A 'NEW' NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

SUSTAINABLE TOURISM VISION

by

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ABSTRACT

In an attempt to promote sustainable tourism in Newfoundland and Labrador (Canada), leaders from the Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation and Hospitality Newfoundland and Labrador came together in 2006 to form a vision steering committee. Their efforts culminated in the release of a vision paper entitled "Uncommon Potential" in February 2009, which outlined overarching goals for tourism development in the province and created a high level of expectation for numerous tourism stakeholders. While the vision may be well articulated, the document lacks strategies about how to achieve them, raising some questions whether the goals will be realized. This thesis thus aims to illuminate what could cause some of its goals to fall short of expectations and what possibilities exist for the province to increase its potential to realize the vision. The study draws from the interactive governance perspective, which posits that what occurred before and during the development stages (or 'step zero') and what values, images and principles underlie such a vision play key roles in the implementation. Through interviews with key informants and document analysis, the study reveals some missteps in the vision's development process, including lack of representation of key stakeholder groups such as volunteer organizations. Meanwhile, although Uncommon Potential reflected values, images and principles that key tourism stakeholders shared, some concerns were expressed about the absence of values like honesty and principles related to environmental health in the document. On the whole, the thesis brings, through these findings, further clarity to what the vision entails and also provides insights about the priorities and aspirations of the province's tourism sector.

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To my mom and dad, who taught me the principles that I live by, I extend a loving thank you. You encouraged me to travel, even if it meant me going away for years at a time – being a parent myself, I know now that it must have been bittersweet at times. With each year that passes I realize more and more how extremely fortunate I am.

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Lastly, to my "perfect" wife, AeBoon, this thesis is dedicated entirely to you. It truly is "our thesis". If you hadn't agreed to move our family to Canada and face all the challenges that come with being a mom in a new country, none of this would have been possible. Thank you for everything, but especially for helping me to find the happy and healthy "Darrell" again. XOXOX Saranghaeyo!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

TCR: Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, Newfoundland and Labrador

HNL: Hospitality Newfoundland and Labrador

CTHRC: Canadian Tourism and Human Resource Council

TSRC: Travel Survey of Residents of Canada

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

UNWTO: United Nations World Tourism Organization

TCH: Trans Canada Highway

RFP: Request for Proposal

NLTB: Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Board

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the thesis research. It includes background information about the inspiration and purpose of the study. This is followed by an overview of its theoretical background (interactive governance theory) which asserts that the potential strengths and weaknesses of a particular strategy may be illuminated by examining both the processes that led up to its establishment and stakeholders' values, images and principles. The chapter then provides an explanation of how the thesis is organized.

1.1 INSPIRATION & PURPOSE

Tourism has been used to generate economic development in Newfoundland and Labrador since the late 1800s (e.g. Government of Newfoundland, 1986; Gunn, 1994; Harvey, 1900; Parker, 1950; Seymour, 1980; Smallwood, 1931). In its earliest form, wealthy outdoorsmen, mostly from eastern Canada and New England, would visit the area for fishing and hunting big game, and upon Newfoundland and Labrador entering Confederation with Canada in 1949, Premier Smallwood put a strong emphasis on developing tourism infrastructure and attracting foreign investment (Higgins, 2012). Soon after, the completion of the Trans Canada Highway across the island of Newfoundland in 1965, the establishment of a provincial Department of Tourism in 1973, along with the introduction of the province's first national and historical parks, had all contributed to making further expansion of the tourism industry possible. It was at this time that Gros Morne National Park, Port au Choix National Historic Park and L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Park were established.

Throughout the 1980s, efforts aimed at presenting an authentic and compelling tourism product continued, and by the end of the decade Cape Spear's lighthouse had been restored, several

Norse dwellings were reconstructed at L'Anse aux Meadows and on Labrador's southeast coast archaeological work was attracting tourists to Red Bay (Higgins, 2012). Another key event setting the stage for tourism development was the federal moratorium on the Northern Gulf cod fishery in 1992, which resulted in the largest layoff in Canadian history. The discussions then were about how tourism could be used more effectively for helping to generate employment and, in particular, economically revitalize rural areas of the province (Duff, 2009; Gunn, 1994; Higgins, 2012). Towards these ends, for the remainder of the 1990s and into the 2000s the provincial government invested in cultural tourism events, such as the 500th anniversary of John Cabot's arrival at North America at Bonavista in 1497, the 50th anniversary of Confederation in 1949, and the Viking Millennium at L'Anse aux Meadows. These efforts have likely helped the tourism industry become an increasingly significant economic sector for the province, with annual non-resident visitation nearly doubling from 264,000 to 470,000 arrivals and non-resident expenditures growing from $135 million to $337 million per year between 1992 and 2005 (TCR, 2013).

Yet, despite decades of efforts and investments aimed at unlocking the Newfoundland and Labrador "tourist treasure chest" (Overton, 1996: 42), the province's tourism sector continued to face several challenges, including long travel time and high cost, a short peak season, and insufficient and poor quality tourism infrastructure (TCR, 2008). Towards overcoming these challenges and setting a course for sustainable future growth in tourism, another major effort began in 2006 when leaders from the provincial government's Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation (TCR) and the province's tourism industry association, Hospitality Newfoundland and Labrador (HNL), came together to form a 'vision steering committee'. The committee was tasked with setting a long term vision for the province's tourism industry towards 2020 and quantifying the financial resources required to realize it in a sustainable manner (TCR, 2007). Released in

February 2009, the culmination of the three year process is presented in a document entitled *Uncommon Potential: A Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism*, often referred to as "Vision 2020".

The official announcement of Vision 2020 was welcomed by provincial government and private tourism industry leaders alike. For instance, the tourism minister at the time, Clyde Jackman, stated that "This is not a government vision; not an industry vision, but rather a collective vision", and the then HNL Chair, Bruce Sparkes, referred to the document as a "collective guide" (TCR, 2009, February 6). Pursuant to the overarching goals outlined in the document, the first outcome of Vision 2020 was the formation of the Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Board (Tourism Board in short) in June 2009. In a "true private public partnership", suggested in the document (TCR, 2009: 26), it consists of a Chair, four tourism industry leaders from HNL, five Destination Management Organization leaders, and four senior provincial government leaders. As stated on the Tourism Board's website, the Board's purpose is to ensure that the province reaches Uncommon Potential's main target of doubling annual tourism revenues to $1.6 billion by 2020 (www.uncommonpotential.com).

Since the release of the Vision 2020, HNL has launched a Tourism Assurance Program designed to elevate standards of tourism services throughout the province (HNL, 2013) and major investments from the private sector have been committed, including $200 million for infrastructure upgrades of the St. John's International Airport (St. John's Airport Authority, 2012). Meanwhile, given that Vision 2020's main target is revenue driven, the most significant milestone since its release was arguably the announcement that annual tourism revenues surpassed $1 billion for the first time in 2011.

However, despite the efforts and optimism described above, a question remains about whether Vision 2020 and its goals can be achieved and sustained. For instance, based on projections made by the Tourism Board in 2010, just one year prior to the 2011 billion dollar milestone, revenues were calculated to be 5.2% lower than needed to reach the main target of $1.6 billion in revenues by 2020 (NLTB, 2010). In addition, a 2012 report by the Canadian Tourism and Human Resource Council forecasts severe labour shortages in the tourism sector, with an estimated 2,054 tourism jobs in the province (11% of all tourism jobs) to be unfilled by 2020 (CTHRC, 2012) and the 2013 provincial budget contained a $4 million cut to the TCR's tourism marketing budget (from $13 million to $9 million) and the elimination of $4 million in funding for the Department Innovation, Business and Rural Development's provincial Air Access Strategy (March 27, 2013, nlndpcaucus.ca).

It is proposed here that three years into the ten year plan presents a timely opportunity to examine how Vision 2020 has progressed and to illuminate what may need to be reconsidered in order to increase the likelihood of its fulfillment. According to interactive governance theory (Kooiman et al., 2005; Chuenpagdee & Jentoft, 2013), understanding what happened during the pre-implementation stage of any development plan, and whether stakeholders share priorities and aspirations associated with it, can help reveal limitations and opportunities in realizing its goals. Based on this premise, the thesis examines the processes that led to Vision 2020 as well as the stakeholders' values, images and principles underlying it. In particular, three overarching questions guide the research: What took place during the pre-implementation and development stage of Uncommon Potential? What values, images and principles were deliberated and included in the Uncommon Potential document and why, and were any excluded and why? What can be

learned from these analyses that may be useful in influencing change with respect to how tourism stakeholders interact, set goals and work towards a vision?

1.2 THEORETICAL GROUNDING: INTERACTIVE GOVERNANCE

Like many other concepts, governance has several definitions. There is broad agreement, however, that governance encompasses the level and manner in which power and authority is exercised, not only by governments, but also by non-governmental institutions, including the private sector and civil society (Berkhout et al., 2001). Interactive governance, in particular, places strong emphasis on understanding interactions among public and private stakeholders involved in various governing roles, and who may hold a broad range of interests and levels of authority (Kooiman, 2003; Kooiman et al., 2005). It is through these interactions that solutions to societal problems and opportunities to improve governance may be found.

In tourism, governance often cuts across numerous policy domains with stakeholders who hold a variety of interests and priorities (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). As such, the holistic perspective offered by interactive governance provides a useful lens for examining the complexity and dynamics of tourism governance. Moreover, in line with a worldwide "shift from centralized, top-down management to co-management and community-based approaches" in natural resource governance (Chuenpagdee, 2011: 197), a similar phenomenon has been observed in tourism since the 1990s, described as a "gradual shift in approach in tourism policy literature from the notion of government to that of governance" (Hall, 2011: 1).

In accordance with the definition, "the whole of interactions taken to solve societal problems and to create societal opportunities; including the formulation and application of principles guiding those interactions and care for institutions that enable and control them" (Kooiman et al., 2005:

17), interactive governance adopts the perspective that governance is multi-dimensional and both analytic and normative. This dissertation draws from the interactive governance theory's assertion that the potential strengths and weaknesses of a particular strategy, in this case Vision 2020, may be illuminated by examining both the processes that led up to its establishment, or a "step zero" analysis (Chuenpagdee & Jentoft, 2007), and stakeholders' values, images and principles that underlie it. The following sub-sections bring further clarity to these ideas.

STEP ZERO ANALYSIS

A key aspect of governance that is often overlooked in a planning process relates to how goals are set, and by whom. The interactive governance perspective argues that decisions made about stakeholder representation, rules of participation, and how stakeholders communicate may influence how things later evolve (Chuenpagdee & Jentoft, 2007). This is partly based on the theory of path dependency which posits that early decisions can influence the direction of a process and that initial moves in one direction can elicit, or restrict, further moves to that same direction (Kay, 2005; Mahoney, 2000).

Referred to as a 'step zero' analysis, this form of examination promotes understanding the dynamic nature of policy formation processes by paying particular attention to how stakeholders interact among themselves, in certain environmental settings, and within the context of rules, regulations and other institutional arrangements that frame their interactions (Chuenpagdee & Jentoft, 2007). Once various interactions are understood, synergies can be created that would help to enable stakeholders to work in concert towards a common goal. In addition to revealing factors that may foster or prohibit progress, an account of what occurred before and during the development stages, as told by different stakeholders, also provides insights into their perception

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of the vision and of their role and involvement. Any difference in perceptions among stakeholders groups, if exists, invites further investigation since it may be a source of contention preventing the vision from succeeding. Specifically, the step zero examines the state, conditions and drivers at the time an idea was introduced, the inspiration and conception of the idea, its initialization and communication, the participants that were engaged (and not engaged), and the processes involved in its preparation and adoption (Chuenpagee & Jentoft, 2007).

In tourism, interactions and relationships exist between various public, private and non-profit volunteer institutions and policy domains (Bramwell, 2011; Bramwell & Lane, 2011). These interactions are potentially more complex when a strategy aims to enhance the sustainability of a tourism destination because stakeholders are likely to have diverse views about what should be addressed and prioritized. Despite the relatively little attention given to the pre-implementation phase in tourism literature (Hall, 2011), there appears to be broad agreement that tourism strategies should be planned in concert with the planning processes of the entire destination and in consideration of the viewpoints and interests of a broad range of relevant stakeholders (Moscardo, 2008; Ritchie, 1993). An examination of initial stages of policy and planning processes can help reveal where stakeholders come from in their expression of priorities and goals.

STAKEHOLDER VALUES, IMAGES & PRINCIPLES

Interactive governance informs that through analyzing the 'meta-order' elements of governance, i.e. values, images and principles, insights can be gained about stakeholder priorities and aspirations, as well as how they perceive, define and perform their roles (Kooiman, 2003; Kooiman & Jentoft, 2009). The perspective posits that how stakeholders interact and whether they could work collaboratively towards a common goal may be influenced by the types of values,

images and principles they hold. With an emphasis on stakeholder interactions in problem solving, and opportunity creation to improve governance, the interactive governance theory calls for explicit deliberations about what the stakeholders' values, images and principles are, how they may differ, and what may influence them (Kooiman et al., 2008). As such, understanding stakeholders' values, images and principles may provide key insights within the sustainable tourism context given its cross cutting nature (Bramwell & Lane, 2011).

The interactive governance perspective explains that values reveal what stakeholders consider to be important and lay the foundation for moving towards a desirable end-state (Jentoft et al., 2012; Song et al., 2013). Within the tourism literature, values are most often approached from an economic perspective with considerable attention given to issues surrounding tourism value chains (Christian et al., 2011; Mitchell & Faal, 2008; Zhao et al., 2009). Given the narrow breadth of research on values, one major challenge for tourism researchers has been to understand the influence that stakeholder values could have and the insights it might provide (Weiermair & Peters, 2012). Therefore, it has been suggested that new models and frameworks are needed in order to address issues related to other types of values, such as those held by stakeholders with respect to governance (Ryan, 2002).

With respect to images, interactive governance informs that they represent ideas about what is and what should be, thereby providing meaning and direction (Jentoft et al., 2012). Although it is widely accepted among tourism scholars that images of places are "fundamental to the practice of tourism" (Williams, 1998: 172), the majority of research on images has remained focused on how they influence cultural identity, marketing and branding, and expectations that tourists place on a destination (Ashworth, 2004; Bramwell & Rawding, 1996; Kotler et al., 1993; O'Flaherty, 1979; Overton, 1980; 1996; Pocius, 1994; Urry, 1990; Wang & Bramwell, 2012; Yan & Bramwell,

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2008). By contrast, very little research has been conducted on the influence stakeholder images can have on tourism governance. Yet, as argued by interactive governance, the types of images stakeholders hold can significantly influence a group's ability to change, improve and innovate as well as foster "a commitment to the long term" (Jentoft, 2007: 361).

Lastly, interactive governance explains that principles help guide decisions and behaviours of stakeholders in the form of guidelines, rules and codes of conduct, which can be formal or informal (Jentoft et al., 2012). The overarching set of governance principles guiding the tourism industry is generally accepted to be contained within the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, which was officially recognized by the UN General Assembly in 2001 (UNEP, 2003). It calls for tourism to be used as a vehicle for facilitating mutual understanding and respect, individual and collective fulfilment, sustainable development, cultural heritage of mankind, countries and communities, liberty of movement, and the rights of workers. Meanwhile, scholars argue for tourism stakeholders to work together within a common set of principles, such as openness, participation, consultation, dialogue, innovation, coordination, strong leadership, effectiveness, accountability, etc. (De Bruyn & Alonso, 2012).

1.3 METHODS

The study involved a mixed methods approach that can be broken down into three major research steps:

First, in order to understand the context of the Newfoundland and Labrador tourism industry, a variety of secondary data sources about Newfoundland and Labrador tourism, and more specifically sources related to the Uncommon Potential document, were examined. These included media and advertisements, newsletters, meeting summaries and workshop outcomes, industry and

government reports, and other related documents. Statistics, particularly from the Travel Survey of Residents of Canada (TSRC) and Newfoundland and Labrador's Exit Survey Program, were compiled and analyzed to examine how tourism data are collected, and what they represented.

Second, interviews were conducted from January to February, 2013 with key Newfoundland and Labrador tourism stakeholders about the processes that led to Vision 2020. The interviews aimed also at understanding their values, images and principles and opinions on the province's tourism industry. A total of 18 people were interviewed, including four groups of stakeholders, i.e., eight members of the vision steering committee, two consultants involved in the drafting of the document, four tourism stakeholders who participated in the consultation process, and four other stakeholders not involved in the process. According to the province's industry association, the vision steering committee consisted of ten members; nine were successfully contacted and invited to participate with eight agreeing to be interviewed. Of the tourism stakeholders who participated in industry consultation workshops and meetings, but were not involved in the drafting process, a snowball technique was used to select interviewees, based on recommendation by members of the first two groups. The same approach was used to identify four other tourism stakeholders not involved, either in the consultation process or at all in the drafting of Uncommon Potential. Of the total 18 interviews, 13 were conducted in-person while five were conducted via telephone. A funnel structure was employed to organize the interview questions, by starting from general questions and gradually progressing toward more focused questions specific to the research (Hay, 2005).

Third, in order to identify how stakeholder values, images and principles are addressed in tourism literature, a scan of journal articles using ISI Web of Knowledge was conducted in March 2013. The journal article scans used the search words "tourism" AND "governance" OR

"management" AND, depending on which meta-order element being searched, "values", "images", or "principles" respectively. The lists of values, images and principles created from the journal article scan were used as a baseline to examine what values, images and principles existed within the Uncommon Potential document and key informant interview transcripts. Corresponding to the interactive governance system perspective, these three sets of values, images and principles are compared to see their alignment with each other.

1.4 THESIS ORGANIZATION

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter one describes the study's inspiration and purpose, the theoretical framework informing it, and methods used. Chapter two begins with a brief background about Newfoundland and Labrador's geography, history, and present-day economy, followed by an overview of international tourism and the province's tourism industry. Chapters three and four are prepared as academic journal articles entitled *Vision 2020 for Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism: Uncommon Potential or Unabated Optimism?* and *Whose Vision is Vision 2020? How Newfoundland and Labrador's Tourism Industry Plans Their Future,* respectively. The first article has been accepted for publication by the Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Management and the second article will be submitted to the European Journal of Tourism, Hospitality and Recreation; both have been formatted in accord with the journals' requirements. The final chapter, chapter five, provides a general discussion and conclusion, with suggestions for the Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Board and recommendations for further study.

1.5 CO-AUTHORSHIP STATEMENT

The two papers (Chapters three and four) share co-authorship with the supervisor. The candidate is the principal author, having formulated research questions, conceived the study design, collected and analyzed primary and secondary data, and prepared initial drafts. The supervisor provided advice and comments at all stages and the preparation of final manuscripts incorporated critical input and editorial suggestions of the supervisor.

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CHAPTER TWO: NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR TOURISM

This chapter provides the context for the study. It begins with a brief background about Newfoundland and Labrador's geography, history and its present-day economy. This is followed by an overview of international tourism and the province's tourism industry, both pre and post-Confederation with Canada in 1949 and with regards to how Uncommon Potential's progress is monitored.

2.1 NEWFOUNDLAND & LABRADOR

GEOGRAPHY

Newfoundland and Labrador is Canada's most easterly province (see Map 2.1). The island portion, Newfoundland, is 111,390 sq km while Labrador is almost three times as large at 294,330 sq km and is located to the northwest of the island. The north-south extent of the province is 46°36'N to 60°22'N. Northern Labrador is classified as a polar tundra climate, southern Labrador has a subarctic climate, while most of the island of Newfoundland has a humid continental climate (Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage: Climate, 2013.).

Map 2.1: Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada

Source: Natural Resources Canada website:
http://atlas.nrcan.gc.ca/site/english/maps/reference/provincesterritories/newfoundland

As of October 2012, the population of the province was 513,555, the vast majority, approximately 94%, of the province's population resides on the island of Newfoundland, of which over half live on the Avalon Peninsula (NL Department of Finance, 2012). The population had been in decline until 2009 when expansion in the economy and increasing employment resulted in net in-migration (Statistics Canada, 2013). As shown in Table 2.1, Newfoundland and Labrador's residents are older than the Canadian median of 40.6 years of age and unemployment is higher than the national average of 7.4%. As such, generating employment and forecasted labour shortages are concerns for the province.

Table 2.1: Newfoundland & Labrador's demographics.

Population in 2012	513,555
Population density per square kilometer	1.4
Median age of the population	41.7 (40.6)
Unemployment rate (%)	12.5% (7.4%)
Total Gross Domestic Product:	$33.6 Billions

Note: Figures in parentheses are the national figures.

Source: NL Department of Finance (2012)

HISTORY

The island of Newfoundland is the earliest known European point of contact in North America. Historians estimate that around 1000AD approximately 100 Vikings led by Leif Erikson settled for one decade at the location presently known as L'Anse aux Meadows at the tip of the Northern Peninsula (Fagan, 2005). Five centuries later, in 1497, John Cabot would rediscover Newfoundland and claim it for England in the community presently known as Bonavista. For the next 500 years, the fishing industry, particularly the cod fishery, would define the island's identity (Rowe, 1980). The abundance of fish attracted English, French, Portuguese and Spanish fishermen. Initial settlements were non-permanent and solely fisheries based.

By 1824, Newfoundland was granted representative government and in 1832 it was officially declared a colony by Britain (Rowe, 1980). A great deal of development followed in the form of new schools, roads, shipping, postal services, and centralized water supplies (Duff, 2009). Attempts to diversify Newfoundland's economy included mining developments, such as in Tilt Cove in 1864, and the construction of the Newfoundland railway which began in 1881. After its

completion in 1898, the railway, also known as "The Newfie Bullet", would become a cornerstone of efforts to market the province to potential investors and tourists (Rowe, 1980).

During World War I, Newfoundland offered support to Britain with approximately 8,500 men; nearly 7,000 in the Newfoundland Regiment and Forestry Corps, the remainder in the Royal Navy. The War brought about an economic boom on the island as the price of fish rose (Bélanger, 2004). However, with the end of the war, many businesses failed and the economy experienced a sharp decline. Moreover, the Great Depression of the 1930s had a disastrous impact on the prices of Newfoundland's exports and self-government was suspended as Britain stepped in to financially support Newfoundland (Rowe, 1980).

During the 1920s, the long-standing territorial dispute between Québec and Newfoundland over Labrador was resolved. In 1922, Canada and Newfoundland agreed to ask the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London to decide the location of the boundary between Canada and Newfoundland in the Labrador Peninsula. Newfoundland traced its claim of ownership to the commission issued to Governor Thomas Graves in 1763, which extended his jurisdiction to the coasts of Labrador. Canada argued that a royal proclamation later that year merely placed the territory under the governor's care and inspection for fishing purposes. The judicial committee refused to accept Canada's contention that 'coast' meant a strip of land one mile (1.6 km) wide along the seashore. It found that the evidence supported Newfoundland's inland claim as far as the watershed line or height of land. The court's decision in March 1927 settled the boundary in its present location (McEwen, 1980).

The onset of World War II in 1939 resulted in yet another short term economic boom from 1940 to 1945 (Walden, 2003). In the War's aftermath, Canada and Britain discussed Newfoundland becoming a Canadian province. On July 22, 1948, a referendum was held and the

option to join Canada won by 7,000 votes with 52.3% voting for Confederation with Canada and 47.7% for Responsible (independent) Government. On March 31, 1949, Newfoundland officially became the tenth Canadian province (Blake, 2004). Given the narrow margin of victory the result of the referendum has been a spark for Newfoundland nationalism, which is reflected in both the province's arts community and its cultural tourism industry (Bannister, 2003; Malone, 2012).

Decades of poverty and underdevelopment followed Newfoundland's Confederation with Canada (Overton, 1978). Declines in the fishing industry encouraged the provincial government to respond by abandoning fishing villages on the periphery (Seymour, 1980). Beginning in 1954, a 'Centralization Program', also known as 'resettlement', began to move Newfoundlanders from the smaller outport communities to existing larger and more accessible communities. By the 1970s, approximately 30,000 rural inhabitants had been relocated with one-third of communities abandoned (Sider, 2003).

In 1979, an oilfield, Hibernia, was discovered 315 kilometers offshore from St. John's. Two more oilfields, White Rose and Terra Nova, were subsequently discovered during the 1980s (Miller, Jr. & Hackett, 2008). The optimism created by these discoveries was met with tragedy in 1982 with the sinking of the Hibernia offshore oil rig, the Ocean Ranger, in which 84 people perished (Duff, 2009). Yet, Newfoundland continued to pursue the potential of the offshore oil and secured a joint federal-provincial management of the oil resources in 1985 (Major, 2001).

In July 1992, the federal government declared a moratorium on groundfish fisheries. By then, once-plentiful fish stocks had dwindled to dangerously low levels and officials feared they would disappear entirely if the fisheries remained open. Known as the "cod moratorium", 30,000 people, or 12% of the province's labour force, lost their employment indefinitely, in Canada's largest layoff in history. However, due to an energy resources boom, the provincial economy has seen a

significant turnaround in recent years. Unemployment rates decreased, the population stabilized, and revenue surpluses have rid it of its status as a 'have not' province (McCarthy, 2011, December 17).

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY

The economy of Newfoundland and Labrador had been based on fisheries throughout its history. However, after the Northern Gulf cod fisheries moratorium in 1992, tourism was considered one of the most viable alternatives, expected to help fill the employment void (Overton, 2007; Duff, 2009; Higgins, 2012). Nevertheless, it is still largely the resource extraction industries that dominate the Newfoundland and Labrador economy (Duff, 2009).

Since first oil flowed from the Hibernia project in 1997 provincial gross domestic product (GDP) has grown at an average annual rate of 3.6%. It is estimated that approximately half of this growth was directly attributable to oil and gas production. The growth of the oil and gas industry has been driven by large infusions of investment, representing 29% of total capital expenditures in the province since 1997 (Department of Finance, 2012).

The provincial government's Economic Review 2012 reports that the goods-producing sector accounts for 55.6% of GDP, with the rest coming from the services-producing sector. Over the next decade, it also forecasts medium to strong growth in GDP and most other economic indicators are expected to post solid gains. According to Department of Finance (2012), the province's largest industries in terms of GDP are oil extraction (32.7%), finance, insurance, real estate and business support service (10.8%) and mining (10.4%). The largest sources of employment are health care and social assistance (15.7%), retail trade (14.6%), and public administration (8.8%).

Combining the sectors of information, culture and recreation (3.4%) with accommodation and food services (5.6%) gives an approximation of the tourism industry's contribution to employment (9%). The most recent statistics indicate that the direct contribution of all tourism activities to the economy is approximately $300 million, or 1.1% of the province's GDP. It generates annual revenues of approximately $1 billion, supports 12,730 jobs and attracts 504,000 non-resident visitors per year (TCR, 2012; TCR, 2013).

2.2 TOURISM

INTERNATIONAL TOURISM

The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2012) defines international tourist arrivals as international cross-border travelers arriving to destinations by land, sea or air. Between 1950 and 2012, international tourism increased from 25 million to 1 billion arrivals (OIC, 2006; UNWTO, 2012). As one of the world's largest and most dynamic industries, tourism currently generates approximately $6.1 trillion, or 9% of global GDP, and provides more than 235 million jobs, or 8% of global employment (www.wttc.org). However, given its exponential growth, as early as the mid-1970s the "potential negative impacts of tourism were being considered" (Berno & Bricker, 2001: 2). Early critiques explored the negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism (e.g. deKadt, 1979; Young, 1973), and into the mid-1980s further concerns were raised over its effects on the environment.

Following the release of the World Commission on Environment and Development to the UN General Assembly's report, *Our Common Future*, in 1987, tourism scholars began to consider the implications of tourism with respect to the three components of the 'sustainable development' concept, namely environmental, social and economic. The overarching theme linking policies on

sustainable development is that it may be best achieved by striking a balance between economic benefits and minimizing negative environmental and societal impacts on future generations (Brundtland Commission, 1987; Garrod & Fyall, 1998; Janusz & Bajdor, 2013; UNEP, 2003). Throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s, the broad global direction of policies related to sustainable development were set at international summits, such as those held in Rio (1992), Kyoto (1997), Johannesburg (2002), Copenhagen (2009), and Durban (2011), with the role of tourism recognized in several non-binding international agreements (UNWTO, 2012) (e.g. the Quebec Declaration on Ecotourism, 2002; the UN Conference on Trade and Development São Paulo Consensus, 2003; the National Geographic Society's Geo-tourism Charter, 2004; declarations of the T.20 meetings, including the Johannesburg Communiqué, 2010, Buyeo Declaration, 2010, Paris Declaration, 2011 and Merida Declaration, 2012). However, this is not to suggest that a universal definition of 'sustainable tourism' has been adopted. In fact, it is generally agreed that modifications are required depending on the context and stakeholders involved, who often have different priorities, interests and conceptions of how to apply the sustainable tourism concept or what it should look like in their local environments (Berno & Bricker, 2001).

Governments generally play a crucial role in implementing sustainable tourism initiatives as they may be in a position to offer incentives to alter behaviour (Bramwell, 2011). Indeed, without government interventions, sustainable tourism may be reliant on voluntary actions or self-regulation, which does not always work since some actors may not respond positively. This is especially pertinent because tourism competes on a global to local scale with other industries for land, labour, capital, water, energy, etc. Therefore, it is very possible that a thriving tourism sector could undermine other sectors with which it interacts and thereby, potentially, carry the "seeds of their own destruction" (Manning, 1998: p. 7). Hence, successful sustainable tourism development

may only be achieved if thoughtfully planned for and governed in consideration of the broader environmental and social implications (Hall, 2000; Nelson et al., 1993).

NEWFOUNDLAND & LABRADOR TOURISM

Pre-Confederation

The completion of the railway across the island of Newfoundland and the opening of scheduled ferry routes to Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, in the 1890s played an important role in the expansion of the tourism industry (Ashworth, 2004; Rowe, 1980). Travel journalists, like Norman Duncan, also helped promote tourism with his books and essays about outport life, which he dubbed "the real Newfoundland" (O'Flaherty, 1979; Seymour, 1980). One of the first government organized tourism events was the Old Home Week held in August 1904, which attracted approximately 600 expatriate Newfoundlanders (Saugeres, 1992). Songs and promotional materials emphasized Newfoundland pride and identity, and Governor Sir Cavendish Boyle (1901-1904), who had composed a patriotic song The Ode to Newfoundland[1], wrote another for the occasion entitled Avalon is Calling. Meanwhile, a variety of publications, such as The Newfoundland Guide Book (Prowse, 1905), depicted Newfoundland as "Another World Next Door" (Overton, 1996) that was both easily accessible, yet far enough away to provide a safe haven, or "sanatorium for... brainworkers" (Harvey, 1900: 4). These images resonate with the 'therapeutic movement' occurring globally at that time (Lears, 1981; Schmitt, 1969). One such example can be found in a Reid Newfoundland Company (owners of railway) 1910 publication, which described Newfoundland with the following imagery:

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[1] Ode to Newfoundland is the provincial anthem of Newfoundland and Labrador.

After a few weeks near the coast, inhaling the salt sea breezes and exposed to the life-giving sun's rays, the invalid who has come with shattered nerves and fluttering pulse, returns with a new supply of iron in his blood and a sense of well-being that makes it a luxury to live and breathe the pure air of Terra Nova. (4-5)

During the first two decades of the 20th Century, the majority of visitors to Newfoundland and Labrador, those who were not expatriates, ranged from the upper middle class to the very wealthy from Canada and the United States who came to fish and hunt (Duff, 2009). In an effort to further capitalize on the demand for wild game, the Newfoundland government passed a series of laws that largely protected caribou as a tourism resource by limiting local residents' access (Overton, 1980). Tourism's economic significance would continue to grow into the 1920s with the formation of the Newfoundland Tourism and Publicity Association in 1925 (Seymour, 1980). During this period, promotions linked Newfoundland to more well-established tourist destinations, describing it as "the Norway of the New World," which bore "a striking resemblance to the Highlands of Scotland" (from Higgins, 2012, citing Newfoundland Railway Company, 1929: 8, 9).

The momentum and optimism surrounding the economic potential of the tourism sector was captured by Joseph R. Smallwood[2] in his 1931 publication, *The New Newfoundland: An Account of the Revolutionary Developments which are Transforming Britain's Oldest Colony from "The Cinderella of the Empire" into One of the Great Small Nations of the World*. In a chapter dedicated entirely to tourism entitled "American Tourists Discover Newfoundland", Smallwood begins as follows:

Escaping somewhat the malignant grip of her age-old inferiority complex, Newfoundland eight or ten years ago suddenly awoke to the realization that she was not such a bad place after all – particularly when it came to scenery, climate and general outdoor attractiveness. With the awakening came the realization that there must be hundreds of thousands of Americans

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[2] Joseph R. Smallwood would become Newfoundland's first premier after Confederation with Canada in 1949, serving until 1972.

and Canadians who would appreciate the beauties of Newfoundland – and would pay for the privilege – if only they could be brought to know about them. (52)

Smallwood notes that in 1930, 9,000 non-residents were visiting Newfoundland and Labrador annually and contributing approximately $900,000 to its economy. He would further predict that these numbers would represent "no more than a mere beginning" and that "within a few years the annual totals will have reached 25,000 tourists with an expenditure within Newfoundland each year of $50,000,000" (62).

Alas, no one could have predicted the devastating impact of the Great Depression and WWII on the Newfoundland and Labrador tourism industry, as well as the world. But, in the aftermath of the War, promotional efforts similar to those that had been used in the past became common place again. For instance, late-1940s advertisements in magazines, such as the Atlantic Guardian, encouraged expatriate Newfoundlanders to "make their greatest contribution to Newfoundland in the indirect form of money spent during visits home" (In Overton, 1996: 134). The following excerpt from an advertisement entitled "I Want My Son to Know and Love Newfoundland, too", called upon Newfoundland women who had married American soldiers during WWII, to return home for a visit with their children:

> The lad was born in the United States. Good schools, a high standard of living, fine opportunities in a great and rich country – these things were his by right of birth. But to his mother, who was born in Newfoundland, that was not enough. She wanted him to see and know her forbears and his, the folks back home who, knowing few of the amenities of modern life, had toiled through difficult times and developed sturdiness of character and resourcefulness. She wanted him to see the headlands and the bays of Newfoundland, to feel the thrill and the strength of the sea, to discover for himself that life for his ancestors had been a constant challenge... so the lad's mother took him "home" in the summer, and he learned to know and love Newfoundland as she did. (in Overton, 1996: 135)

Post-Confederation

Soon after Newfoundland entered Confederation with Canada in 1949, developing tourism infrastructure became a central focus of Premier Smallwood's government (Higgins, 2012; Overton, 1996). In 1950, the province commissioned a report by the Director of the Canadian Government Travel Bureau, Leo Dolan, who predicted that Newfoundland could become a "mecca for travellers from all parts of the world" (Overton, 1996: 27). With this, the province marketed itself to a middle-class market, which had grown following World War II (Higgins, 2012; Overton, 1996; Seymour, 1980).

In the decades that followed, investments were made in infrastructure needed to grow the province's economy making further expansion of the tourism industry possible. In 1965, motorized tourism was enhanced with the completion of the Trans Canada Highway (TCH) across the island of Newfoundland (Higgins, 2012). Coinciding with the opening of the TCH, in 1966 the provincial government invested in a Come Home Year for expatriate Newfoundlanders to return home and witness the developments that had taken place (Sparkes, 2012). By 1968, a regular summer ferry service began operation between Argentia and Nova Scotia, and Air Canada provided services from St. John's, Gander, and Stephenville, with regular flights to Halifax, Sydney, Montreal, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver. Then, with the establishment of a provincial Department of Tourism in 1973, the province's natural heritage was promoted were a number of national and historical parks introduced (e.g. Gros Morne National Park, 1973, Port au Choix National Historic Park, 1974, L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Park, 1977).

Efforts aimed at presenting an authentic and compelling tourism product continued throughout the 1980s, and the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment in Newfoundland (1986) optimistically concluded that in spite of many real barriers, "golden hordes will head for the province if the right formula is applied... only imagination and good promotion hinder" the

province (140). By the end of the 1980s, Cape Spear's lighthouse had been restored, several Norse dwellings were reconstructed at L'Anse aux Meadows and on Labrador's southeast coast archaeological work was attracting tourists to Red Bay (Higgins, 2012). However, 1992 marked a significant turning point in the history of Newfoundland and Labrador, and its tourism industry. The cod moratorium announced that year would set the stage for discussions about using tourism as a tool for helping to further diversify the province's economy, and in particular to help revitalize rural areas. In line with these efforts, HNL invited renowned tourism planning expert, Clare Gunn, to lead a series of tourism workshops in the province (Gunn, 1994).

During the 1990s, cultural tourism became an important economic asset, as the province prepared to celebrate the 500th anniversary of John Cabot's arrival at North America. The provincial government invested heavily in the event, and festivities included plays, concerts, conferences, and a visit from Queen Elizabeth II. Its centerpiece was the voyage from Bristol, England, to Bonavista, Newfoundland, by a replica of Cabot's ship, the Matthew. The province estimated that 69,000 visitors injected $51 million into the local economy and the American Automobile Association named Cabot 500 the most important tourist event in North America of 1997. Following Cabot 500, the government supported other large-scale cultural events in the coming years, including the 50th anniversary of Confederation in 1999, the Viking Millennium in 2000, and Cupids 400 in 2010 (celebrating the 400th anniversary of John Guy's arrival at Cuper's Cove in 1610). Meanwhile, Labrador tourism received a boost in 2005, when Parks Canada established the Torngat Mountains National Park (Higgins, 2012).

These efforts appear to have helped the tourism industry become an increasingly significant economic sector for the province after the cod moratorium. From 1992 to 2005, annual non-resident visitation rose from 264,000 to 470,000 arrivals and non-resident expenditures grew from

$135 million to $336.7 million per year (TCR, 2013). Given its increasing economic importance, the Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Marketing Council (Marketing Council) was formed in 2003, described by the tourism minister at the time, Julie Bettney, as an "opportunity to work cooperatively and enhance decision-making in promoting and marketing our province" (TCR, 2003, September 25). The Marketing Council helped to successfully lobby the provincial government to commit to increasing the TCR's tourism marketing budget, which under the premiership of Danny Williams, increased from $6 million (2004) to $13 million (2011) (TCR, 2013). Indeed, these funds helped to facilitate the launch of the province's most successful tourism marketing campaign to date, Find Yourself Here, in February 2006[3].

Vision 2020: monitoring progress

The release of the Uncommon Potential document in 2009 provided the province with another vehicle to promote tourism. With the mandate of doubling annual tourism revenues from $790 million to $1.6 billion by 2020, the Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Board is faced with several challenges, one of which is related to ways to monitor that things are on track.

Generally speaking, the Tourism Board measures progress towards its goal through data obtained from two surveys (Exit Survey Program and Travel Survey of Residents of Canada). The Exit Survey Program is conducted by the provincial government of Newfoundland and Labrador in order to collect information about non-resident visitors[4]. In non-survey years, the Consumer

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[3] As of 2013, 16 commercials have been released has part of the Find Yourself Here campaign, which have garnered over 170 awards globally (Krashinsky, 2013, January 21).

[4] Non-resident traveler data has been collected by the provincial government through the Exit Survey Program since 1980.

Price Index (CPI) is included in the calculation and annual indicator data from Marine Atlantic and provincial airport authorities is blended with information from the most recent exit survey (TCR, 2013). The most recent survey conducted in 2011 included data collected at two air-exit points (St. John's International Airport and Deer Lake Airport) and two auto-exit points (Port Aux Basques and Argentia ferry terminals). The time periods used to collect data at the respective exit points involved 12 months at both St. John's and Deer Lake Airports, six months at Port Aux Basques ferry terminal and four months at Argentia ferry terminal. Approximately 21,300 respondents participated in the survey.

Resident traveler data is collected through the Travel Survey of Residents of Canada (TSRC), which is co-sponsored by Statistics Canada, the Canadian Tourism Commission, the provincial and territorial ministries of tourism, the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, the Department of Canadian Heritage, and Parks Canada. As of 2005, the TSRC[5] has been conducted as a voluntary supplement to the Labour Force Survey (LFS)[6] (Statistics Canada, 2013). The data from the TSRC provide an understanding of the travel habits of the residents of Canada, with specific interests in information on same day and overnight trips and the characteristics of Canadians who travelled during the reference period. This includes details on the duration of the trip, type of accommodation, reason for the trip, mode of transportation, expenditures, etc. and general demographic information. According to its website, Statistics Canada suppresses estimates of the TSRC if responses are below 500 in Newfoundland and Labrador (Statistics Canada, 2013).

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[5] TSRC replaced the Canadian Travel Survey conducted from 1979 to 2004.

[6] LFS is a monthly household survey of approximately 54 thousand households that provides official estimates of employment and unemployment in Canada.

According to the Exit Survey Program and TSRC, combined non-resident and resident revenues were $790 million in 2007. In order to reach the revenue target of $1.6 billion in 2020, initial projections by the Tourism Board based on 2007 data determined that annual spending growth would need to increase at a rate of 5.5% with proportional contributions to total tourism revenues from resident and non-resident travelers at 55% and 45%, respectively (NLTB, 2010). However, actual growth between 2007 and 2010 was 5.2% ($48.1 million), lower than projected[7]. Due to this disappointing result, recalculated projections suggest that revenues need to increase at a higher rate of 6% annually, from 2010 to 2020, with the same proportional contributions from resident and non-resident travelers (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Projected annual revenue growth required to reach main target, based on actual percentage contributions from resident and non-resident tourists in 2007 and 2010.

	Revenues ($M)		
	Resident	Non-resident	Total
2007 Actual	$432.3	$357.4	$789.7
2010 Actual	$468.0	$410.6	$878.6
2020 Projected	$868.7	$710.7	$1,579.4
Initial projected annual growth required % (based on 2007 data)	5.5%	5.4%	5.5%
Revised projected annual growth required % (based on 2010 data)	6.4%	5.6%	6.0%

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[7] It can be reasonably assumed that as global tourism revenues fell by 9.4% during the financial crisis of 2007/2008, potential non-resident visitation to the Newfoundland and Labrador could have been negatively affected as well.

Given that Vision 2020's main target is revenue driven, arguably the most significant milestone since its release was the announcement that annual tourism revenues surpassed $1 billion for the first time in 2011. However, in February 2013 the TCR announced that Exit Survey Programs conducted prior to 2011 were "less-accurate" than those later ones conducted using a newer methodology (MacEachern, 2013, February 22). As explained by the tourism minister, "We changed everything in the queue in how we count people, because obviously you can't count every single one" (MacEachern, 2013, February 22). The changes are also noted on the TCR's website, acknowledging them as "a break in the historical series" (TCR, 2013). For example, non-resident visitation in 2010 was over-estimated to be 518,000, with the TCR re-estimating that the number of visitors would have been approximately 460,000, "had the new survey method been used at the time" (MacEachern, 2013, February 22).

With respect to its resident traveler data, the 2011 TSRC also underwent a significant change of methodology. Statistics Canada describes this change as of a "sufficient magnitude" that will require "bias adjustment factors, imputation and significant changes to the TSRC tabulation system" (Statistics Canada, 2013). As explained on Statistics Canada's website, based on preliminary findings, users of the data should anticipate changes in the volume and value estimates for 2011 relative to previous years that are beyond the ones expected because of economic or demographic changes. Indeed, the changes to the TSRC's methodology also appear to have had implications for Newfoundland and Labrador data tabulations with significant increases in the number of trips and revenues generated by its residents between 2007 and 2011. For example, the data reveals that intra-provincial trips by the residents of the province stood at 2.7 million in 2007

and increased to 4 million in 2011. Meanwhile, total resident travel revenues show an increase from $432.6 million to $580 million over the same four year period.

The described changes suggest uncertainty and unreliability related to the estimates used to initially set Uncommon Potential's revenue target and data used to measure progress towards it. Therefore, the statement by the provincial tourism minister in February 2013, "Clearly, we're well on our way to achieving the target we set out for ourselves in the Uncommon Potential document" (MacEachern, February 22, 2013), may be premature. Indeed, through further examination of the vision, about how and why it was developed and what it entails, a deeper understanding about its purpose, influence and progress made thus far, may be provided.

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CHAPTER THREE:
VISION 2020 FOR NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR TOURISM:
UNCOMMON POTENTIAL OR UNABATED OPTIMISM?

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In early 2006, a group of public and private stakeholders began developing a vision and strategy for the Newfoundland and Labrador (Canada) tourism sector. Released in 2009, the document entitled Uncommon Potential: A Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism (Vision 2020) is the culmination of this effort. It includes seven strategic directions and sets as its main target a doubling of annual tourism revenues by 2020. According to the 'step zero' analysis, questions about whose idea it was to develop the document, how it was put together and who were included and excluded in the process are critical in determining its potential in achieving set goals. Drawing from 18 key informant interviews and a review of secondary sources, we learn that the processes involved in creating Uncommon Potential may have helped to enhance the influence of private industry tourism stakeholders in formal decision making processes, while marginalizing other relevant groups. The paper suggests that certain decisions, particularly those made at the very beginning, may need to be reconsidered in order to increase the likelihood of fulfilling the document's overarching vision.

Keywords: Step zero analysis; sustainable tourism; pre-implementation stage; Vision 2020; Newfoundland and Labrador.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Tourism planning occurs in a number of forms, structures, scales and timeframes, and for the most part, has extended beyond economics to include broader environmental and socio-cultural concerns (Hall, 2001). Yet, despite general agreement among tourism scholars about the importance of understanding the processes involved (Hall, 2000; 2001; Nunkoo & Smith, 2013; Richins & Pearce, 2000; Romeril, 1988; Smith, 1994a; 1994b), literature on what happens before and during the 'development' stages of a process is relatively limited. However, the 'path

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dependency' theory suggests that what happens at the early phase generally determines the outcomes of the process (Kay, 2005). Thus, Chuenpagdee and Jentoft (2007) argue for a critical examination of the 'step zero' or the pre-implementation stage of governance decisions, such as the promotion of co-management of natural resources or the establishment of marine protected areas. Because potential strengths and weaknesses of a particular strategy may be understood by examining the processes that led up to its establishment, the analysis of the pre-implementation stage might help to determine what could have been done better and pinpoint what may need to be adjusted in order to achieve set goals (Chuenpagdee et al. 2013).

The step zero analysis aligns closely with the 'interactive governance' perspective (Kooiman, 2003; Kooiman et al., 2005), which promotes understanding the dynamic nature of policy formation processes paying particular attention to how stakeholders interact among themselves, in certain environmental settings, and within the context of rules, regulations and other institutional arrangements that frame their interactions. By understanding how stakeholders interact with other groups, and with governing actors, synergies can be created that would help to enable stakeholders to work in concert towards a common goal. In tourism, interactions and relationships exist between various public, private and non-profit volunteer institutions which cut across numerous policy domains (Bramwell, 2011; Bramwell & Lane, 2011). Examining these interactions becomes increasingly important, and potentially more complex, when a strategy aims to enhance the sustainability of a tourism destination because stakeholders are likely to have diverse views about what should be addressed and prioritized.

Throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s, the broad global direction of policies related to sustainability was set at international summits, such as those held in Rio (1992), Kyoto (1997), Johannesburg (2002), and Copenhagen (2009), with the role of tourism recognized in several non-

binding international agreements (UNWTO, 2012). The overarching theme linking international agreements on sustainable tourism is that it may be best achieved by striking a balance between maximizing economic benefits and minimizing the negative environmental and societal impacts of tourism (UNEP, 2003). In line with this global trend, Newfoundland and Labrador has recognized the increased demand for sustainable tourism approaches that aim to preserve the natural and cultural heritage of a destination. For instance, Overton (1996) explains that the promotion of a 'new' form of tourism began by the province during the 1990s, which marketed not only its natural beauty, but also a combination of its cultural heritage and traditional way of life. Followed from that was a milestone document outlining the vision of the province with respect to its efforts toward developing a sustainable tourism industry with "far-reaching economic, social, and cultural benefits" (TCR, 2009: 17).

Entitled Uncommon Potential: A Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism, the document was developed over a three year period by stakeholders from the provincial government's Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation (TCR) and the province's tourism industry association, Hospitality Newfoundland and Labrador (HNL). Released in February 2009, Uncommon Potential provides a ten-year blueprint to help transform how "government and industry work together" (TCR, 2009: 25) and sets as its main target a doubling of annual tourism revenues from $790 million to $1.6 billion by 2020. However, a general review of tourism statistics, studies and media conducted for this study raised questions about whether the vision and its goals can be achieved. For instance, based on projections made by the Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Board (NLTB), in 2010 revenues were 5.2% lower than needed to reach the 2020 target (NLTB, 2010). In addition, severe labour shortages in the province's tourism sector

are forecasted with an estimated 2,054 tourism jobs (11% of all tourism jobs) to be unfilled in 2020 (CTHRC, 2012).

By employing a step zero analysis, the authors are interested in understanding how the potential for achieving the overarching goals of the document could be increased and to suggest possible reasons for why some of its aims may have fallen short during the first 3 ½ years of implementation. The following section provides an overview of interactive governance as a theoretical grounding for the study. Thereafter, the methods are described, followed by a brief overview of Newfoundland and Labrador tourism. The findings of the step zero analysis are presented, with discussion. The authors then conclude with some suggestions to improve the implementation of Uncommon Potential.

3.2 THEORETICAL GROUNDING

Governance is a concept that has been promoted as an alternative to resource management (Chuenpagdee et al., 2013). Although no single accepted definition of governance exists, there is broad agreement that governance reaches beyond government and management by encompassing the level and manner in which power and authority is exercised, not only by governments, but also non-governmental institutions, including the private sector and civil society (Berkhout et al., 2001). This implies a shift in governing efforts from problem solving to institutional arrangement and principle setting. Interactive governance, in particular, recognizes diversity, complexity, dynamism and scales as key characteristics of both the system that is being governed, and the governing system, which need to be properly understood in order to design appropriate institutions and successfully implement them (Jentoft & Chuenpagdee, 2009). It also places a strong emphasis on understanding interactions among public and private stakeholders involved in various

governing roles, who may hold a broad range of interests and levels of authority (Kooiman, 2003; Kooiman et al., 2005).

In accordance with the definition, "the whole of interactions taken to solve societal problems and to create societal opportunities; including the formulation and application of principles guiding those interactions and care for institutions that enable and control them" (Kooiman et al., 2005: 17), the concept applies well to the tourism industry, which cuts across numerous policy domains with stakeholders who hold a variety of interests and priorities (Bramwell, 2011; Bramwell & Lane, 2011). In addition, the argument made by Chuenpagdee (2011), that interactive governance emphasizes and captures a worldwide "shift from centralized, top-down management to co-management and community-based approaches" in natural governance (197), resonates with the phenomenon observed in tourism. As noted by Hall (2011), citing Beaumont & Dredge (2009), Greenwood (1993), Hall (1999), and Yuksel et al. (2005), "since the 1990s, there has been a gradual shift in approach in tourism policy literature from the notion of government to that of governance" (1).

One key aspect of governance relates to how goals are set, and by whom, as much as how plans are drafted and implemented. Chuenpagdee & Jentoft (2007) argue that many things happen prior to goal setting, which can determine the outcome of any planning exercise. Their argument is partly based on the theory of path dependency, which asserts that early decisions can influence the direction of a process, and that initial moves in one direction can elicit further moves in that same direction (Kay, 2005; Mahoney, 2000). Referred to as a 'step zero' analysis, it calls for an examination of the state, conditions and drivers at the time an idea was introduced, the inspiration and conception of the idea, its initialization and communication, the participants that were engaged (and not engaged), and the processes involved in its preparation and adoption. In addition to

revealing factors that may foster or prohibit the planning process, an account of what occurred before and during the development stages as told by different stakeholders also provides insights into their perception of the vision and of their role and involvement (Chuenpagdee & Jentoft, 2007). Any difference in perceptions among stakeholders groups, if exists, invites further investigation since it may be a source of contention preventing the vision from succeeding.

3.3 METHOD

The step zero analysis was conducted in two parts. First, a variety of secondary sources about Newfoundland and Labrador tourism, and more specifically sources related to the Uncommon Potential document, were examined. These included media and advertisements, newsletters, meeting summaries and workshop outcomes, industry and government reports, statistics, and other related documents. Second, key informant interviews were conducted from January to February, 2013. The interviewees included four groups of people, i.e., members of the vision steering committee, consultants involved in the drafting of the document, tourism stakeholders who participated in the consultation process, and other stakeholders not involved in the process. According to the province's industry association, the first group comprised of ten members, nine of which were successfully contacted and invited to participate with eight agreeing to be interviewed. Two consultants were involved in the drafting of the document at different stages and both of them were interviewed. Several tourism stakeholders participated in industry consultation workshops and meetings, but were not involved in the drafting process. Four of them were interviewed for the study based on recommendation by key informants in the first two groups. Similarly, the snowball technique was used to identify four other tourism stakeholders who were neither involved in the consultation process nor in the drafting of Uncommon Potential. Of the

total 18 interviews, 13 were conducted in-person while five were conducted via telephone. A funnel structure was employed to organize the interview questions, by starting from general questions and gradually progressing toward more focused questions specific to the research (Hay, 2005).

3.4 BRIEF HISTORY OF NEWFOUNDLAND & LABRADOR TOURISM

The recognition of tourism as potential generator of economic development in Newfoundland and Labrador can be traced back to the late 1800s (Seymour, 1980). Ashworth (2004) explains that the construction of the railway and the opening of the scheduled ferry routes to Cape Breton, Nova Scotia in the 1890s allowed for the expansion of tourism on the island. Prior to Newfoundland and Labrador's Confederation with Canada in 1949, visitors ranged from the upper middle class to the very wealthy. After that period, however, the province marketed itself to a middle-class population, which had grown in the aftermath of World War II (Higgins, 2012; Overton, 1996; Seymour, 1980).

Newfoundland and Labrador's first premier was Joseph R. Smallwood. During his premiership (1949-1972), Smallwood's policies focused on the modernization of education and transportation for the purposes of attracting foreign investment (Overton, 1980). As part of these efforts, tourism was embraced as a means of diversifying the province's economy (Higgins, 2012). For example, in 1950, Smallwood's government invited the Canadian Government Travel Bureau to review and recommend ways to expand the province's tourism industry. The report predicted the province would become a "mecca for travellers from all parts of the world" in five to ten years, if it could develop tourism infrastructure, an effective advertising campaign, and a tourist consciousness among Newfoundlanders (in Overton, 1996: 27).

In 1965, motorized tourism was enhanced with the completion of the Trans Canada Highway (TCH) across the island of Newfoundland (Higgins, 2012). Coinciding with the opening of the TCH, in 1966 the provincial government promoted a Come Home Year for expatriate Newfoundlanders to return to the island and witness the developments that had taken place (Sparkes, 2012). By 1968, a regular summer ferry service began operation between Argentia and Nova Scotia, and Air Canada provided flights from Halifax, Sydney, Montreal, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver to St. John's, Gander, and Stephenville. A year after the Smallwood era ended, a provincial department of tourism was established (Higgins, 2012), and by the mid-1980s non-resident visitors to the province had surpassed 250,000, spending approximately $100 million annually (TCR, 2012).

In 1992, a federal moratorium on the Northern Gulf cod fishery brought about further attempts to diversify the province's economy. As one of the sectors considered for helping to create jobs after the moratorium (Duff, 2009), the provincial government provided financial support to large-scale cultural tourism events, such as Cabot 500 (1997), the 50th anniversary of Confederation (1999), and the Viking Millennium (2000) (Higgins, 2012). In addition, the province's tourism industry association, HNL, invited renowned tourism planning expert, Clare Gunn, to lead a series of workshops in the province. Gunn's report highlighted several strengths and weaknesses of the tourism sector, noting that the province had a solid foundation for the industry to grow in the areas of natural, cultural, and human resources, but needed greater resource protection, better information and promotion, and improved transportation (Gunn, 1994).

These efforts appear to have helped the tourism industry become an increasingly significant economic sector for the province after the cod moratorium. From 1992 to 2005, annual non-resident visitation nearly doubled from 264,000 to 470,000 arrivals and non-resident expenditures

more than doubled from $135 million to $336.7 million per year (TCR, 2013). However, despite these gains, Newfoundland and Labrador tourism continued to face several of the same challenges it had in the past, including long travel time and high cost, a short peak season, and the insufficient amount and poor quality of tourism infrastructure (TCR, 2008).

As a way to address the situation, a tourism strategy steering committee of representatives from the TCR and HNL came together in 2006 to, "create a vision for the industry for the long-term" (Tourism Times, Fall 2006: 4). The group was mandated to set the province's tourism vision towards 2020 and quantify the financial resources required to grow the industry in a sustainable manner (TCR, 2007). Their effort resulted in Uncommon Potential, which was released in February 2009. Among other things, the document sets as its main target a doubling of annual tourism revenues from $790 million to $1.6 billion by 2020.

3.5 STEP ZERO ANALYSIS OF UNCOMMON POTENTIAL

3.5.1 STATE, CONDITIONS & DRIVERS

Initiatives involving multiple stakeholders do not arise in a vacuum (Chuenpagdee & Jentoft, 2007). Typically, such decisions are made based on a collective issue or concern that needs to be addressed. In the case of Newfoundland and Labrador, the state of the province's tourism industry could be described as possessing economic momentum in 2006 given the gains in visitation numbers and revenues in the years following the cod moratorium from 1992 to 2005. In addition, TCR's tourism marketing budget increased for five consecutive years, from $3.9 million in 2001 to $8 million in 2005 (TCR, 2013). Clearly, then, the industry was not in any major trouble and thus the Uncommon Potential document was not driven by a particular crisis.

Further examination revealed, however, that the tourism industry was considered by public and private tourism stakeholders to be in a precarious situation, with persistent overarching challenges. As one vision steering committee member described:

> It was a constant challenge to get here and (*air*) transportation was an issue... The other challenges that were there is the human resources factor, one being the number needed and the second was the skills and leadership training needs and that was reflected... Looking at leadership, that is still very much a challenge. Looking at the product development side of it...you have to be constantly improving them.

Overall, three reasons were identified as possible sources of vulnerability for the tourism industry, i.e., the lack of a vision for the future, absence of an investment plan that quantified the financial resources needed to develop the industry, and private industry's frustration concerning their marginal influence with respect to overarching issues in decision making processes.

Interestingly, when asked specifically about how and why the steering committee came together, several members of the committee referred to the Newfoundland and Labrador Marketing Council (marketing council) as a forerunner. Formed in 2003, the marketing council was described by the tourism minister at the time, Julie Bettney, as an "opportunity to work cooperatively and enhance decision-making in promoting and marketing our province" (TCR, 2003, September 25). However, although the marketing council was the most significant tourism public private partnership in the province, the council's mandate frustrated its private industry members because it did not grant the authority to address the broader concerns and problems facing the province's tourism industry. For instance, a steering committee member recalled:

> It wasn't that there was anything wrong with the council, the problem became over time that most of the industry people that had been sitting on that committee felt that its mandate needed to be broader because this committee was only mandated to deal with marketing.

Indeed, of the aforementioned reasons, several of the key informants who sat on the steering committee emphasized that it was the absence of authority to address broader concerns and

problems facing the province's tourism industry as a main driver for the initiation of the process that resulted in the Uncommon Potential document. The understanding was that increasing their role in the governance of the province's tourism sector could facilitate discussions about solutions to other overarching issues.

3.5.2 PEOPLE BEHIND THE IDEA & ITS CONCEPTION

Dialogue regarding the tourism industry's need for a long-term vision began in early 2006 (Tourism Times, Fall 2006). According to key informant interviews, Newfoundland and Labrador's premier at that time, Danny Williams, and the director of HNL held a meeting during which HNL leadership expressed frustration over private industry's lack of influence in broader decision making processes and called on the premier to increase investments in the tourism sector in recognition of its importance. As described by one committee member:

> Industry made a presentation and had a conversation with the premier. And, there was no concrete plan to give to government to show what they wanted to do, here's what is needed and here is the money required. Basically, it was Williams who said that, 'when you got a plan come back to me'.

Thereafter, a tourism strategy steering committee of leaders from TCR and HNL was assembled consisting of three officials from TCR and four HNL representatives. Key informants who sat on the committee noted that members were invited by TCR and HNL leadership based on their reputations as innovative and influential operators within the province's tourism industry. As one committee member explained, "It wasn't inclusive in the sense of making sure that there was someone from that sector and this sector. It was bringing together those in industry and government who were the best in the tourism sector." But, questions were raised by some members of the committee from private industry about how much authority the group had to fulfil its mandate.

One committee member from private industry explained, "I didn't represent anything or anybody other than my business."

The expectations surrounding the potential outcomes and opportunities to be created by the strategy planning process were laid out in a request for proposals (RFP) document created by the tourism strategy steering committee and finalized in February 2007. Goals outlined in the RFP involved the development of a strategic plan that would offer a collective vision and quantify the financial resources and investment required to implement it (TCR, 2007). In addition, the RFP listed eight strategic issues facing the province, including: ensuring the total visitor experience; product development strategies; marketing; sustainable workforce; research; technology; transportation and access, and; partnerships. These strategic issues would establish topics for discussion during the province wide consultations in November 2007 which would closely resemble the seven strategic directions included in Uncommon Potential.

3.5.3 INVOLVEMENT & PARTICIPATION OF STAKEHOLDERS

As discussed above, the steering committee of leaders from TCR and HNL was originally assembled with four HNL representatives and three officials from TCR. The four HNL representatives were formally asked to join the committee by HNL and TCR leadership. With respect to the TCR's membership on the committee, developing the tourism strategy was delegated to the assistant deputy minister for tourism, the director of tourism marketing, and the director of tourism product development. However, as will be further discussed, certain tourism groups feel marginalized by not being invited to serve on the committee.

The company that won the 'request for proposal's' bidding process was AMEC Earth and Environmental (AMEC), an international consultancy company, with an office in St. John's, chosen . The head consultant for the AMEC consulting team was familiar to both public and private

tourism industry stakeholders having served in several prominent provincial government positions through the 1980s and 1990s, such as Commissioner of the Economic Recovery Commission formed after the cod moratorium and as assistant deputy minister of tourism in the mid-1990s.

The committee held its first meeting with AMEC in August 2007 beginning a six month pre-vision strategy process that included meetings and interviews with industry stakeholders, tourism-related industry organizations, and government representatives, as well as province-wide industry consultation workshops (Tourism Times, September/October 2007. Over a two week period in November 2007, in consultation with the committee, the consultant organized 13 workshops and two meetings with industry stakeholders throughout the province at which a total of approximately 190 tourism stakeholders participated (AMEC, 2007). A variety of locations were chosen to hold the industry consultations and these choices were geographically based to ensure that a wide variety of industry representatives had the opportunity to raise concerns and discuss solutions. However, it is important to note that although consultations were meant to be as inclusive as possible, they aimed specifically at tourism stakeholders. As explained by a former member of the committee, "We invited tourism people. That's an important point. If this is a vision for Newfoundland and Labrador tourism then let's bring the tourism stakeholders primarily into these sessions, and with all due respect to everyone else."

Based on the industry workshops and meetings, and in line with the responsibilities outlined in the RFP, the consultant produced a Strategic Tourism Plan for Newfoundland and Labrador in December 2007. However, committee members interviewed explained that the document did not meet their expectations with respect to providing the vision and insights needed to address challenges facing the industry. Moving forward, the committee decided that the document would not be released to the public.

By this time, the committee, now called the vision steering committee, had added three additional stakeholders from the private sector (HNL) to participate. These new members had also been asked to participate based on their reputations within the industry as leaders. However, the committee struggled to develop a second version of the document, using the original consultant's research, with one of the members explaining that "Probably the reason we stumbled along was that nobody was sure what we were doing... It took us awhile to get our legs under us." After holding monthly meetings throughout 2008, in the autumn of that year the committee made the decision to hire a new consultant with a marketing background to help finalize a document with the intention of releasing it publically.

3.5.4 CONSULTATION PROCESSES & ISSUES

According to the Strategic Tourism Plan for Newfoundland and Labrador: Industry Consultation (AMEC, 2007), and based on the key informant interviews, at the beginning of each workshop and meeting, a representative of the consulting team delivered a presentation. The purpose of the presentation was to familiarize participants with the competitive international climate by presenting examples of best practices of 12 leading tourism destinations as well as to establish the topics of discussion for the workshop. After the presentation, participants met in discussion groups to determine the most important issues that the province must overcome in order to improve the tourism industry. The groups were also asked to offer potential solutions to the problems.

Based on key informant interviews with committee members and stakeholders who participated in the consultations, as well as the aforementioned industry consultation report, issues raised during the workshops included, limited marine and air access, low quality of workforce and accommodations, lack of internet technology usage, limited amount of research on existing visitors

and target markets, lack of market awareness and limited marketing funds, poor protection of natural resources and environment, insufficient infrastructure such as signage and stop-over sites, lack of governmental support for services outside of St. John's, and no investment strategy (AMEC, 2007). As will be later discussed, several of these issues would be incorporated into the Uncommon Potential document through its seven strategic directions.

Drawing from the results of the research conducted by the original consultant, according to a committee member, the new consultant "wound up re-jigging (*reworking*) it to being a more visionary document." It was during the final drafting of the document that the consultant employed a consensus approach, requiring that all members of the vision steering committee agreed on each point before moving forward. According to committee members interviewed, if a member of the committee could not support a particular part of the document that the other members had agreed upon, then that member would self-withdraw from the drafting process and vision steering committee. Of the ten members of the vision steering committee who participated in 2008, one member withdrew during the finalization of the document.

3.6 DISCUSSION

On face value, it seems that the main intention of the Uncommon Potential is to provide a collective vision for the Newfoundland and Labrador tourism industry towards doubling tourism revenues by 2020. The step zero analysis reveals, however, that the main drivers of the process included private industry's push for broader influence in decision making and for increased investments in the industry. This initiated a process that included the formation of the tourism strategy steering committee, the hiring of the consultant and province-wide industry consultations. Drawing from the findings of the step zero analysis, two key points deserve further deliberation.

First, concerns expressed by committee members about not possessing the authority required to fulfill the aims set out in the RFP. Second, decisions surrounding who was invited and who was not invited to formally participate in the document's drafting may have led to the marginalization of a key stakeholder group.

<u>Authority</u>

The main goals outlined in the RFP were the development of a strategic plan that would offer a collective vision and quantify the financial resources and investment required to implement it (TCR, 2007). While the first goal was realized, the decision was made by the committee that the tourism investment plan would be one of the first tasks of the Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Board (NLTB), formed following a recommendation in Uncommon Potential. The delay in formulating the financial and investment plan is puzzling, since it went against recommendations in several previous documents (e.g. Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Marketing Strategy Review: Final Report, 2002; A Special Place, A Special People: the future for Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism, 2004; and Creative Newfoundland and Labrador: The Blueprint for Development and Investment in Culture, 2006).

One potential avenue to understand why certain aims were not achieved is to consider the authority of stakeholders involved in the process (Chuenpagdee et al., 2013). Although some members of the original tourism strategic steering committee participated in the meeting with the premier, and later invited certain stakeholders to join the vision crafting process, concerns related to the authority that the committee members possessed to fulfil the goals outlined in the RFP did come up in the study. For instance, one committee member remembered discussions about, "just how far in the weeds do you go and how much meat is on the bone (*to what extent*)... there was only ten of us in the room." In addition, some of the committee members from private industry

recalled contention over the types of suggestions and ideas that could be discussed during the meetings, with one explaining that, "government employees would push back and explain to us what is not possible", and another adding:

> (*There were*) certain things that government were sensitive about... and they certainly didn't want us to have the ability to say that "you said you were going to do that", right? That's why this became a vision and not an operating manual.

Comments by some committee members also suggest that the decision to not develop the investment plan may have led to contention over whether the choice of doubling tourism revenues was an appropriate goal for the Uncommon Potential document. As explained by one committee member, "If we are going to double revenues by 2020...you need to have an investment plan."

Participation

When developing a strategy for a destination's sustainable development, the views of all relevant stakeholders who typically hold diverse interests and priorities must be considered (Richie, 1993). Understanding how these stakeholders interact can help to create synergies that would enable stakeholders to work in concert towards the vision. However, Sautter & Leisen (1999) emphasize caution with respect to underestimating the complexity involved in deciding which stakeholders to invite to participate, noting that such choices are often limited to the most obvious, such as tourists, and private and public tourism representatives. Their caveat echoes the first of Freeman's (1984) key concepts of stakeholder theory, which requires planners to have a full appreciation of all stakeholders who have interests in the planning, processes, delivery and outcomes.

The process taken to develop the Uncommon Potential document was participatory. The several workshops and meetings organized by the consultant, held throughout the province was a good testimony of this. Although concerns raised during these consultations may have been

influenced, to some extent, by issues presented to the workshop participants, it seems that issues brought up by the stakeholders were properly considered. Indeed, the seven strategic directions (private public leadership; sustainable transport network; market intelligence and research strategy; product development; tourism technology; marketing our brand, and; developing our workforce) in Uncommon Potential reflect these. Notable changes in the final strategic directions, compared to those listed in the RFP before the province wide consultations include 'marketing our brand' (as opposed to 'marketing') and 'developing our workforce' (instead of 'sustainable workforce'). Respectively, the former emphasizes the need for the industry to work together and market itself as one entity, while the latter suggests that efforts were needed in order to improve the workforce in terms of training and quality, as well as meeting labour demands. In addition, according to key informants interviewed for the study, the final version of the strategic directions is widely believed to have provided a vision for the tourism industry that was lacking before 2009. As one committee member described, "we are now strategically aligning all of our focus in the same way", while another informant, who was not formally involved in the drafting but participated in the industry consultations, commented, "having worked in rural tourism for a number of years, the industry was fragmented... but I think that (*presently*) we are all singing from the same page."

However, although the inclusion of a wide range of participants in the industry consultation process could be understood as one of the vision's strengths, a question needs to be raised about stakeholders who did not participate in the document's drafting. For instance, a review of government documents and interview transcripts found that non-profit volunteer groups were considered by public and private stakeholders as playing a fundamental role in the province's tourism industry, both before and during the process (TCR, 2002; 2003; 2006a; 2006b). Yet, as

revealed by the step zero analysis, non-profit volunteer organizations were not engaged in the formal drafting of Uncommon Potential. While they may have participated in the industry consultations, they did not have a seat on the vision's steering committee.

The absence of a non-profit volunteer organization on the committee is significant, considering that the decline in volunteer base was noted as a serious challenge for the industry. For instance, the TCR's Annual Report 2005-2006 states that a "severe decline in the volunteer base is creating difficulties in maintaining quality products and services in rural areas" (TCR, 2006: 18). Although reasons for the absence of the non-profit volunteer organizations could not be determined in the context of the study, inclusion and exclusion of certain stakeholder groups depends largely on who conceived the idea, who were the key drivers behind the initiative and who set agenda (Chuenpagdee and Jentoft, 2007).

Indeed, it is impossible to determine whether inviting a member from a non-profit volunteer organization to sit on the committee would have had an impact on increasing volunteer numbers for the tourism industry. However, not doing so may have been a strategic miss. As suggested by the key informant interviews, some non-profit tourism organizations feel that they "don't have a voice" to ensure that their concerns and priorities are being considered, with one committee member reflecting:

> As time goes on, I think about the tourism groups that are not-for-profits. That sector is big in tourism along with the profit sector. We spend more time, typically, with people who are in business than the not-for-profit... but it is always challenging marrying the not-for-profit with the profit.

The absence of the non-profit tourism organizations also seems to be pertinent to choice of the economically driven main target of the Uncommon Potential document. As echoed by one key informant from private industry not involved in the process:

Number one is the volunteer side of things. It is more difficult and they are typically older and all of sudden they are saying that they want "a little more time for me" now. Also it is harder to get the volunteers because there is so many steps, you need to get a letter of conduct and reference, where is years ago you could put your hand up. Plus, we have got a different culture, youth today are very self-centered and absorbed, versus 'I want to help the outside world', so that's a really big challenge. That's a real challenge. In order for the tourism in this province to survive and sustain you've got to have that volunteer base. That's a real threat by 2020.

3.7 CONCLUSION

Several studies suggest that the success of a tourism destination requires the commitment by all stakeholders to work in concert towards a common goal (Hall, 2000; Richins & Pearce, 2000). Such synergy can be created, not only through facilitation processes and consultation to arrive at a shared vision, but also through understanding how stakeholders interact with other groups, and with governing actors. This paper argues that an attempt to understand stakeholder interactions needs to take place as early as when the idea about creating a common goal was introduced. Following path dependency theory and interactive governance, an examination of what happened during the pre-implementation stage can provide valuable insights for addressing implementation challenges, determining what could have been done better and pinpointing what may need to be adjusted, in order to achieve set goals. Examining these interactions is particularly important when a strategy incorporates sustainable tourism principles, as stakeholders with different interests and priorities are likely to have diverse views about what sustainable tourism really means.

Sustainable tourism calls for long-term strategies that enable the industry to have the capacity to deal with potential adversity. By employing the step zero analysis, this study reveals the importance of addressing challenges at their core, as opposed to applying 'quick fixes' or 'crisis management' type strategies. In particular, insights were provided concerning understanding authority and participation with respect to stakeholder interactions. As shown, putting together an

investment plan may not be as simple as one may think since one of the core reasons for the committee's inability to develop the investment strategy was linked to the absence of authority. In addition, although recognized as an essential stakeholder group, non-profit volunteer organizations were excluded from Uncommon Potential's vision steering committee. Yet giving them a seat in the NLTB may not solve the problem of representation because it is questionable whether the vision that the board is mandated to implement captures what non-profits envision as an ideal future.

In conclusion, the fact that Newfoundland and Labrador's tourism industry has a vision and is working to fulfil it is a positive step. However, different processes can be employed in moving forward in order to generate synergies and strengthen commitment towards the vision's fulfillment. Re-thinking issues surrounding authority and participation provides a place to start towards making the vision more than mere 'unabated optimism', and to improve the province's chances for developing a "sustainable industry with far-reaching economic, social, and cultural benefits reaching benefits" (TCR, 2009: 17). Understanding a variety of other key elements of stakeholder interactions, such as information sharing, community engagement and leadership, is also recommended.

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CHAPTER FOUR
WHOSE VISION IS VISION 2020? HOW NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR'S TOURISM INDUSTRY PLANS THEIR FUTURE

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In line with global trends towards tourism sustainability, a document entitled Uncommon Potential: A Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism (Vision 2020) was released in 2009, as a 'road map' for tourism development in this most easterly province of Canada. Developed over a three year process led by provincial government and tourism industry leaders from the province, the document includes seven strategic directions and sets as its main target to double annual tourism revenues by 2020 to $1.6 billion. Inspired by the interactive governance theory, this study questions whether values, images and principles included in the Vision 2020 document align with those held by key tourism stakeholders. In so doing, the study aims to bring clarity to what the vision entails and whose vision dominates, as well as provide insights about the priorities and aspirations of the different stakeholders involved. The results suggest that although alignment of values, images and principles exists amongst a variety of stakeholders, certain aspects need to be (re)considered for the province to reach its overall tourism goals. These include, among others, paying close attention to the value of "honesty", which was absent from the document, revisiting the appropriateness of the promotion of "ancient/historical" image and enhancing the principle of "environmental conservation" in order to achieve sustainable tourism.

Keywords: Stakeholders' values, images and principles; sustainable tourism; Vision 2020; Newfoundland and Labrador.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Although a singular definition of sustainable tourism has not been adopted (Angelevska & Rakicevik, 2012; Torres-Delgado & Lopez Palomeque, 2012), it is widely agreed that it may be best achieved by striking a balance between maximizing economic benefits and minimizing negative environmental and societal impacts on future generations (Brundtland Commission, 1987; Garrod & Fyall, 1998; Janusz & Bajdor, 2013; UNEP, 2003). Owing to its complex and broad

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[9] Darrell Kennedy designed and conducted research, analyzed data, and wrote the manuscript. Ratana Chuenpagdee provided advice and comments at all stages.

nature, there is general agreement among scholars that sustainable tourism should involve the consideration of all relevant stakeholders' concerns and priorities (e.g. Berno & Bricker, 2001; Bramwell & Lane, 2011; Dodds, 2007; Getz & Timur, 2005; Gunn, 1994; Hall, 2007; Torres-Delgado & Lopez Palomeque, 2012). This has had significant implications on governance, which has emerged as the fourth component of sustainable tourism research, along with the economic, social and environmental components (Hall, 2011; Torres-Delgado & Lopez Palomeque, 2012).

'Interactive governance theory' addresses how the social, economic, environmental, and governance systems interact (Kooiman, 2003). Although this perspective shares some of the fundamental elements and ideas embraced by other governance approaches (Chuenpagdee, 2011), one of its unique qualities lies in the emphasis it places on understanding stakeholders' values, images and principles. It asserts that understanding these meta-order elements may provide insights about stakeholders' priorities and aspirations, as well as how they perceive, define and perform their roles (Kooiman, 2003; Kooiman & Jentoft, 2009). In essence, how stakeholders interact and whether they could work collaboratively towards a common goal depends largely on the types of values, images and principles they hold. Accordingly, values reveal what stakeholders consider to be important and lay the foundation for moving towards a desirable end-state; images represent their ideas about what is and should be, thereby providing meaning and direction; and principles help to guide decisions and behaviours of stakeholders in the form of guidelines, rules and codes of conduct which can be formal or informal (Jentoft et al., 2012; Song et al., 2013).

Within tourism literature, values are often approached from an economic perspective with considerable attention given to issues surrounding tourism value chains (Christian et al., 2011; Mitchell & Faal, 2008; Zhao et al., 2009). Although value chain analysis is an important part of tourism research, it has been suggested that new models and frameworks are needed in order to

address governance issues related to stakeholder values and their influence (Ryan, 2002; Weiermair & Peters, 2012). With respect to images, the majority of research has remained focused on how they influence cultural identity, marketing and branding, and expectations that tourists place on a destination (Ashworth, 2004; Bramwell & Rawding, 1996; Kotler et al., 1993; O'Flaherty, 1979; Overton, 1980; Overton, 1996; Pocius, 1994; Urry, 1990; Wang & Bramwell, 2012; Yan & Bramwell, 2008). By contrast, very little research has been conducted on the influence stakeholders' images can have on tourism governance. Lastly, governance principles are the most widely studied meta-order elements in tourism literature. The overarching set of governance principles guiding tourism is generally contained within the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, which was officially recognized by the UN General Assembly in 2001 (UNEP, 2003. Scholars argue for tourism stakeholders to work together within a common set of principles, such as openness, participation, consultation, dialogue, innovation, coordination, strong leadership, effectiveness, accountability, etc. (De Bruyn & Alonso, 2012).

Within the context of the Newfoundland and Labrador tourism industry, this study aims to show how understanding values, images and principles can enhance planning for sustainable tourism. By examining the alignment of these elements between stakeholder groups, and with the vision document, the study illuminates what may need to be (re)considered in order for the province to reach its overall goals. Towards this end, the following section describes an overview of Newfoundland and Labrador tourism, followed by the methods used to conduct the study. Next, an overview of governance related to values, images and principles in the context of tourism is presented. Then, the values, images and principles considered in tourism literature, included in the province's current vision plan, *Uncommon Potential: A Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism*, and revealed through tourism industry stakeholders interviews for this study, are

compared and discussed when they differ. The final section provides a recommendation about ways forward.

4.2 VISION 2020 FOR NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR TOURISM

In line with the global trend towards sustainability, Newfoundland and Labrador, the most easterly province of Canada, has recognized the increased demand for sustainable tourism practices. Since the Northern Gulf cod fisheries moratorium in 1992, the province began to increase its efforts to utilize tourism to generate employment and revitalize rural areas by promoting a combination of natural attributes and cultural heritage (Overton, 1996). Following this shift is a document entitled *Uncommon Potential: a Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism* (also referred to as Vision 2020), which provides directions and sets goals for future tourism development in the province. The document was developed over a three year period by representatives of key tourism organizations, i.e., the provincial government's Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation (TCR) and the province's tourism industry association, Hospitality Newfoundland and Labrador (HNL), and involved province-wide industry consultations.

Released in February 2009, Uncommon Potential sets as its main target to double annual tourism revenues from $790 million to $1.6 billion by 2020. To date, this revenue target has functioned as the primary yardstick for measuring the document's progress. For instance, in February 2013, after it was announced that the province's tourism revenues surpassed $1billion for the first time in its history, the provincial tourism minister stated, "Clearly, we're well on our way to achieving the target we set out for ourselves in the Uncommon Potential document" (MacEachern, February 22, 2013). However, a review of the vision and data collected through key

informant interviews conducted for this study revealed that the document's goals and scope are not only about doubling tourism revenues, but also encompass the social, environmental and governance components of the sustainable tourism concept. Indeed, the vision that Uncommon Potential outlines for 2020 is both broad and overarching, propelled by seven strategic directions: private public leadership; sustainable transport network; market intelligence and research strategy; product development; tourism technology; marketing our brand, and; developing our workforce. For the most part, these other aspects have not received adequate attention, thus the proclamation by the tourism minister may be premature.

4.3 METHOD

Data informing this study was collected in three steps. First, in order to understand both the historical and current context of the Newfoundland and Labrador tourism industry, a variety of secondary sources about Newfoundland and Labrador tourism, and more specifically sources related to the Uncommon Potential document, were examined. These included media and advertisements, books, newsletters, meeting summaries and workshop outcomes, industry and government reports, statistics, and other related documents.

Second, key informant interviews were conducted from January to February, 2013 for the purposes of understanding tourism stakeholders' values, images and principles and opinions on the province's tourism industry. The interviewees included three groups of people, i.e., members of the vision steering committee, tourism industry stakeholders who participated in the consultation process, and other stakeholders not involved in the process. According to the province's industry association, the first group consisted of ten members, nine of which were successfully contacted and invited to participate with eight agreeing to be interviewed. Of the

tourism stakeholders who participated in industry consultation workshops and meetings, but were not involved in the drafting process, four were contacted using the snowball technique based on recommendation by members of the first group, with four agreeing to be interviewed. Similarly, the snowball technique was used to identify and successfully invite four other tourism stakeholders not involved, either in the consultation process or at all in the drafting of Uncommon Potential. Of the total 16 interviews for this part of the study, 11 were conducted in-person while five were conducted via telephone. A funnel structure was employed to organize the interview questions, by starting from general questions and gradually progressing toward more focused questions specific to the research (Hay, 2005).

Third, to provide a basis for identifying stakeholders' values, images and principles within the Uncommon Potential document and key informant interview transcripts, a journal article scan using ISI Web of Knowledge was conducted in March 2013 to compile lists of key values, images and principles occurring in tourism literature. Following the procedures suggested by Song et al. (2013), the journal article scans used the search words "tourism" AND "governance" OR "management" AND "values/images/principles" respectively. For discussion and analysis purposes, the values, images and principles identified in the Uncommon Potential document and interview transcripts were categorized using the interactive governance scheme, i.e. 'governing system', 'governing interactions', 'natural sub-system' and 'socio-economic sub-system'.

4.4 FINDINGS

VALUES

The journal article scan using the search words "tourism" AND "governance" OR "management" AND "values" generated a list of 1002 articles. However, owing to the many

different linguistic connotations associated with the word "value", further screening was performed resulting in 551 articles with values relevant to tourism. These values are grouped into 12 broad categories (Table 4.1), with the most common ones being values related to "ecosystem health", "knowledge" and "wealth".

Table 4.1: Types of values discussed in tourism scholarly literature.

Value identified by journal article scan	Topics discussed within articles
Achievement	Job performance; economic goals; visitation milestones
Appreciation of beauty	Natural beauty; stunning
Ecosystem health	Environmental conservation; impact of water supply; impact on behaviour and protection of animals; waste management
Honesty	Avoiding or stopping corruption and favoritism; ethics and corporate social responsibility; price fairness
Inclusiveness	Public and community engagement; cooperation and public-private-partnership
Knowledge	Understanding tourist motivations and tendencies; knowledge generation and management; understanding tourist expectations and perceptions; education and skills training; demand forecasting; innovation and technology adaptation
Peacefulness	Safety; crime prevention
Secure livelihoods	Impact on livelihoods; subsistence
Self-esteem	Job or career satisfaction; self-respect; dignity
Spiritual well-being	Spirituality; belief; faith
Tradition & culture	Cultural heritage preservation; rural community preservation or renewal; attachment or sense of place
Wealth	Economic development or growth; poverty reduction or alleviation

With the exception of "spiritual well-being", all these value types were also identified through the content analyses of either Uncommon Potential or key informant interview transcripts. As shown in Table 4.2, of these eleven remaining value categories, strong alignment was found between the two sets of data. Interestingly, one value type not found in the Uncommon Potential document, but featured prominently in the interviews was "honesty". When categorizing these

values in accord with interactive governance perspective, most of them fall under 'governing interactions' and 'socio-economic' sub-system, with some overlaps in between (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Value types identified within Uncommon Potential and key informant interview transcripts with aligning interactive governance scheme category.

Value identified by journal scan	Uncommon Potential	Key informants	Interactive governance scheme category
Achievement	✓	✓	Socio-economic
Appreciation of beauty	✓	✓	Natural / socio-economic
Ecosystem health	✓	✓	Governing interactions / natural
Honesty	✗	✓	Governing interactions / governing
Inclusiveness	✓	✓	Governing interactions
Knowledge	✓	✓	Governing interactions / socio-economic
Peacefulness	✓	✓	Governing interactions / governing
Secure livelihoods	✓	✓	Socio-economic
Self-esteem	✓	✓	Socio-economic
Tradition & culture	✓	✓	Governing / socio-economic
Wealth	✓	✓	Socio-economic

Note: Values identified are denoted by a check mark and those not identified by an X.

IMAGES

The journal article scan using the search words "tourism" AND "governance" OR "management" AND "images" produced a list of 321 articles. Of these, 201 were relevant to the topic of tourism images and they were further grouped into 18 types. Several of these images commonly found in tourism governance literature but did not show up either in Uncommon Potential or key informant interview transcripts are included in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Types of images not identified in Uncommon Potential or interview transcripts.

Image types

Ancestry & diaspora
Business friendly
Cuisine
Cultural diversity
Innovative

Lesbian gay bi-sexual & transgender friendly
Medical services
Safety
Service quality
Sports & fitness

A total of eight images were identified within Uncommon Potential and or key informant interview transcripts. As shown in Table 4.4, there is strong alignment between the image types of "general friendliness", "high end", "natural beauty", "rural", "arts and music", and "culture and heritage", but not between the images of "historical" and "urban centre hub". Moreover, and as will be discussed later, certain images identified in the key informant transcripts appear to correlate with whether the informant works in or outside of St. John's as well as the role the informant may have played (or not played) in the development of the Uncommon Potential document. Further, aligning the images by interactive governance scheme category resulted in seven images being linked to the 'socio-economic' category. None of the images were associated with the governing system or governing interaction.

Table 4.4: Images identified within Uncommon Potential and key informants interview transcripts with aligning interactive governance scheme category.

Image identified by journal scan	Uncommon Potential	Key informants	Interactive governance scheme category
Arts & music	✓	✓	Socio-economic
Culture & heritage	✓	✓	Socio-economic
General friendliness	✓	✓	Socio-economic
High-end	✓	✓	Socio-economic
Historical	✓	✗	Socio-economic
Natural beauty	✓	✓	Natural
Rural	✓	✓	Natural / socio-economic
Urban centre & hub	✗	✓	Socio-economic

Note: Images identified are denoted by a check mark and those not identified by an X.

PRINCIPLES

The journal article scan using the search words "tourism" AND "governance" OR "management" AND "principles" produced a list of 323 articles. Of these, 252 were determined to be relevant to the topic of tourism principles. As shown in Table 4.5, of the 19 types of principles identified in the journal article scan, five were not identified in either the Uncommon Potential or interview transcripts.

Table 4.5: Types of principles not identified in Uncommon Potential or interview transcripts.

Principle types
Human welfare & quality of living Mitigation Nature regeneration Precaution Risk management & anticipation

Principles identified by the content analyses of Uncommon Potential and key informant interview transcripts are presented in Table 4.6. With the exception of "transparency", strong alignment was found between principles identified in both data sets. These principles were also aligned according to the interactive governance scheme. As shown, 'governing interactions' principles identified within both Uncommon Potential and interview transcripts include "consensus", "consultative" and "participatory and cooperative". In terms of the 'governing system', aligned principles include, "accountability", "adaptability", "consistency and standards", "efficiency", and "responsiveness". With respect to the 'natural' sub-system, aligned principles include "environmental conservation". Lastly, in the category of 'socio-economic' sub-system, alignment exists between the principles of "cultural and heritage preservation" and "economic viability".

Table 4.6: Principles identified within Uncommon Potential and key informants interview transcripts with aligning interactive governance scheme category.

Type of principle	Uncommon Potential	Key Informants	Interactive governance scheme category
Accountability	✓	✓	Governing
Adaptability	✓	✓	Governing
Community empowerment	✓	✓	Socio-economic
Consensus	✓	✓	Governing interactions
Consistency & standards	✓	✓	Governing
Consultative	✓	✓	Governing interactions
Cultural & heritage preservation	✓	✓	Socio-economic
Economic viability	✓	✓	Socio-economic
Efficiency	✓	✓	Governing
Environmental conservation	✓	✓	Natural
Participatory & cooperative	✓	✓	Governing interactions
Responsiveness	✓	✓	Governing
Subsidiarity	✓	✓	Governing
Transparency	✗	✓	Governing

Note: Principles identified are denoted by a check mark and those not identified by an X.

4.5 DISCUSSION

VALUES

Despite the strong alignment between the values identified within the Uncommon Potential document and the interview transcripts, two observations can be made. First, of the values identified in Uncommon Potential and key informant interviews, "achievement" and "environmental health" were expressed only by stakeholders who were members of the vision steering committee, and not the other groups. Concerning the former, it would be expected that those informants who wrote the vision would emphasize the importance of achieving it. With regards to the latter, it is noteworthy that the health of the ecosystem was not discussed by a wider range of key informants, despite the reliance of several private industry operators on the natural environment for their tourism businesses.

Second, it is particularly interesting that the only value that did not align between those identified in Uncommon Potential and interview transcripts was "honesty". The absence of this value from the vision document is rather puzzling as interview transcripts suggested that a key factor for developing the document was to lessen greed and perceived favoritism by the TCR. As one vision steering committee member described, the vision document provided a much needed plan by which particular ideas and proposals are either considered or ignored. In turn, the document helps to avoid decisions being made for political reasons or according to a key informant from the vision steering committee, based on personal bias. Contrary to this, a wide range of other key informants explained that the relationship between the public and private industry stakeholders on the Tourism Board has now become too "cozy" due to the desire for maintaining good relations which appears to stifle important, but potentially difficult, discussions. As one informant stated, industry should be a "burr under the saddle (*of the government*)." Given the described difference, it is important to note that although values tend to be abstract and ideal (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004), the essence of governance lies in the process in which power dynamics are embedded (Song et al., 2013). Therefore, drawing from interactive governance, which goes beyond calling for explicit deliberations about what stakeholders' values are, but also how they may differ (Kooiman et al., 2008), it is argued here that addressing the different viewpoints about the effect of Uncommon Potential and the Tourism Board are having in relation to "honesty" may help to improve governance.

The interactive governance scheme offers a useful way to understand how tourism governance can be improved and what opportunities exist to facilitate discussion about moving forward. For instance, values such as "honesty" and "peacefulness" are important to foster better interactions between public and private stakeholders, especially in regards to the intended 'bridging' role of

the newly formed Tourism Board mandated to fulfil Vision 2020. Also, "knowledge" cuts across 'governing interactions' and the 'socio-economic' sub-system, providing therefore opportunities for sharing of information between tourism entities as well as training and education, especially in the restaurant and hospitality (service) sectors of the industry. Meanwhile, the values of "wealth", "secure livelihoods" and "tradition and culture" were more related to the 'socio-economic' sub-system, with the latter also aligned with the 'governing' system. This appears to link with one of the underlying reasons for the provincial government's push towards using tourism as a tool to help revive rural communities in the early 1990s, which seems to resonate today through values included in Uncommon Potential and held by a variety of stakeholders.

IMAGES

The findings suggest that there is good alignment between the images included in Uncommon Potential and those held by tourism stakeholders interviewed for the study. However, this does not imply that there must be one unifying image because stakeholders need not necessarily agree on images (Jentoft et al., 2012). What is important is for stakeholders to be aware of which images are present, how they might align or vary, and understand where such images come from and what prospects they hold. Therefore, the two images which did not align deserve further deliberation, namely "urban centre and hub" and "historical".

First, it is noteworthy that several of the informants, including those from and not from St. John's, were quick to describe the capital city when asked about the images associated with tourism and how the province is marketed. For instance, some key informants from St. John's describe images of the city and other larger centres in the province as becoming increasingly more dynamic, with better quality and number of hotels and dining options. As one former vision steering committee member operating in St. John's explained:

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One thing we need to embrace is that a large part of our tourism does happen in St. John's. This is a very, very happening city destination. I mean you can come to St. John's for four days and have every bit as good as a time you could in New York.

However, although stakeholders from outside of St. John's tended to view the image of the capital city as necessary, they explained that it should be used equally with images of rural areas. For instance, some informants thought that St. John's is overused in advertisements, with one stating that "they use a lot of the houses from in there and street and stuff and the harbour". To this point, another stakeholder who owns a business outside of St. John's complained that Destination St. John's, a Destination Management Organization with membership on the Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Board, does not do enough to promote other areas of the province, explaining, "If you look at their website, try to find rural Newfoundland (not there). I take huge exception to that."

Despite these opinions, the subjective nature of images should be reiterated, as they tend to be an interpretation of what is perceived as true (Song et al., 2013). Case in point, a review of the 16 tourism advertisements released from 2006 to 2013 revealed that the majority of them focus on areas outside of St. John's, colloquially known as "outports". In fact, of the 16 advertisements, only three include scenes from St. John's and one focuses solely on it. In addition, a review of the Destination St. John's website identified a variety of tourism products promoted, including a numbers of tours to areas located both in and outside of St. John's. This is noteworthy because, as argued by interactive governance, the types of images stakeholders hold can significantly influence a group's ability to change, improve and innovate as well as foster "a commitment to the long term" (Jentoft, 2007: 361). Therefore, it may be necessary to address the discrepancy surrounding the usage of this image in order to understand why it exists and possibly reconsider what images are being used and how.

Second, the Uncommon Potential document describes that the province possesses an "ancient" history emphasizing that the tourism industry has a role in helping to protect it. Despite this imagery, none of the key informants interviewed for this study referred to the history of the province or a particular historical event when discussing images they associate with it or images used to market the province. This was not only surprising because of the aforementioned language used in Uncommon Potential, but also because major festivals supported by the province have celebrated particular historical milestones (e.g. Cabot 500 (1997) and Viking Millennium (2000)).[10] This may suggest that stakeholders believe that festivals commemorating historical events are becoming less significant or unnecessary.

Lastly, the majority of images pertained to the 'socio-economic' sub-system. This is of interest because despite different views and priorities that exist with respect to sustainable tourism (Angelevska & Rakicevik, 2012; Torres-Delgado & Lopez Palomeque, 2012), this broad alignment may speak to the particular priorities stakeholders interviewed for this study hold (e.g. Berno & Bricker, 2001; Bramwell & Lane, 2011; Dodds, 2007; Getz & Timur, 2005; Gunn, 1994; Hall, 2007; Torres-Delgado & Lopez Palomeque, 2012). For example, several key informants, both from the private sector and those who sat on the vision steering committee, described tourism as a tool to both promote and increase awareness of the province's arts and music community as well as its culture and heritage. This may indeed also provide insights into what stakeholders believe to be the province's competitive strength in the tourism sector. Meanwhile, perhaps as a result of growing wealth in St. John's and other major centres in the province, improved dining,

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[10] Some informants did emphasize the survival of rural areas, using such imagery as "clapboard houses" and "fishing stages". However, overwhelmingly these were described in terms of their scenic quality as opposed to historical significance.

entertainment and shopping options were described as becoming increasingly "high-end" offerings for tourists. As one key informant explained, "I think the restaurants have gotten better, but definitely in the urban areas faster. St. John's now has a great dining scene and Corner Brook, Gander and Grand Falls, amazing actually." The "high-end" image described might speak to a new strength believed to be possessed by the province for attracting tourists, hence its inclusion in the Uncommon Potential document.

PRINCIPLES

Of the three meta-order elements, principles appear to be the most well-articulated concept with respect to tourism governance. Moreover, principles have the most practical applicability compared to either values or images (Kooiman & Jentoft, 2009). In particular, the journal scan conducted for this study suggests that, within tourism scholarly discourse, more emphasis has been given to the principles pertaining to the 'governing system' (i.e. "consistency", "adaptability", and "responsiveness") and the 'natural' sub-system (i.e. "conservation" and "precaution") than 'socio-economic' and 'governing interactions'.

As noted, the importance of principles lies in helping to guide decisions and behaviours of stakeholders in the form of guidelines, rules and codes of conduct which can be formal or informal (Jentoft et al., 2012). It is therefore interesting that several of the principles discussed in tourism literature were not identified within Uncommon Potential or key informant interview transcripts. These principles not identified cover a wide range and link closely to principles associated with natural resource governance. Therefore, due to the overarching sustainable tourism objectives of the Uncommon Potential document, the abundance of outdoor tourism related products in the province, and the aforementioned strong alignment of values such as "ecosystem health" and the

images such as "natural beauty", it is suggested here that natural resource principles, such as "environmental conservation", are potentially very important[11]. Hence, it is suggested here that an "environmental code of conduct to guide all elements of tourism development", as called for in the Uncommon Potential document (TCR, 2009: 35), be drafted and adopted.

In terms of the principles and the alignment between Uncommon Potential and those expressed by the key informants, "transparency" did not appear within the document but was emphasized by a wide range of stakeholders. Similar to the above discussion about the "honesty" value type, some of the vision steering committee members believed that Uncommon Potential has served to enhance transparency, while some of the other stakeholders expressed that the Tourism Board should better communicate how it makes decisions. However, at present, the Tourism Board is not obligated to do so, or provide an annual report or strategic report to the TCR or HNL membership. Addressing this discrepancy may be key to helping to improve governance as scholars argue for tourism stakeholders to work together within a common set of principles, such as openness and accountability, etc. (De Bruyn & Alonso, 2012).

4.6 CONCLUSION

Although there is growing agreement among scholars that sustainable tourism efforts should involve the consideration of all relevant stakeholders' concerns and viewpoints, doing so remains a challenge. Drawing from the interactive governance perspective, this study attempted to identify

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[11] Uncommon Potential calls for the adoption of an environmental code of conduct to guide all elements of tourism development. However, 3 1/2 years into its implication, one industry informant explained that the Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Board "are still in the early stages of looking at this".

the values, images and principles underlying Uncommon Potential and those held by key informants interviewed for this research. In doing so, the study aimed to bring further clarity to what the vision entails and also provide insights about the priorities and aspirations of the stakeholders involved. Also, through comparing the values, images and principles that exist within a particular tourism context with the literature, it was possible to reveal whether particular meta-order elements have been overlooked. For example, and as discussed, given the importance of outdoor products to the Newfoundland and Labrador tourism industry and its sustainable tourism goals, it is particularly noteworthy that several principles closely associated with natural resource governance were not identified within Uncommon Potential or the key informant interview transcripts.

This study suggests that identifying the values, images and principles of the different stakeholders involved in the development of a vision or those affected by it is one means of understanding whether stakeholders' priorities and opinions have been considered and incorporated. However, it is important to reiterate that stakeholders need not agree on all overarching sets of values, images and principles, but rather be aware of which values, images and principles exist, how they might align or vary, whose perspective they reflect, and where they come from. For instance, although the findings of this study suggest that there is good alignment between the values, images and principles included in Uncommon Potential and those held by tourism stakeholders interviewed, further examination revealed that differences can exist with respect to whether a stakeholder operates in or outside of the St. John's area as well as whether the stakeholder sat on the vision steering committee or not. It is recommended here that the miss-matching values, images and principles identified in this study, should be made explicit and

reconsidered, in order to avoid misunderstandings, misinterpretations, and, possibly, confrontation. Such revelation also helps making progress towards sustainable tourism.

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CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Since the early 1990s, the Newfoundland and Labrador tourism industry possessed economic momentum with gains in non-resident arrivals and revenues. It also enjoyed the backing of the provincial government, in the form of financial support for festivals and infrastructure, as well as increases to the tourism marketing budget. Yet, as revealed by this study, the tourism industry was considered by some leading stakeholders to be in a somewhat precarious situation, lacking a clear vision and investment plan for future growth. Private industry stakeholders were also frustrated with their marginal influence in decision making processes on overarching issues. Clearly then, the reasons for how and why the vision steering committee for the future of Newfoundland and Labrador tourism was formed go beyond what is written in headlines and media reports about reaching the $1.6 billion revenue target by 2020.

That Newfoundland and Labrador's tourism industry leaders formed a vision steering committee, facilitated a participatory process throughout the province, and eventually succeeded in drafting and agreeing upon a vision, is ultimately positive. As noted, the official announcement of Uncommon Potential was welcomed by provincial government and private tourism industry stakeholders alike, and several key informants interviewed for this study credit the vision for helping tourism stakeholders "sing from the same page." Nonetheless, through the step zero analysis, along with an examination of the values, images and principles underlying the vision, this thesis brings forth concerns and issues that need to be addressed among private and public tourism stakeholders, and suggest ways to strengthen government's commitment towards the vision's fulfillment.

5.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF STEP ZERO

This thesis attempted to illuminate that through understanding how stakeholders interact as early as when the idea about creating a common goal is introduced, potential solutions and opportunities may present themselves, which could help to enable stakeholders to work in concert. With respect to the Newfoundland and Labrador tourism industry in particular, the step zero analysis identified issues surrounding authority and participation, as areas needing attention in moving Uncommon Potential away from mere unabated optimism.

Authority

At the onset, the development of the strategic plan was to be based on a collective vision about a sustainable tourism future, and aimed to quantify the financial resources and investment required to implement it. However, putting together such a plan was not as simple as what everyone would have liked. As the step zero analysis revealed, one of the core reasons for the vision steering committee's inability to develop the investment strategy was linked to the absence of authority possessed by the stakeholders who drafted the document. The fact that leaders at the TCR and HNL handpicked a group of well-known tourism stakeholders to participate in the committee was not very well received at the end.

Failing to address the issue of authority continues to resonate today among some industry stakeholders. Skepticism about the target of doubling tourism revenues and other remarks from the industry, illustrate that from its creation to its current form, the members of the Tourism Board either do not possess the authority or are unable to exercise authority for preparing an investment strategy. It remains to be seen how the Tourism Board plans to prioritize a 3 to 5 year tourism investment plan, as mandated in Uncommon Potential.

Participation

As shown in the step zero analysis, the complexity involved in deciding which stakeholders to invite to sit on the steering vision committee may have been underestimated by leaders at TCR and HNL. Some members of the committee reflected about how they were invited because of their reputations as innovative and influential operators within the province's tourism industry. The sense of inclusiveness was not there. The decision to not invite a non-profit volunteer organization also raises questions, and has consequences that remain relevant to the present day.

According to sustainable tourism and interactive governance perspectives, challenges need to be addressed at their core, as opposed to applying 'quick fixes' or 'crisis management' type strategies. It is therefore important to reiterate that solving the problem of lack of representation, in the case of non-profit organizations, may not be as simple as giving them a seat on the governing board. It may be necessary to engage with the non-profits in a follow-up process, to revise and/or make additions to the Uncommon Potential document. In doing so, the vision may better reflect the concerns and priorities of the non-profits.

5.2 WHOSE VISIONS COUNT?

Examining the meta-order elements in tourism governance, i.e. values, images and principles, is a new research area. Learning about what values, images and principles occurred in the Uncommon Potential document, and how they aligned or did not align with those of stakeholders, makes it possible to discuss future directions. When these elements are made explicit, misunderstandings, misinterpretations, and, possibly, confrontations, may be avoided. Thus, this facilitates understanding about factors that may prohibit or foster progress. This process not only brought further clarity to what the vision entails, but also illuminated why some of the values,

images and principles were not included in the document, and potential effect that their absence might pose towards reaching its aims.

Values

When the only value that did not align between those identified in Uncommon Potential and interview transcripts was "honesty", some questions need to be raised. If a key factor for developing the document was to lessen greed and perceived favoritism by the TCR, according to interview data, what could possibly be the reason for the omission of honesty in the document? Two points of views emerged in this respect, with some key informants explaining that the document has served to help avoid having decisions being made for political reasons or favouritism. Contrary to this, other key informants explained that with the formation of the Tourism Board the relationship between the public and private industry stakeholders has become too close, stifling open conversations. Therefore, while Uncommon Potential does not specifically address "honesty" (or, other related terms such as "openness" and "transparency"), depending on the stakeholder, it appears that "honesty" might have been a welcomed, yet unintended, outcome of the vision plan, or it has had the opposite effect.

Images

Although the Uncommon Potential document describes that the province possesses an "ancient" history, and emphasizes that the tourism industry has a role in helping to protect it, none of the key informants interviewed for this study referred to the history of the province, or a particular historical event, when discussing images they associate with it or images used to market the province. This was not only surprising because of festivals supported by the provincial government since the early 1990s that have commemorated particular historical milestones, but also because several of the informants described more modern, urban and high-end features of the

province's tourism offering. These latter descriptions seem to contrast with Uncommon Potential's description of the rural and historical qualities of the province, and its positioning of tourism as having a "vital role to play in addressing the challenges of urbanization" (TCR, 2009: 17). This may signal a shift in some tourism stakeholders' opinions about which images should be highlighted in future tourism marketing campaigns, or where they think investments should be focused.

Principles

Despite a strong presence of principles in both Uncommon Potential and the interview transcripts, several principles discussed in tourism literature, particularly those associated with natural resource governance, were not identified within either of these data sets. Given the sustainable tourism objectives of the vision and the abundance of outdoor tourism related products in the province, it is argued here that natural resource principles may be very important. Drafting and adopting an "environmental code of conduct to guide all elements of tourism development", as called for in the Uncommon Potential document (TCR, 2009: 35) will be a step in the right direction.

5.3 CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Setting the main target

As shown in the study, Uncommon Potential's $1.6 billion revenue target is the primary yardstick for promoting and measuring progress made by the Newfoundland and Labrador tourism industry towards 2020. However, it would be misleading to assume that the revenue goal was the purpose for beginning the process that led to Uncommon Potential.

While it is not within the scope of this study to measure Uncommon Potential's progress, there are several reasons to call to question the setting of the main target. The recent changes to the Exit Survey Program and the Travel Survey of Residents of Canada have forced the TCR to adjust previously published official non-resident visitation totals. It is questionable whether the data that existed at the time the main target was chosen was accurate and, therefore, appropriate to use. Moreover, the severe labour shortages forecast in the tourism sector by 2020 and the budget cuts in April 2013 to the province's tourism marketing budget and provincial Air Access Strategy, suggest that the tourism minister's proclamation in January 2013, "Clearly, we're well on our way to achieving the target we set out for ourselves in the Uncommon Potential document" (MacEachern, The Telegram, February 22, 2013), was both premature and overly optimistic. Hence, it may be necessary to re-think how to measure the progress made thus far and moving forward.

Time for a "mid-point check"

The ultimate purpose of Uncommon Potential is to offer a collective vision for the industry to rally around. Concerns have been expressed, however, that many stakeholders remain unaware of the document's purpose and goals, let alone the existence of the vision plan itself.

It is therefore suggested that a study be conducted to determine the awareness of the Uncommon Potential document as well as its influence on private stakeholders and how they earn a living from the tourism industry. Beyond gaining an understanding of the level of awareness of the document and the extent to which it is being used, the research would also provide an opportunity to obtain information and data that could be considered by the Tourism Board before the mid-way point of the plan is reached in 2015. Such an evaluation may not produce the kind of

results that everyone is hoping for. Yet, not doing it would be a lost opportunity, as suggested also

by one key informant:

> I think what's needed is a mid-course check to say, "How are we doing? What have we learned
> that really works for us? What are the things that we really need to keep doing? What are some
> of the things we are doing that are just not working?" It's time for a mid-point check. It's not
> even mid-point, but, I tell ya, if they don't do what they need to be doing today, within the
> next two or three years, the opportunity is lost.

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INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Project Title: A 'New' Newfoundland and Labrador Sustainable Tourism Vision: Uncommon Potential

Researcher: Darrell Kennedy, Memorial University, St. John's.

Contact Information: Darrell Kennedy

> Graduate Student- Memorial University
>
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>
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This is an invitation to participate in research that will lead to my Master's thesis, entitled "A 'New' Newfoundland and Labrador Sustainable Tourism Vision: *Uncommon Potential"*. I am a graduate student at Memorial University, and my research is being funded through *Memorial University* and *the International Coastal Network*.

This consent form is part of the process of informed consent and it is intended to give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about anything included here or other information not included here, please feel free to ask. Please take the time to review this carefully and to understand any other information given to you by the researcher.

It is entirely up to you to decide whether or not to take part in this research. If you choose not to take part in the research or if you decide to withdraw from the research at any time once it has started, there will be no negative consequences for you, either now or in the future. You also do not need to explain or justify your decision.

Introduction:
This research will lead to my thesis, entitled "A 'New' Newfoundland and Labrador Sustainable Tourism Vision: *Uncommon Potential*", which involves an analysis of NL tourism.

Purpose of the study:
This thesis aims to provide valuable insights about NL tourism and its stakeholders, and to help recognize opportunities for addressing challenges, identify trends and shifts and possibly determine whether certain elements could be reconsidered.

What you will do in this study:

As part of your participation in this project, you will be asked to take part in a recorded semi-structured interview in which we will discuss your knowledge and your perspectives on tourism in the province. I will ask you about your tourism background, the development and affect of *Uncommon Potential*, and your views about the NL tourism industry. My study will benefit greatly from the knowledge and information that you contribute.

Length of Time:
It is anticipated that the interview will take approximately one hour, but it may vary depending on how much or how little you have to say about particular topics. You are free to take a break or postpone the interview at any time.

Recording and Storage of Data:
With your permission, your interview will be recorded so that your responses can be reviewed at a later time for clarification and information accuracy. After the interview is over, I may transcribe the recording or parts of it. Both the tape and the transcript will be assigned a numerical code so that it will not be identifiable by others. They will be stored in a secure location at all times, so that nobody who is not authorized by the project can gain access to them. Digital copies of transcripts and interviews will be securely stored on the computer of the researcher in password protected files. I would also like to deposit copies of the interviews in the Folklore and Language Archive at Memorial University of Newfoundland after this project has concluded so they may be used by me or by other researchers who are interested in this information. That data will be retained for a minimum of five years, as per Memorial University policy on Integrity in Scholarly Research. You will be asked whether or not you agree to this at the end of this form.

Confidentiality:
I will do my very best to maintain the privacy of everyone who chooses to participate in this study. I will do everything I can to make sure that the information that you provide remains confidential and I will never quote you by name without first approaching you to formally ask for your permission. I will be sure to keep audio recordings, interview transcripts, and notes taken during interviews in secure locations. As mentioned earlier, both tapes and transcriptions will be assigned a particular numerical code rather than using the name of the person being interviewed.

Anonymity:
I will make every reasonable effort to preserve your privacy and anonymity as a research contributor. The information I collect will be used for my thesis, academic publications, reports, and presentations and/or workshops and will *not* include the names of the contributors, unless permission has been granted by those individuals. Instead, I will use pseudonyms in subsequent publications or presentations. I will also disguise any information that could lead to you being easily identified by others, such as your specific position at your place of work. You must recognize, however, that I cannot guarantee that some of the information you provide will not lead to your contribution being recognized by people who know you well or know the position that you hold. It is always possible that some participants may be identifiable to other people, despite the best intentions of the researcher.

Possible harms and risks:
Very little harms are likely to occur in the course of the project. The one possible source of risk is the potential that quotes or other information may appear in publications and other research outputs could lead to certain individuals being identified, thereby compromising their anonymity and confidentiality. This could have serious secondary consequences, as it could lead to sensitive information being revealed, thus putting those individuals in difficult social positions and/or bringing about psychological or financial stress. I take this concern very seriously and will take measures to reduce this risk to the greatest extent possible, through the use of codes to identify recordings and transcriptions, the use of pseudonyms in subsequent publications or presentations, and the secure storage of data at all times.

Possible Benefits:
This research will have some practical potential benefits. I hope that participation in this research will not only be enjoyable for those who take part, but will also provide them with an opportunity to have their knowledge and opinions documented and, possibly, for those perspectives to have some bearing on future policy decisions. The examination could provide valuable insights about the province's tourism industry and stakeholders, while helping to recognize opportunities for addressing challenges and determine whether certain elements could be reconsidered. These insights will be shared with academic colleagues, government and stakeholder group members through academic publications, reports and presentations.

Right to Withdraw:
Please understand that your participation in this project is completely voluntary. You have the right to choose not to participate, and may withdraw at any time. You are also free to not answer particular questions, and are under no obligation to justify your decisions. If you choose not to take part in the research or if you decide to withdraw from the research once it has started, there will be no negative consequences for you, now or in the future. If you withdraw from the study, any data that you have contributed will not be used unless you grant me permission to use it.

Reporting of Results:
The research will be used in my thesis, and may be used in reports, presentations and in academic publications, such as books and journal articles. In all of these cases, I will do my best to make sure that the confidentiality and anonymity of research contributors will be preserved.

Questions:
You are welcome to ask questions at any time during your participation in this research. If you would like more information about this study, please feel free to say so, or to contact me at a later time using the contact information provided at the top of this form. You may also contact my supervisor at 864-3157.

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research (such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant), you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

Consent:
Your signature on this form means that:

1) You have read the information about the research.
2) You have been able to ask questions about this study
3) You are satisfied with the answers to all of your questions
4) You understand what the study is about and what you will be doing
5) You understand that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason, and that doing so will not affect you now or in the future.

I would also appreciate it if you could answer either YES or NO to each of the following questions:

Would you mind if the interview is recorded and retained for a minimum of five years, as per Memorial University policy on Integrity in Scholarly Research?   YES   NO

Would you like to give me permission to store the interviews in the Folklore and Language Archive at Memorial University of Newfoundland after this project has concluded so that they may be used by me or by other researchers in the future?   YES   NO

If you sign this form, you do not give up your legal rights, and do not release the researcher from their professional responsibilities. **The researcher will give you a copy of this form for your records.**

Signatures:

"I have read and understood the description provided; I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. I consent to participate in the research project, understanding that I may withdraw my consent at any time. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records."

_____   _____

Participant's Signature   Date

"I have explained this study to the best of my ability. I invited questions and gave answers. I believe that the participant fully understands what is involved in being in the study, any potential risks of the study and that he or she has freely chosen to be in the study."

_____   _____

Researcher's Signature   Date

Interview Guide

A "New" Newfoundland and Labrador Sustainable Tourism Vision: *Uncommon Potential*

Date:_____

Participant:_____

Location:_____

Introductory Questions (to be asked of all key informants)

- How long have you been involved in the tourism industry?
- In what capacities have you been involved in tourism throughout your career?
- Were you involved in the processes (such as, meetings, workshops, consultations) that would eventually lead to *Uncommon Potential*?

Questions for Members of the vision steering committee
- At the time of your involvement, what position did you hold?
- How and when did you become involved in the process?
- How many meetings did you attend?
- How many people were involved in the meetings?
- What processes were followed at the meetings?
- Where specific meetings held to focus on particular issues or themes?
- From your understanding, who conceived the idea for what would become *Uncommon Potential*?
- How was the idea initially communicated to you and by whom?
- What priorities were discussed at the meetings?
- Was anything negotiated? If so, what and how?
- What were the main challenges facing Newfoundland and Labrador tourism in general? How about your industry specifically?
- What is your opinion of the advertisements used to promote Newfoundland and Labrador tourism ("Find Yourself Here" campaign)? Do these offer a good representation of the province's tourism product?
- What images of Newfoundland and Labrador tourism were discussed? Were certain images discarded?
- Where any rules or guidelines concerning NL tourism discussed?
- How was *Uncommon Potential* adopted?
- Did the meetings and *Uncommon Potential* document influence policy or planning in your industry?
- As you understood it, what was supposed to be your role? Was it specific or general?

- Who was mentioned (individuals, businesses, industries), but not directly involved in the discussions?
- With hindsight, can you think of stakeholders that could have or should have contributed to the deliberations?
- Are you aware of any stakeholders that declined the opportunity to take part in the meetings?
- Have you benefited from *Uncommon Potential*? In your opinion, who you do think benefits?
- Since *Uncommon Potential's* release, have you noticed any changes? If so, please explain?
- What concerns do you have about NL tourism at present or in the future?
- What do you think the province's tourism industry will look like in 2020?
- How would you like the province's tourism industry to look like in 2020?

Questions for Consultants involved in the process
- At the time of your involvement, what position did you hold?
- How and when did you become involved in the process?
- How many meetings did you attend?
- How many people were involved in the meetings?
- What processes were followed at the meetings?
- Where specific meetings held to focus on particular issues or themes?
- From your understanding, who conceived the idea for what would become *Uncommon Potential*?
- How was the idea initially communicated to you and by whom?
- What priorities were discussed at the meetings?
- Was anything negotiated? If so, what and how?
- What were the main challenges facing Newfoundland and Labrador tourism in general? How about your industry specifically?
- What is your opinion of the advertisements used to promote Newfoundland and Labrador tourism ("Find Yourself Here" campaign)? Do these offer a good representation of the province's tourism product?
- What images of Newfoundland and Labrador tourism were discussed? Were certain images discarded?
- Where any rules or guidelines concerning NL tourism discussed?
- How was *Uncommon Potential* adopted?
- Did the meetings and *Uncommon Potential* document influence policy or planning in your industry?
- As you understood it, what was supposed to be your role? Was it specific or general?
- Who was mentioned (individuals, businesses, industries), but not directly involved in the discussions?
- With hindsight, can you think of stakeholders that could have or should have contributed to the deliberations?
- Are you aware of any stakeholders that declined the opportunity to take part in the meetings?

- Have you benefited from *Uncommon Potential*? In your opinion, who you do think benefits?
- Since *Uncommon Potential's* release, have you noticed any changes? If so, please explain?
- What concerns do you have about NL tourism at present or in the future?
- What do you think the province's tourism industry will look like in 2020?
- How would you like the province's tourism industry to look like in 2020?

Questions for Stakeholders that participated in the workshops
- At the time of your involvement, what position did you hold?
- How many workshops did you attend?
- When were the workshops held?
- What were the themes of the workshops?
- What processes were followed at the workshops?
- How many people attended?
- What priorities were discussed at the workshop(s)?
- Was anything negotiated at the workshop? If so, what and how?
- What were the main challenges facing Newfoundland and Labrador tourism in general? How about your industry specifically?
- From your understanding, who conceived the idea for what would become *Uncommon Potential*?
- How was the idea for the workshop initially communicated to you and by whom?
- What is your opinion of the advertisements used to promote Newfoundland and Labrador tourism ("Find Yourself Here" campaign)? Do these offer a good representation of the province's tourism product?
- What images of Newfoundland and Labrador tourism were discussed at the workshops? Were certain images discarded?
- Where any rules or guidelines discussed?
- How was *Uncommon Potential* adopted?
- Did the workshops and *Uncommon Potential* document influence policy or planning in your industry?
- As you understood it, what was to be your role in its implementation? Was it specific or general?
- With hindsight, can you think of stakeholders that could have or should have participated in the workshops but were not present?
- Are you aware of any stakeholders that declined the opportunity to take part?
- Have you benefited from *Uncommon Potential*? Who you do think benefits?
- Since *Uncommon Potential's* release, have you noticed any changes? If so, please explain?
- What concerns do you have about NL tourism at present or in the future?
- What do you think the province's tourism industry will look like in 2020?
- How would you like the province's tourism industry to look like in 2020?

Questions for stakeholders not involved in the process

- Have you heard of *Uncommon Potential*?
- If so, how was the idea communicated to you and when?
- What do think should be the priorities of the province's tourism industry?
- What were the main challenges facing Newfoundland and Labrador tourism at that time? How about your industry? Do you think these challenges were addressed?
- Why were you not involved in the processes? Did you decline? Were your interests represented by a specific stakeholder?
- From your understanding, who conceived the idea for what would become *Uncommon Potential*?
- What is your opinion of the advertisements used to promote Newfoundland and Labrador tourism ("Find Yourself Here" campaign)? Do these offer a good representation of the province's tourism product?
- What images do you associate with Newfoundland and Labrador tourism?
- Do you think the *Uncommon Potential* document influences policy or planning in your industry?
- Have you benefited from *Uncommon Potential*? Who you do think benefits the most?
- Since *Uncommon Potential's* release, have you noticed any changes? If so, please explain?
- What concerns do you have about NL tourism at present or in the future?
- What do you think the province's tourism industry will look like in 2020?
- How would you like the province's tourism industry to look like in 2020?