns continued growth and success.



Plate 5.2 Craft shops, pubs, restaurants and jaunting cars line the streets of Killarney

Killarney can be likened to what Lundgren (1982) refers to as a peripheral rural destination, drawing visitors to the area through a combination of landscape characteristics. The natural beauty of the area combined with the location of Killarney on the Ring of Kerry (figure 5.2); a 179 kilometre scenic coastal tourist trail, that ‘winds past pristine beaches, the island-dotted Atlantic, medieval ruins, mountains and loughs (lakes)’ (Davenport et. al., 2008: 258) provides the necessary tourist attractions and natural resources referred to in Lundgren’s (1982) model, supplying the basis on which the local tourism industry is based.



Figure 5.2: Killarney situated on the scenic Ring of Kerry

Source: <http://www.ringofkerrytourism.com/graphics/map-of-kerry.gif>

Similarly, Christaller's (1963) finding that tourism is 'drawn to the periphery' in its search for the beauty of natural landscape is reflected in Killarney, whose peripheral position and abundance of natural resources has resulted in the development of a tourism industry that has allowed the town to thrive and develop over many years. The following sections provide an overview of the history of tourism in Killarney providing a context for understanding the factors that have influenced its development.

5.2 The historical emergence of tourism in Killarney

The early stage of tourism development in Killarney follows many of the characteristics outlined in the 'exploration' stage of Butler's (1980) TALC where the beginning of a tourism industry can be traced to a relatively small number of visitors attracted by the physical beauty of the area. Influenced by the emergence of such trends as the renewed interest in scenic beauty and appreciation of nature that attracted many visitors to Ireland during the Romantic era, it is not surprising that Killarney and its surrounds quickly became an attraction for visitors (O'Sullivan, 2005). Inspired by the Romantic Movement there was a steady stream of travellers and adventurers visiting Killarney by the end of the eighteenth century (Horgan, 2005). Contrary to what was happening in relation to tourism development at a national level, the beginning of a strong focus on tourism development is apparent in Killarney as early as the mid eighteenth century. In direct contrast with Gorokhovskiy's (2003) claim that Ireland did not become a significant tourist destination until relatively recently, Killarney emerged as a tourist destination in the eighteenth century (Irish Census, 1911) becoming a 'fully fledged tourist resort as early as the mid nineteenth century' (Horgan, 2002: 80).

5.2.1 Early stages of tourism development in Killarney

Reflecting Christaller's (1963) finding that the first stage of tourism development in an area is characterised by the arrival of painters, shortly followed by poets searching out untouched places to visit, it did not take long before some of the more important

of the Romantic painters, poets and writers visited Killarney. The tourism industry in Killarney 'has its genesis in poets and poetry' as well as in literary writers and landscape artists (O'Sullivan, 2005: 139). Their visits to Killarney were to be as influential as their work, as their travels were well recorded and widely reported in the English press attracting the 'cream' of English society to the area (O'Sullivan, 2005). The Romantic poets' praise of the grandeur and beauty of the area was of great benefit to Killarney and '... greatly influenced the expanding tourist trade' (O'Sullivan, 2005: 144). The poet Thomas Moore, for example, who visited Lord and Lady Kenmare in 1823, was so enchanted with the area and in particular Innisfallen Island, that he coined the immortal phrase, 'if Killarney is Heaven's reflex, then Innisfallen must be heaven itself' (O'Sullivan, 2005: 142). These poets and literary writers had a tremendous influence on dictating the travel fashions of Victorians and the writings of poets such as Shelley, Tennyson, Thomas Moore, and Wordsworth, inspired people to travel to Killarney (Lewis, 2000; Horgan, 2002). The experiences of these artists at a local level in Killarney were reproduced in discourses of the global (Salazar, 2005), influencing others to visit the area. Similarly, a visit by Queen Victoria to Killarney in 1861, brought about by the influence of the Kenmare family of Killarney, was a major coup for the area and succeeded in putting it on the map, resulting in enormous amounts of media publicity both in Ireland and the U.K and making it 'the place for every self-respecting Victorian to visit' (Horgan, 2002:82).

'The early development of Killarney as a scenic location' also 'coincided with the growing practice of and popularity for, landscape art in Ireland' (Briggs, 2005: 145). Briggs notes that the lure of Killarney reflected a contemporary popularity for scenery of rugged mountains and shimmering lakes. Innumerable professional artists have

visited Killarney, their paintings, sketches, drawings, and prints proclaiming the splendour of the area. Just as important as the professional landscape artists were the numerous amateur artists that travelled here to paint and draw the landscape. Briggs (2005) explains that of these, Mary Herbert of Muckross House (a member of the Herbert family, landlords of the Muckross estate in Killarney), a keen and gifted water colourist, produced a considerable body of work taking Killarney as her subject matter. She also, according to Briggs (2005), encouraged visitors to Muckross to partake in sketching tours of Killarney and its environs. Briggs (2005) observes that in the work of these artists and in particular the work of Lavery (plate 5.3), one of the leading portraitists of his generation, ‘Killarney-rich in history and long-time source of inspiration for countless artists and writers, is uniquely immortalised as an emblem of Ireland and Irishness’ (Briggs, 2005: 155).



Plate 5.3: The Lakes of Killarney by Sir John Lavery, c. 1913.

Source: http://artsedge.kennedy-center.org/irish/look/burns/lavery_lakes.html

5.2.2 An evolving tourism industry

The early stage of tourism development in Killarney reflects Lewis's (1998) finding that development at the 'evolution' stage can be attributed to one or two individuals in the community. This period of major economic development in Killarney, centered on the fortunes and vision of two families; the Herberts of Muckross and the Brownes of Kenmare (Horgan, 1988). In particular, the fortunes of Killarney town were most closely linked with those of the Browne family (Horgan, 1988) and Larner (2005: vii) explains that 'the coming of age of Thomas Browne, fourth Viscount of Kenmare, in 1747, really marks the beginning of the town of Killarney as it is known today'. Characteristics of the involvement and development stages of Butler's model are apparent throughout the 1800s. During this time the industry began to become more professional and structured, this is clear from the accounts of travel writers such as Weld (1812) who writes of three inns that existed at that time and later Croker (1828) who reports that there were two hotels in Killarney, the Hibernian Hotel and the Kenmare Arms, showing a further increase in infrastructure. A later publication by Hall and Hall (1853: vii) shows how the tourism infrastructure and services in the area had developed in a relatively short period of time: 'having arrived at Killarney, the tourist will ... be amply provided for in the way of comforts'.

These stages of development show similarities to Lewis's (1998) formation and development stages, in particular in relation to the extent of local involvement. Contrary to Butler's (1980) claim that control of the industry begins to come under the control of outsiders, a key characteristic of tourism development in Killarney is

the extent of sustained local involvement in the industry. Extensive development in hotels, banqueting facilities and general services was undertaken by the Kenmare family (Horgan, 1988). A furniture industry aimed at tourists using local woods such as arbutus and yew was also developed with the support of the Kenmare family (Hall & Hall, 1853). Not only did this development provide necessary tourism infrastructure and employment it also stimulated further development as suggested by Pearce (1991) when discussing the impact of entrepreneurs on development. Local people began to see the possibility of a regular tourism industry and locally owned off-shoot industries and services began to appear, for example, hotels such as the Railway Hotel and the Royal Victoria Hotel were offering boat rides on the lake and jaunting car tours around the area (Horgan, 1988). Another service offered to tourists was the provision of local guides, a role that was particularly popular with locals, as portrayed by Hall and Hall (1853: 70) who wrote that in Killarney ‘every child, girl or boy, from the time it is able to crawl over the door-step, seems to have a strong natural instinct to become a guide’. Horgan (1988) illustrates the keen awareness that existed in Killarney with regard to tourism by noting that ‘Killarney swarmed with guides, all of whom were ready to do just about anything’. The recognition by local people of the importance of tourism is also apparent as ‘for the guide it was really all a matter of giving the customer what he wanted’ (Horgan, 1988: 76).

The importance of tourism to the local economy in Killarney during this time is obvious from the number of local people employed by each hotel as porters, guides, boatmen, buglers, and many others (Horgan, 1988). Lewis (2000) explains that all of the leading hotels in Killarney had their own jaunting cars and carriages, in addition to boats and boatmen as well as guides; providing critical employment to local people.

Apart from the employment provided by local hotels and businesses, other enterprising individuals sold ornaments and souvenirs to tourists (Horgan, 1988). 'All in all, the tourist visiting Killarney faced a formidable welcome from a whole range of people, all of whom were intent on cashing in on this new bonanza – the tourist (Horgan, 1988: 66).

Further local involvement in the development of services is evident from the introduction of photographers and the beginning of the postcard industry in Killarney; Hall and Hall in their travel writings refer to 'a skilful and intelligent artist – Mr. Hudson who has a large stock of views – taken by himself, which exhibit nearly all the places of interest and beauty in the locality' (Hall & Hall, 1976: 74). Local hotels were fast to recognise a marketing opportunity and the advertising potential of these postcards, and the Victoria Hotel was the first hotel to use postcards to this effect (Muckross Newsletter, 1998). This extensive local involvement in, and control of, the tourism industry in Killarney is contrary to the early stages of Gormsen's (1981) model where he claims external developers play a key role in tourism development. Tourism development in Killarney during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was very evidently locally controlled with extensive support from landlords and involvement by local people in the provision of tourism services and infrastructure. Throughout the development of tourism in Killarney we see a reflection of Keller's (1987) contention that tourism development should be development for the periphery, by the periphery's population; providing jobs and increasing overall welfare for the local economy.

This was really the beginning of the tourism industry in Killarney. This stage of its development marked not only the point at which much of the town was developed but just as importantly the point at which a culture for tourism was beginning to take root. The ability of individuals to initiate development and to harness external tourism forces by capitalising on place-specific characteristics and resources, as suggested by Quinn (2003) is clearly evident in Killarney at this early stage of development.

5.2.3 The influence of early transport developments

Transport and access also played a key role in the development of Killarney's tourism industry. Killarney can be seen to pass through a number of phases of transport development in a similar way to that suggested by Miossec's (1976) model of tourism development. The early development of transport and improved access at a national and local scale was critical to the industry. Sullivan (2005) explains that Killarney became a tourist centre of worldwide repute aided not only by the vogue of the time for romantic beauty but also by the opening up of the west coast of Ireland by a huge expansion in road building. Accessibility was the key to economic development, and, by the 1750s, Killarney was primed for development (Sullivan, 2005). Local access improved when in 1748, the Cork-Kerry turnpike was developed which linked Killarney with the county of Cork as well as a number of other towns (Sullivan, 2005). Smith (1756: 146) in his travel writings comments on the development of four roads into Killarney at the time, 'there are already four great new roads finished to this town, one from the county of Cork, which leads to that city; a second from Castleisland, which proceeds towards Limerick; the third is that to the river of Kenmare; and a fourth is lately made to Castlemaine, from which roads have been

carried to Tralee and Dingle.’ The development of these roads had a tremendous impact on improving access to the remote area. The introduction of mail coaches in 1789, further improved road access and resulted in additional road improvements and new roads such as the mail road from Killarney to Tralee, was built in 1811, the third within a century (O’Sullivan, 2005). The 1830s also saw further gradual improvement and extension of the road infrastructure in Ireland in general. A new road linking Killarney with Kenmare was completed around 1830 as well as a new road linking Killarney with Tralee (Barrington, 1976). The continued improvement of the road infrastructure during the eighteenth and nineteenth century facilitated the movement of travellers to Killarney (plate 5.4).



Plate 5.4: A Car to Killarney

Source: Thackeray, (1847: 7)

While considerable progress had been made in relation to access to Killarney, the prospect of travelling any great distance in the Irish countryside in general was still a daunting task (Horgan, 1988). The opening of the Dublin to Killarney railway line in 1853 marked a key factor in tourism development and brought this remote region within reach of a host of new visitors (Horgan, 2002). According to Horgan, chief amongst these were older people, with good spending power, who could now travel easily to the formerly remote southwest. This improved accessibility and its corresponding rise in tourist numbers stimulated further development in the area, 'the railway provided a new facility for the tourist traffic, which tended to concentrate on Killarney and the west of Ireland, and initiated a new programme of hotel building' (Bórd Fáilte, 1967:14). The railway companies were well aware of the potential offered by the new railways for the development of tourism (Horgan, 2002). Many began building hotels, usually strategically located at the train terminus; the first example of these was the up market Railway hotel, which was built by The Great Southern & Western Railway (GS&WR) in Killarney in 1853 (plate 5.5 & 5.6). The Earl of Kenmare, Thomas Browne, granted the land for the building, without payment, on condition that the train would always wait for him (Flynn, 1993). The G.S.&W.R. spared no expense in the development of this hotel which, even by today's standards was a lavish affair (Horgan, 1988).



Plate 5.5: Railway Station and new hotel in Killarney (1880-1914)

Source: The National Library of Ireland (2009)



Plate 5.6: Composition picture of the Great Southern Hotel Killarney (1880-1914)

Source: The National Library of Ireland (2009)

5.2.4 Evidence of a more formal tourism industry

According to Horgan (2005) the period between 1800 and 1850 marked the beginning of a more formal tourism industry in Killarney and this was a period during which tourism in the area really began to progress. While 1845 to 1850 marked the time of great famine in Ireland and a decline in the number of visitors to Killarney, the Killarney area was wealthier and less vulnerable than other parts of Ireland (Foley, 2005). Combined with the fact that Killarney's landlords intervened to 'aid their distressed tenants' this meant that Killarney was not impacted by the effects of the famine to the same degree as other areas in Ireland (ibid). Lewis (2000) highlights the spirit of self-reliance that existed in the town, explaining that locals used every opportunity during the famine to increase their earnings. He describes how a writer in the Illustrated London News wrote of his visit to Killarney in 1849, mentioning the 'bevy of lasses' who followed him up Mangerton mountain 'soliciting him to partake of goat's milk and whiskey ...'. Similarly, a newspaper item for September 4th 1847, reported that a Regatta was to be held over a two-day period 'for the benefit of the boatmen who have suffered much from ... the absence of visitors this summer' (Muckross Newsletter, 1998). The period after the famine witnessed great changes in all aspects of Irish society, and in Killarney there was a greater realisation of the economic significance of tourism (Horgan, 2005).

While Ireland of the 19th century was characterised by abject poverty and deep-rooted land problems, the image of Killarney that most visitors took with them was one of a romantic paradise (Horgan, 1988). Despite the general poverty in Ireland, the late

1800s in Killarney marked a period of great development for the town, and was a time when a good deal of Killarney was built, largely as a result of the work of the Kenmare family. The influence of local landlords on tourism development went further than the development of infrastructure and services. Through their many contacts they were influential in bringing about the visit of Queen Victoria to Killarney in 1861, a visit that consolidated Killarney's position as a prime tourist resort, launching it internationally as a place to visit (Horgan, 1988, 2005).

This period was something of a golden age for tourism in Killarney (Horgan, 2005). The publication of more numerous travel guides during the 1800s had far-reaching consequences for the town, resulting in increased publicity and tourist numbers (Horgan, 1988). Reflecting aspects of the development stage of Butler's (1980) TALC, additional facilities and increased promotion of the area was taking place. New hotels began to open, for example, The TORC View and the Lake Hotel opened in 1859, and a much more structured and professional approach to tourism began to emerge (plate 5.7). Contrary to Butler's (1980) claim that this stage of development is characterised by a greater control of the industry by outsiders, tourism in Killarney remained a locally controlled industry. Hall & Hall's (1865) comprehensive travel guide to Killarney estimated that Killarney could at that time provide accommodation for up to 500 visitors, which was quite an achievement even by today's standards (Horgan, 2005).



Plate 5.7: Jaunting cars waiting for their passengers outside hotels (1880-1914).

Source: The National Library of Ireland (2009)

Tourism as an industry in Killarney had come of age, evidenced by the level of development in the town and by the keen rivalry that had begun to develop between hotels in the area (Horgan, 1988). This rivalry was particularly strong between the Railway Hotel and the Royal Victoria, (both of which competed for the upper end of the market) and ensued into an aggressive advertising campaign by the Royal Victoria to which the Railway Hotel responded by allowing only its own porters into the train station to tout for business (Horgan, 1988). Despite this rivalry, the importance of tourism to the local economy is evident from the willingness of local hotels to work

together to market the area. The formation of a marketing group, 'The Killarney Tourism Development Company', by local hoteliers in the 1890s had, according to Lewis (F. Lewis, personal communication, 21st November, 2005), '... all sorts of plans in ... promoting Killarney'. The establishment of this organisation reflects characteristics of Lewis's (1998) formation stage, where the setting up of community organisations leads to a more formalised process of tourism development. It also clearly shows a more co-ordinated approach to tourism development by local businesses. Similar to Lewis's (1998) finding that this stage marked the first formal grass-roots step taken to develop tourism, with local people coming together to formulate ideas to develop the industry, this local marketing group is the first evidence of local businesses working together to market Killarney. Tourism planning and development up to this stage had been the remit of local landowning families and in particular the Kenmare family.

5.2.5 The influence of tour operators on tourism development

Much of the physical infrastructure associated with tourism in Killarney today was developed during the nineteenth century and this period also marked the development of many conventions associated with holidaymaking such as guidebooks, postcards, tourist advertisements, and package holidays (Horgan, 2005). Cobh in county Cork became the starting point for a series of tours of the surrounding region, the best known of which was a coastal tour beginning in west Cork and continuing overland by mountain to Killarney (Flynn, 1993). Cook's tours that had begun to operate tours to Ireland in the late 1800s brought the first ever package tour from the USA to visit

Glengarriff and Killarney in 1895. Lewis (F. Lewis, personal communication, 21st November, 2005) explained that 'Killarney had a reputation in America in the second half of the nineteenth century, for a certain class of American, the wealthier American, Killarney was Ireland'. According to Henry (1993) this opening up of Killarney to tourists from the United States was fortuitous as it proved to be the bedrock on which the local tourism industry survived over the coming years of political turbulence in Ireland.

Contrasting directly with what was happening with regard to tourism development in general in Ireland during this time; tourism development in Killarney saw the beginnings of a professional industry with a strong local focus on development. The strategic focus and vision for tourism, which was evident in Killarney, was lacking at a national level in Ireland where tourism development was 'clearly a Herculean task, requiring inexhaustible optimism and untiring energy on the part of anyone prepared to take it on' (Furlong, 2009: 19). Killarney utilised its natural resources to position itself to become a tourism destination and contrary to what was happening at a national level, Killarney people quickly recognised the importance of tourism for economic development and employment (plate 5.8). 'The development of tourism [in Killarney] was certainly no accident with local landowning families playing a key role in the development of a service-oriented industry' (Horgan, 2002). While at a national level Irish tourism faced a number of disadvantages not least of which was the deficiency of accommodation, amenities and transport facilities, along with an image of lawlessness and political unrest (Furlong, 2009).



Plate 5.8: Tourist Car, Killarney (1880-1914)

Source: The National Library of Ireland (2009)

5.3 Tourism development in Killarney in the twentieth century

While the beginning of the new century was a time of relative peace, this soon gave way to a period of unprecedented upheaval at both a national and international level (Horgan, 2005). During a thirty-year period between the years 1914-45 many events at an international and national scale had a devastating effect on tourism in Killarney (Muckross Newsletter, 1998). Reflecting the turbulence of the period a severe toll was taken on the industry in Killarney by the various wars and economic recessions of the time. English visitors were the mainstay of Killarney tourism after the Second World War and developments in Killarney during this time followed the general trends of the rest of the country which was at a low ebb economically (Fitzpatrick, 1961). Only six new hotels were built in Killarney between 1900 and 1960, a

reflection of the economic depression of the time. Despite the economic bleakness a number of local initiatives helped sustain and support the local tourism industry and 'tourism in Killarney remained a small, localised industry that owed more to the efforts of local entrepreneurs than to any formal state initiatives' (Horgan, 2005: 136). Lord Castlerosse, (a descendent of the Kenmare family) with the assistance of the famous architect, Sir Guy Campbell and distinguished golf writer, Henry Longhurst, designed Mahony's Point golf course, which was opened for play on October 3rd, 1939 (Hickey, 1991). Killarney soon earned a coveted reputation as a golfing destination recognised by the Golfing Union of Ireland (GUI), which staged the Irish Amateur Open Championship on the course in 1949, and other major tournaments were hosted in Killarney in the 1950s (ibid). Another important initiative that was to impact immensely on the continued survival and development of the industry was the development of a coach service by local business men, Thomas Cooper and Dan Buckley. This targeted the previously untapped domestic market and advanced the development of tourism in the area by bringing much needed domestic visitors to the area.

In the 1950s, when the Irish state was only beginning to consider tourism seriously, local businesses in Killarney established a marketing group 'Killarney Tourism Coordinating Committee', which later became 'The Killarney Tourist Development Company Limited', the purpose of which, according to Lewis (F. Lewis, personal communication, 21st November, 2005), was to jointly market the area with Bórd Fáilte. This continuous effort by local individuals and businesses to control and promote tourism epitomised the spirit of self-reliance that had become a key

characteristic of the tourism industry in Killarney. This focus on development of the area, as opposed to individual business interests, had become a widely shared value in Killarney evidenced by the willingness of rival businesses to co-operate for the benefit of long-term gains. This reflects Sabel's (1992) claim, when discussing industrial districts, that co-operation between firms is likely to occur for reasons rooted in a common history, and these local businesses had a common history in tourism development, an industry that had become critical to the success of the area. Saxenian (1996) discussed how a technical culture in Silicon Valley transcended firms and functions, similarly the culture of tourism that had begun to develop in Killarney during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, resulted in the ability of local businesses to recognise that success of the tourism industry in Killarney meant the success of their own business.

In 1968, the Killarney Chamber of Commerce was founded by local business owners to provide a forum and support for local businesses. The Chamber merged with a local marketing group 'Killarney of the Welcomes' early in the 2000s to become 'Killarney Chamber of Tourism and Commerce, once again illustrating the recognition by local businesses of the importance of tourism to the area and the importance of working together. Some of the characteristics of the consolidation stage of Butler's (1980) model are apparent throughout the 1900s. At this stage in its development, tourism had become a major part of the local economy and local efforts were being made to extend the season through the development of the domestic market. Despite the limited state support available for tourism in the 1950s, tourism in Killarney continued to grow as a result of local initiatives and enterprising

individuals (Horgan, 2005). In 1955, Killarney had sixteen hotels with 413 bedrooms (Horgan, 2005). The opening of the Gleneagle Hotel by the O'Donoghue family in 1957 marked a renewed confidence in the local tourism industry and the 1960s saw a resurgence in development of the area (O'Hare, 2005a). By this time Killarney had established international as well as national recognition as a destination and was referred to in travel writings as the 'world-famous Killarney' (Atkinson, 1956: 102).

5.3.1 The influence of state funding

The provision of public funds to enhance tourism, which according to Deegan (2006) had begun in the late 1950s were significantly enhanced in the 1960s and Killarney with over 150 years' experience in the tourism industry was well positioned to take great advantage of it (Horgan, 2005). This was not confined to large-scale financial projects, as everyone in Killarney, from B&B owners to jarvies (jaunting car drivers), 'were acutely aware that they were all stakeholders in the local tourism industry' (Horgan, 2005: 137). Coinciding with this increased financial support, nine new hotels opened between 1965 and 1968, giving a total of 25 hotels (F. Lewis, personal communication, 18th January, 2005). The sheer scale and opulence of these hotels was a wonder for both visitors and locals alike (Horgan, 2005). During an interview, Lewis explained that the state owned Great Southern hotel, added about a hundred rooms as well as conference facilities between the 1950s and 1960s, showing an increased investment in the industry by the Irish government (F. Lewis, personal communication, 21st November, 2005).

In addition, in 1962, the opening of Muckross House, part of the Muckross estate that was bequeathed to the State in 1932 by Senator Arthur Vincent and his parents-in-law, in memory of his late wife, increased the product base in the area and quickly became one of the top visitor attractions in Ireland. A new golf clubhouse funded mainly by Bórd Fáilte was built in 1966, and was opened by the then Taoiseach, the late Sean Lemass. Television coverage of golf in Killarney was also available at this time and a programme for the Shell Wonderful World of Golf series helped to attract many American players to the area (Hickey, 1991). With two championship golf courses, Killarney was well able to cater for the huge influx of golfers. In 1968, Bórd Fáilte, in one of Ireland's biggest land deals, bought 130 acres of the Kenmare estate for an undisclosed sum and a statement from the board said that the development would go a long way towards safeguarding the unspoilt scenic and recreational amenities of Killarney (*Irish Independent*, 1968). In 1979, Killarney estate was officially purchased by the Office of Public works (OPW), and the ownership of the estate transferred to the Irish State, Bórd Fáilte had provided over half of the money needed to acquire the 25,000-acre estate (*Cork Examiner*, 1979). These moves effectively protected a prime resource of the tourism industry in Killarney safeguarding it from development and allowing it to become Ireland's first national park.

The move by the Irish government in 1964 to decentralise tourism administration through the development of eight regional offices, resulted in the development of the Cork/Kerry (southwest) regional tourism authority. The remit of this authority was to simulate and coordinate regional tourism resources and to promote the regional implementation of national tourism policies (Gillmor, 1985). Killarney with its well

established tourism industry was well positioned to benefit from any increase in numbers brought about by the work of Cork/Kerry tourism.

5.3.2 Continued improvements in access

Increased transatlantic flights played a major role in the development of tourism in Ireland and in particular in established tourist resorts such as Killarney whose developed infrastructure positioned it to take full advantage of the resulting increase in visitors. The improved access also facilitated Bórd Fáilte's efforts at tapping into the huge potential of the Irish-American market, extending an invitation to the sons and daughters of Irish emigrants to visit the land of their ancestors (Horgan, 2005). 'At a time when tourism worldwide was still in its infancy, the idea of visiting a country where people spoke the same language and ate much the same type of food had tremendous appeal, not just for Americans but also for British visitors' (ibid:137). These two markets were the mainstay of tourism in Killarney in the 1960s (F. Lewis, personal communication, 21st November, 2005).

The opening of Cork Airport on the southwest coast of Ireland in 1961 provided a key infrastructural resource for the growth of the southwest region. By linking the southwest with the rest of Ireland and Europe, Cork airport contributed to tourism development in the area, providing an important gateway for tourists entering the region, in particular the main tourist markets of the UK and mainland Europe. However, the US market, another significant market was not served directly by Cork Airport due to strict bi-lateral agreements (Kavanagh, O'Leary & Shinnick, 2002).

The major social changes and upturn in the Irish economy in the 1960s resulted in sustained growth in the domestic market (Horgan, 2005). Paid holiday leave and the introduction of bank-holiday weekends resulted in increased spending power and provided new opportunities for tourism. This increased spending power is reflected in the sustained growth and development of tourism in Killarney in the 1960s (ibid). This new market provided a boom to Killarney tourism, particularly in off-peak periods, and the town was strategically positioned through its level of development to maximise on this opportunity (ibid). This period also saw the beginnings of the coach tour business to Killarney, which was to become a critical market for the area up to the present day. However, it was during the 1970s that the use of cars and buses for scenic areas really came into their own, and Killarney quickly established itself as a touring base for the Ring of Kerry.

The opening of Kerry County Airport in 1989, located just 18km north of Killarney at Farranfore, introduced daily scheduled air services from Killarney to Dublin and London a development that has been crucial to the tourism industry (Hickey, 1994). Kerry Airport experienced considerable growth with passenger numbers increasing from just over 15,000 in 1993 to approximately 120,000 in 1997 (RPS Cairns, 1999). By 1999 the airport was offering increased daily services linking Kerry to Dublin and London and also weekly seasonal charter and scheduled services to Dusseldorf and Frankfurt opening up the area further to European markets (RPS Cairns, 1999).

5.3.3 Sustained development and changing market trends

By the 1980s, reflecting the trend in the changing visitor profile at a national level, continental visitors started to visit Killarney in increasing numbers, with French and German visitors taking the place of American and British visitors (Horgan, 2005). The nature of the product continued to evolve to cater for their needs incorporating a range of both sporting and cultural events. The image of Ireland that was being portrayed to visitors by Bórd Fáilte at this time was one of unspoilt beauty and an alternative holiday to the traditional sun holiday. Killarney was uniquely positioned to benefit from this as it offered its beautiful scenery and an extensive infrastructure and service industry. Horgan (2005: 138) explains that the Europeans of the 1980s were echoing the view of the Victorians of British industrial cities, who were drawn to Killarney in the previous century because of its image as an area ‘untouched by the ravages of heavy industry’.

The 1980s in Killarney was also a time of more innovative marketing to the still relatively untapped domestic market. The Gleneagle hotel was marketing innovative train trips from Dublin to Killarney 2/3 times a week these, offering a package that included accommodation and entertainment. Similarly, hotels such as the Ryan hotel were offering attractive packages for the family market. In contrast to national trends, Killarney tourism had sustained growth in the 1980s, a reflection of local initiatives and involvement in the industry as well as increased financial support available from government. Regional figures for 1988 show that Kerry was one of the two leading

tourism counties, outside of Dublin, (the other was Galway) in terms of tourism distribution, where Killarney was the most important tourism resort (Gillmor, 1994a).

The 1990s witnessed a phase of sustained development. It was also a period characterised by the redevelopment of many hotels in Killarney as well as the construction of a number of new ones. During this period the Irish government's Business Expansion Scheme stimulated the refurbishment and expansion of hotels as well as the construction of many hotel-based leisure centres in the area. By the year 2000, Killarney had 56 hotels with a combined capacity of 3,069 bedrooms, a figure that does not include the additional capacity available in guesthouses and self-catering establishments (Horgan, 2005). These establishments remained largely under the ownership of local family businesses. The development of international hotel chains that was evident in many parts of Ireland throughout the 1990s and 2000s never took place in Killarney where the industry remains primarily locally owned right up to the present day, (this point will be developed in a later section when the findings from the Killarney case are analysed and discussed).

In 1994, following a decade of significant investment in tourism infrastructure in Killarney, some of the key operators in the tourism industry combined to form a new tourism promotion organisation: Killarney Lakes Marketing which traded as Killarney of the Welcomes. The exclusive focus of this body was to increase the value of tourism revenue through the active marketing of Killarney at home & overseas as a visitor destination of first choice. This merged with the Killarney Chamber of Commerce in 2002 to become the Killarney Chamber of Tourism and Commerce.

5.4 Tourism in Killarney in the twenty first century

The tourism industry in Killarney has continued to evolve and contrary to Butler's (1980) model the thriving industry remains largely under the control of locally owned businesses, many of whom have been involved in the tourism industry for a number of generations. In 2002, for example, four local families owned 48% of the three, four and five star hotel rooms in the area. Local families and entrepreneurs have been the lynchpin of the burgeoning industry, providing critical infrastructure, marketing support and product development and collectively ensuring that the industry thrives. Their influence has been ubiquitous and multifaceted and is discussed in depth later in the chapter.

Some characteristics of Butler's (1980) stagnation phase are now evident in Killarney as the industry has reached increasingly higher numbers of tourists. While there is no record of tourist numbers to Killarney, Kerry County Council (2009) explain that over 1.7 million tourists visit county Kerry every year, where Killarney is the main tourist destination. Plans to implement visitor management strategies aim to sustain the quality of tourism in the area (Kerry County Council, 2008). The area continues to have a popular image as a tourist resort despite increased competition from within Ireland and abroad and there is no evidence of the characteristics of the decline stage of Butler's (1980) model. Local initiatives have been fundamental to the development of the industry; a more recent example of which is 'Killarney 250', an initiative that celebrates 250 years of tourism in Killarney and a collective approach at rejuvenating tourism in the area. Lewis (F. Lewis, personal communication, 21st

November, 2005) claimed that changing market trends and increased competition have brought a realisation to the local industry that it must remain competitive, and it is determined to do so.

Killarney is now one of Ireland's premier tourist destinations and tourism is a major component of the local economy, attracting up to 1.5 million visitors annually and providing both direct and indirect employment (RPS Cairns, 1999). It possesses a world-class tourism infrastructure, and has more hotel rooms than any other region outside of Dublin, the capital of Ireland (T. Kenny, personal communication, 14th December, 2005). The town has a broad selection of accommodation including hostels, B&B's and four and five star hotels, offering every conceivable luxury to the visitor. The streets are lined with restaurants, pubs, tour companies, craft shops and others, all catering to the needs of the visitor. On almost every corner jaunting cars (local horse and carriages) offer guided tours to passing visitors. The area is dominated by tourism firms each supplying a critical part of the overall tourism product.

This overview of the history of tourism development in Killarney shows a town where tourism has developed over many years to become a critical industry. It shows a dynamic industry that has been influenced by many factors at an international, national and local level. This overview has provided a context for the next section of the chapter which presents and analyses further key findings from the empirical work in Killarney. This section highlights the way in which factors that are local to Killarney have interplayed with broader influences to underpin tourism development. In particular it identifies and discusses the key factors that have triggered

development, the interplay of these factors and the long-term influence they have had on tourism in the area.

5.5 Key factors underpinning tourism development in Killarney

There are many factors that have influenced the development of tourism in Killarney. As discussed above, factors such as the changing travel trends and fashions, the improvement of transport infrastructure, government policy as well as the promotion of Ireland as a tourism destination, have all had significant influence on the development of the industry in Killarney. However, these factors alone do not account for Killarney's success as a destination. The empirical research identifies many additional factors that have been critical to the development of the industry these can be broadly classified in to four key themes as follows:

1. The role of individuals, entrepreneurs and local families;
2. The existence of a social and a professional milieu;
3. A propensity for co-operation between firms and individuals;
4. The institutionalisation of the tourism industry.

The following sections will discuss each of these, identifying and explaining the ways in which they have influenced tourism development in the town.

5.6 The role of individuals, entrepreneurs and local families.

An analysis of tourism development in Killarney reveals a town that has proactively engaged with tourism and where its development has been strongly influenced by the efforts of local individuals, entrepreneurs and families. From as early as the 1700s, long before Ireland as a nation had recognised the importance of tourism as an industry, local individuals in Killarney had recognised the opportunity that the surrounding landscape afforded in terms of resources for attracting visitors to the area. These passively inherited factors provided a basis for creating a competitive advantage which formed the basis of the industry (Ritchie & Crouch, 2003). The ability to commodify the natural environment as a tourism product has been fundamental to the growth of the industry. This has been underpinned by the vision and commitment of many strong individuals and families and the industry has developed as a result of their investment in product, infrastructure and marketing but also because of a broader influence that they have had on the industry. The next section discusses the way that these individuals and families have had on tourism development in Killarney.

5.6.1 Thomas Browne: Initiator of tourism development

The history of Killarney's entrepreneurial dynamism, the common identity and shared purpose which has proven to be an intrinsic part of tourism development up to the present dates back to the 1750s to the time of Thomas Browne. Thomas Browne, the Fourth Viscount of Kenmare, landlord of one of the two major estates in Killarney, the Kenmare estate, was a hugely influential character in the development of tourism

in Killarney. He was responsible for initiating development or, what is referred to by Johns and Mattson (2005) as 'destination start-up' and his entrepreneurial ideas can be seen to have transformed Killarney into a tourism destination in the first instance. Through his actions in developing tourism infrastructure and services he facilitated visitors to the town and demonstrated the opportunity that existed for a tourism industry. Even more significant was his encouragement of tenants' involvement in the industry, offering reduced rents to those who improved their landholding. His greatest contribution was in initiating what Haven-Tang & Jones (2006) earlier referred to as a 'sense of place'. He achieved this through his recognition of, and ability to build on, the distinctive features of Killarney. In addition, he helped create awareness in others of the opportunities afforded for tourism development and assisted in developing a self-reliance that has been fundamental to tourism development.

Keller's (1987) assertion that a carefully devised tourism development planning strategy, implemented from the outset may ensure achievement of the positive development of tourism is apparent in Thomas Browne's vision and plan for tourism development in Killarney. Browne brought a keen awareness to the people of Killarney of what the area had to offer in terms of natural resources and the way in which these could be used in the development of a tourism industry. Today, the business and social environment in Killarney is one of great pride where local firms have developed over generations and are embedded in the area, there is a strong link between people and place in Killarney, as one respondent explained 'local people have a great pride in the area and want to stay ... tourism allows them to do that'.

At a time in Ireland when landlords were known for the harsh treatment of their tenants and their general lack of interest in the condition of their estates other than the rental income it afforded them (Ó Tuathaigh, 2007), Thomas Browne directed the transformation of Killarney from a scattered settlement to a town with properly laid out streets and avenues (Horgan, 2005). The development of tourism in the town, in contrast to Lewis's (1998) finding that tourism just evolved, was an intrinsic part of Thomas Browne's vision for Killarney (Horgan, 2005). Together with the Herbert family (also major landlords in Killarney) Browne and his family (the Kenmare family) acted as virtual tourism development agencies for the industry (Horgan, 2005). This interest in tourism was not altogether for altruistic reasons; as substantial owners of vast estates of mountain and lake that had limited agricultural potential, these landlords were also serving their own self-interest in developing tourism in the area (Horgan, 2005) and Browne, in particular, was keen to promote tourism to cover the ever-increasing costs of maintaining his estate (Furlong, 2009).

When Browne came to be landlord in 1747, the town of Killarney was depicted by him as a 'large and barren waste with monstrous large farms, few or no substantial tenants and a general spirit of dirty poverty and indolence among all ranks' (McLysaght, 1970: 214). Killarney, similar to many other towns in Ireland, reflected the poverty of the time and consisted in total of 'only his lordships house and not more than three or four slated houses and 100 thatched cabins and the whole population could not have exceeded 500' (Hall and Hall, 1853: 55-56). Browne set about to improve conditions in the town from the late 1740s (*General Evening Post*, 1748, cited in Lerner, 2005) and according to Flynn (1993) a feature of his plans for Killarney was to initiate the

development of the tourist industry by building hotels, inns, roads and boating and fishing facilities on Killarney lakes. The work undertaken by Browne to develop the town in a short time was apparent when Pococke, who visited the town in 1749 and claimed it to be a 'miserable village' later remarked that it was wonderful to see what 'Lord Kenmare ... had accomplished in about nine years' (Ó Maidin, 1959: 50). By 1758, 'good inns lodgings and accommodations for strangers ...' were available (ibid).

Browne's interest in tourism manifested itself in many ways, as well as hosting many dignitaries and travellers; he provided much of the early tourist infrastructure in Killarney (Horgan, 2005). He converted a ruin on Inis Faithleann into a banqueting hall, and built several cottages that were all geared towards the tourist industry; he also opened up the estate to visitors in exchange for an entrance fee (Horgan, 1998). In addition, he provided land to the Great Southern Railway for the building of the first railway hotel in Ireland, the Great Southern Hotel, which opened in 1854 (Furlong, 2009). Browne's influence however did not stop at the provision of infrastructure. Arguably his most important influence was to encourage others to become involved in the industry. Barrington (1976) notes that he encouraged the establishment of inns, the building of houses, the provision of boating facilities for tourists, the building of roads, all of which had a positive impact on both the development of the town and the tourism industry. 'A most considerate and enlightened landlord at a period when Irish landlords and their agents were a byword for harshness' (MacLysaght, 1970: 141), he granted his tenants 'a lease forever' for a trivial rent providing they would make improvements to their landholding. He

encouraged the country gentlemen of the area to apply for a turnpike road to Cork in order to improve access to Killarney (O'Hare, 2005a). He also facilitated tourists by providing dining facilities as well as a variety of boats for their use (Ó Maidin, 1959) and he began a system of issuing tickets that allowed visitors to tour the lakes and other scenic parts of Killarney (Furlong, 2009).

Browne's influence and contacts stretched far beyond Killarney and was to continue through the work of his family, even after his death in 1795. Through their many contacts the Kenmare family was instrumental in the attracting royalty to Killarney, including a visit by Prince Edward in 1858 (Horgan, 2005). However, the real extent of the Kenmare contacts and influence is evident when they were principal hosts to Queen Victoria during her visit in 1861 (Horgan, 1988). Horgan (2005) explains that the family were well aware of the huge financial spin-offs that would accrue to Killarney because of the visit. The extensive publicity was invaluable and went a long way towards establishing Killarney as a Victorian tourist resort, helping put it on a par with resorts such as Windermere in the English Lake District (Horgan, 2005: 131).

The time of Thomas Browne, saw the beginnings of a tourism industry in Killarney but most importantly the beginnings of an entrepreneurial dynamism that exists right up to the present day. Through his vision he helped to shape the industry and change the local environment to facilitate its further development. During his time in Killarney he helped develop a keen awareness of the potential for tourism and a desire to encourage and cater for visitors developed in the town (Smith, 1756). He placed a strong focus on tourism development and encouraged his tenants to participate in the

development of the industry (McLysaght, 1970). Just as Saxenian (1994) recognised the role of individual achievement in establishing Silicon Valley, it is clear that Thomas Browne established the development of Killarney town as a major tourist destination.

Browne's time also shows evidence of a social milieu in the area, the existence of which has been identified as key to the successful development of industrial districts. This social milieu resulted from the shared identity and history that people in Killarney share, and was influenced by Thomas Browne's vision for tourism. The existence of a social milieu has played a fundamental role in tourism development in Killarney and will be discussed later in this chapter. Browne was a key instigator of early tourism development and helped create a sense of pride in place that was to become a key characteristic of Killarney. At a time of extreme poverty in Ireland he encouraged a self-reliance and determination to succeed in the town that continues to exist today. O'Donoghue commented on the atmosphere of self-reliance that exists in Killarney contrasting it to the 'dependency culture in some areas [of Ireland] that is hard to change' (P. O'Donoghue, personal communication, 15th December, 2005). This willingness and ability to do things for themselves, O'Donoghue claimed, 'has always been a characteristic of Killarney' (ibid), and can be seen to have had its beginnings in the time of Thomas Browne. After his death in 1795, he left behind a legacy of development in Killarney but more significantly, he left the beginning of what was to become Killarney's most important industry. His influence transcended the tangible elements of tourism development to include the beginnings of what Marshall (1920) called a 'distinctive industrial atmosphere' resulting in a common culture in the area, a culture of tourism, that would have long term positive

repercussions on the development of the industry. This culture is evident in the way that tourism has become part of the fabric of Killarney as the town ‘draws its life from catering to tourists’ (Atkinson, 1956:52). The story of Killarney tourism began with Thomas Browne and has continued through the involvement and vision of many other individuals and families through the years. Their contributions towards the development of Killarney’s tourism industry are detailed in the following sections.

5.6.2 Thomas G. Cooper and Dan Buckley

Until the end of the nineteenth century, the Browne family of the Kenmare estate continued to act as a de facto tourism development authority for Killarney (Horgan, 2005). The emphasis on self-reliance and enterprise that had begun in Thomas Browne’s time continued to be a trait of the town. More evidence of this self-reliance was apparent during difficult times after the Second World War when Horgan (2005) explains how local hoteliers Thomas Cooper of the Glebe Hotel and Dan Buckley of the Arbutus hotel developed a coach service that targeted the previously untapped domestic market. This, Horgan claims, epitomised the spirit of self-help that was a great strength of the town. Thomas Cooper and Dan Buckley, along with other local entrepreneurs Maurice O’Donoghue of the Gleneagles Hotel, and the Ryan family hotel were the first to market to domestic tourists and in so doing brought new development potential to the town. Cooper and Buckley were also active members of Killarney Development Company, a limited company founded in the 1950s by local businesses to market and develop tourism in the area. This initiative was the first of many that have played an important role in creating and sustaining Killarney’s success as a tourism destination.

5.6.3 Maurice O'Donoghue and the O'Donoghue family

The O'Donoghue family are an old Killarney family that have lived in the area for generations and have been involved in tourism since, at least the 1930s. The family originally ran a pub and a B&B in the town and purchased Scotts Hotel in the 1930s. However, it was Maurice O'Donoghue who had the business acumen to really develop and take the business forward (K. O'Regan Shepherd, personal communication, 9th December, 2005). Lewis explained that despite having qualified as a pharmacist, Maurice O'Donoghue was similar to Thomas Browne back in the 1700s, in that he had 'a great passion for the hospitality industry and for Killarney' (F. Lewis, personal communication, 21st November, 2005). O'Donoghue's entrepreneurial flair is clearly apparent in Killarney and his work over the years in developing the family's core business of accommodation and entertainment has not only meant the success of the family business but also provided critical infrastructure and attractions for Killarney town (table 5.1 provides an overview of the businesses owned by the family and plate 5.9 shows the Brehon Hotel, one of the families many businesses in Killarney). While the work of Maurice O'Donoghue has impacted enormously on the development of tourism in Killarney, it was undertaken primarily for the benefit of the family businesses. However, an overview of O'Donoghue's influence on tourism development in Killarney clearly shows how the work of a single entrepreneur can impact on others and consequently on the development of the entire area.

Table 5.1 Overview of the O'Donoghue Family Businesses in Killarney

O'Donoghue Family Businesses	Date founded
Scotts Hotel	1930s
The Gleneagle Hotel	1957
The Museum of Irish Transport	1987
Destination Killarney	1987
Torc Travel	1990s
M.V. Pride of Killarney Luxury Cruiser	1990s
Irish National Events Centre	2000
The Gleneagle River Apartments:	2003
The Brehon Hotel	2004



Plate 5.9: The Brehon Hotel Killarney, owned by the O'Donoghue family

While the formation of new firms by Maurice O'Donoghue and his family stimulated the growth of the industry it also provided necessary business for some of the smaller operators in the area. This occurred because of the increased number of visitors to the town but also because of the O'Donoghue's family's practice of recommending smaller operators such as restaurants and shops, and because of their use of local services such as jaunting cars (horse and carriages), tour operators and bicycle rental shops. Their willingness to recommend other businesses was by no means a charitable undertaking and its results were twofold; it allowed the O'Donoghue businesses to offer a seamless product to their customers while also generating important business for smaller operators. This interdependence between the firms benefited both parties and generated a reciprocal trust that allowed the area in general to flourish in a way that is similar to Pilotti's (2000: 129) findings regarding the Montebelluna industrial district in Italy, where 'leading firms in the district set up satellite businesses, ... which, in turn organised a putting out system to home based workers'. This interdependence has developed as a result of the tendency for larger family run businesses in the area to stick to their core business (for example accommodation and entertainment, in the case of the O'Donoghue family) thus allowing other operators to develop complimentary services all of which together provide a comprehensive tourism product. The interdependency between firms in Killarney is a key characteristic of its tourism industry and will be explored in more depth later in the chapter.

Maurice O'Donoghue was acknowledged by 47% of survey respondents as having contributed most to tourism development in Killarney. He was referred to as a 'champion for Killarney' by one prominent business person while another called him

a 'modern day Thomas Viscount the Fourth'. O'Donoghue is acknowledged as having contributed greatly to the development of tourism in Killarney and many of the small operators recognise his role in attracting tourists to the town and in supporting their businesses. Yet, this does not mean that businesses in the area are not competitive. There is also a keen sense of rivalry in the town, in particular between the larger hotels, this point is discussed further later in the chapter.

O'Donoghue opened the Gleneagles hotel in 1957; this was the first hotel to open in the area after many years of relative inactivity due to the war of Independence, the Civil war, the Second World War and the political environment of the time. The building of this hotel, as Britton (1991) suggests, stimulated further development as it signalled a renewed confidence in the area. This move was vital for the long-term success of tourism in the area as it provided critical infrastructure and influenced further development and investment in the local industry.

One of the greatest contributions that O'Donoghue is remembered for is his drive to develop domestic tourism in Killarney. Lewis (F. Lewis, personal communication, 21st November, 2005), explained how having been involved in the show band and entertainment business for many years, O'Donoghue was aware of the extent of the domestic market and had a keen focus on marketing to Irish tourists. In the 1980s he teamed up with Iarnród Éireann (Irish Rail, the state owned railway company) and developed the 'Show Time Express' an initiative that included an all-in package of rail trip, entertainment and accommodation in Killarney. This initiative, combined with the work already begun by Tom Cooper and Dan Buckley, changed the perception in Killarney of the Irish domestic market. Lewis commented that

‘previously a relatively untapped source, it opened the area up to domestic tourism (F. Lewis, personal communication, 21st November, 2005). Local Councillor, Healy-Rae claimed that it brought thousands of people to the area in the shoulder season (*Irish Examiner*, 2001) developing an almost year round tourism season in Killarney. Kenny claimed that ‘everyone has benefited from the work of the O’Donoghue family and the Gleneagles Hotel, they have been a big contributor, they have done huge work to market their business and make it a year round business, as a result the whole area has benefited’ (T. Kenny, personal communication, 14th December, 2005).

O’Donoghue continued to market the area and target the domestic market; in 1987 he developed ‘Destination Killarney’, a company set up with the sole purpose of marketing Killarney to the domestic Irish market. O’Donoghue led the way for further development of the area and ‘while his own hotel ... has undoubtedly benefited, the entire town as well has enjoyed the spin-off from this activity’ (*Cork Examiner*, 1979). At a cost of over €8 million, he opened the National Events Centre in Killarney in 2000 (plate 5.10), helping to bring new markets such as business tourism as well as extending the market for event tourism.

In 2002, O’Donoghue developed ‘Summerfest, a cultural festival that now takes places every year in Killarney. O’Donoghue through his extensive contacts and influence at a national level was successful in attaining financial support for this from Fáilte Ireland’s ‘Festivals and Cultural Events Initiative’. This was a controversial decision by Fáilte Ireland as the rationale of the ‘Festivals and Cultural Events Initiative’ was to spread the benefit of tourism from developed areas (such as Killarney) to other less developed areas. However, O’Donoghue’s influence and that

of the then Minister for Tourism, Mr. John O'Donoghue (a fellow Kerry man), were powerful enough to attain these resources for the benefit of the area. The festival has been very successful, and was declared 'the most successful thing here' allowing 'hotels to charge their rack rates because of increased demand' by Langan (L. Langan, personal communication, 17th November, 2005). At the launch of the 2006 festival, Minister O'Donoghue, during his opening speech, stated that Killarney Summerfest had been a great success for local tourism. He claimed that the festival generated an estimated €6 million per annum for the local economy and attracted more than 100,000 visitors to the town annually (O'Donoghue, 2006).



Plate 5.10: The National Events Centre in Killarney.

Source:<http://www.theatresonline.com/theatres/killarney-theatres/the-national-events-centre/index.html>

O'Donoghue was a very active member of the local community and his role in Killarney extended beyond his own business enterprises to include: membership of Killarney Urban District Council for thirty four years, captain of Killarney Golf Club and Chairman of Killarney Race Committee. He was also a member of the board of Fáilte Ireland and through this had an influence on tourism development both locally and nationally. The degree to which his role in Fáilte Ireland impacted directly on Killarney tourism is difficult to quantify however, a position such as this must have helped keep Killarney to the forefront of Irish tourism and involved in policy making discussions. After his sudden death in 2001 tributes were paid to O'Donoghue by the then Tourism Minister, Dr. James McDaid and Justice Minister John O'Donoghue. Dr. McDaid acknowledged that 'he had been a dynamic figure in the growth and development of tourism in Killarney' and Mr. John O'Donoghue referred to O'Donoghue as the 'King of Killarney'.

Prior to his death in 2001, he had applied for planning permission for a new 125 bedroom, five star hotel and apartments close to the existing Gleneagle Hotel. His son Pádraig O'Donoghue has carried on and completed this work and also took up his father's position as a member of the board of Fáilte Ireland, (of which he is now a former member). Pádraig O'Donoghue is also a former mayor of Killarney as well as a former member of Killarney Urban District Council and the National Tourism Review group, chairman of Killarney Summer Fest, Chairman of the Rally of the Lakes Organising Committee and so has followed in his father's footsteps in terms of his involvement in the local community and tourism industry as well as the broader national tourism industry. In addition, another son, John O'Donoghue is currently a member of Killarney Urban District Council, as well as manager of the family owned

Brehon hotel while Maurice O'Donoghue Junior, a younger son, applied for planning permission for a €15 million development in the town and is also an active member of the family businesses in Killarney. The family's embeddedness in the area continues to influence a great deal of development in the town.

The greatest influence of Maurice O'Donoghue has been his ability to act as a major change agent for tourism in Killarney a factor identified in the literature by Russell (2006) as an important influence of entrepreneurs on tourism development. The work that O'Donoghue accomplished and his broader connections in both the local business community and at a national level impacted on the development, not just of his own businesses, but also on the development of Killarney tourism as a whole. He provided critical infrastructure and marketing for the area but more importantly, supported an environment where smaller businesses could flourish and through a process of what Pearce (1995) referred to as 'catalytic development' stimulated complementary development by other individuals and firms. His influence on tourism in Killarney continues, even after his death, through his family's involvement.

5.6.4 The Bourn Vincent Family and Dr. Frank Hilliard

The Bourn Vincent family and Dr. Frank Hilliard were instrumental in developing Muckross House in Killarney into one of Ireland's premier tourist attractions. Muckross house and gardens is situated close to Muckross lakes, amidst Killarney national park. The house was originally the home of the Herbert family but due to a decline in their fortunes in the second half of the nineteenth century, their mortgage on the property was foreclosed. The house was subsequently purchased by Mr.

William Bowers Bourn, a wealthy American, as a wedding gift for his daughter Maud (Muckross Newsletter, 2004). Maud died in 1929 and her parents and husband presented the house and gardens to the Irish people (Muckross Newsletter, 2004) and in doing so procured and protected the natural environment in Killarney. On the 1st of January 1933, Muckross house and park (plate 5.11) became Ireland's first national park (O'Hare, 2005b).



Plate 5.11: Muckross House, Killarney

Although the gardens were open to the public, for three decades following its acquisition, Muckross House remained closed. The local community did, however, appreciate the priceless asset located in its midst (O'Hare, 2005b) and over the years there were many suggestions as to how the house should be used. However, none came to fruition. In 1963, Government proposals to use the house as a hotel and

college were vigorously opposed by local people (O'Hare, 2005b). Killarney Tourism Co-ordinating Committee (a local business association) condemned the proposal unanimously as they were of the opinion that the house formed an integral part of the National Park (Muckross Newsletter, 2004). Killarney Urban District Council also disapproved of the idea that Muckross House should be developed as a commercial concern. Early in December 1963, the plans to develop the house as a hotel came to an end (*Evening Press*, 1963).

A local business man, Dr. Frank Hilliard, 'had the idea to develop the estate into a folk park and tourist attraction' (P. Dawson, personal communication, 19th November, 2005) a suggestion that was enthusiastically supported locally (O'Hare, 2005b). A sub-committee of Killarney Tourism Co-ordinating Committee was formed to investigate the matter with Dr. Frank Hilliard as its Chairman. The house opened for a trial period of sixteen weeks on 14 June 1964 and in this short period 19,500 visitors passed through its portals (O'Hare, 2005b). Today Muckross House receives an average of 200,000 visitors annually and is managed jointly by a voluntary body, the Trustees of Muckross House and the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government (O'Hare, 2005b). Muckross House and gardens is one of Ireland's key attractions (Fáilte Ireland, 2007). Dawson, manager of Muckross House, explained the importance of Muckross House and Park to the area claiming that 'without the National Park, Killarney would not survive, it is worth €100 million a year to Killarney' (P. Dawson, personal communication, 19th November, 2005). He maintained that '78% of all visitors come to Muckross' (P. Dawson, personal communication, 19th November, 2005). The generosity of the Bourn Vincent family, combined with the vision of Dr. Hilliard and the work of other local people preserved

an important asset that became a critical resource for the area and served to protect the natural amenities of the area.

5.6.5 The influence of local families on tourism development in Killarney

Tourism in Killarney has been influenced by the long-term vision of a number of strong local families embedded in the town. In particular, there are a few large family hotel firms in the area. In 2002, four local families owned 48% of the three, four, and five star hotel rooms in the area (T. Kenny, personal communication, 14th December, 2005). In addition to the O'Donoghue family, families such as the Hilliards, the Treacy's, the O'Donoghue/Ring's, the Buckley's and the Randles amongst others, have all played a significant role in developing tourism in Killarney. Kenny noted that 'local hotel operators are very strong, there are many local families with vision, they saw the potential in Killarney and wanted something in place for generations' (T. Kenny, personal communication, 14th December, 2005). This tendency for local families to take a collective, long-term vision to tourism development in the area and the importance of this is reflected in O'Regan Shepherd's comment that 'with family owned businesses the long-term view is looked at rather than the short-term economic rewards' (K. O'Regan Shepherd, personal communication, 9th December, 2005). A propensity for a collective, long-term vision, underpinned by the existence of a social milieu, was identified by Pyke & Sengenberger (1992) as a factor underpinning successful development; this factor has also influenced tourism development in Killarney and will be discussed later in the chapter.

These larger family businesses have provided critical infrastructure and marketing support that has developed their own businesses, enabled smaller businesses to develop and thrive thereby ensuring the success of Killarney tourism. In return, the smaller businesses have provided important services and complementary products such as boat rides, jaunting car rides, shopping, restaurants etc. The interdependence that exists between the businesses is similar to that identified by Sforzi (1989) and Pyke & Sengenberger (1992) and means that the area as a whole survives and develops and that small businesses do not operate as stand-alone entities but as part of a larger network of firms. The firms in Killarney are interdependent and are linked together as part of a greater community, each providing critical elements of the overall tourism product. As suggested by Barnes & Hayter, (1992) the power of local families and entrepreneurs has helped to shape the industry, and has also influenced the involvement and success of others.

Killarney tourism is characterised by an entrepreneurial pervasiveness that has played a pivotal role in tourism development over time. Entrepreneurs have acted as triggers of change and development. They have encouraged and facilitated the involvement and success of others in the industry, this is apparent in many ways, for example, the influence of Thomas Browne in encouraging locals to become involved in early tourism development. It is also apparent in the way that larger family owned businesses, such as the O'Donoghues, have provided critical infrastructure and have had a 'strong effect on other businesses' (survey respondent, personal communication, December, 2005) through their marketing as well as their propensity to support smaller operators. This influence is not static but has continued to influence

development long after the individual entrepreneur has ceased to exist. In the case of Thomas Browne, his legacy has been the initiation of a culture and vision for tourism, and each family business has helped sustain and develop this culture over the years. These local families are embedded in the local area reflecting Feldman *et al's*. (2005) comment that the entrepreneur operates in and stimulates the local environment and may move from their initial start-up to start other businesses, becoming serial entrepreneurs with deep roots in the community. These 'tourist influentials' (Lewis, 1998) played what Reed (1997: 567) referred to as a 'pivotal role' in shaping the tourism industry in Killarney. Just as Shapero (1981) suggests that entrepreneurship provides communities with the diversity and dynamism that assures continuous development, local 'tourist influentials' in Killarney have ensured the continuous development of tourism. Figure 5.3 outlines the way in which these 'tourist influentials' have been fundamental to the development of tourism in Killarney. It shows this influence to be extensive, long lasting and dynamic, in many cases spanning generations of involvement.

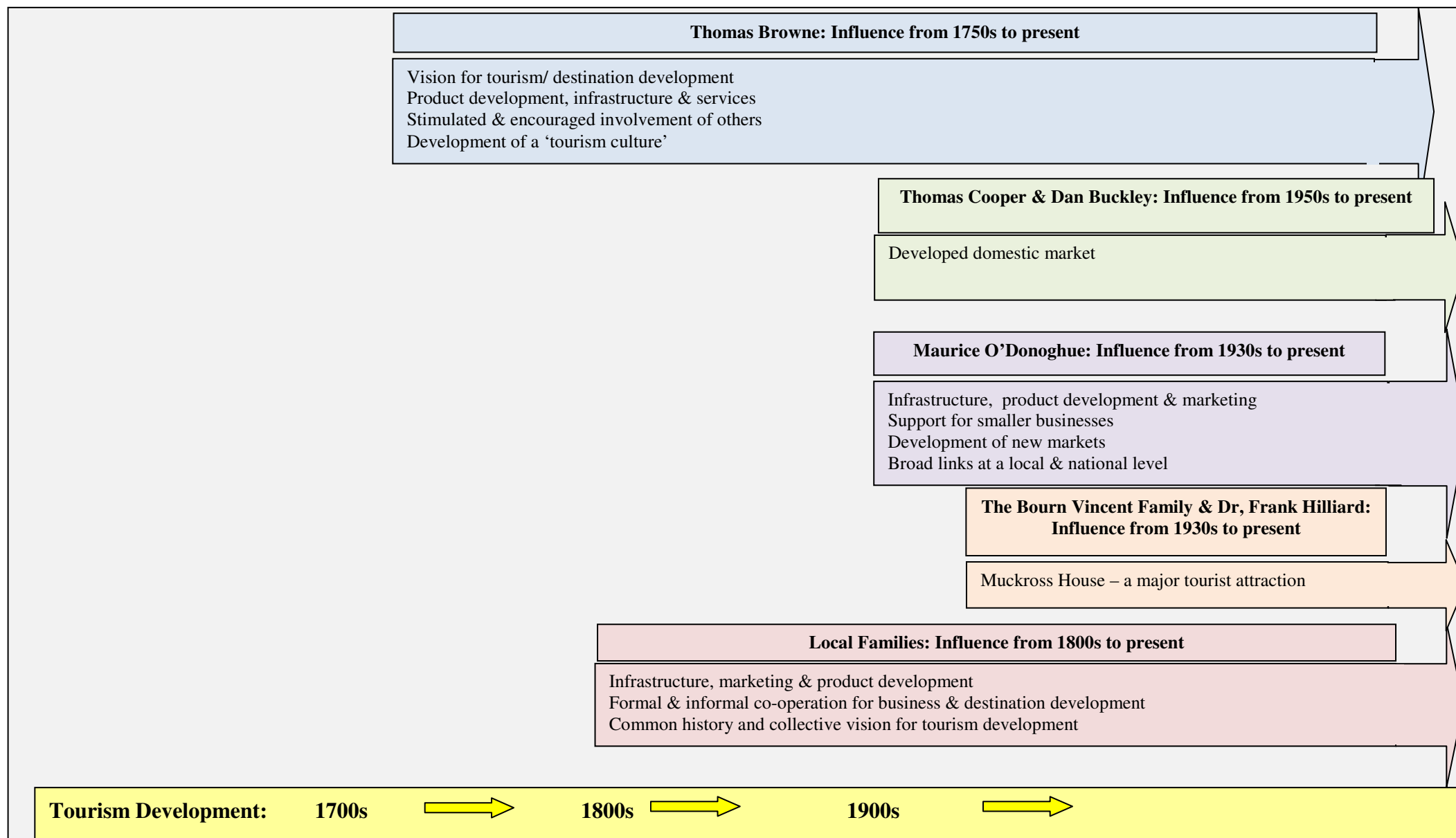


Figure 5.3: The influence of 'tourist influentials' on tourism development in Killarney

Butler's contention that local control on tourism decreases overtime is not reflected in Killarney, but rather reflects Lewis's (1998) findings that control of the tourism process did not grow beyond the control of the local community. In the tourism literature, Keller (1987) stressed the importance of local control for tourism development and in Killarney this is evident throughout the development of tourism. For example the development of a marketing group in the 1890s, as well as similar groups throughout the years, combined with the involvement of local operators in national tourism bodies has enabled them to remain in control of the industry and to inform national policy on tourism. The extent of this control is also apparent in the fact that Killarney, the largest tourism area in Ireland outside of Dublin, does not have a four or five star international hotel company, despite the fact that Ireland over the last decade has seen a dramatic increase in the number of these companies in Ireland (some located in rural areas that are less developed than Killarney). This is primarily due to the fact that these hotels would see Killarney as being 'sown up and saturated by family businesses'; an area where 'there is nowhere for them to develop as local families own everything' (personal communication, December, 2005). These family businesses, whether intentionally or unintentionally, have according to another interviewee, restricted international hotel chains from opening in Killarney as they 'are strong and control the area' (personal communication, December, 2005). The success of local families and the fact that the area is saturated with local family owned hotels means that the competitive environment remains locally controlled.

5.7 The existence of a social milieu in Killarney

Tourism development in Killarney has been strongly influenced by the existence of a social milieu. The influence of this is the blurring of boundaries between economic and social relations in the area. This has resulted, as suggested by Schmitz (1993: 26), in a strong community of individuals, families and firms bound together by a 'socio-cultural identity and trust'. This does not mean that the area is without its tensions and conflicts, in fact rivalry is intense between businesses, a point that is developed further later in the chapter.

One of the most striking features of the environment in Killarney can be described as what Marshall (1920) refers to as 'a distinctive industrial atmosphere'. Every aspect of the town seems to have been developed with tourism in mind and tourism has become a long held tradition dating back to the 1700s. O'Donoghue explained that Killarney people have been involved in the industry for so long that they cannot see themselves 'doing anything else' (P. O'Donoghue, personal communication, 18th November, 2005). It is according to Lewis 'what people do' in Killarney (F. Lewis, personal communication, 21st November, 2005). One key informant explained that 'local people accept that the whole town's economy is dependent on tourism and even if [they] are not directly linked to it [they] will probably be indirectly linked to it' (P. Breathnach, personal communication, 5th July, 2005). Similarly, O'Regan Shepherd explained 'even people if they didn't have it in the home (referring to tourism), they weren't long finding themselves working in the service industry let it be waitressing or front-of-house, they learnt the attitude from others that a visitor was a very special person' (K. O'Regan Shepherd, personal communication, 9th December, 2005). One

interviewee commented that tourism in Killarney was always seen as ‘a way of life’ that there is ‘oneness in the town’ with regard to tourism (T. Kenny, personal communication, 14th December, 2005). While another explained that Killarney people have a ‘common history and belief in tourism. There is no-one there to do it – local businesses get out there and do it themselves – this is their culture and tradition’ (C. Hannigan, personal communication, 10th December, 2005).

This common history and identity that has developed from the time of Thomas Browne, provides a sense of cohesion in the town, where everyone has a common goal. This goal, it seems, is to be the best at tourism and to keep the tourist coming back as explained by O’Regan Shepherd ‘Killarney gets a lot of repeat business; we have always been good at looking after people’ (M. Courtney, personal communication, 15th November, 2005). Hall & Hall in 1865 remarked that ‘the tourist, no matter where he sojourns, (in Killarney) will be sure to find much to content and little to displease’ as ‘the purpose is, ... to give enjoyment – to earn a good name; and managers, waiters, boys about the place, drivers, boatmen, and guides are all zealous in administering to the comfort of guests’ (Hall & Hall, 1976: 71). O’Donoghue remarked that Killarney people have been born into tourism, ‘tourism ... is now engrained ... local people have a great history and knowledge, and they have been immersed in tourism since they were kids’ (P. O’Donoghue, personal communication, 15th December, 2005). Similarly, one key informant explained that Killarney ‘has an innate sense of pride ... but also an understanding of how important tourism’ is (P. Breathnach, personal communication, 5th July, 2005). Hall & Hall (1853a: 70) recognised this when they explained that every ‘child, boy or girl, from the time it is able to crawl over the door-step, seems to have a strong natural instinct

to become a guide'. Atkinson (1956: 52) also recognised this many years later when she wrote: 'the town itself is frankly a tourist town. It draws its life from catering to tourists', or as O'Faolain (1993) put it 'Killarney's business is tourism ... its real self is not concealed by tourism; tourism is its real self'.

From observations made in Killarney it is apparent that the geographic proximity of people and businesses in Killarney, their shared history and identity is so important that they define, what Brusco (1992: 177-178) describes as 'a cultural environment'. Tourism firms in Killarney are firmly embedded in the area, involvement in tourism through generations and the fact that many individuals and families in the industry have grown up in the area has created an informal network of people with a common history and a common purpose in relation to tourism development. One interviewee explained that 'everyone is tourism focused and always has been right back to the beginning' (K. O'Regan Shepherd, personal communication, 9th December, 2005). Rosney stated that 'there is a strong desire for tourism to work' (M. Rosney, personal communication, 8th December, 2005). Survey respondents (83%) confirmed that this strong local involvement in tourism in Killarney continues right up to the present day. One survey respondent claimed that 'it would be difficult to find a Killarney family that was not involved in tourism in some way'. Figure 5.4 shows that a total of 70% of business owners surveyed were from Kerry and 59% were specifically from Killarney.

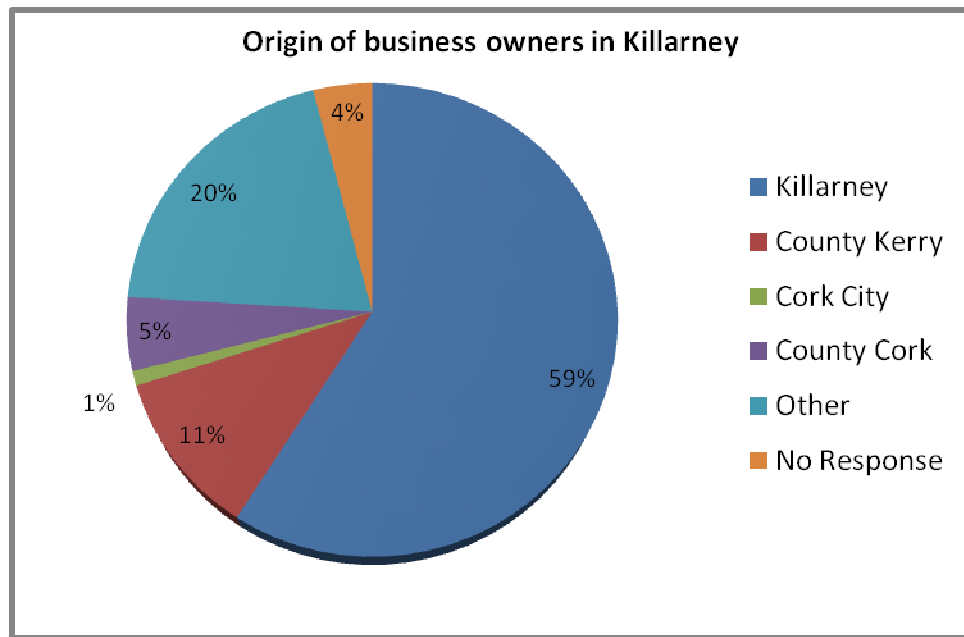


Figure 5.4: Origin of business owners in Killarney N=80

O'Donoghue explained that 'most locals have so much invested in the area ... we are so long at it that we can't see ourselves doing anything else' (P. O'Donoghue, personal communication, 18th November, 2005). In many cases, parents and grandparents have known each other and grown up together in the town. Social and familial connections were highlighted by the survey results as having been important to business success (figure 5.5).

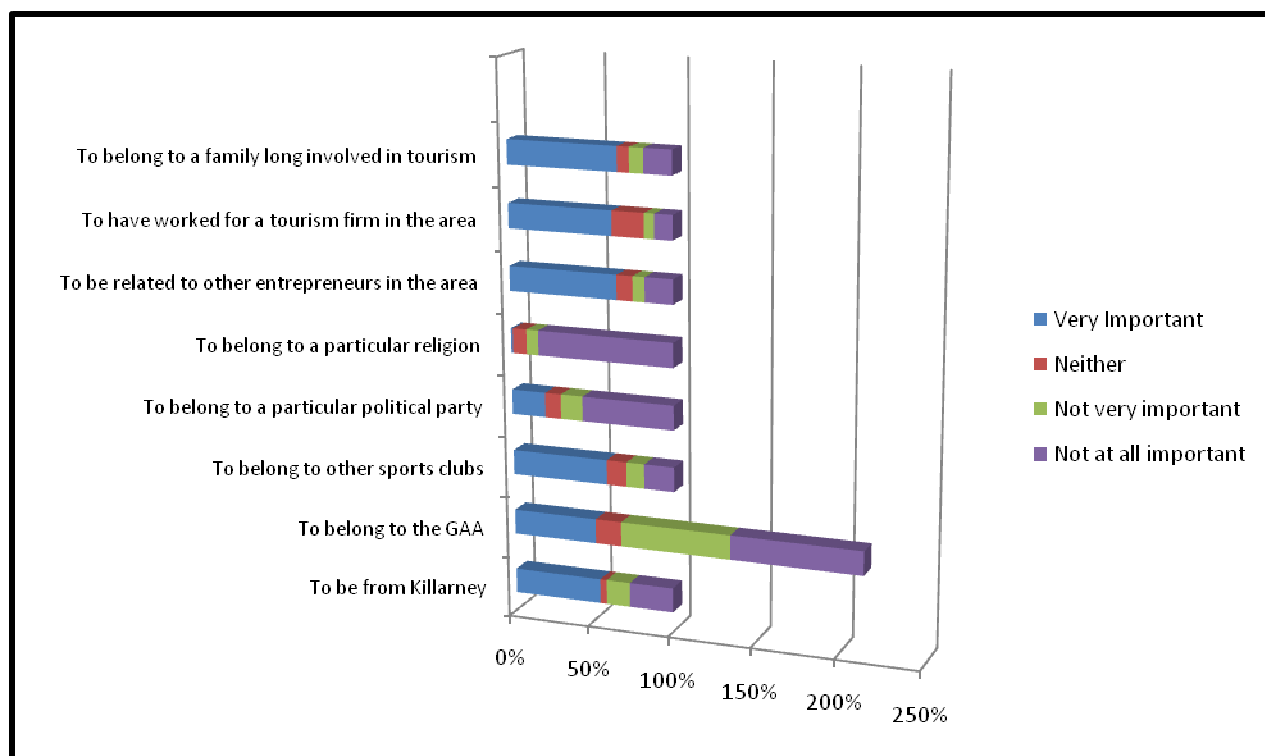


Figure 5.5: The influence of social factors on business relations in Killarney

N=80

A link to people and place is clearly an important factor that influences business success in Killarney. This is apparent in the fact that 54% of survey respondents considered being from Killarney very important and that 66% considered being related to other entrepreneurs in the area as very important for business success. Business activity in Killarney, in a similar way to that identified by Newlands (2003), is conditioned by close kinship and friendship relations. One survey respondent explained that ‘who you know or who you are related to is very important’. The importance of family connections was highlighted as very important by survey respondents (67%) as belonging to a family involved in the industry was considered a ‘sure way of being successful’ as ‘family businesses support each other’ (personal communication, December, 2005). Other respondents commented on how influential

family businesses are in Killarney and one claimed that 'it is important to belong to the Killarney mafia' (personal communication, December, 2005). Just as Lewis (1998) found that decisions with regard to development could be attributed to one or two organisations, or a few people within the community ('tourist influentials'), Killarney is characterised by a small number of strong individuals and family businesses that tend to lead in terms of development while smaller businesses keep more to the background. One interviewee remarked that 'there are a number of very strong local families ... who have been involved for years and who have huge investment and continue to invest in the industry' another explained that 'the smaller businesses tend to leave it to the larger players who are stronger in the industry' (personal communication, November, 2005). While other survey respondents claimed that 'there are a lot of families around here that have a lot of influence ... very powerful families ... you need to be in with the local power groups; the families' and that 'the big players have an influence over everything'. Kenny explained that the 'tradition of strong families [that] network together, also [the fact that] people just know each other ... gives a definite advantage' (T. Kenny, personal communication, 14th December, 2005). Similarly, another survey respondent explained that 'being from Killarney is an advantage as you have ready access to the networks here'.

The extent of family firm embeddedness in the town is evident as many businesses have been passed on through generations, while some family businesses are relatively new, the families involvement in all of these instances span at least three generations, in some cases more (figure 5.6). When discussing local family involvement, explained that 'there is a very strong tradition of tourism in Killarney this is a family tradition passed through generations - it's in the blood' (N. O'Callaghan, personal

communication, 13th December, 2005). This pervasiveness of family ownership can be seen across a range of businesses. Jaunting car drivers, (known locally as Jarvey's) spoke of grandfathers, fathers and uncles starting the business and passing it on to family members over generations while tour companies and hotel owners spoke of tracing their businesses back to the 1800s. The implications of this are that these family businesses passed down through generations tend to have a long-term outlook where family and business are closely entwined.

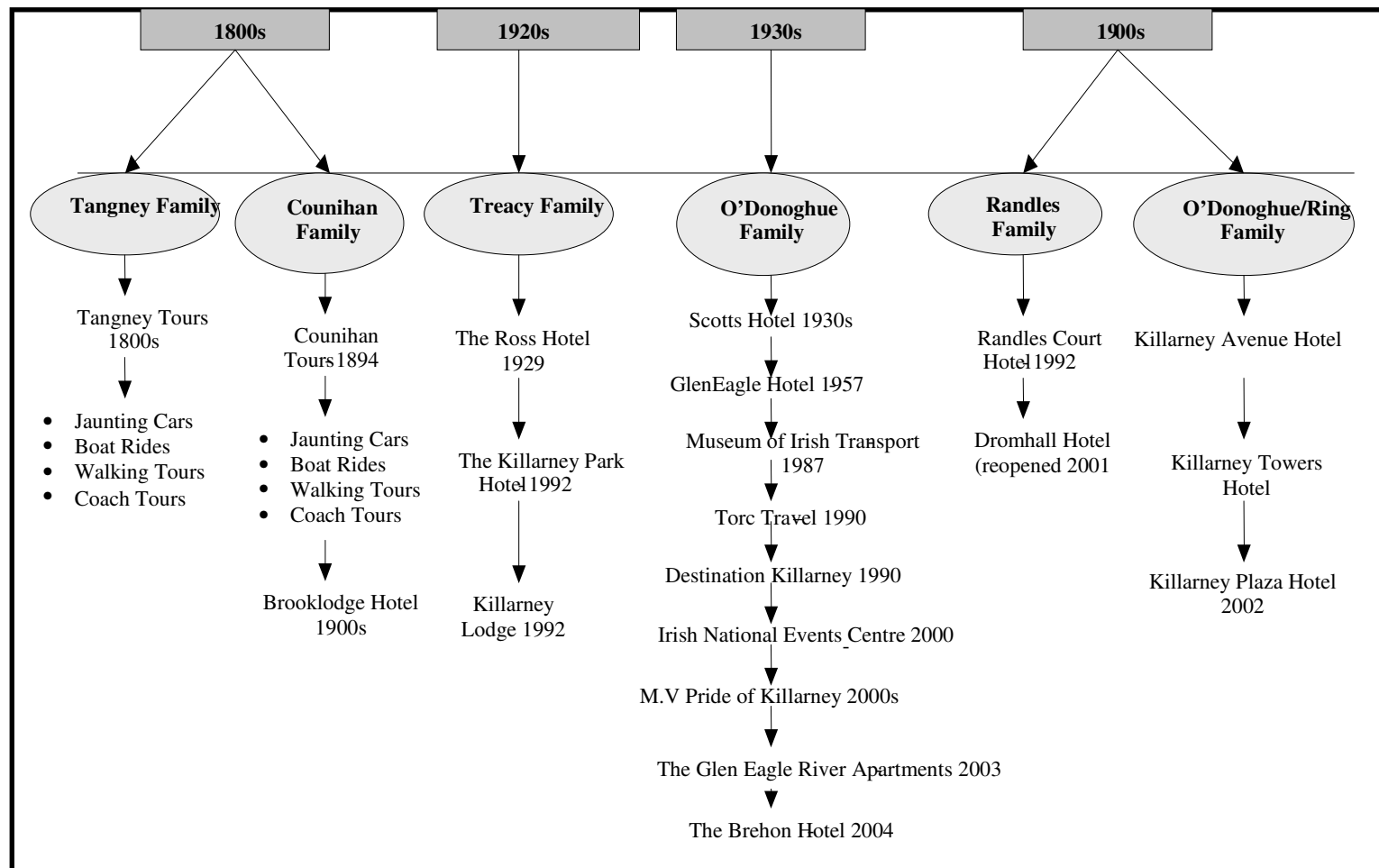


Figure 5.6: Family businesses in Killarney passed down through generations that are still trading today.

The tourism industry in Killarney is characterised by a myriad of personal contacts that have been developed and nurtured as a result of family connections or from living and working within close proximity to each other for an extended period of time. This contact is significant in that, combined with the shared vision for tourism that exists, it has resulted in a familiarity among tourism operators and has influenced their willingness to co-operate with each other for mutual benefit. It is evident that there are strong social ties in Killarney and figure 5.7 shows how interaction between businesses comes about in Killarney. Family ties, neighbours, friends or work colleagues' are highlighted as key sources of interaction indicating the extent of informal networking in the area. In addition, associations such as the local Kerry branch of the IHF (Irish Hotel Federation) and marketing groups were mentioned by 6% and 15% of survey respondents, as providing a forum for networking and making contacts.

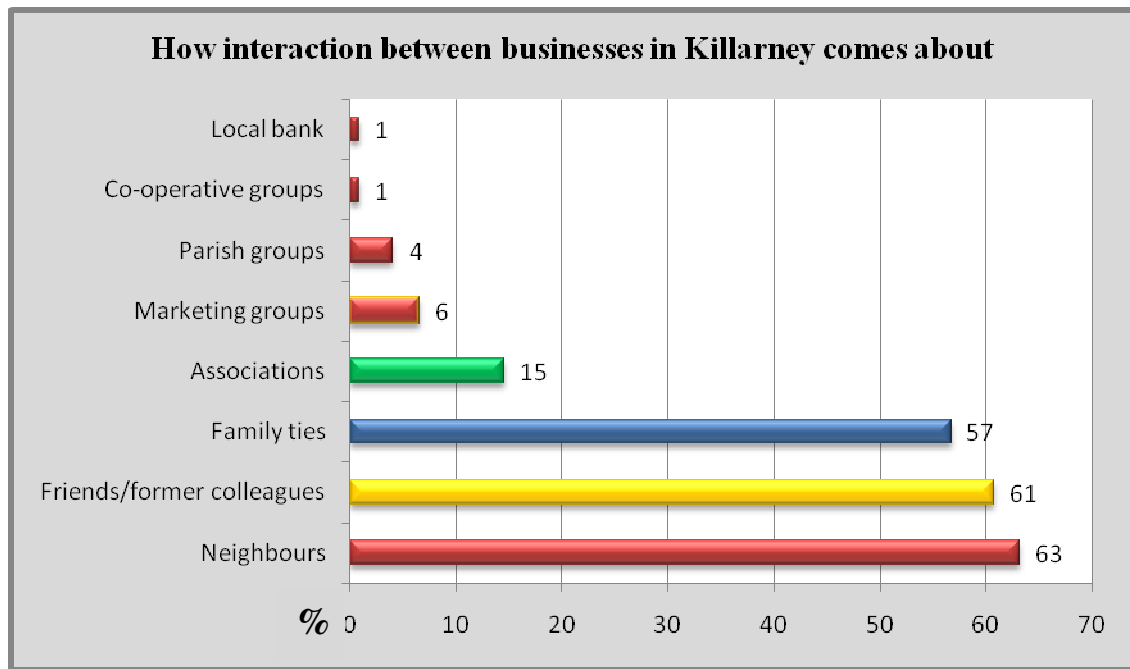


Figure 5.7: How interaction between businesses in Killarney comes about
N=79

The connections between individuals built over years through familial relations and proximity, together with a shared vision for tourism, has resulted in a strong social milieu in Killarney. The outcomes of this social milieu are as Marshall (1920: 271) explained, that ‘the mysteries of trade become no mysteries; but as it were in the air, and children learn of them unconsciously’. O’Regan Shepherd (K. O’Regan Shepherd, personal communication, 9th December, 2005) explained that people in Killarney ‘learnt ... that a visitor was a very special person’ an indication of the instinctive learning process that takes place in Killarney, a learning process that is, as Dei Ottati (1994) suggests normally acquired as a by product of everyday life. The existence of this social milieu results in a pervasive atmosphere of trust (ibid), where knowledge spill-over and learning is part of everyday life and happens informally through these strong social networks. In Killarney, the fact that many business

operators have grown up together, or have been neighbours for many years' means that it is difficult to separate the community from the industry. The strong social milieu that exists has resulted, as identified by Mottiar (1997), in significant levels of trust, which has influenced levels of networking and co-operation between local people and businesses involved in the industry and this in turn has impacted on tourism development. The shared social environment and 'homogenous system of values' (Belso-Marínez, 2006:793) has impacted on relations between firms and individuals in Killarney, as a result there is evidence of the co-existence of competition and co-operation in the area. These inter-firm relations and their influence on tourism are discussed in a later section of this chapter but first the existence of a professional milieu and its impacts on tourism development in Killarney is discussed.

5.8. The existence of a professional milieu in Killarney.

The tourism industry in Killarney is characterised by the existence of what Scott (1999) amongst others, calls a professional milieu. This can exist where firms and individuals are bound together by strong professional links that have a similar effect as a social milieu in that they transcend normal economic boundaries. Many of the owners or managers of the larger hotels have known each other through involvement in the IHF (Irish Hotel Federation) and have managed the same hotels, throughout Ireland, at different times over the years. One prominent business man spoke of how both he and the general manager of a large hotel in Killarney had managed a number of the same hotels over the years, in addition they both had held the position of President of the Killarney Chamber of Tourism and Commerce as well as being active

members of the Kerry branch of the IHF as well as the National branch. 'Killarney is a great business town and all of the hotels work well together. ... we all (the hoteliers) know each other through the IHF local and national, and Chambers of Commerce but we also worked for the same companies, for example ... the general manager here is a good friend of mine and we've known each other for many years and I was general manager here before and we are also involved in the IHF and Chamber and that kind of thing is pretty typical. We would all know each other and keep each other informed on what is happening' (M. personal communication, 8th December, 2005).

This is an example of the type of strong networking and interaction that exists between many of the hotels and this influences the entire business community. A number of hotel managers are involved in the local IHF, the Killarney Chamber of Tourism and Commerce as well as being involved at a national level in Fáilte Ireland (The National Tourism Development Authority) as well as the national IHF and national tourism steering committees. In this way many of these owners and managers are active on the national stage and form a strong national lobbying group. The implications of the existence of this professional milieu are similar to that of a social milieu in that it creates a trust between businesses in the area resulting in networking and ease of knowledge and information transfer and encourages inter-firm co-operation. The implications of the existence of both a social and professional milieu in Killarney is important as it results in the blurring of social and economic boundaries and underpins strong inter-firm relations. It can be considered, as suggested by Becattini & Ottati (2006), an additional factor of production that enhances productivity. This shared social environment binds the community together

and influences business relations in the area, the way in which this has occurred and its impact is discussed in the next section.

5.9 Relations between businesses - A propensity for co-operation

Inter-firm relations in Killarney are complex and similar to what Saxenian (1996) found in Silicon Valley where competition and collaborative practices existed simultaneously. While businesses in the area compete strongly (figure 5.8 shows how 77% of survey respondents said that their main competitors were located in Killarney) this rivalry takes place in an environment where businesses are also willing to co-operate in order to achieve competitive advantage for the area.

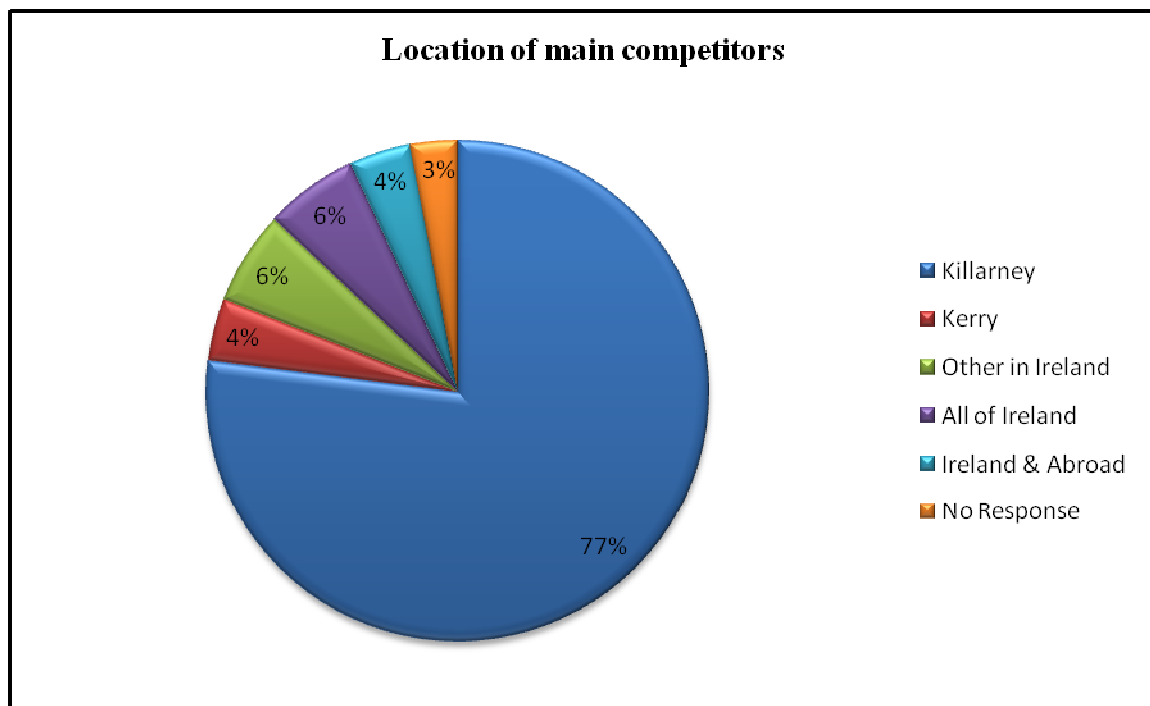


Figure 5.8: Location of main competitors

N=81

While rivalry between hotels is particularly strong, a number of the larger hotels (such as: The Great Southern, The Europe, Aghadoe Heights, the Plaza and The Park Hotel) formed KIC (Killarney Incentive and Conferencing group) marketing group to enable Killarney to compete at a national level for the conferencing and event market. Co-operation occurs in different ways and at a number of different levels for example; the Gleneagles hotel (owned by the O'Donoghue family) chose not to be involved in KIC but tends to market alone rather than co-operatively with other large hotels in the area. It does, however, informally co-operate with smaller businesses that provide complimentary products and it recommends other neighbouring hotels. The rivalry between the larger hotels and the O'Donoghue family is evident; one interviewee explained that some of the larger hoteliers were wary of Maurice O'Donoghue as '... there was always a danger that the Gleneagles would become the new town and the centre of focus for everything' (personal communication, November, 2005). This rivalry is also apparent in a comment by another local businessman who explained that a recent incentive group that was staying at the Gleneagles hotel had been told by management there that the group was not to be taken to any of the other large hotels, 'even to use the bar or restaurant', as part of their agreement and pricing arrangement. Another pointed out that 'there are divisions in the market; the Gleneagles hotel in particular has tended to plough its own furrow' (personal communication, November, 2005).

Despite this rivalry, there is strong evidence to suggest that local businesses in general co-operate in order to strengthen their competitive position, as one interviewee explained 'Killarney is a small town and everyone knows everyone ... they are conscious of being in competition and are guarded but ... they will come together to

make sure the area benefits overall' (personal communication, December, 2005). Newlands (2003) amongst others, explain that co-operation supplements the mechanisms of competition, as the focus of the firm is not on maximising short-term profitability but rather on co-operating to achieve medium and long-term advantages. This coincides with the survey findings where one respondent commented that '...the long-term view is looked at rather than the short-term economic rewards' as local businesses want to be successful 'for generations'.

In addition, the interdependency that exists between businesses in Killarney, means that the structure of the industry is quite complex. Larger family run businesses in the area have tended to develop their core business through a process of horizontal development (for example in the accommodation and entertainment sector), allowing smaller operators to thrive by providing complimentary services such as tour guiding, walking tours, shops etc. all of which are critical to the overall tourism product. As a result interdependence between firms in the area is pervasive, as local businesses display a tendency to remain focused on their core business, and to aggregate with other firms specializing in complementary activities in a similar way to that explained by Dei Ottati (2002). As a result, tourism businesses in Killarney reflect the findings of Pietrobelli (2000), who found that independent firms maximise their profits through an interdependent specialisation of tasks, where each firm is specialised in one or more phases of the production cycle and has well established relationships with other independent firms. Through a process of horizontal development combined with the marketing of their core products, the larger family businesses have provided an opportunity for smaller operators to develop complementary products and services. In addition, the tendency for larger operators to use these complementary products

and services allows them to provide a seamless product to their customer. In return, the smaller businesses are reliant on the larger hotels for their marketing power and their willingness to use the services of the smaller businesses, rather than develop these services themselves. This reciprocal relationship has created a common goal and vision, and a strong network of interdependent businesses. As a result, business owners and managers have to consider the implications of any actions they might take with regard to their own business within the context of how it may impact on others and on the area as a whole. This has resulted in a tight network of firms embedded in the area, these share a common recognition that individual success is achieved through the success of the area and this recognition dates right back to the 1890s when local entrepreneurs first came together to form a collective marketing group, Killarney Development Company. This interdependency has been critical to the success of tourism in Killarney and reflecting what Becattini & Dei Ottati (2006) found elsewhere, it has impacted on inter-firm relations and facilitated communication amongst local businesses.

The existence of both a social and professional milieu in Killarney has created strong social ties and extensive networking with both informal and formal co-operation occurring between businesses in the area. The fact that they co-operate is not always a conscious action and is frequently not recognised as co-operation by local businesses. Similar to the findings of Zeitlin (1992) and Mottiar (1997) the majority of survey respondents in Killarney claimed that they rarely co-operated with other businesses (figure 5.9) however, there is evidence of regular co-operation.

As explained by Mottiar (1997) elsewhere, this denial is not unusual as much of the co-operation that takes place in Killarney is on an informal basis and is between people who know each other very well. As a result it tends not to be regarded as co-operation by respondents. Evidence of co-operation exists in a number of ways; in particular survey respondents spoke of how hotels refer guests on to other hotels when they have full occupancy, ‘Yes we work together all of the time – people ask and I will give them the names of restaurants etc,. ...’. Similarly 36% of survey respondents said that they would recommend other businesses (restaurants, tour companies etc) to tourists but did not seem to consider this co-operation. Others explained how businesses sometimes work together to develop different tourism products, for example a local equestrian centre owner mentioned that he frequently worked with guest houses and attractions to offer different products to visitors.

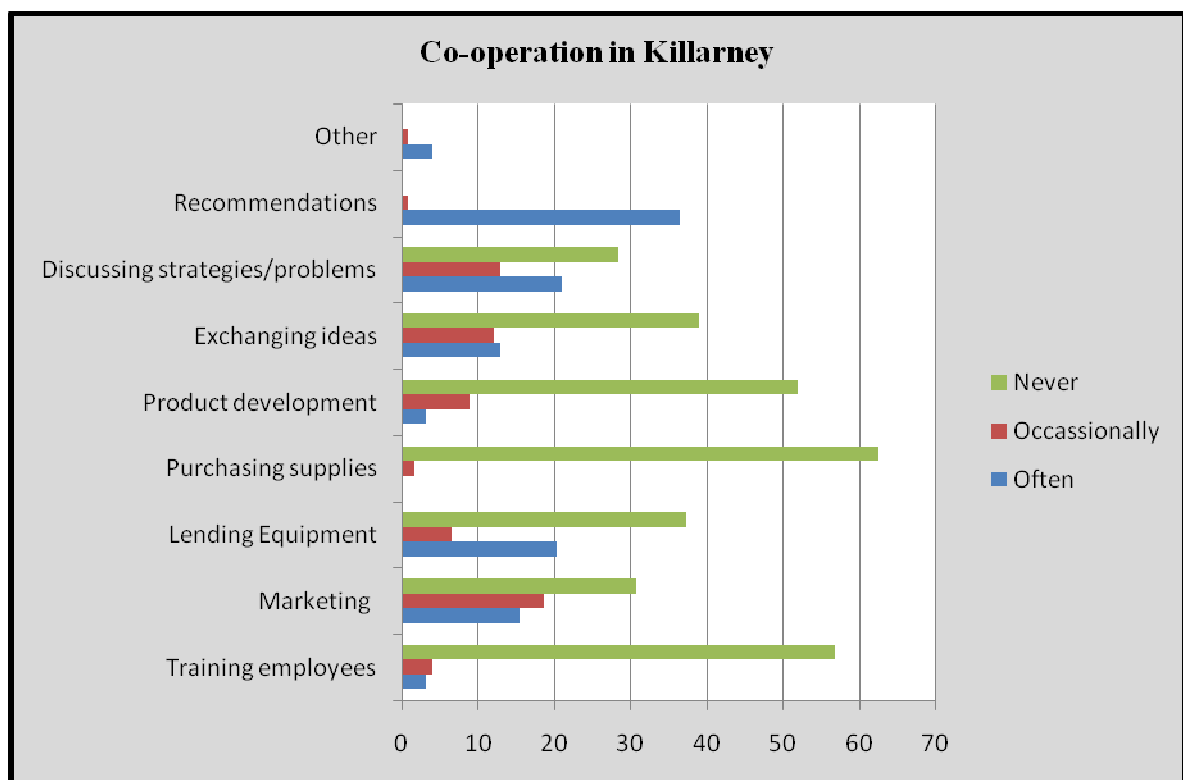


Figure 5.9: Co-operation in Killarney

N=79

Further examples of support and networking occur between hotels and smaller establishments such as bicycle rental shops, local jaunting cars, tour operators and restaurants. One survey respondent who owns a bicycle rental shop spoke of how much of her business came as a result of a local hotel arranging for bicycles to be delivered to the hotel for the use of their customers. Similarly, the same hotel recommends local tour operators and jaunting cars, arranging for their customers to avail of these services. The owner of the hotel highlighted the fact that, although the hotel could provide these services, they would prefer to support local businesses by 'putting the business their way' (P. O'Donoghue, personal communication, 15th December, 2005). Another respondent explained that there is a good referral system between hotels and strong relationships with businesses 'going back years – everyone knows everyone – it's particularly good with neighbours' (P. O'Donoghue, personal communication, 18th November, 2005). A restaurant owner in the town explained how some of his best business comes through the larger hotels. He explained that an important section of his business comes from the Incentive market business, which is brought to Killarney by the larger hotels and as part of their marketing they recommend his restaurant as well as others in the town. Much of the co-operation can be likened to what Pyke & Sengenberger (1992) refer to as 'good neighbourliness'. Rosney (M. Rosney, personal communication, 8th December, 2005) explained that in Killarney; 'informally there is very good co-operation between businesses, people have a chat and have a lot of friends that they have known for a long time, they help each other out ...There are a lot of family members involved and neighbours are all part of the industry and basically people that have known each other growing up'. Hannigan (C. Hannigan, personal communication, 10th December, 2005) also confirmed that 'we don't have organised structures that alerts us to all of these things

(referring to the ability to hold out for higher rates when other hotels in the area are full) but we do talk to each other and it works to our benefit’.

The social and professional milieux that exist in Killarney have resulted in common ‘ground rules’ and norms of behaviour (Pietrobelli, 2000). Acting outside these ground rules results in social disapproval (Dei Otatti, 1994). An example of this in Killarney was provided by one survey respondent who spoke of a particular hotelier in the area who had gone against the wishes of the rest of the hoteliers with a business deal and as a result had been ‘ostracised’ by local businesses, this, another explained, resulted in the particular hotel’s business being ‘badly affected’. The respondents’ underlying rhetoric reveals that norms of behaviour are an important part of the social and business structure in Killarney and that acting outside of these norms is ‘something that you just don’t do’ (personal communication, January 2005).

In addition to informal co-operation there is strong evidence of formal co-operation between businesses in Killarney. As already discussed, as far back as the 1890s a local marketing group called the Killarney Tourism Development Company was set up by local businesses to market the area. Lewis (F. Lewis, personal communication, 21st November, 2005) explained how in 1994 some of the larger businesses in the area came together to form Killarney of the Welcomes, also a local marketing group. This initiative arose from local concerns that Killarney was inadequately marketed by the state agency, Bórd Fáilte. Local businesses felt that national government priorities were more concerned with spatial spread and that as a result Killarney was not benefiting.

Killarney was recognised by key informants for creating 'its own dynamics' (B. Maher, personal communication, 28th July, 2005) and for having its 'own organisation' (P. Breathnach, personal communication, 5th July, 2005). Today many businesses are involved in co-operative marketing through local marketing groups such as Killarney 250 (a local initiative that was set up to celebrate 250 years of tourism in Killarney and also to collectively re-brand the area as a tourism destination). Killarney 250 is an example of the reflexivity that Urry (2000) amongst others discussed, where the area reflects on its history in tourism in order to identify its position and brand going forward. More recently, local hoteliers have formed KIC (Killarney Incentive and Conferencing) a marketing group set up to market Killarney as a destination for incentive and conferencing business. This marketing entails a high level of co-operation. Langan (L. Langan, personal communication, 17th November, 2005) explained that in many cases 'KIC is targeting large conference groups that would exceed the capacity of one hotel and requires co-operation between all'. Formal co-operation is more common between the larger hotels in Killarney. This finding is similar to that of Lewis's (1998) when he found that local businesses would co-operate in order to compete and that at some point in the development process, leaders in the community or what he termed 'tourist influentials' realised that working together had a more positive impact on tourism development.

Table 5.2 Examples of formal co-operation in Killarney

Time Period	Organisation	Function/Objectives
1890s	Killarney Development Company	Promote Killarney
1950s	Coordinating Committee of Killarney Tourist Industry	Joint marketing campaigns and advertising.
1960s	Board of Trustees for Muckross House	The first board of Trustees was made up entirely of local business people and to this day local business people play a role in the management of the estate through their involvement on the board.
1968	Killarney Chamber of Commerce	A medium for local businesses to network and to influence and support local development.
1994	Killarney of the Welcomes	A local marketing initiative
1990s	Killarney Tourism	A local marketing initiative
1990s	Killarney Looking Good	A local initiative similar to the 'Tidy Town' initiative
2002/2003	Killarney Chamber of Tourism and Commerce	Killarney of the Welcomes and Killarney Chamber of Commerce merge.
2004	Killarney 250	A local marketing and re-branding initiative.
2005	Killarney Incentive and Conference Group	A local initiative that markets to the conference and incentive market both nationally and internationally.

Tourism businesses in Killarney according to Courtney have ‘never relied on central tourism, local people have marketed the area through groups like Killarney Tourism and Killarney of the Welcomes (M. Courtney, personal communication, 15th December, 2005). There is a year round contribution from locals for marketing’. These types of initiatives have been important in creating and sustaining Killarney’s success as a tourism destination, helping to market the area and to create a national and international brand and reputation for the area. The importance of co-operation and local initiatives such as those evident in Killarney was highlighted in a number of the key informant interviews as key to the development of tourism, as ‘tourism needs to be a collective approach’ (J. Barrett, personal communication, 6th July, 2005), as ‘success breeds success’ (P. Breathnach, personal communication, 5th July, 2005) and ‘it has to be a collective spirit to make it [tourism] happen’ (P. Allen, personal communication, 24th July, 2005).

While a collective awareness of the importance of tourism and a shared past has underpinned business relationships in Killarney, these relationships have also been supported and reinforced by the existence of institutions and organisations. These organisations, the way in which they have become embedded in the area, and the influence they have had on formalising business relations in Killarney is discussed next.

5.10 Institutionalisation of the tourism industry

Feldman et. al. (2005: 130) explained that ‘entrepreneurs in the process of furthering their individual interests may collectively shape local environments by building institutions that further the interest of their emerging industry’. Since the 1890s a number of local initiatives in Killarney have been developed by businesses to support networking and the development of the industry. In particular, the development in 1968 of the Killarney Chamber of Commerce provided a foundation for networking, business development and according to one interviewee a ‘voice to local businesses’ giving them a forum for influencing the development of the town (C. Hannigan, personal communication, 10th December, 2005). In 2002/2003 the Chamber of Commerce and Killarney of the Welcomes merged to become Killarney Chamber of Tourism and Commerce, a decision that was motivated by members who recognised that in Killarney, tourism and commerce are inextricably linked. In addition to the Killarney Chamber of Tourism and Commerce there is a strong branch of the Irish Hotel Federation operating in the Kerry region, both of these organisation have many common members. As one interviewee explained ‘the bigger hotels are strong and most are actively involved in IHF and the Chamber and both of these organisations ... have helped the industry over the years’ (T. Kenny, personal communication, 14th December, 2005). These organisations are recognised as particularly strong lobbying groups in the area and are similar to what Pilotti (2000) identifies as ‘meta-organisers’ which he argues are most important to generating network creativity and innovation. O’Regan Shepherd (K. O’Regan Shepherd, personal communication, 9th December, 2005) explained that ‘the foundation of the IHF has been by owners for owners’ and the strength of this organisation as well as the Chamber was illustrated by Hannigan

who stated that 'The IHF provides a strong lobby ... (and).... outside of Dublin the Kerry branch is probably the strongest in the country' (C. Hannigan, personal communication, 10th December, 2005). He went on to say that the Chamber of Tourism and Commerce provides an opportunity for businesses to 'get together with colleagues and ... come away with a cohesive message'. These organisations ensure that local businesses and the commercial interests of Killarney are represented in dealings with local government and state agencies and provide an opportunity for members to network with each other as well as with members of other similar organisations at a regional and national level. Similar to what Benton (1992) found among employers in Vallés in Spain, these organisations help provide a framework for inter-firm co-operation. The relationships inside the area are enforced and enhanced by organisations which encourage the growth of the whole area (Pietrobelli, 2000). Through these organisations, O'Donoghue explained, 'local business can become involved and ... get the opportunity to have their say in what happens' (P. O'Donoghue, personal communication, 15th December, 2005). A recent example of the lobbying strength of these groups was provided by one interviewee who explained that the Chamber of Tourism and Commerce had lobbied local government to agree that a small increase in business rates would be used by the councils to market the resort. This initiative was driven by local business members who agreed that the small increase in rates could benefit everyone if used to market Killarney.

The existence of organisations such as Killarney Chamber of Commerce and the IHF, are, as Pyke and Sengenberger (1992: 5) claim, 'capable of sustaining collective co-operative relations' and 'would appear to be crucial' to the area. Co-operation between hotels in particular, is strong in Killarney and Rosney explains that 'the IHF

and the Chamber facilitate this' (M. Rosney, personal communication, 8th December, 2005). However, the impact of these organisations does not stop here. While membership of these organisations clearly facilitates local co-operation and networking, it also facilitates co-operation with similar organisations in other parts of Ireland, Langan for example explained that 'there is national co-operation between hotels, for example, an international conference that was held in Corrib [in Galway] this year was given a particular rate on the basis that it would be held in the Great Southern in Killarney next year – at the same rate' (L. Langan, personal communication, 17th November, 2005). This broadens the network to a national level while still keeping local interests at heart.

The existence of these organisations provides a structure for communication and collaboration and much of this continues to happen on an informal level between individuals and business owners that have known each other either socially or professionally over many years. Gleeson, while referring to how communication takes place in Killarney, explained that 'the key networking in the area is done informally, structures such as the IHF just support this' (M. Gleeson, personal communication, 18th November, 2005). In addition to these organisations, Killarney has its own local government body, Killarney Urban District Council. O'Donoghue explained that local government is 'supportive ... their role is to provide services' (P. O'Donoghue, personal communication, 15th December, 2005). Similarly, Hannigan commented that 'local government has been supportive' of the tourism industry, they 'have provided infrastructure' (C. Hannigan, personal communication, 10th December, 2005). The existence of an Urban Council in Killarney has enhanced local

decision-making and strategic capacity, providing further support for the industry and a local voice in national government.

5.11 Summary of Killarney findings

Tourism development in Killarney is an emergent process that has been underpinned by many complex and dynamic factors. These factors have individually and collectively influenced and shaped its development. While the scenic location of the town provided ample resources for the development of the industry, the existence of these basic factors, (as referred to by Ritchie & Crouch (2003)), did not, alone, create the industry that exists. It is evident that ‘tourist influentials’ (individuals, entrepreneur and family businesses) have capitalised on these factors to create a tourism destination. The scenic attraction of the area as suggested earlier by Molotch (2002), provided the ‘raw material’ for them to mobilise tourism, enabling them to use these place-specific characteristics to inform its development.

The initial trigger for development is evident in the work of Thomas Browne in the 1750s. Reflecting Lewis’s (1998) findings, Browne was a key ‘tourist influential’ and leader for tourism development. His influence included the physical elements of development (infrastructure, product development etc). Browne’s influence and extensive family contacts were instrumental in developing Killarney as a fashionable destination and in attracting the ‘cream of society’ to the area during the Victorian era. Most importantly, his ability to stimulate others involvement in the industry, and to share his vision for tourism, created a culture for tourism that continues to be fundamental to the development of the industry. This culture has been passed on

through generations and combined with a shared history between individuals who have in many cases, grown up together, beside each other, or worked with each other, has underpinned the structure of the industry and the way in which business operates. This has created a particular milieu that is socially constructed, resulting in an environment in which businesses and individuals instinctively co-operate and where a long-term focus for development is shared. As a result the area as a whole has developed, as rival businesses are willing to work together in the knowledge that success of the area will mean the success of their own business.

While Browne's vision may have been fundamental to the initiation of tourism, many others have continued to share this vision over the years. These individuals, entrepreneurs and families have ensured the continued development of tourism through the development of infrastructure, products and marketing. Also acting as 'tourist influentials', they have succeeded in developing the area, and in stimulating and facilitating the involvement and success of others in the industry. Their extensive influence and contacts have stretched beyond Killarney to a national level, bringing important resources to the area and establishing a position for Killarney in the broader national arena. Their influence is not static but has continued to influence development long after the individual entrepreneur has ceased to exist, in many cases their influence has spanned generations. The power of local individuals and entrepreneurs has helped to shape Killarney tourism and has played a pivotal role in its development.

The interdependency that exists between businesses in Killarney means that each business provides a vital component of the overall tourism product creating a reliance on each other and a need for each to succeed. In addition, while informal co-operation is extensive, formal co-operation has overtime become an essential feature of the industry underpinning a collective approach to development. This has been supported by the social connections between tourism operators and the development of strong organisations and associations such as the IHF and the Chamber of Tourism and Commerce. These organisations have, overtime, become a key feature of the industry enabling a more professional and structured approach to the development of key markets. They have provided a critical forum for networking, and co-operation while also providing a framework for supporting networking at a national level and ensuring that Killarney's voice is at the forefront of Irish tourism. This move to a more formalised and institutionalised approach has similarities with the formation stage of Lewis's (1998) model which was characterised by the development of local associations which brought businesses and people interested in tourism together. These 'meta-organisers' (Pilotti, 2000), have supported the ongoing development of the professional milieu and, as suggested by Pilotti, have provided a form of leadership which has helped to cultivate norms of behaviour, facilitating networking and co-operation. They provide what Nonaka & Konno (1998: 40) refer to as 'Ba', a shared space for emerging relationships, and a foundation for more formal and extensive networking that has proven to be an important factor in tourism development in Killarney. While the work of individuals has been instrumental to tourism, a collective approach and eventual institutionalisation of the industry has provided a strong leadership base for the area, and has helped ensure the continued success and development of the industry.

Not all tourism areas in Ireland have achieved the same level of development as Killarney. Chapter six looks at tourism development in Clifden in Co Galway, a less developed tourism area. The aim of this chapter is to provide a comparison with Killarney, to identify if the factors of development differ and, if this can explain why these areas have achieved different levels of development.

CHAPTER SIX: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN CLIFDEN: A COMPARISON

6.0 Introduction

This chapter adds further insight to the research by undertaking a comparison between Killarney and that of the less developed tourism town of Clifden on the west coast of Ireland. The aim is to compare the factors underpinning tourism development in Killarney with those of a tourism area in Ireland where, while tourism is a key industry, it has not developed to the same extent as in Killarney. Operating in the same markets and located in areas with an abundance of natural resources, these tourism areas have fared quite differently in the competitive turmoil of recent decades. The main objective of this section is to understand why these areas have achieved different levels of tourism development and to uncover the key differences in the factors that have influenced their development. The Clifden case study is used as a reference case (Stake, 2000) to enable comparisons to be drawn and it is envisaged that undertaking this comparison will add strength and depth to the findings from the Killarney case and may, at the very least, emphasise the key role that certain factors play in influencing tourism development in local areas.

The next section provides a background to Clifden and an overview of the historical development of tourism in the town, the key findings from the empirical research are then discussed in relation to how they compare and contrast with the findings in Killarney. It is important to note that this case study is not as in-depth as the Killarney case, primarily because it is designated a reference case, as already

discussed in the methodology chapter. The reference case provides an opportunity to compare two areas at different levels of tourism development. It strengthens the findings of the Killarney case by highlighting the ways in which the attributes of particular places may differ in how, and the extent to which, they influence tourism.

6.1 A background to Clifden

Clifden is a small rural town, with a population of 1,500 (Irish Census, 2006). It is located in the Connemara area of county Galway on the west coast of Ireland (figure 6.1). The town lies just 76 kilometres northwest of Galway city and is a relatively new town having come into existence in 1812. It nestles between the Atlantic Ocean and the Twelve Pins mountain range (plate 6.1) and it is the capital town of Connemara, a thinly populated area of county Galway that is renowned for its 'heart breaking barrenness and unique beauty' (Daugherty, 2006). The area of Connemara where Clifden is located is 'reminiscent of eastern Canada's remote regions of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland' (Davenport et. al, 2008: 424) and covers the mountainous region stretching from Killary Harbour to just above Galway City and from the western shore of Lough Corrib to the Atlantic sea. The area is bounded on three sides by the Atlantic Ocean and is home to Lough Corrib the second largest lake in the Republic of Ireland. It is also home to Connemara national park, which 'covers some 2,957 hectares of scenic mountains, expanses of bog, heaths, grasslands and woodlands' (Connemara National Park, 2008). The area is a stronghold of the Irish language containing Ireland's largest Irish speaking, or Gaeltacht area, which takes in much of Connemara as well as the three Aran Islands.

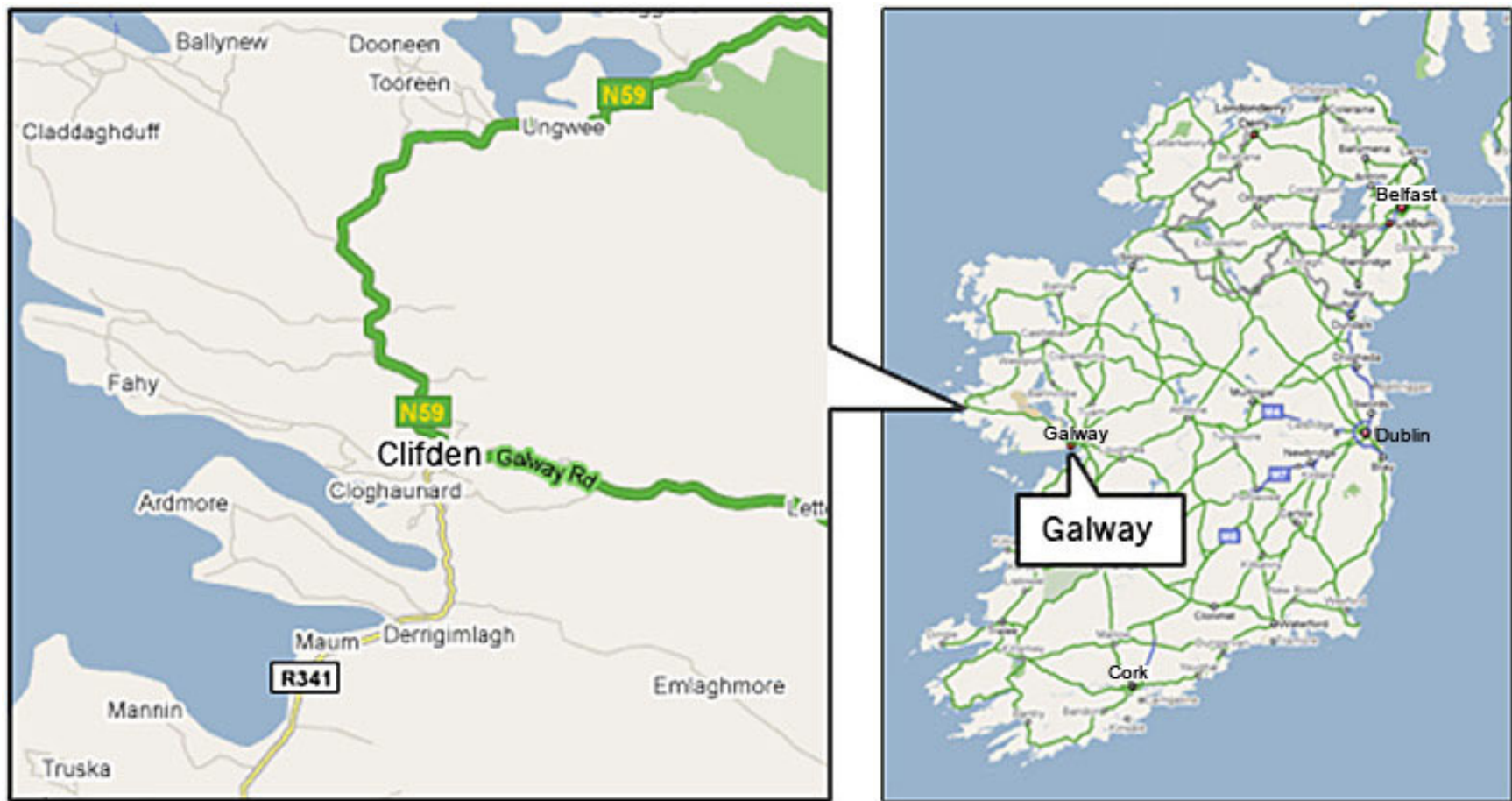


Figure 6.1: Clifden town on the west coast of Ireland



Plate 6.1: Clifden nestles between the Atlantic Ocean and the Twelve Bens

Source: [Source:www.celtic-life.net/gallery.htm](http://www.celtic-life.net/gallery.htm)

Tourism is an important industry in Clifden, and is perceived as the basis for the future survival of the region (Byrne, Edmonson & Fahy, 1993). The town's striking setting combined with its location in this remote region has attracted visitors for many years. The importance of tourism to the town is evident from the rhetoric of the survey respondents who declared that the town is '100% dependent on tourism' an area where 'tourism is the main industry ... and everybody is involved in tourism in Clifden either directly or indirectly'. Interview respondents explained that 'nearly everybody [is] predominantly reliant on the tourism industry, ... from the taxi services to hotels, bed & breakfasts, restaurants, the equestrian centres' (C. Murray, personal communication,

June, 2006), as ‘tourism is the lifeblood of Clifden, as it is a base for touring Connemara’ (M. Gibbons, personal communication, June, 2006).

6.2 The choice of area

The choice of Clifden resulted from a number of factors, as discussed in the methodology chapter; firstly the importance of tourism to the town made it a suitable comparison for Killarney where tourism is also a key industry. Secondly, the town is located in county Galway, in the third largest tourism area in Ireland: Ireland West, a region that includes the areas of Galway, Mayo and Roscommon. After Dublin, the capital city of Ireland, and the southwest region (where Killarney is located), the west region of Ireland has the third largest number of visitors, a total of 2.754 million in 2008 (Fáilte Ireland, 2008). Galway city and county form the largest tourism area in the Ireland West region with a total of 1.2 million visitors in 2007 (Fáilte Ireland, 2007) and Clifden’s prominence as the capital town in Connemara, a main tourism area in county Galway, adds to its suitability. Thirdly, despite the importance of tourism to the town it has never become a major tourism centre but instead the area has been designated a developing tourism area by Bórd Fáilte (2000). Developing tourism areas are described by Bórd Fáilte as areas that have already shown significant potential for tourism growth and where there is a solid base upon which to build (Bórd Fáilte, 2000). Therefore, the choice of Clifden affords a good opportunity to compare tourism areas that are at different levels of development, and in particular allows for identification and analysis of the factors that may have influenced this. Similar to Killarney, the area reflects Lundgren’s (1982) claim that the natural beauty of the area is the main attraction on which the tourism industry has been built, and it has been referred to as ‘one of the most

wild and beautiful districts that [was] ever the fortune of the traveller to examine' (Thackeray, 1847: 208) Clifden's identity is inextricably linked to the broader region of Connemara which is famed for its 'subtle and powerful spirit of attractiveness to which even the most lethargic and sophisticated traveller invariably succumbs' (Henry, 1952). Connemara is one of the most popular regions for visitors in the area, a tour of which involves a circuit of about sixty-eight miles, centred on Clifden (Moriarty, 2001). Christaller's (1963) finding that tourism is drawn to the periphery is reflected in Clifden, which, like Killarney, is a peripheral destination.

In terms of its location on the periphery of Ireland, and its abundance of natural beauty, Clifden has many similarities with Killarney, yet it has not achieved the same level of development with regards to tourism. A recent article in a local newspaper explained that 'the area should be a magnet for tourism, but through the years it has never quite been able to use its natural resources to its best advantage and ensure that tourism is a viable and sustainable industry in the region' (McNulty, 2008). Using the research in Killarney as a basis for comparison, this chapter focuses on identifying the key differences in the factors that have influenced tourism development in these areas.

6.3 Tourism in Clifden

Unlike Killarney, Clifden has never developed a strong brand name. Rather, it exists as a place within Connemara. It is Connemara's image as a remote and beautiful landscape that attracts tourists to the area. This image is clearly depicted in Morton's (1984: 172) description of Connemara as 'a bare land of beauty' where 'the world ends'. Clifden, as the capital of Connemara, provides for tourists by way of facilities

and services but it has never achieved a distinct image in its own right. In consequence, any discussion of Clifden necessitates a consideration of the wider area of Connemara.

According to Poussa (1998) tourism is a vital part of the Connemara economy as the area has been entertaining visitors for years; first the early Christians and their subsequent pilgrims, then the Catholics dispossessed in other parts of Ireland who were driven into the area. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Connemara became a haven for writers, poets, artists and revolutionaries - Wilde, Gogarty, Wittgenstein and Pearce - giving inspiration to all; the ex-patriots coming home on holidays from England and America; those looking for their ancestral roots; and of course the tourist who has been coming for over a hundred years to fish or to delight in the magnificent scenery (Poussa, 1998). While tourism is acknowledged as an important industry in the area, there is a distinct lack of information available on its development. Of all of the books that have been written on both Clifden and Connemara, little is made of tourism. Unlike Killarney, where tourism features as an important element in much of the writing on the history of the town, the same cannot be said for Clifden. As a result, it is difficult to piece together a comprehensive story of the growth of the industry. What follows therefore, is an overview of some of the key events that have influenced tourism development in the town. Evidence has been taken from general writings on the west of Ireland as well as that of Connemara and Clifden town in an attempt to identify the key events that have impacted on tourism development.

6.3.1 The birth of a town

Clifden is a relatively new town, founded in 1812 by the local landlord, John D'Arcy, and is one of the last towns to be built in Ireland (Gibbons & Gahan, 2004). When D'Arcy inherited his estates in 1804 they were thinly populated by fishermen and mountain farmers (Villiers-Tuthill, 1990). It was a 'wild district' of abject poverty, where travellers were 'often compelled to put up with miserable lodgings and cheerless fare' (Hall & Hall, 1853b: vi). D'Arcy's vision for Clifden 'was to create a thriving commercial centre in the resource-rich, but poverty stricken region' (Gibbons & Gahan, 2004: 16). He encouraged merchants into the district by offering leases on plots for development (Bradbury, 1871) and canvassed Dublin Castle (The seat of British rule in Ireland at the time) and the Irish government for support in developing the town and seaport (Villiers-Tuthill, 1990). Settlers came with their trades and their merchandise, workshops and stores. These shops consistently changed hands over the years resulting in even today, few of their owners having previously come from the area (Villiers-Turhill, 1982). In 1822, plans were drawn up for a quay at the town and various government bodies contributed financially to its construction (ibid). D'Arcy 'hoped that the town would raise living standards throughout the area by exploiting the rich fishing, wool and marble resources in the locality' (Gibbons & Gahan, 2004: 16). The town's 'superb site; overlooking the Atlantic, with easy access to a sheltered harbour, power from the Owenglin River, relatively fertile surroundings and a position at the junction of Connemara's lowlands and highlands augured well for its long-term prospects' (Gibbons & Gahan, 2004: 16). During this time a number of roads were constructed through central Connemara and along the coast, linking Clifden with

Galway and Westport (Villiers-Tuthill, 1990), the town seemed set for development. All that was required was ‘an enterprising spirit ... calling forth and awakening the industry of the people to render it [Connemara] ... the most productive – the richest part of the empire’ as ‘it contains an untouched fund of wealth’, (Davy, cited in Hall & Hall, 1853b: 163).

6.3.2 The beginning of a tourism industry

Unlike in Killarney, however, that ‘enterprising spirit’ was slow to emerge. Rather than human endeavour being prominent in the emergence of a fledgling tourism industry, as in Killarney, it was the publication of a book in 1825, *Letters from the Irish Highlands*, which put Connemara on the tourist map for the first time (Kelly, 2002). This collection of letters from the Blake family of Renvyle house in Connemara helped people see the wild Irish highlands as a place of beauty rather than a savage wilderness (ibid). As a result ‘for many tourists prevented from travelling on the Continent by wars, County Galway became a new romantic destination’ (Kelly, 2002: viii). The introduction to the letters describes Connemara as a name ‘scarcely known amongst our English friends’ but the writer goes on to explain that ‘we have seen this wild country excite the admiration of travelled and intelligent strangers: we have heard it compared to the finest parts of Wales or of Scotland; and we have resided some time amidst its romantic picturesque scenery; and who, from natural or acquired taste, enjoy the lone majesty of untamed nature’ (Anonymous, 1825).

Just as the lure of Killarney coincided with the popularity for landscape and rugged mountains (Briggs, 2005), the remoteness of the west of Ireland began to have a similar attraction for travellers of the time. The area began to feature in travel accounts from the 1850s, largely as a result of a growing taste for the primitive (Nash, 1993) and ‘eulogies of the Connemara scene ... poured forth in an unending stream’ (Bradbury, 1871: 4). The area was still considered a ‘wild, strange and dangerous place where ancient habits and customs held sway’, as indeed was the case (Gibbons & Gahan, 2004: 82). It was an area of ‘neglect, poverty and ruin’ where ‘capabilities abound, but are unthought of and unappropriated’ (Hall & Hall, 1853a: 162). Travel writers at the time, while praising the region for its culture and purity and the industriousness of its people, also spoke of the need to solve the problem of poverty, undernourishment and underemployment (Nash, 1993). The Blake family letters, published anonymously in 1825, were ‘full of concern for the welfare of their periodically starving tenantry’ (Robinson, 1990: 14). For a long period Connemara’s land was seen as ‘uncultivated’ and ‘its people ... looked upon as uninstructed savages; its gentry ... considered but a degree better’ the area ‘was looked upon as beyond the pale of legislature’, where ‘... even its neighbours of enlightened Galway town were, at all times, reluctant to enter’. Clifden was considered a town ‘...very capable of ornamental improvement’ where, ‘as yet ... much has not been done’ (Anonymous, 1825). However, by 1839, in a relatively short time the town was beginning to flourish and consisted of many new buildings, including two hotels and three public houses (Robinson, 1990) (plate 6.2). These hotels were described as ‘large ... convenient and comfortable’ together providing ‘between fifty and sixty beds’ (Hall & Hall, 1853b: 102). There were ‘also lodging houses at hand’ and the accommodation for the tourist was becoming less of a concern, apparent in Hall & Hall’s assurance that the ‘tourist consequently need be under no apprehension

... that he will be without a place of rest' (ibid: 102). The area had begun to develop and even 'if its many natural advantages are still either waste or but half productive, its vast capabilities have been made known and the advent of its prosperity' could not 'be far distant' (Hall & Hall, 1853b: v).

John 'D'Arcy maintained full control of Clifden until his sudden death in 1839 (Villiers-Tuthill, 1982). He left behind a large family, few of whom played an important role in the history of Clifden (ibid). In fact, Hyacinth, his oldest son and heir to the estate, lacked his father's insight and leadership and his complete lack of understanding of his tenants led to many clashes (Villiers-Tuthill, 1982). 'Instead of preventing trouble as his father always had done, Hyacinth tended to be the cause of it' (ibid: 34).



Plate 6.2: Main St. Clifden (between late 1800s and early 1900s)

Source: The National Library of Ireland (2009)

The development of Clifden town and the prosperity of its tenants came to an abrupt halt during the famine of 1845. The situation in the west of Ireland was more desperate than in any other part of the country, due largely to the lack of merchants capable of supplying enough food, and the lack of good harbours (Villiers-Tuthill, 1982). In addition, ‘there was no means of obtaining employment in the area, with no industry and the landlords were poor in comparison with those in other areas’ (Villiers-Tuthill, 1982: 47). Clifden, like the so many places in the west of Ireland, was totally dependent on the government for aid (ibid). The population thinned out to a handful; some areas were almost completely deserted (Villiers-Tuthill, 1990). ‘Hundreds of thousands of

Connemara people were permitted to die' while many landlords were resident in England and 'of the landlords who assisted their tenants many were bankrupt and nearly all would lose their estates in the end' (O'Connor, 2006). The famine changed the face of Clifden; while the town had grown up to the time of the famine, it now fell in to a depressed state (Robinson, 1990). The D'Arcy estate like almost all of the other local landlords was bankrupted and the family were forced to sell (Gibbons & Gahan, 2004). The estate was taken over by Thomas Eyre, an English gentleman, who was largely an absentee landlord coming only for the summer season and holidays (Gibbons & Gahan, 2004).

'Poverty became beauty, even sanctity in Connemara' (O'Connor, 2006) and 'in spite of the bleak lives lived out in an even bleaker environment, this area of Ireland increasingly held an attraction for artists and writers from the end of the 19th century onwards' (Breathnach Lynch, 2006: 209). Among its visitors was the dramatist John Millington Synge, the writer John B. Yeats and the artists Paul Henry, and just as was happening in Killarney, these writers and artists influenced the travel patterns of the English aristocracy, attracting visitors to the remote area. 'Painters, poets, folklorists and antiquarians trudged the seeping bogs and rutted boreens in search of a tradition of terrible beauty and a landscape often imaged to express it ... it was Wuthering Heights of the west' (O'Connor, 2006). William Makepeace Thackeray on his travels through Connemara on his way to Clifden in 1842 noted that '... there are views of the lake and the surrounding country which the best parts of Killarney do not surpass' (Kelly, 2002: 70). However, poverty remained a permanent feature and between 1890 and 1910 over sixty percent of Irish emigrants to America came from the west of Ireland, a part of its

history from which the 'region has never recovered' (Doyle, 1978: 204). Connemara was now almost deserted and 'those who remained looked on hopelessly as cabin after cabin became vacant' never raising their hopes too high as they 'had learned to accept that any advances they would make in this world would be made only by hard work and the benevolence of their landlord' (Villers-Tuthill, 1990: 20). The general air of acceptance of their desperate plight is depicted in the letters of Mrs. Agnes Eyre of Clifden Castle who in 1879 wrote 'ever the first to feel and last to recover from visitations now so general' (referring to the effects of crop failure and poverty), 'poverty has long since gone beyond measurements by statistics ... yet there is no wrath in their eye; no malice on those lips ... the calamity is accepted as beyond human avoidance' (ibid: 45). While this was a period of great development for Killarney where a more structured and professional tourism industry was beginning to emerge, the same could not be said for Clifden.

6.3.3 The influence of early transport developments

The first organised attempt to have a Galway-Clifden railway constructed occurred in 1860. However, these plans and several subsequent ones, failed due to lack of finances and it wasn't until a free grant towards construction costs was made available that a railway became a real possibility (Duffy, 2008) (plate 6.3). In 1895, the railway linking Clifden with Galway city opened (Wall and Matthews, 2000). It offered at least some alleviation from the effects of the famine (Robinson, 1990). The Galway-Clifden train ran through the empty core of Connemara linking the remote town with Galway city (Gibbons & Gahan, 2004). The railway greatly assisted the opening up of Connemara

(and Clifden) to the London tourist market (Gibbons & Gahan, 2004). It provided new access for tourist traffic, which at this time was concentrated on Killarney and the west of Ireland (Bórd Fáilte, 1967). The railway facilitated the growth of tourism, and an increasing flow of wealthy and distinguished visitors, culminating in King Edward VII in 1903, who came to enjoy the beauty of the Connemara countryside (Gibbons & Gahan, 2004). The Midland Western Railway Company intent on maximising its investment just as it had in Killarney, opened a hotel in Clifden (Horgan, 2002).

In the years that followed, the railway brought the rich and famous to Connemara to fish, shoot and enjoy the many pleasures the area had to offer (Villiers-Tuthill, 1990). It brought a confidence and independence to the area and Clifden no longer seemed remote and forgotten as it had in the past (*ibid*). The railway was ‘admirably managed in all respects’ to ‘conduct the tourist to Galway town’ (Hall & Hall, 1853a: vi). It offered speed and comfort to those wishing to explore Connemara, and as already mentioned, Clifden was well positioned to provide a base from which to do this (plate 6.3). One such visitor was King Edward VII who travelled to Ireland in 1903. During his travels, the King visited Connemara, arriving by Royal yacht at Leenane and travelling to Kylemore Castle and Recess and then on to Galway by train. However, despite a formal invitation by Clifden rural district council and the Board of Guardians of the Congested Districts of Connemara, their journey did not include a visit to Clifden (Villiers-Tuthill, 1990).



Plate 6.3: Clifden railway station

Source: The National Library of Ireland (2009)

6.3.4 Tourism in the 1900s

The turn of the century saw Clifden somewhat more prosperous than it had been since its foundation. The railway works brought spending capital into the area and offered access to outside markets and an increase in tourism and trade (Villiers-Tuthill, 1990). It was the development of transport links that facilitated the opening up of the region to tourists. By the 1900s organised tours to Connemara were being advertised and journals such as, *An Illustrated Journal of the Green Isle*, featured reports and advice for the English or Ascendancy traveller and claimed, in 1901, that ‘Connemara and the

Wild West have been so often the subject of newspaper articles, that we can hardly say anything about them that is new' (Nash, 1993: 90). The region had risen to popularity and cultural importance (Nash, 1993: 90).

'...Clifden, after a somewhat somnolent existence, has awoke, and there are abundant signs that it means to profit by its advantages. Besides the fully licensed hotels, there are temperance houses and some well managed lodgings; and though to the mere passer-by Clifden may appear of little interest, there are few more wholesome spots for a short sojourn' (A Practical Handbook to Galway, Connemara, Achill and the West of Ireland.', 1896).

After Irish political independence was achieved in 1922, 'both the church and the Irish State encouraged the idealization and glorification of the premodern Gaelic way of life' (Martin, 2003: 31). The image of the landscape of the west of Ireland in general became central to a consideration of tourism and Ireland, in terms of both its use in the promotion of domestic and international tourism and in the importance of travel accounts in establishing the cultural significance of the region (Nash, 1993). According to Nash (1993) and Martin (2003), what was different about the west of Ireland compared to other areas was the contrast between the culture of the area and the Englishness of the colonial power. Thus, the area came to be representative of true Irishness. It came to be known 'as a way of access into the Irish past through its language, folklore, antiquities, and way of life, yet it was also conceived as outside time, separated from normal temporal development' (Nash, 1993: 87). Connemara was seen as 'a magical peripheral area, a paradigmatic contrast to urbanised life, or else as a

repository of intrinsic Irishness' (Byrne, Edmonson & Fahy, 1993: 236). It 'was a location where time stood still' and 'one of the few places left in Ireland where Irish was still the first language of the people' where the 'old gaelic culture flourished, in song, dance and folklore' (Bhreathnach Lynch, 2006: 209). It came to represent the true Ireland (Robinson, 1990), and those who lived there the authentic Irish race (Bhreathnach Lynch, 2006: 209). 'This conscious cultural construction of the west was dramatically different from the emphatically urban, Protestant culture that had prevailed under British colonial rule' (Martin, 2003: 31). This climate of cultural resurgence brought a great focus to Connemara and the west of Ireland, for those visitors seeking true 'Irishness' (Byrne, Edmonson & Fahy, 1993: 236). In addition, the improved access to the west of Ireland by the opening of Shannon airport provided greater access to the area.

6.3.5 The closing of the railway

Despite the hopes for development through access to new markets, in 1935, just forty years after its construction, the railway closed. 'Although it was useful in the development of the sea fisheries, it was not profitable and eventually closed in April 1935' (Robinson, 1990: 45). The Great Southern Railway Company declared the line an uneconomic unit of their service and a heavy drain on their resources (Villier-Tuthill, 1990). Despite efforts to get the company to rescind their decision the company pressed ahead with their plans and the last passenger train pulled out of Clifden on April 27, 1935 (Villiers-Tuthill, 1990). A newspaper correspondent travelling on the train reported that someone suggested that the occasion called for a speech as it was 'history

in the making’ while another responded that it was ‘history in the unmaking’ (Villiers-Tuthill, 1990: 114). The closure of the line is referred to by Tuck (2008, cited in *the Galway City Tribune*, 2008) as ‘one of the major economic blunders of the west of Ireland’. ‘The station house survives adjacent to the famous Connemara Woollen mills (now defunct) but is now reimagined as a hotel with a railway theme’ (Gibbons & Gahan, 2004: 20).

Reflecting the widespread recession and unemployment in Ireland at this time, poverty remained a fact of everyday life in Connemara. The following years would teach Connemara people that once again, the only solution to this was emigration (Villiers-Tuthill, 1990). Emigration in the 1950s saw entire families leaving the area, where previously only sons and daughters had moved out (Dáil Eireann, 1961). The population decreased by half in the period between 1926 and 1986 (Byrne, et. al, 1993). Despite the economic measures taken by Government to promote the economic welfare of the area, such as the investment by Bórd Fáilte in large-scale tourist development programmes in counties such as Galway (Dáil Eireann, 1961), there is no evidence that Connemara or Clifden benefited from these measures.

Contrary to what was happening in Killarney, which by now had a thriving tourism industry, tourism had not achieved the same level of development in Clifden even despite the west of Ireland’s growing image as ‘something unique ... definitely exceptional’(Atkinson, 1956: 74). That tourism had not yet achieved prominence as a key source of employment is apparent in Villiers-Tuthill’s (1990) explanation that there was little employment in the area other than as domestic servants or farm labourers, or

as workers at Millar's Tweed Mills, the only industry (according to Villiers-Tuthill) in the town until 1970.

6.3.6 Tourism in modern times

It is more recently that Clifden has principally become a tourism centre (Robinson, 1990). Modern times have introduced new resources to the area, one of which includes tourism (Robinson, 1996). Clifden now relies heavily on the industry and the area has become a haven for European and Americans visitors (Villiers-Tuthill, 1990). 'The rocks and bogs of Connemara have displayed an ability, which may eventually prove to be the salvation of the west: their captivating beauty and broad expanse of colour and charm have brought holiday-makers in their thousands' (Villiers-Tuthill, 1990: 239). Deegan & Moloney, (2005) explain that Clifden now shows a high intensity of tourism and 'the efforts put into this industry have helped to maintain the region' and the 'benefits stretch out, touching almost every home' (Villiers-Tuthill: 1990: 239).

Clifden is an area that has shown a significant potential for tourism growth, resulting in its designation as a developing tourism area by the national tourist board (Bórd Fáilte, 2000). The town has never achieved its full potential as a tourism destination, while it should be 'a magnet for tourism', it has 'never quite been able to use its natural resources to its best advantage and ensure that tourism is a viable and sustainable industry in the region' (McNulty, 2008). The Clifden Development Plan (2001-2006) acknowledges that 'the potential of Clifden's numerous natural and built assets have not been fully realised, with tourism operating on a rigid seasonal basis'. Atkinson (1956:

101) articulates the relationship that the area has had with tourism, claiming that ‘Connemara has always been a catnip mouse for travellers – a pungent toy, to be chewed at and played with, but finally abandoned as too unrewarding to give lasting pleasure’. While her comment could be considered harsh, as many would proclaim the intrinsic beauty and cultural richness of Connemara as pleasure enough, it does give an insight into a perception of a somewhat tempestuous relationship between the area and tourism. While tourism is without doubt of great importance it has never quite reached a level of development where, as McNulty (2008) suggests, it is viable and sustaining. This chapter is concerned with understanding why Clifden, with its dramatic landscape and image of authentic Irishness, has never achieved its full potential as a tourism area. A key objective is to understand how the factors that underpinned the success of Killarney have differed with regard to tourism development in Clifden.

6.4 Factors influencing tourism development Clifden

While time is certainly a factor in the establishment of a tourism industry (Killarney was well on its way to developing a strong tourism industry long before the town of Clifden had even begun to exist), other factors have also influenced tourism development in Clifden. Its location in an area that suffered from intense poverty resulted in a history where ‘the only hope or dream’ was emigration to America (Doyle, 1983: 205). A consequence of this is that it became a place where ‘time stood still’ (Breathnach Lynch, 2006: 209), where human and cultural capital depleted and where development of any sort was difficult at the very least. Also of significance is the intrinsic part that poverty played in its image and cultural richness. The area was emblematic of a simpler way of life where the ‘emptiness of the region, the

peacefulness that has drawn tourist and novelist alike' was a direct result 'of a community that has endured tremendous pressures and paid terrible costs for its marginalisation' (O'Connor, 2006). A conflicting desire to preserve its simplicity and to overcome its poverty existed, this is expressed clearly in a report to the Congested Districts Board in 1914, where 'in [a] concern to improve the region, a wish is also expressed to conserve the simplicity of life' (Nash, 1993: 88). This conflict is also apparent when Synge (2005: 145), writing of his travels through Connemara declares that 'one feels ... a dread of any reform that would tend to lessen their individuality rather than any very real hope of improving their well being'. He goes on to explain that 'it is part of the misfortune that ... nearly all the characteristics which give colour and attractiveness ... are bound up with a social condition that is near to penury' (ibid:145). Connemara's appeal to tourists was closely linked to its lack of development, its uncultivated and wild demeanour, where the desire to develop was countered by an even stronger desire to preserve. The only hope for the people of the area was in emigration and the resulting loss of entire families weakened its human capital, leaving it dependent on the government for aid.

This was the environment into which Clifden town came into existence, where its primitivism and landscape (plate 6.4), once referred to by Oscar Wilde as a 'savage beauty', created a uniqueness of place that was critical to tourism development but which also influenced the degree to which it engaged with tourism development. Clifden's passive inheritance of natural resources, just as in Killarney, was fundamental to tourism development but poverty and marginalisation scarred the area leaving it weak in both human capital and vision. Today, the town of Clifden is small and its population is just 1,500 (Irish Census, 2006). Killarney, in contrast is a much larger

town with a population of 14,603 (Irish Census, 2006). However, they are similar in their location within some of the most scenic and majestic landscape of Ireland.



Plate 6.4: View from the Sky road, just outside Clifden

Source: <http://media-cdn.tripadvisor.com/media/photo-s/00/1c/f5/5b/clifden-castle-from-sky.jpg>

Like Killarney, the area reflects Christaller's (1963) findings that the rural milieu is intrinsic to the attraction of tourists, and Clifden became a haven for writers, poets and artists who inspired others to visit the area. The attraction of the barren landscape and primitive lifestyle of the area is depicted in the writings of the artist Paul Henry (1952) who visited the area many times and who, while famous for his paintings of the area (plate 6.5), also wrote profusely about Connemara:

‘The scenery, the people, the sense of ‘colour’ in which the district is steeped ... act and react, blend and separate to form new combinations against ... the ‘background’ of Connemara. This is her intimate, essential spirit, her air of remoteness, her aloofness, her unexpectedness. This ‘background’, though an attraction of a less obvious kind, is the fairy cord that binds one, the invisible mesh of the enchanted net which falls over one in this delectable land’ (Henry, 1952).



Plate 6.5: ‘In Connemara’ by the artist Paul Henry

Source: http://www.achill247.com/artists/Paul_Henry_Connemara.html

However, while Killarney engaged with the opportunities afforded by its natural resources and by the growth in tourists to the area, the same cannot be said of Clifden. The vision that Thomas Browne had for tourism development in Killarney was not shared by John D’Arcey, landlord of Clifden. This vision was fundamental to the

development of a culture of tourism in Killarney, impacting on its development right up to the present day and its absence in Clifden has also had a fundamental impact on tourism development that is discussed in depth later in the chapter.

Another factor that impacted on tourism development in Clifden is its proximity to Galway city, the third largest city in the Republic of Ireland. Clifden's nearness to Galway city reflects Lundgren's (1982) classification of a 'peripheral urban destination' and, as suggested by Lundgren, areas such as this tend to result in a lower flow of tourists to the area. Galway city is a major tourist centre, one of the five established tourism areas in Ireland. It is a magnet for tourism (Deegan & Moloney, 2005) and is a popular and vibrant city (Galway City and County Council, 2003). Clifden's relative inaccessibility combined with the popularity of Galway city has impacted on the flow of tourists to the area. Murray explained that although there are many tourists coming to the western coast 'Galway city with the budget hotels is getting them' (C. Murray, personal communication, 23rd June, 2006). Clifden is also marginalised in terms of transport links, the town can only be accessed by road as the train no longer operates. Miossec (1976) and Lundgren (1982) stressed the importance of transport and access for tourism development. In particular, Miossec claimed that the birth of the pioneer resort appears as a result of the provision of access to the area and increases in tourist numbers are influenced by the technology used to transport passengers. While this increase in tourism was reflected in Clifden in 1895, as a result of the opening of the railway, this was undermined by its termination in 1935 and was according to one survey respondent a 'disaster' for tourism. The issue of access, which had been addressed by the railway, once more became prominent and Clifden returned to its

former status as a remote inaccessible area. Its loss is still discussed today and one interview respondent declared that ‘we have shot ourselves in the foot over access and we are losing out big time’ (M. Gibbons, personal communication, 5th July, 2006). According to Miossec (1976), tourism development is underpinned by continuous increases in transport connectivity, this, however, has not been the case in Clifden. A number of key informants also stressed that ‘places need to be accessible’ (P. Breathnach, personal communication, 5th July, 2005) and that access is a ‘key factor’ for tourism development (S. Flanagan, personal communication, 12th July, 2005).

Clifden also lies on the margins of the largest Gaeltacht (Irish speaking) population in Ireland, an area that is distinct and different because of the living language and the rich Celtic heritage and culture that can be experienced there (Galway City & County Council, 2003). In 2000, it was estimated that approximately £22.3 million (€27.9 million) was generated in revenue by the Galway Gaeltacht region (ibid). The Gaeltacht area receives substantial economic benefits from tourism, and has been a focus for Government investment. As Clifden is outside of this area it has not benefited from this support as explained by Flaherty, Clifden ‘did not get the support from government particularly when it came to financial support’, the ‘Gaeltacht areas get more grants’ and ‘it is hard [for Clifden] to get government grants’ (R. Flaherty, personal communication, 22nd June, 2006).

Many factors have influenced tourism development in Clifden, its history, location, and the richness of its landscape, have all influenced the industry that exists. The attraction of the ‘rural milieu’ of the area has, as explained by Christaller (1963), been an

attraction for tourists. The significance of these factors lies in the way they have influenced how Clifden has engaged with tourism, and this, as will be seen in the coming sections, is in direct contrast to Killarney. Key factors underpinning tourism development in Killarney including: the environment in which tourism businesses and entrepreneurs operate, the structure of the industry and the relations between tourism businesses, combined with the role of local organisations, have taken on a different form in Clifden, and this has had a major impact on the way the industry has developed. These factors and their influence on tourism development in Clifden are discussed next.

6.5 Contrasting tourism environments: social milieu

Observations made during the research shows that Clifden town lies very much on the periphery, difficult to access and relatively untouched by urbanisation. While there is evidence of hotels and restaurants, the touristic streetscapes that form an intrinsic part of tourism in Killarney are not as perceptible in Clifden. The town is small, and the hustle and bustle evident in Killarney, and the strong evidence of tourism as a thriving industry, obvious through the many modern hotels, restaurants, jaunting cars, etc. that pave the streets, are less obvious in Clifden (plate 6.6). Whereas tourism is palpable in Killarney, its existence on the streets of Clifden is much less so and it appears to be considered as something that ‘just happens’ in the town, for example one survey respondent explained that ‘... tourism is becoming more important up to now it just evolved’ (personal communication, June, 2006). Similarly, others explained that businesses in Clifden ‘... open their doors on the 1st of May and just expect them [visitors] to come’. While another commented that ‘... the area was pretty much ad hoc

years ago and there wasn't a whole lot put into tourism because it just happened'
(personal communication, June, 2006).



Plate 6.6: Clifden town

The evidence of a shared vision and a culture for tourism that is so perceptible in Killarney is very clearly absent in Clifden. While the research on Killarney provided ample evidence of this culture, for example in the comments of respondents such as tourism is 'a way of life' and there is 'oneness in the town' with regard to tourism and 'this is their culture and tradition'. There was no such evidence or comments from respondents in Clifden. Despite that fact that tourism is considered an important industry, it has not formed a fundamental part of Clifden's identity in the same way as it has in Killarney.

This is where the real difference between Clifden and Killarney becomes apparent, the culture of the area and the environment in which tourism firms and individuals operate are distinctly different. In Killarney a strong social milieu binds the industry together 'by a socio-cultural identity and trust' (Schmitz, 1993: 26), and underpins 'a complex, highly social process rooted in an industrial community' similar to that found by Saxenian (1996: 56-57) in Silicon Valley. The development of a social milieu in Killarney has occurred over time, and the beginnings of a shared culture for tourism is evident from the 1700s, strongly influenced by Thomas Browne. While John D'Arcy shared a desire to see his town flourish and thrive, he did not share the vision for tourism that was a key feature of Thomas Browne's plans for Killarney. In contrast to Killarney where the memory of Thomas Browne and his contribution to tourism is very much alive, John D'Arcy is hardly mentioned by respondents in Clifden, 'it seems strange today that this ambitious man to whom we owe the very existence of our town should be almost forgotten in our community' (Villiers-Tuthill, 1982: 34). In addition, John D'Arcy's son, Hyacinth, who took over as landlord when his father died, had little

vision for the town. Similarly, the Eyre family, who purchased the estate from the D'Arcey family, were largely absentee landlords and again had no influence or vision for tourism development. Also of significance was their inability (or lack of interest) in influencing a visit to Clifden by King Edward during his travels through Connemara in 1903. This is in stark contrast to Killarney where the local landlords were instrumental to the visit of Queen Victoria in 1861, which was fundamental to its tourism industry.

Another noteworthy point is that the intentional encouragement of others to become involved in the industry that formed the bedrock of early tourism development in Killarney is not evident in Clifden. The sense of place and self-reliance rooted in the awareness of the opportunities for tourism that was a major feature of the early industry in Killarney is not reflected in Clifden's history. A point made by two key informants, that some areas in Ireland see tourism 'as a solution to a problem not as a business' results, they felt, in a very particular approach to development where the areas 'never really embrace the industry' (P.Breathnach, personal communication, 5th July, 2005) as 'it needs to be more than an economic motive' (M. Jackson, personal communication, 28th July, 2005), is reflected in tourism development in Clifden, and is rooted in its history. The relevance of this is that the culture of tourism that is evident in Killarney and the environment in which tourism firms operate, differs considerably in Clifden. The shared identity and social milieu which has proven to be an intrinsic part of tourism development and which remains an important feature of the tourism industry in Killarney up to the present day has not been a feature of tourism development in Clifden.

The absence of a social milieu is evident in the way in which tourism has developed in the town. While, in a similar way to Killarney, the tourism industry is characterised by the influence of a small number of individuals and family businesses, the role that they have played differs in the sense that there is no evidence of the leadership or of the co-operation that is characteristic of the industry in Killarney. The influence of 'tourist influentials', as identified by Lewis (1998) and which have been fundamental to tourism development in Killarney, is not apparent in the same way in Clifden. In addition, while proximity and family connections are factors in Clifden, the shared interest and the collective awareness of the importance of tourism to the town is not shared. This is evident in some of the comments of interview respondents who explained that 'Clifden is 100% dependent on tourism and it always has been ...even though they don't realise it' (C. Murray, personal communication, 21st June, 2006), 'Clifden is a great town if people here would allow it to be run as a tourism town', businesses in Clifden 'are making more of an effort now but not in the past' (A. O'Halloran, personal communication, 22nd June, 2006). In Clifden, while there is physical proximity and family connections there is no evidence of a widespread cultural proximity with regards to tourism. The lack of collective support for development is apparent in the actions of a manager of a key hotel, just outside of Clifden, who explained that his hotel send people to the more distant town of Westport in Mayo rather than to Clifden as 'it is a much nicer place to visit ... as Clifden has little to offer and is not very proactive' (R. Coonihan, personal communication, 24th June, 2006). Similarly another local business man explained that he would 'rarely base a tour solely on Connemara' (M. Gibbons, personal communication, 21st June, 2006).

Another notable feature is in relation to the Arts Festival which was founded in 1977, and is acknowledged as having had a major impact on tourism by bringing hordes of people in the shoulder season. The founder of the festival, Brendan Flynn, a local school master, explained that his primary reason for starting it was to bring culture to the local community. He explained that ‘the festival was never developed with tourism in mind but has had an impact in drawing tourists to the area in ever increasing numbers’. It has received government support in the form of grant aid and ‘has helped extend the tourism season to the end of September’ (B. Flynn, personal communication, 23rd June, 2006). While the work of Flynn in developing the festival has had a positive impact on tourism development, this was never the primary motive. Flynn clarified that in relation to the next festival, which would feature a major international musical artist, he would prefer to ‘sell all those tickets locally’ rather than market them to a broader audience (B. Flynn, personal communication, 23rd June, 2006). While he acknowledges the positive impact the festival has had on tourism in Clifden, Flynn’s key focus remains on the benefit of bringing culture to the local community. The relevance of this is in the mind-set, tourism in this instance was not the first priority for developing the festival and again this contrasts with Killarney where a similar festival ‘Killarney Summer fest’ was developed by a local business entrepreneur primarily with the intention of attracting tourists in the off-peak season.

6.5.1 Differing tourism environments -Professional Milieu

Another feature of the tourism industry in Killarney is the existence of a strong professional milieu. The importance of a professional milieu is that it recognises the importance of social connections made through individuals having worked for each other, with each other or for the same firm for example. The fact that in Killarney many hotel managers have worked for the same companies and are actively involved in the local and national IHF and the local Chamber of Tourism and Commerce has provided a basis for the development of a strong professional milieu. Clifden is a much smaller town than Killarney and its tourism infrastructure is not as well developed, with fewer hotels and infrastructure and, in particular, less movement by employees between jobs, there is less opportunity for the development of a professional milieu. In addition, outside of the Chamber of Commerce in Clifden, there are little opportunities for formal networking. In Killarney, hotel owners and managers in particular, have a history of involvement in organisations (such as the local Chamber of Tourism and Commerce and the local and national IHF), which provide a good opportunity for networking. In Clifden, the local Chamber of Commerce, which has been in existence since 1991, offers some opportunity for networking, however one interview respondent explained that while 'large businesses are members of the Chamber' they 'don't really get too involved in its running' (A. O'Neill, personal communication, 21st June, 2006).

The Killarney case shows that there is strength in action that involves individual tourism service providers operating as a business community rather than depending on un-coordinated individual action. The lack of a social or professional milieu has resulted in firms and individuals in Clifden taking a more fragmented and un-coordinated approach

to development as there is no strong sense of community in the tourism industry. This has influenced the structure of the industry and the relations between tourism operators, key factors that are discussed next.

6.6 Industry structure: a propensity for individualism

Clifden shares with Killarney a propensity for entrepreneurialism, in fact in both cases the industry is dominated by primarily small, locally owned firms. Despite Villiers-Tuthill (1986) claim that few business owners in Clifden have previously come from the area, 69% of business owners who took part in the survey originated from Clifden (figure 6.2), however, the handing down of tourism businesses through generations is less of a feature in the area.

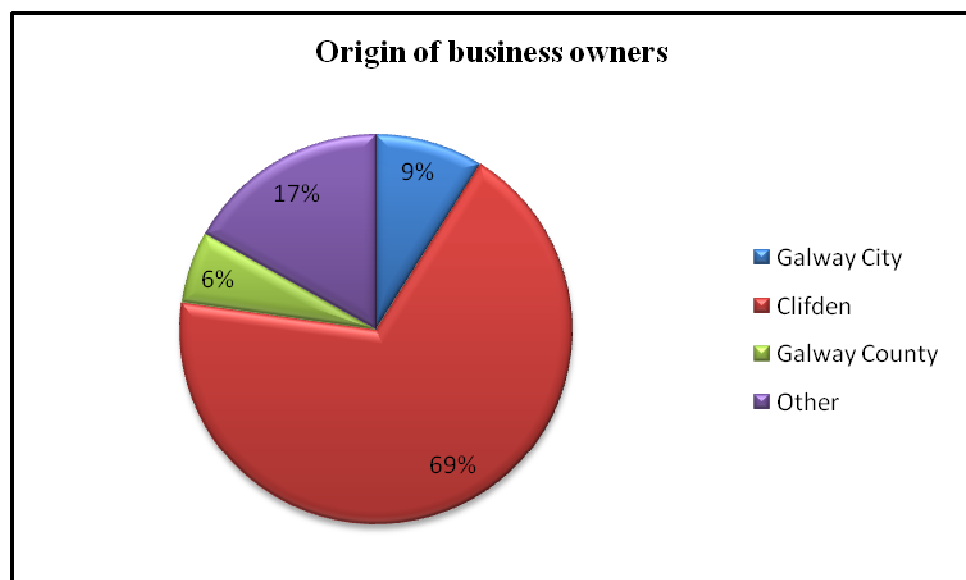


Figure 6.2: Where business owners in Clifden originate from

N=34

These local businesses have, as suggested by Ritchie & Crouch (2003) amongst others, utilised local resources to attract tourists. They have also played a key role in providing tourism infrastructure and services, as well as marketing. Similar to Killarney, a small number of key individuals and families were repeatedly mentioned during the research in relation to the impact they have had on tourism development in the area; these include; the Sweeney family, the Hughes family, the Foyle family, and the Mannion family. The next section will show that while there is no doubt that these entrepreneurial families have played a role in tourism development in Clifden, the way in which they have done so differs from the way in which this has happened in Killarney. In particular, it shows that the embeddedness of firms and the interdependence between them that characterises the industry in Killarney is less of a feature in Clifden.

Throughout the history of tourism development in Killarney key individuals and firms have had an important role to play in triggering tourism development and in shaping the way in which the industry developed. In particular, the interdependency between firms in Killarney has been critical to the success of tourism. Tourism in Killarney has been built around the provision of a number of traditional tourism products such as jaunting car rides, boat rides and guided tours, all provided by the smaller firms in the area. The smaller businesses are reliant on the larger hotels for their marketing power and their willingness to use the services of the smaller businesses rather than develop these services themselves. This reciprocal relationship creates a common goal and vision and a focus on the success of the area rather than individual businesses. In Clifden, there is evidence of a very different approach to development. Some of the larger firms in

Clifden have tended to develop through a process of vertical integration, allowing them to provide different elements of the tourism product. As a result, there is an absence of interdependence between businesses and the focus for development tends more towards the individual firm rather than the area as a whole. This becomes evident on examination of the way in which some of the key family firms in Clifden have developed.

6.6.1 John Sweeney and the Sweeney Family

The Sweeney family are an old Co. Galway family (originally from Claddaghduff) whose business interests in Clifden began many years ago with a family pub called 'Sweeney's'. Today the family, in particular John and Terry Sweeney have many business interests both in Clifden and across Ireland. The family do not primarily operate within the tourism sector, in fact, John Sweeney's portfolio of businesses, illustrated in table 6.1, extends to include: an oil distribution company, service stations and convenience retail outlets, a diverse property and investment portfolio including a number of hotel interests under the Marriott and Holiday Inn brands, as well as the Station House development in Clifden and a number of fashion outlets. Blackshore Holdings, John Sweeney's holding company is also involved in the development and sales of Connemara Ponies. The company's extensive Station House Development in Clifden, includes the Station House Hotel and holiday apartments as well as numerous retail outlets.

Table 6.1: Overview of businesses owned by the Sweeney family

(The shading indicates businesses located in Clifden.)

John Sweeney Blackshore Properties Ltd.	Terry Sweeney	Jointly Owned Businesses
Station House Hotel, Clifden	E.J. Kings Bar, Clifden	Westwood House, Galway
Station House Holiday Apartments, Clifden	Buster Brownes Pub, Galway.	Holiday Inn, Killarney.
Station House, Bar Clifden	Kirby's Restaurant Galway	
Design Platform Fashion Outlet in Clifden (also other locations in Ireland)	Westwood Bar and restaurant, Co. Galway	
Connemara pony breeding and sales.	School House Hotel, Ballsbridge, Dublin.	
Station House Development Clifden – various properties; retail, apartments etc...		
Johnstown Spa Hotel Enfield, Co. Meath		
Major shareholder in the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin.		
Service stations and convenience retail outlets in the west of Ireland (approximately 20)		
Sweeney Oil: An oil Distribution in the West of Ireland.		

The Sweeney family are developers, and their business interests, both in tourism and in Clifden are among many other business interests across Ireland. The Station House development in Clifden, which was developed on the site of the original railway, was acknowledged by one respondent as ‘a tax development not a personal business’. While the Sweeney family has developed one of the largest hotels in Clifden, and have

interests in other tourism related businesses in the area, their business interests stretch beyond tourism and beyond Clifden. There is no doubt that this development provides infrastructure and marketing support for the area, for example, one respondent explained that ‘the Sweeney’s have developed the old railway station, they also have an oil business and have a strong marketing group’ which according to the respondent benefits the area (A. O’Halloran, 22nd June, 2006). However, this does not present a picture of a firm embedded in the area, instead it shows that one of the larger family owned businesses in Clifden is owned by developers whose interests are not primarily in tourism, nor in Clifden. Of particular significance is the fact that the Sweeney family has expanded its businesses in Clifden across a range of sectors allowing it to provide a number of elements of the tourism product in the area, including accommodation, bar and restaurant as well as retail. This reduces its interdependence on other firms in the area and feeds the spirit of individualism that is a characteristic of the tourism industry in the area.

6.6.2 The Hughes Family and the Abbey Glen Hotel

The Hughes family took over the Glenowen House Hotel in 1969 and developed it into the Abbeyglen Castle, one of Connemara’s most prestigious hotels. Paul Hughes and the Hughes family were acknowledged by 23% of survey respondents as contributing most to tourism development in the area. The work of the Hughes family is recognised in their marketing efforts to lengthen the tourism season and generate year round business. One survey respondent explained that the Abbey Glen works at keeping year round business that helps the area but that there is no co-operation with other local

businesses, while another explained that the Abbey Glen is a hugely successful business started by the father (Paul Hughes) ‘... he has been hugely important in promoting the town constantly and is very creative’. The Hughes family provide important infrastructure to the town and through the marketing of its own business has attracted visitors to the area. Unlike the Sweeney family, the Hughes family business interests are based in Clifden, however, the Hughes family has followed a similar strategy of vertical integration having recently opened ‘Connemara Safari’, a walking centre located in the grounds of the hotel, offering guided walks in Connemara. This is another example of firms following a more independent strategy of development, allowing them to specialise in more than one sector of the industry.

Although the Hughes family’s diversification into other sectors of the tourism industry is not as extensive as that of the Sweeney family it is another example of a more independent approach to development. As both of these families own some of the largest and more influential businesses in Clifden it is not surprising to note that the trends they set with regards to business development are apparent in other businesses in Clifden. The Foyle family, for example, whose parents opened Foyle’s hotel in the 1930s, reflect Feldman et. al’s. (2005) claim that local entrepreneurs may become serial entrepreneurs with deep roots in the community. Over the years, the family have extended their ownership to a number of other hotels, all owned and run by family members. In addition, they have extended their business to include a restaurant and bar also run by members of the family. Similarly the Mannion family, an old Clifden family, operate both a bicycle rental business and a bar in the town amongst other non-tourism related businesses.

While the tourism industry in Clifden reflects aspects of that of Killarney in relation to the pervasiveness of family owned businesses, the structure of the industry differs considerably in both areas. The more individual approach to development by tourism businesses in Clifden is contrary to that of some of the larger businesses in Killarney who have tended to stick to their core business and utilise the services of smaller businesses to provide additional products and services to their customers. This interdependence in Killarney is a conscious decision by many of these businesses who, although aware that they could provide some of these services themselves, would prefer to support local businesses by 'putting the business their way' (P. O'Donoghue, personal communication, 18th November, 2005). In Clifden, the focus for development has primarily been on individual businesses rather than on the area in general. The collective vision that underpins tourism development in Killarney is not evident in Clifden as businesses tend to follow a more independent path of development. The extent and pervasiveness of this individualistic approach to development is clear from some of the comments made by survey and interview respondents: 'there is a long history of businesses ... and they all just work individually, they chat amongst themselves and make recommendations but nothing that really influences the development of the area', while another claimed that 'people are very insular here ... they just focus on their own business' (confidential personal communication, June, 2006). One interview respondent noted that the 'larger businesses have been good for the area as they bring in tourists but this is largely for the benefit of their own development not for the town in general, there is obviously a spin-off for other small businesses but this could be better if they worked together' (R. Flaherty, personal communication, 22nd June, 2006). Another explained that when it comes to doing business in Clifden 'it's a very individualistic based business and the great strength of it

has been the individuals, they are the strong promoters but often they are not as informed about their own area as they should be' (M. Gibbons, personal communication, 21st June, 2006). This individual approach to development is a key factor in tourism development in Clifden and one that does not, according to Ritchie & Crouch (2003), underpin success.

What is evident in Clifden is that the individual businesses each have an influence on tourism development through providing infrastructure and through their marketing efforts. However, in contrast to Killarney the extent of their influence is more limited. In some cases, their businesses are part of a portfolio of businesses that stretch beyond Clifden and beyond tourism, while in others their approach to development is to focus on their individual business or businesses largely unaware of their impact on the broader tourism community. In Killarney, the influence of local individuals and family businesses goes beyond provision of infrastructure and marketing, their approach to development has stimulated the actions of others and the deliberate dependence of larger businesses on smaller businesses for aspects of the tourism product allows smaller businesses to thrive.

Dei Ottati's (2002: 453) finding that in industrial districts 'once a firm has reached an efficient scale it ... displays a tendency to remain focused on its core business, and to aggregate with other firms specializing in complementary activities', is more a feature of the tourism industry in Killarney than of Clifden. While in Clifden these businesses may not intentionally be avoiding using the services of other businesses, the fact is that the attitude to development in Clifden is different; it tends more towards the individual firm whereas in Killarney it tends more towards the collective area. The organised set

of local interdependencies within which interrelations take place, as recognised by Sforzi (1989), is not part of the structure of the tourism industry in Clifden, where there is more of an individual focus on the short-term than on a long-term collective interest. The real difference here is not just in the action of vertical integration but in the obvious lack of awareness of the influence that a more interdependent approach can have on development. In Killarney, larger firms use the services of smaller firms to provide a complete product for their customers thereby creating business for the smaller firms in the area. In turn the smaller firms ensure the quality of service and product that is offered to the customer and allow the larger hotels to offer a seamless product to their customer. This also helps to preserve traditional tourism products such as the jaunting cars in Killarney, which, while a feature of the industry in Clifden in 1853 (Hall & Hall, 1853a) have long since disappeared. Contrary to this, the larger hotels in Clifden while also attracting visitors through their marketing efforts, have a narrower impact on development of the area as the interdependencies between firms are not as evident. In some instances, as outlined above, these larger firms choose to provide add-on or peripheral services to their customers rather than outsource or utilise the services of other local firms. While this may not be a deliberate decision, it is indicative of the absence of a collective vision in the area. The structure of the tourism industry in Clifden reflects the findings of Saxenian (1996) on Route 128 where the industrial structure was defined by the search for corporate self-sufficiency and firms that had self-contained and vertically integrated structures. Tourism businesses in Clifden stand alone; they are not part of an intricate community of firms whose reciprocal relations serve to strengthen the area and in turn the individual businesses. Evidence of this more fragmented approach to development is also apparent in the fact that tourism businesses in Clifden are less likely to co-operate than was the case in Killarney. The tourism

industry in Clifden is more individual or family oriented with no focus on co-operation or collaboration. In fact, the structure of the tourism industry in Clifden is one where rivalries are intense, as was the case in Killarney, but unlike Killarney, there is little evidence of co-operation.

6.7 Inter-firm relations in Clifden

Inter-firm relations in Clifden are less complex than those of Killarney. The independent and more fragmented approach to tourism development is apparent in the lack of co-operation between tourism businesses. Rather than a long-term collective approach where competition and co-operation coexist and form a critical part of the way in which the industry develops, the tourism industry in Clifden is characterised by intense rivalries with little evidence of collaboration between businesses. Similar to Killarney, the research shows strong rivalry between tourism firms in the area with 80% of respondents claiming that their main competitors were located in Clifden (figure 6.3). The extent of this rivalry is evident in the rhetoric of one respondent who claimed that ‘there is no history of co-operation in Clifden but there is a lot of rivalry and business politics and as a result they [local business people] don’t really co-operate’ (confidential personal communication, June, 2006).

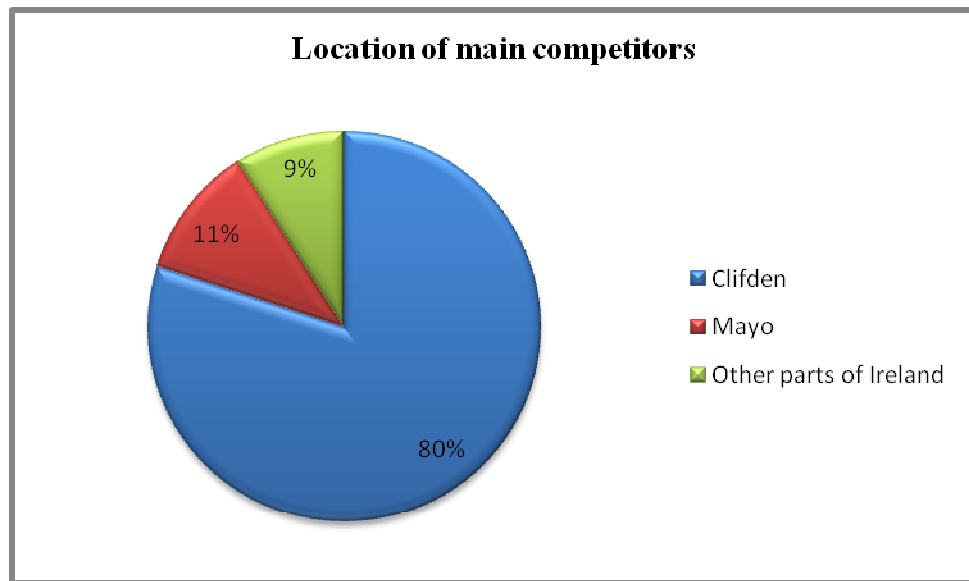


Figure 6.3: Location of main competitors in Clifden N=35

There is evidence of some informal co-operation in the form of recommendations between businesses in Clifden, for example, one interviewee explained that local family run businesses ‘know each other and co-operate on a very informal basis’ (O’Halloran, personal communication, 22nd June, 2006). More formal co-operation was evident in 1920 when Clifden Castle and Demesne was sold to a group of Trustees who established the Clifden co-operative. The terms of the agreement were that the wood and castle were to be preserved as the property of the Clifden people (Villiers-Tuthill, 1990). However, unlike Killarney where the Trustees of Muckross House and gardens have, over time developed this into a major tourist attraction. Clifden castle ‘today ... stands as a crumbling ruin, home to chuffs and rooks, an eerie reminder of the once powerful Landlords of Connemara (Gibbons & Gahan, 2004: 14), (plate 6.7). Another example of formal co-operation is the formation of Connemara Tourism, a marketing group that was set up by bed & breakfast (B&B) owners in the broader Connemara region over 20 years ago to provide marketing support to B&B’s.



Plate 6.7: Clifden Castle stands in ruins

Source: <http://www.coastguard-station.com/>

This willingness to co-operate is limited, and in general, it is not a feature of the industry. One survey respondent explained that the reason for this was that business in Clifden is ‘very individual’ and that over the years tourism operators have worked individually to build their success. Another interviewee spoke of how ‘there is no unity in Clifden, no joint marketing, businesses are very short sighted and co-operation is poor, people don’t even talk to each other’, while another explained that she was prepared to exchange ideas and co-operate with other businesses but ‘it just doesn’t happen’ in Clifden (confidential personal communication, June, 2006). One survey respondent claimed that tourism businesses in Clifden ‘never get their act together’ they are ‘talking about developing things for years but no action’. Further evidence of the lack of co-operation and extent of the rivalry between businesses was provided by respondents who claimed that ‘there is no co-operation in the town, in fact it is the

opposite ... businesses hardly talk to each other, they live in a fish bowl everyone watches everyone and they don't help each other' and 'there is no real formal co-operation, businesses focus on their own business this [co-operation] is something that they don't do here' (confidential personal communications, June, 2006). The extent of this unwillingness to co-operate is particularly evident in the words of the tourism officer for County Galway, who explained that 'Clifden is one of the trickiest areas in my remit ... it is difficult because it doesn't really work well together' (C. O'Mahoney, personal communication, 20th June, 2006). She referred to another tourism area in the region explaining that 'in Westport the hotels and industry they get together and they do a lot of initiatives together, it's not as tight in Clifden' (ibid).

A key characteristic of industrial districts identified by Triglia (1992) which is very evident in Killarney is a readiness for co-operation amongst firms; this aids competition and the achievement of medium and long-term advantages. This co-operation has been founded, as suggested by Triglia (1992), on a network of trust that is sustained by cultural community based features which are strongly tied to the defence of collective interests. The relationships in Killarney, in a similar way to that identified by Saxenian (1996) in Silicon Valley, transcend firms and functions, and while rivalry is very evident in the area, this rivalry takes place within an environment that prioritises the success of the area over that of individual businesses. The absence of this culture in Clifden means that the collective, long-term vision resulting in reciprocal support for development of the area is not a feature of the industry. Instead of a dense network of firms, individuals and institutions, the structure of the industry in Clifden is more fragmented where each firm is independent. This is ultimately where Killarney and Clifden differ, the existence of both a social and professional milieu in Killarney,

founded on a common history and identity in tourism, has underpinned tourism development. This 'distinctive industrial atmosphere' (Marshall, 1920) has created an environment where willingness to co-operate supersedes rivalries, and where a collective vision for development is evident. In Clifden, the environment in which tourism firms and individuals operate is in direct contrast with that of Killarney. The boundaries between firms in Clifden are much more distinct and the system is based more on independent firms rather than the community of firms more characteristic of the tourism industry in Killarney. The reason why the environment in both of these areas differs so significantly lies in their history and lack of collective vision, which has resulted in their differing relationship with tourism.

6.8 The role of institutions and organisations

The industry in Clifden is populated by individuals and individual firms, who do not share the collective vision for tourism that is intrinsic to the industry in Killarney. In addition, the dense network of associations and groups that have supported co-operation and collaboration, and have been particularly strong lobbying groups in Killarney, is also not a feature of the industry in Clifden. While it does have a Chamber of Commerce, it is relatively new having being founded in 1991 (Killarney's Chamber of Tourism and Commerce was founded in 1968) and it was not until 2003 that it began developing marketing plans for the area. While there were positive comments regarding the importance of the Chamber for example it 'provides an opportunity to get involved' (A. O'Halloran, personal communication, 22nd June, 2006), respondents also explained that 'large businesses are members of the Chamber but don't really get too involved in its running' (A. O'Neill, personal communication, 21st June, 2006) and 'the chamber is

good but it hasn't been very strong in the past it's only recently that it has started to focus' (C. Murray, personal communication, 21st June, 2006).

Similarly, while Clifden Rural District Council was in existence in 1899, in 1925, it ceased to exist and the area came under the remit of Galway County Council. This lack of control and influence on government at a local level is recognised as a major drawback for the area by some respondents. One interviewee explained that because 'Clifden is on the periphery of county Galway' and because 'it is not part of the Gaeltacht area' (the Irish speaking area of county Galway) Clifden was 'often overlooked by government' (R. Flaherty, personal communication, 22nd June, 2006). This respondent claimed that the fact that Clifden had no local council was a major inhibiting factor as Clifden had 'very little influence on government decisions' (ibid). Other survey respondents explained that 'Killarney and Westport have an urban district council. This makes a big difference, they have a voice' while another explained that in Clifden 'there is no support from local government'.

The impact of the absence of these institutions and associations has resulted in there being little focus on networking and lobbying in the area (something that Killarney is particularly strong at). Survey respondents commented that 'there is a very low population in Clifden with very little power and they don't have a strong voice'; 'there is only one councillor in the town and funding is a big problem, there is no strong lobbying group or individuals'. Others explained that 'there were coastal grants available from government a few years ago but Clifden didn't get any ... there is no focus on working to get these type of grants in the town, things are just let pass by' and 'no local government is an issue as it is more difficult to get things done and there is no

focus on lobbying government, the Chamber will help with this but there has been little focus in the past’.

The existence of a dense network of business associations and an urban district council means that Killarney has been able to enhance its own decision-making and strategic capacity and promote a collective vision. Lewis’s (1998) recognised the role of organisations in formalising the tourism industry and supporting co-operation. Benton (1992) and Pyke & Sengenberger (1992) similarly recognised this institutional co-operation as crucial support for inter and intra-firm co-operation. In Killarney, a vibrant collective vision and long tradition of associations has provided a framework that sustains and enhances inter-firm co-operation. This system of social mobilisation is missing in Clifden and the absence of strong institutions and associations means that there is no forum to encourage or support collective ideologies and action. Businesses in Clifden, unlike Killarney, do not realise their inherent power and are not sufficiently organised enough to inform tourism development in a collective manner. The lack of involvement in organisations and associations also means that tourism operators in Clifden are less informed and consequently less in control of what happens in the industry than is the case in Killarney. This was apparent when a purpose built walking centre, which was built in the mid-1990s to accommodate hill-walkers and other tourists, was a short-time later rented to the Irish Government for use by the Reception and Integration Agency (RIA) to provide accommodation to asylum seekers (Vanderhurst, 2006). In relation to this incident, a number of respondents explained that while this was ‘detrimental’ to the industry’, no one knew why this happened but that ‘there is a lot of animosity with regard to the closing of the walking centre’ as ‘it was only open for a short period ... and could have been a very positive thing for

tourism but was never given a chance ... one day it was a walking centre and then it was closed down to become a refugee centre, there was no discussion it just happened' (confidential personal communications, June, 2006).

6.8 Summary of Clifden findings

There are many ways in which tourism development in Clifden has differed from Killarney. A fundamental difference lies in the history of these two places. Clifden's inherent poverty and years of emigration depleted its human resources, leaving a population dependent on landlords and on government for aid. The 'enterprising spirit' that Davy (Hall & Hall 1853b) claimed was required in order to tap into 'its untouched fund of wealth' never materialised in Clifden in the same way as it did in Killarney. In addition, the landlords of Connemara were poor in comparison with those in other areas and less influential than Killarney's. Whereas tourism in Killarney began from the strong vision of one individual, it grew to be the collective vision of many and this has underpinned the way in which Killarney has engaged with tourism. Tourism in Clifden, in a similar way to that described by Lewis (1998), just evolved, influenced strongly in its early stages by the travellers of the Romantic era. These factors, together with the area's romantic image as a poor and desolate area, which is reminiscent of a simpler life, combined to impact on its development. Throughout its history there is evidence of real opportunities for tourism growth for example: the improved accessibility resulting from the opening of the railway. However, the industry suffered a major setback when the railway closed and the industry in Clifden was not sufficiently strong enough to influence this event. As a result the development of transport that Miossec

(1976) and Lundgren (1982) recognise as fundamental to tourism, has not evolved in Clifden.

Killarney's tourism industry is underpinned by the existence of strong social and professional milieux, which influence business relations in the area and support a collective approach to development. The 'distinctive industrial atmosphere' (Marshall, 1920) in Killarney that is historically driven does not feature in Clifden. The consequence of this is that the reciprocal relations and co-operation that comes from a community of individuals and businesses who know and trust each other and who share a collective identity has never developed. Clifden also differs in relation to the structure of the tourism industry. The industry in Killarney is characterised by the existence of interdependent businesses, who have been embedded in the area for generations, and who have collectively supported tourism development. In Clifden, the industry differs in two key ways in relation to this, firstly in relation to the collective support for the development, as businesses in Clifden have been shown to follow a more independent approach to development. Secondly, is the question of embeddedness, the largest tourism businesses in Clifden are owned by a family of developers whose interests stretch beyond the area and beyond tourism. As a result their interests are neither embedded in Clifden nor in tourism, therefore their relationship with the area and with the industry differs from a business whose sole investment and interest lies in the success of tourism in the area.

Another fundamental factor in Clifden is the absence of what Pilotti (2000) refers to as meta-organisers. Lewis's model (1998) recognised how the tourism industry can evolve to become more formalised through the development and support of meta-organisers.

While this is clearly evident in Killarney, it is not the case in Clifden. As a result there is no forum for 'steering enterprises towards the right direction' (Schmitz & Musyck, 1994: 891). Similarly, the broader base of leadership supporting extensive networking and lobbying that is fundamental to Killarney is absent in Clifden.

It can be clearly seen, therefore, that the factors that have underpinned tourism development in Killarney differ considerably in Clifden. Indeed many of the fundamental factors of development in Killarney such as: the collective vision, social and professional milieu, interdependence and co-operation, do not exist in Clifden. The industry in Clifden has not evolved in the same way as in Killarney. As a result Clifden has not engaged with tourism in the same way, or to the same extent, as Killarney. Consequently it does not have as strong an identity with tourism, nor has it achieved the same level of development.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis was to examine the local place-based factors that influence tourism development, and in particular, to explore the role of local human agents in that process. Specifically, the research sought to address a number of key objectives including:

1. To add to the existing literature on tourism development by identifying and explaining the complexity of factors that have underpinned tourism development in Killarney, a highly developed tourism area in Ireland;
2. To investigate and explain the influence of local tourist influentials, a propensity for co-operation and a social and professional milieu on tourism development in Killarney.
3. To compare tourism development in Killarney and Clifden (a less developed tourism area) in order to identify differences between the two areas.
4. To provide valuable insight for policy-makers on the key role local factors play in influencing tourism development.

This chapter confronts the way in which these objectives have been achieved, and discusses the main conclusions of the research, the contribution that it has made to the literature as well as its policy implications. Having identified in chapter one that little

exists in the literature to explain the local place-based factors that influence tourism development, the research addresses this gap by exploring and investigating the factors underpinning tourism development in two tourism areas in Ireland. The principle contribution of the research to theory is the deepening of understanding of the key factors that influence tourism development at a local level. The research captures the complexities underpinning tourism development, an area that has not been addressed in the tourism literature to-date. It contributes significantly to the literature by advancing our understanding of the key role played by human agents in tourism development. By moving away from treating the human as a passive entity, the research explores their role as active subjects with conscious designs (Coles, 2006) and in so doing, addresses a key criticism of the models of tourism development. Through the provision of a robust explanation of the factors underpinning development, and the complex interrelationship between them, this research has extensively added to the literature on models of tourism development, which have largely focused on describing patterns of development. Furthermore, the pragmatic approach embraced by the research has enabled it to unearth and explain the complexity of tourism development, this is a distinct move away from the more positivist approach adopted by the tourism models as acknowledged by Gale & Botterill (2005) in their review of Butler's (1980) TALC.

The research also contributes to the tourism literature on entrepreneurs by providing comprehensive knowledge of the way in which entrepreneurs trigger development at a destination, but more importantly, how this influence can continue long after the original entrepreneur is involved. This issue of longevity with regard to the influence of entrepreneurs has not previously been addressed in the tourism literature, and is a significant contribution of this research. Additionally,, the research clearly shows the

crucial role that entrepreneurs play in influencing the involvement of others in tourism development, while also explaining how entrepreneurial influence can differ between destinations and the consequences of this for destination development.

A further contribution of the research is that, while it considers the influence of a broad range of factors, it places particular emphasis on the influence of individuals, entrepreneurs, and local families (referred to by Lewis (1998) as ‘tourist influentials’); the presence (or absence) of a social and professional milieu and the propensity for co-operation; on tourism development. This contribution emphasises the way in which these factors have influenced development in Killarney (a highly developed tourism area), while also explaining how their relative underdevelopment in Clifden (a less developed tourism area), has affected the areas’ development as a destination. The contrasting experiences of Killarney and Clifden with regard to tourism development have resulted from a complex interplay of historical, economic and socio-cultural circumstances. As suggested by Urry (1990), these differences result in the ‘particular ways’ in which places engage with tourism, and strongly shape their development. The following sections further elaborate on the key findings of the research.

7.2 Factors underpinning tourism development

The research highlights a number of key factors underpinning tourism development. Some of these factors fit closely with those identified in the literature, such as the tendency for tourism to develop in peripheral areas, the importance of locational advantages and the physical attributes of the area, the key role of access and transport and the ability of local places to control and benefit from tourism development. This

reflects the findings of earlier research by Butler (1980), Gormson (1981) and Keller (1987) and is strongly supportive of work by Christaller (1963), Miossec (1976), Lundgren (1982), Lewis (1998) and Ritchie & Crouch (2003). However, while these factors are important for tourism development, they are what Ritchie & Crouch (2003) refer to as basic factors, the existence of which alone does not ensure development. The research reveals that while these factors are important, many other factors that are grounded in the context of place also play a key role in destination development. These factors include: the role of 'tourist influentials' (individuals, entrepreneurs and local families), the existence of a social and professional milieu and a propensity for co-operation.

Of particular interest, is the way in which these factors have come to exist which is evident in the historical analysis of tourism development in the two places. Historical enquiries combined with field research into contemporary contexts reveal the dynamic nature of the tourism areas, enabling a greater understanding of their particular pathways to development. The case studies of Killarney and Clifden explore how places can engage with tourism in different ways, and subsequently achieve different levels of development. In Clifden, the issues of scale and time have to be considered. Clifden is a much smaller town than Killarney and its tourism industry is relatively young in comparison. In addition, while the research has shown that basic factors alone do not account for the particular ways in which tourism areas develop, their absence can be seen to impact on tourism development in Clifden, for example, transport links remain relatively undeveloped and, as a result, access is a key issue. In addition to this, its proximity to Galway city, a major tourism centre and its location within Connemara, an area that has a very strong tourism image, means that Clifden has

struggled to develop its brand name. These factors alone do not explain the difference in tourism development in the two areas. The research reveals how the process of tourism development is influenced by a complex interrelationship of factors and by high levels of local involvement. It enhances our understanding of the link between place and tourism and provides comprehensive evidence that this link is crucial to destination development. The research identifies strong and important connections between destination development and local communities of businesses and individuals, and social and institutional networks. Just as local places are shaped by tourism, so too is tourism shaped by the place in which it develops. Therefore, it may differ between places and the factors that underpin its development may also differ, influencing the way and extent to which destinations develop.

Killarney's history as a town relatively rich in terms of resources and human capital has underpinned its development as a major tourism destination. It has a history of strong individuals, entrepreneurs and families collectively influencing its development. The strength of this human capital and the strong link that exists between people and place has determined the structure of the industry, the relations between individuals and businesses, and the way in which tourism has evolved overtime. In contrast, Clifden's history of poverty and emigration has resulted in a depletion of human capital from the area. This has had a fundamental impact on the way and extent to which tourism has developed. The strong link to place, the embeddedness of family businesses passed down through generations and the strong social connections that have supported the development of the industry in Killarney are not evident in Clifden. Tourism in Killarney has evolved from a more individual approach in the early stages of development to a collective approach eventually becoming institutionalised. The

process of development evident in Killarney shows its ability to evolve and to adapt to changing times and has been underpinned by a community of individuals and businesses with strong social connections. This community of individuals and businesses has been fundamental to Killarney's development as a destination. It is here where the two areas differ, as the absence of these factors in Clifden has meant that the industry has never moved beyond an individualistic approach to development. The notion that tourism areas develop over different stages has been addressed by many of the models including; Christaller (1963), Miossec (1977), and Butler (1980) among others. However, the underlying causes of this development and the factors that propel it have not been addressed in any depth. In particular, as explained by Coles (2006), the role of the individual human as an active subject with conscious designs, is relatively unexplored. Yet this research reveals this factor as crucial to tourism development, not only in the guise of the individual but also in the collective influence of communities of individuals and businesses embedded in local areas (figure 7.1 outlines the process of tourism development in Killarney and the factors underpinning this).

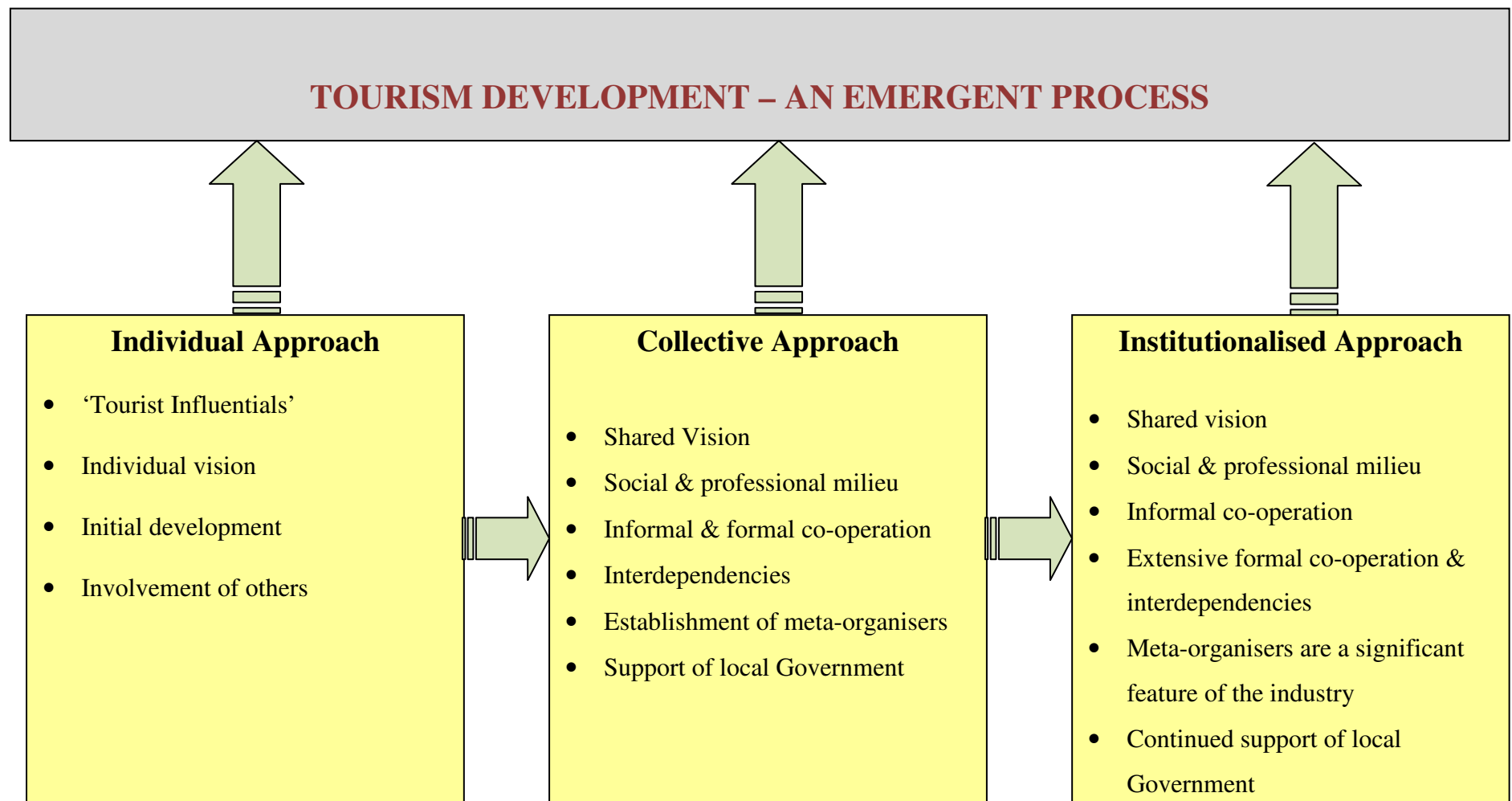


Figure 7.1: The process of destination development

7.2.1 ‘Tourist Influentials’

Local individuals, entrepreneurs and families (‘tourist influentials’) play a fundamental role in tourism development. They recognise and capitalise on opportunities, provide meaning to local resources enabling them to be exported for consumption, and can fluidly interact at a broad level to attract key resources and networking opportunities for the benefit of the area. In this way, they can, as suggested by Boschma & Lambooy (1999), interact and shape their local environments. Yet, of the tourism models, only Lewis (1998) and Ritchie & Crouch (2003) provide some insight into their influence, while others, even the much cited TALC (Butler, 1980), refer to them only in passing. The findings of the research reflect Hall (2004) and Tinsley & Lynch’s (2007), amongst others, claim that entrepreneurs are drivers of development. Their ability to provide infrastructure and services as well as marketing support has underpinned development and supported the growth of tourism. This influence can transform areas into tourism destinations in the first instance (Koh & Hatten, 2002; Johns & Mattson, 2005) and can, as suggested by Pearce (1992) extend to stimulate the involvement of others in tourism development. Additionally, as highlighted by the research, and contrary to Butler’s (1980) claim, local entrepreneurs can actively influence tourism development at all stages of development. Of particular significance, the research uncovers the way in which relationships and social connections between entrepreneurs can fundamentally influence tourism development.

The research clearly shows how the process of tourism development does not have to begin with the involvement of many; in fact, Killarney is an example of where just

one person can be capable of creating an environment that promotes tourism development. Entrepreneurial influence can be long lasting and dynamic, in many cases spanning generations of involvement. It can influence the involvement of others and the creation of a strong vision and culture for tourism that can impact on tourism development for many years, even after the original entrepreneur is involved, having such a pervasive influence as to form part of the fabric of tourism development. Entrepreneurial influence can, however, differ between areas and is strongly influenced by the historical context in which it develops. The history of entrepreneurial activity in Clifden differs considerably from that of Killarney. Early tourism development was not underpinned by the vision of a key 'tourist influential' and the town's background of emigration and poverty has meant that the pervasive nature of entrepreneurial involvement and the passing of businesses through generations has not been a feature of the industry. As a result, entrepreneurial influence in Clifden tends to be limited to the provision of infrastructure and marketing rather than the more extensive influence that has occurred in Killarney. The strong link to place and to tourism that is evident in Killarney, and that has been built over generations of entrepreneurial involvement in the industry, has been critical to tourism development but has not featured in the same way in Clifden.

7.2.2 Social and professional milieux

While 'tourist influentials' play a pivotal role in tourism, and the influence of individual entrepreneurs' can be extensive and long lasting, a shared culture for tourism and the existence of a social and professional milieu can result in a more pervasive influence on tourism development, leading to the success of the area. This

shared social environment can occur, as suggested by Belso-Martínez (2006), from a homogenous system of values and perspectives, and result, as evidenced in Killarney, in the embedding of economic relations into a wider social framework. The significance of this is apparent in Killarney, where the existence of a social and professional milieu has underpinned the development of tourism from a more individual perspective, evident in the early stages of development, to a more collective approach over time. This has enabled tourism to thrive and for the area as a whole to develop. However, this does not mean that tourism entrepreneurs and businesses in Killarney exist in some sort of 'utopia', the area is also characterised by intense rivalry and competition between individuals and businesses. In addition, the larger family owned hotels tend to play a more dominant role in the industry than the smaller operators and there is a clear division between some of these larger operators. However, of significance is the fact that despite these rivalries, as suggested by Newlands (2003), local interest prevails and the success of the area is of paramount importance. The resulting interdependencies between businesses in Killarney and the blurring of boundaries between social and economic relations, has resulted in the establishment of a community of individuals and businesses who share a common culture for tourism. Therefore, in a similar way to Becattini & Dei Ottati's (2006) findings, competitive advantage is external to each business but internal to the area. The development of the shared culture has, as suggested by Dei Ottati (1994), been made easy by the tendency for people in Killarney to stay in the area and to pass tourism businesses on through generations. This is in direct contrast to the industry in Clifden where few of the tourism businesses have been passed on through generations and the area's history of emigration has meant that strong social connections and a shared culture for tourism has not developed. This has influenced the structure of the

industry, which is characterised by a relatively more individual approach to development.

7.2.3 A propensity for co-operation

A consequence of the existence of a social and profession milieu in Killarney is a tendency towards co-operative behaviour that is underpinned by trust. This trust, as explained by Knorringa (1994), is not based on idealism or naiveté, but is based on the realisation by individuals and businesses that they need each other in such a way that they will have to trust each other. It is based on long-term relationships and reciprocal relations and is governed by norms of behaviour that have developed over many years and cause local operators to consider the consequences of their behaviour on the entire area. Also of significance in Killarney is the fact that this trust is not shared equally between all businesses, for example, one of the larger hoteliers tends to co-operate only with smaller operators rather than other large hoteliers. However, co-operation remains a key feature of the industry and while informal forms of co-operation are pervasive, more formal means of co-operating have become prevalent overtime. This has underpinned a more structured approach to development, improving Killarney's competitive position. In Clifden, the absence of a shared set of common values and a more individual approach to development means that there is little evidence of co-operation. While there are examples of informal co-operation, this is not broadly characteristic of the industry and more importantly, co-operation has never extended to the more formal level that has enabled tourism in Killarney to progress in its development and to co-operate at a broader national scale.

7.2.4 Institutionalisation of the industry

The tourism industry in Killarney has become more formalised and institutionalised over time. This has primarily occurred because of the development of associations and organisations, what Pilotti (2000) refers to as meta-organisers. This is similar to Feldman et al's. (2005) point that entrepreneurs may collectively shape local environments by building institutions that further the interest of their emerging industry. In Killarney, local meta-organisers such as the Chamber of Tourism and Commerce and the local branch of the IHF, have strengthened the industry by supporting the ongoing development of the already existing professional milieu, and by providing a foundation for more formal networking and collaboration. In addition, they have provided a forum for networking at a broader national scale and have transcended the interests of individuals and individual businesses to provide a vehicle for members to co-operate on a more formal basis. The success of these meta-organisers is not dependent on the involvement of every business; in Killarney, the larger hoteliers play a dominant role in their development and control. These meta-organisers facilitate information and knowledge transfer between members and create what Nanaka and Konno (1998) refer to as 'shared space' for emerging relationships and the development of more extensive levels of interdependencies between tourism operators. Just as important, they have provided a stable framework for the ongoing development of tourism, providing opportunities for Killarney at a national level, keeping the area to the forefront of Irish tourism. In contrast, the absence of strong meta-organisers in Clifden has been a key weakness in the structure of the industry. While the local Chamber of Commerce provides a forum for collective action, it has not developed to the same extent as in Killarney, primarily because of the lack of

involvement on the part of the larger and more influential tourism operators. Consequently, tourism development in Clifden is more fragmented and lacks the leadership that has been fundamental to tourism development in Killarney. Added to this is the absence of a local government in Clifden. In Killarney, local government has been supportive of the industry, enhancing local decision-making and strategic capacity and providing a local voice in national government. The absence of a local government in Clifden has been an inhibiting factor resulting in the area having little lobbying power or influence on national government decisions.

7.3 Policy implications of the research

A number of contributions to policy arise from the research. By enhancing our understanding of tourism development, the research clearly shows how it is strongly influenced by the context in which it takes place. Of particular importance, is the finding that not all areas have the same capacity for tourism development. This has direct implications for policy where broad stroke policy approaches disregard the diverse nature of localised place-based contexts and ignore important influences on tourism development. This research brings this approach to tourism policy development into contention, suggesting that consideration of local development may be an important step in identifying potential ‘winners’ with regard to tourism development. Furthermore, it clearly illustrates that examination of potential tourism areas with regard to the existence of the key influencing factors identified by this research may result in a more effective strategy for tourism development.

The research also highlights the importance of human capital as a fundamental element in tourism development. This finding needs to be placed at the heart of tourism policy development. The importance of this is clearly evident in the highly developed area of Killarney, where a key resource is its human capital, and this resource has significantly underpinned its development as a destination. Conversely, Clifden's weakness with regard to human capital has undermined its development. A crucial lesson for policy from this is that there is strength in local action, and opportunities exist for the development of policies that focus on supporting and encouraging the involvement of local 'tourist influentials'. The opportunity to identify key players, to encourage and support their involvement through policy can have a significant and long-term impact on the development of the industry. Aligned to this, the research clearly shows the crucial role that local meta-organisers (associations and organisations) play in fostering collective identity and action. In local meta-organisers, it is possible to cultivate and advance a sense of belonging and reciprocity that can benefit the local industry. Of particular significance for policy, is not just the existence of these meta-organisers, but also policies that encourage local involvement and participation. While it may not be possible to develop policy that encourages the development of a social milieu, the involvement in local meta-organisers can influence the development of a professional milieu and promote trusting relations and co-operation between members overtime. In addition, they provide a framework for broader links at a national and very likely at an international level that may prove imperative to the long-term success of tourism.

This research has particular significance in an Irish context, where there is a conscious and continued desire by government to support tourism development in less

developed areas of Ireland. Traditionally, much of Irish tourism policy has focused on the development of key attractions and accommodation, and on increased marketing expenditure as a route to increased tourism performance (Deegan & Dineen, 1997; Deegan, 2006), and in general, most plans for tourism have predominantly been national in nature (Pearce, 1990). The research highlights the extensive opportunity that exists to refine and develop policy that considers the potential for local places to influence their own development. To-date Irish policy has largely ignored local influences, and little, if any research has been undertaken to understand tourism at this level (evidenced by the lack of statistical data on tourism at a local level). However, this research emphasises the need to understand local influences on tourism development in order to develop policy that support its continued successful development.

Furthermore, and of particular significance to the issue of the spatial spread of tourism in Ireland, is the evidence from the research that not all areas have the same potential for tourism development; therefore, a focus on broad spatial spread by Irish policy-makers may in fact be unrealistic and impossible to achieve. Deegan's (2006) recognition that to-date, policy focused on achieving spatial spread in Ireland has yet to be successful, further strongly supports this view. By considering the context of development, and the findings of this research, as well as the extent to which local factors may be influenced by policy, there is an opportunity for identifying key areas with potential for tourism development, and to focus resources on the development of these areas. This involves choices regarding how and where to concentrate efforts, but is likely to achieve greater benefits and utilisation of resources in the long-run.

Additionally, there are implications regarding policy outlined in the National Development Plan (Government of Ireland, 2007), which provides for the continuation of initiatives aimed at improving networking in SMEs and micro-enterprises at a regional level. This research has clearly shown the benefits of developing and supporting meta-organisers that provide a framework for networking at a local level, and the implications of this in inducing and supporting broader levels of networking. Also of significance is the focus by recent policy on human resource development, and policy that supports training and development for the industry (Horizon Report, 2003; NDP, 2007-2013). While this recognition of the importance of human resources is of immense value, there remain extensive opportunities for policies that further encourage and support entrepreneurial activity in local areas and that acknowledge the importance of local ‘tourist influentials’ in ongoing and sustained tourism development. In general, while much of Irish tourism policy has, to-date, focused on developments at a national and regional level, this research ultimately highlights an opportunity for more specific policy aimed at local level development.

7.4 Epistemological considerations

By adopting a mixed-methods approach with a pragmatist’s lens, this research addresses an issue raised by Pansiri (2009) relating to the distinct absence of tourism research based on a pragmatic paradigm. Furthermore, the pragmatic stance of the research overcomes the inherent contradictions of using a mixed-methods approach within any other paradigm, a practice that, according to Denscombe (2008) is quite common in social sciences. Its flexible approach provided the freedom to use a range

of methods that cross traditional boundaries (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). This supported the study of tourism development, a subject whose inherent complexity consists of both interpretivist and positivist aspects. The research's pragmatic approach supported the choice of logical and practical alternatives (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004: 17) for investigating key factors underpinning tourism development in the case study areas. For example, the use of a quantitative method (survey) to measure the extent of co-operation was complemented by the use of qualitative means (interviews, observations, archival material) to understand the reasons why co-operation is (or isn't) a characteristic of the industry. This use of complementary kinds of data, as suggested by Denscombe (2008), provided a holistic and in-depth account of tourism development in the case study areas and supported the investigation of key factors underpinning tourism development, a key objective of the research.

This research also deepens our appreciation of the value of comparing and contrasting inferences that emerge from a study with multiple views and perspectives. Comparing similarities and differences with regard to tourism development in the case study areas, was a powerful and effective way of finding out more about factors underpinning destination development, the reasons why they might differ between areas, and the consequences of this for tourism development. It supported a more comprehensive understanding of the research findings, further enhancing our understanding of destination development. Furthermore, the extensive convergence of the findings from all data methods, provided, as suggested by Tashakkori & Teddlie (2003), stronger results and more comprehensive insights (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). The intentional linking of methods, which constitutes the very heart of

mixed-method inquiry (Greene, 2007), is rarely seen in mixed-method research (Creswell & Plano (2007), Bryman (2007) and Greene et al (1989)). Yet, this research clearly shows that it is an effective means of providing a holistic and multi-faceted account of the research topic, and was crucial in attaining a thorough answer to the research question and to achieving the research objectives.

7.5 Limitations of the research

The deliberate choice of two destinations for analysis, while necessary for the particular purpose of this study is of course a limitation of the research. Additional studies of different tourism areas would be a valuable exercise and would add further strength to the research by determining if the findings of this study are consistent across other areas, and the degree to which this is the case. In addition, time and financial constraints limit the research, and enforce the researcher to make decisions with regards to what is researched and the extent to which it is researched. This eliminates the opportunity for continued and greater depth of analysis of certain findings but is necessary for the completion of the thesis within a given timeframe. In relation to the specific case studies, the lack of statistical information at a local level with regard to tourism development rendered it difficult to illustrate in greater depth the extent to which tourism has developed in each of the areas. However, despite these limitations, the objectives of the research have been achieved and the research question answered.

7.6 Implications for further research

Like all research, this thesis has unearthed as many questions as it has answers and there is extensive opportunity for further research. The possibility exists to continue to explore the dynamism that underpins tourism development in other locales both nationally and internationally. The recognition of the importance of historical, economic and socio-cultural circumstances in influencing factors of development underlines an opportunity to explore these areas further, and to further our understanding of their influence on 'emergent' tourism development. In addition, each of the factors that have been identified by the research for their influence on development (the role of 'tourist influentials', a social and professional milieu, a propensity for co-operation) present an opportunity for further investigation of their existence and influence in other areas. For example, while it is evident that the tourism literature is beginning to explore the influence of entrepreneurs on development and that entrepreneurship study has gathered momentum in recent years, the topic requires further investigation if a comprehensive understanding of entrepreneurial influence is to be achieved. In particular, research into the patterns of entrepreneurial activity and how these might differ between tourism places and the role of relationships between entrepreneurs, would add further insight to the literature. Similarly, further research into social and professional milieux, and the conditions that foster their development, would provide a more in-depth understanding of how they come about, and in particular, if it is possible to encourage their development. Similarly, the role of meta-organisers as supporting structures that promote a collective interest is a key area that would benefit from further research. Finally, the research outlined some implications for policy, further research into the way in which

tourism policy-makers may influence the harnessing and development of local factors of production is also of paramount importance.

7.7 Concluding remarks

The use of comparative case study methodology, combined with a mixed-methods approach, has enabled the research to identify key factors that influence development. It has also enabled the research to compare and contrast these factors in different locales, and consequently to deepen our understanding of the extent of their influence on tourism development. The analysis of past events has broadened and deepened our understanding of tourism development as a process. This research shows that history matters, and that consideration of it, in conjunction with field research into contemporary contexts, can aid in our knowledge and understanding of current issues.

Killarney has had a pattern of tourism development that has not been replicated in Clifden and a fundamental reason for this is the influence of local ‘tourist influentials’ as key agents of development. Individuals, entrepreneurs and local family businesses have underpinned the success of the industry in Killarney. This success has been achieved, not just because of their individual endeavours, but also because of the social fabric and culture for tourism that connects them as a community of individuals and businesses. The research clearly highlights how the extensive influence of communities of individuals and businesses, with deep social roots and a common history, can underpin development. This connection between economic activity and social factors is of particular significance and stresses the importance of the relationship between tourism and the environment in which it develops. This will, as

evidenced by the reference case study of Clifden, differ between areas, resulting in different factors of development and consequently in the achievement of different levels of development.

Tourism is inherently interdisciplinary, and this research has gained valuable insight by moving outside of the tourism literature, to the broader literature on industrial district theory. This literature has provided rich and compelling insights into the characteristics that underpin successful development in tourism destinations. In addition, it moved the research beyond the boundaries of the tourism literature to consider the connections between communities of individuals and firms and their local environments, and the influence of this on tourism development. Industrial district theory provided a framework for understanding and exploring the dynamics of tourism development. The findings from the research strongly support the relevance of this literature to tourism by highlighting the way in which many of the characteristics of successful districts can be seen to apply in a tourism context. In addition, the interdisciplinary approach taken by the research highlights the opportunity that exists for tourism studies to gain broad and important insights from other literatures.

This research adds to the broad tourism literature on destination development and addresses a gap in the literature on models of tourism development by identifying and explaining the local place-based factors that influence tourism development. It adds to the literature on destination development by moving beyond grand narratives to explore tourism in localised contexts, and to identify and explain how the interplay of factors that influence tourism development can have different outcomes in different

areas. It provides empirical support that local places are dynamic, and that factors grounded in the local play a fundamental role in tourism development. It enhances our understanding of local tourism development and through its analysis of key factors underpinning tourism development, the research highlights extensive opportunities for the creation of policy that encourage an entrepreneurial culture, co-operation and interdependence and the development of a supportive environment in the shape of meta-organisers. The importance of this research lies not in its generalisability but in the transferability of its key findings to other areas, and in its implications for academics and policy-makers alike.

7.8 A final note

Since undertaking this research the Irish economy has seen dramatic change. The global financial downturn is currently affecting the Irish economy severely and the country has been in recession since the second quarter of 2008 (Economic and Social Research Institute, (ESRI), 2009). The ESRI predict a further economic contraction of 14% by 2010 (ibid). Tourism is facing difficult times with falling international visitor numbers and revenue from all source markets, as well as a sharp decline in domestic tourism (ITIC, 2009). Despite the current bleak outlook, tourism continues to be an important generator of employment and economic activity throughout the country (ITIC, 2009). The current priorities for Irish tourism are to ensure that the industry weathers the recession and is in as strong a position as possible to compete effectively for business when the global economy improves and the key markets begin to recover (Fáilte Ireland, 2009a).

In relation to the case study areas of this research; Killarney and Clifden, while it is not possible to state the exact impact of the recession on their tourism industry (due to the lack of official statistics at a local level), there is no doubt but that they too have been seriously affected by the drop in tourist numbers. In Killarney, there is a continued focus on working together to overcome these issues and local businesses have placed an even greater focus on the development of key markets such as business and events. The strong tourism influentials that have proved so crucial to tourism in the past continue to be an important feature of the industry. Similarly, the spirit of co-operation that has underpinned development remains a key characteristic with local businesses continuing to co-operate both formally and informally in an effort to overcome the current difficulties. In particular, formal co-operation has continued to develop with the support of local meta-organisers such as the Chamber of Tourism and Commerce and the local branch of the IHF. Past experiences have shown that Killarney has the capability and determination to overcome difficult times, and their recognition as a major tourism area is further emphasised by the Irish Government's recent decision to open a new head quarters for the Department of Arts Sports and Tourism in the town. Furthermore, evidence of local businesses participation in, and contribution to national decision making was exemplified by their involvement in the recent Fáilte Ireland board meeting, which focused on discussing how to meet the future challenges for Irish tourism (Fáilte Ireland, 2009b).

Tourism has similarly declined in the west of Ireland, impacting on tourism numbers to Clifden. The structure of the industry in Clifden remains the same and there continues to be little evidence of the key factors that have proved so important for tourism development in Killarney. While it is not possible to predict the future for

these tourism areas, the continued collective approach to development and strong tourist influentials and meta-organisers that have underpinned tourism development in Killarney, is proving even more important in these difficult times. Equally, their relative absence in Clifden continues to hinder and limit the areas development, reflecting once more the pattern of events that has been a fundamental part of the areas history of development.

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APPENDIX ONE: Questionnaire for Tourism Suppliers

Section One: General Information

1.1 Name of business:_____ 1.2 When was the business established?_____

1.3 Type of business:_____ 1.4 Name of respondent:_____

1.5 Position in the business: (Please circle the appropriate answer)

a) Owner b) Manager c) Other (please specify) _____

1.6 Are you a member of any of the following:

<i>Please tick relevant box</i>	
No	Yes
Galway County Council	
Galway City Council	
Ireland West Regional Tourism	
Any other council (Please specify)	
Local Business Association (Please specify)	
Any other tourism authority/group (please specify)	

Section Two: Background to the Business

2.1 Are you the person who started the business? (Please circle the appropriate answer)
Yes / No

(If the answer to question 2.1 is no, please answer question 2.3)

2.2 If yes, are you from (please circle the appropriate answer):

1. Clifden
2. Galway - City or County (Please circle the correct answer)
3. Mayo
4. West Region
5. Other please specify:_____

2.3 Was the person who started the business from (please circle the appropriate answer):

1. Clifden
2. Galway - City or County (Please circle the correct answer)
3. Mayo
4. West Region
5. Other please specify:_____

2.4 What relation are you, if any, to the founder?_____

- 2.5 Do you/the owner have any previous experience in the local tourism industry and has this impacted on your/their decision to start this business?
(Please circle the appropriate answer) Yes / No/ Don't know

If yes, please explain how:

- 2.6 How many people do you employ?
Total _____ Family Members _____ Non Family Members _____

THE QUESTIONS IN THE NEXT SECTION RELATE TO TOURISM IN CLIFDEN

Section Three: Factor Conditions

- 3.1 Give three reasons why tourism has been so successful in Clifden?

- 3.2 To what extent did the following factors play an important role in tourism development in Clifden? (Please place an x in the box beside each factor indicating how important its role is in tourism development in Clifden)

	Very Important	Important	Not Very Important	Not at all Important
Availability of finance				
Tourist Attractions				
Transport/Access				
Availability of skilled workers				
Range of services & infrastructure				
Proximity to other tourist areas				
Scenic Beauty				
Marketing of Clifden				
Clifden's image as a tourism destination				
Planning & management of tourism				
Local support for tourism				
Local participation in tourism development				
Clearly defined tourism products				
Clearly defined target markets				
Support of local government				
Ability to adapt to changing market needs				
History of tourism in the area				
Other (please give details)				

Section Four: Planning

4.1 Are you aware of the following development plans? (Please circle the appropriate answer)

Ireland West Regional Tourism Plan 2000-2006	Yes / No
Clifden Development Plan 2001-2006	Yes / No
Other (please specify)	Yes / No

4.2 Was there any consultation processes used in drawing up tourism plans for Clifden

(Please circle the appropriate answer) Yes / No

4.3 Did this involve any of the following and how?

	Please Tick	Please explain how they were involved
Local Businesses		
Community Groups		
Local Tourism Agencies		
Regional Tourism Group		
Local Government)		
Other (Please specify)		

4.4 Have you been involved in any way in making plans for tourism in Clifden

(Please circle the appropriate answer) Yes / No

If yes please give details of what plans you were involved in and how you were involved.

4.5 Do these plans make any difference to how you operate your own business?

(Please circle the appropriate answer)

Yes / No

If yes, please explain how:

Section Five: Tourism Management

5.1 Who are the person's or agencies responsible for tourism management in Clifden

5.2 Is there anything about the way that tourism is managed in Clifden that is different or better than other areas? (Please explain)

5.3 What supports are available to tourism businesses in Clifden and who provides them?
(Please place an x beside each service that is provided, underneath the name of the organisation that provides it)

	National Government	Local Government	Regional Tourism Group	Local Tourism Group	Fás	Chamber of Commerce	Other
Training Workshops							
Marketing							
Project management							
Grant aid							
Other forms of funding							
(Please Specify)							
Business plan development							
Other (please specify)							

5.4 To what extent have you availed of these? (Please place an x under the appropriate answer to each item)

	Often Never	Occasionally	
Training Workshops			
Marketing			
Project management			
Grant aid			
Other forms of funding (please specify)			
Business plan development			
Other (please specify)			

5.5 Do the groups or individuals that manage tourism in Clifden benchmark it against any other tourism area? (Please circle the appropriate answer)

Yes / No / Don't know

If yes, please give the name of the area and the reason why it is considered suitable for benchmarking:

THE QUESTIONS IN THE NEXT SECTION RELATE TO YOUR OWN BUSINESS

Section Six: Competition

6.1 Where are your main competitors located? (Please circle the appropriate answer)

1. Clifden
2. County Galway
3. Galway City
4. Mayo
5. West Region
6. Other parts of Ireland (please specify) _____
7. Abroad (please specify) _____

- 6.2 Are there any tourism areas that you feel provides examples of good practice in tourism?

(Please circle the appropriate answer) Yes / No

If yes, what areas?

- 6.3 Have you adopted any practices or ideas that you have learnt from these areas?

(Please circle the appropriate answer) Yes / No

If yes, please provide

details: _____

Section Seven: Co-operation

- 7.1 Do you co-operate with other local businesses (e.g. competitors, suppliers, complimentary businesses) in your industry in any of the following ways:

<i>Please tick the relevant boxes</i>			
Never	Often	Occasionally	
Training employees			
Marketing			
Lending equipment			
Purchasing supplies			
Product development			
Exchanging ideas			
Discussing strategies or problems			
Other (please specify)			

7.2 How does any interaction that you have with other businesses usually come about?

	<i>Please tick relevant items</i>
Family ties	
Neighbours or spatial proximity	
Friends or former colleagues from courses or work	
Through introduction from local bank	
Parish Groups (Please specify)	
Involvement in associations (please specify)	
Co-operative Bodies (Please specify)	
Marketing Groups (Please specify)	
Other (please specify)	

Section Eight: Innovation

8.1 Outline any changes/new ideas/new products that you have introduced to your business in the last five years: _____

8.2 Does the fact that you are located in Clifden help your business?
(Please circle the appropriate answer)

Yes / No

If yes, in what way does it help?

8.3 Where do your ideas for product / service development come from?

	Please tick the relevant items
Visiting local trade fairs/shows	
Visiting trade fairs in other parts of the country	
Visiting trade fairs abroad	
Catalogues and magazines	
Changing customer demands	
National / Regional tourism plans	
Local tourism plans	
Competitors	
Suppliers	
Other (please specify)	

Section Nine: Social Factors

This study is concerned with the interaction of community and business life in Clifden. I would like to identify any social, political or sporting groups that enhance business relations. For that reason I would appreciate if you would answer the following questions.

9.1 Please indicate how important each of the following factors is to the success of your business in Clifden.

(Please indicate the importance of each statement by placing an x in the appropriate box)

	Very Important	Neither	Not very Important	Not at all Important
To be from Clifden				
To belong to the GAA				
Belong to any other local sporting club				
To belong to a particular political party				
To belong to a particular religion				
To be related to other entrepreneurs in the area				
To have worked for another tourism firm in the area				
To belong to a family with a long involvement in tourism				
Other (please specify)				

Section Ten: General

- 10.1 What organisations or persons do you think have contributed most to tourism development in Clifden?

- 10.2 Please provide details of any special or unique factors about Clifden that, in your opinion, have helped to make it a successful tourism destination?

- 10.3. What three factors do you think are most important to successful tourism development in any area?

Thank you for your participation!
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APPENDIX TWO: Protocol for Depth Interviews

Broad themes for discussion:

- Open interview with broad discussion on what factors in general influence tourism development.
- Discuss respondent's background in tourism – family involvement, where they are from, length of time involved etc.
- General discussion on tourism development in the area:
 - Key factors and features of the industry
 - Why it has developed?
 - Its history
- The role of Government:
 - What role have government played?
 - Is there a local government body – how has this influenced tourism?
 - What support has been available and what influence has this had on the industry?
- Planning and management:
 - Are there any tourism plans?
 - Who is responsible for designing/ implementing these?
 - Are local businesses involved?
 - What influence do these have on your business?
 - Who is responsible for managing tourism in the area?
 - Is it managed better/different than other tourism areas?
 - Is the area benchmarked against any other tourism areas?
- Competition
 - Where are your main competitors located?
 - How competitive is the local area?
 - What other tourism areas would you recognise as a key competitor?
- Co-operation
 - Do local businesses co-operate (prompt for examples/ask why/ why not)
 - How does any interaction between businesses come about (prompt with examples – introduction from local banks etc.)
- Innovation
 - Look for examples in relation to their business and area in general.
 - Does the fact that you are located in Killarney/Clifden help your business – ask to explain answer and get examples.
 - How do you get ideas for new products/services?

- Social Factors
 - How important for your business is it to be from the local area?
 - Discuss other factors that influence success – member of political party, religion etc.
 - Probe how these influence, and how important they are – why they are important
- General points:
 - Who has contributed most to tourism development in Killarney/Clifden, and why?
 - Are there any special or unique factors about the area that have helped to make it successful?

APPENDIX THREE: Interview Transcript Sample

Interview with Kathleen O'Regan Shepherd, local business owner and former
Director of Cork/Kerry Tourism

9th December 2005

(Extracts of this interview have been omitted for confidentiality purposes.)

One thing I do know and would be very conscious of for the next generation as well, is if you look at us historically, as a nation we would always have had a deep spiritual ... and we would have been brought up to respect others and when tourism started in Killarney historically 250 years ago but really its only in the last 50 or 60 years that it became the great destination that it is today.

The beauty and Queen Victoria that put us on the map, having done the lake and mountain trip – it is spectacular it is beauty and it isn't just the beauty alone almost everyone that grew up in Killarney and the Killarney environs and the wider area would have worked when they were going to school and/or college in the hotels and the B&B's during the summer.

Quite a lot of the people from this area would have a background as ... well not from a nine to five because most of ... the life line now of course is tourism but here-to-fore it had been farming and in farming it wasn't a nine to five ... So I suppose we all grew up with this can do, must do, something has to be done that is beyond ourselves

approach and it has been traditionally handed down from parent to child and even the local businesses, thank God we still have quite a lot of family owned businesses and the reason there is no doubt with family owned businesses the long-term view is looked at rather than the sort term economic rewards. There is a sort of a sense of pride in the sense of service and a job well done, a customer happy. I remember one time ... lucky enough here I would have my staff for a quite a number of years but I remember one particular girl saying to me why do you be bothered with them they are such pains ... it was just unfortunate that I did have a couple who wouldn't have gelled in here and I don't know where I got this reply from but I just thought of it because she reminded me of it many years later, I said to her well that's where I get the challenge, if they come in unhappy, you do your best to see what the cause of this is and to make them happy.

There is no doubt that it would have been part of growing up and it has to be too with our background and it takes a great sense of pride in working in the industry. Even people if they didn't have it in the home, they weren't long finding themselves working in the service industry let it be waitressing or front of house they learnt the attitude from others that a visitor was a very special person ... regardless of their peculiarities ...it was important that they chose our area to visit.

We were brought up with such pride in the beauty of our area that we wanted to make sure that everybody who left it went away as a good ambassador for our area.

A sense of pride in our area and wanting to make sure that those who came to visit us maximised their time.

Without question I think it is down to a tradition of hospitality and welcome.

Taxation allowances are allowing for it to built beyond what is necessary because we have a lot of taxation lead properties that are not doing us any favours. The taxation incentives were vital at a certain time and for certain areas. They certainly should not have been considered here possibly over the last 15 years. If you just take the Europe they were built as a result of tax incentives and they provided real employment in those days quite a lot of the earlier hotels and that was a great brain child at the time because it encouraged professional accommodation and service at a time when the tourism market was growing and there was a blight in the accommodation area.

Its not all about numbers and throughput of people its about the structure to look after the people when they are here and I am confident, I know for a fact that the research wasn't done when the decision was made to continue with the taxation incentives as to whether we had the human infrastructure to deliver the hospitality that it must go side by side.

There are wonderful destinations and hotels all over the world and it isn't the physical building that attracts the visitor it is literally the humanness, the spirituality, the connecting with the local people in the local area and the most recent research, and I understand it was the most extensive ever carried out by Fáilte Ireland in the British market once more confirmed that it is the people. It is vital in fact, I now know for definite what should have been done five, ten years and it is the eleventh hour now and I hope its not too late, what should be seriously brought in by the department of finance encouraged by the department of tourism to the next budget is the same as what the other artists have, is no taxation for certain businesses who provide these, let

it be the smaller guest house, B&B that prove that they are owner managed and run – that it is their primary function – it is a very holistic way to bring up a family - the over heads are not making it viable for the next generation to go into it.

It would also be at the eleventh hour for government to recognise just the amount of time that cannot be paid for the amount of personal energies that has gone in by people altruistically for the common good. The revenue that the exchequer has from tourism, it is literally brought in on the backs of the smaller operator who have provided the traditional hospitality and welcome and once we loose that we loose tourism.

It is our uniqueness it is what we are marketing and if we don't deliver it when the people come in well then they are not going to return or spread the word.

In the 50s and 60s our neutrality was important and you must remember our country is a very small country in the overall scheme of things in Europe, we were predominantly catholic and we literally increased and multiplied and filled the earth so everyone wanted to come back we have made such a mark in so many countries abroad.

After the famine we had a mass exodus and all these could never afford to come back so if you take a hundred years later that would have been the generation that would have gone and would have grown up listening to their parents longing to come home so quite a lot of tourism in the earlier years were ethnic Irish outside of the UK market because we were their next door neighbour. The Americans just loved us – it would have been the Irish – the fact that we were a nation of saints and scholars and poets

and artists – the songs even if you listen to all of these songs of a sentimental nature, these songs that were sung in pubs the people that emigrated to England and the US they were kept together very much by Irish clubs so the sense of Irishness was cultured in them so it was predominantly Irish at the stage.

Government support has predominantly been received by the bigger groups there has never been truly recognition for the small family hotel or guest house that is run as a business and professionally run and yet we are caught with the same legislation as the bigger hotels so it is very oppressive.

The O'Donoghue family and the Treacy family they would each be second generation now. Maurice O'Donoghue, his Mam started a B&B and loved it and she was brought up in the service industry because she came from a pub herself. She had intended to be a wife to her husband the pharmacist and obviously because she was brought up with this 'can do' attitude she loved interacting with people so she had her little manor house, that's exactly what it was, the original home of the Eagle where the reception is now and it was Maurice who had the business acumen and brought it forward so that would be the only O'Donoghue family that would be second generation and it was thanks to Maurice.

In the Treacy family, they grew up in the Ross hotel and times were hard but they sustained it with the income of teaching so the children all got the love of the industry and once they took over they are all very successful today.

The Randles family would be only just now, and its wonderful to see it being both the leadership that Kay herself gave and the love of it, to her children and two of them are just hands on in the business and have major investment in it now so it is vital that families are encouraged.

The foundation of the IHF have been by owners for owners, but in the last 7-8 years that isn't the case anymore, it's being lead by the big groups.

I built here because I had a previous house and I had the site from the family so there was really no support for the smaller businesses. I got involved with the Irish Guest House Owners Association, I was the 3rd President of it simply because there was a huge anomaly at the time, rates were abolished on domestic properties on I think it was 1980 Finance Act but the Guest Houses had to pay rates even though they were very domestic in content so that's what I think made the Guest House voice very strong at the time. We were probably so strong that we came to the attention of the IHF, you see we had so much in common we were eligible for VAT we were liable for rates and Jimmy Barry was the then Chief Executive and it was very over owner focused at the time and it made sense to pool our resources because we didn't have a full time secretariat and I was doing quite a lot of it myself I was four years President of the Irish Guest House Owners Association having served as secretary for two or three years before that with John Eagan at the time of Eagan's Guest House in Dublin and the famous Michael O'Brien of ... guest house. So I would have been involved nationally at a very early age and then I became involved with the IHF so I was on national council for eleven years and this is my first year off of national council and I had been Vice President and Chairman of the Kerry Branch for four years I was secretary of the Kerry branch of the IHF for a three year period ten years ago and also

ran again recently so I very much did what I could do for the smaller player, to keep their voice heard but however the voice of the bigger groups became more dominant over time ... the recognition of the smaller businesses involvement is very much calling to the tune of the bigger player and in tourism that is the worst thing that can be done because it means that we lose the cold face of it, we lose our hospitality and welcome.

All businesses with a turnover of less than €500,000 in tourism, because it being so vital to the economy should be looked at from a cultural point of view as all artists are because it's an art, it's our culture.

Also the financial outlay, the original B&B's their income couldn't sustain them so tourism was a substitute income but for the Guest houses and the small family hotel that didn't run weddings it became unsustainable if you were to pay rates & VAT. The current lobby by the IHF to the minister for tourism is focusing on the recoupment by the business travel of VAT but that is just for the business hotels.

I personally think, I know we must move forward with the times and I don't want to dwell on the past but I have always been of the view why fix it if it wasn't broken when you think going back to the birth of tourism and its infancy, and the growth and nurturing of it we had Bord Fáilte offices in quite a lot of places around the states but now in the structure Bord Fáilte has been altered and changed but yes they played a major, major part in the actual development of tourism, in the tourism traffic acts but that role was taken away from them. But for a period the developer was king above anything else.

More focus on the hospitality in the past and that is the key to maintenance of the tourism industry.

This has been very much a feature in the past. A sense of pride always existed down here in what we did, we have more small businesses than any other county and that is a point that I omitted to make earlier, not only is the physical environment wonderful but also we have more small businesses involved in tourism and even to this day I think its 75% of Ireland hotel and Guest Houses are less than 30 bedrooms, here in this area we probably would have 95%. We have only a few large hotels so it certainly would be the traditional hospitality and the culture. The large hotel chains would see us as Peter Malone, when he was in Jury's, one time referred to as a sick child, in the sense that it wouldn't be economically viable for them. They would see the market, as over saturated and there isn't enough business in the wintertime.

Cork/Kerry tourism in the past their role was to service the visitor and they performed a great role and also our region has a better infrastructure thanks to Con O'Connor sourcing the grants etc for the building of offices than any other county. Also handling press, journalists and travel writers and then in tandem with that the generic marketing of the region. Well the regional board allows for the election to the board at its AGM from the individual sectors so it is very democratic. We are experiencing problems currently in so much as we haven't a business plan finalised and we as a board have not been consulted about any marketing plans and we are very concerned about that.

The expertise of the trade was always used through committees etc.

I, through my role as chairman of the Kerry branch of the IHF have lobbied both Enda Kenny and Jim McDaid both former ministers for tourism, for the relocation of the Fáilte Ireland offices to Killarney because this is the capital of tourism its only right that their address would come from here. It's good that the reins of control are from this region.

Con O'Connor when he was the RTA manager in the past and he was exceptional, he spent the money as if it was his own in other words he got value for money and he ensured that for minimum input there was maximum output and he looked at the longer term picture. There was a confidence that he delegated the work to people who had the skills to deal with it. For me for my own part it would have been very much myself that contributed to the industry.

Yes we work together all of the time – people ask and I will give them the names of restaurants etc, and arrange things for them. You would always have local bodies playing for leverage, but Killarney people have a great sense of pride in their place and a great sense of looking out for each other. I mean individually, just take two very strong local families in the industry they would be minding their own markets but they would collectively meet for the common good. I served on the Chamber, as former vice president all these bodies are very committed.