

**TOWARDS A ROBUST FRAMEWORK OF SUSTAINABLE  
COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM (SCBT): EXPLORING  
DESTINATION JUSTICE AND EQUITY AS A PART OF  
GOVERNANCE, A CASE STUDY OF BRYAN-COLLEGE  
STATION, TEXAS, USA**

A Dissertation

by

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## **ABSTRACT**

Towards a Robust Framework of Sustainable Community-Based Tourism (SCBT): Exploring Destination Justice and Equity as a Part of Governance, A Case Study of Bryan-College Station, Texas, USA

Definitions and descriptions of Sustainable Tourism (ST) and Community-Based Tourism (CBT) abound. ST emerged in opposition to the negative impacts of mass tourism with the former being manifested in various forms such as community-based tourism, ecotourism, volunteer tourism, responsible tourism, and so on. Meanwhile, CBT has gained some prominence alongside ST, but it is unknown how it relates to ST? Multiple definitions, diverse principles, indicators and criteria in each make the concepts of ST and CBT highly problematic and at times pose research and practical challenges. Therefore, this dissertation was conducted by taking a scoping review type comprehensive literature review (CLR) on ST and CBT to develop a research framework, which then led to an empirical study.

The CLR found that the literature was consistent with key dimensions of sustainable tourism including economic, social, and environmental aspects. However, though the key dimensions remained the same, some specific aspects such as justice, ethics, and equity in the domain of governance were found to be under-represented in both the ST and CBT literatures. Based on the CLR and the gaps identified, a preliminary framework of SCBT was proposed retaining all the existing dimensions and criteria and adding the under-represented issues. The empirical study employed the tourism community in Bryan-College Station (BCS), Texas, which consisted of literature reviews, participant observation, and in-depth interviews with 40 participants. The analysis used an iterative approach to the qualitative data. The findings of the study suggested that issues of justice and equity were largely addressed by the governing bodies through mechanisms of collaborative participation and decision-making. Results suggest tourism has contributed to heritage preservation and enhanced community pride

and cohesion. It was further found the emotional solidarity between the stakeholders, visitors and residents appear very strong. However, suggestions from a few participants for inclusion in decision-making, and inability of some ethnic minorities to take full advantage of equal employment opportunities, and their reduced work hours in summer suggest a need for a more pro-active and collaborative type of tourism governance. The recommendations of the study may be helpful in addressing justice and equity issues in tourism.

## **DEDICATION**

I would like to dedicate this work to my late father Kalu Dangi Chhetri who instilled in me the importance of education from my early childhood. Without my father's vision, inspiration, guidance and support, I would never have made such a long and fruitful academic and professional journey. Borrowing a verse from Sanskrit, he used to tell and remind me "Education is the most precious of all wealth" in the world. My dad has always remained the most influential person and source of encouragement in my life.

I wish my dad were physically there to see my PhD graduation!

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## NOMENCLATURE

AAC	African-American Church
AAM	African-American Museum
ACBV	The Arts Council of Brazos Valley
BCSCC	Bryan-College Station Chamber of Commerce
BCSCVB	Bryan-College Station Convention and Visitors Bureau
BVAAHCS	Brazos Valley African American Historical Cultural Society
BVLA	Brazos Valley Lodging Association
CBT	Community-Based Tourism
DBA	Downtown Bryan Association
FTTSA	Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa
GBPLM	George Bush Presidential Library and Museum
HOT	Hotel Occupancy Tax
ICRT	International Center for Responsible Tourism
IOG	Institute of Governance
SCBT	Sustainable Community-Based Tourism
SD	Sustainable Development
SNV	Netherlands Development Organization
ST	Sustainable Tourism
STD	Sustainable Tourism Development
TAMU	Texas A&M University
THLA	Texas Hotel and Lodging Association
TIES	The International Ecotourism Society
TSHA	Texas State Historical Association
TTIA	Texas Travel Industry Association
TTRA	Texas Travel and Research Association
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program



UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
USSBA	United States Small Business Administration
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT .....	ii
DEDICATION .....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	v
NOMENCLATURE .....	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	x
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xiii
LIST OF TABLES .....	xiv
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Sustainable Tourism and its Various Forms .....	1
1.2 Research Problem and Purpose .....	3
1.3 Research Questions .....	3
1.4 Significance of the Research .....	5
1.5 Operational Definitions .....	6
1.6 Limitations of the Study .....	8
1.7 Structure of the Dissertation.....	9
2. LITERATURE REVIEW .....	11
2.1 Comprehensive Literature Review (CLR) .....	11
2.2 History and Evolution of Sustainability Initiatives and Tourism Related Forms .....	13
2.3 Community-Based Tourism (CBT): Definitions, Dimensions, Success Factors and Barriers .....	26
2.4 Comparing the ST and CBT .....	37
2.5 Measuring for Sustainability: Definition, History and Types of Certifications.....	40
2.6 Critique of ST and CBT .....	47
2.7 Summary of ST and CBT Literature Review: Identification of Gaps .....	58
2.8 Towards a Synthesis of ST and CBT .....	61
3. RESEARCH FRAMEWORK .....	62
3.1 Bridging ST and CBT?.....	62
3.2 Proposing an Integrated Framework for ST and CBT .....	63

3.3	Theoretical and Conceptual Perspectives on Justice, Ethics, Equity and the Domain of Governance: A Foregrounding for an Exploratory, Empirical Study .....	69
4.	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....	82
4.1	Rationale for a Qualitative Research Design, Epistemological Stance and Theoretical Choices for the Research Background.....	82
4.2	Research Method/ Strategy .....	88
4.3	Research Setting.....	90
4.4	Data Collection.....	94
4.5	Data Analysis .....	103
4.6	Ethical Considerations .....	107
4.7	Trustworthiness, Credibility and Transferability .....	113
5.	DATA ANALYSIS .....	117
5.1	System of Tourism Governance.....	123
5.2	Mechanism for Collaborative Participation & Decision-Making .....	133
5.3	Responsible Agencies for Tourism Development.....	144
5.4	Other Issues .....	154
5.5	Distribution of Tourism Revenues and Benefits.....	167
5.6	Consideration to “Ethic of Care” .....	179
5.7	Perception of Emotional Solidarity .....	204
5.8	Texas A&M University Driver of Tourism to BCS.....	214
5.9	Texas A& M Culture/Aggie Tradition Shapes BCS Culture .....	218
5.10	Game-day Traffic Creates Temporary Social Disruption in BCS.....	220
5.11	Data Analysis from Back of the House Staffs Including Ethnic Minorities.....	227
6.	DISCUSSION .....	250
6.1	System of Tourism Governance.....	254
6.2	Mechanism for Collaborative Participation & Decision-Making .....	257
6.3	Responsible Agencies for Tourism Development.....	260
6.4	Other Issues .....	262
6.5	Distribution of Tourism Revenues and Benefits.....	264
6.6	Consideration to “Ethic of Care” .....	273
6.7	Perception of Emotional Solidarity .....	282
6.8	Texas A&M University Driver of Tourism to BCS.....	283
6.9	Texas A& M Culture/Aggie Tradition Shapes BCS Culture, and Topics Relating to Social Impacts and Game Day Traffic .....	290
7.	CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS .....	293
7.1	Conclusions .....	293
7.2	Recommendations .....	297

REFERENCES .....	313
APPENDIX I REQUEST FOR INTERVIEW .....	334
APPENDIX II CONSENT FORM/LETTER.....	336
APPENDIX III INTERVIEW PROTOCOL.....	338
APPENDIX IV DEFINITION OF TOURISM/TOURISTS/VISITORS AND HOTEL OCCUPANCY TAX (HOT) .....	343

**LIST OF FIGURES**

FIGURE	Page
1 Aims and Pillars (Dimensions) of Sustainability .....	19
2.a Common Model of ST/CBT .....	89
2.b Elements of Justice & Equity Have Largely Been Underrepresented in Governance.....	89
3 One of the Juneteenth Processions, Bryan, TX (June 2015) .....	196
4 A Craft Vender During Fiestas Patrias Festival, Bryan, TX (September 2015) ..	198
5 Texas Reds and Steaks Festival, Downtown Bryan, TX (September 2015) .....	201

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	Page
1 Chronological Evolution of SD and STD .....	21
2 Defining SD, ST, CBT and Various Other Tourism Forms .....	25
3 Multiple Definitions of CBT .....	30
4 Critical Success Factors (CSFs) for CBT .....	36
5 Dimensions, Aims/Objectives of ST and CBT.....	38
6 Differences between ST and CBT .....	39
7 Comparison of Criteria/Issues of Sustainability for ST and CBT from Select Studies.....	44
8 A Comparative Table on Dimensions of Sustainability and Issues Under-represented .....	59
9 Combined (Preliminary) Framework of SCBT with Available Criteria .....	65
10 Various Forms of Justice .....	77
11 Proposed SCBT Criteria/Themes to Explore Justice and Equity Relating to Governance .....	80
12 Population and Ethnographic History of BCS.....	92
13 Summary of Data Collection Methodology .....	96
14 Profile of the Study Participants (First Group).....	97
14.a Profile of Study Participants from Back of the House Including Ethnic Minorities* (Group B) .....	100
14.b Profile of the Study Participants (P#) (continued) .....	101
15 List of Participants Declining Interviews .....	102
16 Theory/Research Generated Themes and Data-Driven (Generated) Themes	119
17 Number and Type of Research Participants .....	121
18 Profile of Study Participants from Back of the House Staff .....	228
19 Month -Wise Hotel Occupancy (Occu.%) in College Station for Select Years .....	286
20 Month -Wise Average Daily Rate (ADR) in College Station for Select Years .....	286

21	Month -Wise Revenue Per Available Room (REV PAR) in College Station for Select Years .....	287
22	Hotel Occupancy, ADR, and REV PAR During Game Days in 2014-2015 .....	289
23	Table of Suggestions and Recommendations.....	298
24	People in Poverty, and Annual Household Income by Race & Hispanic Origin .....	302
25	U.S Educational Attainment by Race and Hispanic Origin .....	303

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Sustainable Tourism and its Various Forms

Sustainable tourism has gained worldwide visibility in theory and practice over the past three decades. A large number of concepts and approaches have been proposed and there is a proliferation of terms that seem to relate in some way to sustainable tourism (ST). These include: community-based tourism, ecotourism, farm tourism, volunteer tourism, rural tourism, agro-tourism, and responsible tourism. Scholars such as Holden (2013) have argued that some of these are forms or types of tourism (e.g., ecotourism, green tourism, agro-tourism) while others are approaches to sustainable tourism, e.g., Responsible Tourism (RT), Community Based Tourism (CBT), and Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT). The current research proposal focuses on two important approaches: Sustainable Tourism and Community-Based Tourism. These two were selected because sustainable tourism, as an overarching concept, applies to all forms of tourism and CBT has been widely practiced as an alternative tourism development tool throughout the world. CBT has especially been applied in developing countries in Africa, Latin America, and Asia and some developed countries in the West.

In the course of the development and expansion of sustainable tourism, there has also been a proliferation of principles and criteria of ST and CBT. After several decades, we still have a plethora of principles and criteria pertaining to ST and CBT, and the literature continues to evolve as if these are two separate entities entirely. Additionally, there is little guidance on how these two diverse literatures can help inform a sustainability-oriented approach to tourism.



There are additional issues relating to the research and operations of ST and CBT, including whether ST is entirely different from CBT or if a community leader wanted to develop a sustainable, responsible approach to tourism, what guidance should he/she take from institutions, organizations and researchers who specialize in this area. The current study is focused on developing a sustainability-oriented approach to tourism at the community level. However, there is clearly a need to reconcile these two diverse literatures to better understand what constitutes a sustainability-oriented approach to community-based tourism. It is hoped the current study assists in the development of a robust framework and approach to “Sustainable Community-Based Tourism” (SCBT henceforth) and helps bridge the gap as presented in the discussion section.

In order to accomplish the above stated purpose, three principal steps were followed systematically:

(1) An in-depth exploration of literature was conducted to find out similarities and differences in the definitions, concepts, criteria and indicators of ST and CBT and gaps were identified following some of the steps mentioned in the scoping review (Arksey & O’ Malley, 2005; Grant & Booth, 2009). These included institutional and individual efforts made at various local, national, and international levels. This exploration of the literature culminated in proposing a preliminary framework of SCBT, drawing from the ST and CBT literature, identified best practices as well as aspects poorly addressed (gaps) that are believed to require further investigation.

(2) Based on the findings of the comprehensive literature review (CLR), a research framework of SCBT was developed and an empirical study was undertaken with the objective of exploring one or more concepts or dimensions that the literature review identified as both relevant and understudied, but vital to a sustainability-oriented approach to community-based tourism.

(3) The combined CLR and empirical study ultimately guided in suggesting criteria/elements for a more robust framework of SCBT to guide research and practice, which address gaps relating to justice and equity as identified and explored through the study.

## **1.2 Research Problem and Purpose**

As mentioned earlier, the journey towards sustainable tourism development has remained littered with multiple definitions, indicators, stakeholders, and principles (Wheeler, 1991; Garrod & Fyall, 1998; Butler, 1999; Graci & Dodds, 2010; Goodwin, 2011; Weaver, 2012; Springett & Redcliff, 2015). Given the variegated context of concepts, principles, dimensions, and criteria of ST and CBT, a robust criterion of “Sustainable Community-Based Tourism” (SCBT) was proposed (see Section III, Research Framework) on the basis of a comprehensive literature review (exploratory study) followed by the empirical study to help guide research and practice relating to sustainable community-based tourism. The framework builds on diverse concepts, dimensions, and criteria (themes), and indicators of ST and CBT.

The CLR found that three dimensions of sustainability- economic, social-cultural, and environmental which were emphasized by almost all institutions and authors, but the issues of justice and equity in the domain/dimension of governance were not well developed. Even the word “governance” arose very little in the articles within the comprehensive literature review and an additional search (as detailed in succeeding discussions) helped to explore governance and justice further. The ST literature showed a more global, universal focus to sustainability, while the CBT literature focused on the particular, local level and showed its roots especially in the developing world context (though there are examples of community tourism development in the West including Canada in 1980s). This literature typically focused on local community development, from the perspective of a confusing array of contributions by academics, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and some public sector stakeholders.

The SCBT approach conducted in this study hopes to reconcile these two literatures from both the CLR and empirical studies.

## **1.3 Research Questions**

The comprehensive literature review (see details in the literature review section) revealed three dimensions/pillars of sustainability: economic, social-cultural and environmental, which have been mentioned/established by the majority of scholars and

institutions (UNEP-UNWTO, 2005; Farsari, 2012; Stoddard, Pollard, & Evans, 2012). However, there is another group of authors who have proposed governance (institutional arrangement) as a major dimension of sustainability (GSTC, 2015; Bramwell, 2011; Roberts & Tribe, 2008; Pukhakka, Cottrell & Siikamaki, 2009; Barke & Towner, 2003; Pomeroy, Noble & Johnson, 2011). A significant number of scholars have further proposed governance, specifically in relation to ethics, justice and equity, have remained either ignored or under-represented (Hultsman, 1995; Tribe, 2002; Smith & Duffy, 2003; Macbeth, 2005; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008; 2010; Lee & Jamal, 2008; Jamal & Menzel, 2009; Bramwell, 2011; Dredge & Jamal, 2013; Moscardo, 2011; Jamal, Camargo & Wilson, 2013; Jamal & Camargo, 2014).

Jamal, Camargo & Wilson (2013) pointed out the need for ‘a clear framework of justice and ethics’ for sustainable tourism which the current study will attempt to address. Drawing upon Rawls’ *Theory of Justice*, Jamal & Camargo (2014) provided an introduction to destination justice that emphasized the need for addressing issues of equity and fairness and urged the need for further research for identifying guiding principles of destination justice. This research thus, proposes the following research questions:

*Research Question (RQ) 1: How does the system of local tourism governance address collaborative participation and decision-making in tourism development with consideration to responsiveness?*

- a) What are the legal mechanisms for enabling community (stakeholder) participation in matters relating to tourism development in BCS (i) to provide input and (ii) to participate directly in tourism development and decision-making?
- b) How do stakeholders feel about being able to influence tourism related development decision-making? (Issue of empowerment)
- c) How do stakeholders feel about being able to participate in development related decision-making (Issue of empowerment?)
- d) How do stakeholders feel about being able to influence the distribution of tourism related goods? (Issue of empowerment)?

e) What mechanisms are in place for enabling responsiveness related to tourism development, e.g., dissemination of tourism development related information; efficiency and responsiveness of local tourism offices/officials to stakeholders' concerns?

*Research Question (RQ) 2: How do the various stakeholders feel about tourism development in BCS, specifically, with respect to the distribution of tourism related goods and resources (Distributive Justice); and with respect to "Ethic of care"?*

- a) Do stakeholders feel the benefits of tourism (revenues, etc.) and other government support for tourism are being distributed equitably among various actors in BCS tourism?
- b) How is tourism development benefitting the disadvantaged and lower income groups in the community? (Investigates the second part of Rawls' second principle)
- c) How do stakeholders feel about getting attention and support for tourism development from relevant decision makers? (Issue of responsiveness and care as well as justice)
- d) How do the stakeholders feel about how well their issues and concerns are being addressed by relevant decision makers (e.g. CVB, local government)?
- e) What mechanisms are in place for respecting the rights and cultural heritage of indigenous people/ethnic minorities?
- f) How do the key stakeholders feel about a sense of mutual understanding, care and respect between the tourism industry, visitors, and the BCS community?

#### **1.4 Significance of the Research**

As stated earlier, though the policies and practices relating to Sustainable Tourism (ST) and Community-Based Tourism (CBT) have been increasing, they likely provide less clarity for research and practices due to the multiplicity of definitions, concepts and criteria which prevail in the field. Likewise, the literature review revealed that ethical issues relating to equity, justice, and governance were poorly addressed in both ST and CBT contexts. Based on the comprehensive literature review and the gaps identified, it is hoped that a preliminary framework of SCBT can be offered which more holistically includes equity, justice and key governance dimensions.

## 1.5 Operational Definitions

Operational definitions of the current study's key concepts follow:

**Governance:** Governance is considered to include multiple aspects such as planning/strategic vision, management and marketing, power/rules and regulations, collaboration and coordination, participation, service delivery, accountability, transparency, equity and so forth. Scales of government may vary from local, regional, national to international. In the context of sustainable tourism development, Bramwell (2011) defined tourism governance as, "In order to develop and apply policies for tourism in destinations, there is usually a requirement for knowledge, thought, the application of power, resources and rules, and also coordination and cooperation among numerous actors. Together, these are key features of governance" (p. 459).

**Community Based Tourism (CBT):** "CBT refers to tourism that involves community participation and aims to generate benefits for local communities in the developing world by allowing tourists to visit these communities and learn about their culture and the local environment" (Lucchetti & Font, 2013, p. 2).

**Sustainable Tourism (ST):** Sustainable tourism has been equated as a development model that helps ensure economic benefits to the community, respects socio-cultural heritage, and conserves and promotes the natural environment through a proper management/governance system. The definition of sustainable tourism has been presented as, "Sustainable tourism development guidelines and management practices are applicable to all forms of tourism in all types of destinations, including mass tourism and the various niche tourism segments" (UNEP-UNWTO, 2005, p.11).

**Justice in Tourism:** Just tourism or justice in tourism is defined as a moral, ethical action that is intended to distribute equitable benefits of tourism to all parties concerned. Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) argued that justice tourism "seeks to reform the inequities and damages of contemporary tourism...to chart a path to a more just global order" (p.345). There are other forms of justice such as distributive justice and procedural justice (discussed in detail later in relation to this study). Distributive justice relates to the distribution of social and economic goods and benefits among the members

of society which is equitable not necessarily equal (Lee & Jamal, 2008; Hales & Jamal, 2015). Distributive justice also addresses inequities and lowers risks to vulnerable populations (Collin & Collin, 2015). Procedural justice is regarded as the fairness of decision-making process, tied to the role of state and rule of law. Procedural justice has been defined as, “Right to participate and consent to decisions that will impose risks and harms on vulnerable ...communities and people” (Collin & Collin 2015, p. 213-214).

**Ethics in Tourism:** There seems to be little difference between justice tourism or ethical tourism. Ethics is defined as just, good action in tourism and respecting the interest of others in the community. Tribe (2002) stated that ethical tourism action is not only the philosophical understanding of what is good and just in and for tourism, but that it requires good action. Hultsman (1995) conceptualized ethicality as just tourism and further stated that just tourism is what is virtuous, moral, and ethical. He argued ethics “as philosophical inquiry into values and as practical application of moral behavior” (Hultsman, 1995, p.554).

**Equity:** Equity can be defined in terms of availability of equal opportunity for all men and women to maintain/improve their well-being and the fair and impartial enforcement of laws (IOG, 2015). Other intergovernmental institutions have defined social equity as, “To seek a widespread and fair distribution of economic and social benefits from tourism throughout the recipient community, including improving opportunities, income and services available to the poor” (UNEP-UNWTO, 2005, p. 18). Therefore, equity in CBT may relate to providing fair and equitable benefits of tourism and ensuring access to and use of resources by all members of the community/society with inclusion of additional opportunities for the poor as implied in the UNEP-UNWTO (2005) definition.

**Ethic of Care:** Jamal, Camargo & Wilson (2013) defined “Ethic of care” as care about the “Other” which relates to the feeling, and good virtues into the justice framework. These good virtues included various aspects such as “respect for diversity, recognition of difference...support of social differentiation and diversity; sympathy, mercy, forgiveness, tolerance, and inclusiveness” (p. 4903).

**Emotional Solidarity:** Emotional solidarity relates to the density of relationships (emotional closeness) resulting between hosts and guests as shared beliefs, shared behavior, mutual understanding and respect (Woosnam & Norman, 2010).

**Ethnic Minorities:** Defining minority population, Pollard & O’Hare (1999) stated, ...“in the 1990s the term "minority" usually refers to four major racial and ethnic groups: African Americans, American Indians and Alaska Natives, Asians and Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics” (para. 2). Further, the U.S. Small Business Administration (U.S. SBA, Social Disadvantage Eligibility, 2016, para. 3) also stated, “For purposes of the 8(a) Business Development program, the following individuals are presumed socially disadvantaged (called “presumed groups”):

- Black Americans
- Hispanic Americans
- Native Americans
- Asian Pacific Americans
- Subcontinent Asian American

This research takes references of ethnic minorities from above definitions and whenever ethnic minorities or economically/socially disadvantaged groups are mentioned in the research, it suggests one of the above ethnic minority groups. Given the population composition of Bryan-College Station (BCS), Hispanic and African-Americans make the second and third biggest population in BCS after White alone (as presented in Table 12 later). Therefore, the research has three major ethnic groups as participants: White, and African-American and Hispanic as two ethnic minority groups.

### **1.6 Limitations of the Study**

Given the vast area of academic fields that refer to sustainable tourism or community-based tourism and despite two-rounds of extensive literature searches, it was beyond the scope of the current study to include every scholarly work that has been published in this field. Another limitation of the study is that it did not include interviews from non-tourism business residents of Bryan-College Station (BCS). Inclusion of other residents would have given broader perspectives to the study, which future studies should explore.

Additionally, since interviews were only conducted in one community, the results of the study might not be transferrable to other settings. As the socio-economic, political and governance contexts of communities are different in different geographical locations, findings and recommendations of this study provide references for other community contexts, not prescriptions. However, exploration of justice and equity issues conducted in CBT settings in a liberal democratic society such as the United States hold significance for providing references for other liberal societies and economies.

### **1.7 Structure of the Dissertation**

The study starts with the introduction of sustainable tourism and presents its various forms including community-based tourism. After stating the research problem, research questions are presented followed by significance of the research and its limitations. Literature Review section provides a systematic and chronological history of the development of sustainable tourism including its various forms such as community-based tourism, responsible tourism, ecotourism, pro-poor tourism and so on. Identification of critical success factors (CSFs) of CBT, and comparison of various criteria and dimensions of ST and CBT leads to the identification of gaps such as justice, ethics and equity in the domain of governance in ST and CBT research/practices. To address the gaps relating to justice, ethics and equity, the study develops a Research Framework of ST and CBT (proposed as preliminary framework of SCBT) and also presents a conceptual/theoretical background of various forms of justices such as distributive and procedural justice, and Rawls' (1971, 1999) *Theory of Justice*. Methodology section details the rationale for conducting a qualitative study for exploring issues of justice and equity, choice of study location, participants and research methods used. Data Analysis section presents the results and analysis of the study in relation to the research questions and interpretation of findings. Section six discusses the findings of the study in relation to how the research has been successful or remained short in finding responses to the issues and discussing about the current and future implications of the research. The last section Conclusions and Recommendations suggests further



options for addressing the issues and developing BCS as a year-round tourism destination which will help addressing justice and equity issues to some extent.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Comprehensive Literature Review (CLR)**

Review of the ST and CBT literatures was guided by the following questions:

1. What is the relationship between ST and CBT? (Is CBT a type of ST?)
  - a. What principles and criteria guide these concepts as discussed in the tourism literature?
  - b. How did they arise (institutionally, historically, spatio-temporally)? And why?
2. How do we reconcile these two similar approaches? What is a good framework for “SCBT” based on the above? (What are the key ethical principles and criteria that ought to guide SCBT?)

The comprehensive review of literature was guided by scoping principles. As explained by Buckley (2012) and Arksey & O’Malley (2005), a scoping review is similar to an exploratory literature review, but is undertaken systematically using a number of relevant search terms. The current CLR also applied some of the methods of scoping review detailed by Grant & Booth (2009) including: search, appraisal, synthesis, and analysis (SALSA).

The following steps were undertaken. In the first step of the CLR, a Business Source Complete search was conducted in June 2014 through the RefWorks tool of the Texas A&M library using the following search terms: Sustainable tourism/ Community-based tourism/ Responsible tourism (ST/CBT/RT as key words to be combined with; approach, framework, model, criteria, indicators, principles, definitions, and certifications). The search displayed 375 reference articles. After getting rid of duplicates, 341 articles remained for further screening. Screening of the 341 articles resulted in retention of 178 articles for review and exclusion of 163 articles from the list. The excluded items included: articles published in a language other than English, book reviews and conference papers.

However, while reviewing the relevant articles and based on the gaps identified relating to justice and equity in the domain of governance, additional readings and related articles were searched with the help of Google (scholar), and the Texas A&M University Library's data-base (e.g. federated search engine) that included articles and books published up to 2015. Focused search on tourism governance led to different articles published in a Special Issue dedicated to tourism governance in *The Journal of Sustainable Tourism* (2011). Limited hand-searching through references/suggested readings was also made. The process further broadened the base of literature review. It is through the suggested readings that important reports such as United Nations Environmental Program & United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNEP-UNWTO, 2005) report *Making Tourism More Sustainable*, UNWTO sustainable tourism indicators (2004), several relevant book chapters, journal articles, and some seminal conference papers could be reviewed.

To include additional literature not indexed in previously searched databases, particularly relating to governance, a focused search on Scopus was conducted in the first week of April 2016. The focused search of the words (governance OR justice OR ethics OR equity) AND ("sustainable tourism" OR "community-based tourism"), in the title, abstract, or keywords but unchecking one physical science subject area came up with 170 articles and book chapters (of which 34 were fully reviewed). Overall, around 260 scholarly articles, book chapters, and publications received full review. However, not all the papers with full text review could be given space in reference considering size and space, but their insights were included.

The systematic examination of extant literature revealed a host of issues. It traced the definition, history and evolution of sustainability initiatives, the emergence of sustainable tourism development, the development of alternative forms of tourism such as community-based tourism, and some conceptual and implementation issues related to sustainability. The CLR also gathered information on the similarities and differences that have guided both ST and PPT research. The CLR also traced the definition, history, and

types of various tourism certification systems and eco-labels used to measure the process and progress of sustainable tourism development.

## **2.2 History and Evolution of Sustainability Initiatives and Tourism Related Forms**

### ***2.2.1 The emergence of “Sustainable Development”***

The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) defined SD as, “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WECD, 1987, p. 8). The notion of sustainability, however, existed long before this event in both theory and practice. Various publications such as the publication of Club of Rome’s report “The Limits to Growth”, 1972 (Hall, Gossling & Scott, 2015a), and the first United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 1972 (UNEP–Declaration..., 2014, p. 1/1) can be credited for initiating and championing the cause for sustainable development. Declaration of the World Conservation Strategy, 1980 (developed jointly by International Union for Conservation of Nature, United Nations Environmental Program and World Wildlife Fund) was another pioneering event that championed the common principles of nature and environmental preservation while undertaking any development plans or projects (UNEP-Global Environment Outlook, 2014). Hardy, Beeton & Pearson (2002) stated that the Stockholm conference emphasized promoting the concept of eco-development where integration of cultural, social and ecological goals with development was thought to be very important. The UN conference suggested the need for a “common outlook and for common principles to inspire and guide the peoples of the world in the preservation and enhancement of the human environment” (UNEP, 2014, p.1), a statement which underscored the sustainability thoughts surfaced earlier.

The 1972 UNESCO Convention provided an official definition of the world’s natural and cultural heritage and required states to be responsible for the protection and conservation of officially designated World Heritage sites (UNESCO, 2015). The WECD made sustainability a central theme for development for governments, businesses and other private organizations. Hall, Gossling & Scott (2015b) contended that sustainable tourism was hardly mentioned in the WECD (1987) report; however, in the

aftermath, it has become “one of the great success stories of tourism research and knowledge transfer” (p. 2). They further suggested it has been engrained in the policy statements of international organizations such as United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) and several other local, national and/or regional governments.

The WECD (1987) emphasized two aspects: (1) intragenerational and intergenerational equity while using environmental resources for conservation, and (ii) equity in North-South economic relations, in an attempt to reduce the economic gaps between the developed (Western) countries and less developed countries and regions of the world.

The historic UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), known as “Earth Summit,” was held in Rio de Janeiro (June, 1992) formally wrote a constitution of sustainable development known as “Agenda 21” (Carruthers, 2005). Agenda 21 is a comprehensive program of action, which was adopted by 182 governments at the UNCED conference. Though not legally binding, Agenda 21 carries moral and practical suggestions for consideration. Agenda 21 is considered a blueprint for sustainable development in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as it emphasizes conserving land, air and water resources for the present as well as future generations, targets reducing poverty and enhancing human health and education, and seeks partnership of all stakeholders: government, private sector, scientists, and the public among others to achieve sustainable development goals. Therefore, the notion of sustainable development has been suggested to influence various spheres of development such as environment planning, urban planning, regional and national development in many countries and of course tourism as well.

Sustainable tourism development (STD) derives from the concept of sustainable development aimed at minimizing the negative impacts of tourism on human and natural environments and maximizing benefits to the community while helping ensure visitor satisfaction. Graci & Dodds (2010) stated that the UNCED 1992 identified tourism as

“one of the five main industries in need of achieving sustainable development” (p. 11). Peterson (1997), in her book *Sharing the Earth*, stated “The concept of sustainable development implies flexible boundaries that are amenable to human ingenuity, which in turn is grounded in nature” (p.171). This presents a notion of sustainable development that can also be defined by spatio-temporal contexts.

As the link between poverty and environmental degradation became clearer, the World Summit on Sustainable Development, held in 2002, focused on developing an implementation plan for sustainable development to make poverty alleviation a key priority (UNEP-UNWTO, 2005). The relationship between the ecological and human-social dimensions was evident by this time. Sustainable development at the level of quasi-institutions like the UN, however, shows a clear historical focus of facilitating business and economic well-being through ‘balancing’ environment and development. Cultural conservation followed a separate trajectory, but was also driven at the global level by UN initiatives that also commenced in the 1970s.

### ***2.2.2 Sustainable tourism emerges***

Similar to sustainable development, sustainable tourism development – defined as a sub-set of sustainable development – witnessed joint global institutional initiatives to direct it towards a balanced path even prior to the WECD (1987) initiatives. In the 1970s, UNESCO and World Bank made an alliance for tourism development, the former supporting heritage preservation with expertise and the latter financing tourism related infrastructure development. In 1976 these organizations jointly convened a seminar “to discuss the social and cultural impacts of tourism on developing countries and to suggest ways to take account of these concerns in decision-making” (de Kadt, 1979, p. ix).

However, the importance of addressing tourism as an important player in sustainability was not well recognized in the early initiatives mentioned above. Hall, Gossling & Scott (2015b) noted that tourism was hardly mentioned in the UNWECED (1987) report. However, it can be said that the notion of ‘sustainable tourism’ became engrained in the policy statements and planning documents of the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), and the

Earth Summit (EC) in 1995 following their joint publication, *Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry: Towards Environmentally Sustainable Development* (WTTC, UNWTO, & EC, 1995).

Other interesting accounts have been recorded pertaining to the origin of sustainable/alternative tourism. Gossling, Hall & Weaver (2009) credit Jost Kippendorf, an academic from Switzerland, as a far-sighted tourism writer who through his books *Die Landschaftsfresser (The Landscape Eaters, 1975)*, and another book *Die Ferriemmenschen* (1984) translated into English (1987) as *The Holiday Makers: Understanding the Impact of Leisure and Travel* as championing the cause of responsible travel. His first book described the impact of tourism on the European Alpine landscape, and his second book argued for a more ‘human form of tourism’ from all parties (guests, hosts, and operators) by changing their lifestyles and behaviors.

The Brundtland/WECD report (1987) briefly mentioned tourism; however, the concept of sustainable tourism development has received more attention in recent tourism research. In response to the call of the Earth Summit and Agenda 21 in 1995, three international-scale organizations—the World Travel and Tourism Council, the United Nations World Tourism Organization, and the Earth Council developed *Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry: Towards Environmentally Sustainable Development* (WTTC, UNWTO, & EC, 1995). This report noted that despite travel and tourism’s size and significance as one of the world’s largest industries with heavy reliance on the natural environment, it was not well addressed by the Agenda 21 action plan developed at the Rio Summit. While Agenda 21 acknowledged only the potential of nature-based and low-impact tourism (ecotourism) enterprises, Agenda 21 for the travel and tourism industry emphasized the need to make all travel and tourism businesses sustainable and detailed priority areas and objectives for governments and the tourism industry. It called for travel and trade businesses to minimize negative impacts and forge partnerships for sustainable development, including collaboration with local communities.

Additional institutional efforts have further been made to define and determine the course of sustainable tourism development. The United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) and the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) report (2005) captured and compiled historical development especially in the field of sustainable tourism development. The report mentions three dimensions or 'pillars' of sustainable development which include: (1) Economic sustainability (2) Social sustainability, and (3) Environmental sustainability (UNEP-UNWTO, 2005).

There are further arguments which support the idea that concern for sustainability grew once threats of negative human development on both natural and cultural heritage settings were realized. Bramwell & Lane (1993) stated that continuous growth was challenged in the 1960s due to the birth of environmentalism. The environmental movement initially desired preservation of the environment, but it gradually widened to encompass both built and natural environments and social, economic, and cultural issues. Lately, sustainable tourism has also attempted to address issues of power and equity. Today most governmental and non-governmental agencies, entrepreneurs, international development agencies, trade associations, and academia acknowledge the importance of sustainable development to help ensure cultural and environmental protection, to benefit stakeholders, and to address issues of poverty through sustainable development.

The UNEP-UNWTO report (2005) provided a definition of sustainable tourism as follows:

Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities (UNEP-UNWTO, 2005, p.12).

The report further stated,

“Sustainable tourism development guidelines and management practices are applicable to all forms of tourism in all types of destinations, including mass tourism and the various niche tourism segments” (UNEP-UNWTO, 2005, p.11).



This definition holds significance as it considers sustainable tourism as an alternative tourism form or approach and a departure from mass tourism. As mentioned elsewhere and broadly categorized by the UNEP-UNWTO (2005) report, there are at least five major stakeholders in regards to sustainable tourism: (1) Tourism enterprises, (2) Local communities, (3) Environmentalists, (4) Tourists, and (5) Governments. The UNDP-UNWTO report (2005) also presented three pillars (economic, social, and environmental) and 12 aims of sustainable tourism development as follows:

1. Economic sustainability, which means generating prosperity at different levels of society and addressing the cost effectiveness of all economic activity. Crucially, it is about the viability of enterprises and activities and their ability to be maintained in the long term.
2. Social sustainability, which means respecting human rights and equal opportunities for all in society. It requires an equitable distribution of benefits, with a focus on alleviating poverty. There is an emphasis on local communities, maintaining and strengthening their life support systems, recognizing and respecting different cultures and avoiding any form of exploitation.
3. Environmental sustainability, which means conserving and managing resources, especially those that are not renewable or are precious in terms of life support. It requires action to minimize pollution of air, land and water, and to conserve biological diversity and natural heritage (UNEP-UNWTO, 2005, p. 9).

The information presented in the UNEP-UNWTO (2005) report regarding the pillars and aims/objectives of sustainability remain vital in comparing and contrasting objectives of sustainable tourism with CBT.

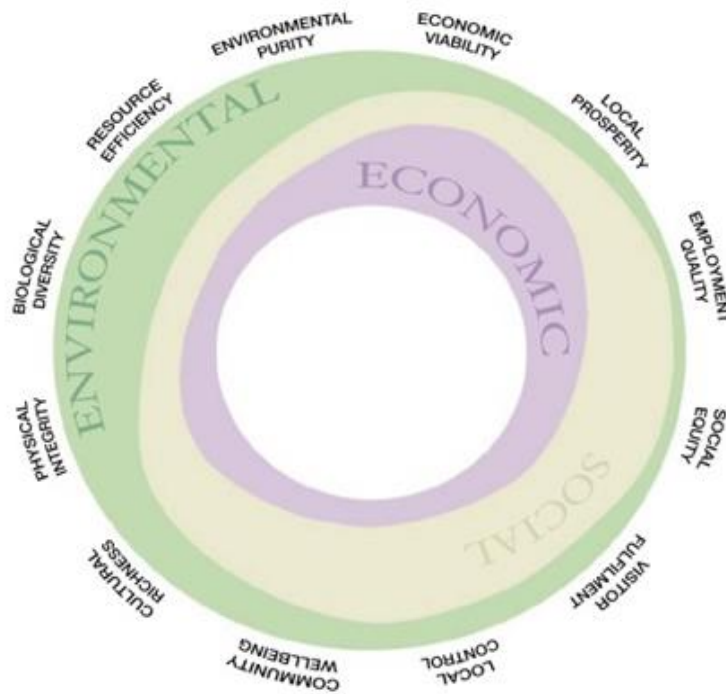


Figure 1: Aims and Pillars (Dimensions) of Sustainability (Reprinted with permission from UNEP-UNWTO, 2005).

Source: © UNEP and “UNWTO, 92844/18/16” (p.20).

While sustainable tourism has been forwarded as an alternative form of tourism development elsewhere, the UNEP-UNWTO (2005, pp. 15-17) report describes ST as a continuous improvement process to be applied to all forms of tourism for all types of destinations, and to be practiced by all key stakeholders involved. The report also specifically mentions that “host communities,” equity, and cultural recognition need to be tendered in tourism activities extending beyond the over-emphasized areas of economic and environmental dimensions.

The UNEP-UNWTO document (2005) further presented *Guiding Principles and Approaches of STD* (sustainable tourism development) which include: (1) Taking a holistic view, (2) Pursing multi-stakeholder engagement, (3) Planning for the long-term, (4) Addressing global and local impacts, (5) Promoting sustainable consumption, and (6) Equating sustainability and quality. The principles also included: (1) Reflecting the

impacts in costs-polluter pays principle (relating to the notion that one who causes the environmental impacts takes the responsibility for costs incurred), (2) Minimizing risk taking-precautionary principle, (3) Taking a life cycle perspective, (4) Considering functional alternatives, (5) Respecting limits, (6) Adapting to changing conditions, and (7) Undertaking continuous monitoring using indicators.

Along with the UNWTO, other scholars have also outlined the principles of STD. Bramwell & Lane (1993) outlined four basic principles which they thought were crucial to sustainability and sustainable tourism development: “(i) The idea of holistic planning and strategy-making, (ii) The importance of preserving essential ecological processes, (iii) The need to protect both human heritage and biodiversity, and (iv) The key requirement: to develop in such a way that productivity can be sustained over the long term for future generations” (p.2).

Sharpley (2000) defined three STD principles: a holistic approach, futurity, and equity in the broader context of tourism and sustainable development. In 1992, as commissioned by the World Wildlife Fund, Tourism Concern’s discussion paper identified four principles of sustainable tourism: sustainable use of resources; reducing over-consumption and waste; maintaining diversity; and supporting local communities (Goodwin, 2011, pp. 14-15). In all, the principles of sustainable tourism presented suggest concerns must include: social-cultural, economic, environmental, holistic and futuristic approaches.

The inception of sustainable development and sustainable tourism development reveal that those efforts arose at various levels-individual and institutional. Efforts of international institutions such as the United Nations and its specialized agencies as well as those from many social science scholars deserve credit for defining and guiding sustainable development and sustainable tourism development processes. A brief chronological view of the institutional and academic intersections of SD, ST and STD is presented in Table 1 below:

Table 1. Chronological evolution of SD and STD

Year	Evolution Points	Impact	Citation
1972	UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, Sweden	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promoted the concept of eco-development integrating cultural, social, &amp; ecological goals with development</li> </ul>	UNEP–Declaration... , (2014)
1972	Publication of Club of Rome’s report “The Limits to Growth”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provides warning sign for economic growth focused development</li> </ul>	Hall, Gossling, & Scott (2015a)
1972	UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Defined natural/cultural heritage &amp; made state parties responsible for their protection &amp; conservation</li> </ul>	UNESCO (2015)
1980	Publication of World Conservation Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Links conservation and sustainable development to human well-being</li> </ul>	UNEP-Global Environment Outlook (2014)
1980s	Birth of alternative approaches to, and forms of responsible tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ecotourism, responsible tourism, community-based tourism, pro-poor tourism, etc.</li> </ul>	
1983	World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unites and urges countries to pursue sustainable development (SD) together</li> </ul>	
1987	Publication of “Our Common Future” (WCED)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Coined, and defined the meaning of the term SD</li> </ul>	WECD (1987)
Early 1990s	Early definition of ST, broadly defined and reflected alternative tourism efforts emerging in the 1980s onwards	<p>“All forms of tourism which respect the host natural, built, and cultural environments and the interests of all parties concerned”.</p>	Smith (1990, p. 480)
1992	UN Conference on Environment and Development (Earth Summit, Rio Summit)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, Agenda 21, Principles towards implementing SD</li> </ul>	Carruthers (2005)
1994	United Nations World Tourism Organization defines Sustainable Tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emergence of ST at global quasi-institutional level (emergence of global governance initiatives)</li> </ul>	WTTC, UNWTO & EC (1995)
1995	Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Urges governments and tourism industry to emphasize sustainable tourism practices.</li> </ul>	WTTC, UNWTO & EC (1995)
2000	UN adopts eight (8) Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MDGs goals put emphasis on eradication of poverty and hunger, promotion of gender equality, and environmental sustainability among others.</li> <li>• MDGs guide sustainable tourism development in UN member-nations.</li> </ul>	United Nations (2015)

Table 1, Continued

Year	Evolution Points	Impact	Citation
2000-2005	Tourism and climate change. Slow tourism (2005) starts to show prominence.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tourism and global environmental change become hot-topics in tourism.</li> </ul>	Hall, Gossling, & Scott (2015c)
2002	World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), or Rio+10, Johannesburg.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identified some deficiencies in the implementation of Agenda 21.</li> <li>Delivered a political declaration, Johannesburg Plan of Action, and the establishment of partnership initiatives.</li> </ul>	Pisano, Endl, & Berger-ESDN (2012)
2005	UNEP-UNWTO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>UNEP-UNWTO form partnership to guide sustainable tourism development through recommending policies and tools.</li> </ul>	UNEP-UNWTO (2005)
2010	Green growth, and steady-state tourism enter sustainable tourism debate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Emphasis on sustainable consumption</li> </ul>	Hall, Gossling, & Scott (2015c)
2012	United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD) or Rio+ 20, Rio de Janeiro.	<p>Two themes focused:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) A green economy in the context of SD, poverty eradication; and (2) the institutional framework for SD.</li> <li>Reaffirmed Rio principles and past action plans and sustainable tourism was defined one of the action areas.</li> </ul>	Pisano, Endl, & Berger-ESDN (2012)
2015	UN Sustainable Development Summit, 2015. Sets 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)/Global Goals.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>SDGs target end poverty, fight inequality and injustice, tackle climate change and so on by 2030 building on MDGs.</li> </ul>	UNDP (2015)

Source: Dangi & Jamal (2016, pp.6-7)

### ***2.2.3 Parallel pathways to sustainability: Community-based tourism and other alternative tourism forms/approaches***

Besides Gossling et al. (2009), Bramwell & Lane (1993) also gave credit to Jost Kippendorf, Peter Zimmer & Hans Glauber for giving birth to the notion of alternative tourism in the alpine lands of Europe in protest of the negative impacts of mass tourism in the late 1970s. The idea of alternative tourism gradually expanded to other regions including North America. Tracing the history of STD, Mowforth & Munt (1998) and Liu (2003), among others believed a range of problems such as degradation of natural environments, negative impacts on social and cultural heritage, unequal distribution of

tourism benefits, and change on the perspectives of tour operators and developers, etc as factors responsible for the emergence of alternative tourism.

Alternative approaches to tourism were proposed, favoring small-scale, environmentally friendly, locally-based tourism. Among these, Miller & Twining-Ward found alternative forms of tourism that existed in the literature including, “soft and educational tourism (Krippendorf, 1982), cooperative tourism (Farrell, 1986), appropriate tourism (Richter, 1987), responsible tourism (Wheeler, 1991), special-interest tourism (Hall & Weiler, 1992), ecotourism (Boo, 1990; Ceballos-Lascurain, 1991), and... pro-poor tourism” (Miller & Twining-Ward, 2005, p. 31).

Pro-poor tourism (PPT) developed as a specialized, small-scale, community-based approach to poverty alleviation and has shown successful initiatives in African countries such as Gambia, South Africa, Tanzania, and Egypt (Goodwin, 2007). More recent forms, such as agrotourism (farm tourism), cultural tourism, and volunteer tourism (VT), are evident in both the North and the South (Mowforth & Munt, 1998). Small, low-impact types of alternative tourism were seen to offer hope for locally driven action and control over economic development and growth, environmental and cultural conservation, as well as poverty alleviation and capacity building in the lesser developed regions in the world (Blamey, 2001; Fennell, 2001; Honey, 2008).

Such forms of resident responsive tourism and the adoption of alternative, low impact and socially responsible tourism at local levels arose both in the Western and non-Western world, primarily in the global South. Situated at the micro-level of local destinations and communities, alternative tourism continued to gain momentum through the 1990s into the present day, developing alongside the macro-level, supra-organizational initiatives focused on global sustainability (Table 2).

Alternative tourism has continued to focus on a richer range of issues, addressing environmental, economic and social impacts of mass tourism, sex tourism, and others. The notion of “responsible tourism,” (RT) advocated in the 1980s, fit the spirit of responsible travel and alternative tourism which emerged in the 1980s (ICRT, 2014). The RT agenda is oriented towards local well-being and, according to Goodwin (2011)

“recognizes the importance of cultural integrity, ethics, equity, solidarity, and mutual respect placing quality of life at its core” (p. 16).

There is no single definition of tourism development or STD, and these notions have been associated with various paradigms and theories. Oppermann (1993) and Hardy et al., (2002) assessed how tourism theories developed as a reaction to economic models, and argued that after the Second World War two predominant paradigms of tourism were evident: *the diffusionist paradigm and the dependency paradigm*. Two theories emerged within the diffusionist paradigm: (1) Development stage theory–based on the notion of unilinear changes from the less developed to developed and (2) Diffusion theory–based on the notion of trickle down or multiplier effect from the developed to less developed areas/countries.

Dependency theory emerged out of the *dependency paradigm*, based on historical patterns of colonization and dependency. Sharpley (2000) also situated tourism development within various theories such as (1) the Modernization theory (flourishing in the 1960s similar to the development stage theory) (2) Dependency theory, and (3) Alternative development theory – as it breaks from the linear pattern and believes in a bottom-up approach that embraces environmental concern with human development.

Contrary to the notion of mainstream tourism theories, many authors believe sustainable tourism emerged as an alternative development theory precipitating anti-developmental and limits to growth arguments, while discarding mass tourism. Alternative tourism features include: small scale, targeted to benefit local people, environmentally friendly, respect of local culture and tradition, and alleviation of poverty through Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) schemes (Blamey, 2001; Fennell, 2001; Sharpley, 2007; Honey, 2008; Jamal, Camargo, & Wilson, 2013).

While defining the scope of sustainable tourism development, Hardy et al. (2002) referred to Jafari’s (2001) four major platforms of tourism research developed sequentially as advocacy, cautionary, adaptancy, and knowledge-based tourism phases. Advocacy referred to the earlier phase of tourism development during 1950-1960s where negative impacts of tourism were not yet realized. Jafari’s (2001) cautionary platform

referred to the late 1960s and early 1980s when new-classical economic theories and models supporting mass tourism that impacted natural and cultural heritage were criticized. He argued the adaptancy stage of tourism followed and included development/research in the mid-1980s and championed small-scale, community-based, alternative forms of tourism. Finally, the knowledge-based stage of tourism development is considered to be the period between the late 1980s up-to the 1990s. The following presents a summary how various forms of sustainable development/tourism have been defined.

Table 2. Defining SD, ST, CBT and various other tourism forms

	Definition
Sustainable development	“Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987, p.8).
Sustainable tourism	“Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities” (UNEP-UNWTO, 2005, p.12).
Community-Based Tourism	“CBT is generally small scale and involves interactions between visitor and host community, particularly suited to rural and regional areas. CBT is commonly understood to be managed and owned by the community, for the community” (Cooperation A.P.E., 2010, p. 2).
Ecotourism	"Responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment, sustains the well-being of the local people, and involves interpretation and education" (TIES, 2015, para. 2)
Geotourism	“Tourism that sustains or enhances the geographical character of a place—its environment, culture, aesthetics, heritage, and the well-being of its residents” (National Geographic, 2015, para. 1)
Responsible Tourism	Responsible Tourism is about making “better places for people to live, and better places for people to visit” (ICRT, 2015, para. 2)
Pro-Poor Tourism	“Tourism that puts those people living in poverty at the top of the agenda. PPT strategies are concerned with reducing both absolute and relative poverty by providing tourism-related income opportunities for disadvantaged groups” (SNV& Griffith University, 2007, p.10).

Under the overarching umbrella of STD, in addition to CBT, other forms of alternative tourism such as ecotourism, rural tourism, responsible tourism, etc. have also been in vogue among practitioners and academicians. Most of the general discussions on tourism development relate to the modernization/development stage theory, the diffusion theory and the dependency theory, but this discussion relates sustainable tourism



development to the alternative development theory as it is seen as a participatory and bottom-up development approach. However, as per the stated scope and objectives of this study ST and CBT will be the primary focuses.

## **2.3 Community-Based Tourism (CBT): Definitions, Dimensions, Success Factors and Barriers**

### ***2.3.1 Definitions of community***

Similar to ST, there is no singular definition of community (Hillery, 1955; Matarrita-Cascante & Sene-Harper, 2016). However, a few scholarly definitions of community and community development might illuminate the notion of community better. Driskell & Lyon (2002, p. 375) stated that Robert Park's (1936) classical definition of community identified three essential characteristics: (1) a population territorially organized, (2) more or less completely rooted in the soil it occupies, and (3) its individual units living in a relationship of mutual interdependence.

Driskell & Lyon (2002, p. 375) stated that Hillery (1955) identified no fewer than ninety-four definitions of community without an agreement on a common definition. However, Hillery presented three core elements of community which included: (1) a specific place, (2) common ties, and (3) social interaction. Drawing upon Murphy (1985), Jamal & Getz (1995) in the context of collaborative community-based tourism planning defined it as, 'a body of people living in the same locality,' as defined by the Concise Oxford dictionary. A community-based tourism destination may be viewed by adopting an ecosystem approach, where visitors interact with local living (hosts, services) and non-living (landscape, sunshine) to experience a tourism product" (p. 188).

Warren (1987) in *Older and newer approaches to the community* presented the general notion of community surrounded around shared living based on common locality. The author presented six approaches for the study of community: (1) community as a space-applied both in Rural and Urban Community studies, (2) community as people, (3) community as shared institutions and values, (4) community as interaction, (5) community as a distribution of power, and (6) community as a social

system- this approach is based on the idea of structured interaction between two or more units, e.g. persons or groups.

Wilkinson (1991) highlighted three elements of the community: “a locality, a local society, and a process of locality-oriented collective actions”–the community field (p.2) and he further argued that especially in rural sociology, “community action has emerged again as an emphasis in rural policy” (p.1). Wilkinson (1991) presented some problems related to the three elements of community as per conventional definition. The locality and local society is changing today with shrinking boundaries due to transportation, communications, and mobility of people to fulfill their various needs. Firms, associations and individuals may have extra-local connections stronger than the local ties. The field of community action is more problematic with the urbanization of the world. However, Wilkinson’s (1991) thesis claimed that the community has not ceased to exist and it is still an important factor in individual and social well-being. People still live together in geographical places, and act and interact together. Outside accesses and networks increase community solidarity rather than decrease it. Wilkinson (1991) postulated that rather than making statements that communities are past utopia, there is a need of reconceptualizing community relevant to the social conditions of the Western world of the past two or three centuries. Community should be studied not as an ideal, old form of social life, but as a dynamic and changing field of interacting forces (Wilkinson, 1991). The author further argued that regretting the loss of primitive non-existent communities without embracing the benefits of modern development to revitalize our living communities does not seem to go along the line of rural sociology.

Some scholars such as Driskell & Lyon (2002) have questioned whether virtual communities are real communities. They have argued that since identification with place (both psychological-social interactions and territorial-area/place specific), common ties, and social interactions seem to be the core elements of community, virtual communities can’t be considered within a community framework as they lack identification with the place.

In a very recent approach to community, Matarrita-Cascante & Sene-Harper (2016) defined community from three elements: (1) geographical location, (2) institutional mechanism for providing goods and services, and (3) people. By geographical location, the authors meant geographical boundaries such as town or county that also served the purpose of providing sustenance and further progress. The institutional approach emphasized functional aspects of community institutions such as government or non-government organizations providing residents goods and services. The authors' emphasized people as the most defining element of community as, at the end of day, it was people in community who decide, direct, act, and collaborate to achieve the community change/development goals they set. These authors also pointed out the limitations of other community elements such as geographical space, which could face implementation challenges for ecosystem or wildlife management; and institutional approach of community may face representation issues. The authors defined people element as most critical to community as it embodies community cohesion, interaction, and trust. As stated elsewhere, these authors supported the notion that due to varying contexts of communities, their wants, needs and resources might be different from another community, which also affect community goals. Based on Matarrita-Cascante & Sene-Harper's (2016) and other above-mentioned definitions of community, it can be concluded that the definitions and dimensions of community are ever changing and so are the needs and wants of the communities.

From the above definitions, the notion of community entails a geographical location where people interact based on some bonding and work together in a collaborative fashion to improve their quality of living. Definitions of community are ever-expanding with the nature of changes in communities brought upon by forces such as transportation, information and communication, modernization, and globalization (Warren, 1987). Moreover, community tourism development is one of the many areas of research about communities which also include: education, health, infrastructure development and other social services.

### ***2.3.2 Definitions and dimensions of community-based tourism (CBT)***

“Community-based tourism” (CBT) has gained strong prominence alongside “Sustainable Tourism.” The introduction of CBT is believed to have taken place “in the early 1980s as the *sine qua non* of alternative tourism” (Weaver, 2010, p. 206). Hopes were especially high of combatting mass tourism in the developing world and aiding rural communities in the global South through grassroots development, resident participation, empowerment and capacity building (see Scheyvens, 1999, 2002).

However, there is also evidence that community tourism development was in practice in the North as well after the 1980s, both in the form of government initiatives and industry responses. Joppe (1996) argued that community tourism development entered the later part of the 1970s and in Canada, it took place in the late 1980s due to technical assistance and facilitation by federal and provincial governments rather than community interests. Murphy (1985), however, argued that during the 1980s tourism in small communities in British Columbia and the Yukon (Canada) adopted guidelines that were socially acceptable while considering future expansion, and resident feedback was a common practice. These are examples of public-private partnerships, which happened in community tourism in the early 1980s.

Alongside NGO involvement, such as by Tourism Concern, came seminal academic works such as *Tourism, economic, physical and social impacts* (Matheson & Wall, 1982), and *Tourism: A Community Approach* (Murphy, 1985). Public-private partnerships and collaborative planning added further impetus to the discourse of community as a key ‘stakeholder’ in tourism (see Jamal & Getz, 1995; UNEP-UNWTO, 2005; Bramwell, 2011).

CBT as a form of sustainable tourism has been practiced more as an approach, especially in the communities of the rural South (Lucchetti & Font, 2013) to uplift the living standards of people through the injection of tourism while preserving and respecting the local natural and cultural environments (SNV & Griffith University, 2007). However, this dissertation research also draws examples of CBT from the North as well. It can be said that CBT is practiced all over the world but more in the global

South (Lucchetti & Font, 2013). Multiple definitions of CBT from various authors/institutions were available during the literature review, which are presented below to better clarify the concept of CBT:

Table 3. Multiple definitions of CBT

<b>CBT</b>	<b>Author/ Institute</b>
CBT applies the objectives of ST “combined with an emphasis on community engagement and development.”	Ellis & Sheridan (2014, p. 129)
CBT is an approach that engages the host community in the planning and development of the tourism industry.	Hall (1996); Butler, Curran, & O’Gorman, (2013)
“CBT is generally small scale and involves interactions between visitor and host community, particularly suited to rural and regional areas. CBT is commonly understood to be managed and owned by the community, for the community.”	Cooperation A.P.E., (2010, p. 2, APEC Tourism Working Group)
“CBT is a type of sustainable tourism that promotes pro-poor strategies in a community setting. CBT initiatives aim to involve local residents in the running and management of small tourism projects as a means of alleviating poverty and providing an alternative income source for community members. CBT initiatives also encourage respect for local traditions and culture as well as for natural heritage.”	SNV & Griffith University (2007, p. 10)
CBT “refers to tourism that involves community participation and aims to generate benefits for local communities in the developing world by allowing tourists to visit these communities and learn about their culture and the local environment.”	(Lucchetti & Font (2013, p. 2)
Community Based Enterprises (CBEs) can be defined as a “Sustainable, community-owned and community-based tourism initiative that enhances conservation and in which the local community is fully involved throughout its development and management and they are the main beneficiaries through community development.”	Manyara & Jones (2007, p. 637)

Source: Dangi & Jamal (2016, p.9)

In the community development discourse, community-based and community-driven approaches have received more focus from community involvement and empowerment perspectives. Mansuri & Rao (2004) underlined community-driven development as the more recent variant and mechanism of community-based development. They clarified that community development outcomes are the results of purposive course of actions taken by a community by mobilizing its cohesive nature and solidarity in terms of meeting the local needs, improving environmental conditions, and distributing equitable benefits (Mansuri & Rao, 2004).

A rich literature on Community-Based Tourism (CBT) has also developed since the early calls for alternative, responsible tourism. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Tourism Working Group (Cooperation A.P.E., 2010, p. 2) described CBT as “generally small scale and involves interactions between visitor and host community, particularly suited to rural and regional areas.” Noting that some terms such as ‘Rural Tourism’ have often been used alongside CBT in Latin America, and alongside ‘Ecotourism’ in Asia, the working group concluded that, in a broader sense, all these forms—sustainable tourism, CBT, rural tourism and ecotourism—have similar objectives (Cooperation A.P.E., 2010).

Interestingly, the role and well-being of the local community, while not so evident in the global institutional beginnings of ST in the 1990s, had also grown in visibility in UNWTO documents a decade later (Figure 1, UNEP-UNWTO, 2005). From a Kenyan perspective, Manyara & Jones (2007) described CBEs from a community-driven perspective and suggested it should include full community involvement and mechanisms to benefit them.

Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) and CBEs share common goals in terms of poverty alleviation and capacity building, for instance, to reduce poverty through creating direct income to households and raising income thresholds, complementing social development and raising standards of living, and creating sustainable and diversified livelihoods. However, PPT is aimed towards marginalized groups and increasing net benefits to the poor (see Butler, Curran, and Gorman, 2013).

Environmentally friendly forms of tourism such as organic farm ecotourism also share common ground with CBT. Both CBT and ecotourism are perceived to be ethically oriented ‘alternatives to mass tourism’ (Goodwin, 2011, p. 32). The International Ecotourism Society (TIES, 2015) underlines that ecotourism is about conservation, communities, and sustainable travel. Fennell (2001), in a content analysis of 85 definitions of ecotourism, found seven frequently and commonly used elements including: nature based, conservation, reference to culture, benefits to locals, education, sustainability and impact.

Mbaiwa & Stronza (2010) presented success stories of “Community-Based Natural Resource Management” (CBNRM) from the Okavango Delta, Botswana demonstrating how communities had engaged in wildlife tourism, biodiversity conservation and rural development in a sustainable way when they were ensured of economic benefits. However, Manyara & Jones’s (2007) evaluation of six community-based enterprises (CBEs) in Kenya found that CBEs were a failure because they were conservation-oriented, were controlled by foreign donors, and paid far less attention to community development than to conservation. Drawing on the review of pro-poor tourism case studies mostly from Africa and one from Nepal, Ashley, Roe & Goodwin (2001) presented critical success factors that include access to market, commercial viability, the presence of a policy framework and skill building and collaboration among stakeholders for effective implementation.

Further, a more recent definition of community development provided by Matarrtita-Cascante and Brennan (2012) stated:

“Community development is a process that entails organization, facilitation, and action, which allows people to establish ways to create the community they want to live in. It is a process that provides vision, planning, direction, and coordinated action towards desired goals associated with the promotion of efforts aimed at improving the conditions in which local resources operate. As a result, community developers harness local economic, human, and physical resources to secure daily requirements and respond to changing needs and conditions” (p.297).

The definition of Matarrtita-Cascante and Brennan (2012) is far encompassing compared to earlier definitions of community development. Additionally, Matarrtita-Cascante and Brennan (2012) extend their conceptual definition and typology of community intending to serve both academics and practitioners. Due to the proven capacity of delivering solutions to community problems, there has been a growing multidisciplinary approach in defining communities, but some of the approaches provide partial economic growth-model omitting the holistic concept of community. The authors provided a comprehensive overview of community with three approaches: human

ecology, systems theory, and field theory. As per human ecology, community is defined as the structure of relationships in a localized population to meet their daily needs including adaptive processes. Systems theory defined community as a system where individual units functioned to complement the whole system and in community contexts, it denoted to highly organized and socially significant relationships between individuals or groups. Finally, field theory emphasized social interactions as the most critical aspect of community which makes community structure and functions possible.

Community development has also been viewed from community resources/assets perspectives. Taylor (2007) outlined three primary types of resources: economic, human, and physical; and Matarrita-Cascante & Brennan (2012) defined community elements or assets as the ‘building blocks’ of community life and broadly grouped them as human (families, residents, groups), and physical resources (built and natural assets with functional, aesthetic, and symbolic values).

To conclude, whether termed “community-based, -driven”, “imposed, directed and self-help” (Matarrita-Cascante & Brennan, 2012) the focus of social researchers dealing with communities lies in empowering local communities with the development of “agency” for sustainable community development. Realization of local context, especially the cultural context and community capacity building for empowerment, are some of the highlights of community based, self-help and development of community approaches.

### ***2.3.3 Critical success factors (CSFs) for CBT***

Many factors such as participation, collaboration, business ownership, and empowerment have been linked to CBT success (A summary table follows). Community participation has been defined as the public’s right, as an educational and empowering process to identify self-needs and address them through collective actions, and as a tool to develop skills of entrepreneurship, which help reduce social, economic, and power imbalances in the existing social order (Simmons, 1994; Tosun, 2000).

In the context of decision-making benefits, Simmons’ (1994) research of Ontario, Canada showed that residents supported tourism growth as a secondary choice, not to



change their traditional agricultural economy or lifestyle, and they preferred local ownership of businesses. Li's (2004) case study of Nanshan Cultural Tourism Zone (NCTZ) in China reiterated community participation benefits including creation of community resiliency.

Modern communities possibly cannot make progress without a strong sense of and mechanism of collaboration. Jamal & Getz (1995) applied the theoretical constructs of collaboration in the context of tourism destinations with insight into inter-organizational collaboration with reference to local community-based tourism planning and development. Regarding sustainable tourism development in protected areas, Jamal & Stronza (2009) through a case-study research of Bolivia, provided guidance for tourism planners for achieving sustainability through collaboration.

Community scholars have also highlighted benefits of participation and empowerment which can be essential to obtain funding, to help make better decisions (by residents), to address community needs, and to respect community knowledge (Cole, 2006). Arnstein, (1969) presented the degrees of difference in citizen participation which could range from being effective as 'citizen control' or weak as 'manipulation.' She strongly advocated that "participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for powerless" (p. 2) and only through partnership, delegated power and citizen control powerless could be benefitted.

Based on a regional study that included a wide range of case-studies of village-tourism, community-tourism, and ecotourism practices in various countries in the Asia-Pacific, Hatton (1999) concluded that while that the implementation and outcomes of community-based tourism vary, common themes are present, such as economic gain, leadership, empowerment and employment (see also Billington, Carter & Kayamba 2008; Mataritta-Cascante 2010). Similarly, Scheyvens (1999) mentioned four dimensions of community empowerment: economic (income and employment related); psychological (community pride and self-esteem); social (community cohesion); and political (shift in balance between the powerful and powerless, between the dominant and dependent).

To aid in measurement, Boley & McGehee (2014) developed their resident empowerment through tourism scales (RETS) which were later tested in Virginia, USA (Boley, McGehee Perdue & Long, 2014) and focused on psychological, social, and political empowerment. Other tourism scholars (Woosnam, Norman, & Ying, 2009; Woosnam & Norman, 2010) have invented emotional solidarity scales (ESS) to measure the density of relationships (emotional closeness) resulting between hosts-guests as shared beliefs, shared behavior, mutual understanding, respect, etc. which have implications in destination planning and marketing. This research takes references from these studies in exploring interactions between tourism stakeholders and visitors in BCS in terms of destination justice and equity, and an “Ethic of care.”

Examples from the developed world offer similar common ground perspectives (e.g., Simmons, 1994; Sharpley, 2007; Poitras & Getz, 2006). Drawing from the literature review, Table 4 summarizes a number of ‘critical success factors’ for CBT that are common across the developed and lesser developed world. They are organized under the four key dimensions of community empowerment that were forwarded by Scheyvens (1999, 2002) and further supported by Boley and McGehee (2014), Boley, McGehee Perdue & Long (2014), and Cole (2006). Additional studies (case-studies) of CBT that emerged during the literature review from various geographical regions including Costa-Rica by Mataritta-Cascante (2010); Alnwick Garden in Northumberland, England by Sharpley (2007); Peru by Lucchetti & Font (2013); Thailand by Vajirakachorn (2011); Kenya by Manyara & Jones (2007); and Africa and Nepal by Ashley et al. (2001) provide a comprehensive list of critical success factors (CSFs) of CBT which are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4. Critical success factors (CSFs) for CBT

Dimensions of community empowerment	Elements of community success factors (CSFs)	Authors
Economic empowerment	<b>1. Income and employment</b> 1.1 Economic benefits 1.2 Local ownership of businesses, small and medium business enterprises (SMEs) 1.3 Providing financial services/funds to SMEs 1.4 Management of external/internal financial resources 1.5 Vision, goals, strategies, marketing/networking (integrated planning) 1.6 Economic benefits 1.7 Capacity building, training and entrepreneurship/skills development 1.8 Equal distribution of land among residents/equity 1.9 Community assets	Scheyevens (1999, 2002); Mataritta-Cascante (2010); Manyara & Jones (2007); Vajirakachorn (2011); Poitras & Getz (2006); Sharpley (2007); Brodhag (2009); Lucchetti & Font, (2013); Ashley, Roe, & Goodwin (2001).
Psychological empowerment	<b>2. Community pride and self-esteem</b> 2.1 Participation, involvement, collaboration 2.2 Educational activities (to identify self needs), having knowledge/information 2.3 Tourist/resident satisfaction	Jamal & Getz (1995); Jamal & Stronza (2009); Mbaiwa & Sronza (2010); Cole, (2006); Scheyevens (1999, 2002); Vajirakachorn (2011); Brodhag (2009); Boley, Mcgehee Perdue, & Long (2014); Arnstein (1969).
Social empowerment	<b>3 Community cohesion</b> 3.1 Participation, involvement, collaboration 3.2 Community cohesion/networking, sense of community 3.3 Interaction among stakeholders 3.4 Quality of life 3.5 Respect for local culture and tradition 3.6 Tourism resource conservation	Tosun (2000); Simmons (1994); Li (2004); Cole (2006); Scheyevens (1999, 2002); Manyara & Jones (2007); Vajirakachorn (2011); Billington, Carter & Kayamba (2008); Brodhag (2009); Russell (2000); Butler, Curran, & O'Gorman (2013); Lucchetti & Font (2013); Boley, Mcgehee Perdue, & Long, (2014); Ashley, Roe, & Goodwin (2001)
Political Empowerment	<b>4. Shift in power balance</b> 4.1 Participation, involvement, collaboration 4.2 Support from local/national government 4.3 Visionary and passionate leaders	Scheyevens (1999, 2002); Mataritta-Cascante (2010); Manyara & Jones (2007); Vajirakachorn (2011); Billington, Carter & Kayamba (2008); Boley, Mcgehee Perdue, & Long, (2014); Arnstein, (1969)
	<b>5. Other components/elements*</b> 5.1 Environmental protection and management 5.2 Infrastructure development 5.3 Flagship attraction 5.4 Tourists-residents emotional solidarity	Billington, Carter & Kayamba (2008); Poitras & Getz (2006); Sharpley (2007); Woosnam, Norman & Ying, (2009); Woosnam & Norman, (2010).

Source: Dangi & Jamal (2016, p.11). \* Not covered in four dimensions

To summarize the above discussion, basic elements of CSFs include engagement/participation, collaboration, community assets, equity and local ownership, economic gain, leadership, empowerment, employment and so forth. These suggestions for CBT success factors provide a direction for developing a sound framework for SCBT which is one of the objectives of this research.

For the purpose of this research, BCS tourism community has been defined in terms of interactions, networking, and shared vision and action of tourism stakeholders with special emphasis on destination justice and equity in the domain of governance. Tourism stakeholders in this process include offices involved in tourism governance such as city and county offices, tourism associations including CVB, the Arts Council and others, tourism entrepreneurs including restaurants and hotels, and tourism festivals and event organizers involved in promoting and preserving BCS culture. Other tourism stakeholders for the purpose of this research include staff working in tourism related businesses or social/cultural entities such as museums and churches. Considering the purpose of this research to explore justice and equity in the domain of tourism governance to contribute towards developing a robust framework of SCBT, the study focuses on exploring those issues of justice and equity through an in-depth interviews, participant observation, and literature review. The study explores those issues in relation to critical success factors of CBT, criteria/themes of justice and equity relating to governance, and mixing those with theoretical perspective from Rawls' (1971, 1999) *Theory of Justice*.

## **2.4 Comparing ST and CBT**

### ***2.4.1 Similarities and differences between ST and CBT***

As mentioned in the earlier sections, there are more commonalties in key principles of ST and CBT than differences. The study finds no major differences in the aims and objectives of ST and CBT, as the objectives of CBT seem to be somewhat similar to ST objectives such as community engagement and development (Ellis & Sheridan, 2014); local control and management of business for alleviating poverty and providing an alternative income for the community (SNV & Griffith University, 2007,

p.10). There seems to be no agreed upon, specific principles for community-based tourism, but most scholars believe that the ST principles apply to community settings as in other alternative forms of tourism. Some scholars believe that ST principles are applicable to all forms of tourism whether mass or alternative tourism/CBT (Clarke 1977; Hardy et al., 2002; UNEP-UNWTO, 2005).

Table 5. Dimensions, aims/objectives of ST and CBT: Some common grounds

	<b>ST</b>	<b>CBT</b>
Pillars/ Dimensions	Economic, Social, and Environmental Sustainability + Management	Similar to ST dimensions
Aims/ Objectives	<p>12 Aims/Objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic Viability</li> <li>• Local Prosperity</li> <li>• Employment Quality</li> <li>• Social Equity</li> <li>• Visitor Fulfillment</li> <li>• Local Control</li> <li>• Community Wellbeing</li> <li>• Cultural Richness</li> <li>• Physical Integrity</li> <li>• Biological Diversity</li> <li>• Resource Efficiency</li> <li>• Environmental Purity (UNEP-UNWTO,2005)</li> </ul> <p>(1) Improvement of the quality of life for all people: education, life expectancy, opportunities to fulfill potential,            (2) Self-reliance: Political freedom and local decision-making for local needs, (3) Endogenous development (Sharpley, 2000)*</p>	<p>CBT applies the objectives of ST “combined with focus on community engagement &amp; development (Ellis &amp; Sheridan, 2014).</p> <p>A type of ST that promotes pro-poor strategies in a community setting.</p> <p>Aims local control &amp; management of business for alleviating poverty and providing an alternative income for community (SNV&amp; Griffith University, 2007, p.10).</p> <p>CBT is an approach that engages the host community in the planning and development of the tourism industry (Hall, 1996; Butler, Curran, &amp; O’Gorman, 2013).</p>

\* In the broader context of tourism and sustainable development (SD)

There are some differences between ST and CBT, however. ST principles have been initiated mainly by international public-private institutions such as the United Nations’ Earth Summit, UNWTO, UNEP, WTTC, and various tourism scholars especially originating in the West-Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. In that respect, it has been initiated at a macro-level, supported by international institutions with western-centric perspectives (Jamal et al., 2013; Goodwin, 2011). Gossling et al., (2009) contended that sustainable tourism originated through critics,

thinkers, travel-writers, and commentators and not through industry. Therefore, working links between the industry and academic research are likely not as strong and effective for ST compared to CBT.

Contrary to the origins of ST, CBT has origins in various local/regional scales including Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, and the West, etc. As an alternative to mass tourism, CBT focuses on grassroots development through participation, equity, and empowerment and emphasizes small and medium-sized projects mostly owned by local entrepreneurs (Lucchetti & Font, 2013).

Table 6. Differences between ST and CBT

<b>ST</b>	<b>CBT</b>
Initiated mainly by international institutions: UN (Earth Summit), UNWTO, UNEP, WTTC (Goodwin, 2011; Jamal et al., 2013)	I/NGOs, local/national government, practitioners/community, donor agencies, and tourism scholars (Goodwin, 2011; Jamal et al., 2013)
Western oriented, academy leading. Idealistic: originated through critics, thinkers, travel-writers, and commentators (Gosling et al., 2009; Mowforth & Munt, 1998; Goodwin, 2011; Springett & Redcliff, 2015)	Origin in various local/regional scales: Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, America, etc. (Tourism Concern, 2014; Lucchetti & Font, 2013; Manyara & Jones, 2007)
Macro-level (Goodwin, 2011; Jamal et al., 2013)	Micro-level, practical, emphasis on small and medium-sized projects (Goodwin, 2011; Jamal et al., 2013)
Big/visible gap in the working links between the researcher & industry (Gosling et al., 2008; Johnston, 2014)	Focus: grassroots development, participation, equity, empowerment, local entrepreneurship, leadership, front-stage experience of community-based tours for tourists (Lucchetti & Font, 2013)
More focus on quantitative measures and positivistic approach (Jamal et al., 2013)	Urges to focus on qualitative measures to include justice, ethics of care and governance committed to benefit the disadvantaged.

The above tables present some subtle similarities and differences between ST and CBT. Examples have been presented that similar to ST, CBT is also promoted by non-governmental, and international organizations including the World Bank and Global Environmental Facility (Dodds, Ali & Galaski, 2016). However, CBT is different from other forms of tourism as it maximizes benefits for community stakeholders rather than distant investors, which might presumably be a case in ST operations such as airlines, hotel-chains, and mega-resorts in developing and developed economies.

Another difference is that for CBT operations communities (hosts) and tourists (guests) have more mutually beneficial relationships: CBT projects are designed so that benefits/dividends rotate and/or are allocated among residents, and CBT initiatives are initiated by a family or a group based on community assets, sometimes joined by outside business partners. These types of practical implications that help ensure economic/social benefits to the community in CBT contexts remain as ideals in ST, but are rarely achieved. In this respect, CBT also overlaps with responsible tourism (RT) as it “benefits local community, natural and business environment and itself” (Chettiparamb & Kokkranikal, 2012, p.314). Given this dimension, CBT closely addresses the issues of justice, ethics and equity and it marginally differs from ST due to its rootedness in the locale/community. Along these lines, CBT and ST are not exactly similar or dissimilar, but rather two approaches of tourism development with substantial intersections and overlaps.

## **2.5 Measuring for Sustainability: Definition, History and Types of Certifications**

### ***2.5.1 Sustainable Tourism (ST) certification criteria and indicators***

Criteria and indicators of sustainable development have been applied in many countries in sectors such as agriculture, forestry, environment, community development, tourism, etc. by various national and international organizations (Reddy, 2008; Park & Yoon, 2011). Such measures have been given various names such as indicators, eco-labels, sustainable tourism certification, fair-trade tourism certification and so forth. Meidna (2005) suggested there are at least 104 certification schemes under various names. Some of these standards include the Australian Nature and Ecotourism

Certification Program (NEAT), the Costa Rican Certification for Sustainable Tourism (CST), and Sweden's Nature's Best among others. Considering the availability of wide-ranging ST/CBT indicators in various sub-sectors of tourism, this discussion mainly focuses on dimensions and criteria of sustainability and incorporates indicators where criteria are not specified or indicators are mixed with criteria.

It has been suggested the UNWTO was the first to develop sustainable tourism indicators (Miller and Twining-Ward, 2005). As a response to the Rio Earth Summit, 1992, the UNWTO formed an international task force for developing sustainable tourism indicators, which resulted in publication of the first sustainable indicators entitled *Indicators of Sustainable Management of Tourism* in 1993. In the process of indicator development, in 1996, UNWTO published another key document entitled *What Tourism Managers Need to Know: A Practical Guide to the Development and Use of Indicators of Sustainable Tourism*. The UNWTO further published *A Guidebook of Indicators of Sustainable Development for Tourism Destinations* (2004) building on case studies from more than 20 countries around the world. These measures were based on the experience of some 60 experts and practitioners engaged in indicators development (UNWTO, 2004). The document presents a comprehensive account of 13 components of issues (mentioned as criteria and themes by other scholars) and their corresponding indicators. This research has drawn only 13 baseline issues for comparison which are presented in Table 7 of this section. For details, please see the UNWTO Guidebook (2004).

Some scholars have proposed a new set of ST indicators claiming inconsistency in previous works. For instance, Tanguay, Rajaonsin & Therrien (2013) acknowledged the issues of incompatibilities between academics and policy makers in developing sustainable tourism indicators (STI). Basing their STI on previous studies (UNWTO, 2004; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006), and in the context of the Gaspésie region in Quebec, the authors developed 20 issue areas of tourism which are compared in Table 7 along-with other indicators.



### ***2.5.2 Continuous Improvements on sustainability criteria/indicators***

**The GSTC's Contribution:** There have been continued efforts in developing and modifying sustainability indicators. The Global Sustainable Tourism Council (GSTC) was established in 2010 as a global organization for promoting sustainable tourism to be active in all UNWTO regions (GSTC, 2015). The GSTC has developed two separate criteria: (1) for hotels and tour operators, and (2) for destinations. Given the objectives of this research to explore issues of justice, ethics and equity in the domain of governance, the GSTC criteria for destinations have been used as a reference for this study as detailed in Table 7 and in the combined (preliminary) framework of SCBT in Section III. The GSTC, as an umbrella organization, has a diverse, global membership base, including UN agencies, leading travel companies, hotels, country tourism boards and tour operators with the goal of fostering sustainable tourism practices. The GSTC destination criteria are organized under the four pillars of sustainable tourism as mentioned below (GSTC, 2015; Bricker and Schultz, 2011, p. 217):

1. Demonstrate sustainable destination management,
2. Maximize economic benefits to the host community and minimize negative impacts,
3. Maximize benefits to communities, visitors and culture; minimize negative impacts, and
4. Maximize benefits to environment and minimize negative impacts.

The GSTC states that the destination criteria and performance indicators “were developed based on already recognized criteria and approaches including, for example, the UNWTO destination level indicators, GSTC Criteria for Hotels and Tour Operators, and other widely accepted principles and guidelines, certification criteria and indicators” (GSTC, 2015, para. 1).

### ***2.5.3 CBT criteria and indicators***

Following the pattern of sustainable tourism indicators developed by UNWTO (1998, 2004) and other scholars, some community tourism scholars have developed separate CBT indicators. Choi & Sirakaya (2006) provided a comprehensive reference to measure community tourism development (CTD) within a sustainable framework. They

identified 125 indicators of sustainability which capture six dimensions: economic (24), social (28), cultural (13), ecological (25), political (32), and technological (3) as detailed in Table 7 and 9.

Strambach & Surmeier (2013) presented a CBT-type case study of 'Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa' (FTTSA), (est. 2001), and believed it to be one of the first innovative service standards that emphasized a social dimension of sustainability. The objective of FTTSA is to facilitate 'a fair, participatory and sustainable tourism industry in South Africa' (Strambach, & Surmeier, 2013, p. 740). Fair tourism business has been defined as one that complies with the principles of fair share, democracy, respect, transparency, reliability, and sustainability (FTTSA, 2005, Fair Trade Tourism, 2012/2013; Strambach, & Surmeier, 2013, p. 740). Taking references from various sources such as GSTC (international) and NMSRT (national), FTTSA has set 16 criteria for tourism business certification, which range from 5-star urban luxury hotels to backpacker hostels and tour-operators and the criteria are presented in Table-7.

Table 7. Comparison of criteria/issues of sustainability for ST and CBT from select studies

UNWTO (2004) 13 ST Criteria/Issues	Tanguay et al. (2013) 20 ST Criteria/Issues	GSTC (2015) 41 Destination Criteria of ST/CBT, 4 Sections	SNV & Griffith University (2007) CBT Criteria	Choi & Sirakaya (2006) 32 CBT Criteria in 6 dimensions	FTTSA** (2005); FTT*** (2012/2013); Strambach, & Surmeier (2013) CBT Criteria
Community Wellbeing	Wellbeing	1. Demonstrate sustainable destination management (14 Criteria as detailed in Table 9)	Resident Views (satisfaction)		Community benefits;
Sustaining Cultural Assets	Culture		Local Culture/Tradition		Cultural sensitivity
Community Participation in Tourism	Public Participation		Ownership & control; Workplace culture; VT		
Tourist Satisfaction	Satisfaction (tourists); Marketing-% of return	2. Maximize economic benefits to the host community & minimize negative impacts (9 Criteria as detailed in Table 9)		1. Social D. ( 8 Criteria as detailed in Table 9)	Quality & reliability
Health & Safety	Health; security & safety			2. Cultural D. (4 Criteria as detailed in Table 9)	Health & safety
Capturing Economic Benefits from Tourism	Economic viability; Employment		Revenue Generation	3. Economic Dimension (7 Criteria as detailed in Table 9)	Employment equity; Tours: equity & social impact
Protection of Valuable Natural Assets	Ecosystem	3. Maximize benefits to communities, visitors, and culture; minimize negative impacts (6 Criteria as detailed in Table 9)	Solid Waste		
Managing Scarce Natural Resources	Water; Energy		Waste Water	4. Technological D. (3 Criteria as detailed in Table 9)	Environmental management
Limiting Impacts of Tourism Activity	Accessibility (use intensity); Waste			5. Ecological D. (6 Criteria as detailed in Table 9)	Legal and general

\* New Criteria/indicators in the table (not overlapping)

\*\*FTTSA (Free Trade in Tourism South Africa)

\*\*\* FTT (Fair Trade Tourism)

Table 7, Continued

UNWTO (2004) 13 ST Criteria/Issues	Tanguay et al. (2013) 20 ST Criteria/Issues	GSTC (2015) 41 Destination Criteria of ST/CBT, 4 Sections	SNV & Griffith University (2007) CBT Criteria	Choi & Sirakaya (2006) 32 CBT Criteria in 6 dimensions	FTTSA** (2005); FTT*** (2012/2013); Strambach, & Surmeier (2013) CBT Criteria
Controlling Tourist Activities & Levels	Tourist Traffic	4. Maximize benefits to the environment and minimize negative impacts (12 Criteria as detailed in Table 9)		6. Political D. (4 Criteria as detailed in Table 9)	Labor standards
Destination Planning & Control	Investments		Business Performance		
Designing Products & Services	Promotion of ecotourism (labeling)				
Sustainability of Tourism Operations & Services	*Distinction (visits to cultural & heritage sites)	*Climate change adaptation *Crisis and emergency management	*Poverty Reduction	*Political D. Local P support	Skills development; HR practice
	*Atmosphere (air pollution-tourism sector)	*Site interpretation *Intellectual property *Greenhouse gas emissions *Light and noise pollution	*Gender, Equity, & Social Inclusion	*Technological D. Inf./ low impact tech.	*HIV-/AIDS-related issues *Procurement

\* New Criteria/indicators in the table (not overlapping)

\*\*FTTSA (Free Trade in Tourism South Africa)

\*\*\* FTT (Fair Trade Tourism)

As can be seen from Table 7, Tanguay et al. (2013) added a few issues/criteria beyond the UNWTO (2004) indicators including atmosphere (air pollution), investments (% of new real estate developments), promotion of ecotourism (ecolabeling), distinction (heritage and cultural site visits) and so forth. Due to the changes and innovations in tourism operations, Tanguay et al. (2012) recommended that STI be revised every five years. Likewise, what is novel in Choi & Sirakaya's (2006) study is the inclusion of political and technological (both are broadly a domain of governance) dimensions. Their political dimension includes criteria such as "local oriented control policy, political

participation, local planning policy, political supports at all level of governments” (p. 1,283), and technological dimension includes criteria such as “accurate data collection and tourism information change, adoption and use of new and low impact technologies, benchmarking-generic and competitive” (1,283). These are also detailed in the combined (preliminary) framework of SCBT in Section III.

Political and technological dimensions basically fall within the domain of governance, but may differ in a CBT context. On the positive side, the GSTC criteria (presented in Table 7 and detailed in Table 9) are far more comprehensive than the 13 original UNWTO criteria (2004). They incorporated additional dimensions not included in the UNWTO (2004) criteria, or other works including Tanguay et.al (2013). Some of the new criteria address more current issues including: climate change adaptation, crisis and emergency management, site interpretation, intellectual property, greenhouse gas emissions, and light and noise pollution.

Conversely, the CBT literature has overlooked the macro elements of conserving resources for future generations, taking a long-term perspective, addressing issues of equitable distribution of resources, as well as intra-generational and inter-generational equity. Some of the unique features of the FT TSA (2005) and Fair Trade Tourism (2012/2013) criteria for businesses included: ensuring representation of historically disadvantaged individual (HDIs) in decision-making, supporting HDI owned goods and services in procurement, ensuring equitable distribution of tour income through written agreements with third party suppliers, and consulting communities to project planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. These were among their closest principles related to those of equity and distributive justice addressing disadvantaged groups.

A critical review of these criteria and indicators illustrates that the ST/CBT criteria and indicator development process is not stagnant, but a matter of continuous improvement to keep up with the pace of time and contexts where indicators need to be applied. As already stated, baseline indicators of sustainability are subject to context-specific adaptation and vary place to place to accommodate local economic, environmental, and social-cultural issues. Moreover, there are complexities of

sustainable tourism criteria and indicators development related to measurement scales, stakeholder interests and values. Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that there are no uniform, methods or approaches for developing and applying the criteria and indicators pertaining to sustainable tourism and community-based tourism. While developing these criteria, some authors have focused on environmental issues whereas others have focused on economic, social or cultural issues.

## **2.6 Critique of ST and CBT**

With the onset of institutional and scholarly opinions defining/delimiting sustainable tourism, arguments both supporting and challenging the concept also started. Clarke (1997) observed four major shifts in the positioning of ST since the notion emerged in the 1990s, commencing with: (i) early opposition to mass tourism as being unsustainable, (ii) a continuum exists between ST and mass tourism, (iii) ST is applicable to mass tourism as well, and (iv) ST is applicable to all tourism ventures. Moreover, ST has been critiqued in the same fashion as SD and has been suggested to be: Western-centric, paying less attention to the knowledge of the South and influenced more by global institutions rather than addressing issues of equitable power and benefits distribution.

The objectives of SD have evolved from those of the WECD (1987) to UNCED (1992), WSSD (2002), UNCED (2012) and UNCED (2015) (Springett & Redcliff, 2015; Pisano, Endl & Berger, 2015). Continuation of sustainable development objectives with an institutional mechanism (United Nations and its specialized agencies) to monitor progress, to identify the gaps and reset objectives to address the emerging challenges can be considered a positive direction and achievement. However, failure to achieve the set objectives in a timely fashion and reframing them in upcoming forums and conferences resembles ‘old wine in a new bottle’ and speaks volumes on implementation weaknesses of the UN and its member-states (Springett & Redcliff, 2015) in achieving sustainability goals.

Mahanti & Manuel-Navarrete (2015) contended the very concept of sustainable development is worsened due to “the meager performance of Rio+20 ‘landmark’

conferences” (p. 417). Garrod & Fyall (1998) stated, “defining sustainable development in the context of tourism has become something of a cottage industry in the academic literature of late” (p.199). Moreover, sustainable tourism has been accused of greenwashing, for its emphasis on economic aspects rather than balancing social and environmental issues and for failing to address issues of equity, equitable distribution of benefits, while largely ignoring local voices.

Significant gaps have been identified in theory and practice relating to sustainable tourism research and between the findings and needs for academics and practitioners (Johnston, 2014). Even CBT, which supposedly emerged as an alternative to mass tourism based on local values and empowering communities, has not been free from reliance on international markets, expertise, and linkages to global capital.

The UNWTO has tried to fold ‘community’ into its later adaptations and guidelines, as noted in the previous section. Following such lines, it might be concluded that the principles of ST could simply be adopted by CBT practitioners and researchers (or vice-versa). However, a closer analysis of the literature cautions otherwise, revealing challenges ranging from theoretical and conceptual issues and omissions to ethical practices and political differences in ST and CBT practices as detailed below:

### ***2.6.1 Conceptual challenges***

Commenting on the conceptual issue of sustainable tourism Sharpley (2000) suggested that many questioned its validity as a means and/or end of tourism development due to its “lack of clarity or consensus concerning its meaning or objectives” (p.1). Bramwell & Lane (1993) believed the concept to be fundamentally misguided; and Liu (2003) argued, “debate on sustainable tourism is patchy, disjointed and at times flawed” (p.459). These diverse, contradicting perspectives pertaining to the concept and definition of sustainable tourism support the purpose of this research for new directions for moving forward. It can be argued that conceptual vagueness, ambiguity and idealistic tones have inhibited the potential of ST (Garrod & Fyall, 1998), and Springett & Redcliff (2015) further claimed ST lacked objective-analysis criteria and methodological tools to measure implementation (Springett & Redcliff, 2015).

Graci & Dodds (2010) claimed there are over 200 definitions of sustainable tourism, without one internationally recognized one. This area of study has seen a proliferation of definitions, overlapping terms such as ‘criteria’ and ‘principles’, and a plethora of ethical and management guidelines. Like the institutional and private sector drivers of ST, most sustainable tourism scholars have originated in Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand, which may also raise concerns about Eurocentrism (Goodwin, 2011; Gosling et al., 2009; Mowforth & Munt, 1998).

The operationalization of ST is also in doubt by many scholars. The principles of ST have been formulated by multiple entities and discourse has been diverse and often broad (WECD, 1987; UNEP-UNWTO, 2005; UNEP, 2014). This has led some to claim it to be conceptually or practically inoperative (e.g., Goodwin, 2011), or mostly rhetoric driven by industry interests and market capitalism (Garrod & Fyall, 1998; see also Berno & Bricker, 2001). Weaver (2012) argued that WECD’s (1987) inter-generational and intra-generational definition attracted high currency without providing operational details. Butler’s (1999) criticism of ‘sustainable tourism’ sustaining only tourism over the long-term has been highly cited. Responsible tourism which is a form of ST has also been criticized as being dangerously superficial, ephemeral and inadequate (Wheeler, 1991).

A new conceptual and operational debate on the future of sustainable tourism was brought forward by Weaver (2012) who championed sustainable mass tourism (SMT) to meet the visitor/destination demand and economic growth to be operationalized by applying three paths: (1) Organic (spontaneous, market-led growth), (2) Induced (mix of regulated and market-led growth), and (3) Incremental (regulated). Similar to the opinion of other authors, Weaver (2012) pleaded that slow tourism or alternative tourism will not meet the desired outcomes for most destinations, and that an evolutionary approach of SMT is the way to the future of tourism. However, Weaver’s (2012) proposition was challenged by Peeters (2012), mainly on the grounds that his various paths did not follow systems thinking and were too theoretical to be



operationalized. Peeters (2012) disagreement is just part of the conceptual debate that has drawn serious attention from tourism academia and practitioners.

CBT has been seen as a vehicle of community development and poverty reduction through participation (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Tosun, 2000; Cole, 2006); collaboration (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Jamal & Stronza, 2009); empowerment (especially women's empowerment) (Cole, 2006; Scheyevens, 2002; Lucchetti & Font, 2013); capacity building through trainings and skills development (Lucchetti & Font, 2013); equitable distribution of community benefits (Jamal and Camargo, 2014); and community ownership of local businesses/enterprises (Simmons, 1994). Related concepts such as community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) have also contributed to sustainable livelihoods, local stewardship of the natural environment and biodiversity conservation (Mbaiwa & Stronza, 2010).

In contrast to the macro-institutional structures that have driven ST, CBT (including CBE in some instances) has its origins in various local/regional scales including Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, and America, etc. (see literature review above). As an alternative to mass tourism, CBT has focused on grassroots development through participation, equity, and empowerment and has emphasized small and medium-sized projects mostly owned by the local entrepreneurs (Lucchetti & Font, 2013). Its drivers have been civil society organizations, NGOs and concerned academics (see above).

Despite such positive contributions, criticism of CBT abounds both with respect to its conceptual and practical vagueness. CBT has often been equated with rural tourism, ecotourism, and volunteer tourism, as noted earlier (Cooperation A.P.E., 2010). As in the ST literature, numerous definitions and approaches have proliferated the CBT literature, and management principles have been masqueraded as the guiding principles for CBT rather than ensuring that the concept is grounded in sound ethical principles (Dangi & Jamal, 2016). The task has further been complicated by inconsistent usage of terminology such as factors, principles and criteria (Helmy, 2004). Management principles for business success and ethical principles for sustainability, well-being and

good governance have also been mixed together, sometimes abbreviated as brief bullets (one might ‘guess’ the principle underlying these), etc. (Dangi & Jamal, 2016).

However, there has also been some defense for ST as an alternative form of tourism. Despite the above-mentioned counter-arguments relating to the concept of sustainable tourism, other authors have claimed that sustainable tourism encompasses all forms of tourism as defined by the UNEP -UNWTO (2005). Clarke (1977) and Hardy et al. (2002) noted ST is applicable to all tourism ventures as both a means and a goal. In addition to the above, other scholars (Hunter, 1995; Wall, 1997) have further argued that sustainable development and sustainable tourism have areas of mutual concern, but sustainable tourism has its own specific agenda. Therefore, these authors have opted to use sustainable development in the context of tourism.

### ***2.6.2 Implementation challenges***

**Issues of Scope and Scale:** UNEP-UNWTO (2005, pp. 18-19) outlined 12 major aims of ST: economic viability, local prosperity, employment quality, social equity, visitor fulfillment, local control, community wellbeing, cultural richness, physical integrity, biological diversity, resource efficiency, and environmental purity. Despite these noble goals, ST implementation remains problematic. It faces the challenge of addressing complex global issues such as climate change, multiple values and ideologies of stakeholders, and it has been suggested a remarkable gap exists between the theory and practice of STD (Gossling, Hall & Weaver, 2009). Bramwell (2011) argued that this requires both local and global action for ST, which has to cross-diverse sectors and policy domains (Bramwell, 2011).

However, ST’s initial formulation and its drivers were international public-private institutions such as the United Nations’ Earth Summit, UNWTO, UNEP, and WTTC. While it has been taken up by some civil society organizations and businesses at the ground level (e.g., Ecumenical Coalition of Tourism, 2015; Sustainable Travel International, 2015, etc.), it remains primarily a macro-level phenomenon, supported by international institutions that are located in the Western world and, as various critics argue, driven by Eurocentric, modernist values (Goodwin, 2011; Gössling et al., 2009).

Despite lofty stated goals involving future generations as well as current, and principles such as ensuring equity in the distribution of tourism resources, 'sustainable tourism' has also been criticized as being an ineffective concept as tourism development is decontextualized from wider economic and sustainable development goals (Wall, 1997). Moreover, it has been suggested to be oriented towards sustaining tourism rather than the resources it uses (Moscardo, 2008).

ST has also been critiqued for its failure to pay due attention to tourism demand at the destination level, the resource sustainability at the destination level being limited to preservation only and not embracing the dynamic concepts of change embedded with technology, and its omission of intra-generational equity and empowerment while emphasizing intergeneration equity (Liu, 2003). Liu (2003) further presented other overlooked issues including ignorance of positive 'tourism-related socio-cultural changes in the name of preserving the tradition and authenticity, lack of effective sustainability measures, and forms of sustainable tourism development such as ecotourism addressing micro-level concerns only.

By contrast, local stakeholders, local perspectives and items that are more concrete have grounded CBT locally. While CBT examples can be found around the world, its origins can be traced to the developing world, where the impetus of small scale 'alternative tourism' arose in response to social and environmental concerns related to modern mass tourism. Despite the wide-ranging and often divergent political and cultural spaces in which CBT practices occur, common ground can be found with respect to the objectives and intended benefits of CBT, such as community development, capacity building, local control and local enterprise development, sustainable livelihoods, and poverty alleviation (SNV & Griffith University, 2007, p. 10).

Addressing the issues of diversity and equity in the South have been important for Tourism Concern (2014), who argue community-based tourism should be inclusive of indigenous peoples and villagers in the rural South, in addition to providing local benefit. However, the concerns and cares remain highly local, and the long-term sustainability vision articulated by the global institutions of the North is neither the goal

nor the driver (Dangi & Jamal, 2016) of ‘sustainable tourism’ at the local level—community development, community survival, conservation of the local commons, and local responses to climate change (e.g., in terms of adaptation). Yet, effectiveness at both the global and local levels has been challenged by issues of governance and justice (see below). Moscardo’s (2011) study of social representations of tourism planning found that the primary actors in tourism development processes are mainly tourists, external agents, tourism businesses and government agencies—where local residents have a limited role in tourism planning and governance.

### ***2.6.3 Governance challenges***

The review of literature also provided examples of how sustainable tourism has been evolving gradually towards addressing issues of governance, ethics, justice and equity. Bramwell (2011) stated that major issues of sustainable tourism governance arise when it relates to diverse sectors and policy domains including: planning, transport, regional development, employment, investment, climate change, etc. There are several instances where policies have affected sustainable tourism outside of tourism domains with little attention to possible implications to tourism. This is often due to issues of cooperation and coordination among diverse sectors such as public, private, community, voluntary, and media who have varying beliefs, interests, and priorities (Bramwell, 2011).

Tourism governance has also been critiqued for its failure to provide justice, representation and care for the host residents. Dredge and Jamal (2013) discussed the complexities of governance in community and sustainable tourism settings as brought upon by the forces of mobilities: of people (e.g. tourists, workers, residents, etc.), of objects (e.g. capital, investments, etc.), and of ideas (e.g. information, knowledge, etc.). Tourism mobilities are part of a global phenomenon that has evolved from globalization towards global neoliberal agendas in development and governance of resources and places. Hyper-neoliberalism is a condition that is considered to be a concern to sustainability, denoting a move towards a limited role of government and increased

reliance on the private sector for the delivery of services (Dredge & Jamal, 2013; Bramwell & Lane, 2011).

Dredge & Jamal (2013) argued mobilities bring challenges to destination governance due to the spatial restructuring of destinations, the pluralization of destination management, and the re-envisioning of community. They argued that sustainable tourism principles and CBT are centered on beliefs in grassroots, and community collaborative partnerships, but this hyper-mobility blurs the premise of governance by introducing complex situations such as defining the stakeholders and their participation and defining community from the new perspectives against previously set principles.

Another big challenge facing tourism at both local and the global levels is the lack of good leadership and governance and regulation of tourism's impacts across the local-global system. The idea of self-regulation and use of good sustainability monitoring systems by the industry has been argued to not been effective. Critics have argued that the profit motivated self-interests of the tourism industry can lead towards favoring boosterism and short-term economic benefits rather than sustainable growth, and long-term sustainability considerations (Mowforth & Munt, 1998; McCool, Moisey & Nickerson, 2001; Smith & Duffy, 2003; Buckley, 2012).

Good governance can further be hindered by the diverse ideologies of tourism stakeholders at both local and global scales. Worldwide, cultural and political values vary, and turning over control from top-down to bottom-up or participatory planning, development and decision-making can be immensely hampered by value differences and self-interests. A visible gap between academic researchers and industry stakeholders has further been argued to have hampered success as cross-collaboration and knowledge dissemination for sustainable tourism development remains poor (e.g., Tanguay et al., 2013). Similarly, in CBT, lack of local knowledge about: tourism development, the issue of social representations of tourism governance, impact management and capacity building, can leave rural or remote communities' vulnerable to the short-term interests of external consultants and/or 'expert' planners (see Moscardo, 2011).

Yet, both academics and key sustainability and conservation organizations have begun to recognize the need for a more integrated approach that bridges local-regional scales. Critical success factors of CBT have been suggested to include: local capacity building such as training, and entrepreneurship development, involving local people for tourism development in natural and cultural heritage sites (Cole, 2006), and support at the national level by providing financial services to small and medium community-based tourism businesses (Lucchetti & Font, 2013). For example, Choi & Sirakaya (2006), argued for the inclusion of political and technological dimensions when referring to CBT. The suggested political indicators include: Local oriented control policies; political participation; local planning policies; and political support at all level of governments.

It can be argued there is a need to support local concerns with regional/national level governance and policymaking (i.e., an integrated approach), in order for CBT to be successful. Similarly, it is also likely important to combine the more holistic, long-term objectives of ST with local level priorities, such as community development and capacity building, community involvement and engagement, local control, income diversification and pro-poor strategies for poverty alleviation (Ellis & Sheridan, 2014; SNV & Griffith University, 2007).

#### ***2.6.4 Issues of justice and equity***

Another major criticism of sustainable tourism originates from a justice oriented perspective. It can be argued the tourism literature has been slow to focus on this topic, despite a clear call for research on intragenerational and intergenerational equity contained in the Brundtland Commission's report on sustainable development *Our Common Future* (WCED, 1987). There is a close connection between ethics and justice in tourism as has been suggested, e.g., Hultsman (1995); Tribe (2002); Smith & Duffy (2003); Lee & Jamal (2008); Higgins-Desbiolles (2008); Jamal, Camargo & Wilson (2013); and Jamal & Camargo (2014).

Sustainable tourism has also been critiqued from an ethics point of view. Hultsman (1995) defined ethics "as philosophical inquiry into values, and as practical application of moral behavior" (p.554). Several authors have argued the need for

sustainable tourism to be based on ethical grounds (Tribe, 2002; Jamal & Menzel, 2009; Fennell, 2009). Macbeth (2005) argued that an anthropocentric, objective, and Western-centric view of sustainable (tourism) development so far has undermined the values and philosophy of indigenous people and the South.

Adding to Jaffari's four platforms (advocacy, cautionary, adaptancy, knowledge-based) Macbeth (2005) proposed sustainability and ethics as 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> platforms respectively. Smith & Duffy (2003), championing social justice, made a contention that with modernity and development, economic values have become predominant over ethical values, and suggested ethical tourism as a means to limit such imbalanced growth. However, Butcher (2009) labeled ethical tourism as a bad idea or "profoundly reactionary when viewed from a humanist standpoint" (p. 244).

Conversely, Lee & Jamal (2008) believed tourism researchers have paid little attention to environmental justice and environmental equity, even though they suggested they are important in attaining the objectives of intragenerational, intergenerational equity. In an analysis of sustainable tourism issues and critical gaps, Jamal, Camargo & Wilson (2013) pinpointed critical omissions in addressing "human-environmental relationships, gendered and feminist perspectives, diverse populations, and the pro-poor agenda" (p.4595) and justice to the "Other." Some of the omissions include lack of government or business initiatives in taking responsibility for identifying the projects that benefit the poor and historically disadvantaged people (as done in South Africa), as well as paying attention to an 'ethic of care' which respects diversity, recognition of difference, tolerance, and inclusiveness.

Similarly, from Quintana Roo, Mexico, Jamal & Camargo (2014) revealed how residents of The Zona Maya have been deprived of ecocultural equity and ecocultural justice from government agencies, tourism boards, and investors and how they have been subjected to ecocultural discrimination and ecocultural racism. Additionally, Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) argued for justice tourism as the only true form of alternative tourism because it has the capability of thwarting capitalists' interests as "it seeks to reform the inequities and damages of contemporary tourism...to chart a path to a more

just global order” (p.345). Scheyvens (2002) described justice tourism as ‘both ethical and equitable’ (p.104). Mihalič & Fennell (2015) defined justice tourism from the demand side of travel and proposed to put a price on excess tourism and transfer the income to the ones deprived of travel by introducing a certification program.

Despite the emphasis on equity in the UNWTO definition of ST, some general principles have been forwarded, but aspects such as distributing goods and benefits to disadvantaged groups are generally under-discussed, with rare exceptions. For example, the WTTC, WTO, & EC report, 1995, recommended, “Travel & Tourism should use its capacity to create employment for women and indigenous peoples to the fullest extent” (p.34). The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Rio+10, Rio+20 and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)/ Global Goals (UNDP, 2015) identified ending poverty, fighting inequality and injustice and tackling climate change and so on. However, many reports (including Pisano, Endl, & Berger-ESDN, 2012) agreed that ST governance at the national, regional and international scales has lagged substantially in addressing issues including equity and justice.

Moreover, the UNWTO and its Global Code of Ethics represent Western (or Northern if considered in terms of “North-South” terms) discourses and values (see also Mowforth & Munt, 1998; Smith & Duffy, 2003). The GSTC criteria and principles also say little about how the range of principles and items they forward can be effectively operationalized to provide for the well-being of host communities.

Fair tourism business has been defined as one that complies with the principles of fair share, democracy, respect, transparency, reliability, and sustainability (FTTSA, 2005; Strambach, & Surmeier, 2013, p. 740). It has been argued that for ST to achieve the North-South equity goals of SD, much greater attention will be needed on environmental and social justice issues addressing human-environmental relationships, gender and feminist perspectives, diverse and minority populations, and the fair distribution of tourism goods (Smith & Duffy, 2003; Strambach, & Surmeier, 2013; Jamal, Camargo & Wilson, 2013).



Justice principles are also evident in the FTTSA criteria for businesses, which include: ensuring representation of historically disadvantaged individual (HDI) in decision-making; supporting HDI owned goods and services in procurement; ensuring equitable distribution of tour income through written agreements with third party suppliers; and consulting communities to project planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation (Strambach & Surmeier, 2013).

The abovementioned contestations regarding the definitions, concepts, principles and practices of ST and issues of governance relating to ethics, justice and equity tied to sustainability substantiate the research objective that issues pertaining to sustainable tourism have not been fully explored. Hence, it can be argued that development of a robust SCBT framework that incorporates not only the well-established dimensions mentioned earlier, but also the dimension of governance relating to justice and equity. It is believed the fields of sustainable tourism and community-based tourism can be advanced significantly by clarifying the sustainability gaps and identifying the elements that bridge these two areas.

### **2.7 Summary of ST and CBT Literature Review: Identification of Gaps**

The literature review demonstrated the evolution phases of SD and STD, development and expansion of their subsequent principles, aims and dimensions. The review also identified underrepresented issues which are likely to be important to the success of STD. A table regarding the various dimensions of sustainable tourism is presented below to help identify aspects that are well-addressed as well as some that merit greater attention.

Table 8. A comparative table on dimensions of sustainability and issues under-represented

<b>Pillars/Dimensions of Sustainability</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Organization/Scholar</b>
Three (3) pillars or dimensions	Economic, social, and environmental sustainability	UNEP-UNWTO (2005)
Three Policy Issues	Environmental, economic, and social	Farsari (2012)
Triple Bottom-Line	Social, economic, environmental dimensions	Stoddard, Pollard & Evans (2012)
Three dimensions	Physical/Environment, socio-cultural, economic	Siow May, Abidin, Nair, Ramachandran & Shuib (2011)
Four (4) dimensions	(1) Sustainable destination management; (2) Maximizing economic benefits to the host community and minimize negative impacts (3) Maximize benefits to communities, visitors & culture; minimize negative impacts, (3) Maximize benefits to the environment and minimize negative impacts.	GSTC (2015); Bricker & Schultz (2011)
Four (4) dimensions	Environmental, economic, socio-cultural, & institutional/management	Roberts & Tribe (2008) Puhakka, Cottrell & Siikamaki (2009)
Four (4) dimensions Contexts*	Social, economic, environmental, governance Political*	Bramwell (2011) Barke & Towner (2003)*
Four (4) dimensions	Environmental integrity, economic prosperity, social equity, tourism value chain	Pomering, Noble & Johnson (2011)
Four dimensions	Social, political/administrative, physical environment, local environment	García-Melón, Gómez-Navarro & Acuña-Dutra (2012)
Issues under-addressed in four (4) dimensions	Issues of governance such as accountability, transparency, participatory governance (direct participation, empowerment to enable voice in decision-making, planning and development of tourism) ethical principles related to justice and equity.	Hultsman, (1995); Tribe, (2002); Smith & Duffy, (2003); Macbeth, (2005); Higgins-Desbiolles, (2008; 2010); Lee & Jamal, (2008); Jamal & Menzel, (2009); Bramwell, (2011); Dredge & Jamal, (2013); Moscardo, (2011); Jamal, Camargo & Wilson, (2013); Jamal & Camargo, (2014).

Source: Dangi & Jamal (2016, p.14)

As Table 8 shows, the literature is consistent with respect to key pillars/dimensions of ST including economic, social, and environmental sustainability (UNEP-UNWTO, 2005; Farsari 2012; Stoddard, Pollard & Evans 2012; & Siow May, Abidin, Nair, Ramachandran & Shuib, 2011). However, though the key dimensions

remain the same, some specific details or extra dimensions have been explored and/or suggested by other scholars and institutions. For example, GSTC (2015) suggested inclusion of sustainable destination management which was not present in UNEP-UNWTO (2005). Moreover, all aspects of sustainability are not equally emphasized; some aspects have been mentioned by a few, omitted by many or are found to be grossly under-represented.

For example, governance (institutional arrangements) was mentioned by Bramwell (2011), Roberts & Tribe (2008), and Pukhakka, Cottrell & Siikamaki (2014), while Barke & Towner (2003) and García-Melón, Gómez-Navarro & Acuña-Dutra (2012) mentioned it as political/administrative. These authors emphasized the importance of governance/institutional/political mechanism as a fourth, yet the most important dimension of sustainability.

Among the under-represented issues such as justice, ethics and equity, some issues have drawn attention though in a limited scale. For example, equity was addressed in UNEP-UNWTO (2005) and was also mentioned by Sharpley (2000); Pomeroy, Noble & Johnson (2011); and in FTSTA (2005). The Mohonk Agreement (2000) exclusively mentioned ethical issues. Many authors further support the inclusion of governance, specifically in relation to ethics, justice and equity (Hultsman, 1995; Tribe, 2002; Smith & Duffy, 2003; Macbeth, 2005; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008; 2010; Lee & Jamal, 2008; Jamal & Menzel, 2009; Bramwell, 2011; Dredge & Jamal, 2013; Moscardo, 2011; Jamal, Camargo, & Wilson, 2013; Jamal & Camargo, 2014).

The literature reviews also showed that sustainable tourism lacks a uniform definition and draws from many perspectives in defining its concepts, dimensions and approaches. Likewise, criteria and indicators development of ST and CBT have remained elusive to a great extent. Criteria (mentioned as themes/issues elsewhere), and indicators of sustainable tourism are at times highly divergent, creating confusion rather than guidance. It can be argued that ST and CBT criteria have overlooked elements of justice and ethics (strongly tied to justice) and equity. Justice and equity have also received limited attention regarding affirmative actions to promote community well-

being and benefits to disadvantaged groups. In an earlier study, Jamal, Camargo & Wilson (2013) pointed to the need for ‘a clear framework of justice and ethics’ for sustainable tourism.

Jamal & Camargo (2014) provided an introduction to destination justice that emphasized the need to address issues of equity and fairness. While they drew on Rawls’ theory of justice, they argued that it is inadequate to guide a destination and further research was needed to better identify guiding principles for destination justice. Intergenerational and intragenerational equity and equity among the nations of the North and the South is one of the objectives of the Brundtland report/WECD (1987). Unfortunately, benefits to disadvantaged groups through destination justice have been grossly neglected in many works excepting a few documents such as *Guide for Local Authorities on Developing Sustainable Tourism* (published by UNWTO,1998, p.43), FTSA (2005), and works of Lee & Jamal (2008), who emphasized the need for procedural and distributive justice to the disadvantaged.

## **2.8 Towards a Synthesis of ST and CBT**

A summary of why STD has been slow over the last approximate thirty years can be made, based on the critics and the excavation of literature. It can be argued that the idea of self-regulation by the industry has not been effective and that the industry has been more inclined to boosterism (economic benefits) rather than sustainable growth. Moreover, since sustainable tourism originated through critics, thinkers, travel-writers, and commentators and not via the tourism industry, it has been argued the links between the industry and academic research have not been strong or effective (Gossling et al., 2009). Thus, Farrell and Twining-Ward (2005) called for newer perspectives for sustainable tourism to assist it in incorporating evolving issues such as the impacts of climate change.

### **3. RESEARCH FRAMEWORK**

#### **3.1 Bridging ST and CBT?**

The preliminary findings of the scoping study suggest some similarity in the principles and objectives of sustainable tourism that have been applied in CBT and PPT contexts. Elements common to ST and CBT are summarized in the combined (preliminary) SCBT framework proposed in Table 9 of this section. However, differences between the two indicate a need for reconciliation and better integration in order to better guide effective governance and long-term sustainability. Results of the literature review support the critique forwarded by Jamal et al. (2013); Goodwin (2011); and Gossling et al. (2009) with regards to a macro-micro differentiation between ST and CBT. They argued ST is more macro-level, driven by international institutions, academicians and critics whereas the CBT and PPT seemed to be micro-level operations driven by business-practitioners, INGOs and donors with more explicit objectives of community benefits and community empowerment.

Smith and Duffy (2003) and others have argued that UNWTO's work tends to address global, universal aspects of sustainability for tourism, but does not adequately address effective justice and governance directions for enabling this at the local level. While the CBT literature shows concern and awareness of governance dimensions and principles such as local participation and control, issues of justice and equity are also missing at the local level, as are mechanisms for ensuring good governance (see Table 9).

This section focuses on proposing a combined (preliminary) framework of SCBT that could help develop an integrated framework based on the scoping study above and further elaboration on some key missing dimensions that could form a valuable bridge between the ST and CBT approaches. Under-represented aspects such as justice, equity and fairness, which the literature has suggested are important for sustainable tourism development, likely should be included in future frameworks.

### **3.2 Proposing an Integrated Framework for ST and CBT**

As demonstrated earlier, an overwhelming number of conceptions, definitions, and descriptions of ST and CBT affect sustainable tourism policies and practices requiring further exploration for precision. The issues and barriers related to both ST and CBT suggest a need for developing a more robust framework that retains principal dimensions, addresses important omissions and proposes inclusion of new dimensions and criteria. For example, expanding on governance (management) could help to provide SCBT with a broader foundation. The Earth Summit Agenda 21 is not legally binding, but the *Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry* requires that governments introduce or strengthen existing regulations for the protection of natural and human environments (WTTC, UNWTO, & EC, 1995). Unfortunately, these regulatory and enforcement aspects have rarely been mentioned in ST and CBT guidelines and practices which Buckley (2012) endorsed.

Furthermore, addressing the voice, values, and virtues of the disadvantaged is also likely important for sustainable development endeavors. The WTTC, UNWTO, & EC report (1995) recommended that, “Travel & Tourism should use its capacity to create employment for women and indigenous peoples to the fullest extent” (p.34). The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Rio+10, Rio+20 and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)/ Global Goals (UNDP, 2015; Pisano, Endl, & Berger-ESDN, 2012) also identified ending poverty, fighting inequality and injustice and tackling climate change globally; however, Jamal et al., (2013), Smith & Duffy, (2003) further underline that tourism cannot be sustainable without addressing the issues of the disadvantaged with ethics of care and justice. Thus, adding a dimension of governance that follows ethical guidelines and focuses on justice and equity would likely help better inform and guide ST and CBT operations.

Finally, while CBT needs to be sustainable like other tourism businesses, greater attention is likely needed to issues of governance and justice. The scoping study shows some governance related dimensions consistently mentioned (e.g., local participation in decision-making is a key principle of CBT and is noted by UNWTO), but issues of

justice, equity and fairness in the distribution and use of tourism related resources can be argued to be poorly addressed. Moreover, capacity building, a key tenet of CBT, is a challenging goal to accomplish if local residents and stakeholders are not empowered in matters of governance, to obtain, control and direct the use of goods and services towards broader sustainability oriented goals such as long-term environmental conservation, community well-being, etc. For this to happen, good governance should also include accountability and transparency in decision-making related to tourism development and planning.

It can therefore, be argued there is a need for a new framework that is more comprehensive and capable of addressing issues of governance, justice and equity in tourism development. The preliminary framework proposed in Table 9 was consolidated further following the empirical study focusing on the dimensions of governance and justice.

A preliminary framework of SCBT with the dimensions/criteria of sustainability relating to ST & CBT that emerged from the comprehensive literature review (scoping study) is presented below in Table 9. The elements of destination justice and equity (within the domain of governance) were under-represented suggesting a need for their inclusion. Key criteria and items common to ST and CBT that were obtained from the scoping study are contained under the economic, environmental/ecological, social-cultural, and governance dimensions (see second column; pertinent authors/sources are shown in the third column in Table 9). Moreover, the criteria relating to under-represented issues of justice and equity in the domain of governance have been proposed distinctly at the last column of Table 9. However, once it became clear that some issues in governance such as justice and equity were under-represented, another table (Table 11) was developed with specific SCBT criteria and themes to develop research questions supported by a logical research framework. A comparison with the SCBT framework/criteria based on findings has been presented in discussion in detail. Further, the bold items/topics in the second column of Table 9 are mostly adapted from the authors referred to (as shown in column three of the table). However, in some instances,

where authors used criteria only without a reference to a distinct item/topic, the researcher grouped such criteria under the most suitable item/topic, which was mostly adapted and partially invented by the researcher to increase consistency.

Table 9. Combined (Preliminary) framework of SCBT with available criteria

<b>Dimensi ons</b>	<b>Summary of SCBT Criteria/ Themes combined from various sources</b>	<b>Source/Authors</b>
Economic	<p><b>Economic Benefits:</b> Capturing economic benefits; sustainability of tourism operations &amp; services; economic monitoring; economic vitality; business performance/profitability; local economic development; economic well-being; local government income; rural development; national economic development; property values; local economic diversification; increased consumption of local products; supporting local entrepreneurs and fair trade; investments; employment; quality of employment; business motivation; revenue generation; business performance; income distribution/capital leakage and linkage; income &amp; total sales; empowerment; ownership; local management/control</p> <p><b>Local Jobs and Participation:</b> Local career opportunities/employment; public participation; local community opinion; local access; tourism awareness and education; support for community; labor/company and job conditions</p> <p><b>Institutional Mechanism to Ensure Economic Benefits:</b> Fair wages; internal-external business operations; income distribution; capital formation in the community/investment; nature of (visitors) demand; labor/company and job conditions; micro-credits; preventing exploitation; foreign exchange leakage &amp; domestic linkages; demand and supply of local services; accommodation capacity; wages evaluation; tourism employment index; tourist expenditure pattern; index of foreign exchange revenue; integration of tourism with other activities; spread equitably (equally) costs and benefits</p> <p><b>Visitor Management:</b> Seasonality; length; visitor expenditure</p>	<p>UNWTO Guidebook (2004); GSTC, (2015); Tanguay et al. (2013); Roberts &amp; Tribe (2008); SNV &amp; Griffith University (2007); FTSA (2005); Fair Trade Tourism (2012/2013); Choi &amp; Sirakaya (2006); Lucchetti &amp; Font (2013); Spenceley (2005); Schianetz &amp; Kavanagh (2008); Choo &amp; Jamal (2009) Park &amp; Yoon (2011); Reddy (2008) Strambach, S., &amp; Surmeier, A. (2013) Dodds (2016) Farsari (2012)</p>



Table 9, Continued

<b>Dimensi ons</b>	<b>Summary of SCBT Criteria/ Themes combined from various sources</b>	<b>Source/Authors</b>
Environmental/ Ecological	<p><b>Protection of Natural Environment:</b> Protection of valuable natural assets; managing scarce natural resources (water availability &amp; conservation; drinking water quality); protection of sensitive environments; wildlife protection</p> <p><b>Reducing Waste/Emissions:</b> Limiting impacts of tourism activity (sewage treatment; solid waste management; greenhouse gas emissions; energy conservation; wastewater; solid waste reduction; light and noise pollution; recycling &amp; reuse; pollution effects management; visual pollution (conformity to local vernacular); respect environment; rate of ecosystem destruction/degradation</p> <p><b>Innovating Adapting to Environment-friendly Plans:</b> Green design, permaculture gardens; alternative energy; vegetation; conservation zone; fostering human environment relationships; low-impact transportation; ecosystem; atmosphere; energy; resilience and risk; environmental awareness &amp; management; energy efficiency</p> <p><b>Assessment and Monitoring:</b> Environmental risks; assessment of environmental impacts of tourism activity; health of human population (residents/visitors); air; geology &amp; soil; coastal &amp; marine resources; environmental awareness; biodiversity &amp; ecological health; natural capital; loss of renewable/non-renewable resources</p>	UNWTO Guidebook (2004); GSTC (2015); Tanguay et al. (2013); Roberts & Tribe (2008); SNV & Griffith University (2007); FTTSA (2005); Fair Trade Tourism (2012/2013); Choi & Sirakaya (2006); Lucchetti & Font (2013); Spenceley (2005); Schianetz & Kavanagh (2008); Choo & Jamal (2009); Park & Yoon (2011); Strambach, S., & Surmeier, A. (2013)
Social-cultural	<p><b>Community Wellbeing &amp; Satisfaction:</b> Community wellbeing (local satisfaction with tourism; effects of tourism on communities); sustaining cultural assets; attraction protection; crime and harassment; cultural promotion; ownership patterns; resident views (satisfaction); host reactions to tourists; local culture/tradition; community development; social cohesion; sex tourism; community resource; distribution of resource/power; community health and safety; quality of life in general; building/architecture; socio-cultural fabric; recreational quality; address conflicts of interests</p> <p><b>Community Participation &amp; Empowerment:</b> Community participation in tourism; community assets/skills/involvement; uniqueness; community empowerment; cultural education; education &amp; training; equitable changes in local lifestyle; site interpretation; intellectual property; distinction (visit to heritage sites); accessibility; resident access</p> <p><b>Visitor Satisfaction:</b> Tourist Satisfaction; visitor management; visitor behavior; accessibility and convenience</p>	UNWTO Guidebook, (2004); GSTC (2015); Tanguay et al. (2013); Roberts & Tribe (2008); SNV & Griffith University (2007); FTTSA (2005); Fair Trade Tourism (2012/2013); Choi & Sirakaya (2006); Lucchetti & Font (2013); Spenceley (2005); Schianetz & Kavanagh (2008); Choo & Jamal (2009); Park & Yoon (2011); Strambach, S., & Surmeier, A. (2013); Farsari, (2012)

Table 9, Continued

<b>Dimensi ons</b>	<b>Summary of SCBT Criteria/ Themes combined from various sources</b>	<b>Source/Authors</b>
Governance	<p><b>Planning/Strategic Vision:</b> Controlling tourist activities &amp; levels (controlling use intensity); destination planning &amp; control (development control); designing products &amp; services; strategic plan; access to finance</p> <p><b>Management &amp; Marketing:</b> Sustainable destination strategy; destination management organization; tourism seasonality management; climate change adaptation; property acquisitions; promotion; promotion of ecotourism (eco-label); marketing (return-visits); tourist traffic (volume); management &amp; staff training; partnerships (government, private sector, NGO); local authorities encourage community participation</p> <p><b>Power, Rules &amp; Regulations:</b> Governing; steering; mobilizing; monitoring; inventory of tourism assets and attractions; planning regulations; access for all; visitor satisfaction; sustainability standards; monitoring &amp; evaluation</p> <p><b>Visitor Safety &amp; Crisis Management:</b> Safety and security; crisis and emergency management; fair &amp; safe working conditions; traffic</p> <p><b>Collaboration/Coordination:</b> Sharing knowledge, thought, resources, power-sharing, multi-level integration, engagement, story-telling and pluralistic dialogue</p> <p><b>Participation:</b> Involvement, diversity &amp; decentralization; deliberation; transactional relationship; consensus orientation</p> <p><b>Service Delivery:</b> Flexibility, revisibility</p> <p><b>Accountability:</b> Responsiveness, efficiency, effectiveness</p> <p><b>Transparency:</b> Clear operational structures &amp; processes</p> <p><b>Equity:</b> Pursuit of equity and inclusiveness; acceptance of diversity</p> <p><b>Communication:</b> Constructive information flow</p> <p><b>Leadership:</b> Visionary</p> <p><b>Political:</b> Local oriented control policy; political participation; local planning policy; political support at all level of governments</p> <p><b>Technological:</b> Accurate data collection &amp; tourism information change; adoption &amp; use of new &amp; low impact technologies; benchmarking-generic &amp; competitive</p>	<p>UNWTO Guidebook (2004); GSTC (2015); Tanguay et al. (2013); Roberts &amp; Tribe (2008); Puhakka, Cottrell &amp; Sikamaki (2009); Pomeroy, Noble &amp; Johnson (2011); SNV &amp; Griffith University (2007); FTSTA (2005); Fair Trade Tourism (2012/2013); Lucchetti &amp; Font (2013); Choo &amp; Jamal, (2009); Bramwell (2011); Hall (2011); Wray (2011); Bramwell &amp; Lane (2011); Eagles et al. (2013); Dredge &amp; Jamal (2013); Jamal &amp; Watt (2011); Beaumont &amp; Dredge (2010); Park &amp; Yoon (2011); Strambach, S., &amp; Surmeier, A. (2013)</p> <p>Choi &amp; Sirakaya (2006)</p> <p>Choi &amp; Sirakaya (2006)</p>

Table 9, Continued

<b>Dimensi ons</b>	<b>Summary of SCBT Criteria/ Themes combined from various sources</b>	<b>Source/Authors</b>
Under-represented issues of Justice, Ethics and Equity	<p><b>Justice in Tourism, Good-Action &amp; Virtuous Tourism:</b> Inter-and intragenerational equity; equitable distribution of costs and benefits, goods and services; distributive justice benefiting disadvantaged populations; respect and recognition of diverse values; north-south equity, self-determination and autonomy of indigenous people; environmental and social-cultural justice; destination justice; address discrimination, racism, inclusiveness, human rights, etc.</p> <p><b>Equity and fairness:</b> Fair distribution of goods and resources; equal employment opportunity (EEO) for all including women, youth, disabled and vulnerable population; poverty reduction; gender equity and social inclusion; fair wages and employment; respect and enable human rights; affordability and access (services targeted to low income, poor and disadvantaged populations).</p> <p><b>Related ethical issues:</b> Understanding and applying moral/ethical principles in tourism; address intrinsic and instrumental values: utilitarian ethics; virtue ethics; respect for persons: Categorical Imperative (Kant), Ethics and the “Other”; feminist ethics, ‘ethic of care’, etc.</p>	<p>SNV &amp; Griffith University (2007); FTTSA (2005); Fair Trade Tourism (2012/2013); Schianetz &amp; Kavanagh,(2008); Hultsman (1995); Tribe (2002); Macbeth (2005); Fennell (2009); Jamal &amp; Menzel (2009); Lee &amp; Jamal (2008); Smith &amp; Duffy (2003); Higgins-Desbiolles (2008; 2010); Peterson (1997); Jamal, Camargo &amp; Wilson (2013); Jamal &amp; Camargo (2014); Moscardo (2011); Tribe (2002). Strambach, S., &amp; Surmeier, A. (2013).</p>

Source: Dangi & Jamal (2016, pp.17-20)

### **3.3 Theoretical and Conceptual Perspectives on Justice, Ethics, Equity and the Domain of Governance: A Foregrounding for an Exploratory, Empirical Study**

As stated earlier, the CLR led to the development of a new framework, which identified existing gaps in the sustainable community-based tourism field and suggested a need to address gaps relating to justice, ethics, and equity through an empirical study. The theoretical and conceptual perspectives that provided a foundation to the empirical study are detailed below.

The CLR, which identified the gaps relating to justice, ethics and equity in the domain of governance in ST and CBT settings, is expanded in this section, as the issues appear to be both under-represented as well as vital to enabling sustainability and community well-being. The CLR also showed that little research has been undertaken specifically targeting issues of justice, equity and fairness specifically in community tourism settings. Even less research appears to focus on disadvantaged groups at the community level, such as minority groups. The Pro-Poor Tourism literature (some of which was examined under the CBT part of the CLR) does target the poor, but primarily in the context of lesser-developed countries, and does not offer ethical principles that address issues of equity and justice for the poor.

Governance is addressed in the PPT literature and has been defined as “Reducing both absolute and relative poverty by providing tourism-related income opportunities for disadvantaged groups” (SNV & Griffith University, 2007, p.9). Good governance should likely include maintenance of law and order, administration of justice, and addressing of the welfare of economically and socially disadvantaged groups within society.

The focus of the empirical research was drawn in relation to tourism development at the level of a destination community in the context of a western liberal democracy. It specifically set objectives of addressing the under-represented issues of justice, ethics and equity in the domain of governance. While the research focus is narrowed to exploring gaps relating to justice, ethics and equity to contribute to a robust framework of SCBT, it can be argued that key principles of good governance and good

justice can be universally applicable, such as the UNDP's five principles of good governance (IOG, 2015).

- i) Equity in terms of fair distribution of tourism related goods (justice issue)
- ii) Equity in terms of benefits to disadvantaged groups (justice issue)
- iii) Empowerment in terms of empowering citizens (residents) to participate in tourism related decision-making and development (governance issue, related to justice - being able to exercise control over the equitable distribution of tourism related costs and benefits)
- iv) Accountability and transparency in terms of enabling stakeholders to understand and participate in decision-making and development related to tourism (governance issue necessary for the exercise of justice and fairness in distribution of goods, etc.). Authorities/officials in decision-making capacity in the government, the private sector and civic organizations are accountable to the public and concerned stakeholders in tourism justice issues.
- v) Direction (strategic vision): Leaders and the public have a perspective on the type of development they need.

### ***3.3.1 On governance, equity/fairness, and justice/ethics***

**Governance:** As stated earlier and summarized in the framework (Table 9), governance consists of multiple aspects such as planning/strategic vision, management and marketing, power/rules and regulations, collaboration and coordination, participation, service delivery, accountability, transparency, equity and so forth. Bramwell (2011) focused on the issues of governance and coordination relating to sustainability and stated that governance includes: knowledge, thought, power, rules, regulations, resources, coordination, and cooperation which can greatly affect tourism and sustainability issues.

Similarly, Hall (2011, p. 441) suggested elements of governance include: participation and power-sharing, multilevel integration, diversity and decentralization, deliberation, flexibility and revisability, experimentation and knowledge creation. The premises of good governance have further been suggested to include other elements such as responsiveness, effectiveness, acceptance of diversity, inclusiveness, developing knowledge, learning and sharing expertise, clear roles and responsibilities of

participants, clear operational structures, positive cultures, constructive communication, and vision and leadership (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Dredge & Jamal, 2013).

In a separate study, Jamal & Watt (2011) emphasized local engagement, storytelling, and pluralistic dialogue and action for collaborative governance for attaining local sustainability. Similarly, in a study of community-based destination governance in Jamaica, Hensel, Kennett-Hensel & Sneath (2013) analyzed destination governance from two approaches: one was a community or network driven approach that engaged large numbers of stakeholders in tourism decisions and strategies, and another was a corporate (dyadic)-driven approach that engaged a limited number of key stakeholders in decision-making. The authors believed the role of network governance more critical for cooperation among stakeholders for destination sustainability. Further, Beaumont & Dredge (2010) situated sustainable tourism as a dialectical concept which is greatly influenced by the interpretation and meaning laid in its particular socio-cultural context.

**Equity/Fairness:** In a community-based tourism context, social justice is not just about giving profits back to the local community, but has been argued to require the active involvement and consent of the whole community (Smith & Duffy, 2003, p.104). An ‘ethic of care’ has additionally been advanced by other authors is important to consider for sustainable (tourism) development. For example, Smith & Duffy (2003, p. 161) taking a reference from Shiva (1989) stated that sustainability does not simply mean to carry on at an endless point of time; to sustain also means to ‘bear up’. It also meant to have caring attitude and considering the needs of others. Being careful and considerate to others were some of the attributes of ethical relations that could relate to tourism as well. Further, Smith & Duffy (2003) suggested that more might be needed to supplement justice and fairness for good governance, such as an ‘ethic of care’. Similarly, from a study of Quintana Roo, Mexico, Jamal & Camargo (2014) argued justice at the destination level must be “tempered by an ethic of care based on virtue and respect for persons and for place” (p.14). They proposed inclusiveness in decision-making and local participation, distribution of tourism gains in favor of poverty

reduction, and respect for diversity (including ethnicity). These ethical guidelines greatly relate to justice tourism and the context of destination justice in community settings.

**Justice/Ethics:** Justice in tourism can be theoretically grounded with ethical tourism and just/justice tourism. Hultsman (1995) defined ethics “as philosophical inquiry into values, and as practical application of moral behavior” (p.554). Tribe (2002) concurred that ethics provides the broader disciplinary framework for various types of tourism including sustainable tourism. Ethical tourism action is not only the philosophical understanding of what is good and just in and for tourism, but further requires good action. Jamal & Menzel (2009) and Tribe (2002) borrowed the notion of *phronesis* (translated as practical knowledge/judgment) from Aristotle to help understand ethics. In the context of ethical tourism action, aspects of *phronesis* include: “knowledge; ‘the good’; actions, practice and experience; and disposition” (Tribe, 2002, p. 134).

Guided by practical wisdom, ethical tourism actions should take responsibility for sustaining tourism stewardship in societies. Concerning the import of ethics in sustainable tourism, Macbeth (2005) attested, “Ethics is a simple imperative for living a moral life: informing all actions are ethical distinctions and decisions, values” (p.963). Macbeth (2005) further argued that an anthropocentric, objective, and Western-centric view of sustainable (tourism) development has thus far undermined values and philosophy of knowledge of indigenous people and the South.

There is a close connection between ethics and justice in tourism as Hultsman (1995) conceptualized ethicality as “just tourism” and further stated that “just tourism” is what is virtuous, moral, and ethical. To him, ethics should be viewed as both a “philosophical inquiry into values and as practical application of moral behavior” (Hultsman, 1995, p.554). Lee & Jamal (2008, p.46) referred to Aristotle stating, “Just behavior is virtuous behavior, and fairness in society (or community)”. Similarly, Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) argued that justice tourism “seeks to reform the inequities and damages of contemporary tourism...to chart a path to a more just global order” (p.345). Scheyvens (2002) described justice tourism as “both ethical and equitable”, and it

consisted of attributes such as that it: (1) builds solidarity between visitors and those visited; (2) promotes mutual understanding, and relationship based on equality, sharing and respect; (3) supports self-sufficiency and self-determination of local communities; and (4) maximizes local economic, cultural and social benefits” (p. 104).

In *A Theory of Justice*, Rawls (1971, 1999) proposed a conception of justice which he proposed as *Justice as Fairness* (JAF). JAF is a paradigm shift from the normative theme of Anglo-American meta-ethics of utilitarian ethic that emphasizes “greatest happiness of the greatest number.” Contrary to utilitarian ethic, JAF follows the tradition of Plato and Aristotle and emphasizes a quality of society and quality of persons through reciprocity and a system of cooperation, which is never aimed at perfection. Rawls also defined justice in terms of comity and with a view to pluralist societies, which incorporates the principle of justice elements such as rights and liberties; opportunities and power; income and prosperity; and self-respect (Hoffe, 2013). In *A Theory of Justice*, Rawls (1971,1999) clarified that his attempt was to “generalize and carry to a higher order of abstraction the traditional theory of social contract as represented by Locke, Rousseau and Kant” (p. xvii) which Rawls offered as an alternative systematic account of justice claiming it to be superior to dominant utilitarian tradition/ethics.

In defining *Justice as Fairness* (JAF), Rawls wrote, “Justice is the first virtue of social institutions, as truth is of systems of thought...Each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override. For this reason justice denies that the loss of freedom for some is made right by a greater good shared by others” (Rawls, 1971, 1999, p.3).

Rawls’ liberal view of society and democracy emphasizes basic equal rights and liberties and fair equality of opportunity for all. In *A Theory of Justice* Rawls (1971, 1999), proposed the two principles of justice as below:

“First: each person is to have equal right to the most extensive scheme of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar scheme of liberties for others.

Second: social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both (a) reasonably expected to be to everyone’s advantage, and (b) attached to positions and offices open to all.” (p. 53).



However, in *Justice as Fairness A Restatement* by John Rawls, Edited by Erin Kelly (2003) the revised statement of the two principles are:

- (a) Each person has the same infeasible claim to a fully adequate scheme of equal basic liberties, which scheme is compatible with the same scheme of liberties for all; and
- (b) Social and economic inequalities are to satisfy two conditions: first they are to be attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity; and second, they are to be to the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged members of society (the difference principle)” (pp.42–43).

As can be seen, the first principle deals with basic liberties and the second principle with the distribution of income and wealth. The author presented an explanation that, “the first principles is prior to the second; also, in the second principle fair equality of opportunity is prior to the difference principle” (p. 43). Rawls underlined the need of a basic structure of society for the implementation of these two principles as governance of rights and duties and distribution of economic and social advantages would not be possible without a system of institution/mechanism.

The six Fundamental ideas proposed in the Theory of Justice (2003) include:

1. The idea of society as a fair system of cooperation
2. The idea of a well-ordered society
3. The idea of the basic structure of the society
4. The idea of the original position
5. The idea of citizens as free and equal persons
6. The idea of public justification

1. The “idea of society as a fair system of cooperation over time from one generation to the next” (2003, p.5) was the central organizing idea. It can be argued this central idea works in tandem with two other ideas: “the idea of citizens (those engaged in cooperation) as free and equal persons; and the idea of well-ordered society, that is, society effectively regulated by a public conception of justice” (2003, p.5). A fair system of cooperation likely requires cooperation as guided by procedures established by cooperating parties; the idea of reciprocity and mutuality; and the inclusion of each participant’s rational good.

2. The idea of a well-ordered society to be effectively regulated by a public conception of justice consists of three things:

- (a) Where everyone accepts and knows the very same political conception of justice (and the same principles of political justice),
- (b) Society's basic structure and its main political and social institutions hang together as one system of cooperation, are publicly known, and satisfy principles of justice, and
- (c) Idea of effective regulation, effective sense of justice.

3. The idea of the basic structure of the society was designed for appropriate unity and or "the way in which the main political and social institutions of society fit together into one system of social cooperation" (2003, p. 10). The idea of basic structure of society seems very important as it fulfills the harmonious flow of functions among various intuitions serving the society.

4. In the idea of the original position, the author called the "veil of ignorance" where "the parties are not allowed to know the social positions or the particular comprehensive doctrines of the persons they represent" (2003, p. 15). In this situation, people do not know about each other's race, sex or native endowments to ensure the system of justice as bias-free. Whether this idea has a practical value in modern liberal democracy is doubted by many scholars (Smith & Duffy, 2003) and will be discussed later.

5. The idea of citizens as free and equal persons regards "citizens as engaged in social cooperation, and hence as fully capable of doing so, and this over a complete life" (2003, p.18). These persons have two moral powers: the capacity for a sense of justice (self-authenticating), and a capacity for a conception of the good.

6. The idea of public justification affirms that "the aim of the idea of public justification is to specify the idea of justification in a way appropriate to a political conception of justice for a society characterized, as a democracy is, by reasonable pluralism" (p 26). Three ideas related to public justification are: reflective equilibrium, overlapping consensus, and free public reason.

To sum, Rawls' principles of justice emphasized a type of distributive justice where rights and privileges of the poor and underprivileged are protected from the utilitarian notion of development—greatest good of the greatest number (Jamal &

Menzel, 2009). Rawls' theory of justice has largely been compared as compatible with a contemporary version of liberal capitalism. According to Rawls' principles, distributive justice does not plead absolute equality but unequal distribution that benefits everyone while especially protecting the rights and privileges of the poor. Rawls' distributive justice denotes fairness and equity in the distribution of power, goods, and services within and between social institutions.

In the context of community based-tourism, Rawls' distributive justice can be applied to explore the range of benefits accruing through tourism operations in the entire community with inclusion of disadvantaged/ and economically marginalized minority groups. Lee & Jamal (2008) proposed an environmental justice-sustainable tourism framework emphasizing procedural and distributive justice as key factors for community-based tourism. They addressed issues of equity, discrimination and racism with respect to disadvantaged groups that are often vulnerable to environmental injustices. The just form of tourism, like the theory of justice, emphasizes the promotion of just forms of travel between many stakeholders in the community and seeks to achieve equality, solidarity and mutual understanding between these stakeholders (see Higgins-Desbiolles 2008).

Various forms of justice have been researched and presented in the tourism literature related to principles and practices of various forms of tourism including ST and CBT. These forms include distributive justice, procedural justice, environmental justice, environmental equity, climate justice (Lee & Jamal, 2008; Hales & Jamal, 2015), restorative justice and cultural justice (Ortega, 2011). Similarly, Collin & Collin (2015) classified justice as normative, procedural, distributive, corrective and social justice and argued environmental justice encompasses them all. A table displaying various forms of justice, from various sources is presented below.

Table 10. Various forms of justice\*

Types of Justice	Definition	Source
Distributive Justice	Distribution of social and economic goods and benefits among the members of society which is equitable not necessarily equal. Tied to governance.	Lee & Jamal (2008); Hales & Jamal (2015)
	Fairly distributed outcomes rather than a process. Addresses inequities and lowers risks to vulnerable populations.	Collin & Collin (2015)
Procedural Justice	System of fair and just participation of individuals and groups in decision-making process which affect them.	Lee & Jamal (2008); Hales & Jamal (2015)
	“Right to participate and consent to decisions that will impose risks and harms on vulnerable ...communities and people”. The fairness of decision-making process, tied to role of state and rule of law.	Collin & Collin (2015, p. 213-214).
Environmental Justice	“The fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies”	EPA, US Environmental Protection Agency (2016, para. 1)
	Redresses disproportionate adverse environmental impacts on vulnerable populations.	Collin & Collin (2015)
Environmental Equity	“Fair distribution of environmental benefits, advantages, and disadvantages across social groups and populations”	Hales & Jamal (2015, p.151)
Climate Justice	“Disproportionate vulnerability and adaptive capacity of individuals and communities as a result of climate change. The disadvantaged and poor are a key concern,...who have contributed less per capita to global climate change”	Hales & Jamal (2015, p.151)
Restorative Justice	“Repairing the harm done to individuals, interpersonal relations, and the community”.	Maiese (2003 as cited in Ortega 2011, p 12).
Compensatory Justice	Reparation and restoration of losses.	Collin & Collin (2015)
Corrective Justice	Damages inflicted are compensated and law-breakers are punished.	Collin & Collin (2015)
Normative Justice	Relating to rules, norms securing that no discrimination is made	Collin & Collin (2015)
Cultural Justice	Defined in various ways such as “justice that is due to another culture” or “people live by what they naturally take for granted” or “cultural protection and cultural rights for minority groups”.	For details, see Ortega (2011, p. 14-19).

Note:\* Ethical paradigms almost parallel the notion of justice and equity.

Jamal (2004), Jamal & Menzel (2009) and Lee & Jamal (2008) presented a comprehensive reference of justice and ethical paradigms in the context of tourism drawing upon classical and modern philosophers. They elaborately dwelt upon the utilitarian ethic of “greatest good of greatest number,” Kantian ethic of respect for persons (treating persons as ends never as means), and Aristotelian virtue ethics which require knowing what is the appropriate and best action, but doing it for the right reason (virtuous action). Jamal (2004) suggested, it is about an intuitive sense of knowing “what is good and just in and for tourism, and about good conduct in tourism” (p.530).

The above table presents various forms of justice researched and applied in tourism settings. However, for the theoretical background, analysis and discussion in this research, distributive and procedural justice aspects will primarily be drawn upon as both directly relate to justice and equity issues dwelling upon governance, participation, collaboration, and empowerment, which is the focus of this study.

In *Justice as Fairness* Rawls (1971, 1999) emphasized basic structure of society, a fair system of cooperation among others as fundamental ideas for distributive and procedural justice to be effective. Similarly, Lee & Jamal (2008) considered the distributive aspect salient in sustainable tourism because it directly corresponds to the principles of “equitable distribution of development benefits and costs among present and future generations.” (p.46). As a side note, Rawls also mentioned allocative justice, where individuals with known desires and needs are given certain collection of goods. However, Rawls compared allocative justice to utilitarianism where participants were not equal individuals (as some people are at the giving and others at the receiving end) and discarded this idea from *Justice as Fairness* (JAF).

Support for the approach being advocated here is also present in the CBT literature. Community-based tourism has been championed as a tool for extending benefits to the disadvantaged in the community through their participation, skills/entrepreneurship development and empowerment while ensuring their cultural and indigenous rights. It has been tested in both the developing and the developed world. The CLR also identified critical success factors of CBT broadly grouped under

economic, psychological, social and political empowerment, which included bottom-line elements such as economic benefits and local ownership of businesses, capacity building, equal distribution of resources, participation and collaboration, respect for local culture and tradition, sense of community, networking, interaction, leadership empowerment, etc.

Numerous tourism scholars have come up with suggestions as to how issues relating to governance, ethics, justice and equity could be addressed to minimize existing imbalances. Bramwell (2011) underlined the need of collective actions for promoting sustainable tourism development; Wray (2011) emphasized building a “transactional relationship” among various participants; Moscardo (2011) suggested shifting the social representation of tourism planning and governance from the dominant to the residents (hosts) through enhancement of residents’ knowledge and empowerment for improved social representation; and Bramwell & Lane (2011) underlined the need of tailored and effective governance to ensure participation from a diverse range of stakeholders in decision-making. Further, Dredge & Jamal (2013) suggested balancing competing demands between local-global forces and to revisit the meaning of community and community based tourism to overcome challenges brought upon by mobilities in the sphere of sustainable tourism.

This overall area is likely very relevant and important to sustainable tourism. Thus, incorporating guiding principles such as those mentioned by UNEP-UNWTO (2005) and elsewhere focusing on specific issues (as in Table 11 below) could help form a better nexus between the local-global and micro-macro paradigms of sustainable tourism (Jamal et al., 2013). Jamal et al. (2013) drew upon Rawls’ principles of justice but left room to explore an ‘ethic of care’ as suggested above.

Table 11. Proposed SCBT criteria/themes to explore justice and equity relating to governance

Dimension	SCBT Criteria/Themes
Governance	<p><b>Good Governance</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Accountability and transparency</li> <li>Efficiency and responsiveness</li> <li>Equity in the distribution of goods, services through tourism (see below)</li> <li>Inclusiveness and respect for diversity</li> <li>Power/rules/regulations (provision to include/benefits to the disadvantaged, economically marginal groups)</li> <li>Recognizing the rights and values of diverse groups and indigenous people</li> <li>Participatory democracy, enabling resident participation and control over decisions making (fair distribution of power); facilitating empowerment to participate in planning and development of tourism</li> </ul> <p><b>Processes of Empowerment in development/decision-making</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Local capacity building (ethnic minorities/ community groups)</li> <li>Local/citizen control (Ownership/management)</li> <li>Participation/representation, decision-making/communication</li> <li>Coordination/collaboration</li> <li>Delegation of power (ethnic minorities/ community groups)</li> <li>Empowerment—social, economic, psychological, political</li> <li>Support for local self-sufficiency and self-determination of communities/ethnic minorities</li> </ul>
Justice and equity	<p><b>Equity in distribution of tourism related goods (distributive justice)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Benefit sharing (economic, social, cultural)</li> <li>Job opportunities (opportunity for all races, genders including disabled, vulnerable, and disadvantaged/indigenous population)</li> <li>Local prosperity-equitable distribution and retention of tourist dollars in the community</li> </ul> <p><b>An ‘Ethic of Care’ and community well-being</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Caring for others, ‘bear up’ (Ethics of care to complement justice)</li> <li>Minimizing racial/ethnic gaps</li> <li>Community satisfaction through tourism</li> <li>Respecting the rights of disadvantaged/indigenous/local people</li> <li>Respecting the culture/heritage of disadvantaged/indigenous/local people</li> <li>Solidarity, mutual understanding and respect among residents/stakeholders and tourists</li> <li>Opportunity for local people to present their real culture with pride &amp; dignity</li> <li>Opportunity for the hosts telling their past stories of oppression and discrimination</li> <li>Creating a sense of place (growth or decline) through tourism</li> </ul>

Therefore, the purpose of this research is to explore destination justice and equity as a part of governance based on the preliminary criteria (Table 9) and proposed criteria and themes as presented in the above table (Table 11) through a case study of Bryan-College Station (BCS) in Texas. The research questions proposed for the study (presented in the Introduction) were foregrounded on the systematic literature review

followed by theoretical underpinnings with some details related to the concepts, theories, and principles of governance, ethics, justice and equity.



## **4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1. Rationale for a Qualitative Research Design, Epistemological Stance and Theoretical Choices for the Research Background**

The world of scientific and social-science research has traditionally been divided into two poles: quantitative and qualitative research methods. Mixed-methods, which is a combination of both, emerged in the 1960s. The choice of methods for a researcher is likely broadly directed and influenced by their epistemology (theory of knowledge how we know what we know); theoretical perspective/paradigm (philosophical stance which provides a context for the process); methodology (a plan of action behind the choice of methods); and methods (techniques to gather and analyze data) and there seems to be a strong logical coherence among these elements (Crotty, 1998, pp.6-8).

Research paradigms including positivism, post-positivism, interpretivism, critical ideological, feminism, post-modernism, etc. have their unique perspectives for analyzing and interpreting the world. Positivism adheres to a hypothetico-deductive method where the goal of the inquirer is to make an explanation that (ultimately) leads to prediction and control of phenomenon which is objective or “true” reality. Post-positivists acknowledge an objective reality that is only imperfectly apprehendable. Interpretivism (also used as constructivist grounded theory, Creswell, 2007) adheres to a relativist position that assumes multiple and equally valid realities; and critical-ideological challenges the status quo with an objective of social transformation (Ponterotto, 2005, pp. 128-129).

To elaborate the distinction further quantitative research is top-down (deductive), etic, nomothetic, objective, narrow-angled (testing specific hypotheses), relying on statistical analysis, and inferential (generalizable) whereas qualitative research is bottom-up (inductive), emic, idiographic, subjective, wide-angled (examining the breadth and depth of phenomenon), interpretive/narrative, and context specific. Bryant & Charmaz (2010) stated that qualitative research, specifically grounded theory method is

inductive, “building from specific to generic” (p. 44) as opposed to a “theory generated by a logical deduction from a priori assumptions in philosophical or methodical terms” (p.45) (See footnote for details)<sup>1</sup>. These approaches have further been elaborated as science and art wherein quantitative research focuses on formality, rigor, and mathematical tools and the the other on insight and intuition.

There are various typologies of qualitative research genres. Creswell (2007) classified them as ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory, case studies, and biography (narrative research) whereas Denzin and Lincoln (2005) classified them as ethnography, performance ethnography, life history and testimonio, phenomenology, ethnomethodology, grounded theory and case studies. He further added historical methods, clinical research, and action research. Other scholars have suggested the additions of ecological psychology, human ecology, democratic evaluation, feminism, heuristic inquiry, and social construction and constructivism (Marshall and Rossman, 2011).

The qualitative research process begins with the researcher’s philosophical assumptions where the researcher brings his/her own worldviews, paradigms or set of beliefs, which inform and shape the study area. To elaborate further, the discourse of qualitative inquiry starts from the assumptions about human knowledge pertaining to the realities of everyday world. Crotty (1998) stated, “Such assumptions shape for us the meaning of research questions, the purposiveness of research methodologies, and the interpretability of research findings” (Crotty, p.17). Crotty’s statement gives a perspective that in the field of qualitative inquiry; many activities a researcher performs

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<sup>1</sup> **Inductive.** “An approach to the relationship between theory and research in which the former is generated out of the latter” (Bryman, 2004, p. 540).

**Deductive.** “An approach to the relationship between theory and research in which the latter is conducted with reference to hypothesis and ideas inferred from the former” (Bryman, 2004, p.538).

such as observation, interaction, interpretation, and reporting are tightly inter-connected, based on research assumptions.

For sound research outcomes, the researcher should follow a systematic and rigorous framework, which influences the conduct of inquiry also popularized as “methodological congruence” (Creswell, 2007, p. 42). In a broader sense, four elements—epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology, and methods—are directly interwoven in the schema of qualitative inquiry. These four elements provide a rough boundary of the research process where each element informs the succeeding or supports the preceding element. Moreover, Crotty (1998) also suggested the researcher should be aware of the compatibility of these four elements to ground the research in a logical order.

The context of varying definitions of sustainable tourism (ST) and community-based tourism (CBT) development, which were drawn from various studies, guided the foundation of this study. Since the research questions emerged from an extensive literature review, finding the gaps in the issues of justice, ethics, and equity in the realm of governance pertaining to SCBT, the research is heavily theory (research) driven. However, as per the nature of qualitative study, which can also apply other analytical and methodological tools to strengthen the research outcomes, the study also partially took insights from repositioned grounded theory methodology (GTM).

The study aimed to explore tourism stakeholders’ interests, business operations and the relationships of tourism to the wellbeing of diverse stakeholders in the community including economically marginalized groups focusing on issues of justice and equity in BCS, TX. As per the nature of inquiry, the research explored the issues such as tourism governance, collaborative participation, responsiveness, tourism development, distribution of tourism revenues and benefits, and ‘ethic of care.’

The researcher held the view that the social world can be best represented and interpreted through constructionism mainly applying qualitative methods. Constructionism takes a relativist position that assumes multiple realities, as there are no “right” stories, but equally significant “multiple” stories. This assumption led the

researcher to a constructivist epistemology that all knowledge and meanings in the world are socially constructed and are never absolute or conclusive, but suggestive only. In this perspective, the research was more inclined to be constructivist rather than confirmatory.

In the research schema, the methodologies were case study and participant observation supplemented by a constructivist grounded theory. The combination of participant observation, case study, and in-depth interviews (all categorized as research methods by Crotty) supported the outcomes of this research (Crotty, 1998, p. 5). The goal of the constructionist-interpretive research approach was to conduct both idiographic and emic inquiry where meaning was made through interactive dialogue (dialogic interactionism) with participants, unlike random sampling done in positivist research (dehumanization) to reduce bias.

The researcher's background, knowledge, and expertise in tourism governance in Nepal and in the sustainable tourism field contributed to this research. Consequently, the researcher used research skills to interpret the statements of participants to make meanings as guided by repositioned grounded theory methods (GTM). Bryant & Charmaz (2010) presented some distinctions between classical grounded theory and a repositioned grounded theory methodology (GTM). The authors contended whereas classical grounded theory carried generalizing impulse and strained towards reductionism, a repositioned grounded theory methodology (GTM) bridged defined realities and interpretations as it "produces limited, tentative generalizations, not universal statements" (p.52). Bryant & Charmaz (2010) further stated, "A repositioned GTM solves numerous epistemological problems. It takes a middle-ground realist and postmodernist visions...adopts Blummer's assumption of an 'obdurate reality' but views reality as multiple, subject to redefinition, and somewhat indeterminate" (p. 51). The authors further stated researchers following this methodology represented the researched phenomenon as faithfully as possible with all its diversity and complexity. It emphasized representation of experience, not a replication. This methodology defined the role of researcher as an interpreter, not as the ultimate authority to define the social world.

Drawing upon the reference of GTM, the researcher had a priori, positionality as exhibited in the research framework/criteria and research questionnaire, which the researcher developed to explore further. This step was just one part of the instrumentation. Moreover, mixing inductive grounded theory was also applied in the research. Through inductive constant comparison and memoing processes, the researcher developed some new categories and themes (based on interview data) that were not in the framework, but came across from participants. The research methodology thus applied multiple qualitative tools, which allowed for mixed coding and analysis techniques including structural coding and directed qualitative content analysis as suggested by Saldana (2009), and Hsieh & Shannon (2005).

#### ***4.1.1 Researcher's professional and academic background***

The researcher has a long professional experience as an officer in the tourism policy-making body in Nepal-Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation for 12 years, and then eight years' experience in Nepal Tourism Board as director and CEO combined. Researcher's background in tourism/aviation policymaking, tourism product development including events, and destination management/marketing in partnership with private businesses such as airlines and hotels was greatly helpful in understanding the picture of BCS tourism while interviewing tourism stakeholders. While interviewing and talking to officials of CVB, cities and County, the researcher realized some kind of parallelism in the nature of jobs. Though getting access to back of the house staffs in BCS was difficult; however, to listen to their issues was somewhat familiar to the issues of hotel workers in Nepal. However, a difference remained that through labor unions, hotel workers' jobs/hours are presumably much secure in Nepal despite their lower pay scales compared to the U.S. pay standards.

Further, the researcher has a very positive experience of adventure/community tourism development from his home country, Nepal. Mt. Everest Region in Nepal is the center of adventure tourism due to Mt. Everest, and it is home to legendary Sherpas. The Sherpas, a minority ethnic community in Nepal used to make a subsistence living through yak-herding and meager farming in their native highlands before the

introduction of tourism in the country in 1951. The researcher has visited/trekking Mt. Everest Region on six occasions with foreign mountain expedition teams as a part of service to the Government of Nepal and has personally witnessed the changes brought upon by tourism in the region. In an account of tourism and change in Mt. Everest Region, Nepal (2016), (a renowned geographer and professor in Canada, originally from Nepal) wrote, “In 2013, around 37,000 foreign trekkers visited the region...staying in lodges and teahouses operated by local Sherpa residents along the routes” (p. 286). Nepal (2016) further highlighted the positive developments of tourism such as increased household incomes, improved living conditions and international exposure of the place, its people and culture along some issues such as waste disposal, pressure on forest resources for fuel wood, and foreign influence on local values. Tourism has brought big changes in the economic lifestyles of the Sherpas who are renowned for their feats in mountain guiding and climbing services for foreign expedition members. The Sherpas, in the past, used to take all jobs related to tourism such as kitchen staff, porters, climbing guides, etc. However, in recent days, Sherpas take only highly paid mountain guide/climbing jobs and rest of the jobs such as kitchen staff and porters are taken by other ethnic communities such as Rai, Magar and Tamang migrating for seasonal jobs from other parts of Nepal (Nepal, 2016).

Nepal (2016) further stated there were more than 300 lodges in the Mount Everest Region in 2012 run by Sherpas offering local, traditional lunch and snacks to visitors. Because of the wealth accumulated from tourism, Sherpas of Mt. Everest Region possibly are one of the richest ethnic communities in Nepal. Due to their entrepreneur skills, strong community bonding, and individual and business contacts they have established especially in Europe and North America, Sherpas are one of the major stakeholders of adventure tourism in Nepal. Further, Sherpas have invested “in luxury accommodation, airlines, trekking and mountaineering guide and outfitting businesses, while Sherpas from poorer households work as high-altitude porters” (Nepal, 2016, p.291). This is how the Sherpa community in Mt. Everest Region of Nepal has witnessed the miracles of tourism, which may be transferrable to other community

settings in terms of entrepreneurship, strong community bonding, and national international exposures tourism brings to the host community. Like Mt. Everest Region and Sherpa community in Nepal, possibly BCS community can further capitalize on its image as one of the greatest public university systems with one of the finest football teams and football fields in the nation. Every tourism community may capitalize from its unique selling point.

#### **4.2 Research Method/ Strategy**

As stated earlier, the research assumption held the view that social worlds can be best represented and interpreted through constructionism mainly applying qualitative methods. The research utilized a natural setting/community sustainable tourism operation site in Texas, collected data and made data analysis by mixing theory/research driven structures with inductive insights as lived and experienced by the participants in their socio-cultural context. Events were interpreted as they were seen, heard and understood based on the interactions with participants. The goal of the constructionist-interpretive approach was both idiographic and emic inquiry where meaning was made through interactive dialogue (dialogic interactionism) with participants unlike random sampling done in scientific research (dehumanization) to reduce bias.

As underlined by Guba & Lincoln (1994), the research used a constructivism paradigm and therefore focused on exploring the contextual information and “meaning within the emic (insider) view of studied individuals, groups, societies, or cultures” (p. 106) from the research participants. Constructivism holds a relativist worldview that multiple realities exist which is associated with social and experiential interactions with the participants.

The scoping review presented a macro-perspective of ST and CBT practices taking references from international and local perspectives; drew a preliminary framework of SCBT (as given in Table 9); and identified gaps in terms of justice, ethics and equity broadly related to governance. A focused analysis of justice, ethics, equity and governance, supported by theoretical and empirical foregrounding, helped to

develop the following research model to explore justice and equity as expressed in the research questions.

The preliminary SCBT framework proposed four dimensions for sustainable community-based tourism development extending from the commonly mentioned three dimensions which are as follows:

1. Economic sustainability
2. Social sustainability
3. Environmental sustainability
4. Governance, justice and equity (under-represented, to be explored further)

Dimensions of ST/CBT

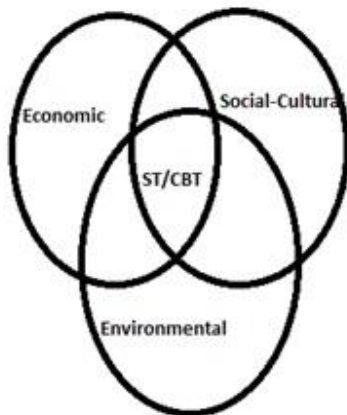


Figure 2.a Common Model of ST/CBT

New Dimensions of ST/CBT

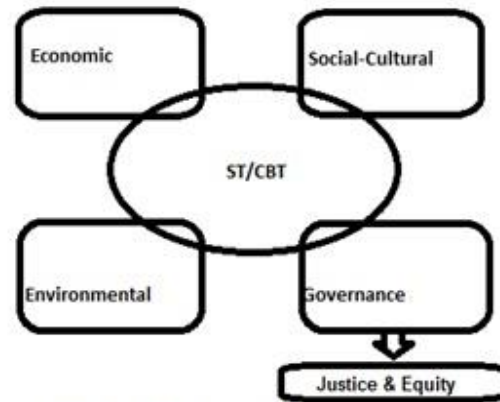


Figure 2.b Elements of Justice & Equity have largely been under-represented in governance

The scoping review started with the three broad dimensions of sustainability as mentioned above in Figure 1. Based on the findings of the scoping review, governance, with special focus on justice and equity, was proposed to be explored (see Figure 2).

Furthermore, the scoping review, followed by analysis and discussion on justice, ethics, equity and governance, helped develop the following two research questions (see Section 1, pages 4-5 for question details). The scoping review and theoretical/conceptual analysis led to the empirical study and followed a systematic process of comparison of criteria/issues of ST and CBT from select studies (Table 9). The study further detailed it



as combined (preliminary) framework of SCBT with available criteria directing empirical study to explore underrepresented issues (as shown at the end row of Table 9). Table 11 streamlines the research through proposed SCBT criteria/themes to explore justice and equity relating to governance in particular. Stakeholder perceptions were a primary focus for this constructivist research.

Two research questions guided the empirical study:

*RQ 1: How does the system of local tourism governance address collaborative participation and decision-making in tourism development with consideration to responsiveness?*

*RQ 2: How do the various stakeholders feel about tourism development in BCS, specifically, with respect to the distribution of tourism related goods and resources (distributive justice); and respect to “Ethic of care”?*

### **4.3 Research Setting**

Bryan and College Station (BCS), twin-cities in Brazos County Texas have a tradition of higher education. Texas A&M University, in College Station, was established in 1876, and is one of the largest public universities in the nation. It currently enrolls over 50,000 students annually. Blinn College, established in 1883, enrolls over 10,000 students at the Bryan campus (BCS Visitor Planning Guide, 2014). According to the Bryan-College Station Chamber of Commerce (BCSCC, 2014) the population of Bryan was 76,021 and College Station population stands at 93,857 in 2010.

The twin-cities have tourist attractions including: the Brazos Valley African American Museum, Brazos Valley Museum of Natural History, George Bush Presidential Library and Museum, Sam Houston Sanders Corps of Cadets Center, Historic downtown Bryan, Texas Reds Stakes and Grape Festival, Messina Hof Winery and Resort, and the Northgate Entertainment District to name a few. Among Texas A&M sports, college football is a primary attraction, along with other sports such as soccer, basketball, volleyball, softball, etc.

Additionally, time-honored Aggie traditions such as Silver Taps, The 12<sup>th</sup> Man, Ring Days, and Bonfire Memorial draw a large number of fans and supporters to Aggieland. Student graduations also generate a large number of visitors. To cater to the

needs of the large numbers of seasonal visitors to the area, Bryan and College Station offer a myriad of tourism-related services such as hotels, motels, restaurants, wineries, breweries, farm tours, meetings and conventions, spa resorts, vacation homes, museums and libraries, retails, gift shops, convenience stores, etc.

A Bryan-College Station Convention & Visitors Bureau report (BCSCVB 2014-15) citing Dean Runyan Associates states, for Texas, tourism is the third largest sector for generating revenues: “It generates \$31.1 million in tax revenue for Bryan-College Station” and an “estimated 4,490 jobs in Bryan-College Station are related to tourism” (p. 9-13). To integrate efforts of travel-trade services for effective destination planning and marketing, BCSCVB, a non-profit, independent organization, represents and markets Bryan-College Station as a travel destination.

Regarding the economic impact of tourism on the Texas economy in 2015, the Texas Travel Industry Association (TTIA, 2015) stated, “The Texas Travel Industry has a direct economic impact of \$69 billion and directly and indirectly supports more than 1.1 million Texas Jobs.” TTIA further stated that travel and tourism supports 1 in 10 Texas jobs, and visitors spending generate \$3.8 billion in state tax revenues and \$ 2.4 billion in local tax revenues. TTIA’s statement that “Without visitor spending, every Texas household would have paid an additional \$ 1020 in taxes” establishes tourism as an important source of revenue for both Texas and the BCS area.

Texas Office of the Governor, Economic Development & Tourism, Domestic Travel data highlighted that for the College Station-Bryan MSA, Texans generated 87.2% of person-days and Non-Texans 12.8%. For College Station-Bryan the top 3 Texan origin Metropolitan Statistical Areas (DMAs) were (Houston, Dallas-Fort Worth, and Waco-Temple-Bryan); and Non-Texan DMAs included (Boston, MA, Manchester, NH, and Chicago, IL among many others). Visitors’ average Length of Stay was 1.62 days (overnight and days); 1.76 nights (overnight only). Volume/Share of the number of person-stays to the College Station-Bryan MSA was estimated at 4.04 million in 2014, and the volume of person-days was estimated at 7.13 million. The College Station-Bryan

MSA’s share of total person-days to Texas ranked 13 out of 26 Texas MSAs (The Office of the Governor, Economic Development & Tourism Division, 2015).

Another report on the economic impact of Travel on Texas by Dean Runyan Associates (2015, pp. 74-75) stated that in 2014p Brazos County’s total share of travel earnings was \$125.2 million which was 2.3% (out of County’s total travel earnings of 5, 327 million), and its travel employment stood at 5,630 which was 4.6 % (out of total County’s 123, 240 travel jobs) (The Office of the Governor, Texas Economic Development & Tourism, 2015). The contribution of travel to the economy and employment could be estimated to be higher as Dean Runyan Associates report stated that contributions from travel are also “represented in other sectors (primarily leisure and hospitality, transportation, and retail trade)” (p. 147) indicating that it was also challenging to measure exact travel impacts in Texas and the BCS area. Owing to various factors such as a high number of visitors’ arrivals, number of jobs created from tourism, significant contribution of tourism to the BCS community, and efforts tourism governing bodies make in collaboration with other agencies such as the CVB for tourism development and promotion suggest BCS is a suitable site for this research.

**4.3.1 Population and ethnographic history of BCS**

According to United States Census Bureau (2015), the population composition of Bryan and College Station is as follows:

Table 12. Population and Ethnographic history of BCS

Categories	Bryan	College Station	Texas
Total population in 2010	76,201	93,857	25,145,561
White alone %	64.2%	77.2%	70.4%
Black or African American alone %	18.0%	6.8%	11.8%
American Indian and Alaska Native alone %	0.6%	0.4%	0.7%
Asian alone %	1.7%	9.1%	3.8%
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander alone %	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%
Two or more races %	2.6%	2.4%	2.7%
Hispanic or Latino %	36.2%	14.0%	37.6%
White alone, not Hispanic or Latino %	43.0%	68.3%	45.3%
Persons below poverty level % (2009-2013)	28.4%	35.9%	17.6%
Black-owned firms %, 2007	7.6%	4.8%	7.1%
Hispanic-owned firms %, 2007	14.1%	5.7%	20.7%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (2015)

Compared to the state of Texas, among major ethnic groups, the White population is slightly lower in Bryan, but slightly higher in College Station. The Black/African American population is significantly higher than the state average in Bryan, but it is lower in College Station. Additionally, the Asian population is significantly higher in College Station than the state level, which might be attributed to Texas A&M University. Further, the Hispanic population is significantly lower in College Station than the state average, but almost at par in Bryan. Unfortunately, the poverty level both in Bryan and College Station is significantly higher than the state average. The Texas State Historical Association (TSHA, 2015) also identified African-American and Latino/Mexican ethnic groups as low-income residents among the diverse ethnic groups residing in the twin cities.

The present study was limited to a stakeholder-based approach that included public, private sector stakeholders in tourism, as well as non-profit organizations. Individual residents were not included in the study, but the stakeholders identified are considered representative of the community's diverse groups and interests.

As mentioned in the introduction, sustainable tourism is not only applied in the context of alternative forms of tourism such as ecotourism, community tourism, village tourism, farm tourism and so on, but its principles and practices can also be applied in all forms of tourism: nature tourism or community tourism, local or international, small or big, individual or mass tourism.

It is believed tourism operations in BCS should meet the guidelines and criteria of ST if they desire to benefit the local community while preserving the local natural and cultural heritage. In this context, conducting an empirical study in Bryan-College Station (BCS) for exploring the issues of ethics, justice and equity in relation to SCBT seemed highly justifiable, as tourism destinations should be cognizant of the roles of justice and equity through tourism. Within this background, it is believed the study has importance from local as well as from international perspectives.

### ***4.3.2 Research participants***

The research participants consisted of a mix of owners, executive and management level employees, operational, and some frontline and back of the house staff from offices including: city and county offices, businesses including hotels, motels and restaurant, and tourism services and community organizations. Back of the house participants included cook/chef and housekeepers specifically from ethnic minorities. Thus, the participants mainly represented government agencies, various tourism related associations (i.e., BCSCC, BVLA and DBA) and other participants came from hotels, motels, restaurants, wineries, meetings and conventions, arts councils/museums, handicraft stores and Pedi cabs, etc. Considering the significant influence Texas A&M exerts on BCS tourism, the George Bush Library and Museum and Athletics Department were also considered for interview. This mixed group of participants provided the research a wide range of perspectives. To further explore the justice and equity elements, in addition to regular tourism stakeholders, the researcher also interviewed a bishop from an African-American church, community organizations such as Advent GX, African American Heritage Center, and Fiesta Patrias (a Hispanic community-related festival). As noted earlier, purposive sampling was used to derive interviewees and snowballing techniques worked effectively in adding potential participants based on recommendations received and emerging insights from the data. A total of 40 stakeholders were interviewed from the public, private, non-profit and community organizations.

### **4.4 Data Collection**

The research methods for data gathering included in-depth interviews with key stakeholders, using a semi-structured questionnaire. The research sampling was non-probability sampling. As outlined by H. Russell Bernard, the research sample used was ‘Purposive or Judgment Sampling’ where the focus was on intensive case-studies (Bernard, 2013, p. 165).

Theoretical sampling from the GTM (Strategic decision who will provide most information-rich source of data) supported the frame of purposive sampling. The

interviewees were requested an appointment for in-depth interview by sending e-mails proposing suitable and flexible dates. A sample e-mail is attached as Appendix I. Snowballing (referrals from participants already interviewed) worked effectively in increasing the sample size. For example, when a BCSCVB representative was interviewed, the official gave me referrals including BCSCC, ACBV and a few hotel/restaurant owners and staff. When the representative of BCSCC was interviewed, the gentleman gave more referrals. Requesting key stakeholders as per the referrals were also very effective as those referred hardly denied the request from their business colleagues (with some exceptions as explained in Table 15).

Independent contacts were also made to some organizations such as the BCSCVB and BCSCC in the very beginning prior to conducting interviews. Booklets and directories from these organizations were helpful about knowing some of the potential participants before referrals started working effectively. In the e-mail invitation to potential participants, the research objectives were briefly stated in the consent form (Appendix II). Telephone follow-ups were made as required and all interviews were audiotaped for transcription. However, one participant declined to be audiotaped (participant #20) because his attorney strongly warned him not to be audiotaped anywhere. This participant was just asked the major questions (since he had just 30 minutes time for me) and his interview was transcribed immediately after the interview (to best capture the content and context of interview). The semi-structured questionnaire contained one open-ended question at the end of interview as a final question. As given in the interview protocol (Appendix II) the final question read, “At the end of the interview, finally, do you want to add some aspects you think important but not included/discussed in the questionnaire”? The open-ended question was supported by a probing approach to explore emerging information. Details of the semi-structured interview questions are included in Appendix III.

In addition to the above, the researcher also conducted some participant observation of the study area due to the social constructivist nature of research. This included participation in some of the festivals and events. The events attended included:

the Blues Festival in Bryan (June 19, 2015); Juneteenth Parade (African-American heritage-related) from Kemp Elementary School to Sadie Thomas Park in Bryan (June 20, 2015); Fiesta Patrias Festival (Hispanic heritage-related) in Bryan (September 20, 2015), Texas Reds, Steaks and Wine Festival in Bryan (September 26, 2015) and the First Friday event in Bryan (October, 2015).

Secondary sources of information published (or hosted on the website) from authoritative sources such as the Bryan-College Station Chamber of Commerce (BCSCC), BCSCVB and other individual participants' company/business websites were also visited to get information about such organizations and to get familiar with their activities. Secondary sources of information also helped build background information and plan office visits and field visits to the study site.

Table 13. Summary of data collection methodology

Data		Collection		Analysis
Type	Characteristics	Method	Justification	Method
In-depth interviews Research questions 1&2	Face-to-face 40 Interviews completed	Used direct and referred (snowballing) recruitment	In-depth and personal/business account in relation to justice, ethics and equity relating to SCBT	Transcription Coding process: Developed codes and categories independently first, then grouped them as per RQs. Emergent categories and themes incorporated.
Documents	Brochures, websites of individual participants' businesses/organizations	Picked at participant offices or checked online	It enriched interview and analysis	Incorporated to support participants' observations or researcher's interpretations/findings.
Participant Observation	Attended tourism events/festivals Observed the events, casually interviewed some festival vendors/exhibitors and visitors Attended one of the Thursday Morning Meetings of DBA	During the time of festival/s	Gave researcher first-hand and multi-perspectives knowledge relating to the event	Participant observation incorporated in analyzing and reporting the results

The interview protocol included a consent form and a demographic form, which were filled in by the participants at the completion of interview. The following is the profile of the participants drawn mainly from the demographic survey of the participants.

Table 14. Profile of the study participants (First Group)

S. N.	Business/ Organization (Some with pseudonyms*)	Pseudonym/ Position*	Ownership -type	BCS Resident	Race**	Date of Interview (IV)	IV Duration (In minutes)
1.	BCSCVB	Official*	Bureau	Yes	White Female	April 07, 2015 June 15, 2016	64:47 1st 36:48 2nd
2.	BCSCC	Official*	Association	Yes	White Male	April 16, 2015	53:26
3.	Arts Council of the Brazos Valley	Official*	Association	Yes	White Male	April 24, 2015	77:12
4.	Brazos Valley Lodging Association	Official*	Association	Yes	White Male	April 27, 2015	56:35
5.	A Three Star Hotel Property in College Station*	General Manager	Hotel	Yes	White Male	April 28, 2015	45:35
6.	A Restaurant in Bryan*	Co-owner	Restaurant	Yes	White Female	May 08, 2015	37:39
7.	City of Bryan	Official*	Office	Yes	White Male	May 15, 2015 June 15, 16	79:16 1 <sup>st</sup> 50:36 2nd
8.	Downtown Bryan Association	Official*	Association	Yes	White Female	June 02, 2015	55:11
9.	A Lodging and Resort in Bryan*	Management Level	Hotel/ Resort	Yes	White Male	June 09, 2015	43:58
10.	A Pedi cab Transport	Owner	Transport	Yes	White Male	June 11, 2015	52:11
11.	A Restaurant in Bryan*	Bartender/Bar Manager	Restaurant	Yes	White Female	June 16, 2015	61:40
12.	Advent GX	One of the community organizers*	Community Org.	Yes	Hispanic Male	July 03, 2016	67:32
13.	A Restaurant in Bryan*	Asst. Manager	Restaurant	Yes	White Female	July 05, 2015	47:53
14.	A Restaurant in Bryan*	Sole owner	Restaurant	Yes	White Female	July 08, 2015	75:32
15.	A Restaurant in College Station*	Server	Restaurant	Yes	White Male	Aug, 15, 2015	37:53
16.	Fiestas Patrias	One of the community organizers*	Community Org	Yes	Hispanic Female	Sept. 24, 2015	60:13



Table 14, Continued

S. N.	Business/ Organization (Some with pseudonyms*)	Pseudonym/ Position*	Ownership -type	BCS Resident	Race**	Date of Interview (IV)	IV Duration (In minutes)
17.	African American Heritage & Cultural Society	One of the community organizers*	Community Org	Yes	African-American Male	Sept. 24, 2015	56:03
18.	A Chain Restaurant in College Station*	Managing Partner	Restaurant	Yes	White Male	Dec. 21, 2015	39:49
19.	George Bush Library & Museum	Official*	Presidential Library	Yes	Hispanic Male	Dec. 23, 2015	62:32
20.	A Restaurant in College Station*	Owner	Restaurant	Yes	White Male	Jan. 15, 2015	30:00***
21.	A Restaurant in College Station*	Sole Owner	Restaurant	Yes	White Male	Jan. 25, 2016	45:20
22.	A hotel in Bryan	General Manager	Hotel	Yes	White Female	Apr 27, 2016	36:25
23.	Brazos County Office	Official	Office	Yes	African-American Female	Apr 28, 2016	52:07
24.	A Hotel in College Station	General Manager	Hotel	Yes	White Male	Apr 29, 2016	60:39
25.	A hotel/ Inn in College Station	Manager	Hotel	Yes	White Male	Apr 29, 2016	32:14
26.	A museum in Bryan	Official*	Museum	Yes	African-American Male	May 2, 2016	58:42
27.	An antique store in Bryan	Owner	Store	Yes	White Male	May 2, 2016	42:49
28.	City of College Station	Official	Office	Yes	White Male	May 3, 2016	75:08
29.	Texas A&M University, Athletics Department	Official	University	Yes	White Male	May 3, 2016	50:34
30.	An African-American Church in Bryan	Bishop	Church	Yes	African-American Male	May 5, 2016	62:10

Total Interview Minutes: 1702:30, Hours: 28:37. Average interview time per participant: 57:14 minutes.

Note 1: \* As per the nature of the study, some offices such as City and County Offices, and organizations such as Bryan-College Station Convention and Visitors Bureau may have a higher level of legal and social accountability related to the issues of equity and justice pertaining to governance. These issues are also tied to offices and positions. For example, one of the participants interviewed was an official from the City of College Station. The City website stated that “The City of College Station has a council-manager form

of government... the city council...is the governing body responsible for setting policy” (City of College Station, 2016, para. 2). The officials working for the City/City Council assist the City Council in formulating policies and are therefore, part of governance. It makes them at the distributing end of HOT money whereas associations such as the CVB, the Arts Council and community organizations staging festivals are at the receiving end. Assuming differences in roles, power, authority and decision-making capacity between those on the resource-distribution end (more related to tourism governance) and others (staff workers, individual hotels, restaurants, associations, etc.) at the receiving end, the researcher purposefully gave exact names for offices related more to tourism governance. However, to aid in the privacy, confidentiality and respect for participants, each participant’s individual identity was protected by giving each participant a lump sum position as an official (for all positions the researcher interviewed in those offices/associations). This way their individual identity was fully protected, but perspectives on the issue/s can be viewed based on the type of office they work in. Participants from hotels, restaurants, and other individual businesses were given actual designations with a pseudonym for their offices/businesses. Further, community organization representatives were given pseudonyms as one of the organizers of the festival or the community organization. This method was applied to make data analysis and interpretation richer, and more meaningful to comprehend. For the purpose of confidentiality and not to associate participants with individual businesses/offices, demographic profiles such as age group, and education have been analyzed in aggregate as follows.

\* \*For classification of race, please refer to Appendix III (Interview Protocol)

\*\*\* Declined to be recorded.

Table 14.a. Profile of study participants from Back of the House including ethnic minorities\* (Group B).

S. N.	Business/ Organization (Some with pseudonyms*)	Pseudonym/ Position	Ownership -type	BCS Resident	Race**	Date of Interview (IV)	IV Time (Minutes)
31.	A Two Star Hotel in College Station*	Executive House Keeper	Private	Yes	White Female	8/10/2016	30:47
32.	A Two Star Hotel in College Station*	Cook	Private	Yes	African-American, Female	8/11/2016	33:22
33.	A Two Star Hotel in College Station*	Housekeeping (HK)	Private	Yes	Hispanic Female	8/11/2016	31:01
34.	A Three Star Hotel in College Station*	HK Supervisor	Private	Yes	African-American, Female	8/11/2016	32:03
35.	A Three Star Hotel in College Station*	Room Attendant (RA)/HK	Private	No	Hispanic Female	8/11/2016	38:38
36.	A Three Star Hotel in College Station*	Cleaner/Laundry	Private	Yes	African-American Female	8/16/2016	34:50
37.	A Restaurant in Bryan*	Lead Trainer/Kitchen Staff	Private	Yes	Hispanic Male	8/17/2016	34:29
38.	A Hotel in Bryan*	Executive Chef	Private	Yes	Hispanic Male	8/17/2016	40:07
39.	A Restaurant in Bryan*	Cook & Cleaner	Private	Yes	African-American Male	8/17/2016	26:16
40.	A Restaurant in College Station*	Cook	Private	Yes	Hispanic Male	8/21/2016	31:19

Total interview minutes in this group: 331:32, Hours 5:52. Average interview time per participant: 33:13 minutes.

\*\*One back of the house staff was White.

Table 14.b. Profile of the study participants (P#) (continued).

Gender		Age Group	P#	Education	P#
Male	Female				
25	15	Below 20 years		Grade school or some high school	4 BHK
		21-30 years	8	High school diploma or GED	2
		31-40 years	4	Technical, vocational or trade school	
		41-50 years	11	Some college (includes junior college)	5
		51-60 years	11	Associate degree	4
		61 and above	5	Undergraduate degree	18
				Master/PhD degree	7
#25	#15		39*	Total Participants	40

\*One participant did not write his/her age group in the demographic form.

**Ethnicity of all participants:** White-24, Hispanic-8, African-American-8. Total=40.

**Note 2:** As can be seen from the participants' profile that a majority of participants (62.5%) were male and a significant portion (37.5%) were female. More than 55% (22) were in the age-group of 41-60, and a large majority 62.5% (25/40) had Undergraduate to Master/PhD degrees. All participants interviewed from the perspectives of tourism stakeholders claimed themselves to be residents of BCS except one (#35 who commutes from Navasota). However, 39/40 participants were BCS residents which makes their statements closer from residents' perspectives as well.

There were six participants who declined a request for interview on phone or through non-response. All of them were suggested or recommended (with contact addresses) by other participants whom the researcher had interviewed earlier. One type of participants stated they had no time or felt not interested for interviews, the other types were not directly accessible on telephone and their contact e-mail was received from the staff. Despite e-mail and telephone follow-ups (not direct telephone) and messages left to their staff or on voice-mail, no response was received. Therefore, no exact reasons for denial could be stated with a wise guess they had either no time or no interest for interviews. As a result, these participants were not considered for further follow-ups for the interview and the researcher continued contacting other participants.

Table 15. List of participants declining interviews

S.N.	Participants from Businesses/Offices contacted, but not participating in the IV	Contact Date/Mode	Reason for Decline
1.	Casa Rodriquez, Bryan	E-mail-6/25/2015 E-mail 6/29/2015 And telephone	No time for interview
2.	NAPA Flats, College Station	E-mail 12/ 21/2015 And telephone	No response
3.	Grub Burger, College Station	E-mail-12/21/2015 And Telephone	No Response
4.	Manor Inn, College station	E-mail 4/20/2016 And Telephone	No Response
5.	Hyatt Place, College Station	E-mail-4/22/2016 And Telephone	No response
6.	Hilton Garden Inn, College Station	E-mail-4/26/2016 And Telephone	No response

The researcher faced some difficulties in getting access to housekeeping and kitchen staff specially to reach ethnic minorities for interviews. The researcher first started with request for further contacts/access from the previous participants he had already interviewed. The researcher requested a bishop (#30) on phone if he had any contacts with back of the house staffs. The bishop expressed inability to provide participant information citing security issues and even gun-laws. He stated the researcher was welcome to come to Church events and talk to people and he had no objection if they agreed to cooperate. The researcher also contacted participants #13, 15 and 16 by e-mail/text and all replied they had no such further contacts. Another participant #12 replied the researcher to interview a person at Grand Stafford Theatre, but when the researcher arrived there, there were no minority staffs working, but a White ready to be interviewed. It was a communication gap as participant #12 possibly thought the researcher could interview any employee. However, the researcher utilized this visit for making further contacts in Bryan personally visiting some businesses. The researcher was successful to secure some interviews in Bryan that way, but one restaurant/fast-food owner in Bryan told the researcher he will never allow a new person to interview his staffs. The researcher called/e-mailed a manager in a new chain hotel property for further contacts, but no response was received. The researcher also called and e-mailed

participant #25 (Manager) of a hotel, but no response was made. The researcher walked door-to-door in five restaurant properties in Northgate district and received various responses: one had minority staffs but they did not speak English, and two properties had minority staffs but they would not allow interviews without management/head office permission (It could have taken months for the researcher to wait). A restaurant manager wanted to cooperate, but he had no minority staffs, and another restaurant management stated they would cooperate and call me back, but that did not happen even after follow up. A majority of ten additional back of the house participants the researcher interviewed were contacted through a reference of a few former participants, and a few from the personal approach and networking of the researcher. Getting access to back of the house staffs was never easy for an outside researcher from another culture.

A memo of major meetings, things to be done, further interviews to be conducted and types of participants to be selected, etc. which occurred as insights during various stages of research (interview, transcription, participant observation of festivals) was kept. The memoing process helped the researcher to recollect past activities and plan for upcoming tasks.

#### **4.5 Data Analysis**

The analysis followed an iterative process which went back and forth between the literature and the data to build a theoretically informed picture of the governance and justice related issues being explored. The data analysis process mainly followed the seven typical analytic procedures as outlined by Marshall & Rossman (2011, p. 206) pertaining to qualitative research which include: (1) Organizing the data, (2) Immersion in the data, (3) Generating categories and themes, (4) Coding the data, (5) Offering interpretations through analytic memos, (6) Searching for alternative understandings, and (7) Writing the report or other format for presenting the study.

Regarding the coding methods Patton (2002) stated that coding methods in qualitative research vary, “Because each qualitative study is unique, the analytical approach used will be unique” (p.433) and Saldana (2009) suggested that no one can claim one, final “best” way to code qualitative data. Saldaña (2009) further suggested

that selection of appropriate coding method(s) depends on the particular type of study, and wrote, “Your choice of coding method(s) and a provisional list of codes should be determined beforehand to harmonize with your conceptual framework or paradigm, and to enable your analysis that answers your research questions and goals” (p.49).

Furthermore, Saldaña (2009) suggested that structural coding gathers “topics lists or indexes of major categories and themes” which are appropriate for qualitative studies, particularly in social-construction settings to enable analysis for particular research questions. The author further suggested that if a researcher’s goal is to develop a new theory about a phenomenon, then it should follow classic or re-envisioned grounded theory and its specific coding methods. The researcher in the current research did not intend to develop a new theory, but attempted to explore ethics, justice, and equity by applying Rawls’ Theory of Justice and building on available research on justice, ethics, and equity to bridge the gaps in the context of SCBT. Therefore, the data-analysis in the study mainly took a structural coding approach, getting responses to research question/s and mixed GTM methods to incorporate emergent categories and themes.

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) contended that a method of directed qualitative content analysis should be adopted when not seeking new theory, but trying to discover new dimensions for existing research/frameworks. In directed qualitative content analysis, “Codes are defined before and during data analysis” and “Codes are derived from theory or relevant research findings” (p. 1286). Taking coding and analysis guidelines from these authors, codes in the analysis primarily emerged from the research questions, themes and issues inherent in them. However, to minimize the researcher’s knowledge of the field influencing the formation of codes and categories, the researcher conducted independent line-by-line coding first, then developed common categories from the codes under the theme/s and research question/s for the exploration.

Common categories derived from the codes were applied to interpret the specific research questions; drawing a summary (at the end of each section analysis) relating to the research question/s and theme/s; and then moving forward to a discussion. Coding and analyzing the interview data applying these qualitative methods (as suggested by

Saldaña, 2009; and Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) enabled the researcher to find answers to the research question/s and interpret the research findings in relation to the conceptual framework guiding the research.

However, the option was kept open for the possibility of new theme/s development due to the recurrence of new categories pertaining to a phenomenon (research questions/themes). Qualitative scholars typically believe “Theory-driven analysis does not preclude the analyst from uncovering emergent, data-driven themes” (Namey, Guest, Thairu, & Johnson, 2008, p. 138). Thus, the analysis basically took a theory-driven analytic approach, but kept the option open for a data-driven analytic approach as well. For example, in analysis of the first ten interviews, recurrence of categories such as Texas A&M University as a main driver of BCS tourism, provided early indication of a new theme-*Texas A&M Attracts Visitors to BCS*. In the initial stage of the study, offices such as cities and county and associations such as CVB and Chamber of Commerce were mainly considered as a part of tourism governance, not the Texas A&M University though it is a major driver of tourism. As governance, in general, encompasses areas such as planning, strategic vision, rules, regulations, service-delivery, accountability, transparency and so on, and tourism governance was speculated from those perspectives. However, the first 10 interviews indicated a prominent role of Texas A&M in driving tourism to BCS which was further confirmed by the remaining thirty interviews. The feedback and suggestions from the participants helped to draw recommendations that Texas A&M should somehow be considered a part of tourism governance in BCS besides City and County Offices, Convention and Visitors Bureau and others. Bramwell (2011) emphasized the need of sharing of knowledge, resources, rules and coordination and cooperation among multiple stakeholders relating to tourism governance. As stated in the research objective, it becomes imperative that though not a policy-making or marketing body of tourism as per its mandate; however, TAMU as the main driver of tourism to BCS may be invited as one of the major policy-makers of tourism from coordination and cooperation point of view. Furthermore, recurrence of other topics such as Texas A&M Culture Shapes BCS Culture and Game Day Traffic



Creates Temporary Social Disruption made the study to come-up with three data-driven themes as detailed in the analysis section. This is another example how the research takes constructivist paradigm and mixes various types of qualitative analyses.

Coding and analysis also followed Namey et al. (2008) who stated that *structural codes* refer to question-based codes for data collection where structured, semi-structured interviews or focus groups ask “discrete questions and probes that are repeated across multiple files in a data set” (p. 140). The interview questions basically repeated the same set of questions (from the interview protocol) to each participant with slight modifications depending on the nature of the organization the participants represented.

Namey et al. (2008) further stated, “Each discrete question and its associated probes are assigned a code that is then applied or linked to the question and subsequent response text in each data file” (p. 140). To summarize, these techniques guided the coding and analysis where categories from participants’ responses were grouped within specific research questions seeking answers to the research question/s. While seeking answers to the research questions, interpretation of responses was made not only in terms of frequency counts (using content analysis techniques) but also in terms of the relationships and associations among codes/categories using thematic analysis techniques, which helped bring a rich description of implicit and explicit ideas.

As stated by Denzin & Lincon (2005) the analysis in the research attempted “to make sense of, or interpret, phenomenon in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Creswell, 2007, p.36). In the process of identifying essential features and establishing interrelationships among such features, additional analytical methods were applied. These methods followed Wolcott (1999): highlighting significant findings and ignoring others; displaying findings in charts and graphs (in Excel sheets); component, content, and discourse analysis within the features; and comparing, evaluating, and contextualizing the findings with a standard framework. Comparing codes and categories across participants’ groups was made as suggested by Birks & Millis (2011) and Marshall & Rossman (2011).

Following a social constructivist paradigm, the analysis comprised of partially inductive interpretations/ meanings as told by the participants in their social, political, cultural, and historical contexts and were blended with critical ethnography (researcher advocating what works best). The process also took some guidance from the analytical procedures offered by the grounded theory approach, where key strategies included constant comparison (Birks & Millis, 2011; Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006; Bryant & Charmaz, 2010); concurrent data generation or collection and analysis (collect and subsequently analyze data); and writing memos. The constant comparative analysis consisted of multiple processes (incident to incident, incident to codes, codes to codes, codes to categories, categories to categories added with abductive-non-traditional, cognitive logic of discovery). Bryant & Charmaz (2010) stated abductive reasoning resides at the core of grounded theory logic: it links empirical observation with imaginative interpretation, but does so by seeking theoretical accountability through returning to the empirical world. Birks and Mills (2011) defined abductive reasoning as “an intellectual act, a mental leap that brings together things which one had never associated with one another” (p.11). Abductive reasoning is thus application of cognitive logic for discovery by researchers where they link empirical observation with imaginative interpretation within the boundaries of theoretical accountability. The researcher developed seven different excel sheets (one for each group, two for restaurants group given their bigger number, and two from back of the house participants) with codes and categories. These codes and categories were compared and contrasted across groups and across individual participants to see the patterns of similarities or differences, which helped to find responses in the light of research questions or to see new topics and themes emerging. Codes and categories from other two participants outside the group such as a Pedi cab and an Antique store were directly reflected to the responses as per the research questions or to emerging topics or themes.

#### **4.6 Ethical Considerations**

It can be argued there have been more dissonances than agreements between quantitative (objectivist) and qualitative (interpretivist/constructivist) researchers

regarding the ethical stances they take in their research. Christians (2011) postulated, “the enlightenment dichotomy between freedom and morality foster(s) a tradition of value-free social science and, out of this tradition, a means-end utilitarianism” (P. 61). Conversely, qualitative research is a result of an ethical-political framework with an international scope that adheres to multiculturalism, gender inclusion, and pluralism. Some of the social thinkers who championed positivistic inquiry include Jean-Jacques Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, and Max Weber. These thinkers even made a distinction between means and ends and claimed social science did not possess the wherewithal to achieve its ends which natural science could only handle for the greater benefit of humanity. The value-free codes developed in the positivist domain, overlap other research domains and have been used in the value-free social domain. They consist of four codes of ethics (Christians, 2011):

1. Informed consent- Respecting the human freedom it includes two necessary conditions: subjects must agree voluntarily to participate without physical or psychological coercion; and their agreement must be based on full and open information.
2. Deception- Deliberate misrepresentation or deceptive research design is not allowed in the plain terms; but especially in psychological experimentation and medical research when deception becomes necessary for getting required information, modicum of deception is applied on utilitarian grounds.
3. Privacy and Confidentiality- Protects participants’ identity and privacy through anonymity and pseudonyms, but cases of betrayal have been reported.
4. Accuracy- External and internal validity of the data and no falsifications and omissions of the data and information.

Adding to the code of ethics, Christians (2011) proffered that Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) “embody the utilitarian agenda in terms of scope, assumptions, and procedural guidelines” (p. 66). The U.S. National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects (1978), through the Belmont Report, developed the following three moral standards for biomedical and behavioral research: respect for persons, beneficence, and justice.

1. Respect for persons demands a commitment from the researchers for a voluntary participation from the participants, and respecting the legal entitlement of persons with diminished autonomy.

2. Beneficence of research participants includes avoidance of harm altogether and risk minimization as far as possible.
3. Principle of justice insists on fair distribution of both the benefits and burdens of research.

Codes of ethics and IRB moral standards have been heavily criticized by other social scholars including Christians (2011) for relegating emotionality and intuition in the decision-making process, and for ignoring “ethics of caring” and concept of power and ideology in social and political institutions. Denzin (1997; cited in Christians, 2011) further attacked positivistic social-science codes of ethics and contested, “This noncontextual, nonsituational model that assumes a morally neutral, objective observer will get the facts right, ignores the situatedness of power relations associated with gender, sexual orientations, class, ethnicity, race, and nationality” (p. 68). Guba and Lincoln (1989) also mentioned that four areas of professional/organizational ethics: guarding subjects from the harm, guarding subjects from the deception, guarding the privacy and confidentiality of subjects, and obtaining fully informed consent from the participants were not enough to conduct naturalistic inquiry. The authors stated, “Social reality is not objectively ‘out there,’ but exists only as a series of mental and social constructions derived via social interaction” (p. 137) and recommended to make constructivist research emic, dialogic and collaborative with the research participants which is beyond the domain of positivist/objective research. Denzin (2001) also termed constructivist/interpretive research as “emic” or idiographic where each individual is treated as universal singular. The idiographic research seeks to study experience from within contrary to the “etic” parameter of nomothetic research, which seeks to generalize individual experiences from outside (p.158). The above statements are a few examples how there are more differences than similarities related to how positivists/post-positivists and qualitative (constructivists) inquirers’ choose their ethical stances and research paradigms while conducting research.

Denzin and Lincoln (2011) mentioned that though there have been some efforts, there is not a fixed set of ethical standards to guide research and practice especially in qualitative inquiry. Historically, and as per the current practice, one of five (5) ethical

stances (absolutist, consequentialist, feminist, relativist, deceptive) has been followed which sometimes tend to merge with one another (p. 24).

1. Absolutist stance/model argued that “any method that contributes to a society’s self understanding is acceptable, but only conduct in the public sphere should be studied” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011, p. 24). This model takes the stance that social scientists are required to respect the privacy of research subjects/participants and any kind of breach of privacy is unethical and immoral.

2. Deception model says, “any method, including the use of lies and misrepresentation, is justified in the name of truth” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011, p. 24). This model, contrary to the absolutist model, allows investigative voyeurism in the guise of science and improving human understanding through fact-finding. It adopts any means to attain the goal and treats participants as objects rather than collaborators. Due to power imbalances between the researchers and those researched, the techniques, as mentioned above (which are taken as unjustifiable and unethical in qualitative inquiry settings), can be looked upon as justifiable at the cost of the powerless and on the grounds of utilitarianism.

3. Relativist stance says, “Researchers have absolute freedom to study what they want; ethical standards are a matter of ethical conscience” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011, p. 24). This research stance is somewhere midway between positivist/post-positivist in qualitative inquiry. Research in this context is situation specific and different ethical standards need to be developed to address the situation.

4. Finally, Denzin and Lincoln (2011) stated, “Christians’ feminist-communitarian framework elaborates a *contextual-consequential framework*, which stresses mutual respect, noncoercion, nonmanipulation, and the support of democratic values” (p. 24).

Denzin & Lincoln (2011) called for a participatory type of research ethic including feminist communitarianism claiming that the established ethical principles and IRB moral standards were rather informed by “notions of value-free experimentation and utilitarian concepts of justice” (p. 23). Feminist Communitarianism emphasized social ethics, considered the historical, cultural, and racial context people live in and share

(Christians, 2011); and called for “trusting, collaborative nonoppressive relationships between researchers and those studied” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 24). Feminist Communitarianism ethics respects female expressiveness with compassion and takes an egalitarian and collaborative approach between the researcher and research participants. Other norms suggested for a feminist ethic include: personal accountability on behalf of the researcher, genuine caring about participants, the sharing of emotionality, and helping educate and empower participants (Christians, 2011). Another distinction is that the mission of the feminist communitarian model emphasizes thick description (which is relational, interactional, and situational-Denzin, 2001) compared to thin, technical, statistical, and/or the exterior experimentation of positivist approaches.

There are other major distinctions between the positivist model of Institutional Review Board (IRB) and the covenant/communitarian model. Though the IRB model also pays due respect to code of ethics such as informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, and accuracy, it has its own (IRB) moral standards such as respect for persons, beneficence, and justice. Yet, IRB standards are seen as value-neutral, gender blind, hierarchical, treating participants as experimental objects, and guided by utilitarian values.

Based upon the above discussion on the issue of ethics, this research complied with ethics for respect, and applied informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, and accuracy. Likewise, IRB moral standards required of bio-medical and behavioral science such as respect for persons, beneficence, and justice were strictly observed. Further, following the tradition of qualitative inquiry as outlined by Guba and Lincoln (1989), Denzin (2001), and Denzin and Lincoln (2011), this research attempted to be value-based, took a feminist, communitarian approach for participatory and collaborative inclusion; and remained interactive and dialogic with room for democratic dissonance, and applied no deceptive methods. The research included significant number of female participants including from the minorities and their concerns relating to “ethic of care” were given specific attention in the research.

The current researcher's stance is that like positivistic methods, qualitative inquiry brings new knowledge from the society and community which is beyond the purview of IRB standards and code of ethics. Therefore, no room for any sort of deception was allowed, as per the characteristics and principles of qualitative inquiry. Some of the foundations of qualitative inquiry include participants' meaning (learning about the issue from the participants) and the research considers participants as one of the major sources of data.

The constructivist nature of the study demanded participants' (stakeholders) voluntary time and the sharing of their personal and business privacy (to the extent they felt comfortable sharing). This context required a need to consider participants' privacy, respect, and informed consent as required by the Institutional Review Board – Human Subjects in Research at the Texas A&M University while granting this research permission.

The study took place in the natural setting of Bryan-College Station, including field-visits and conducting interviews with participants at their designated place/s. In the email correspondence and before the start of each interview, the research subjects were briefed about the purpose of the study and were informed that their participation was voluntary. This was a part of informed consent as required in IRB permission.

Prior to starting the formal, in-depth, recorded interviews with the participants, the interviewer gave each participant his brief introduction including past background in tourism and current academic pursuits. The process hoped to make participants more comfortable to talk about how they started their current business or got involved in their current job. At the end of the interview, a short demographic survey was requested of the participants. Each participant was given a pseudonym (a created designation with company name) during analysis, which was used for interpretation, and presentation of results in this dissertation. All the data from this research was kept in securely in researcher's personal laptop which has a secure password. While working in the office or TAMU library, all the computers are secured such a way that they open with individually assigned student ID and/or password. This helped ensure the interviews and

transcripts were secure. Further details were requested from a few interviewees (e.g. the CVB, Bryan City Office, and College Station City Office) who provided the researcher an opportunity to confirm data gathered from earlier interviews. A second round of interviews (e.g. the CVB, Bryan City Office) with participants from these offices was conducted to gain deeper perspectives based on the information I had already collected and analysed.

Each participant was given a copy of a signed consent form informing them to contact the researcher or their adviser if they would be further interested or wanted to ask any questions regarding the research. Participants were further informed they would receive an executive summary of the research following defence of the dissertation. As stated earlier, most interviews took place at the interviewee's offices at times that were convenient to them. The researcher gave them multiple options for research dates and time respecting their convenience. With the above-mentioned practices, it was believed the requirements expected by IRB review board were fulfilled.

#### **4.7 Trustworthiness, Credibility and Transferability**

As stated earlier, a constructivist/interpretivist stance, which presents the world as lived and experienced by the research participants, was used within the theoretical framework developed for the research. Marshall & Rossman (2011) claimed that qualitative research methodologies have been gaining wider application as modes of inquiry for social sciences and applied fields including education, regional planning, health sciences, social work, community development and management. It was thus believed the current research fell within the constructivist paradigm of qualitative inquiry.

As outlined by Denzin & Lincoln (2005) "Qualitative research is a field of inquiry in its own right. It crosscuts disciplines, fields and subject matters. A complex, interconnected family of terms, concepts, and assumptions surround the term qualitative research" (p.2). Qualitative research is considered to be pragmatic, interpretive, and grounded in the lived experiences of people. Rossman & Rallis (2012) proffered five general features of qualitative research prescribed to enhance its trustworthiness,



credibility, and transferability which include: (1) Takes place in the natural world, (2) uses multiple methods, (3) focuses on context, (4) is emergent rather than tightly prefigured, and (5) is fundamentally interpretive (p. 8).

Likewise, Rossman & Rallis (2012) proffered some characteristics of qualitative researchers including: “(1) Views the social world holistically, (2) systematically reflects on who she is, (3) is sensitive to personal biography, and (4) uses complex reasoning, and (5) conducts systematic inquiry” (p. 10).

As detailed above, the current research applied multiple qualitative methods. Primarily, the research methodology is a case study, which explored/investigated tourism stakeholders’ perspectives on justice, ethics and equity issues from a natural setting of Bryan-College Station in hopes of developing a robust framework of sustainable community-based tourism (SCBT).

The study used multiple sources of data collection including: participant observation (not necessarily immersion as in ethnography), semi-structured and in-depth interviews with stakeholders with some open-ended questions (to give a room for their multiple perspectives as well), and use of secondary sources of information including texts and audio-visuals. The research also complemented the constructivist/interpretive paradigm with constructivist grounded theory strategies using inductive, interactive, and comparative (Bryant and Charmaz, 2010) methods in data analysis. It’s been suggested an interpretivist approach “looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world” (Crotty, 1998, p.125) which was a goal of the current study. At times, the study also used the method of symbolic interactionism for seeing things from the perspective of others (research participants). For example, in interviews with Fiesta Patrias Festival participants who were part of celebrations as horse-riders and dance troupes, the researcher told them how the festival looked somewhat similar to the Nepalese festivals organized in the US (Country of origin for the researcher).

As a professional researcher in a complex world of social research, it remained the responsibility of the researcher to take extra caution for the sound ethical research

stance in addition to complying with the IRB guidelines. As suggested by Marshall & Rossman, (2011) strict adherence to ethical guidelines also enhanced trustworthiness, credibility, and transferability of the research with attention to details such as member-checks, collaboration and relationships-with participants and stakeholders and prolonged engagement in the setting. The researcher has lived and studied in Bryan-College Station for more than five years as a student of the RPTS department and has remained aware and concerned about tourism development trends and impacts of college events such as football, graduation ceremonies, and parents' weekends in the community. Familiarity with the natural setting of the study and formal and informal contacts with some of the research participants likely improved the chances of making this inquiry collaborative and context-specific. The prolonged engagement while conducting the in-depth interviews with 40 participants took almost 16 months' time (starting in April 2015 and ending in August 2016). During this time, codes and categories were developed from the first 10 participant interviews. The rest of the interviews took the insights from these codes and categories. Thus, an iterative, constant comparative approach was taken. The prolonged time taken for first 21 interviews, time given for developing codes and categories from the early 21 interviews made it easier to complete remaining nineteen interviews in a relatively short time as shown in Table 14 and Table 14.a.

Finally, as the case study was closer to ethnography to some extent, as it included participant observation, some of the tools suggested for writing field notes were applied. Tools suggested to write field notes include: (1) Treating data or findings inseparable from the processes (it builds sensitivity to multiple situational realities), (2) Giving special attention to indigenous meanings and concerns of people studied (limits reliance upon preconceptions), (3) Writing field notes contemporaneously (a continuous process builds up new insight and understanding upon prior insights), and (4) Detailing the social interactional processes- sequences and conditions of interactions are better written and help develop processual happenings in the field (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). The tools used for the current study were writing field-notes and reflections immediately after attending a festival (participant observation), developing codes and categories from

the words/phrases of participants as far as practicable to retain the original meaning, and codes and categories developed from earlier participants coming as insights for probes with upcoming participants. These tools were used to help improve the trustworthiness, dependability, and credibility of the research.

Other suggestions for enhancing research credibility including triangulation, crystallization, reflexivity, developing an audit trail, thick description, and peer debriefing were followed as needed (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 206). During the data analysis and report writing process, each interview was coded and categories were developed independently without being influenced by the research framework. While deriving codes and categories from the interview transcriptions all the codes and categories were grouped as per the research questions for seeking responses to the issues under exploration. While doing so no pre-assigned codes and categories were developed so that data-driven results would not be influenced. In the process recurrence of some of the codes and categories besides the research questions during the interviews, participant observation and field-notes helped the emergence of new themes such as Texas A&M University driving tourism to BCS. As the research applied multiple approaches of qualitative inquiry (mixing theory/research driven with inductive/iterative processes), and the methods of the coding and analysis were periodically briefed and reviewed by my adviser and committee members, this research was believed to fulfill many of the criteria of qualitative research prescribed for trustworthiness, dependability, and credibility.

## 5. DATA ANALYSIS

As stated earlier in the data-analysis (in Methodology Section) and given the nature of this study, research questions were formulated after an extensive literature review based on the identification of existing gaps (such as ethics, justice and equity) in the domain of governance. The data-analysis in the study mainly took a structural coding approach by directly getting responses to major themes and topics related to the research questions. The constructivist qualitative paradigm adapted in this study also applied grounded theory methods (GTM) and mixed research and theory driven themes and categories with emergent data-driven themes and categories.

The researcher has an extensive professional and teaching background related to sustainable tourism, ecotourism, community-based tourism, tourism product development and destination marketing. Therefore, the knowledge and experience of the researcher in the field was helpful in analyzing the data and interpreting participant statements in line with the research objectives. Birks & Mills (2011) emphasized three factors: researcher expertise, methodological congruence, and procedural precision along with theoretical sensitivity to conduct qualitative research (Birks & Mills, 2011). Completion of several graduate courses in qualitative methods combined with professional knowledge and expertise in the field of sustainable community-based tourism placed the researcher in an advantageous position to positively contribute to the research goals.

The two research questions of the study are presented below (see pages 4-5 for details and interview protocol in Appendix III).

***RQ 1: How does the system of local tourism governance address collaborative participation and decision-making in tourism development with consideration to responsiveness?***

RQ 1 has research/theory driven themes of System of Tourism Governance, Mechanism for Collaborative Participation and Decision-Making, and Agencies

Responsible for Tourism Development (Responsiveness), and other topics relating to the research question. Sub-themes (topics) relating to the themes are shown in Table 16.

***RQ 2: How do the various stakeholders feel about tourism development in BCS, specifically, with respect to the distribution of tourism related goods and resources (Distributive Justice); and respect to “Ethic of care”?***

Similarly, RQ 2 has the research/theory driven themes of Distribution of Tourism Revenue and Benefits, Consideration to “Ethic of Care,” and Perception of Emotional Solidarity, and other topics relating to the research question. Sub-themes (topics) are shown in Table 16.

The responses received for both RQ1 and RQ 2 are organized in the order of themes, sub-themes (headings) for both research-driven and data driven themes as shown in Table 16. As per the nature of the study, responses received for research questions/themes based on extensive literature review (theory/research driven questions) dominated the exploration. However, by forming new topics and themes emerging from the participants, the study also presents data-driven themes (themes 8, 9, and 10) and integrates them into overall exploration, analysis, discussion and recommendations. The data analysis and interpretation follows in Table 16.

Table 16. Theory/Research generated themes and Data-Driven (Generated) themes

Theory/Research Generated Themes	Data-Driven Themes
<p><b><u>Relating to RQ 1</u></b></p> <p><b>4.1 System of Tourism Governance</b>            4.1.1 Accountable Agencies Relating to Tourism Development Decisions in BCS            4.1.2 Support for Institutional/Business Growth</p> <p><b>4.2 Mechanism for Collaborative Participation &amp; Decision-Making</b>            4.2.1 Collaborative Participation            4.2.2 Inclusion of Voice in Decision-Making</p> <p><b>4.3 Responsible Agencies for Tourism Development</b>            4.3.1 Responsive Agencies Relating to Tourism Development Issues and Challenges            4.3.2 Responding to the Issues of Diversity and Inclusiveness            4.3.3 Association Memberships and Stakeholder Satisfaction</p> <p><b>4.4 Other Issues</b>            4.4.1 Business/es Relating to Tourism            4.4.2 Suggestions to Improve Collaboration &amp; Participation            4.4.3 Institutional/Stakeholder Role for Tourism Development</p>	<p><b>4.8 Texas A&amp;M Drives Tourism to BCS</b></p> <p>4.8.1 Texas A&amp;M University influences tourism to BCS            4.8.2 Texas A&amp;M is a part of decisions relating to BCS tourism</p> <p><b>4.9 Texas A &amp; M Culture/Aggie Tradition Shapes BCS Culture</b></p> <p>4.9.1 Texas A&amp;M culture (Howdy! Aggie Spirit) as a unifying factor            4.9.2 A dose of Aggie tradition for new comes as well</p>
<p><b><u>Relating to RO 2</u></b></p> <p><b>4.5 Distribution of Tourism Revenues and Benefits</b>            4.5.1 Mechanism for Distribution of Revenues &amp; its Beneficiaries            4.5.2 Stakeholder Influence in the Distribution of Tourism Revenues and Benefits            4.5.3 Financial Incentives to Locals to Run Tourism Business/Incentives to Minority-Operated Businesses            4.5.4 Stakeholders' Perception of Fairness of Tourism Revenue Distribution</p> <p><b>4.6 Consideration to "Ethic of Care"</b>            4.6.1 Living Standards &amp; Wages of Tourism Workers            4.6.2 Resident Benefits of Tourism Including the Minority/Economically Disadvantaged Groups            4.6.3 Issues of BCS Tourism in General and Stakeholder Specific Issues            4.6.4 Fostering Cultural Pride and Respect for Community/Ethnic Minorities through Tourism            4.6.5 Educating Visitors about the Culture and History of BCS</p> <p><b>4.7 Perception of Emotional Solidarity</b>            4.7.1 Perception of Emotional Solidarity between Stakeholders and Tourists            4.7.2 Perception of Emotional Solidarity between Stakeholders and Residents</p>	<p><b>4.10 Game-day Traffic Creates Temporary Social Disruption in BCS</b></p> <p>4.10.1 Game day traffic and temporal and spatial impacts            4.10.2 Residents' coping mechanisms on game days</p>

For the convenience of data presentation, analysis and interpretation, interview participants were clustered into seven groups: (1) Associations, (2) Restaurants, (3) Hotels/Resorts, (4) Community/cultural organizations, (5) Government offices, (6) Back of the house housekeeping staff and, (7) Back of the house kitchen staff. There are additionally, two other types of participants: one representing an Antiques/Arts/Crafts shop (in Bryan) and a Pedi cab (serving visitors mainly during game days in College Station) whose perspectives are presented in the most suitable places of analysis. Clustering of research participants into these groups helped in comparing, contrasting, synthesizing, and interpreting data from group and individual perspectives as the participants may have held diverse viewpoints in issues relating to justice and equity owing to the different backgrounds they are in or the official/business/personal interests/stances they may have held.

There are various associations/entities which occur repeatedly in analysis. For the convenience of reading, some entities were given short names such as Bryan-College Station Convention and Visitors Bureau (BCSCVB, hereinafter referred to as CVB or just the Bureau), the Arts Council of the Brazos Valley (ACBV, hereinafter referred to as the Arts Council), and Downtown Bryan Association (DBA), Bryan-College Station Chamber of Commerce (BCSCC, is referred to as Chamber of Commerce), and Brazos Valley Lodging Association (BVLA, is referred to as Lodging Association, or BVLA). Community/cultural organizations were also given short names such as Brazos Valley African-American Heritage & Cultural Society as BVAAHCS, African American Museum as AAM, and African American Church as AAC. In the government offices group, only those offices with long names as George Bush Presidential Library and Museum were abbreviated as GBPLM and Texas A&M University Athletics Department as TAMU Athletics Department.

Table 17. Number and type of research participants

<b>Interview Participant Types</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>#</b>
Associations	CVB, Arts Council, DBA, Chamber of Commerce, and BVLA	5
Restaurants		8
Hotels/resorts		5
Community/cultural organizations	BVAAHCS, AAM, AAC, Fiesta Patrias, Advent GX	5
Government offices	City of Bryan, City of College Station, Brazos County Office, GBPLM, and TAMU Athletics Department	5
Antiques/Art/Crafts shop		1
Pedi cab		1
Housekeeping staffs	Hotels	5
Kitchen staffs	Hotels/restaurants	5
Total Participants		40

For a better understanding of the analysis, some background information relating to definition of tourism/tourists/visitors and Hotel Occupancy Tax (HOT) seemed important. The information is supposed to be helpful for analysis and discussion section and for readers outside tourism academia. Detailed accounts of tourism/tourists/visitors and Hotel Occupancy Tax (HOT) are presented in Appendix IV.

**Definition of Tourist/ Visitor:** The UNWTO (2014) uses the terms visitor and tourist interchangeably and makes a distinction between a visitor/tourist staying at least one night, and a same day visitor (excursionist) not spending a night. In the case of domestic tourist UNWTO elsewhere has put requirements of staying more than a night, but not exceeding six months within the same country outside usual environment.



**Definition of Hotel Occupancy Tax (HOT):** HOT is collected by hotels and motels from guests/visitors for the city/municipal office as mandated by the Texas state law. HOT is the main direct source of tourism tax revenue, which is mainly redistributed for tourism development and promotion by the City and County Office/s. The Texas Hotel and Lodging Association (THLA, 2014) states, “over 500 Texas cities levy a local hotel occupancy tax” (p.3) and most cities are eligible to impose a HOT up to 7% in hotel, motel, and lodging operations for the use of hotel rooms or for those providing sleeping accommodations. Collected HOT thus remains a major source of tourism revenue, which must be redistributed by city/county offices for tourism development and promotion within the framework and criteria for HOT money spending. The first criteria for HOT spending states that “every expenditure must directly enhance and promote tourism and the convention and hotel industry (THLA, 2014, p.13). And the second criteria stipulates nine categories for HOT spending which include “funding the establishment, improvement, or maintenance of a convention center or visitor information center,...and funding historical restoration or preservation programs” (THLA, 2014, pp. 15-21) among others (For details on HOT criteria, please see Appendix IV). BCS has a 15.75% HOT of which 7% goes to the city, 2% to the county, 6% to the state and .75 to Kyle Field. For details on the definition of tourism/tourists/visitors and Hotel Occupancy Tax (HOT) please see Appendix IV.

This section presents the analysis of 40 in-depth interviews conducted with research participants in BCS, including participant observation relating to the first research question (RQ 1). RQ 1 is reproduced below with a summary of its sub-questions. (For details on RQs and Interview Protocol, please see pages 4-5 and Appendix III).

***RQ 1: How does the system of local tourism governance address collaborative participation and decision-making in tourism development with consideration to responsiveness?***

RQ 1 consisted of five sub-questions and eight interview-protocol questions. The interview questions focused on the process of decision-making, legal mechanisms for stakeholders' participation in matters relating to tourism development in BCS, and participants' level and effectiveness of influence in decision-making. The question also explored the issues of addressing diversity and inclusiveness in tourism, dependency of institutions/businesses on tourism, responsiveness of tourism governance, and options on improving tourism collaboration. This question is linked mainly to procedural justice and explored if the system of fair and just participation of individuals and groups in their decision-making processes. As the topic is directly related to the system of governance, basic structure of the society and fair system of cooperation, it corresponds to the principles and ideas from Rawls' Theory of Justice (1971, 1999) and several other deliberations on justice, ethics and equity detailed earlier (Table 10 and 11). The responses received for RQ 1 were organized and analyzed in the order of themes and sub-themes as shown in Table 16.

## **5.1 System of Tourism Governance**

### ***5.1.1 Accountable agencies related to tourism development decisions in BCS***

During their interviews, participants in the associations group stated that cities and county offices should make policy decisions and decisions relating to HOT distribution. While making such decisions they mostly consulted entities such as the Convention and Visitors Bureau (CVB), hoteliers, The Arts Council and their arts groups, lodging association (BVLA) and DBA (in the context of Bryan). The participant

of DBA (#8) stated (as follows) that it was mainly Texas A&M University (TAMU) events that influenced tourism decisions:

I would say I think the presence of A&M is a bigger factor than lot of us acknowledge sometimes. I think sometimes tourism decisions are made by the CVB, for example, based on what's going on at A&M?

The Arts Council participant also affirmed what the DBA participant stated about the role Texas A&M's played in bringing visitors to BCS:

Because at the end of day what really drives tourism here is Aggie football, and Texas A&M. So arts does drive some of the tourism but it is not as big of the piece as, you know, the sporting events that are coming in. That you know so that 'where we are trying to get our arts groups to be little bit more aggressive about actually collecting data and advertising to the outside groups, because they know that their bread and butter is local.

In another instance of decision-making, a Chamber of Commerce participant (#2) boldly stated that the organization can influence legislation and decisions relating to tourism development:

We belong to the US Chamber of Commerce, we belong to the Texas Association of Business, and they represent the business and could be considered the state chamber. Then we are also members of the Texas Chamber of Commerce Executives. And that's an organization of people who I meet presidents of the chamber and we come together periodically but we have a big annual meetings and sometimes we may as an organization may try to influence legislation, mostly we are educational. So we try to ensure chamber presidents are well-educated to represent our community.

Contrary to suggestions from the associations' group, participants in the group of restaurants had somewhat different ideas how decision-making related to tourism development were made. They suggested different entities they collaborated with as a part of decision-making. A spokesperson for a restaurant in Bryan (participant #6 White, female) said they worked with the Arts Council. A participant from a chain restaurant in College Station (#18 White, male) said the Lodging Association (BLVA) has better strength (to influence the CVB), and another restaurant representative in Bryan

(participant #14 White, female) suggested it was the City Manager and City Council making decisions. Yet another restaurant in Bryan (participant #11 White, female) said group discussions were held in the DBA, but she had no idea who made tourism development decisions. A participant from a chain restaurant in College Station (#18) also shared he was not involved in decision-making. In general, restaurants named the CVB, cities, BVLA, and Chamber of Commerce as decision-makers related to tourism development. However, two participants in the restaurant group (#11 and #21) credited Texas A&M for influencing tourism development decisions.

For hotels, decision-making was mostly represented through the Bureau in the City Office. Most of the participants (#5, 22, 24 and 25) believed decisions were mainly made by the City, Bureau, County, lodging association (BVLA) and some from their corporate offices. However, one participant (#22 White, female) said the County did not have as major a role in decision-making as the city. A resort representative (#9 White, male) stated that decisions were made in partnership with other hotels, musicians, etc. however, there was no central planning in tourism. This suggestion indicates perhaps a need for forming a coordinating body for tourism planning and decision-making.

Community/cultural groups also identified the cities, Bureau (CVB), city councils, and DBA as responsible for decision-making. However, there were other institutions such as the Lions Club, non-profits, and Texas A&M University (#16 Hispanic, female) influencing the decisions as these events brought tourism to BCS (influence decisions). However, the church bishop (AAC#30 African-American, male) said he was hardly invited for tourism related discussions/decisions.

The GBPLM (#19 Hispanic, male) and TAMU Athletics Department (#29 White, male) are not directly related to tourism governance; however, their presence in different events planning and marketing units and boards makes their presence highly significant. As stated by a majority of participants Texas A&M University (TAMU) is the major driver of tourism and an icon of BCS culture (as revealed in the study findings also).

Regarding the mechanism of HOT distribution and tourism development discussions it was suggested to be done by the county and city councils in consultation

with major stakeholders, including the CVB, Lodging Association (BLVA), and Chamber of Commerce. Some of the processes of the funding decisions as stated by the official of the City of Bryan (#7 White, male) included: public hearings and meetings, representative meetings, and two Council Members holding town hall meetings. Business interests were normally voiced through Chamber of Commerce and cities conducted regular interactions with Chamber of Commerce and the Lodging Association.

The City of Bryan official further clarified that HOT money to the Bureau and other entities were allocated based on programs and proposals with rooms for increment. The City of Bryan could provision HOT money for new hotels (which it did in the past), which the City of College Station official (#28 White, male) said they had no such provision, but they could develop parks from the HOT money. Detailed criteria of where HOT money could be spent (according to Texas State law) are given in Appendix IV. The Brazos County official said they were rather responsive and transparent to one another (to other entities) in decision-making.

The TAMU Athletics Department official and the GBPLM official also emphasized there were multiple entities involved in decision-making and their offices were involved in decision-making through representation in CVB and city boards. The antique shop participant (#27 White, male) in Bryan did not have information on who made tourism development decisions; however, the Pedi cab participant (#10 White, male) said that it was the City, CVB and the Chamber of Commerce making decisions based on stakeholder inputs.

Based on the opinions expressed above, it could be summarized that it was mainly the City Manager and Council, County Office, the CVB, BVLA, the DBA and the Arts Council who were perceived to make decisions relating to tourism development in BCS. TAMU was not thought to directly relate to tourism decision-making, but its events were perceived to influence tourism decisions. One common factor among various groups regarding decision-making was a collaborative and partnership approach taken by various agencies and individual businesses. Such collaborative decision-making

could help improve representation and participation (Jamal & Stronza, 2009; Cole, 2006), and enhance community satisfaction (Boley, McGehee, Perdue & Long, 2014) which is argued in this dissertation to be a criteria of community success. As even the Lions club and non-profit meetings were suggested to influence BCS tourism, they also should likely be considered in decision-making.

Recognition of the fact that TAMU events have a huge influence in tourism decisions and that there is a lack of central planning for tourism in BCS involving the major stakeholders, it can be identified as a gap related to integrated tourism development/governance for BCS. One of the criteria in Rawls' *Justice as Fairness* for a well-ordered society suggests that "Society's basic structure—that is, its main political and social institutions, and the way they hang together as one system of cooperation—is publicly known,...and satisfy those principles of justice" (Rawls, 2003, p. 9). However, the study showed the system of tourism institutions are cooperating, but suggests they are not coalescing together for integrated tourism planning and coordination.

### ***5.1.2 Support for institutional/business growth***

For associations/institutions such as the CVB, the Arts Council, DBA, and the Expo Center respondents suggested there is institutional/financial support from the City/County offices (as stated by the city/county offices, CVB, and the Arts Council), but private businesses as per the nature of their operations received no such support. The Arts Council was believed to have a strong partnership with the Bureau and to have received donations from private sources. The DBA was also believed to have received additional donations and grants. The Chamber of Commerce was stated to be mainly funded through its membership dues and events though it also received a small portion of its budget through HOT (event grants), and from other government entities as members.

The DBA participant (#8 White, female) expressed that they were solely funded through the City of Bryan, including funds to market the Texas Reds & Steaks Festival and received some grants money from the Arts Council. Other businesses, such as restaurants, expressed concern that there was no monetary or regulatory support (tax

incentives) for individual businesses; however, there could be tax cuts (incentives) for large businesses.

Other indirect supports were also reported such as festival permission from the Texas Alcoholic Beverage Commission (TABC) for a restaurant in Bryan (participant #6), and self-marketing opportunities and logo promotion during events (participant # 11, 18). The Convention and Visitors Bureau (CVB) newsletter informed businesses about upcoming events and invited discounts in welcome-bags for meeting/convention participants, and businesses took advantage of such self-marketing opportunities. Participant (#14) informed that there were some matching-grants for facades in Downtown Bryan from the City of Bryan, and promotion through the CVB and DBA were more fair/accountable than individual grants. Regarding business support some restaurants said they do not get (#20 and 21 both White, males) or expect any support (#21) whereas others #13 (White, female) and #15(White, male) did not know whether the businesses they were working with got any support. In general, restaurants were believed to be self-supported for business or through customers while financial support goes to big manufacturers through the Research Valley Partnership (RVP), not for tourism (#21).

Regarding the support for business growth, hotel participants had mixed statements. Hotel representatives (#5, 24, and 25-all White males) stated there was no government support or incentives and they did not expect such support as it was the responsibility of ownership/management (#24, and 25). However, participant #22 (White, female) stated there was a government grant for hotel updates from the City of Bryan and they are working on their awning, fifty percent of which would be reimbursed. The hotel participant stated:

We met with one of the city guides this morning. We're trying to get an awning to go on front of the hotel over here and so we had a meeting with one of the city gentleman this morning with this city to get approval. So yes, we have a very good working relationship with the city... And then we had a really bad leak on the roof, our roof and so they reimbursed--approved 15% on that through the city, trying to preserve the restoration of the historic Downtown Bryan.

Likewise, participant #9 stated their hotel is expecting some support from the City of Bryan and County for potential future projects though they received no incentives so far. As a hotel and a few restaurant participants stated, location of some hotels/restaurants in historic Downtown Bryan Cultural District (DBCD) made them eligible for city grants for renovation not available for other properties outside the historic downtown district.

Participants in the community/cultural group had different perspectives regarding support for institutional/business growth. The participant from BVAAHCS (#17 African-American, male) stated that since the organization is not-registered as non-profit (as 5013C) they received no funding from the City or Arts Council for the Juneteenth festival. They had to depend on volunteers from the community. However, the festival received city money from the city of Bryan in the past (as stated by participant #17). Contrary to this, the participant from the Fiesta Patrias Festival (#16 Hispanic, female) stated that they have been given consistent support from the cities for the last 25 years (though they claimed Texas Reds was given more). The informant suggested the Fiesta Patrias festival also received support from the CVB, Chamber of Commerce, and local newspapers.

Advent GX, which is known for its work for historical/cultural restoration and community tourism development, stated they received revenues from the state agencies, City of Bryan, and through grants and entrepreneurial activities. Though not a fixed amount, it received partnership support from various institutions including various departments at Texas A&M University.

Another organization, the African American Museum (AAM#26 African-American, male) stated it received donations from its parent museum, and raised revenue from admission fees (though small number of 3,000 visitors a year) and souvenir sales. They also stated they have been receiving regular HOT money through the Arts Council as an Affiliate Member for last 4-5 years, but received no such support from the City or County offices. They further stated they received a large one-time federal grant during the second or third year of its establishment (Opened July 22, 2006).



Finally, an African American Church (AAC) participant (#30, African-American, male) said there were disparities as African Americans have little information, criteria and scrutiny that makes lending difficult for African-Americans, as they are not in the lending end. He linked such scrutiny issues as a reason for the existence of less African-American business and even presented an example that an African-American business (nightclub tavern in Bryan) had to be closed due to scrutiny.

Officials of Bryan and College Station and the official of the Brazos County Office stated that they provided financial support to various institutions through HOT funding. Institutions they said received HOT funding included: the CVB, the Arts Council, DBA, the Expo Center, Research Valley Partnership (RVP), and the George Bush Presidential Library & Museum. The CVB (#1 White, female) stated they received more funding from the City of College Station (almost 4/5) as there were more hotels/motels in College Station.

A profit and loss budget overview of the CVB (October 2015 through September 2016) is presented as below:

Ordinary Income/Expenses

Income		
Booking Commissions		12,000.00
Brazos County		25,000.00
Bryan (City of)		481,963.37
BVSF* Events		
Entry fees	26,500.00	
Sponsorships	53,500.00	
Tickets	29,000.00	
Total BVSF Events		109,000.00
College Station (City of)		1,927,854.67
Industry participation		20,400.00
Special Events Fund		0.00
Total income		2,576,218.34

Source: Bryan-College Station Convention & Visitors Bureau, Profit & Loss...2016.

\*BVSF stands for Brazos Valley Sports Foundation, but has currently been taken over by the CVB.

During the researcher's second round interview meeting with the City of Bryan official, the official confirmed with the researcher (through an e-mail dated June 15,

2016) that the City of Bryan allocated \$ 381, 964.00 for CVB for FY 2016 (City of Bryan, Adopted Annual Budget, FY, 2016). When the researcher inquired about the differences in amounts seen in the CVB information and City of Bryan, Adopted Annual Budget, FY, 2016 information, the City official informed the researcher that it happened due to projections, revisions, and adoptions in the budget. The City of Bryan official also informed the researcher that for the current fiscal year (2016) the City also allocated money for other entities including Veterans Memorial- \$25,000, Arts Council-\$96,000, DBA-\$ 120,000, Chamber of Commerce-\$5,000, park programs/projects-\$500,000 and park programs-City Council Direction-\$100,000. Likewise, unspecified events received \$390,000 which also included \$110,000 for Texas Reds & Steaks Festival (City of Bryan, Adopted Annual Budget, FY, 2016, p. 136). In an e-mail correspondence (dated June 13, 2016), a CVB official stated that the CVB received 25% of what the City of Bryan collected, and 31% of what the City of College Station collected from HOT money in 2016.

The researcher also requested the City of College Station official to send the details of HOT distribution in FY 2016. A Hotel Tax Fund, Fund Summary (p. 173) forwarded by the official in his e-mail (dated June 28, 2016) detailed HOT distribution in 2016. According to Fund Summary, the City of College Station HOT Tax Fund distribution (FY 16 Approved Budget) Outside Agency Funding Expenditures included the following organizations/associations: B/CS CVB O&M \$1,727,855; B/CS CVB Grant Program \$350,000; Esterwood Advertising \$200,000; Arts Council of Brazos Valley O&M \$96,500; Arts Council of Brazos Valley Affiliate/Marketing Funding \$386,400; Veterans Memorial \$25,000; and B/CS Chamber of Commerce O&M \$25,000.

Clarifying on this point of CVB funding, the official of the City of College Station said:

And the majority of the funding for the Convention & Visitors Bureau comes from the city of College Station. I think about 80% of their funding is from College Station, if I remember correctly. 20% of their funding is from Bryan. So we underwrite 80% of the operations of the CVB. Beyond all that, there is a grant...it's called the grant panel. So when these 1,500 participants, softball

tournaments come to town, and they're looking to offset cost, we provide incentives. If they are coming at the right time. That is we're not going to incentive venue. That's coming at parents' weekend or during the home football games because there are no hotel rooms.

Given the budget/income of CVB for FY 2016, around 75% of its total budget came from the City of College Station, around 19% from the City of Bryan, and around 1% from the County Office. Altogether, 95% of CVB's budget came from HOT money. The statement made by the City of College Station official comes closer to the actual budget of CVB; however, the budget seems to change a bit as per the projections, revisions, and adoptions of budget from the cities.

The DBA, as per its operation-base was funded by the City of Bryan (DBA participant #8 White, female) and the Expo Center was funded by the County (as per the County official #23 African-American, female) to bring in events. Out of \$2.75 % of HOT collected by the County, \$0.75 was directly allocated to Kyle Field (as per the County official). The RVP worked with cities and the county to bring in big manufacturers (for economic development). The City of Bryan had provisions for tax incentives through RVP for companies including hotels to move to Bryan, but the City of College Station official said they had no such provision for hotels. The City of Bryan Official, during the second round of interviews (June 15, 2016), clarified that the City has a policy to provide incentives for tourism and related industries to move to Bryan as the city lacks a sufficient number of hotel businesses and convention facilities. The city of Bryan entered an agreement with the Atlas (Stella) Hotel LP on 9-16-2014 so that the hotel construction could commence on or before July 1, 2015. The city official further stated, "They're still under construction, so I don't know exactly their timeline for completion but I know that they are complying so far with that agreement." The contract allowed the hotel owner certain portions of the HOT generated solely by the hotel (for a certain time) for promoting convention and tourism in the city. Thus, the City of Bryan seems more proactive in supporting businesses including hotels through HOT money whereas in College Station, some participants argued there has been an oversupply of hotels.

The GBPLM stated they received annual support from the City of College Station through HOT, which was allocated for outreach (promoting more than 50 miles away), and promoting events that support hotel stays. They further stated their major source of funding was the George Bush Presidential Foundation and it also generated resources through other donors, advertising, and ticket sales. The TAMU Athletics department also received some HOT money for hosting sporting events. Two small businesses, the antique shop (participant #27) in Bryan and the Pedi cab (#10) stated they did not receive any support for business as small private businesses; however, the antique shop due to its location stated it received City of Bryan grants to maintain its historic building façade.

As stated by many associations above, a strong mechanism of support for tourism institutions and businesses in areas such as tourism promotion exists. There is a balanced support for marketing (through funding for CVB) and heritage preservation (through funding to The Arts Council and grants for various festivals). The restoration of historic buildings in Downtown Bryan, including hotels and restaurants, also suggests support for culture and heritage through tourism. Some of the hotel and restaurant participants felt satisfied not to expect any government support for their business growth as it was the responsibility of management/ownership. Though the research limited itself in exploring the responsiveness in governance, it was heartening to find that some of the participants (#14) found tourism governance as fair and accountable in terms of support to business growth from the city of Bryan.

## **5.2 Mechanism for Collaborative Participation & Decision-Making**

### ***5.2.1 Collaborative participation***

Regarding the legal mechanisms in place to participate in the discussion and distribution of tourism revenues (mainly HOT distribution) and stakeholders' input and influence in tourism development decision-making, most of the participants stated that there was a legal mechanism for the distribution of HOT, as it is state-mandated for bringing tourists and developing tourism products. County/cities were mandated as the stewards of HOT fund. The stakeholders (#3, 5, 8, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 22, 24, and 25)

stated they have a voice in the decision-making and distribution of HOT in general. HOT is mainly distributed to organizations such as the CVB, The Arts Council, DBA, The Expo Center, and Kyle Field, though other institutions such as AAM, TAMU Athletics Department, GBPLM, and festivals were also supported through HOT or through HOT festival grants.

Some participants expressed that they had opportunity to participate in the discussion and decision-making in the form of advocacy/discussion (as stated by The Arts Council), and they have voice for distribution through representation/votes (as stated by BVLA). The DBA was funded through the City of Bryan (#8 DBA participant); however, the DBA participant requested a seat in tourism planning (in the City of Bryan) to help planning decisions relating to tourism. Some participants (from the CVB and the Arts Council) stated that if HOT spending was to be disbursed for buying land rather than focus on bringing more visitors, they opposed it. During the interview, the CVB participant stated:

It's been a legislative year for the state of Texas. Right now we are very involved in legislative activities and the city of Bryan wanted to create a state law to allow them to use the money to build new sporting facilities on a park, on land. And the hotels all said we are in support of it but there is little sentence in the law that they wrote that said that they can buy new land with the hotel tax, and they said we are not for that. Because we have been burned in the past. We are kind of a middleman we work with the city, with the hotels and with state legislature to get it worded the way that we all can agree on and we move forward.

This is an example how stakeholders have an influential role in the distribution of tourism revenues. They have the capacity to stop legislation if city/county offices tend to make provisions for buying lands out of HOT money. However, when the researcher, in his second round of interviews with the City of Bryan official, asked about this issue, he told the researcher that the city never had a plan or the city never intended to draft legislation for purchasing land with HOT money. There is a possibility that some sort of formal-informal discussion took place regarding the possibility of purchasing land with HOT money and the industry reacted before the concept materialized.

The recipients of HOT funds, such as the CVB, have a formal mechanism of distributing HOT funds received from the city/county for promoting BCS, which needs to be approved by the advisory board. The CVB has an eighteen-member board, including seven members of their Executive Board including: An appointee from BVLA as the chair, one representative from both Bryan and College Station City Councils, two appointees from the City of College Station, Brain Blake, and Dr. Gary Ellis (from the Department of RPTS, TAMU). The other eleven members on the board represent various institutions from BCS including: The Eagle, TAMU ArgriLife Extension, Texas A&M Athletics, Messina Hof Winery & Resort, George Bush Presidential Library and Museum, Grub Burger Bar, Brazos Valley Fair & Expo, Texas Hotel Management, C.C. Creations, Fifth C. Fine Jewelry, and KAGS (TV). Community Partners in the Board include Texas A&M University Assistant Vice President for Public Partnership & Outreach, Research Valley Partnership, The Arts Council, Chamber of Commerce, City of Bryan Assistant City Manager, City of College Station City Manager, and a City of Bryan Appointee. Other Members in the Board include Executive Director of CVB, a Board liaison and a legal counsel (BCSCVB, Board of Directors, 2016)

The Arts Council was receiving around 10% of HOT funds, which could be increased up-to 15%, however, The Arts Council wanted to move cautiously with positive results. Due to the stringent criteria of HOT policy to follow, some of the Arts Council members had difficulty in following HOT guidelines strictly and showing results.

Regarding the mechanism of collaborative participation, the second group of participants (mainly restaurants) stated they paid 7% general sales tax to the state (including liquor) and taxation is decided by the state. Some of them attended forums/public sessions, and focus group meetings organized by city regarding tax spending, however, they were not generally invited individually. Some of the participants served on the executive or sports advisory board of the CVB (#18, 20) and they provided feedback relating to HOT spending decisions through the Bureau or through DBA (wherever they were associated with). Some participants provided

feedback through city council meetings (#20) whereas some had no time for meetings (#21). Some participants were happy to get a regular /monthly events newsletter from the CVB (#21), and some participants (#11, 13, and 15) said they were not involved in HOT related or decision-making discussions, possibly their managers/owners were. One participant in this group (#14) was aware that the HOT could be spent on sports and culture.

In the group of hotels, some of the participants were aware that HOT was spent through the CVB to stimulate tourism (#5), and some of them participated with the CVB, city office, and attended branding discussions (#9). A resort participant (#9) suggested that due to the support of its patrons it received 20,000 visitors in a year. All hotel participants interviewed attended monthly Convention and Visitors Bureau meetings (#5, 9, 22, 24, and 25), some of them attended city meetings on HOT or other issues (#9, 23), one (#23) attended the Meeting Planner's Showcase (MPS) and Thursday Meetings held by DBA.

Hotels (#5, 22, and 24) also attended monthly lodging association (BVLA) meetings where they interacted with the CEO of the CVB. It was also stated the CVB visited hotels once a month and some of the hotels (#22, 24) meet the Bureau (CVB), city and county offices as needed. One of the hoteliers (#24) said they were better organized than restaurants as they had to promote out of town, but kept symbiotic relationships with restaurants. Participants in the hotel group seemed more united and active in forming partnerships for promotion as they depended more on out of the city visitors. Highlighting their intensive nature of collaboration/discussions, a hotel participant (#24 White, male) stated:

So, we had several meetings within the past week with city officials. We're about to go meet the city managers about what we can, about what they can really do to make sure that our occupancy taxes are being paid and things on those lines... That's just example of one issue. We've met multiple times with the County Judge and other county officials about the Expo Center because the Expo Center is a huge demand driver here and we're trying to shake their booking policies in such a way that does the most good for the most hoteliers. We're bringing the most outside business in and having a lot of conversations along those lines.

Collaborative participation remained strong with community/cultural organizations. The BVAAHCS held internal organizational discussions, Fiesta Patrias contacted the mayor, and cities and received Community Development Block Grants (CDBG) from the city of Bryan, and Advent GX provided consultation to state level entities such as the Texas Travel Industry Association (TTIA), and Texas Travel Research Association (TTRA). Most of the Advent GX members were stated to be connected to the CVB and that the organization (Advent GX) was connected more with the DBA and Chamber of Commerce. The AAM believed they enjoyed good relations with the City of Bryan, Bureau (CVB), and The Arts Council attended monthly DBA meetings. The AAC stated they worked with the community development department of the City of Bryan.

Government offices in BCS believed they enjoyed a high degree of collaboration and participation. As stated by the City of Bryan official, it held regular interaction with the BVLA and Chamber of Commerce, and attended DBA and CVB meetings. The City of College Station official informed they were in the CVB, BVLA and Research Valley Partnership (RVP) boards. The City of College Station official also stated they had intergovernmental coordination for events, enjoyed a preferred access agreement with TAMU, and utilized its playing fields through a city-university partnership for sports tourism which he affirmed saying:

We can bring in events for Rudder Tower. So we can actually...they have to pay... they have to rent those facilities, but we give what's called a preferred rate if we attract them. So we've been able to add those venues to our inventory to be able to go out to conventions, sporting events. We've had major tournaments where the university's playing fields are actually used, so they will actually cooperate with us.

A member of the City of College Station staff stated the city even marketed Bryan/Franklin parks, organized 7 on 7 events at Veteran's Park, and coordinated with BVLA during events for hotel rooms. Regarding collaborative participation and decision-making, a Brazos County official whom the researcher interviewed stated she was heavily involved in activating local partnerships, serving many boards and attending



meetings. TAMU Athletics also stated they were involved with the County through advisory planning and that the Expo Center highly benefited from such interactions. The GBPLM official stated that they attended community meetings with both cities, and co-opted with the CVB and its Destination Travel in Austin program. The TAMU Athletics Department official further stated they attended CVB sports board meetings, showed presence in the cities through boards and held meetings with various partners before football games. The antique shop participant (#27) in Bryan attended DBA meetings while the Pedi cab (#10) did not attend any meetings but had personal connections with the City of College Station, CVB and Chamber of Commerce to contact when needed.

The account presented above attests there exists an active mechanism for consultation and discussion with major stakeholders including the Bureau (CVB), Arts Council, other associations, city and county and the public through public forums mainly organized by city and county offices. Many restaurants, hotel and community organizations attended meetings/public forums organized by the city. Both cities and the Brazos County Office have representations in various associations such as CVB and BVLA. The County official was also engaged in forming and strengthening local partnerships. The Arts Council and BVLA participants confirmed they had a voice through advocacy, participation and representation.

Some of the criteria laid for empowerment suggested a need for higher level of collaboration and coordination for improving governance and empowering citizens in decision-making. In general, practices and patterns of stakeholders' collaborative participation, and contribution to decision-making were found to be effective, through both structured and informal communications and collaboration. However, remarks from some of the participants, especially from restaurants, indicated that they are not involved in HOT distribution decisions and some participants asked for a seat in the tourism planning in the City Office in Bryan. This suggests a need for embracing increased participation and collaboration. It is believed that the addition of more provisions for stakeholder participation with governing offices and by developing an internal channel

of communication/information flow among restaurants' staff could contribute to augmented stakeholder collaboration.

#### ***5.2.1.1 Interactions and connections among tourism stakeholders***

With regard to connections and interactions among the tourism stakeholders pertaining to tourism development in BCS among tourism association groups, the CVB participant stated that they conducted bi-monthly stakeholder meetings, arranged quarterly visits/meetings with hotels/motels with BVLA for discussion/feedback, and received community feedback during open City Council presentations. The CVB also organizes round table discussions with various partners such as the hotels/motels, restaurants, retail, meeting facilities, key business leaders, sports facilities, the chamber of commerce, economic development corporation and some city staffs for the purpose of getting stakeholders' feedback on HOT programs and spending before programs being approved by the cities through city council meetings. The Arts Council representative stated they were interconnected to the cities and Bryan through the provisions of reciprocal ex-officious in their boards, and DBA members enjoyed the networking benefits of social media for promoting weekly/monthly meetings. The DBA participant (#8 White, female) provided details on social-media networking:

What we provide to our members mainly is promotion of their business through social media, website. If I have a request from a media outlet for an interview about an event I will generally use one of our DBA members as a backdrop for that story. We do have membership meetings, actually we have an informal meeting every Thursday morning every week a restaurant in downtown hosts a coffee from 8-10 AM every Thursday morning, anybody can come.

Another group of participants, which mainly represented businesses such as restaurants, said they attended discussion/interaction meetings organized by the CVB or the City Office/s. A restaurant in Bryan (participant #6 White, female) attended monthly board meetings organized by the Bureau and interacted with the City Council and, City Mayor as needed. A chain-restaurant in College Station (participant #18) emphasized how partnership between the Bureau and Chamber of Commerce supported by the cities and County was effective to prevent college football from moving to Houston.

Additionally, a representative from a restaurant in Bryan (participant #11) said that during events businesses pull together, to spend additional money on advertising. They also held meetings to promote a college scene in Bryan and conducted discussions about ways to attract customers during Thursday Morning meetings and through e-mail discussions. Regular information from the restaurant community (#21) and informal discussions among friends (#13) helped restaurants grow their businesses. Regarding interaction meetings, three participants in the restaurants group (#11, 13, and 15) said they were not involved/invited in meetings, but that possibly their managers/owners attended. Regarding the opportunities for everyone to meet and discuss tourism development participant #11 said:

I see e-mails all the time about coffee, they have Thursday Morning coffees where people get together and talk about the upcoming events, they talk about ideas that they have to help drive customers and direct tourism to downtown.

The researcher attended one of such stakeholders' informal meetings (on June 09, 2016) which is known as DBA's Thursday Morning Meeting. The two-hour meeting started with around ten participants at 8:00 AM, reached around seventeen at one point and then came down to around six participants by the end. The meeting was attended by representatives from various businesses/offices such as restaurants, event's organizers, tour organizers, the DBA, the City of Bryan, local police and so on. During this informal meeting, a representative of the city of Bryan informed the meeting attendees about the expansion of city matching grants for a "life-safety grant program" which covered fire and building code requirements to retrofit existing historic buildings in the downtown area for reuse or if business owners run into issues with the vent hood or with a staircase or with sprinkler system or those types of things. Other meeting participants informed about upcoming events such as Thursday Night Bands being staged at Palace Theatre for free throughout June 2016. The participants also utilized this forum to promote their business to one another and to share ideas about doing business. The researcher talked to a few participants about the major issues Bryan was facing as a destination and a few suggested parking issues, and the police representative suggested the issue of

panhandlers/homeless people who can scare off visitors/customers. One of the suggestions from participants to increase business on game days to Bryan was through running a more frequent free shuttle from Bryan to College Station (Kyle Filed) and hosting some night events in Bryan.

This formal/ informal mechanism connecting all types of tourism stakeholders in BCS shows they have significant avenue for interactions. Based on such networking they believe they have been able to stop college football from moving to Houston. This is an example of how effective coordination and collaboration has the potential to improve empowerment and influence decisions that are in favor of stakeholders' larger/collective interests.

### ***5.2.2 Inclusion of voice in decision-making***

In general, regarding the inclusion of voice in decision-making by the cities/county, participants in the associations group felt their voice was heard (as told by participants of the CVB, The Arts Council, and the DBA); however, the DBA representative suggested better coordination for events planning. Participants in the businesses and restaurants group also felt that they had some say in decision-making and their feedback was heard. A participant of a chain-restaurant in College Station (#18 White) felt his voice was heard as he had direct contacts with the City and the City Council was receptive to what he said:

I think I have as much voice as I want or need or if I want more. I know I could get more. I have direct contact with many members of the city councils so again, if I feel like I'm not getting somewhere, I certainly know I can go back to the people that have the control to purse strings but at least get my voice heard. They've always been receptive.

The sole owner of a restaurant in Bryan (participant #14 White) was highly positive that she had a voice in the DBA and hoteliers also felt they have a say. Associations/individuals can request HOT money from the city, which strictly follows regulations for distribution. Participant #14 strongly stated that the city needs to give a timeline and budget guidelines for requests for proposals (RFP) for HOT distribution. However, while interviewing the official from the Bryan City Office, he informed that

such RFPs were invited once with a timeline. In the second round of interviews with the City of Bryan Official, he presented the interviewer a document related to their Hotel Occupancy Tax Fund Disbursement Policy, which provided details on how to apply for the HOT funds and the criteria parties need to fulfill. One of the criteria is that the HOT funds must be spent to promote the hotel and lodging industry in Bryan. The CVB also has a Hotel Tax Fund Expenditure Overview Packet that provides detailed information for event grant applicants. Information in the packet reveals that intended events must directly promote tourism and contribute to increase hotel occupancy and convention business in Brazos County, and event advertising should focus visitors outside a 60 to 150-mile radius of Bryan-College Station among others.

Regarding the inclusion of their voice, hotel participants said their voice was heard by the Bureau (CVB) (#24, 25 both White males), but they were not sure about the City (#25). Hotel representatives #5 and 22 stated the current decision-making process was effective and their voice was heard. They felt they could attend city meetings if needed. The community/social/cultural organization group had varying opinions regarding consideration to their voice in decision-making. The BVAAHCS (#17 African-American, male) and the AAC (#30 African-American, male) participants said they were not involved or invited in decision-making which meant no voice was heard. The AAC participant clarified it stating:

If you're not there to voice your opinion, that's what representation is all about as it reflects tourism... So, as it reflects inclusiveness, then that would affect that inclusiveness. If you're not involved, then you're not included...If there's a shortness of representation, there will be no voice.

There seems to be a system of meetings with stakeholders, including hotels and restaurants, and others in CVB for the preparation of budget from HOT money and both cities organize regular City Council meetings open to all. However, the participant from the AAC suggested that the cities and county could promote growth and development for the African-American community and added they can “promote it by financially fostering being sensitive to the African community as it reflects entrepreneurship”. The

participant suggested the cities/County should play a more proactive role in boosting the economic activities of the African-American community through tourism. The participant's perspective can be argued to be logical from ethical and equity perspectives.

However, the Fiesta Patrias member (#16 Hispanic, female) said her suggestions were considered, and an Advent GX respondent (#12 Hispanic, male) found his voice listened to by the CVB though large hotels and cities carried more voice. A staff member of AAM (#26 African-American, male) said the museum made its voice heard through its good relations with cities, attending town hall meetings and having coffee hours with its police officers. Government officials in general stated that they provided stakeholders' opportunities to have their voice heard (County official), probably inclusion of voice was never enough- suggesting a room for improvement (City of College Station), and the GBPLM member found his voice louder (better heard) with relationships.

In general, participants expressed their satisfaction with how their voice was heard by the governing bodies in tourism or by the decision-makers. This indicates one of the criteria of good governance-responsiveness is working efficiently in BCS. The concerns expressed by BVAAHCS (#17 African-American, male) and AAC (#30 African-American, male) that they were not involved/invited in decision-making draws some consideration. However, the law may not be mandatory for decision-making bodies to include BVAAHCS and AAC as potential participants as one is not non-profit registered and another is not a mainstream tourism stakeholder. Since tourism cannot remain/operate smoothly without community/resident support (as stated in the critical success factor of CBT) it seems imperative to include all stakeholders for participation and discussions as applicable.

### **5.3 Responsible Agencies for Tourism Development**

#### ***5.3.1 Responsible agencies relating to tourism development, addressing issues and challenges***

It was generally acknowledged by the participants that the cities, the county and their partner organizations (CVB, Chamber of Commerce, the Arts Council, Lodging Association and DBA) were mainly held accountable for tourism development. Representatives in the first group of associations made such a claim. Some of the participants including DBA acknowledged that since Aggie (TAMU) sports was a big-driver of tourism in BCS, it had a major role to influence tourism decision-making. The DBA participant also made it clear that they would first contact their board, then the City of Bryan if there were any issues/challenges to be addressed:

I have a board. I have a board of 15 volunteers, so that would be my first group to bring a concern to. If they feel that we need to move that concern forward than city of Bryan would be our next stop.

Participants from the group of restaurants also confirmed that it was basically the cities, CVB, BVLA, Chamber of Commerce, and DBA making tourism development decisions and addressing issues in BCS. Some of the participants (#11, 13, 15 and 18) expressed that since they were not involved in decision-making, they had no idea of who made tourism development decisions. However, other restaurants suggested city mayors/ city and the CVB (participants #6, 11, 14) were responsible. Moreover, other bodies were also acknowledged as responsible/accountable such as the DBA (told by participants #11 and 14), and Texas A&M, RPTS professors (told by participant #11). Other participants expressed it would be various offices/officers depending on the nature of issue/s such as DBA, CVB, City Offices (told by participant #14).

Besides conventional office entities such as cities, CVB, DBA, etc. some participants named police (#10, 15) or their own management (#13 and 15) as responsible for their business specific issues. Participants in the hotel/resort group believed the BVLA (#5), and the CVB (#9, 22, and 24) were responsible. Some emphasized working as partners in addressing the issues whereas others thought their

management/corporate offices were capable of addressing issues if not resolved locally (#24 and 25). A resort suggested they should take self-responsibility as a business (#9) and a hotel (#25) found Texas A&M responsible for tourism issues. Another hotel participant (#24) thought the CVB was responsible if it had local issues:

If there's challenges with the local community we'll discuss it with the CVB board.

The community/cultural organization group in general suggested the Chamber of Commerce, City Manager or Mayor, the CVB, the DBA, and the lodging association (BVLA) were responsible agencies if there were issues. However, the participant from an African-American Church (AAC) did not have any idea who was responsible. Both Bryan and College Station City officials thought they were responsible for developing BCS as a travel destination and for addressing the issues in partnership with CVB and BVLA. The City of College Station suggested they did the job through its Park and Recreation Department, while the City of Bryan suggested they performed many tourism-related jobs through its marketing department. The George Bush Library stated it handled its internal issues through its supervisor/director and the CEO and external issues through the CVB and City Office. The TAMU Athletics Department claimed the university itself and the cities responsible. He complemented the cities and CVB for doing a good job with HOT money.

Regarding the responsive points of contact, if there were issues or challenges relating to tourism development in BCS, different stakeholders referred to different contact points, though a majority of them would mainly go to the city/county and CVB offices. However, depending on the nature of issue/s, some participants would also go to their board first (DBA) then to cities. Associations thought cities and their partner organizations were mainly responsible for addressing issues and challenges relating to tourism development. Some stakeholders also went to their owners/management (#24 and 25) and some went to police (#10, 11 and 15) for help depending on the nature of issues they had. Regarding the responsive quality of some agencies, participant #22 stated:



I really can't even think of any problems really as far as that, you know, I mean we get great support down here. We get great Bryan-City support. We get great support from the Convention & Visitor Bureau.

As already stated, this research and analysis is both theory/research and data-driven. During the initial stage of the study, city/county offices and the CVB were assumed primarily responsible bodies for tourism development and promotion in BCS. However, participants' interviews indicated the influential role TAMU played in bringing tourism to BCS, promoting it as an educational hub, and making tourism as a by-product of educational and college sports events. Some of the participants also found TAMU to be responsible for handling issues relating to tourism. Feedback received from participants gave a perspective of multi-layer and multi-stakeholder engagement regarding tourism development and handling challenges occurring in BCS although city offices, the county office and the CVB were held primarily responsible.

This is a clear indication that there is a room for expanding and improving the level of tourism governance in BCS through multi-level integration (Hall, 2011), pluralistic dialogue (Jamal and Watt, 2011), and/or through a community or network driven approach (Kennett-Hensel and Sneath, 2013) engaging large number of stakeholders in tourism decisions and strategy making. Furthermore, this insight guided the researcher to conduct an interview with the TAMU Athletics Department. It led to additional exploration about how TAMU sports events and their educational calendar influenced BCS tourism and what role they could potentially play. Insights received during the in-depth interview from the TAMU Athletics Department official helped in the analysis and discussion in this report.

### ***5.3.2 Responding to the issues of diversity and inclusiveness***

Rawls' (1971,1999) *Theory of Justice* guided this research and provided a foundation to explore the issues of distributive justice. The first principle of the *Theory of Justice* emphasizes equal basic rights and liberties and the second principle underlines fair equality of opportunity and allows social-economic inequalities if they are for the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged members in society. Rawls' *Theory of Justice* which is explained as *Justice as Fairness* thus emphasizes mutual cooperation and

reciprocity in place of utilitarian ethics that emphasize 'greatest good of greatest number' which can be argued to run contrary to the liberal views of modern democracy. The search on diversity and inclusiveness partially wanted to explore whether there were some special incentives and preferences for minority or disadvantaged populations to include them in tourism business or to offer preferences relating to jobs in tourism.

To this question (which partially relates to both procedural justice and distributive justice), participants in general responded that there were no specific provisions to address diversity and include ethnic minorities or disadvantaged groups in tourism or offer them tourism jobs since they believed that there were fair and equal opportunities for all. Regarding the issue of opportunities for diversity and inclusiveness the CVB participant responded that since Texas A&M is diverse and promotes diversity, diversity is a non-issue and all groups are welcome, be it package events or promotions run by the organization. The lodging association (BVLA) participant suggested it was an open market for all and there was no provision of special inclusiveness or incentives for minority groups. The DBA participant added that they offered First Friday events and June concerts which were free entry to all with no discrimination, inclusive in that sense. Regarding preferences for jobs all five participants in the association group (The Bureau (CVB), Chamber of Commerce, the Arts Council, BVLA and DBA) stated that there was no provision of incentives/preferences for ethnic minorities in areas such as jobs, business opportunities and the like. For example, the DBA participant (#8 White, female) expressed ignorance of such a provision:

I do not think we would have any opportunities other than the staff I hire here; certainly we are not discriminatory in hiring in here. I do not have any authority or any sort of leverage with merchants in downtown.

However, some of the institutions offered events/institutional support. The CVB provided events grants through HOT funds; and the Arts Council made provisions for rural sub-grants that benefited minorities and economically disadvantaged people, it sponsored diversity Prime Film Festival, and offered partnership/professional development programs.

Restaurant businesses said that there was equal/open opportunity to anybody (procedural justice); experience and skills, and service-oriented staff were considered for jobs rather than race and color. These participants (#6, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 20, and 21) were not aware of special incentives or preferences offered to ethnic minorities. “Equal opportunity to all”, “fair and equal treatment”, “no discrimination”, “no affirmative action” etc. were the words and phrases expressed by most of the participants. In general, there are not many ethnic minorities on the job; however, they have the equal opportunity to apply. Participant #13 (White, female) stated that anybody could apply due to equal opportunity; however, some people applied in their favorite places only:

No, it’s all equal opportunity, I feel like we hire pretty evenly across the board. I would say there is a difference in being an applicant though, anyone has the opportunity but you know for example a lot of the Hispanic community in downtown like Swine-bar, it is not our bar, so they would not come to our bar to get a job (different bar the participant works), they would go to that bar you know what I mean that kind of thing. You don’t want work somewhere where it is not your favorite place, you want to work to your favorite place to hang out.

Some businesses generally focused on hiring a diverse staff as it helps bring in business (as shared by participants #11 and 18). Participants also informed (#14) that there were Arts Council programs for the under-privileged like Arts Projects, and Slam poetry. The AAM was an example of inclusiveness and diversity and Bryan offered across -the -board (appealing to all ethnic groups) music programs. Some participants stated they hired staff from various pools (#13, 18 and 29). Participant #14 (White, female), sole owner of a restaurant in Bryan further informed the researcher (seems to me more than inclusive, a humanitarian spirit):

I have hired three or four people that comes from jails, I have hired felons actually I mean, I have tried not to make things about ethnic backgrounds specifically... I do programs that is Halfway House that help people find the jobs, Halfway house in downtown I have hired two three people out of that over the time and they have been very good employees you know I mean. So trying there are some programs to help people to get back on their feet I try to support personally.

Similar to the restaurants, all hotel participants (#5, 9, 22, 24, and 25) also stated that there was no stated policy of incentives for specific people based on race or color. They hired staff based on equal opportunity basis focusing on service quality/qualifications matching the job. However, some of the hotels considered creating diversity in workforce, supported scholarships and fund-raising programs of African-American community (participant #22 White, female) and things like that. This hotel (#22) said 75% of its staff was local, and another (#24 White, male) said a significant portion of housekeeping workforce came from the African-American and Hispanic communities; possibly, it indirectly addressed workforce diversity and inclusiveness.

It was suggested there were not many ethnic minorities on the job as they do not apply (participant #9 White, male), though some businesses were generally focused on hiring diverse staff. One hotel representative (#25 White, male) mentioned its plan for training staff internally for lower positions and sending management staff to the Texas Hotel and Lodging Association (THLA) in Houston. They mentioned the Small Business Administration (SBA) as an agency for job training and businesses which can address issues of diversity and inclusiveness. The SBA, as a US Federal Agency, “provides free individual face-to-face, and internet counseling for small businesses, and low-cost training to nascent entrepreneurs and established small businesses in over 1,800 locations throughout the United States and US territories.” (U.S. SBA, What We Do, 2016).

The participant from BVAAHCS (#17 African-American, male) had no opinion or information regarding diversity and inclusiveness. However, participants from the Fiesta Patrias (#16 Hispanic, female) and the AAC (#30 African-American, male) had a common concern that their groups were poorly represented and wanted more invitations from the cities for inclusion. The Fiesta Patrias participant further informed, as a non-profit they were open to all races for jobs and were lobbying for a Hispanic museum in Bryan like the AAM to add to the diversity. The AAM participant shared that Bryan is a multi-origin community; various ethnic groups celebrate their culture and visit cultures/festivals of others. Though they are raised to get along in their multi-origin

community, however, a lot of modern animosity originates from the history, the AAM participant affirmed. The Advent GX (#12 Hispanic, male) participant stated that the cities of Bryan and College Station are active in outreaching to ethnic minorities such as Hispanics and African-Americans, and that Texas A&M University supported the AAM. The Advent GX participant further elaborated:

For instance, the African-American community here has an African American Museum, the AAM just because of the really (nature of it?) gets support from the city council or city government. They also attract a lot of support from Texas A&M University, which at the end of day is the state institution. And there have been some very neat people, well-known faculty members that support that, and different groups try to support things or receive financial support for things like Fiesta Patrias or for the Jazz Blues festival that they do here, all those kinds of receive a unanimous support and funding. I think the next step this is again more as a private citizen I predict that some of these ethnic groups will mature a little bit more and form their own leadership structure a little bit better and they really have strong leadership especially the Hispanics, but in general, I think every under-represented group probably will reach that level of maturity and then will start concentrating more on the fundamentals like education, the seeding of tourism related activities, not just events, but a little bit more on heritage and cultural sites. I think that is coming and it's just a matter of the groups themselves they can take ownership of that challenge.

Advent GX also suggested they have sponsored educational programs for children from financially disadvantaged families in the Hispanic and African American communities. This participant further added that many festivals got financial support which contributes to diversity. Finally, the Advent GX participant said under-represented groups' need to mature more to get better benefits.

All officials from government offices acknowledged that they did not have overt policies giving preferences to ethnic minorities or disadvantaged groups to address diversity and inclusiveness. As per federal and state laws, they stated they provide equal opportunity to all and they welcomed everyone. The City of Bryan stated they ran a community development block grant program (CDBG) which was spent on social service and housing targeting low income people. They further stated there was no quota or policy for jobs for ethnic minorities; however, Bryan police gave preferences to

recruits from ethnic minorities. The GBPLM official (#19 Hispanic, male) stated multiple free events they run (including 4<sup>th</sup> of July) with food and drink serve everyone including the disadvantaged. The TAMU Athletics Department official (#27 White, male) stated they had a goal of diverse pool of employees, but no extra pay for any group. The College Station City official found athletics as an equalizer or a means of inclusiveness.

The difference principle as propounded by Rawls (1971,1999) does not appear to be interplay part of business operations except that some of the businesses voluntarily offered programs that target diversity or offer some free programs across the board. As stated by a majority of participants (#1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28 and 29) equality of opportunity and non-discrimination in job and business opportunities gives every person equal opportunity for a job or to excel in business.

Not directly supported, but Rawls' (1971,1999) second principle seems to be partially working in the sense that HOT is spent for bringing more tourists into the community which multiplies jobs and economic opportunity for everyone including the ethnic minorities and disadvantaged groups. Another fact as spoken by the participants elsewhere is that with another general sales tax generated by visitors, cities and counties have been able to improve roads and communications, health and sanitation facilities, park and recreation, safety and security facilities that benefit all citizens. These additional incomes from tourists reduce city taxes on citizens and especially benefit those who are least advantaged economically. As per the provisions of equal liberty, rights and opportunities upheld in the constitution of the United States and Texas being an equal employment opportunity (EEO) state, any kind of discrimination (incentive to a particular group) is not allowed. This very principle guides not giving special favor to any ethnic groups or economically marginalized groups. This is how the difference principle of Rawls'(1971,1999) thought to be ideal, sometimes does not directly apply in liberal democracies such as the USA. However, it has indirect implications, as many associations and businesses are extending cooperation that facilitates ethnic minorities

and disadvantaged groups. Businesses generally hire from a diverse pool of staff, and community organizations such as Advent GX sponsor educational programs for children from the financially disadvantaged families in the Hispanic and African-American communities.

One thing observed as distinct in the first part of the study (relating to RQ 1) is that participants spoke about the prominent role played by Texas A&M University in driving tourists to BCS. The statements expressed by participants such as “a lot of visitors that come because of students at A&M, and a “better football team” (CVB #1); “at the end of day what really drives tourism here is Aggie football, and Texas A&M” (The Arts Council#3); and “During football season when we have thousands of people come to local community” (participant #11) establish Texas A&M as a major driver of tourism to BCS. In the conception and preliminary phase of study, the Texas A&M University was counted as one of the major stakeholders; however, its role as the major driver and part of tourism governance and decision-making (participants #8, 16 and 21 also stated TAMU is involved in tourism planning/marketing decisions or influences those decisions) underline the need of viewing TAMU’s role as a major stakeholder of tourism governance. It led to the formulation of emerging themes and sub-themes (Texas A&M University) as a driver of tourism to BCS) in the study as shown at the beginning of analysis in Table-16. Analysis and interpretation of emerging themes and sub-themes under the title *Data Driven (Generated) Themes* is presented after the analysis of *Theory/Research Generated Themes*. Dredge & Jamal (2013) suggested considering tourism governance from plurality of destination management perspectives, and Bramwell (2011) argued that major issues of sustainable tourism governance arise when it relates to diverse sectors and policy domains. These issues also reflect the nature of tourism governance in BCS to some extent and urge the need for a more balanced cooperation and coordination among diverse sectors. Drawing upon the research on tourism governance and taking insights from participants’ feedback this research makes suggestions relating to BCS tourism governance and on the issues of justice and equity.

### ***5.3.3 Association memberships and stakeholder satisfaction and benefits***

Since there is no provision for membership in the CVB, many restaurants were not its members though some of them thought they were. Many businesses/associations had memberships with organizations they felt affiliated to. Hotels felt strongly tied to the Bureau. However, many restaurant businesses and some hotels were members of the Chamber of Commerce. The AAM was an affiliate member of the Arts Council, but the BVAAHCS was not, which is why it did not receive regular support or festival grants. The role of the Convention and Visitors Bureau was generally appreciated by the industry as a rational use of HOT funding (#18), and in bringing meeting, incentives, conventions and expositions (MICE) (#20) to BCS.

A participant from a lodging resort in Bryan (#9) found the Bureau's role to be a link between businesses and guests, and another participant (#18) credited the Bureau (CVB) for bringing business in downtimes. The Advent GX respondent credited the Bureau for promoting the twin cities and coordinating events. The various roles of the Bureau, as outlined by participants, included: conducting monthly meetings with members, putting focus on large groups and Texas A&M athletics, and displaying signs linking sports to culture. However, the Bureau was encouraged to reach out of BCS to get more business.

Some businesses (#11) were not connected to the Bureau, but provided feedback to the DBA and offered DBA gift-cards for events. Most individual businesses (including # 9, 22, 24, 25) emphasized that Texas A&M University supported business and tourism in BCS. Some hotels believed the Bureau is an active sales organization (# 9, 24, and 25) and given more money it could promote BCS more as a destination (#24). However, some restaurants were unsure of the CVB's role (#15, 21). Overall, the CVB was believed to be accountable and responsive in tourism governance as exemplified by a hotel participant (#24) who stated:

And we would like to see more money blow into the CVB budget for them to use to market the community as a whole.



Both cities and the county suggested the CVB as the main responsible body to oversee tourism and attracting events. Members of the cities and the George Bush Library have attended CVB meetings. The library was also a member of the Bureau, Chamber of Commerce, and Texas Travel Industry Association (TTIA). The Brazos County respondent found the Bureau to be well organized, and the City of College Station saw it as a clearinghouse. The research found the stakeholders of the CVB in general are happy the way it is performing, however, some have given suggestions for outreach and others for involving them in CVB activities/decisions.

## **5.4 Other Issues**

### ***5.4.1 Business relating to tourism***

Some participants, mainly those in the associations group, were heavily dependent on tourism since their major source of funding came through HOT disbursed by the City of College Station or City of Bryan, both cities, or the Brazos County Office. These associations/entities heavily reliant on HOT included: CVB, The Arts Council, DBA, and the Expo Center. The Chamber of Commerce and Lodging Association (BVLA) reported they do not get any HOT money, though the Chamber of Commerce sometimes received a small portion of budget through HOT for special programs/events. The Chamber of Commerce was more dependent on sales tax through its membership services. However, other entities' (CVB, The Arts Council, and DBA) obtained funding which ranged between 90-100% of their total budgets though the CVB also had some additional contract partners. Regarding its dependency on HOT, the CVB participant stated:

We are a contract partner with both cities and the county and we are funded 100 percent, probably I shouldn't say 100 % probably 98 % of our funding comes from hotel occupancy tax (HOT) and our mission is to promote this area and make an economic impact through tourism activities whether that is conventions or sports or individual travelers or festivals or events whatever may be that is our mission.

The HOT tax is highly tied to performance, i.e. bringing in more tourists/visitors to BCS and it has highly stringent criteria. The Arts Council participant affirmed the stringent criteria for HOT spending:

“Because of the stipulation of the hotel tax, sometimes it’s very hard for us to have to get the groups to spend it appropriately. Because what we have to do is we have to go garner that funding then we bring it back we administer the grants, then we manage the grants and make sure they are spending it appropriately and report it back to the city.”

The Lodging Association participant stated they try to bring new groups through membership interactions and that tourism is a moneymaker for the state and the city. The DBA as per its mandate was rather focused in promoting downtown Bryan.

Other participants, mainly restaurants, had slightly different responses as they were more dependent on local than on national and international visitors. Unlike the type of associations directly funded by the city/county offices, they had to make business depending on visitor flows. Due to its location in Bryan, co-owner of a restaurant (participant #6) stated they received less sports-tourism business compared to College Station. A restaurant in College Station (participant #18) was a national chain, whereas a restaurant in Bryan (#14) offered a good location for socialization in downtown Bryan. Another restaurant in Bryan (participant #11) stated they brought unique, relaxed Bavarian (German) restaurant flavor for downtown Bryan. Restaurants linked themselves to tourism as they were places for visitors to eat, drink, and relax (#15) and how travel impacted their sales (#21).

In the group of hotels, a three-star property in College Station (#5) stated that BCS was not a recreation destination, but most of their visitors came out of town (3/4<sup>th</sup>) and just 1/4<sup>th</sup> were local visitors. As tourism business, they also supported the Chamber of Commerce and local community. One hotel in College Station (#24) and another in Bryan (#22) stated that they heavily depended on Texas A&M corporate groups/events (football) as those events drove tourism to BCS. To them, Texas A&M University was a demand driver for tourism.

Two hotels/inns (#24 and 25) stated that their visitors also came from the Fire School and #25 stated some of its visitors included international tourists with a few locals. For other hotels and resorts (#9, and 25) the majority of visitors were Texans drawn by events and some international customers. An Inn (#25) also stated they attracted workers on weekdays and students/parents on weekends. This suggests hotels/resorts/inns were strongly depended on out of city visitors and international tourists unlike restaurants, which heavily depended on local customers. About the composition of his guests/visitors to his inn/hotel, participant #25 said:

Depending on which sport depends on where they're coming from. If it is just like a softball tournament then they're probably coming from Dallas or Houston or something like that to do a tournament. If it's A&M vs. Alabama game, we're going to have a bunch of people from Alabama, a bunch of people from Oklahoma, people from overseas are all flying in to stay and take a seat in the game. So I'd say it's a mix just depending on what's going on and what time of year it is. A couple of yearly events that goes on is Firemen School. All the firemen from the state of Texas, the last two weeks of July, come in and stay and fill up the entire city with rooms. And another one is the short course, the Austin TXDOT short course. So people from the Department of Transportation come in in October usually and they fill up all of the rooms in town.

In the group of cultural/social organizations, a participant from BVAAHCS (#17 African-American, male) said people coming for games and festivals visited restaurants for food while a member of Fiesta Patrias (#16 Hispanic, female) said vendors come as far as Mexico stay in hotels and eat in restaurants contributing to tourism. A staff member at Advent GX (#12 Hispanic, male) stated that they had close ties with Texas A&M University and the Research Valley Partnership (RVP) as the former had a mission of sustainable community development, heritage preservation, supporting disadvantaged urban/rural communities, and contributing to experiential tourism.

A staff member of AAM stated they were very dependent on tourism as the locals didn't visit it much, however, it did not receive a lot of visitors on game days. Its annual 3,000 visitors speak of low visitation. The Bishop of an African American Church (AAC) stated some of the sports crowd came to the church, for prayers, but it was not much. The bishop (#30 African-American,male) mentioned there were

disparities in tourism regarding African-Americans and due to past prejudices the church got no support. He also made a point that African-Americans were not preferred for jobs (and not hired) stating:

You can deny me. In your own way, you can deny me and accept this one. Case in point, I had a young lady who had a PhD from Texas A&M University who had experience in this community. She was from this community. She was coming back from another area to apply for a job. Scrutinized her though she had more education than this person here, they put this person in because this is an African-American. You follow me?

An antique shop participant in Bryan (#27 White, male selling glass, coins, jewelries, postcards, old printed literature, pottery, fine china, art, knives, etc.) said his store was not affected much by game day traffic in College Station. He wished he could get just one percent of that crowd. He stated his store had some good years during Texas Reds, but not always. Participant #27 believed the Fiesta Patrias festival did not increase any sales in his store as it happened to another corner of the downtown and the festival crowd was not interested in antiques. However, for the Pedi cab participant (#10 White, male), which provided short distance transport in College Station, the home games brought good benefits for his business.

For the group of offices, the presence and role of the George Bush Presidential Library & Museum (GBPLM), and the TAMU Athletics Department remained highly significant as a driver of tourism and an icon of BCS culture (as revealed in the study findings). TAMU is not directly a part of tourism governance, but members do sit on various boards in both the cities and associations. Regarding the relation/importance of tourism to BCS, a City of College Station official stated tourism is much associated with Texas A&M and its football and some of it is homegrown.

The official from the City of College Station said, other events such as softball soccer also bring in millions of dollars to the city and tourism is important for both of the cities. The GBPLM official stated that it made connections with communities and most of its visitors originated from the Brazos Valley including students. It attracts approximately 140,000 visitors a year and is busiest on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July. The City of Bryan

official stated that the influx of tourists has direct impacts on revenues. The city officials of Bryan and College Station) stated tourism as one of the major income sectors for both cities. The City of Bryan official said that for Bryan electrical utility, and St. Joseph Hospital as a medical hub stood as major sources of revenue followed by small businesses. The official of the City of College Station said that for College Station industrial development, job creation, and retail/franchise remained as major sources of revenue. The City of College Station official stated that 41% of its local budget came from general sales tax (GST) which was mainly “provided through tourism”. Therefore, tourism seems to be a major source of income for both the cities.

These are some of the ways businesses such as restaurants and associations were directly tied to tourism or visitors flow and they tried to cater to the varying needs of visitors. Dependency of some associations on tourism was close to 100 % (as is the case of CVB), and restaurants heavily depended on local customers (70-75% as stated by #13) and #24 stated they had heavy reliance on local customers whereas hotels had more than seventy-five percent of out of city customers (#5, 24). The restaurants/businesses in Bryan were not as heavily and positively impacted by home football games as in College Station as they suggested a limited number of visitors went there. So was the case for the AAM, the AAC and the antiques shop in Bryan. The associations and businesses interviewed were all heavily dependent on tourism; and without increased flows of visitors, their budget would likely be affected. Even city offices drew a significant part of their budgets from general sales tax (GST) mainly driven by tourism as stated by the City of College Station official. Unlike restaurants, which were more dependent on local customers, hotels were more likely to need to promote individually or through the CVB for their survival and growth. Since the incoming flow of visitors was found to affect economic growth and funding, the role of effective tourism governance, collaboration and coordination likely can influence the present and future sustainability of tourism businesses in BCS.

#### ***5.4.2 Suggestions to improve collaboration & participation***

Sufficient and efficient degree of coordination and collaboration among the stakeholders' has been argued to be one of the critical success factors for sustainable community-based tourism settings (Jamal & Stronza, 2009; Cole 2006). During the course of research and interviews with participants in BCS it was found that both formal and informal mechanisms existed for collaboration. The CVB had a mechanism to handle issues through panel meetings and discussions; and the Chamber of Commerce had a working partnership with the lodging association (BVLA). Since The Arts Council also served as a clearing-house, they emphasized a joint building with the Bureau (CVB) for better collaboration and having mutual support mechanism with the cities. The Chamber of Commerce participant shared that through joint futuristic planning meetings they were able to organize Parents Weekends so they do not overlap with major sports events 10 years in advance. They also argued and their joint lobbying was successful in stopping A&M football games to go to Houston during a rebuild of Kyle Field. This initiative was suggested to have rescued many businesses in BCS.

The Lodging Association participant suggested due to the unique combination of sports in College Station and historic Bryan, working/pulling together by the stakeholders would be a viable option for improving collaboration. The DBA participant said that if all city council members valued tourism it would be easier to improve collaboration. The DBA participant also emphasized networking and shared how they were able to sort out the issue of football game shuttle parking through networking. The Art Council participant underlined the need to advertise outside the BCS community and to spend HOT effectively. The CVB suggested that monthly meetings among stakeholders would be a good alternative if invitees would attend them regularly.

Restaurants offered a myriad of suggestions to improve collaboration. These included: organizing a quarterly forum with the city mayor, the CVB and the public (participant #6), and the Bureau requiring to work hard to bring off season/weekend visitors (#18). Participant #14 emphasized the need of having a convention center in BCS stating:

Because BCS is in between Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, and Austin, is the perfect destination for centralized meetings and if we had a major convention center, people could hold large groups, but we do not.

Participant (#14) demanded that equal representation of arts and sports or their combination was required as College Station was more pro-sports and Bryan pro-arts. The participant also stressed the need of finding value for the community besides 6-10 sports weekends a year by working together, and running shuttle services would be the best utilization of HOT money. Another participant (#13) suggested reserved parking for Bryan workers as the lots were full due to First Fridays; and developing, and sharing a centralized Google calendar of events for smooth information flow.

Participants in the hotel group suggested there was a need for promoting community and its attractions for locals and visitors (#5), more active coordination of the DBA with the Bureau (#22), involving restaurants in discussions (#24) and introducing a passport program for multiple attractions and building better awareness about BCS attractions (#9). Community/cultural organizations presented various suggestions: bringing quality tourists rather than big volume (Fiesta Patrias); the CVB promoting all restaurants including the African-American owned (#26 African-American, male); and the AAC participant (#30 African-American, male) suggested that as tourism attracts various types of people, different ethnic businesses are needed to cater to them. In that respect the participant suggested involving/inviting African-Americans for such businesses. Advent GX wanted to share business development tools (once they developed it fully).

Regarding suggestions to improve collaboration in the group of government officials, the City of Bryan official wanted to see funding prioritization and program justification in place as city council politics favor one organization over the other (but the participant did not want to name which one was favored). The Brazos County official said bigger/better facilities could be made with more money and hinted the need for increasing the budget for the County office. The City of College Station official further suggested that Texas A&M University needs to market it constantly, asked for more reciprocity between the university and community, and suggested balancing various

interests of organizations such as the CVB and the BVLA regarding soccer fields. The GBPLM official pointed out the need for combining funds for cooperative advertising, and the TAMU Athletics Department official hinted at a lack of full-service hotels in BCS which some events require. The following statement by the TAMU Athletics Department (#29) also suggests a need for full-service hotels:

From our standpoint our biggest challenge is hotels. We lack the full-service hotels, we have one maybe two; we really need four or five full-service hotels in the pure sense of the word, with restaurants and bars onsite in full-service nature. Some events require them.

The suggestions made by the participants in general suggest existing collaboration among tourism stakeholders is smooth and effective to resolve some major issues such as game day parking; however, it is not enough to address all the issues facing tourism. For example, bringing year-round business in BCS besides those 6-10 sports weekends was identified by many participants as a barrier to growth whether for tourism or other businesses. Some participants expressed concern that there is little balance in promoting sports and culture, as A&M sports are highly preferred to arts and cultural products and a lack of tourist shuttles has hindered tourist visitation in many potential sites in BCS.

Suggestions from hotel participants for bringing restaurants in discussion forums and developing passport program for multiple attractions could also help lengthen the stay of visitors if implemented. Having a large convention center that serves meetings, incentives, conventions, and expositions (MICE) was also suggested as important for growth. If developed, it would meet one of the criteria of community success factors, having a flagship attraction (Sharpley, 2007). Some residents in BCS (in casual conversation with the researcher) also considered Texas A&M/Kyle Field as flagship attractions. The suggestions rendered by participants hold value in terms of improving tourism communication, collaboration and strengthening the role of stakeholders in the tourism development and governance processes as their active participation is likely crucial for CBT success.



### ***5.4.3 Institutional/ stakeholder role for tourism development***

The participants (basically associations and restaurant businesses) played diverse roles for the development of tourism in BCS which included: marketing, information, education to locals, and a focus for reaching outside BCS among others. For example, the CVB was suggested as a marketing voice for hotels (a middleman between hotels and guests/visitors), and to also provide information and advice; and the Chamber of Commerce supported the Bureau's functions, served as a business contact point, and provided information/education to locals about events. The Arts Council was focused on reaching outside BCS-Navasota (to increase visitors and revenue) area, ran professional development sessions, administered HOT-grants and supported festivals; and the Lodging Association oversaw HOT distribution. Advent GX offered econometric models and support solutions for disadvantaged urban cities and rural communities. As the leaders and players of businesses, each stakeholder in tourism had a role to play be it related to promoting the whole BCS, just downtown Bryan or an individual business, which likely affected tourism to the area.

The two cities and the Texas A&M Athletics Department officials presented a list of various activities they did for tourism development and promotion. The City of Bryan made funding available to different entities, its marketing department ran a cable channel and social media, cooperated with the City of College Station, and provided support to promote Bryan. The City of College Station developed parks to host sports events; like the Bureau, it also took a leading role in attracting various types of events such as softball, and hosted and marketed several events using Texas A&M University facilities under a preferred access agreement with the university. The city official also clarified that home football was the number one event followed by baseball, basketball, and parents weekends which attracted most visitors. The city also promoted and hosted events targeting the offseason. The GBPLM also capitalized on the publicity generating power of Texas A&M University and found the role of home games critical for hotels, restaurants and other businesses in BCS. Highlighting the role the City of College Station played in attracting events, the official (#19) claimed:

That being said, I think we have to be our own best advocate. So I would selfishly say that, you know, our in-house staff probably is the leader in attracting and retaining those tournaments. I think the CVB supplements that. But I think if you ask the CVB, they would say the reverse. You know, that they're the main attractor. I see where...you know, my people go and I hear their document is success. I would hate to do away with my in-house recruiting and rely solely on the CVB.

Based on the responses from the participants, a summary can be drawn that various tourism stakeholders played diverse roles for tourism development, which were important for the growth of BCS as a destination especially during game days and other events. Putting the efforts of various agencies together such as aggressive promotion from the CVB, support from the Chamber of Commerce as a business contact point, funding support from the cities and county for tourism promotions, and the role played by the City of College Station in inviting other events such as softball help make BCS a better destination. It could further be argued that the support services of Advent GX for disadvantaged rural cities and rural communities complement in reviving community businesses.

#### ***5.4.4 Section summary (relating to RQ 1) and further discussion***

Issues of justice and equity require a mechanism of accountable and responsive governance for addressing the issues, and likely need stakeholders' collaboration and participation to be effective. Relating to RQ 1 "how the system of local tourism governance addressed collaborative participation and decision-making in tourism development (in BCS)", with consideration to responsiveness, the findings suggest a need for future attention. The study found that there was not a single entity to make tourism development decisions in BCS; it was basically the two city offices (Bryan and College Station), and the Brazos County Office which made these decisions in concert with entities such as the CVB, the Chamber of Commerce, the DBA, the Arts Council, the BVLA and some of the units of Texas A&M University (Athletics Department) among others.

Exchange of ex-officios in various boards such as the CVB, the BLVA and the Arts Council and representation from the city and county in various boards likely made both the decision-making and collaboration easier. Broadly speaking, it was a collaborative decision-making process with significant opportunities for listening to stakeholders' voices through board meetings, city town hall meetings, and representations. Through formal and informal networking and collaboration among the businesses and associations, they were able to pull resources to market them better or use their joint strength to keep college football local during Kyle Field's rebuilding.

However, the perception of not being invited by some of the stakeholders in decision-making suggests a need for attention from the perspective of collaborative governance, which could be minimized through improved information sharing and communication. A mechanism of financial support existed for the promotion of BCS as a travel, convention, and sports destination basically through the CVB, which was given annual HOT funds through the cities and county for this purpose. Culture and heritage were also given priority through HOT funding to the Arts Council, its affiliate members such as AAM, and separate funding allocated annually to the GBPLM. Annual cultural events and festivals such as Fiesta Patrias, Texas Reds and Steaks Festival, World

Festival, etc. were also all supported through the HOT festival grants, however, some of the festivals such as Juneteenth could not avail of this opportunity as it was yet to be registered as a non-profit.

Similar to decision-making, responsibility to develop BCS as a travel destination and handling any issues and challenges relating to tourism has been jointly shared by the cities, the County, the CVB, the BVLA, the DBA, the Chamber of Commerce and TAMU units among others. The BCS police were also referred to as a responsible agency as they had to be invited when fights broke out in restaurants. Therefore, there are multiple agencies responsible. Businesses believed they were self-accountable for management/ownership decisions and solutions if they could be handled on their own without assistance from outside-government or other parties.

Thus, this study presents a scenario of existence of multi-level decision-making, collaboration, and issues handling mechanisms, which could be improved through enhanced multi-level integration. It could also possibly be better handled through a central planning agency as suggested by one of the participants. The status of Texas as an equal opportunity state did not allow for discrimination or special inclusive policies for any ethnic minorities or disadvantaged groups; however, there were several programs launched by various organizations that benefited such groups.

Finally, Texas A&M University driven sports events (mainly home games followed by basketball and soccer tournaments) and educational calendars such as graduation days and parents weekends drive massive numbers of visitors to BCS for certain weeks and months. During these events, the area gets really congested and crowded, but many businesses outperform on those occasions (not for some businesses in Bryan). This phenomenon helps the BCS economy to thrive. Not only are the tourism businesses such as hotels, fast-food, and restaurants heavily dependent on tourism, but so are the government offices whose funding mainly depends on sales tax revenues. How to make BCS a year-round travel destination remains as a major challenge. Suggestions made by the participants in this regard included the establishment of a convention center to hold special significance for the present and future development of BCS as a just, equitable, and sustainable tourism community through effective governance. These issues will be explored and discussed further in the succeeding sections.

This section presents the analysis of 40 in-depth interviews conducted with research participants in BCS including participant observation relating to the second research question (RQ 2). RQ 2 is reproduced below with a summary of its sub-questions. (For details on RQs and Interview Protocol, please see pages 4-5 and Appendix III).

***RQ 2: How do the various stakeholders feel about tourism development in BCS, specifically, with respect to the distribution of tourism related goods and resources (Distributive Justice); and respect to “Ethic of care”?***

RQ 2 consisted of six sub-questions and five interview-protocol questions. The interview questions focused on the distribution mechanism of tourism revenues (receipts) and goods (benefits), incentives to locals/minority businesses in tourism, fairness of HOT distribution, living standards of tourism workers, issues and challenges in tourism, and benefits of tourism to the residents as well as ethnic minorities. The question also explored issues regarding attention to: fostering cultural pride through tourism, as well as the sense of emotional solidarity (feeling close) among the tourism stakeholders, visitors, and residents. This question related more to the distributive justice and difference principle from Rawls’ (1971, 1999; 2003) *Theory of Justice* and *Justice as Fairness: A restatement*. RQ 2 also attempted to address the issue of ‘ethic of care’ championed by Smith & Duffy (2003).

## **5.5 Distribution of Tourism Revenues and Benefits**

### ***5.5.1 Mechanism for distribution of tourism revenues and its beneficiaries***

At the end of literature review (Table 10), a brief summary of various forms of justice was presented. The first research question was mainly related to procedural justice, however, this question relates to distributive justice and also to *Justice as Fairness* and ‘ethic of care’ in order to determine whether tourism operations in BCS were guided more by anthropocentric and utilitarian values, and/or also adhered to local social, cultural values. Utilitarian values emphasize economic growth (boosterism) with less concern for balanced economic, environmental, and socio-cultural development including the care for cultures and attention to disadvantaged groups in the community.

Regarding the mechanism of tourism revenues and benefits distribution, most of the participants in the associations group were aware that HOT were distributed by cities and the county as per state-laws and had stringent criteria. The participants asserted HOT was distributed by cities and the county to entities such as the Convention and Visitors Bureau, the Arts Council, and the DBA, while other festival/marketing support was made through grants. As HOT is state-mandated, the spending of it must be related to specific criteria related to the promotion of tourism for the community. The DBA received separate funds from the City of Bryan for the Texas Reds and Steaks Festival. The HOT funds were also allocated to other entities such as the rebuilding of Kyle Field, the Research Valley Partnership, the City Parks and Recreation Departments (in Bryan-College Station), the Expo Center and to the Chamber of Commerce for some specific programs as stated by the Arts Council participant (#3) as follows:

That's what causing all the groups used to ask Bryan for funding and that was not allocated in our opinion fairly. So what we did we took over the process to make it fair and non-political. City of College Station is very similar, if you are an outside group wanting to do you know you are coming to do an sports events or something like that you have to go through the CVB grants program. If you are an Arts affiliate you have to go through the College Station through our grant program. Now the difference area is Kyle Field because the city of College Station has made a commandment to fund the Kyle Field renovation. I think that goes up to 30 million dollars over the next 20 years. So that's the little difference than also the Chamber of Commerce makes a request for hotel funding as does the Research Valley Partnership (RVP). And there are few other groups they got a smaller allotment but that's how that system works.

Among the participants in the restaurants group some were aware that HOT was state-mandated with strict regulatory guidelines (#6, 11, 14, 18), and others (#13, 15, 20, 21) were not aware. However, one (#20) was content that the cities do a good job. A participant of a chain restaurant in College Station (participant #18) stated that the Bureau distributes HOT grant money. There were some reservations expressed as one participant (#6) stated that in the past Bryan was treated unfairly as more HOT money was spent in College Station. The participant (#6 White, female) stated that some shift has taken place and continued:

I do not know exact breakdown, but I think for the last many years and it's probably been back before I was here up through couples of years ago, I think majority of it (HOT money) was spent in College Station, because that was growing, that was where the people were going, that was what was building the fastest. And so it makes sense; however, Bryan kind of felt they were built as a step-child, as it has been a great deal of focus in last two years to really bring things to Bryan, they are making some of the downtown areas historical districts, fixing roads, fixing homes, there is a talk of making a golf course here, may be softball fields and different things and the likes of those sort of making money come to this area because Bryan is now growing as well. And I think that's a great shift and I think it is well deserved and well warranted shift.

Participant #14 stated that the Bureau (CVB) focuses more on Texas A&M than on Bryan as it gets more revenue from the College Station area and hoped for promotion that is more balanced. The participant further added that maybe promoting Bryan alone would be better. Participant #11 stated that she had no voice in revenue distribution as she was not involved, but believed the revenue was spent in increasing business.

Regarding revenue (HOT) distribution mechanisms, some hoteliers had little while others had detailed information (Possibly depending on their varying interests how cities spent HOT money). Participant #5 stated that some portion of HOT went to the Kyle Field, #22 had no idea, and #25 stated it was spent bringing more tourists. Participant #9 stated that there was a state law on HOT and city planning helped joint rather than individual proposals through HOT. Another participant (#24), who was well informed about HOT mechanism distribution/spending, elaborated in detail that as per state regulations HOT is allocated through County and City Offices to the CVB, Kyle Field, and the Expo Center. This participant also stated that due to the differences of interests between the hoteliers and elected city officials, distribution of HOT could be contentious. He stated the City of College Station wants to spend some HOT money (\$ 10 million) on a Southeast Park development, which the participant thinks hotels would not like. He believed hoteliers would rather spend it either on Veteran's Park to hold national sports events or to give it to the CVB for promotion as the hotels in BCS are going to face a hard time in 2017-18 due to the predicted crash in the oil and gas industry.



In the community/cultural group participants, three participants had no idea of HOT distribution mechanism (#17 BVAAHCS-African-American, male; #16 Fiestas Patrias-Hipanic, female; and #30 AAC-African-American, male). However, the BVAAHCS participant said everybody coming pays sales tax. The Advent GX participant (#12 Hispanic, male) was aware of HOT mechanism that it was channeled by Bryan and College Station to the CVB and other entities, but believed it was largely influenced by hotels and motels. The AAM participant stated that as an affiliate of the Arts Council, they received HOT money; however, as AAM got HOT money through the Arts Council it made them ineligible to apply for additional money from the city directly. The participant from AAC stated that criteria relating to HOT carried power, and one turn down of a proposal because of such criteria could create lack of desire.

Regarding the mechanism of HOT distribution, government offices were at the granting end unlike many stakeholders who were at the receiving end. The City of Bryan official said the City also received 1.5% out of general sales tax, the County official indicated HOT distribution is transparent and the community is happy with the way it is spent. The County official added that the Expo Center was built from HOT money as people voted for it, which brought people and money to BCS contributing to the overall economy. As stated earlier, \$0.75% of HOT was allocated to Kyle Field development.

The City of College Station official said tourism generated sales tax and 41% of the City's budget came through sales tax mainly contributed through tourism. According to the City of College Station official, the city cannot buy land with HOT money, but it can develop parks from HOT with a provision to put it back in five years. The official briefly mentioned about the initial plan of the City to develop Southeast Park in College Station which is facing some resistance from the hoteliers. The George Bush Library official informed that he did not know where HOT was spent and who received it, but the library spends its HOT on advertising. The TAMU Athletics Department official shared that he used HOT money to reimburse facility use charges in Reed Arena for hosting events. The antique shop participant (#27) in Bryan and the Peditax cab participant (#10) both had no knowledge of how the HOT were distributed.

It was found in the analysis that participants in general knew the procedures of how HOT was distributed and abided by its rules; however, some participants from Bryan held reservations on how the CVB emphasized more on promoting College Station and its sports rather than Bryan and its culture. Some of the participants stated that they had more power to influence CVB programs, and the presence of most of the big hotels could be one of the reasons the Bureau focused more on promoting College Station and its sports, which was taken as a concern by some of the stakeholders in Bryan. A suggestion by some participants to give more or balanced exposure to Bryan along with College Station may help the CVB to improve its marketing planning. Regarding the voice of disagreement on Southeast park development (by a hotelier), the official from the City of College Station said they had evaluated all the feedback before choosing the option they perceived to be best.

#### ***5.5.2 Stakeholder influence in the distribution of tourism revenue and benefits***

There were instances presented earlier where stakeholders had an influential role in the distribution of tourism revenues either through writing proposals or during discussions. The Bureau participant (#1) and the Chamber of Commerce participant (#2) stated they have been able to stop the passage of legislation that would otherwise allow cities to buy land from HOT. The CVB participant explained:

...the city of Bryan wanted to create a state law to allow them to use the money to build new sporting facilities on a park, on land. And the hotels all said we are in support of it but there is little sentence in the law that they wrote that said that they can buy new land with the hotel tax, and they said we are not for that. Because we have been burned in the past. We are kind of a middleman we work with the city, with the hotels and with state legislature to get it worded the way that we all can agree on and we move forward.

Currently, one of the participants from hotels (participant #24 White, male) stated they opposed the proposed allocation of \$10 million by the City of College Station to develop a Southeast Park; the city official said the proposal is still under consideration and they listen to and evaluate stakeholders' feedback before taking decisions. A chain-restaurant in College Station (participant #18) emphasized how a partnership between

the Bureau and the Chamber of Commerce was effective in keeping Texas A&M football from moving to Houston for a year while Kyle Field was rebuilt. In general, the stakeholders held strong influence in the distribution of tourism revenues and the city/cities listened to their stakeholders.

### ***5.5.3 Financial incentives to run tourism businesses***

#### ***5.5.3.1 Financial incentives to locals to run tourism business***

All the participants in the associations' category stated there were no financial incentives or opportunities to locals to own and operate tourism related businesses; however, the Bureau participant shared that there were some provisions through the Chamber of Commerce and Economic Development Commission such as tax-breaks from the cities. The Chamber of Commerce stated they ran leadership (development) programs, provided scholarships for economically challenged people, and conferred community-impacts awards. The DBA participant suggested that there existed Bryan City Community Grants. The Arts Council was not aware of financial incentives except through incentives grants, but it helped serve/market the underserved groups and supported diverse groups through festival promotion. Participants in the restaurants group concurred that they were not aware of any incentives to locals to own and operate tourism related businesses, and participant #18 stated there were incentives for new businesses such as Santa's Wonderland as it attracts people, but there were no incentives for the restaurants.

Three out of five participants in the hotel group had no opinion on this issue of financial incentives. However, participant #24 (White, male) strongly opposed giving incentive to one property (Atlas Hotel, LP. in Bryan given \$7 million as an incentive by the City of Bryan) was not fair or competitive (as protested by 40 hotels, said participant #24). Hotelier #25 (White, male) suggested a need for law enforcement on Air B&B as they pay no hotel taxes. Two city officials stated there were no incentives to local residents or low income people to encourage involvement in tourism related businesses, and the GBPLM and TAMU Athletics Department officials said they had no information on this issue. However, the Brazos County official stated that tourism growth should be

taken as an incentive as it generates more funding, and helps to lessen resident taxes which help low income people, too.

As per the statements of participants, there does not appear to be provision of direct financial incentives for locals to own tourism-related businesses, however, there are indirect support programs provided by some organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce and the Arts Council. It was additionally found that incentives and tax breaks offered to a business may invite contentions from others which may hamper stakeholder collaboration. The City of Bryan has caught some controversy for its initiative of business promotion through incentivizing hotels.

#### ***5.5.3.2 Financial incentives to minority operated tourism businesses***

Exploring whether ethnic minorities were engaged and successful in tourism businesses is believed to be important from an equity, empowerment and local capacity building perspective, which is one of the criteria for CBT. Different responses were recorded from this research. The CVB and Chamber of Commerce participants expressed that Asians mainly owned hotels/hotel chains in BCS and the Chamber of Commerce participant further added they are known for their hospitality, courteous staff, fair prices, and clean facilities. The Arts Council, Lodging Association, and DBA were not aware of minority-operated businesses, but they knew some properties/activities such as Taj Indian Restaurant, African American Museum, Fiesta Patrias festival, etc. doing well. Participants suggested that race and gender did not count in tourism-related operations; rather it was service quality that was important. The Bureau and Arts Council granted festival grants to entities/institutions if they fulfilled HOT criteria and any/all ethnic groups were welcome to apply.

Participants from the restaurant business group named a few tourism-related properties run by various ethnic communities successfully. These included hotels and bars run by Indians; and Manor Inn in College Station (stated by participant #18 White, male) and AA bar and Pop A Top in Bryan run by African-Americans (said by participant #11 White, female). Participant #11 further stated that Good Times bar served the minority Hispanic community in Bryan, and Halo (a gay dance club) served

the gay community. Many participants named Casa Rodriguez as a successful restaurant business in Bryan from a family of Hispanic descent, but the owner/staff refused to be interviewed, stating no time or interest in giving interviews. Participant #13 (White, female) stated there were several other Mexican, Chinese and Italian restaurants (i.e., Mr. Z's Pizza) from various ethnic groups, but an even playing field was emphasized by many participants (including #15 and #18 both White, males). The official from the City of College Station (#28) informed:

We have not. The city of College Station traditionally has never incented retail, hotel, or those kinds of commercial enterprises. Will that always be that way? It is ultimately up to the city council to decide that. But as far as I know, I know of no time that the city has ever incented a hotel or commercial or retail operation...So there would be a terrible outcry if we do that. Embassy Suites is going to be building a 250-room hotel here, 253 rooms, I think. And that was the question from all of the hoteliers. Did you give them anything? And the answer is no. We did not incent them at all.

Most of the participants were not aware of any government or financial incentives for restaurants or other businesses (13, 15, 20, and 21). Participant #1 suggested that due to various bars that want to attract different customer groups, ethnic minorities and visitors in general, Bryan's prior unsafe image has changed to a safer one. The participants' perspective suggested there was no monopoly of certain ethnic groups in tourism related business, and there was a variety run by different ethnic groups. A City of Bryan official stated that most of the businesses in Bryan except Subway are small, family type businesses and more sustainable in that respect.

Hotel participants #5 and 25 had no opinion on the issue of minority-operated tourism businesses, however, participant #22 (White, female) mentioned that there was government support to purchase property and run small business for single women (but the participant was not sure of the source). The participant knew some businesses run by ethnic minorities, but knew no names. She suggested no HOT money was needed for such businesses. Participant #24 (White, male) found very few tourism properties run by ethnic minorities, but many by Asian-Americans. He strongly suggested business ownership is not a color thing, but it pertains to culture. This participant further

suggested he had not seen any hotel run by an African-American and he attributed it to historic discrimination affecting the current education, which cannot be fixed by money or incentives. He stated:

I've yet to meet an African-American hotel owner. I've yet to meet but I'm sure they exist. You know, America's a big country, I've met a few Hispanic-American, but again, we're talking about immigrants more, like I said, first and second generation Americans, more than people who have been here. So much of what we see is that there are residue of past racism and discrimination. So, the people who, because of previous prejudice, their community and their culture was kind of put down, they're in an educational... theirs in the back place, educationally. It's been passed down from generation to generation.

Statements from this participant are serious in nature if justice and equity through tourism are to be delivered. It indicates the need of digging deeper with other social issues and injustices rooted in the culture that may also affect business entrepreneurship development and educational achievement. Tourism can be a tool for socio-economic development; therefore, its integration into other social issues can affect the quality of outcomes in issues such as justice and equity. However, remarks from participant #9 stating that small/successful bazaars downtown has developed gives some hope for community sustainability through tourism. Moreover, participant #9 (White, male) stated there were incentives for future businesses/expansions.

Among the five participants in the community/cultural group, four (BVAHCS, Fiesta Patrias, Advent GX, and AAM) stated that there were many businesses, especially food/restaurants, run by ethnic minorities such as African-Americans and Hispanics. The Fiesta Patrias participant (#16 Hispanic, female) named Casa Rodrigues, Papa Perez, and La Mexicana as successful restaurants run by Hispanics. She stated Franchises do well year-round, but Mom and Pops were seasonal businesses. She suggested the need of marketing education, advertising support and joining the Hispanic Heritage Committee in the Chamber of Commerce (where participant #16 was a member) for bettering businesses. The AAM participant further clarified that there were hotels run by Latinos but not by African Americans in the community. However, restaurants run by African-Americans were doing well and needed further marketing support from the Arts Council

and CVB as they also represent the history of the community. The participant from the AAC (#30 African American, male) stated due to the administrative criteria and scrutiny, it was hard for African-Americans to set up or be successful in business and past prejudices of racism affected African-American businesses. The remarks made by the participant #30 (African American, male) were:

We've had those kind of discussions where some will not be given the green light of passage while others were... And we felt like it was based on ethnicity... Whose rules are we playing by? When you say criteria, it seems like it's equal for everybody. But you may scrutinize me more than you scrutinize this one based on criteria. You may be willing to lend this one more than you lend to me... You may ask for more collateral or whatever than you do for me. I may be more of a risk to you in your mind than this one over here. So when you start criteria, it all depends on how one defines and how one assesses towards one against the other. Because you got to think of it. It's a reason why there is not a lot of black African-American businesses.

Regarding the provision of incentives for such groups the BVAAHCS (#17) participant said it was up to the cities. The Fiesta Patrias participant (#16) said the Chamber of Commerce promoted its members, and the Advent GX (#12) participant (Hispanic, male) noted that cities supported under-represented groups and they also had programs for tax abatements.

City of College Station and GBPLM officials had no idea of ethnic-minority operated tourism businesses, however; the City of Bryan and the TAMU Athletics Department official confirmed they knew some of those properties which were doing well (as they were not closed). The TAMU Athletics Department official further added hotels were mainly run by Hispanics, Asians and Indians and presence of African-Americans was found in fast food businesses. The Brazos County official stated that embracing diversity and equity benefits all. These participants also had no idea of incentives for ethnic minorities. The City of College Station official clarified the point that there was no such thing as incentives to minority-operated businesses through HOT except through the small business administration (SBA) for minorities or under-utilized

women-owned businesses. The city official further informed that the SBA worked in partnership with the RVP.

In the course of interviews with participants, it was found that there was no provision of direct funding or financial incentives for lower income groups or minority populations to engage in tourism business. Some respondents (#15 and 18-White, males) argued that a level playing field (competition) was needed and incentives to one group would be harmful to another. However, there were soft incentives made available through various organizations. The Chamber of Commerce (#2) had a reward program for historically under-utilized businesses (HUB) in the form of award/recognition. The Chamber of Commerce also had a month-long Leadership Program and Youth Leadership Program (for juniors in high school) where economically challenged people/youth were provided scholarships (Application open to all). The City of College Station (#28) and the Lodging Association (#4) representatives shared that the small business administration (SBA) may have incentives for low- income businesses for startup businesses. There was also involvement and representation of various ethnic communities in tourism- related businesses, but a statement that there is no single hotel owned by African-American community members as stated by participants #24 (White, male) and #30 (African-American, male) provides room for further exploration on the issue. Another kitchen staff (#32 African-American, female) also mentioned that she had not seen an African-American owned hotel business in BCS, but did not know the reason, why.

#### ***5.5.4 Stakeholders' perception of fairness of tourism revenue distribution***

Regarding the fair share of the overall benefits of tourism, participants in the restaurant category replied that in general they received a fair distribution as the benefits were in place; and the CVB gave them exposure during events (#11, 13, 14, 15, and 18). A restaurant owner in Bryan (#14) stated that promotions through the Bureau and DBA were fairer and more accountable than individual grants. A majority of participants also stated that it was their responsibility to self-market their own businesses. However, one restaurant owner said he had no idea whether he received a fair share (#21). Participants



in the hotel group had positive comments regarding the fair share of HOT distribution as four participants (#5, 9, 22, and 25) stated it was probably fair and had no complaints. However, participant #24 had no comments. Regarding the fair share, participant #9 stated:

I mean in terms of focus I think that (our property) is well respected, I think that we are given a good amount of focus from the CVB and I think that awareness wise the community does try to tell our story.

Regarding fairness of tourism revenue distribution, the Fiesta Patrias participant stated they expected more monetary support and visitors' education, and the AAM participant said that though they were not invited to meetings on HOT distribution (it should be noted that all these meetings are open to the public) or others; however, they were pleased with the way it was spent. The Advent GX participant emphasized that the distribution of costs and benefits was fair and a just system prevailed. Among the government offices, the Brazos County official stated that HOT distribution was transparent and the community was happy the way it was spent. The City of College Station official said it was justifiable (not perfectly equitable), and the TAMU Athletics Department official commented he did not know how the system worked, but could be improved by sharing. The County official's (#23 African-American, female) version on the fairness of HOT distribution was:

Well you know nothing in life is perfect. But I think overall, that our community is happy with how the funds are being spent. We try to be transparent and now as... to speak to any event that they are familiar with and do you have any complaints or any comments?

A staff to the County complemented the official adding:

As far as to me, you know they voted to pass the bill to build the Expo Center; the citizens did. So, once that passed, so there was a vote laid on it. So the people actually voted to have the Expo Center built in order to bring tourism. So, they should be happy with the result.

In general, distribution of tourism revenues was perceived to be fair from a majority of participants across various participant groups. The distributors of HOT such as the city and county offices also felt it to be fair which was confirmed by a majority of participants in HOT receiving groups. Therefore, stakeholder satisfaction regarding the fair distribution of tourism revenues (HOT) in BCS meets one of the criteria of CBT success and it was believed to contribute towards achieving equity and justice through tourism.

## **5.6 Consideration to “Ethic of Care”**

### ***5.6.1 Living standards and wages of tourism workers***

Exploration of living standards and wages of tourism workers in BCS was examined in order to better understand the use of justice, ethics and equity. Regarding living standards and wages of tourism workers, most participants expressed that market competition was good for competitive wages. For the most part, they believed market competition has led to competitive/fair wages in hotels and other Chamber of Commerce member organizations. The CVB participant expressed that BCS frontline staff were paid well, but had no idea of the back-of-the house staff payroll. The CVB participant (#1) stated:

I do not know on the lower back of the house type positions, I know that because there is so much of a competition to the house-keeping side of things, I think that there is so much competition in our community that they have to pay them well to keep them. I know that it is a highly debated subject on increasing the minimum wage and all of that I do know from the experience of my staff looking at the banquet-service positions in hotels, student workers that go and apply for banquet-service positions, they pay better than what we pay as part-time employment. And I know that the sales people pay better than we pay them here for sales positions in the hotel communities because there is so much competition.

From the associations group, the DBA participant expressed their staff were paid a living or better wage. However, the representative of The Arts Council stated that state/government agencies are better paid and staffs in non-projects were paid below average. The participants from the restaurant group stated servers worked on tips and

their earnings varied. Most participants suggested that their tourism workers in general were paid above the industry average or more than minimum. Low cost of living and low-mid-income levels in Texas was suggested to make the pay enough for the staff or spouse, not the whole family (#15, 18, and 20). Participant #18 claimed their entry-level staff members were better paid, participants #20 and 21 stated they paid superior wages (\$10 per hour by #21) whereas participants #11 and 14 suggested bartenders and servers were paid better than kitchen staff. Some restaurants linked pay with service/performance quality (#13, 21) and thought their servers made more money through tips, which was linked with service quality and customer satisfaction. Participant #13 stated 75% of customers were local (#13) while participant #20 provided staff training focusing on quality. Participant #11 said in general there remained a high turnover of staff in hotels and restaurants in Bryan; however, their property was claimed to have a good rate of retention. This participant (#11), who serves both as a part-time manager and as bartender in a restaurant in Bryan said:

Just the bartenders and the service, my kitchen staff I feel is under-paid and as a manager I actually do not get a manager's salary. So, I still have to bartend in order to make enough money to be sustainable and that's even without like all the added expenses of the ...school. So without being said you know for paying our frontline tourism workers nine dollars an hour it is nearly impossible for them to pay that and have a family. So it seems like, it seems low to me.

On the issue of living standards and wages of tourism workers, hotel participants had similar and contrasting responses. Participants (#5, 24 and 25) stated staff wages were market driven/competitive; that they offered comfortable pay, and paid above the industry (about \$3-4) average (#5, 9, 22, 25). However, participant #24 (White, male) said that front-desk staffs in hotels were on par with fast food as housekeeping staff received 8-10 dollars per hour and the salary was not enough to support home/family. They further suggested it was not a living wage, though the servers' wages were a little better. Participant #24 stated hotel staff got \$8 an hour and some of them did not want to work long hours and/or did not want promotions. By working more hours or having high positions, they would lose the government support/subsidy they currently were

receiving. Such issues (preference to government subsidy) could be fixed by leadership, not schools, he stated. The participant also emphasized the importance of tying performance with pay. Hotels (#22, 24 and 25) further had internal staff training and development programs and some (#24, 25) also sent their staff for outside training. Compared to frontline staff, back of the house staff was argued to have less promotion opportunities (#22).

In the community/cultural organization group, at least three participants (BVAAHCS #17, Fiesta Patrias #16, and Advent GX #12) said that tourism workers were receiving minimum or good wages. The Fiesta Patrias participant (Hispanic, female), however, stated that waiters and lower-level jobs are not doing well, their wages were not raised for 7 years and with \$700 twice a week they were marginalized. She further suggested that their wage increase should come from tourism. The AAC participant additionally claimed workers were paid minimum and it was not on par with the revenue (suggesting a serious question relating to equity and justice). The Advent GX participant said wages were set by supply and demand and mainstream tourism workers were paid well though they were paid less than engineering jobs. He further stated that for entrepreneurial people, incentives are in place. His suggestion hints at developing educational foundation and job skills to get better paid. The AAM participant (#26 African-American) stated that it had two part-time staff given the low number of visitors it received annually.

All participants in the government offices group implied that tourism workers in BCS were well paid or paid above average. The Brazos County official stated tourism growth helped hiring. The City of College Station official said they considered inflation in giving salaries and offered on the job training for staff. The George Bush Library official said they mostly hired volunteers and paid them above average and their other employees were federal staff. The TAMU Athletics Department official said the salary in their office was state regulated and they paid extra for seasonal staff for home games.

Insights from the participants' interviews suggested that living standards and wages of tourism workers in BCS is more than minimum or above average compared to

other businesses. However, lack of information by major stakeholders on the pay and facilities of back of the stage/house staff suggests the need of paying attention to “ethic of care”. Bartenders and servers were paid better possibly due to their skills related to guest-relations and services. The interviews further suggested the CVB was not aware how much wages back of the house tourism workers received. The ‘ethic of care’, which has been argued to be missing in many business operations (Smith & Duffy, 2003; Jamal & Camargo, 2014), seems to possibly be problematic to the BCS back of the stage/house staff. In many cases, they faced issues of fewer work hours in summer (detailed later in sub-section 5.11) and they had limited career growth (promotion) opportunities. The data suggests every staff member has been paid a wage above minimum as mandated by the law, whether the wages are a living wage is difficult to ascertain. Living wage can be contentious as it may vary depending on the need and lifestyles of individuals or may be dependent on the cost of living of a certain place. According to the Living Wage Action Coalition (LWAC), “A living wage is a decent wage. It affords the earner and her or his family the most basic costs of living without need for government support or poverty programs. With a living wage an individual can take pride in her work and enjoy the decency of a life beyond poverty, beyond an endless cycle of working and sleeping, beyond the ditch of poverty wages” (LWAC, 2016, para 1). Additional elaboration will follow in the discussion section whether tourism staffs in BCS are enjoying a living wage or not.

As stated by participants elsewhere, back of the staff generally include cooks, chefs and kitchen staff with relatively lower educational achievements. Treating a core team of the staff without an ‘ethic of care’ (not knowing or showing concern whether they feel well treated/paid) seems to compromise the ethical values in tourism as argued by many scholars (Smith and Duffy, 2003; Jamal and Camargo, 2014; Hultsman, 1995; Macbeth, 2005). Whether this staffs have not received an “ethic of care” is in need of further research.

### ***5.6.2 Resident benefits of tourism including the minority/economically disadvantaged groups***

Regarding the benefits of tourism to the residents/communities, all participants in the associations group (#1, 2, 3, 4, 8) proffered similar suggestions that facilities development and citizen's services development in the city were funded by general sales tax (GST), mostly coming from visitors, which is a benefit of tourism. Other benefits they mentioned included: helping lower property taxes, increasing quality of life and community attractiveness, incurring multiple benefits through game days and other events, and post-visit promotion of BCS. They further argued tourism benefitted the minority community the same way as other residents and the DBA organized some events that were free for all. Additionally, the Chamber of Commerce participant shared that tourism benefitted economically challenged people.

Regarding benefits of tourism, participants in the restaurants' group stated that there was more business and economic benefits to everybody (#13, 15 and 21) with more people coming into the community. Participant #6 suggested tourism also spurred facilities development and upgrades to Veteran's Park. Other suggested benefits included increased quality of life (#9 and 13); and access to facilities for kids (#18). Participants also expressed that the town (Bryan) was cleaner (#13 and 14), more accessible (#14), more interesting (#14) and safer than 5-10 years ago (#11 and 13). It was further suggested by participant #11 that tourism also helped to retain some local businesses and also helped others move here. Tourism was also suggested to give opportunities to share business with College Station (for Bryan) (#11), that included the potential for multiplier effects (#11) and that visitors loved local hospitality (#14). Regarding community benefits and contribution to the quality of life, participant #18 said,

Again, I think some of the things like some of our facilities have been upgraded, like Veteran's Park. You know we have turf fields now, there is plans to build more fields. Certainly we don't have unlimited access to them but there's opportunities for our kids to participate on top-notch facilities. So again, I think the cities are taking those tax dollars that people were spending from here and

they're not so much taking the HOT tax money all the time but there's just more tax revenue that again makes the quality of life here in this town much better.

Regarding the benefits of tourism to local residents, hotel participants highlighted the influx of cash/money (#25), creation of jobs (#5 and 22), and benefits through events/festivals (#5, 9, 22, 24, and 25). Other benefits of tourism that respondents highlighted included: tax income, sales tax supporting local businesses and facilities development (#5 and 24), enhancement in quality of life (#9), and quality visitors coming to the locality (#9). Benefits of tourism as suggested by another community/cultural group were economic benefits such as jobs and cash flow/busy restaurants (#12 and 17), raised property values but less taxes on residents (#12 and 30); social benefits such as increased entertainment facilities (#17), appreciation of community history and community pride (#26), and physical benefits such as city facilities development and other multiple benefits occurring through sales tax (#13 and 16). These benefits were suggested to be the same for minorities but free events were suggested to be especially benefit the economically disadvantaged through free admissions.

Participants in the government offices group suggested resident benefits through tourism included: improved city services (physical health of the community) (#7 and 28), job creation, money/cash flow (#23 and 29), tourism multipliers<sup>2</sup> contributing to businesses and sales tax lessening property tax (#7 and 19). Another benefit, as emphasized by the Brazos County official, included free pre-natal and medical services (made possible through tourism taxes). Regarding benefits to minorities through tourism, the City of Bryan official said that the city supports housing and low-income neighborhoods through the fund received from the U.S. Department of Housing and

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<sup>2</sup> Tourism income multipliers generally refer to direct, indirect and induced incomes. Direct income refers to spending by tourists for goods and services and direct revenue earnings for hoteliers and service stations; indirect income refers to successive rounds of interbusiness transactions resulting from direct expenditure; and induced income refers to increased consumer spending resulting from additional personal income generated by direct expenditure. Induced income is also defined as responding of increased income and thus further boosting of economic activities (Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p.110).

Urban Development (HUD) under Community Development Block Grant (CDBG). The official further stated that HUD services were offered on the basis of household income, not on race and ethnicity; however, some non-profits were given seed money to raise funds. The City of College Station official said tourism benefits were shared by all residents. The GBPLM participant said tax revenue contributes to subsidized housing and that's how tourism indirectly contributes to low income people. The antique shop owner in Bryan (participant #27) mentioned that tourism brought people to the community and they spent money on buying gas and food or collectible items from his store, and the Pedi cab participant (#10) said game days benefitted all small businesses.

Participants (from associations, restaurants, hotels, community groups and government offices) affirmed that the BCS minority population enjoyed the same tourism benefits as others (#4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 18, 24 and 28) including opportunities to enjoy facilities and get jobs. The study found that benefits of tourism included jobs and taxes to the local and state governments, which were redistributed for tourism promotion and/or for infrastructure and facilities development by the cities. Tourism development in BCS was also suggested to benefit all who were directly involved in business, and also benefitted residents through the improvement of services and facilities in the city/community. These benefits were further suggested to make the city a safer and better place to live. BCS as a tourism destination fortunately gained only the positive benefits of tourism (as no participant talked about negative impacts except crowding on game days). Thus, tourism benefits were suggested to reach people of all colors and races, rich or poor across the community through jobs. A concern raised by a Fiesta Patrias participant that minorities (population/ethnic groups) lack education and communication skills needed to obtain tourism benefits, likely needs to be addressed by the city governments and communities by devising some collaborative programs.

### ***5.6.3 Issues of BCS tourism***

#### ***5.6.3.1 Tourism issues of BCS in general***

In a question relating to overall costs and benefits of tourism, issues raised by the association participants included a need for a better airport and better air-service (#1



and 4) as many fly out of Houston instead of College Station. Other issues included growing competition as a challenge (for Chamber of Commerce members including hotels), hotel occupancy in BCS much dependent on the school/college calendar (#2), issues of signage in downtown Bryan (#3), and lack of customer-friendly hours as stated by participant #8 (as most of the Mom and Pops opened as per their own convenience). Lack of public transportation, unavailability of hotel rooms during peak events (#8), less-recognized role/value of tourism (#3) , and showing hotel impacts on CVB budget expenses (#3 proving correlation between expenses and hotel occupancy) stood as other issues.

Participant #14 in the restaurant group stated that there were limited cars, Uber or cabs for shuttling visitors. Some big hotels ran shuttles; however, restaurants located in University Dr. were not for shuttle services for a fear of losing business (to Bryan), a participant from a restaurant in Bryan stated. Other issues participants indicated included tailgating taking some of the restaurant businesses (#18, 21), and evening kick off times rather encouraged visitors to drive home (#18 compared to noon-game guests-stay at hotels). The participant #18 further stated that there happened to be dead business during Christmas. However, increases in hotel capacity were suggested as a healthy sign by participant #18. Parking problems during football games was named as a historical issue (by participant #14). Lack of a convention center and losing business to big cities (Houston, Austin, and Dallas) were also suggested as major issues (#20, 21) followed by summer seasonality as participant #15 stated:

One issue is the fact that we have a very large seasonal population. So like right now during the summer there is not as many people in town and also not as many people visiting. So, places will experience a fluctuation in visitors. So, that's an issue.

Major issues identified by hotel participants included an over-supply of rooms (# 24 and 25), lack of week-long attractions as the George Bush Library and Messina Hof are not enough to keep tourists longer (#22), lack of awareness of BCS as more than a college town (#9) and a communication gap among businesses and residents in

recognizing the value of tourism (#9). Another issue was transportation including shuttle as a major issue as there were limited cars or cabs (as suggested by participant #9):

Transportation is a big one absolutely. Even something as simple as we do have cabs here but there is not really whole lot of paid for transportation services. Only in the recent years have we got a shuttle service now. There is like what is called U-ride which is kind of Uber just started, (...Um) and but also the infrastructure of communication too, like I said the CVB is trying to improve that, but the ability for local businesses to work closely with each other to grow tourism has been, you know challenging before.

Regarding issues in BCS the Fiesta Patrias participant pointed out the need of improving communications among stakeholders and exposing BCS in both inside and outside markets. The Advent GX participant (#12 Hispanic, male) suggested that inclusion in the South Eastern Conference (SEC) has changed tourists' consumption patterns in BCS as people/visitors hold perceptions not to visit BCS during games because it is so busy. He also suggested the need to think about flattening peaks and valleys (addressing seasonality issues) in visitors arrivals. The Advent GX participant also pointed out issues related to: attracting more people, expanding experiential tourism, and that fewer current visitors consumed art while there is an over-supply of events. The City of Bryan official and the Brazos County official did not mention issues facing tourism in BCS. However, the City of College Station official pointed out issues such as difficulties of getting conferences to the area when competing against big cities (such as Houston also seconded by the TAMU Athletics Department participant), business development for additional job creation, Texas A&M University not capitalizing on sports tourism except filling Kyle Field, and lack of soccer/baseball fields, etc. Other issues he pointed out included oversupply of hotel rooms (built during the oil and gas boom), the small airport, no nearby metros, and limited ability to handle large traffic/tournaments. The George Bush Library participant suggested that having a small college town image was an issue.

Issues identified by participants were both short-term and long-term. The need for a better airport, more air-service, and nearby interstate development suggest a need

for long-term planning whereas improvement on ground transportation is likely a short-term issue in need of local investment and coordination. Awareness and publicity of BCS as a travel destination more than being a college town also likely carries importance. Further, seasonality seems to be an important issue for BCS tourism which could be partially addressed by the construction of a huge conference center.

Hunden Strategic Partners (HSP), a real estate and destination development specialist group based in Chicago and Indiana, has already conducted a feasibility study on the establishment of a convention/conference center in BCS in 2004-2005. The study included: “analysis of supply, demand, market characteristics and other data” (HSP, 2016, para. 2) and made a recommendation for the facility. A follow up study (2005) conducted a “feasibility and economic impact study for the facility” (HSP, 2016, para. 2) focusing on market and financial update and it revamped the earlier study. It was recommended that the convention center facility should have a hotel with minimum of 200 rooms and that convention center development is a priority for the city (HSP, 2016). However, the CVB participant and City of Bryan official told the researcher that a few attempts made by the City of College Station to build conference facilities have failed in the past and the CVB has been utilizing Texas A&M’s meetings and facilities under a special agreement. Likewise, when the researcher contacted City of College Station official to know the update on conference facility development, the researcher received a following response (e-mail, June 28, 2016):

There are no plans to build a convention center in College Station at this time. The failed efforts and associated expenditures have made the project anathema at this time. I personally doubt one will ever be built, at least by the city.

Despite suggestions from various participants that a mega convention and conference center is needed for BCS tourism (participants #14, 20, and 21) it is unlikely that the center would be established soon; however, the need of a convention center cannot be undermined for the future.

### ***5.6.3.2 Stakeholder specific issues in BCS***

The stakeholders/businesses' issues differed from one group to another group. For example, for the CVB short annual contract for funding (from the cities/county), its current office location and presence of many small hotels stood as issues as stated by the CVB participant. The Arts Council official suggested limited resources for non-profits and lack of young people on boards as challenges. Issues affecting restaurant businesses included slow business during Christmas and growing competition with upcoming restaurants (for participant #18), as well as public transportation and parking issues in Bryan affecting businesses and creating a challenge for bringing customers from outside of Texas (participant #14). Relating to internal transportation issue participant #14 stated:

I would say the number one major issue is public transportation, lack of public transportation. That's something that I am trying to spearhead myself to come up with shuttling system... Messina Hof is not right here, George Bush Library is not right here, the things we are saying as our tourism you cannot get to in a public transportation-wise, so someone going to visit here, they have to drive to on their own car to be able to get around. So, I feel like the number one issue for it (BCS) is public transportation, you know to get to the grid people trying to come for A&M football games where do all those people park to ride their bike and ride to campus.

Another restaurant worker (participant #11) raised a unique problem of frequent fights and gang-fights where loud, rough behavior scared white customers. Other peculiar business issues included managing service interactions between staff and customers (#19), small size of restaurant on busy days (#13), and getting customers on slow nights (#15). Regarding issues for individual businesses, respondents #5, 22, and 24 had no issues. However, hotel participant #25 had a challenge of keeping loyalty programs running and participant #9 stated "way out" image (perceived to be in a far distance), a place specific one (for a lodge and resort in Bryan).

Organizational issues for the community/cultural organization participants' included: the need for more monetary support and visitors' education regarding Hispanic culture (#16). Participant #12 suggested a need to attract more people to Bryan, offering

experiential tourism, a shortage of art-consuming population, and over-supply of some of the events. Organization specific issues differed somewhat in nature. The City of College Station suggested a need for a bigger budget to better address issues; the George Bush Library participant wanted the library brand promoted in different outlets to attract more people; and the Athletics Department official found lack of directional signage to athletics facilities, and availability of hotel rooms during events as problematic. The directional signage issue (#29) was expressed as:

Yes there's a whole list. I would say and it's a very small thing but we don't do a good job of wayfinding, offering directional signage to our football stadium, to our baseball stadium. The directional signage that is in town directs you to the campus, directs you to the Bush library but not to the athletic facilities. And if the athletic facilities and if the athletics facilities are the number 1 tourism draw in the city you would think there should be directional signage to the facility.

A technological facilitation has taken place to assist/direct the football visitors on game days though there is no road signage to athletics facilities as suggested by the Texas A&M Athletics Department official. However, the Texas A&M Athletics has developed a free, downloadable 'Destination Aggieland Traffic App' which allows visitors' to determine traffic on their way to Kyle field and also provides information on the routes to take and parking places during game days (Texas A&M Athletics, 2016). The App also provides information on free shuttle routes on game days and information about nearest airports.

In a response to researcher's question whether CVB undertook any wayfinding signage task, the participant from CVB (#1) responded (in an e-mail July 18, 2016):

The CVB did undertake the wayfinding signs that you see all over the community (blue signs with stars on the top) – there are approximately 300 signs all over town. The CVB paid \$400,000 for them. And they direct people to the CVB visitors Center, Bush Library, Arts Council, Historic Downtown Bryan, Blinn College, Beachy Park, Veterans Park, BRAC, Brazos County Expo, Wolf Pen Creek District, Northgate Entertainment, Texas A&M Visitor Center & parking.

The participant added it was Phase I project already completed in 2013. They were in Phase II now and CVB was not paying in this phase, instead other facilities participating included: Children’s Museum, African American Museum, and American Museum of the GI. The participant further informed that for A&M athletic facilities – “A&M is working on wayfinding on campus – and the CVB is involved somewhat – but it is still early in their process.” Efforts for wayfinding signage seemed taking place in different stages supported by various participants. Possibly, it can be hoped that the issue of physical signages (though virtual is already there) for TAMU Athletics will resolve soon.

Other small businesses such as the antique shop participant (#27) suggested they face issues knowing customers, knowing the market , and reaching their market including parking issues. The Pedi cab participant (#10) suggested issues of competition with outside cabs and access issues to roads.

Based on participants’ feedback, issues differed depending on the nature of businesses/offices. Some of these issues needed attention at the individual/business level while other, common issues needed coordination and increased collaboration amongst various stakeholders.

#### ***5.6.4 Fostering cultural pride and respect for community/ethnic minorities through tourism***

Different associations/organizations have played varying roles in fostering cultural pride through tourism in BCS. The CVB representative expressed that the Arts Council was active in arts and culture preservation and the Bureau suggested it supported their mission and promoted several festivals and events. The Arts Council lauded the Texas A&M culture that is focused on diversity. The DBA stated they have hosted and promoted several festivals including the Texas Reds & Steaks Festival. In the group of restaurants, a participant of a chain restaurant in College Station (#18) credited Aggieland culture/spirit as a melting pot.

In another instance, the revival of downtown Bryan, based on its history and its designation as a Downtown Cultural District (by the Texas Commission on the Arts in

2014), was hailed as a major achievement by participants #9, 11, and 18 in the restaurant group. Further, the World Festival was mentioned as positive for the College Station economy (by participant #18). Other participants (#8 and 18) mentioned Texas Reds and participant #8 mentioned Fiesta Patrias as beneficial for the Bryan economy. Participant #14 added that Boonville Days, the Museum of Natural History, and the African-American Museum positively contributed to Bryan.

Pride scholarships (by the Arts Council) were provided during Fiesta Patrias that were open to all races. Boonville days was mentioned by participant #14 as important for featuring the initial settlement by Italian, Polish, and Czech residents. Participant #6 suggested some restaurants featured their family heritage and culture in the restaurant and during game-days. The history of Bryan, which started in 1815 with the first settlement in Boonville, is much older than the history of College Station where the first houses were built somewhere around 1930s, said participant (#14). The BCSCVB website (BCSCVB History, 2016) also mentioned that in 1938 College Station was a town of 2,000 people whereas Bryan's history started as a center of commerce from a farming community shortly after the founding of Houston & Central Texas Railroad Company in 1859.

The history of Bryan has been reflected in the Carnegie Library and restored through the enforcement of houses/business codes in the Downtown Bryan Cultural District (DBCD). Further, the Brazos County Museum was also suggested as a place of cultural pride (participant #11). Some participants focused on Texas A&M culture and events promoting BCS culture (#15, 20, 21) and others (#13) emphasized that quaint atmosphere of old buildings in Bryan, regulations on no allowing of big signage on top of buildings including patios, maintenance of old edges of halo and Queen's Theatre helped Bryan to establish as a cultural district and attract tourists. The Pedi cab participant felt proud on the restoration of pride in historic Downtown Bryan, Texas A&M heritage and tradition and through tourism non-Aggies also got a dose of BCS/Aggie culture.

Participants in the hotel group mentioned festivals linked to tourism such as Texas Reds, Jazz Festival, and The World Festival (#5, 22, and 25) which fostered cultural pride. Other aspects the participants focused on were a façade/heritage grant made available for Bryan businesses by the city, remodeling of downtown Bryan, and participants' focus on selling local products during festivals and other occasions. Participants #9 and 25 specifically mentioned that Texas A&M traditions and Aggieland culture dominated BCS culture as a tourist attraction. A participant of a lodging and resort in Bryan (#9) credited Aggieland culture/spirit as a melting pot and stated:

I think culturally really, what if you look at the CVB and the chamber of commerce, the culture we talk about is the culture of Aggieland. It is kind of like a big melting pot, people come to the university and there are so many different types of individuals, they come here to the local community and it is all about adapting the Aggie spirit. That is kind of, like they adapt as their talking point for local culture. It's time culture that invites anybody to join and it's the culture of Aggieland. It's kind of ...I do believe that there is lot of truth to that in terms of culture and history behind College Station itself. So, the part of the reason why they did the remodeling and refurbishment of the downtown Bryan was to try to bring focus to the fact that Bryan does have a rich history and telling the story.

All the participants in the community/cultural group (BVAAHCS, Fiesta Patrias, Advent GX, AAM and AAC) somewhat acknowledged that festivals promote or preserve their ethnic and community culture, history and/or traditions. Participants (#16 and 30) suggested Texas A&M University promoted diverse culture and attracted Aggie fans. The Advent GX participant stated that the African-American community was proactive in organizing Blues and Juneteenth festivals and Hispanics were well organized in celebrating Fiesta Patrias. He emphasized focusing on economic engagement, heritage preservation, and linking tourism to the economy while observing such festivals. Suggestions from the Advent GX participant seem closer to the core values of community tourism development balancing social, economic, and physical dimensions.

As a newcomer to the community, the GBPLM official did not have many ideas to share about tourism's contribution to culture, however, other participants in the



government group shared that HOT money supported organizing various festivals in BCS which contributed preserving and promoting cultures. The County official stated that tourism supported AAM and its Heritage Journeys and festivals such as Jazz or Blues. The City of College Station and TAMU Athletics Department officials' stated the Texas A&M culture is a way of life that tied the BCS together.

The City of College Station official added that the Brazos Valley Veteran's Memorial (BVVM) was another place that attracted visitors and reflected US conflicts. The antique shop participant (#27) thought his shop helped promote tradition, attract return visits to the town, and maintained history and heritage through its traditional building, which also received the City of Bryan grant to maintain its exterior façade.

Based on interviews from participants and participant observation of various cultural festivals (The Blues, Juneteenth, Fiesta Patrias, Texas Reds and Steaks Festival, and the World Festival) tourism has contributed positively and immensely in restoring the culture and heritage in BCS while promoting it. The researcher also attended some of the events and festivals such as Blues Festival, Juneteenth (relating to African American heritage), Fiesta Patrias (relating to Hispanic heritage), Texas Reds and Steak Festival (seemed somewhat inclusive but more White dominated) and participated in the World Festival twice (as an exhibitor from the Nepalese Students' Association before commencing the research). The researcher, in his participant observation found that various ethnic groups found these festivals as an expression and continuation of their culture and tradition with an opportunity of gaining business. Tourism provided a platform for organizing these festivals and attracted local and out-of-town visitors. Additionally, Texas A&M served as an icon in promoting cultural diversity and preserving the cultural heritage of Aggieland.

The researcher had the following observations regarding some of the festivals attended as a participant observer in BCS.

#### ***5.6.4.1. Juneteenth Festival***

Juneteenth was first celebrated on June 19, 1865 following the Emancipation Proclamation of President Abraham Lincoln on January 1, 1963, which freed all slaves

in the United States. Defining Juneteenth, Taylor (n.d) stated, “It symbolizes the end of slavery. Juneteenth has come to symbolize for many African-Americans what the fourth of July symbolizes for all Americans -- freedom. It serves as a historical milestone reminding Americans of the triumph of the human spirit over the cruelty of slavery” (para. 4). Juneteenth is stated to be a legal holiday in Texas and Oklahoma and about 200 cities in the United States observe this celebration on June 19<sup>th</sup> every year.

The BVAAHCS organized the fourth Annual Bluesfest (as a part of Juneteenth) on Friday and Saturday, June 19<sup>th</sup> & 20<sup>th</sup>, 2015 at the Palace Theater located in Downtown Bryan. The researcher attended the June 19 event at Palace Theatre from 7:00-10:00 PM. There was a huge gathering of mixed races, but with an African American majority. On June 20<sup>th</sup> 2015, the researcher reached Kemp School, Bryan before 10:00 AM to attend the Juneteenth Festival organized by the BVAAHCS. Different African American groups in colorful attire decked in various types of car clubs, church groups and school groups started in a procession from the Kemp school (at 10:45 AM approximately) towards Sadie Thomas Park in Bryan. The Procession arrived at the Thomas Park at 11:45 AM and assembled at the pavilion. Then the formal programs such as prayers, songs, dances, speeches, a bounce house and children’s activities, presentation of awards, etc. followed. The Juneteenth celebration is organized to commemorate the end of slavery for African-Americans and to celebrate the journey towards the world of freedom.

The festival featured unique presentation of culture, tradition, and dances uniting the African-American community together while celebrating their history and heritage. However, the festival lacked public information and awareness as it was not listed in the event website of the CVB. The researcher gave a call to the CVB on 19<sup>th</sup> June (afternoon) to know why the festival was not listed. The CVB staff responded that the event organizers should submit the event to be posted and possibly, they had not done that. Since there was little participation in the parade and program from outside the community, possibly advance publicity could bring larger crowds in the future. Additionally, getting the BVAAHCS registered as a non-profit could make it eligible for

HOT funding so that it could have better resources for organizing the festival rather than depending on volunteers only as the BVAAHCS participant stated during the interview.



Figure 3. One of the Juneteenth Processions, Bryan, TX (June 2015).

#### ***5.6.4.2 Fiesta Patrias Festival***

The researcher as a participant observer (PO) attended Fiestas Patrias (FP), a Hispanic (Mexican origin festival) on 20 September 2015 in downtown Bryan. The festival marked the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary that the Hispanic community had celebrated in Bryan as a cultural celebration parade. The festival is said to commemorate the Mexican Independence from Spain, and Fiesta Patrias means patriotic festival. The colorful festival parade had troupes representing various organizations, schools, cultural groups in their colorful traditional costumes, a luxury car rally and others. The researcher stayed at the festival the whole day, observed festivities, dances and performances, and tasted local food and drinks and had the opportunity to talk to eleven different participants including performers, horse-riders, and craft-booth exhibitors and so on. The researcher as participant observer (PO) also had opportunity to ask a set of questions (in an

informal way) to the festival participants and vendors relating to the significance of festival, benefits to the participants, visitors, and residents, and contribution of the festival towards cultural/heritage promotion and so on.

Based on reflections of the festival, FP is a festival organized by the Hispanic community of Mexican origin (descendants) in Bryan-College Station in an attempt to preserve and promote their culture and heritage. Even second-generation Mexican-Americans whom the researcher met in the parade/festival wanted to preserve their heritage while they also engaged in mainstream American culture/heritage and celebrations including July 4<sup>th</sup>. Their voluntary participation including the horses' parade, cultural dances and so on was used to express their commitment to the unity of their community and preservation and promotion of their culture. A girl in the dance troupe talked about her motivation for participation:

The reason I participate is to preserve my culture/heritage. I do not know about the benefits, but it gives me satisfaction. I volunteered and went to join the cultural group; I am not paid.

Another participant (male), who was a horse-rider in the parade, said that the festival was celebrated on September 16 to commemorate Mexican Independence from Spain. The participant further stated that he was not paid to attend the parade nor was his horse, but he was attending it voluntarily to preserve his culture, heritage, and tradition that have its roots in Mexico. As a second-generation Mexican-American in Bryan, he felt proud to contribute to his cultural roots. Regarding the benefits of parade and festival participation, he stated that it gave opportunity to unite the Hispanic community for the preservation of Mexican culture and tradition; and that exhibitors made profits.

The Fiestas Patrias participant stated there were around 33 exhibitors, who had food and other stalls that profited due to the presence of around 20,000 visitors. All major political parties in the US: Republicans, Democrats and Libertarian had their booths during the festival, as it was a good platform to talk to people/voters. A free health camp that included flu-shots, blood pressure and level of glucose checks, which was offered by Texas A&M Health Science Department, was another big attraction for

the festival. This is one of the examples how Texas A&M serves the community. As per another participant, maybe 10% of the festival attendants come from outside of Bryan/College Station, and the festival gave opportunity for the community to pull together.

The researcher asked other two small craft vendors; one was ice-cream seller who paid \$150 including security deposit to exhibit at the festival. He stated that the FP was one of the four biggest moneymaking days of the year for him and that other exhibitors should also be making money. Another food stall vendor (where the researcher bought Chicken Fajitas) said, “Yes, we must make a profit, that’s why we are here.”

Based on participant observation, there were around ten-to-fifteen percent of non-Hispanics attending the festival; however, the event organizer whom the researcher interviewed (#16) also stated that non-Hispanic composition should be around ten percent. Perhaps, a wider promotion of the festival with emphasis on cross-cultural participation can make such festivals all-inclusive and more successful in the future.



Figure 4. A Craft Vender During Fiestas Patrias Festival, Bryan, TX (September 2015).

#### ***5.6.4.3 Texas Reds and Steaks and Grape Festival***

The researcher as participant observer also attended the Texas Reds, Steaks and Wine Festival on 26 September 2015 in Bryan, attended some live music performances and observed the visitor and venter activities. Texas Reds Festival started in 2007 by the City of Bryan as a celebration of two major industries in Texas: beef and wine. The festival also displays the revitalization of downtown Bryan. The researcher had the opportunity of talking to and recording/taking notes of the responses from eight participants during the festival. The researcher had a similar set of questions as used for the Fiesta Patrias participants. Responses from the eight participants are as follows.

The first participant (White, female exhibitor at the festival) working for Home Health Hospice said that the festival gives opportunity to talk to people, to expand business, patient services, and so on. Her company came here for the first time to expand its market. Another participant (White, male visitor to the festival) in line to buy a ticket for Texas Reds Steak dinner, which seemed a big draw of the festival along with the wine tasting, said that he came to the festival for the second time for fun, but did not know much about the festival. The third visitor to the festival who the researcher talked looked a White/Hispanic male. He stated that he attended the festival every year, loved various foods in the festival (Cousins food, BBQ, Steak dinner, wine tasting and others), and liked the music which was free. He affirmed the festival gave him an opportunity for camaraderie, for sharing and enjoying culture with visitors from in and out of state.

Another visitor to the Texas Reds (Fourth one, White, male) was a visitor from Bryan also had similar opinions as the third visitor. He come to the festival every year and loved different foods, beer, and steaks. He felt that the festival was fun for the family and provided opportunity to meet people. People from nearby communities also came to attend the festival, the participant said. The fifth visitor to the festival the researcher talked was (a female, African-American) who was a visitor/resident from Bryan said:

I like to see the people in the festival. Different variety of people, different variety of food; it is a very social event. The significance of festival lies in

bringing people together. Local people get benefit from the festival as they sell their stuff. As a resident of Bryan I benefit from meeting people, getting to know people, socialize with friends, I am not benefitting money-wise as I am not selling the stuff, but I get to meet many people. I think there are people mainly from Bryan College Station, but also a lot from outside.

Another (sixth) exhibitor to the festival (female, White staff member from the Arts Council) as a vendor/exhibitor informed the researcher that the festival holds significance for the locals and nearby artists to display their creations to the residents and visitors. Painters, jewelry makers, wood-workers, and photographers who are selected by the Arts Council following open application pay \$150 booth fee to exhibit. Regarding the cultural significance of the festival, the participant said:

...Bryan-College Station residents, I think they get a lot of people and a third of our artists here are local from Bryan. They are getting their art out to public, letting them know. We have people from all over Texas. It is really about galvanizing the public relating to art and culture. We have something that talks about the livability of Bryan, fantastic wines, foods.

Finally, emphasizing the economic significance and the visitor satisfaction of the festival the Arts Council exhibitor participant said:

The festival brings a lot of economic benefits to the local community as the festival draws over 20,000 visitors over two days. They are here to see and experience the arts, wineries, craft breweries, plus we got a lot of local businesses here that are open, selling and serving the crowd like Harvest Coffee bar. We treat all the visitors local, out of the town and others the same. We encourage everybody to become friendly, outgoing, to chat and interact with the visitors and to find out and serve what they are interested in.

The seventh exhibitor to the festival who the researcher had a short conversation was an art and design vendor, (female, White) who narrated about the various aspects of the festival as follows:

The festival has made Bryan a popular place to come down, and celebrate as a community together...It is very comprehensive here, it is a music festival, there is wine tasting, there is arts and crafts, there is food and on top of that you get to see all of the businesses down here. This a great way of seeing the city and to



really create a sense of community. By participating as a vendor I get exposure to a big community, I obviously make sales and in the same time making connections, meeting people and it is very important to us.

The participant added the festival gives opportunity to see people from other countries, helps the environment, provides opportunity to highlight the city, and residents get economic benefits due to festival activities. The researcher (PO) was told by these exhibitors both local and outside visitors attended the festival.

Finally the eighth arts vendor to the Texas Reds festival the researcher talked to said that this was his second time at the festival and it has been a great experience and benefit (good start) to him. He further added:

Regarding community benefits, you know the city has taken over it and Brazos County comes together from all walks of life. We see people from local city, College Station, County, from other cities. There are people from Houston, Austin, El Paso putting focus on downtown Bryan as cultural district, art district. It is wonderful who might not be here? For the community it seems like more community cohesiveness, everybody together, smile, they have a good time, actively involved in things who are interested in arts, culture, wine, steak of course.



Figure 5. Texas Reds and Steaks Festival, Downtown Bryan, TX (September 2015).



#### ***5.6.4.4 Brazos Valley World Festival***

The researcher also attended the Brazos Valley World Festival at Wolf Pen Creek in College Station twice as an exhibitor from the Nepalese Student Association. The festival is organized by Texas A&M University and the City of College Station to celebrate and promote international diversity and cultural heritage in Brazos Valley. Student organizations from different countries in the world currently representing the Texas A&M University mainly attend and exhibit at the festival. In that sense, the World Festival is a multicultural show. The researcher also attended a couple of First Friday celebrations in Bryan and experienced the community vitality as expressed by many festival participants.

Based on participant observation and formal, informal interviews conducted with various festival participants, the researcher found that festivals contributed to the preservation and promotion of various ethnic heritages, provided visitors a platform for experiencing various cultures and food, created economic opportunities for the vendors and residents, and helped enhance community cohesion through interactions and entertainment.

#### ***5.6.5 Educating the visitors about the culture and history of BCS***

Texas A&M's role was lauded by many participants as a source for educating visitors about the diversity and culture of BCS. The CVB representative expressed that visitors enjoy the hospitable local community where Texas A&M plays a lead role in educating visitors (including international students) about its diverse culture. The Arts Council participant claimed they supported all diverse events and talked to visitors about art/culture. The Lodging Association representative informed it's either the Bureau staff or their front-desk staff who inform/respond to visitors about the history and culture. The DBA also informed the visitors about its attractions or directed them to such cultural sites.

Participants in the restaurant group were basically engaged in promoting their own property/heritage to the customers, e.g., Italian heritage (#6), and about Bryan and its places of interest; and telling stories/structures of a German bar (#11). Participant #

18 suggested the responsibility for educating visitors was mainly charged to the CVB, however, they would also inform/educate if customers asked for information. Some restaurants left visitor education to staff (#21), some responded to visitors' queries (#15), some focused on customer satisfaction (and possibly did accomplish visitor education #20), and some were not sure about visitors' education (#13). In educating tourists about BCS culture and traditions, hotel participants mainly provided information to visitors on the attractions of the community, traditions of Texas A&M including bonfire, and also highlighted winery and A&M community opportunities (#5, 9, 22, 24, and 25). There remains a group providing Downtown Bryan tours, the researcher was told during Thursday Morning meeting of DBA (held on June 9, 2016). The DBA pamphlets highlight attractions in downtown Bryan to guide visitors (stated participant #8). Participant #14 stated that they/locals "are proud tour guides" of the community. Participant #25 highlighted their system for educating visitors:

But, any guest that come up and have a conversation with me and my front desk agents, that's what to do, try to see them with the Bonfire Memorial, which is like the heart of A&M, that's the spirit of A&M. We talk about how great A&M is. We have tons of kids that come there touring Texas A&M to possibly come for the university, so we always talk it up. If we get the opportunity to build relationship with them we recount our experiences, we recount the traditions. But, it's only through relationship that we get that opportunity.

All the participants in the community/cultural group (BVAAHCS, Fiesta Patrias, Advent GX, AAM, and AAC) conducted various activities in educating visitors about the diverse history and culture of BCS. These activities included informing the visitors through partner restaurants, organizing lectures, conducting visitors' tours, mentoring staff, and taking a booth at Texas A&M events by some participants such as the church. Fiesta Patrias invited authentic performers from Mexico and provided scholarships across all ethnic groups. Advent GX provided information on the history of buildings in the Downtown Bryan Cultural District and organized live music programs. The AAM partnered with other organizations including some departments at Texas A&M

University and emphasized visitors' feedback for services improvement. After visiting the AAM on April 30, 2016, a visitor made the following comments about its services:

The exhibits are very well put together and employees are very kind and welcoming.

The above feedback is a testament to how the AAM and its staff have been dedicated to their heritage, history, tradition and service quality to visitors. In the government offices group, just two participants highlighted the activities they conducted for educating visitors to BCS history and culture. Activities they discussed included: display of different events in rack-cards (by the George Bush Library); and others were the Hall of Champions tour (at Kyle Field), event venue tours run by the Athletics Department. TAMU Athletics Department official also shared that university tours were conducted by the university visitor center. The Pedia cab participant (10) stated they attempted to discuss A&M history and heritage during tours.

Results suggest each participant played a role in preserving and promoting their heritage/culture, but it was manifested more prominently through various festivals. The prominent role played by Texas A&M in preserving and promoting the Aggieland culture/tradition indicates a potential need for placing A&M as one of the major stakeholders of tourism development in BCS. This aspect was explored further in emergent themes and categories.

## **5.7 Perception of Emotional Solidarity**

### ***5.7.1 Perception of emotional solidarity between stakeholder and tourists***

Most of the interview participants from the tourism associations replied that an aura of warm-welcome to visitors prevailed in BCS following Texas A&M's friendly Howdy! Culture (BVLA) as detailed below. Some of the comments included suggestions there was a warm welcome/close bonding for visitors, "We roll out red carpet for them" (stated by the Arts Council); the majority of businesses trained their staff for warm welcome, and customer care (the Bureau); about engaging tourists with stories (DBA); and no hostile situations were reported (Chamber of Commerce). Because of these positive experiences, many people made return visits (BVLA, the Arts Council) many

people wanted to move here (Chamber of Commerce, CVB) or wanted to relocate their businesses/retire here (CVB). Additionally, residents understand the value of games/events (the Arts Council) and Texas A&M's entry into the Southeastern Conference (SEC) has given the community sound media publicity (CVB). However, at times, parking tickets and hotel quality were issues for tourists (Chamber of Commerce).

Restaurants believe they had strong connections with customers (mainly locals/local residents) by providing customer care (Participants #11 and 14) and that they had an understanding and respect for customers (#18, 20). Some of the visitors also complimented locals/stakeholders as nicest/friendliest people (as stated by participants #18, 20), and locals were proud of the city (Bryan) and worked as guides (stated #14). Participant # 11 stated that some visitors found connections with the Aggies and some of the regular locals made connections with German heritage by visiting their restaurant, which featured German heritage (#11). Focus on customer care (happy visitors) helped bring return visits (#11, 13, 18, 20) including SEC games (#11). In general, restaurant owners/staff received positive feedback from their visitors (#21), and suggested they had a good time and they valued services offered (#13). A restaurant owner (#21) explained it in terms of loyalty:

We think of bonding maybe is to us that's loyalty maybe. And that to us is really measured by frequency, in really seeing people over and over again. We know that we are doing a good job for them and that they are enjoying their time here and that's how we get to know guests.

Another participant (#13) shared that they provided visitors chalkboard in the restroom for feedback, and another said he (#15) felt stronger bonding with local repeat visitors than casual ones. Participants in the hotel group also expressed strong connections/bonding with visitors through good customer service (#5, 9, 22 and 24), ensuring family/homely ambience in the hotel (#22, 24), and encouraging return visits (# 22, 24 and 25). Because of these deeper understanding and good relations, hotel staff stated they had received very high compliments and some guests returned continuously

for over 20-25 years (#25). Participant #5, a hotel manager, related emotional solidarity as connectedness:

I am going to use a different word, I am going to use the word connected... Forming those emotional bonds and we were no different than that. You know we want to provide a warm, welcoming environment for our guests; we want them to know we are here to serve them, we are here to take care of them, we are their home away from home. And to do that we have to form connections, otherwise, too many other choices, you can go anywhere. So, to keep people coming we have to form connections.

All the participants in the community/cultural group confirmed that they believed the perception of emotional solidarity between the visitors (including local visitors) is very strong. They suggested they have mutual respect and bonding, tourists have a great time, enjoy the experience in a small town and some of them come back. The Fiesta Patrias participant stated even her student volunteers are very open and helpful, and that visitors want to get involved in the festival. The church (AAC) participant emphasized that African-Americans are warm inviting people. In the group of government offices, all five participants in aggregate stated that perception of emotional solidarity (ES) was very strong, full of mutual respect and bonding, and collaborative. The City of Bryan official stated, "Residents of this community are very eager to welcome visitors," and the City of College Station official said the perception of ES is very strong and added, "We get very few complaints and very high compliments." The Brazos County official stated, "I find the tourists love this area. They love the people, they love the food, they love the opportunities, and the community loves the tourists." Further, TAMU athletics department official stated the relationship was "collaborative" and the GBPLM official said, "They treat everybody with respect." City officials of both Bryan and College Station were told that because of this welcome attitude, many tourists came/wanted to come for return visits (#7 and 28). The Pedi cab participant (#10) stated, "My part to my employees is always to engage, be friendly, be an ambassador" to visitors through interactions, and the antique shop participant (#27) stated he enjoyed a "very good" bonding with tourists including local visitors. The antique shop participant further stated,

“You know they tell me they are from Cheyenne, Wyoming. If I’m up that way I stop and try visit,” which is a good example of close ties with visitors.

In general, the perception of emotional solidarity between the stakeholders (all types of hosts) and tourists/visitors (both local and out of the state) was suggested to be very strong in BCS. Stakeholders believe they have developed a kind of family ties with guests and have trained their staff to be visitor friendly. Participants (#6 and 23) also suggested that visitors tend to love the people, culture, food and welcoming spirit of BCS residents and stakeholders. Many participants (#1, 2, 12, 14, 15, 17, 21, and 26) suggested that visitors wanted to relocate their business or retire here in BCS community and such statements reaffirm the friendly destination image of BCS and hospitable quality of its stakeholders and residents.

One thing observed as distinct in the second part of study (relating to RQ 2) is that participants spoke about the prominent role played by Texas A & M University in preserving and promoting its culture, tradition and diversity. The CVB participant stated, “But here because of Texas A&M visitors to our community just kind of melt into the community.” Participant #18 also stated, “As far as College Station is concerned the entire tradition and cultures are based all around Texas A&M.” These statements from participants justify that Texas A&M University not only drives tourism to BCS (as stated in relation to RQ 1), but it also plays a major role in its cultural and heritage preservation and promotion. The literature review regarding governance elaborated various aspects such as regulation, facilitation, accountability, transparency and so on and importance of multiple stakeholders’ coordination for tourism governance. Research questions framed as guided by the literature review directed the research to explore justice and equity within the domain of governance. However, prominent role played by TAMU in driving tourism to BCS and in preserving and promoting BCS culture suggests the research incorporating TAMU (in the context of BCS tourism) as one of the major stakeholders of tourism governance despite its statutory stance as an educational institution. This is how another emergent theme-Texas A&M Culture/Aggie Tradition Shapes BCS Culture

was created. The researcher believes that incorporating TAMU as a part of tourism governance may help better addressing issues of justice and equity in BCS tourism.

### ***5.7.2 Perception of emotional solidarity between stakeholders and residents (Good and bad experiences)***

All interview participants in the associations group (#1, 2, 3, 4, 8) suggested that the perception of emotional solidarity (feeling close), mutual understanding and respect between stakeholders and residents in BCS was strong and cordial. The CVB participant said it is “very good,” the Arts Council participant said some of the people in downtown “are very connected” with visitors, and the Lodging Association participant said it is a “friendly atmosphere” for all as instituted by the A&M’s Howdy culture. The Chamber of Commerce participant stated that residents “understand” and “appreciate” the value of tourism, and the DBA participant stated, “This community is fairly welcoming” to visitors. ‘Ethic of care’ in tourism as discussed earlier (Smith and Duffy, 2003; Jamal and Camargo 2014) seems to be strong as hosts believed they take care of guests and that guests have a sense of respect, understanding and caring attitude to their hosts. Because of this relationship and positive experiences, it was suggested by some participants (#3,4,7,11,13,14,15,18, 20, 21, 26 and 28) that tourists wanted to make/made return visits, and some of them wanted to or relocate their businesses (#1,2,7,9,17) and some visitors wanted to or retired in BCS (#9 and 17). A sense of providing generous support and volunteering time for the restoration of historical buildings and heritage from the community was also strong as expressed by the DBA participant who stated:

I was just going to tell you about the Queen theatre that we own that property on main street is over a hundred years old (the building on the main street with the neon sign with a crown that turns at the top, you know what I am talking about). In the process of renovating there we knew that it’s going to cost probably two million dollars to renovate inside. It’s going to be an event space. We can show movies, we can hold conferences, weddings, recitals all major things. An interesting thing that has happened with that we have had a number of local contractors and businessmen who stepped forward, who grew up in this community and remember going to the Queens to watch movies. They have donated their service, their labor their material. We probably had 75,000 dollars’

worth of work done on it so far and I have not had to write a single check to pay for it. So, to me that shows you that this community has a very generous spirit, we have residents who are very engaged and committed to preserving the history and I think that quality is evident to tourists when they come here.

This is an example of how community/residents have pulled together for tourism development, and contributed their voluntary hours to restore their heritage and culture.

In general, restaurants believed they had strong connections with the local visitors/regulars and offered equal treatment to all regardless of color. They suggested they had strong family bonding, emotional relations and social ties (#6, 14 and 21) with customers whether local or out of the town. Some participants did fund-raising for the community and enjoyed good word-of-mouth publicity (#5 and 6) whereas participant #14 offered their restaurant's back area free for socializing. This property (belonging to participant #14) exhibited new community arts on the wall every month bringing kids, artists, and Texas A&M students. There were also murals permanently featured featuring the property also a place for arts and culture. Regarding community attachment to the property, the participant (#14) stated, "I get a lot of community time because I get the things from the community that automatically brings actual attachment." Some of the participants suggested factors such as focus on customer service (#21), and providing customers a great time (#13, 20) possibly created a desire for tourists to return or relocate (#13, 21) in BCS. According to participant #20, they had not complaints from visitors.

There are some good experiences of hotel stakeholders with residents (local visitors) that reflect strong emotional connections (#5, 9, and 24), a close-knit community and great relations (#22). Participant # 5 stated, "there is a very strong connection between the residents and ... (the property) and that's in part because they see our name in all of their charity events," and it was "deeper understanding and relationship" for participant #9. Participant #24 said, "I think it is positive overall, because of the strong economic impact, everyone recognize it," and participant #22 stated the relations are good, "and everyone that lives within the downtown historical area in the residential part of it, they come here to eat, they come here to drink."



Residents recognized the economic value of tourism (#24), believed the 4H programs delivered good economic impacts (#9), and there was no local resistance for tourism/business development (#25). These statements suggest that businesses and locals get along well and locals welcome businesses both from economic and social point of view.

Among the five participants in the community/cultural group three (BVAAHCS, Advent GX, and AAM) emphasized the quality of mutual support and harmony in the community and BVAAHCS participant suggested his community as a better place to live, raise kids or to move and retire for others. One of the AAM staff who is a local linked his heritage to Bryan, and another participant (#12) was happy to have learned from community feedback. Perception of ES and good experiences between the stakeholders and residents as stated by some respondents included that stakeholder and residents got along well (#2), worked together, and provided good experiences for visitors (#3 and 8).

Generally, many visitors coming for home games have connections to Aggies as participant #11 stated, “You know like I said people they come to Bryan/College Station and they know about the Aggies and that’s where they are tying most of their connections” and they loved the area. The City of College Station official stated that even residents demanded for a certain number of home games. Highlighting the growth in the number of home-game spectators and improvement of facilities in the Kyle Field, the official further stated, “Football tourism is evolved into a very different thing than it used to be ten, fifteen years ago.” The antique shop participant (#27) in Bryan mentioned that locals appreciated his staff and the building design, and he enjoyed good relations with locals. The Pedi cab participant (#10) said they focused on customer service, paid everyone (including opposing teams) equal respect and care, and gave all visitors a unique experience in hopes they would return.

Regarding bad experiences with both local tourists/residents, a system of customer-care and grievance handling prevailed (#1) to address issues. However, locals were negatively affected (all stakeholders interviewed so far are locals) by game day

traffic (Chamber of Commerce) and on those days many locals either left town or stayed at home to avoid big lines in restaurants(Chamber of Commerce, DBA, BVLA). The Arts Council participant termed the game day scenario as “traffic nightmare.” However, BVLA participant stated that locals were also aware that tourists upset the congestion costs in financial terms and they had no problem to see the growth in tourism numbers. Other bad experiences of stakeholders with tourists and local visitors included that some people were not tipping (#6), and others have failed to meet guests’ expectations at times (#9).

A participant from a restaurant (#14) stated that some of the visitors (including locals) expected restaurants to serve from standardized/chain food (such as Subways or mayonnaise menus) instead of restaurant-invented menu made from the scratch. The participant (#14) stated the confusion as:

So it makes me nervous sometimes to appeal to a general audience, because when they come in they are like you know we do not make our sandwiches with miracle whip; we make our own mayonnaise with eggs and oils, so you do not have the sweet mayonnaise or you do not have a hamburger bun, we make our bread from scratch, so it has like crust on it, I don’t know.

However, the participant (#14) clarified that this little confusion has not seemed to be an issue thus far and residents (local guests) seem happy with various services the restaurant provided. Thus, according to respondents, locals seem to be affected by game day traffic (#11, 21),and First Friday crowds (#13). Further, respondents #10 and #15 suggested some guests were too rowdy/intoxicated. Bad experiences of hotel businesses with local residents included game day traffic (#9 and 22), occasional mistreatment of guests (#5) and failing to meet guest expectations (#9).

Among the five participants in the community/cultural group only two (Advent GX, and AAC) talked about some bad experiences while others had none. The main issue was related to game day traffic and another one was that College Station Police acted rather aggressively to get tickets (#12), which could be a bad experience for visitors. Bad experiences as seen by the majority of government offices (#7, 28 and 29) among stakeholders and residents was traffic congestion on game days. Defining the

changed scenario of game days particularly with growth in spectators and Kyle Field capacity targeting home games (football tourism), the official of the City of College Station stated:

Sometimes it's unavoidable. You know, that stadium will see over a hundred thousand people. And we find people come here just to tailgate and never attempt to go on that stadium now. There will be an additional fifty thousand people that don't intend to go inside the stadium. I've never seen that before but it's evolved. Football tourism is evolved into a very different thing than it used to be ten, fifteen years ago. But you have to expect you're going to run into huge crowds when you get a hundred and fifty thousand people here for one particular event.

Many participants stated that on game days, some residents either leave town, stay home, or visit non-crowded places such as malls, movies, zoos and parks with family members. Some participants (#2, 3, 4, and 23) suggested people stay home or leave College Station on game days; and a participant (#23) suggested people or they went to malls, movies, zoos, parks (with family). However, there were participants (#1, 4, 13, 23, 28, 29 and 30) who suggested residents/community acknowledge the value of tourism and took traffic/congestion as natural phenomenon on game days, and they got prepared with alternatives. One unique comment the George Bush Presidential Library and Museum respondent stated was that some visitors have linked their museum with George H. Bush's son (George W. Bush). The respondent stated the image of President George Bush Junior as a war hero among many Americans turned visitors away without realizing the fact that the library honored his father, Senior Bush as the 41<sup>st</sup> President of the United States. The GBPLM participant stated this scenario as:

No, the only thing I've actually had is people get upset, they may get upset at something about the president and they realize they're talking about the wrong president. ...Okay, so this is George H.W. Bush, he was president late 89's, 90's then you got George W Bush...Whose library? people will confuse them... They'll confuse father and son, so I'll get an emails saying like oh this guy you know caused the war...we're like, he's not the same president. So, that's the only thing we'll get these conflicts...

In general, a sense of mutual respect among stakeholders and residents/local visitors seems to be strong, filled with an ‘ethic of care’, and mutual respect among the stakeholder groups. The only problem with the “Ethic of Care” seemed in relation to fewer work hours of back of the house staff in summer (detailed later in sub-section 5.11) which also seemed to affect their living standards. It was also suggested that compared to the frontline staff (bartenders/servers) back of the house staff had fewer career growth opportunities. Another big issue across various groups remained game day traffic, which caused social disruption temporarily. However, it was suggested, good experiences from tourists made them desire to return or relocate.

A common phenomenon was that game day traffic caused many participants to either leave town or stay at home to avoid heavy traffic and/or long lines in the restaurants/businesses. This phenomenon has been labeled a new theme as Game Day Traffic Creates Temporary Social Disruption in BCS. It was not uncovered during literature review stage that identified gaps relating to justice and equity in the domain of tourism governance. Since Texas A&M University cannot be associated directly as a player/major player in tourism governance addressing justice and equity given its mandate as an educational institution, the researcher thinks that data-emergent themes are but natural and they reflect the context of BCS tourism. Such data-emergent themes provide the research an additional direction that issues of justice and equity in tourism in destination scale need much broader multi-stakeholder collaboration and coordination. Analysis of these emergent themes is presented in a separate heading (to follow).

### ***5.7.3 Open-ended questions and suggestions***

After the completion of each semi-structured interview, an open-ended question was asked of each participant if he/she wanted to add some aspects thought to be important but not covered during the interview. The Arts Council participant suggested there was a challenge of getting whole arts groups on board with tourism and more partnership/funding was needed to expand customer base (beyond BCS).

Suggestions from the restaurant group included that it was good to have recent focus shifting to Bryan (stated by participant #6), new attractions were needed for future

growth (participant #9) and businesses cannot survive on locals alone (participant #18). Participant #21 expressed concern that their business on game days goes down, as they offer no alcoholic drinks and further suggested the creation of a master calendar of events. The owner of a restaurant in Bryan (participant #14) suggested that the community needs to support the town for tourism; that mutual support between Bryan-College Station was needed; and arts was bringing community together and helping tourism. Participant #22 was happy to share that being the only historic hotel in downtown Bryan; it enjoyed a locational advantage and faced no competition.

In the group of offices, the City of College Station official wanted to see every business successful, and to have diverse restaurants to cater to various clienteles. The George Bush Library and Museum official wanted to hire more people (including minorities) if their budget would increase. The TAMU Athletics Department official stated cultural/sports events were beneficial both as experiences and for the economy and he found the collaborative efforts of the university, CVB, and cities bearing positive results for the community. These suggestions, coming from various participants have helped form insights and recommendations for the study.

### **5.8 Texas A&M University Driver of Tourism to BCS**

Participants across various groups stated that basically Texas A&M's sports events (including home games) and other educational calendars such as Parents' Weekends and Graduation Days drew a large number of visitors to BCS (reported by various participants #1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28 and 29). The fact Texas A&M drives tourism to BCS was mentioned by more than half of the participants even though it was not asked as a main question. The main questions were focused on justice and equity issues in the domain of governance; however, the emergent themes direct the study for a broader call for collaborative governance. That is how the research also derives insights from data-driven themes. As discussed earlier in detail, the domain of tourism governance and decision-making in BCS falls heavily on the two cities (Bryan and College Station), and Brazos County Office partnered by associations such as CVB, the Arts Council, BVLA and TAMU among others. When the researcher asked

City of College Station official about the role of Texas A&M in tourism planning and tourism development decisions, the official replied:

No, it is not. And I don't think they've... I think they would agree that they've not properly capitalized on some of that because they don't rise and fall on sales tax... their primary mission every morning is not to fill hotels necessarily. They want to fill a stadium. As to where they stay, that's not really so much of their concern. So we have different missions. Now that being said, they're part of our tourism strategy because we have access to their facilities.

To the researcher, it seems the study participants also somehow expressed that though a major tourism driver of tourism, TAMU is not a major body in tourism governance in BCS. Only a limited number of participants (# 8, 16 and 21) suggested the role or involvement of Texas A&M in tourism decision-making in BCS. Participant #16 stated, "Texas A&M has a lot to do with it to promote good tourism, to promote more students..."; and participant #21 said Texas A&M decisions "impact tourism over there". Likewise, participant #8 stated, "I would say I think the presence of A&M is a bigger factor than lot of us acknowledge sometimes. I think sometimes tourism decisions are made by the CVB for example based on what's going on at A&M?"

Therefore, the suggestions from the participants largely fall within the research-framed questions where the issues of justice and equity in the domain of tourism governance and decision-making come to the domain of cities, the County, and TAMU's role as a strategic partner. However, feedback coming from a majority of participants provides the research new direction in making suggestions/recommendations to address the issues of justice and equity in BCS tourism. There are two topics under the theme Texas A&M University Drivers Tourism to BCS, which are analyzed as follows.

#### ***5.8.1 Texas A&M University influences tourism to BCS***

It was not explicitly asked of the participants what drew tourism to BCS. However, in the course of exploring other issues such as decision-making, collaboration, participation, HOT distribution mechanism, benefits of tourism to residents, contribution of tourism to cultural preservation, and perception of emotional solidarity and so on, reference to TAMU occurred at many places. Various participants clarified how TAMU attracted tourists to BCS in general and College Station in particular. The Chamber of

Commerce participant stated that Aggie Sports is a big tourism driver. A hotelier participant (#25) further confirmed, "People come to see Texas A&M football." The City of Bryan official stated that Texas A&M is the "number one generator for both Bryan and College Station" economy. The City of College Station official further affirmed that the BCS economy is much associated with TAMU and reiterated how tourism and other retail businesses are so dependent on the TAMU sports and educational calendars. The City of College Station official stated:

And there are probably two. I think the larger of the two is the sports program, the athletics. There can be no doubt about that. Football being the largest, but also baseball, basketball. We always get crowds in to do with that. And the seven weekends a year that we have home football games, you know, you live here it's chaos as far as traffic is concerned. So I think they're the major driver. The second would be things affiliated with Texas A&M, parents' weekend, people visiting their children in school, that sort of thing. And then the third is sports tourism. It's the major soccer tournaments. It's the baseball, the softball tournaments. Lacrosse tournaments. Quidditch, if you can imagine.

Two hoteliers, one in College Station and another in Bryan stated that TAMU events also help increase the economic impacts of tourism in the BCS community. A hotelier in College Station (#24) stated:

Primarily, Texas A&M University is the main demand driver...There is some industry that's not related to the university but very little.

Some small businesses (an antique store) and other cultural organizations (AAM and AAC) located in Bryan stated that they were not highly affected by the big flow of visitors in College Station during game days/events; however, for a hotel in downtown Bryan, its business was directly linked to TAMU events. The participant from the hotel (#22) said:

A lot of it comes from Texas A&M and comes in group blocks. A lot of it comes from third party booking engines... A lot of it is local corporate that brings business in for local corporate...Parks and recreation and the athletic department of the parks and recreation that brings in all of the ball teams that come in, like seven-O-seven that play football.

The statements from a hotel participant in Bryan confirmed that its business is heavily dependent on Texas A&M events and the events run by the City of College Station. Further, the City of College Station uses the TAMU sports fields under a preferred access agreement. Several other participants made statements that the university was a big support for the area's economy and tourism (#9), Texas A&M events bring business (#5), Texas A&M football draws people here (#1, 3, 11), Texas A&M was most visible (# 29), and Texas A&M itself is tourism and events bring people (#21). All these statements lead to a conclusion that without Texas A&M, BCS would have not been as successful economically as it stands today. TAMU sports events seem to draw the greatest numbers of people to the community. The credit could also be associated with its huge number of national and international students, faculty and staff and the high reputation it holds as a leader in educational and sporting endeavors.

#### ***5.8.2 Texas A&M is a part of decisions relating to BCS tourism***

Texas A&M University, by its very nature, does not seem to be a major responsible body for tourism governance and decision-making. However, the multiple impacts it brings in the community through its sports and educational activities make TAMU involved in many decisions that relate to tourism development. During the interview, the CVB participant suggested that various TAMU departments represented on the CVB Board of Directors where officials from the city of Bryan and City of College Station also represented. The CVB board served as an interactive forum for major tourism stakeholders including the cities, Chamber of Commerce, The Arts Council among others (#1). Additionally the TAMU Athletics Department invited various stakeholders for discussion before holding major games (#29). The City of College Station and the TAMU Athletics Department have coordinated sports events, and for some big events, the TAMU Athletics Department received HOT money as well.

A limited number of participants mentioned the decision-making role played by the university. The participants said that TAMU is involved in tourism decision-making (#16), TAMU decisions impact tourism (#8 and 21), our agency works with various TAMU departments as partners (Advent GX, #12), and TAMU also supports the AAM



(Advent GX). These statements, from various participants, speak volumes to the important role TAMU plays in helping other organizations/institutions run their events and attract visitors to BCS. Participant #21 spoke how TAMU events have impacted BCS:

Well, I would think that the big challenge is trying to fill in, bring in events to town when A&M doesn't have events in A&M calendar soft. And I think that's been, years ago, I mean in a little bit I did learn was that that was the major effort I thought of, that Convention & Visitors Bureau was trying to bring events to town you know in the summer and times like spring break.

The TAMU events calendar was suggested to assist businesses/organizations in developing a business plan, and any gaps in TAMU events led to a lean season in BCS (#15, 18, and 21), which has remained a main challenge in sustaining tourism growth in BCS community throughout the year. Thus, the role of TAMU in the future development of tourism and its partnership with various organizations cannot be underestimated.

### **5.9 Texas A& M Culture/Aggie Tradition Shapes BCS Culture**

Participants across various groups (#1, 3, 9, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 25, 28, 29, and 30) emphasized that the Texas A&M University culture and Aggieland Spirit symbolized the cultural diversity and rich tradition of BCS. Connections with Texas A&M, bonding with the Aggie Spirit (Howdy!) were strong pull factors for its alumni and community. Analysis of the role of TAMU in shaping the BCS Culture based on the findings with participants is detailed below.

#### ***5.9.1 Texas A&M culture (Howdy! Aggie Spirit) as a unifying factor***

Two of the participants interviewed made statements that TAMU is a place of cultural diversity (CVB, The Arts Council), others suggested the Aggieland Spirit worked as a melting pot for residents and visitors (#1, 9). The Fiesta Patrias and CVB participant stated that TAMU is a symbol of cultural diversity due to its diverse international students. The Lodging Association participant saw Howdy! as an attraction, and participant #24 defined TAMU as culture rich with the Bonfire tradition among others. The TAMU Athletics Department official stated that the Visitor Center of TAMU and the TAMU Athletics Department conducted TAMU tours and Aggie Hall of

Champions tours in the Kyle Field for incoming visitors and alumni. Added with the Aggie culture is the rich history and tradition of downtown Bryan that is explained by a participant (#9) as follows:

I think culturally really what if you look at the CVB and the chamber of commerce, the culture we talk about is the culture of Aggieland. It's kind of like a big melting pot, people come to the university and there are so many different types of individuals they come here to the local community, and it is all about adapting the Aggie spirit. That's kind of like they adapt as their talking point for local culture. It's time culture that invites anybody to join and it's the culture of Aggieland. It's kind of ...I do believe that there is lot of truth to that in terms of culture and history behind College Station itself. So, the part of the reason why they did the remodeling and refurbishment of the downtown Bryan was to try to bring focus to the fact that Bryan does have a rich history and telling the story.

In general it seems that downtown Bryan as a historic cultural district has its unique tradition, history and heritage, which attracts a lot of visitors; however, it is Aggie Spirit that resonates more in BCS. Research participants who emphasized Howdy! or A&M culture stated it in different ways: it is mainly due to the TAMU attractions and traditions people came here (#25), that Texas A&M culture has brought diversity (#15, 28, 29), and tourism here is focused on A&M culture (#21). Another very strong statement from the CVB participant highlights the role of the TAMU/Aggie culture:

But here because of Texas A&M visitors to our community just kind of melt into the community. They do not think or see themselves as better or as worse and the residents they just kind of...and the culture that we try to promote is "come and see how hospitable how friendly our community is. Come experience and just be part of our community." That is the kind of culture we promote.

### ***5.9.2 A Dose of Aggie tradition for newcomers as well***

Some of the interview participants highlighted that besides the connectedness and bonding people have with Aggie alumni (#10, 11 and 28), newcomers also experience Aggie traditions (#10). Stakeholders made efforts to highlight the history and tradition of Aggieland so that their visitors could sense and learn what it meant. Participant (#10), who owns/runs Pedi cabs for visitors, stated that during tours and transport, visitors are told about the connections between Aggies and their families, and

their heritage and tradition. Participant #15 stated that visitors and families were exposed to A&M culture, and participant #9 informed that they told their guests stories of connections among the community, university, and the winery. The statements from participant #10 revealed that even non-Aggies experience Aggie traditions:

I am sure there are areas that could use more. But I cannot help but think of the one you mentioned the downtown Bryan. Of course, there is a lot of pride that is created I think through the redevelopment and that is specifically the desire to get more people in downtown Bryan and all that there is a lot of pride that is brought out for Bryan you know the city of and specifically to downtown. Certainly being in BCS as a whole the heritage and tradition that is related to the university I think we are first and foremost to stand out in all aspects of business including tourism. It is a very unique place, a very unique campus and a university so it's hard to visit here even as a non-Aggie and not live with a dose of traditions of what is here. I have been here 20 years, but grew up outside of the state in Illinois and so we have people out of state visiting, the biggest thing I think that impacts them as tourists or visitors is of course the culture surrounding Texas A&M.

Furthermore, the GBPLM participant stated that the Aggeland Spirit of Texas A&M University was one of the reasons for the establishment of the George Bush Presidential Library within Texas A&M University. In the tours conducted by the Visitor Center of TAMU and the Hall of Champions tours the TAMU Athletics Department runs during events and at other times inject a dose of Aggie Spirit whether it is a returning alumni or a new comer.

#### **5.10 Game-day Traffic Creates Temporary Social Disruption in BCS**

As discussed earlier, most of the interview participants from the tourism associations, restaurants, hotel businesses, community organizations and government offices suggested that an aura of warm-welcome to visitors prevailed in BCS mainly due to Texas A&M's culture. However, game day traffic was noted as a major hindrance to the smooth functioning and conducting of daily routines for residents on game days. Participants across all groups (1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13,17,21,22, 28, and 30) indicated that game day traffic disrupted their daily lives in some ways. However, residents and stakeholders were not against games and they adapted to those situations by finding various alternatives such as leaving the town, staying at home, and going to

other non-crowded places such as malls, or the movies. In this emergent theme, two topics are analyzed as follows.

#### ***5.10.1 Game day traffic and temporal and spatial impacts***

Participants explained or complained about game day traffic in different ways. Two participants stated that game day parking and traffic was an issue (#2, 12), another stated that it was a traffic nightmare (#3), and for a hotelier (#24) it was a terrible experience. Several other participants (#5, 9, 21, 28, 29) explained game day phenomenon as a heavy traffic or congestions. Participant #3 explained the game day scenario as follows:

Game day traffic is a nightmare. There is a lot of residents here who leave town or you know stay at their house. It is impossible to eat out on the game day especially with commencements, ring-dunk and that stuff. Your ability to get around town does suffer so its mobility is greatly decreased. That's the big issue, that's the downside for residents. Restaurants do game-busters and they make a lot of money during those times and so their residents do a lot of restaurants and pull non-... up here.

The above statements spoke of the issues related to the traffic, crowd, and congestion that game days bring to the community. Participants (#2, 5, and 8) stated that lines get longer in restaurants and these places get crowded on game days; however, the plus side of events (tourism) are found economically positive by various participants (1,2,3,4,12, 21,23, 29, 30) as mentioned earlier.

#### ***5.10.2 Residents' coping mechanisms on game days***

Game days bring some congestion and crowding; however, they also bring economic returns for the community. That's one reason why residents have learned to cope with these temporary issues and manage their lives. On game days some participants (# 2, 3, 4, 23) suggested people leave town or stay at home while others go to the cinema, malls, zoo, or parks with family members and kids (#23). Participants (#1, 4, 13, 23, 28, 29 and 30) also suggested that some people find it natural to have extra crowds on game days and accordingly get prepared with alternative plans realizing the

economic benefits of such events. Detailing the benefits and burdens of the events, participant #30 explained:

If you want wealth and development, you want to have revenue, you're going to have cows, you're going to have to have manure. You can't have one without the other.

The official of the City of College Station stated how people learned to avoid the crowds:

I think the locals know...they figure out... you figure out very quickly, you know, how to behave here. If you're not going to be attending the game, if you're not gonna be on the campus, then you know how to avoid the impacts.

Other participants also stated that events were economically positive (#21) and tourists arrivals creates congestion (#4). This is how though the game day traffic is temporarily affecting the flow and some of the resident activities in the twin cities, but its residents have learned to make some adjustments in their activities in game days.

### ***5.10.3 Section summary (relating to RQ 2) and further discussion***

This section explores participants' perspectives regarding the mechanism of tourism revenues and benefits distribution, consideration of an 'ethic of care' and the perception of emotional solidarity thought to be significant in further exploring the issues of justice and equity. As stated earlier, HOT is mandated by a state law that directs city and county offices to redistribute the money for tourism development and promotion through agencies such as the CVB, The Arts Council, DBA, and the Expo Center among others. While a majority of participants are happy with the way HOT money is distributed and spent, a few indicated that College Station received more promotion than Bryan did. This could be linked to the large number of hotels in College Station contributing significantly higher than Bryan to the HOT funds. There were no financial support or incentives for tourism businesses from the cities or county offices; however, incentive given by the City of Bryan to a hotel in the past has raised some kind of objections from other hoteliers. No incentives were available for lower income groups for tourism businesses; however, there were some soft incentives made available through various organizations. The perception of residents regarding the distribution and use of HOT money by the cities, county and CVB was found to be fair which fulfills one of the criteria of CBT-community/stakeholders satisfaction.

One issue related to 'Ethic of care' is living standards and wages for tourism workers which was found to be more than minimum, or above the average. Tourism workers across many businesses were paid better; however, staff working in the kitchen and housekeeping (back of the house staff) were paid more than minimum or better, but they had less opportunities for promotion. Some of the back of the house participants suggested they had less than 40 hours' workweek in summer, which affected their paycheck. This situation seems to raise concerns for 'ethic of care' regarding respect for persons in terms of their work. It was found bartenders and servers earned more due to tips. Regarding tourism benefits to the community/residents including minorities, almost all stakeholders agreed that increased visitors to BCS brought in additional money and jobs; and their consumption of food and drinks and expenses on groceries helped all

types of businesses to thrive. Through the sales tax visitors paid in the community, cities could develop and maintain infrastructure and facilities such as roads, ambulance, fire-fighters, health services, parks and recreation facilities and so on. The stakeholders also identified various types of issues facing BCS tourism, which included need for a better and bigger airport, improvement of ground transportation, addressing the seasonality issue, and the need for a convention center.

Connecting the contribution of tourism to cultural promotion, the participants identified that organizing various festivals such as Fiesta Patrias, Texas Reds, Juneteenth, and the World Festival helped cultural restoration, enhanced community pride and preserved their ethnic cultures and tradition. Each participant, in lieu of their businesses, played a prominent role in educating visitors about the cultural attractions of BCS. However, the role played by TAMU in educating visitors about the unique tradition of Howdy! (Aggie Spirit) was found to be influential by a majority of participants. Many participants named the BCS culture as “Howdy!” or “Aggieland culture.” Finally, on a question of perception of emotional solidarity between the stakeholders and visitors, almost all participants stated that it was full of mutual respect, staff taking care of guests and guests returning to BCS for its hospitable community, staff and food. Suggestions from some of the participants that some of the visitors desired to move their businesses or wanted to retire to BCS suggests that BCS is a visitor friendly destination. The perception of emotional solidarity between the stakeholders and residents was also filled with mutual respect and trust, as no issues of non-cooperation or resistance from the residents for tourism development were mentioned. Rather, many stakeholders expressed that their community (especially Bryan) is safer, cleaner and better than 10-15 years ago, with credit going to tourism. Insights from the participants and their suggestions provide grounds for addressing justice and equity issues relating to tourism governance in Bryan and provide a foundation for future research in the field.

At the end of the section, emerging themes coming from the data such as Texas A&M University (TAMU) driving tourism to BCS, TAMU culture/Aggie traditions shaping BCS culture, and Game day traffic causing temporary social disruption in BCS

provide insights for this research and for future studies. The emergent insights suggest reviewing issues of justice and ethics in sustainable tourism settings through multi-stakeholder lenses in the domain of tourism governance. These new insights also indicated the need of forging a very strong partnership among all major stakeholders from the planning phase so that events organized at TAMU facilities cause less community disruption and provide more economic benefits. Details on this will follow in the discussion and recommendations sections.

#### ***5.10.4 Supplemental question: Watching home football game***

As a follow-up on home games, the researcher also asked fourteen participants (Twelve participants who were still to be interviewed and two who the researcher interviewed twice) whether they watched Texas A&M home games, and if so why or why not. It was intended to determine whether the high cost for football tickets was a barrier to residents to go to games or if there were other factors associated with home games.

In response to this question, four types of responses were received:

1. Do not like football/Not a sports person/ Watch on TV: In this category of responses participants (#17, 21, 22, 23, 26) described themselves as non-sports person/s or as having no time to watch live or rather they enjoyed/ing with people or relaxing. One participant liked basketball and cost was not the barrier (#22), and a few participants preferred to watch on TV (#22). Participant #1 stated that she used to watch games before, but not anymore due to family obligations, but she loves and attends tail-gating.
2. Bought season tickets, but did not watch for lack of time: In this category people did not watch games lacking time, gave tickets to others including staff (#20, 25).
3. Bought/received some/all season tickets, attended them: A student-worker (#15) who grew up as an Aggie bought season tickets for \$300 and watched almost all games. Cost was not a barrier to him; passion and Aggie Spirit drove him to the games. Another participant (#29) who worked for the TAMU Athletics Department received complimentary tickets and watched almost all the games. Participants #28 and 30



attended a few games. Participant #7 attended around four home games a season due to free rides from Bryan, and stated attending games is costly (may be for others).

4. Cost as a barrier: Some participants put cost as a reason for not watching the home games (#1, 7, 19, 21, 30), though one was an Aggie (#26). One participant (#17) stated he will watch if invited otherwise it is costly. Participant #28 stated that he got all tickets, but went to only 4-7 games (may be varied in different seasons). He stated that going to football is costly but it is not a necessity, rather a luxury. Participant #19 said he would not watch unless invited.

Based on the responses from the participants, home football games likely cannot be associated with the issue of equity or income; as it seems related to people's interests for sports, time availability, commitment to family or other businesses and for a few participants a matter of cost. It seems that if there is a passion and commitment to attending the games, cost was not much of a barrier as can be seen in the case of a student worker, but it sounds a barrier for others even if they are Aggies due to the high cost. Remarks made by participant #28 echo the sentiments of the researcher that watching high-cost games could be a luxury, not a necessity. Additionally, there seems to be special interest groups (fans, alumni) who attend home games, which not every local resident is attracted by games even if time and money is not a barrier.

## **5. 11 Data Analysis from Back of the House Staff Including Ethnic Minorities**

Ten back of the house workers (specifically ethnic minorities) in BCS tourism were asked to reflect on their perspectives focusing on 'ethic of care'. Participants in this group were mainly from Hispanic and African-American ethnic groups (except one White, participant #31) working in positions such as housekeeping supervisor, housekeeping/room attendant, executive chef, kitchen staff (cook), laundry, and cleaner. Five participants were from housekeeping departments and five from kitchen units.

While conducting additional interviews, the researcher found theoretical saturation happening within 5 or 6 additional interviews as common codes and categories were revealed from these participants. However, ten participants were interviewed to see if additional codes and categories would emerge. Since no significant additional codes and categories were traced during additional interviews, interviewing stopped with ten participants.

Common responses included that the participants did not have information on the mechanism of collaborative participation and decision-making relating to tourism development in BCS; and they did not have information on the mechanism of tourism revenues/benefits distribution. As in-house workers of BCS tourism, back of the house staff stated they hardly participated in out of the office meetings or discussions relating to BCS tourism except occasionally talking to hotel/restaurant guests. The back of the house participants (#31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 and 40) also shared that they relatively had less promotion opportunities (some related to small business size); their wages could have been made better; and most of them (#33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 and 40) received in-house job training.

Further, compared to average interview duration of 57:14 minutes of previous 30 participants, the interview duration in this group was 33:13 minutes per participant. This happened because almost all participants (except one or two making partial responses) had no responses to the majority of research questions relating to mechanism of participation, discussion, and decision-making relating to tourism development in BCS; and on the mechanism of distribution of tourism revenue and benefits. However, the

participants did respond to questions and probes relating to responsive quality of management to guest and staff concerns, on issues of diversity and inclusiveness, and on issues of living standards and wages of tourism workers including opportunity for promotion and training. Other issues the participants responded to included perception of emotional solidarity with visitors to BCS. All the responses are analyzed in detail below under the major themes as discussed earlier (themes as presented in Table 16 earlier). A profile of participants from the back of the house is reproduced here to help better comprehend the analyses.

Table 18. Profile of study participants from back of the house staff\*

<b>Participant #</b>	<b>Business/Organization</b> (With pseudonyms*)	<b>Position/s</b>	<b>Race &amp; Gender</b>
31.	A Two Star Hotel in College Station*	Executive House Keeper	White, Female
32.	A Two Star Hotel in College Station*	Cook	African-American, Female
33.	A Two Star Hotel in College Station*	Housekeeping (HK)	Hispanic, Female
34.	A Three Star Hotel in College Station*	HK Supervisor	African-American, Female
35.	A Three Star Hotel in College Station*	Room Attendant (RA)/HK	Hispanic, Female
36.	A Three Star Hotel in College Station*	Cleaner/Laundry	African-American, Female
37.	A Restaurant in Bryan*	Lead Trainer/Kitchen Staff	Hispanic, Male
38.	A Hotel in Bryan*	Executive Chef	Hispanic, Male
39.	A Restaurant in Bryan*	Cook & Cleaner	African-American, Male
40.	A Restaurant in College Station*	Cook	Hispanic, Male

### ***5.11.1 System of tourism governance***

#### ***5.11.1.1 Accountable agencies relating to tourism development decisions in BCS***

Participants in the housekeeping group held various positions such as executive housekeeper, housekeeping supervisor, housekeeper, room attendant, and laundry/cleaning staff. This group of participants (#31, 33, 34, 35 and 36) did not have information regarding which agencies were accountable for making tourism development decisions in BCS. Only one participant #31 (executive housekeeper, White) suggested “A&M kept town going” indicating the important role Texas A&M played in influencing tourism decisions.

Participants in the kitchen group (32, 37, 38, 39 and 40) held various positions such as cook, kitchen staff/trainer, and executive chef. Three participants in this group (#32, 38, and 40) also lacked information regarding which agencies were accountable for making tourism development decisions in BCS. However, participant (#37) stated that the city office (in Bryan) supported events and provided events logistics such as safety and traffic management, and participant (#39) knew about city council.

#### ***5.11.1.2 Support for institutional/business growth***

Participants in the housekeeping group (#31, 33, 34, 35 and 36) also did not have information regarding the institutional/government support their businesses received for business growth. Similarly, the kitchen staff members (#32, 37, 38, 39 and 40) also did not have information regarding institutional/government support their businesses received for business growth. However, one participant (#32) stated that as per the nature of private business no such support was needed. It is possible the nature of the jobs for both housekeeping and kitchen staffs (were not required to complete management or marketing-related tasks) let them to not be informed about procedures relating to the system of tourism governance.

#### ***5.11.2 Mechanism for collaborative participation & decision-making***

The housekeeping participants (#31, 33, 34, 35 and 36) also did not participate in any meetings related to collaborative participation processes. Three of these participants (#31, 35, 36) did not have information whether the voice of their organization (hotels) had been heard by governing entities such as the cities, county and the CVB. However, participant # 33 thought their voice was considered by the CVB (“Yes they have considered this hotel”), and participant #34 stated their voice is heard as visitors are coming to their hotel.

Four participants in the kitchen group (#32, 37, 39 and 40) did not participate in any meetings relating to collaborative participation and decision-making. However, one participant (#38) stated that they worked with the Chamber of Commerce, Chef’s Association for Brazos County, Spanish Forum and African-American Associations. Three participants in this group (#32, 38, and 39) did not know about organizations that

made tourism-related decisions in BCS. However, participant #37 stated that the Arts Council supported events and the restaurant he was working for supported events organized by the DBA. Another participant (#40) stated that he knew of the city office only (in College Station) which brought people for sports tournaments. Thus, the majority of participants in the housekeeping and kitchen group neither had information relating to decision-making mechanisms in BCS, nor they participated in out of the office meetings and discussions relating to tourism.

### ***5.11.3 Responsible agencies for tourism development***

#### ***5.11.3.1 Responsive agencies relating to tourism development issues and challenges***

Participants in the housekeeping group (#31, 33, 34, 35 and 36) also were not aware of issues their hotels/restaurants raised outside of their management (for example to cities, County, etc.) because they only knew about staff and guest issues addressed internally. The participants took such issues to the supervisor, general manager or corporate offices as required. However, some participants found the issues well resolved (#37, 38 and 40) and some participants found them half-resolved (#31, 33 and 35) or not properly addressed (#34 and 36). Participant # 31 (White, female) stated that sometimes “management let staff voice fly” (meaning they were heard but not responded) and supplies were not available on time. Participant #33 (Hispanic, female) stated staff issues were half addressed whereas participant #34 (African-American, female) and participant #36 (African-American, female) found staff issues well addressed / or mostly addressed by the management. Participant #35 (Hispanic, female) suggested management resolved guest issues more than staff issues. At least three staff members in this group (participant #33, 35, and 36) pointed out the need of resolving staff issues through dialogue when there were internal conflicts. Participant #33 (Hispanic, female) emphasized resolving staff issues “by getting to the bottom of what’s going on” and talking to the person/s directly.

Likewise, participant #35 (Hispanic, female) pointed out, “We have some co-workers that don't take criticism too well. So, it's hard for him (manager) to address that with them”, and participant #36 (African-American, female) stated:

I don't know. It's not really a bad place. It's just some things I feel like should be looked at better. When you take the situation, instead of just...sometimes, when things happen, it makes you feel that it's just your fault and nobody else's. I think that needs to be solved because there's two sides to a story. When something happens, it's always to me, the point I see is only one person. I feel like that's not fair. I don't agree with that.

The suggestions from housekeeping participants indicated management need to play an additional role as a coordinator and a facilitator to address internal staff issues through inclusive dialogues inviting parties to solve conflicts together.

Kitchen participants (#32, 37, 38, 39 and 40), took internal issues (including staff issues) to the manager/general manager or owner depending on availability of the responsible person/s. Three participants (#37, 38 and 40) stated management considered their voice/opinion. Participant #37 (Hispanic, male) stated, "I think for the most part I feel satisfied. I feel like our voices are heard." However, this participant #37 further stated sometimes issues such as plumbing, which needed immediate attention, could not be resolved on time. Participant #38 (Hispanic, male) stated that the new owner considered his opinions and he was consulted for some staff issues. Participant #40 (Hispanic, male), who has been working in the same place for past 29 years, said that his boss fixed issues all the time. Unlike the case of some housekeeping participants, the voice of kitchen staff was believed to be better heard, they suggested they were consulted and their opinion were considered. This kind of recognition of voice and experience suggests a better sense of 'ethic of care' for the kitchen staff compared to housekeeping staff.

#### ***5.11.3.2 Responding to the issues of diversity and inclusiveness***

On the issue of diversity and inclusiveness, all participants in the housekeeping group (#31, 33, 34, 35 and 36) stated that there were equal employment opportunities (EEO) in place for all ethnic groups. No participants had any information on incentives and preferences offered to ethnic minorities (disadvantaged groups). However, one participant (#34, African-American, female) made an additional suggestion that despite EEO in place, people from African-American minorities had difficulty finding jobs because of their past robbery or imprisonment records. She stated:

I don't think so. I think like the African-Americans, I think it's hard for them to find a job because of their African-American ...let's say if they went to jail, they went to prison, like nobody want to hire them. Like for instance, my kid's daddy, he went to prison for four years for aggravated robbery. And when he got out, like, nobody wants to hire him.

This participant was possibly suggesting a higher rate of robbery involvement by African-American ethnic group compared to others and the consequences it would have later in job hiring. The participant, however, responding to the researcher's probe, stated that people from other ethnic groups would also have same difficulty in finding a job if he/she had a past background of robbery or an imprisonment. The participant also indicated the need of formal schooling to increase the chances of being hired:

And I think like you need to have some type of school in his whole life, you ain't graduate or you ain't got no type of college, they won't be trying to hire you.

This participant (#34, African-American, female) was possibly suggesting a lower rate of school/college graduation by African-Americans compared to other ethnic groups (such as White) and its impacts on job hiring. When the researcher asked if special incentives/preferences for jobs would be good? she responded it would be good for ethnic minorities such as African-Americans to get jobs, but she did not know how it could be done.

From the kitchen group, all participants (#32, 37, 38, 39 and 40) stated there was equal job opportunity for all ethnic groups. Despite equal job opportunity, participant # 37 (Hispanic, male) stated that ethnic groups such as Hispanics and African-Americans were less represented in tourism. He stated, "I think they're little... they're not represented as much as the population." He also forwarded the reason that most of the businesses that Hispanic and African-Americans have "don't tend to be as big as tourist spots." Participant #37 also pointed out that there is a kind of stigma in hiring employees from ethnic minorities and added:

I feel like it's mostly dealing with stereotypes where people just stereotype a worker based on his looks, the way they dress, and even like the smallest thing say the name they have.

Participant (#37) also added that such attitude and stigma affected job selections, but he had no idea how that could be solved. Moreover, there was a contrasting opinion from another participant (#40, Hispanic, male) who stated, “There are a lot of Hispanics” in tourism who have businesses or jobs and their business hire from all ethnic groups without any discrimination. This is an example how opinions from the same ethnic group differed. Participant #39 (African-American, male) also had the opinion (similar to participant #37) that representation of African Americans in tourism was not good, but hiring practices were fair. He stated:

Yes, it is equal. I feel like if you want a job, the person will hire you. It doesn't matter about that, but as far as representation, it's not very good.

The participant also offered solutions that hiring “more people, more diversely in every part” could make some changes. On the question of whether there were any incentives/preferences to ethnic minorities in jobs or businesses, all the participants (#32, 37, 38, 39 and 40) stated they had not seen any such incentives. However, participant #37 suggested such incentives could improve representation.

#### ***5.11.4 Other issues***

##### ***5.11.4.1 Business/es relating to tourism***

Two participants (#31 and 35) in the housekeeping group stated that people came for A&M sports such as football, baseball, and softball and stayed in their hotels. Two participants (#33 and 34) stated their hotels were places to stay for visitors and one participant #36 did not clearly respond to how her business was related to tourism. Participants from the kitchen group stated people came and stayed in the hotel (#32), the restaurant area drove tourism round the year due to its location in downtown (#37), and participant #38 stated visitors to their hotel came mostly from nearby cities such as Bryan, College Station, Houston, San Antonio, “and several guests coming from other countries.” Participant #40 suggested they were busy during school schedules whereas



participant #39 did not make a specific response to how his restaurant was related to tourism.

#### ***5.11.4.2 Suggestions to improve collaboration & participation***

Four participants in the housekeeping group (#31, 33, 34 and 36) did not have suggestions for improving participation and collaboration among the tourism industry members in BCS. However, one participant (#35) suggested that since there was nothing much to do in BCS, some new attractions such as a water park or a Dave and Busters should be developed in BCS. Participant (#31) also stated something more than A&M is needed to keep hotel occupancy up in BCS. Three participants in the kitchen group (#32, 37 and 40) did not have suggestions for improving participation and collaboration, while participant #38 stated that such suggestions were made at the general manager's (GM) level. Participant #39 suggested, "just get everybody ...involved" for events to improve collaboration and participation. In general, the study findings suggested that as participants from the housekeeping and kitchen normally do not go out of their work places for tourism development related meetings and discussions, they have less information and suggestions compared to other participants such as general managers or city officials as discussed earlier.

#### ***5.11.5 Distribution of tourism revenues and benefits***

##### ***5.11.5.1 Mechanism for distribution of revenues & its beneficiaries***

No participants in the housekeeping group (#31, 33, 34, 35 and 36) had any information relating to mechanisms for tourism revenues (receipts) and goods (benefits) distribution. Only participant #34 had a suggestion on whether the distribution of tourism revenues was fair among the tourism industry stakeholders and stated that distribution should be fair and she would get a fair share if the tourists came to her hotel. All participants in the kitchen group (#32, 37, 38, 39 and 40) also had no information relating to mechanisms for tourism revenues (receipts) and goods (benefits) distribution. Only one participant (#32) guessed revenue distribution for the tourism industry was fair. Compared to other participants such as owners, general managers and city officials who provided a detailed account on the mechanisms for tourism revenues (receipts) and

goods (benefits) distribution, these back of the house staff had relatively little or no information on these issues.

Four participants (#31, 34, 35 and 36) in the housekeeping group did not have information about the ethnic minority operated tourism businesses in BCS. However, participant (#33 Hispanic, female) has seen many ethnic minority-run tourism businesses and stated, “Some run well, some not.” From the kitchen group, participant #32 (African-American, female) has seen a lot of restaurants and fast food businesses run by ethnic minorities such as Hispanic or African-Americans and thought, “They're surviving well. I mean, it seem to be going well now.” However, this participant had not seen any hotels run by African-Americans and did not know the reason why. Participant #39 (African-American, male) also thought he had not seen many African-American owned businesses in BCS. Participant # 37 (Hispanic, male) suggested that excepting for a few cases, White people operated businesses made more money as they were already established and better recognized than businesses run by Hispanics or African-Americans stating:

Just for the most part, I feel like the more money usually I would say white people money, the events that they have I would say ...places where they attract music. I feel like that-- they've already been established here. So it's like their businesses already have that name recognition so people go to those first before they to the newer businesses run by Hispanics and African-Americans.

Participant #40 from the restaurant group (Hispanic, male) stated he has seen many ethnic-minority run tourism businesses in BCS and further suggested, “I think they are doing well because they opened too many hotels and motels in this town.” Participant #38 stated that there are a few tourism investments (such as restaurants) made by foreign people coming from Italy, Germany, and Venezuela.

Regarding financial incentives to locals to run tourism business or incentives to minority-operated businesses, participants in the housekeeping group (#31, 33, 34, 35 and 36) provided mixed information/suggestions. Participants (#31, 33, 34, 35 and 36) suggested they had no information on such financial incentives, however, participants #31 and #34 said financial support/government support was needed. Further, participant

#34 added some businesses may not have start-up money and it would be good to have a provision of such financial incentives. Additionally, participant #33 stated that incentives would be good, but it should be equal to all. Thus, participants provided mixed information that financial incentives should be equal to all, and financial support should be given to locals and ethnic minorities to encourage them in tourism.

All participants (#32, 37, 38, 39 and 40) in the kitchen group were not sure or had no idea of financial incentives to locals to run tourism business or incentives to minority-operated businesses. However, participant #37 suggested such business should receive some marketing support which should be based on financial ability not on race or ethnicity; and participants (#39 and 40) stated some incentives or loans from government (such as city council or city) would be good to start a business. Common suggestion from back of the house participants was that financial incentives would be good for starting businesses.

#### ***5.11.6 Consideration to “ethic of care”***

##### ***5.11.6.1 Living standards and wages***

All participants in the housekeeping group (#31, 33, 34, 35 and 36) received minimum wage (of at least \$ 7.25 per hour as required by law) or more than minimum wages/salaries. Two participants (#31 White, female and #36 African-American, female) stated they were paid “pretty decent wages” and “get paid pretty good” respectively, but it was not enough to support (\$10.40 an hour for #36) a family. Other participants (# 33, 34 and 35) stated they could have been paid better. A housekeeping supervisor in a hotel (#31 White, female) said the hotel started wages from \$8.50-9.00 per hour for housekeeping staff instead of \$7.25, and participant #33 (Hispanic, female) said she was paid more than \$9.00 per hour, but \$10.00 would be good. Participant #34 (African-American, female) said she was paid \$10.00 per hour which was not good enough, and participant #35 (Hispanic, female) said she was paid #10.00, but #11 or 12 could be better as a living wage. Another common concern expressed by all participants (#31, 33, 34, 35 and 36) in this group was that compared to football season (Home games of Texas A&M), summer hotel occupancy (or occupancy during college holidays) in BCS was

relatively low which affected the working hours of lower/housekeeping staff. Their working hours ranged somewhere between 30 hours a week (#33), 30-37 hours a week (#35), and 36-40 hours a week (#36) and none of them got more than 40 hours a week in summer. Some of these participants (#33, 34) stated that they got more than 40 hours a week, the weeks of home games. Four participants (#33, 34, 35 and 36) stated less working hours in summer affected their paychecks and made their living harder; however participant #31( a housekeeping supervisor) stated it affected lower staff (housekeeping). Participant #34 (Hispanic, female) stated she was living “paycheck by paycheck” and further explained the situation:

Sometimes you work five hours, sometimes you work six hours. You don't work more than eight, you don't even make eight hour a day. Yesterday I worked only six hours, that hurts my check when I only work six hours.

Housekeeping supervisor in a hotel (#31) stated the reason why staff working hours in summer were cut: “Because housekeeping ...if we don't have the guests or occupancy high, we have to cut hours”.

Another participant (#34 African-American, female) added why the current wages were not enough as a living wage:

And I don't think that's good enough cause I take a lot of taxes out. Let's say your check was like 900 and some, you will bring home with like seven something. And if your rent is 700 and you got car note, utilities, you ain't got nothing to live. So, I don't think there's enough.

For an alternative to get full weekly work-hours (minimum 40) and improve their living standards, participants in the housekeeping group tried various options. Participant #33 was trying for a second job without success, and suggested her supervisor could give her other things to do to keep busy for 40 hours a week. Participant #35 also tried for another job like baby-sitting in summer and said it was hard to find, and participant #36 did elderly sitting between 3-4 hours a day to offset summer hours and to earn more money.

Of the five participants in the kitchen group, three participants (#32, 38 and 40) stated that they received good pay. Participants #37 and 39 suggested their wages could be better. However, each employee made more than minimum wage. For example, at participant #38's hotel, cook's wages started at \$10 an hour and went up to \$13-16 per hour. Regarding staff wages in his hotel, the participant (#38) stated:

Front desk, hourly. Kitchen staff, hourly. I am pretty sure the money they made by hour is one of the top on this town.

A cook in a restaurant (#40 Hispanic, male) made \$13 an hour and believed all other workers at the restaurant were paid at minimum \$10 per hour. However, a kitchen staff member (#37 Hispanic, male) suggested kitchen staff should start at \$8.50 per hour, and then later bumped to \$9.50 per hour. This suggests staff members at the property were paid more than minimum (\$7.25), but the staff expectation was higher. Participant #38 (executive chef, Hispanic, male) suggested his wages were enough for him and family. Similarly, participant #40 (cook, Hispanic, male) stated his salary could support him and his spouse. However, participants #32 (cook, African-American, female) and #39 (cook, African-American, male) suggested their wages were enough for a single person only. Four participants (#32, 38, 39 and 40) stated business/occupancy was lower in summer for restaurants and hotels, which also affected their weekly working hours. Participant #32 had a full time job, but summer occupancy affected it. A hotel (workplace of participant #38) had weekly staff hours of 35-38 for other staff and 15-30 hours for housekeeping staff depending on occupancy. Participant #39 worked 40-45 hours in two weeks (part-time) and had a second job whereas participant (#40) had full hours (40 or more) even in summer, yet he worked at another place too, to earn more money.

One strikingly common issue among some housekeeping and kitchen staff was that they thought they could have been paid better though everyone was paid more than minimum as required by the law. Some of the participants' work hours were relatively cut in summer owing to slow business or low hotel occupancy. Participants #32 and 40

credited the role of the city office (College station) for bringing sports events in summer, which improved the situation to some extent.

According to the Living Wage Calculator for Brazos County, TX, a single adult would need living wages of \$10.99 per hour against the current minimum wage of \$7.25 per hour. The study suggested that a majority of back of the house participants were below the Living Wage Calculator limit while one participant (#40) received (higher) \$13 per hour. Presumably, other staff did not have 29 years work experience like him in the same hotel. Another participant (#38 Hispanic, male) also should have received pretty good wages as executive chef as he suggested his cook made between \$10-16 an hour.

#### ***5.11.6.2 Promotion***

Another issue relating to “ethic of care” for these back of the house staff was job promotion. Participants in the housekeeping group suggested their department/unit offered less promotion and only a few had good promotion opportunities. For example, participants (#31, and 34) suggested there were less promotion opportunities in the housekeeping department compared to front-desk or other departments. Participant #31 (a housekeeping supervisor, White) was stocked somewhere in one position for years. She forwarded reasons that stood as barriers to promotion for housekeeping/room attendant staff as:

It’s they really do not get promotion until one of us left. If I get fired or they'll step somebody else up or who's under me, my assistant. Unless something happens to her, then they get promoted. But other than that, they're basically the same.

Promotion opportunities for housekeeping staff occurred when front office lost people, part-timers left a job (#31) or the hotel was short of people or needed more supervisors (#34). Housekeeping participants provided different versions of why they were promoted or not promoted. One housekeeping staff (#33 Hispanic, female) stated why she was not promoted:

Because they don't try to help you out here or anything. They just want you to do your job and that's it. But when you ask for a position they don't give you the position, they tell you they are going to give it to you, they hire somebody else but they don't give it to me. That's why I don't try to do anything else any more.

Another housekeeping staff (#35, Hispanic, female) stated she had been in the same position for the last four or five years and she was not given promotion due to attendance criteria (she missed some workdays). Another staff (cleaner/laundry #36, African-American, female) was given more promotions while working for Texas A&M kitchen and housekeeping and did not know about promotions in the hotel she was currently working (Has more than five years similar experience elsewhere, but she has been in this position just for a year and half). However, another housekeeping supervisor (#34 African-American, female) stated she got promoted to housekeeping supervisor after a year. Some participants (#32 and 34) also linked promotion to training and educational qualification.

Promotion issues of participants in the kitchen group (#32, 37, 38, 39 and 40) were similar to housekeeping participants. Participant #32 (cook, African-American female) stated there were not many places to move up "For the cook but it's a promotion somewhere in the hotel industry...Within the hotel." Participant #37 stated kitchen staff had less promotion opportunities than front desk, and participant #37 and 39 suggested there were no promotions if somebody (in supervisor level) left the job or was fired. However, participant #38 suggested there were other options for promotion such as front desk/bar or as servers depending on staff skills and experience. Participants (#37, 39, and 40) suggested there were less promotion opportunities in their small businesses, and participants #37 and 39 emphasized experience counted for promotion. Participant #32 (cook, four years in current job) was happy without promotion, participant #38 was promoted to the executive safe position last month, and a cook (#40) did not accept promotion fearing more responsibilities, but not a proportionate pay raise.

There possibly seems to be a linkage to educational qualification, experience and training to promotion. Participant #31(White, female), whose education was grade school or some high school got stocked somewhere as housekeeping supervisor though

she had 13 years' experience. Participant #33 (Hispanic, female) whose education was grade school or some high school had not received any promotions in five years' service though she had tried for it. She further suggested with more training (which she has been trying) or education, she could get a job at another hotel. Participant #35 (Hispanic, female) with a high school diploma or GED and five years 'experience had not received promotion due to some attendance criteria. Participant #36 (African-American, female) worked as cleaner and laundry with 2 years' experience in the current hotel and more than five years' experience in similar positions outside. She thought that not having a high school diploma or GED was a barrier to promotion. Compared to some negative promotion-related experiences of these participants (#31, 33, 35, and 36), participant #34 (African-American, female) who had some college education received a promotion from housekeeper to housekeeping supervisor after a year. Some kitchen staff emphasized experience for promotion; however, the small size of some of the restaurant businesses and nature of part-time job limited some participants' opportunities for promotion. The study suggests some promotion bottlenecks for housekeeping staff; however, they did not appear to be linked to race or ethnicity. Promotions seemed to be linked to staff experience, skills required for the job and job openings for promotion.

#### ***5.11.6.3 Training***

Four participants in the housekeeping group (#33, 34, 35 and 36) stated that they were given job-related trainings by their hotels; however, two participants (#34, and 35) stated only top management staff were sent for out of the hotel training (meaning to Dallas, Houston or elsewhere). Another participant (#31) stated skills development was helpful for jobs, but it was one's individual responsibility to develop job-related skills. Four participants in the kitchen group (#37, 38, 39 and 40) stated that they received 2-3 week long on-the-job training from their work places. Participant #32 (a cook) emphasized training and job sincerity were essential for promotion, but was not sure whether such tourism/kitchen training instructions were available locally or any incentives for trainings existed.



#### ***5.11.6.4 Benefits of tourism to residents and ethnic minorities***

Regarding benefits of tourism to residents, four participants (#31, 34, 35 and 36) in the housekeeping group stated it brought businesses (as more people came in) and two (#35 and 36) stated it created jobs, while #33 stated it provided opportunities to meet new people. Regarding benefits of tourism to ethnic minorities, one participant suggested (#35) it brought them jobs. Similarly, participants from the kitchen group also mentioned some benefits of tourism to local residents. Participant #32 stated, “We meet new people and they're bringing in money, and they stay with us for a certain amount of time.” Participant #38 stated that tourism made the town livelier and some of the people wanted to move to BCS; while participant #38 stated it brought more jobs, and helped the town grow bigger with investments from people coming from other countries such as Italy, Venezuela, and Germany. Participant #40 stated tourism helped the local economy grow. Participants from both the housekeeping and kitchen groups had similar opinion that tourism contributed to local residents in various forms by creating jobs, bringing in more money and bringing new people to meet, and helping city and its economy to grow.

#### ***5.11.6.5 Fostering cultural pride and respect for community/ethnic minorities through tourism***

Participants in the housekeeping group (#33, 34, 35 and 36) suggested various reasons how tourism was important to community pride and heritage. Participant #31 had no idea how tourism promoted cultural pride and preservation; however, participant #33 suggested tourists came for Texas A&M and historical downtown Bryan. Participant #34 suggested tourists visited downtown Bryan and festivals, which was good for the community; and participant #35 said some people visited for Texas Reds & Steaks festival (Bryan) whereas locals visited for the Fiestas Patrias festival (Bryan). Participant #36 suggested people coming here and spending money contributed to cultural preservation. Among five participants from the kitchen group, (#32, 37, 38, 39 and 40) three (#32, 38, and 40) stated that festivals also attracted some tourists and helped promote BCS culture. Participant #39 stated Aggie culture was a big attraction to BCS.

#### ***5.11.6.6 Educating visitors about the culture and history of BCS***

Since housekeeping staffs do not usually have an opportunity to interact with guests as other front office or marketing staff, very few of them shared how they informed visitors about BCS culture and history. Participant #33 would tell visitors about events and give them pamphlets, and participant #34 would tell them about places to eat and visit. The other three participants (#31, 35, and 36) had no idea on this topic. Four participants from the kitchen group (#32, 37, 39 and 40) suggested/told guests about places to go and eat (such as downtown Bryan, the Northgate) or about ongoing or upcoming events. Participant #38 found that people loved to see the old buildings/history in downtown Bryan.

#### ***5.11.7 Perception of emotional solidarity***

Participants in the housekeeping group stated that they enjoyed a very strong/good relations/ bonding with visitors (#31, 33, 34, and 35), and that they made tourists feel welcome (#36). Participant #31 stated the strong perception of emotional solidarity between stakeholders and visitor as follows:

It's pretty strong around here. We have a lot of them that keeps coming back because we make them feel like a family and stuff.

Participants in the kitchen group (#32, 37, 39 and 40) mentioned they shared strong bonding among them and the visitors. Participant #39 explained this bonding as:

It's pretty strong. It's very strong because people here are like we talk to our customers, we know by name, you know some by name, are coming every day, it's like those people work here too but they don't. Everybody is really close. Even if you haven't been here before, we'll still talk to you like, we have known you for a long time. Its pretty good, like the best, really strong.

Four participants (#31, 33, 34 and 35) in the housekeeping group stated tourists made return visits. Also tourists liked staying in their hotel (#33); and tourists sent them complimentary e-mails (#36). Further, tourists complimented staff for being nice and polite and found the hotel as a clean property (#34). Three participants in the kitchen group (#32, 38, and 40) also mentioned people came back as they liked services or asked

about festivals. Participant #38 stated, “I know like 10-12 families come every year to stay with us.” Participants #38 and #40 stated visitors liked their food, and customer services/ hospitality. Participant #37 (executive chef) stated that visitors felt well-treated by people and participant #39 suggested staffs had close ties with customers and he provided an example of conversation between the customers and staffs:

(So they say) ‘Hey, Jessica, back again’, ‘Hi Miss Corney, how are you’? It's nice to see you for the last two weeks or a couple of months, how's going everything?" So they love coming to us.

Participants in the housekeeping group also stated that they enjoyed a very strong emotional solidarity with local residents and visitors. Participant #31 stated, “We're all sort of like a big old family when we have guests comes in. We treat them like family.” Other participants stated they had no problems with residents (#33), the hotel had good or excellent relations with local residents (#34 and 35) and local customers liked the welcome from the hotel (#36). A participant (#31) stated that some locals paid return visits to hotels (#31). Participants from the kitchen staff (#38, 39 and 40) also mentioned that they enjoyed a very strong emotional solidarity with local residents and visitors. However, participant #32 stated, as per the hotel policy, their staffs were not allowed to patronize with locals, and participant #37 stated they were less connected with local residents, but treated local customers equally.

#### ***5.11.8 Texas A&M University driver of tourism to BCS***

Participants in housekeeping group also made statements which supported the data-driven themes of this research. Participant #35 stated, “If they (visitors) come to A&M for the games, mostly it's just campus that really brings tourism. There's really not much here.” Further, participant #31 suggested, “We do a lot for A&M...and so A&M keeps this town going.” Participant #31 further suggested that it becomes difficult for lower staff when A&M closes. The participant further added there should be more attractions than A&M for keeping hotel occupancy high, suggesting the central role A&M plays in bringing tourists to BCS. Participant #34 suggested how A&M attracted people for games and for other reasons, “We get more than 40 hours. I guess cause their parents and stuff is coming. The other people is coming to watch the game so they stay

here and it's more work to clean the rooms." Participants #31 and 26 also stated that during summer when A&M had fewer students and no games, it affected their hotel occupancy and working hours of housekeeping staff.

In the kitchen group, a participant (#40) stated that their restaurant was busy during A&M's schedules and participant #37 stated, "I would say a lot of the tourism attractions that comes into Bryan College Station is based on the University, Texas A&M and then... for the most part like the students that are coming in." Similar to other participants such as owners, managers or officials, back of the house staff seemed to be aware of the important role Texas A&M plays in drawing visitors to BCS.

#### ***5.11.9 Texas A& M Culture/Aggie tradition shapes BCS culture***

At least one participant in the housekeeping group #33 stated that one of the reasons for tourists to come to BCS was A&M. She suggested:

Yeah because a lot of tourists come to ...most of the tourists come from all other places to be in Bryan College Station. They come for A&M, they come for historical downtown Bryan, they come for all these little parties they have in downtown and all those going on.

Therefore, one thing that was strongly linked with BCS culture was A&M. Likewise, one participant (#39) in the kitchen group stated, "Culture is really strong about here. Every place you go, you see a person with a purple (may be wanted to say maroon) shirt on saying "Go Aggies". Two guys in a car, it's really strong." This is how some of the back of the house staff shared how A&M shaped BCS culture.

#### ***5.11.10 Game-day traffic creates temporary social disruption in BCS***

Most of the participants in the housekeeping group made no suggestions relating to this data-driven theme. This might have happened due to less interaction opportunities housekeeping staff usually have to talk to visitors regarding their experiences in BCS. However, among the kitchen group, participant #32 mentioned the game day traffic and stated, "It's just part of what we go through. I don't mind it. You just got to know when to go out and when not to go out." She further mentioned residents were happy with tourists as they brought money, possibly suggesting that crowding was not an issue.

Thus, interviews from participants from back of the house staff (mainly ethnic minorities) also partially supported the emergent themes coming from the other 30 participants.

In an additional question which asked participants to add their views if they had, one participant in the kitchen group (#37) forwarded a suggestion stating, “I just say the whole culture of this town itself it's like revolved around A&M athletics ...And that there's not many like diversity in music, concerts.” This participant further suggested lifting music curfew at certain times (by the city) and showing more leniency for bringing country concerts would contribute better to bring diversity in music and culture.

#### ***5.11.11 Summary of data from back of the house staff***

Regarding the system of tourism governance, a majority of participants in the back of the house group (housekeeping and kitchen) did not have information regarding agencies that were accountable for making tourism development decisions in BCS. Only one participant had limited information that city supported events. None of these participants had information regarding whether the businesses they were working for received or needed any institutional/government support for business growth (excepting one who stated that private businesses did not need such a support).

Regarding the mechanisms of collaborative participation and decision-making relating to BCS tourism, a majority of these participants did not have information and did not participate in out of office meetings and discussions. However, one participant (#38) worked with the Chamber of Commerce and other organizations and participant #40 had some information that the city brought people to BCS for sports tournaments. A majority of back of the house staffs were not aware of issues to be raised outside (such as with the city, CVB or others). However, these participants took internal staff issues and others to the manager or owner and got them fully or half addressed. Three participants (#33, 35 and 36) pointed out the need of sorting out staff issues by management through a dialogue among conflicting parties.

Results of the study suggest some staff issues had not been fully resolved. On the issue of diversity and inclusiveness in tourism, all participants stated that there were

equal employment opportunities and there were no incentives or preferences for jobs for ethnic minorities. However, participant #34 (African-American, female) stated African-Americans involved in robberies in the past were not hired for jobs, and participant #37 (Hispanic, male) stated there was a kind of stigma or stereotype which affected job selection for Hispanics. A majority of participants did not have suggestions to improve collaboration and participation as they were not involved in meetings and discussions; however, participants #31 and 35 suggested the addition of new attractions to BCS for business growth and to enhance hotel occupancy. In general, the study findings suggested that as participants from the housekeeping and kitchen normally do not go out of their work places for tourism development related meetings and discussions, they had less information and suggestions compared to other participants such as general managers, owners or city officials as discussed earlier.

Compared to other participants(i.e. owners, general managers and city officials) who provided detailed account of the mechanisms for tourism revenues (receipts) and goods (benefits) distribution, these back of the house staff had relatively little or no information on the this issue. In another response, a few participants shared they have seen tourism-related businesses run by ethnic minorities and some of them were doing well. One participant (#32 African-American, female), stated that she had not seen a hotel in BCS run by an African-American, but did not know the reason, why. Participant #37 (Hispanic, male) thought businesses run by White persons made more money as they were already established and better recognized. Regarding financial incentives to locals or ethnic minorities to run tourism businesses, a majority of participants had no information. However, one participant stated that such incentives would be good to start up a business (#34). Another (#33) stated that such incentives should be equal to all. Participant #37 suggested businesses should receive marketing support based on financial status not based on race. Participant #39 stated s financial incentives from government (city or city council) would be good.

Regarding the issue of living standards and wages of back of the house and mainly ethnic minority participants, the study suggested that all participants were paid

minimum wage or better. Only a few received more than \$10.99, the minimum living wage as calculated by LWC. Major issue for back of the house staff was getting less than 40 weekly hours of work mainly in the summer. Almost all participants suggested summer happened to be slower and had lower hotel occupancy compared to football season. This affected the paychecks of a majority of participants interviewed in this group and only a few received 40 hours throughout the year. Therefore, developing BCS as a year-round destination seems to be a potential solution to some of the problems; however, it does not seem easy to materialize.

Job promotion was an issue for housekeeping and kitchen staff as they suggested they had limited chances for upward career movement. However, depending on skills and experience, these staff had potential opportunities for promotions or movement in other departments/positions. Most of the kitchen and housekeeping participants received 2-3 weeks' on- the-job training, not to bigger cities for advanced training. These participants seemed somehow familiar with the benefits of tourism to residents as they mentioned creation of jobs, business growth, opportunities to meet new people, and contributions to the growth of city and its economy. Some of these participants also mentioned that Texas A&M and cultural festivals helped attract visitors to BCS, which helped promote culture and tradition.

Regarding the issue of educating visitors about BCS culture, some of the participants informed visitors about places to go such as downtown Bryan and the North Gate district, about places to eat and, about ongoing or upcoming events. A majority of participants in the housekeeping and kitchen group suggested perception of emotional solidarity among stakeholders and visitors and stakeholders and residents to be very strong. The staff received compliments for their services and many tourists made return visits. Among the three data-emergent themes, two themes: Texas A&M Drives Tourism to BCS, and Texas A&M Culture/Aggie Tradition Shapes BCS Culture also received support from back of the house participants as some of them lauded the role Texas A&M played in bringing tourists to BCS and to preserving and promoting its culture. Only one participant (#32) mentioned that game day traffic was a temporary issue. The analysis

and results from the back of the house participants presented here have further been reflected in the discussion and recommendation sections of this document.



## 6. DISCUSSION

The domain/dimension of governance has been underlined by many scholars as an important one in addition to social, economic, and environmental dimensions for the success of sustainable tourism. In this respect, governance likely has an important role in addressing the issues of justice and equity, which have remained not fully addressed (Smith & Duffy, 2003; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008, 2010; Jamal, Camargo & Wilson, 2013; Jamal & Camargo, 2014) in sustainable tourism research and practice, including community-based tourism. Based on the findings of this research (as presented in Section V), and theoretical as well as research-driven insights, this section examines the issues of justice and equity in the domain of governance in Bryan-College Station tourism, mainly taking the perspectives of tourism stakeholders including back of the house staffs mainly from ethnic minorities.

As stated earlier, four themes emerged related to RQ 1, three themes relating to RQ 2 and three emergent data-driven themes which complement and intersect both RQs. This discussion section examines the 10 themes related to justice (mainly procedural and distributive perspectives of justice) and equity (sharing of equitable benefits) from the perspectives of tourism governance. In doing so, the discussion draws references from earlier studies on justice, ethics and equity including Rawls' (1971,1990; 2003) two principles of justice: (1) equal basic liberties and (2) fair equality of opportunity to all, including the difference principle (that requires the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged members of society to address the social and economic inequalities).

The primary objective of the current study was to contribute to the development of a robust framework of sustainable community-based tourism (SCBT) by exploring justice and equity issues in the domain of governance. To achieve the objective, two research questions guided interviews with thirty participants (tourism stakeholders in BCS) in the first phase, and ten additional participants from back of the house (nine were ethnic minorities) in the second phase. The first research question aimed to explore the

system of tourism governance addressing collaborative participation and decision-making in tourism development with consideration to responsiveness. The second sought to understand how various stakeholders felt about tourism development in BCS with respect to the distribution of tourism related goods and services and to ‘ethic of care.’

Relating to the first question, the study found that both Bryan and College Station and the Brazos County Office were the primary governing, decision-making bodies in tourism as they collected HOT money and distributed it through various agencies to promote the tourism, convention, and hotel industries and to preserve heritage and culture. While making such decisions for HOT revenue distribution, the cities and county abided by the HOT criteria mandated by state law. Their decisions were taken in consultation, however, with partner organizations such as the CVB, the Arts Council, Lodging Association, and Chamber of Commerce. The CVB participant shared with the researcher that the CVB held several rounds of discussions with different stakeholder groups, such as hotels, restaurants, retail establishments, meeting facilities, key business leaders, sports facilities, key businesses and city staff, etc. before preparing an annual plan for funding from the cities and presenting the plan at City Council meetings. City Council meetings were open to the public with advance notice. Several procedures, as detailed in the analysis, showed that the decision-making process was based on partnership and was collaborative; however, a limited number of restaurants and community organizations felt not invited or consulted unless they attended the City Council meetings on their own. A system of funding and financial support existed for promotion of tourism, convention, hotel, art, and culture for organizations as mentioned earlier; however, there was no provision of financial support for private tourism businesses in general - including ethnic minorities - nor were there any policies for incentives or preferences for people from ethnic minorities for jobs. Participants from back of the house (housekeeping and kitchen) in general did not have information relating to tourism decision-making or responsible agencies for tourism development in BCS. None of these participants were involved in or participated in any kind of decisions or discussions relating to BCS tourism. This could be attributed to their back of the

house nature of jobs. However, the participants shared about their staff and internal issues, and suggested equal employment opportunity was in place. However, a few participants such as (#34 African American, female) suggested past robbery background specifically of African-Americans worked as a barrier to job. For participant #37 (Hispanic, male) stigma or stereotype relating to Hispanics affected jobs whereas for participant #38 (Hispanic, male) “There were a lot of Hispanics” in tourism business or jobs.

Relating to the second question, the study found that HOT money was mainly distributed to entities such as the CVB, The Arts Council, DBA, and The Expo Center, Kyle Field, and other entities such as the RVP, TAMU Athletics Department, and the GBPLM. The AAM also received some amount of HOT money through the Arts Council. A majority of festivals (such as the Fiesta Patrias and the World Festival) were supported through HOT event grants and there was special provision of HOT funding from the City of Bryan for the Texas Reds and Steaks festival. A majority of participants found HOT distribution to be fair, though the incentive given by the City of Bryan to a hotel and proposed development of Southeast Park by the City of College Station have faced some reservations. Differences in opinions from the stakeholders suggest the need for more collaboration and a consensus-based approach. However, participants from back of the house did not have information how HOT money was distributed.

In the issue of “ethic of care” a majority of tourism workers were found to be paid a higher than average salary. Kitchen and housekeeping staff, however, seemed to be paid at least a minimum or were above the minimum salary, many without a raise for the past seven years (as mentioned by participant #16, Hispanic female). While interviewing the housekeeping and kitchen staff, the study suggested that some of them found their wages pretty good, others thought their wages could have been increased. More than per hour wages, a majority of back of the house staff were concerned about their reduced working hours (less than 40 a week) in summer, which affected their paychecks. These staffs also suggested limited promotion opportunities compared to front office or other departments (with a few exceptions). A positive, facilitating aspect

was that almost all of these staffs received 2-3 week-long on-the-job training from their employers. The skills they learn during job hiring could make them more employable at other places, too.

Benefits of tourism to the residents/community have been highly appreciated by a majority of participants. However, a concern from some small tourism stakeholders in Bryan (except a downtown hotel) that they are not getting much out of the game day traffic in College Station (#6, 27, and 30) suggests a need for policy consideration or efficient tailoring of marketing programs. The perception of emotional solidarity, which is closely associated with justice, and “ethic of care” (as all focus on mutual respect and understanding and care for others) was suggested to be strong among the stakeholders and visitors and stakeholders and residents. This provides a foundation for the future growth of BCS as a tourist-friendly and tourism-dependent community. However, issues pointed out by a few participants, specifically back of the house participants related to having lean days beyond the TAMU educational and sports calendar suggests drawing more attention from the governing bodies in tourism as well as from other stakeholders. Finally, identification of new themes besides the domain of tourism governance, such as Texas A&M University driving tourism to BCS, TAMU culture/Aggie Spirit shaping BCS culture, and game day traffic disrupting social life temporarily provide new directions to the current research. Possibly, game day traffic issue could be considered in future tourism planning if it has not been taken as a serious concern currently. The findings of the study are discussed below from the perspective of their theoretical strength, research and practical implications.

## 6.1 System of Tourism Governance

This study was based on the identification of gaps relating to the dimensions of sustainability and potential under-represented issues of justice, ethics, and equity to be addressed in the domain/dimension of governance. This study found that in BCS, mainly the City Managers, City Councils, and County Offices made tourism development decisions in consultation with other offices such as the CVB, BVLA, DBA and the Arts Council. TAMU did not make tourism development decisions directly, but it was a part of decision-making processes through its representation in the city boards, CVB, and the Chamber of Commerce boards.

The decision-making process was collaborative based on partnerships between public-private organizations or private-private organizations. This kind of collaborative decision-making process has been suggested to be needed for the success of programs and stakeholders' satisfaction (Scheyeveens, 1999, 2002; Mataritta-Cascante, 2010). However, as pointed out by some of the participants (#7 and 9), that a central planning mechanism was lacking in BCS tourism suggests a potential need of establishing an integrated body for tourism development decisions.

One of the criteria in Rawls' *Justice as Fairness* for a well-ordered society suggests that "society's basic structure—that is, its main political and social institutions, and the way they hang together as one system of cooperation—is publicly known...and satisfy those principles of justice" (Rawls, 2003, p. 9). However, the study showed the system of tourism governance institutions are cooperating, but they may not be coalescing together in terms of integrated tourism planning and coordination. As argued by Wight (2002), there are successful examples from the Province of Alberta, Canada, that government has a critical role in achieving sustainable tourism goals/objectives and in balancing social, economic and environmental integrity. When the Alberta Government raised its role from simply a facilitator to the tourism industry to a proactive one in the 1990s more balanced tourism development goals such as harmonizing society, economy, and environment were achieved (p. 226). Such a balanced development happened through integrating tourism into resource planning and decision-making,

organizing stakeholder consultations, forming cooperative partnerships, and initiating research.

Choi & Sirakaya (2005) measured residents' attitudes toward sustainable tourism in a small tourism community in New Braunfels, Texas and identified long-term, integrated, participatory planning (p. 383) as one of the major components of sustainable community tourism planning. Others such as UNEP-UNWTO (2005), Bramwell & Lane (1993), and Sharpley (2000) have emphasized holistic planning for sustainable tourism. In the context of BCS tourism governance, both the City of Bryan and the City of College Station do not have planning departments/divisions for tourism per se and much of the job is left to the CVB, which is stated to be a non-profit, destination marketing body rather than a governing/regulating body in tourism. The CVB participant said their main challenge is, "Short-term funding and contract, number one probably. With both cities we have annual contract and the annual budget. I love to be able to plan long-range." This suggests a need for an integrated/central planning body in tourism which could potentially give this sector a holistic and long-term planning approach.

Regarding support for institutional/business growth, the study found a strong mechanism of support for tourism institutions and businesses in areas such as tourism, convention and hotel industry promotion and promotion of art and culture through the CVB, The Arts Council, the Expo Center, DBA and so on. Matching grants by the City of Bryan (that could be 50% of the total cost or maximum \$35,000) for restoring historic buildings in Downtown Bryan, including hotels and restaurants, spoke of the government commitment for maintaining the heritage of the city in partnership with its residents and businesses. This follows the tradition of many historic/heritage cities, which have tried to maintain/restore their historical character mainly taking support from tourism earnings, e.g. the UNESCO-designated cultural heritage site of Bhaktapur Durbar Square in Nepal (Lamichhane, 2009). Additionally, satisfaction expressed by some of the participants (#14, 22, 27) regarding the role of the city (Bryan for heritage preservation) by responding to and supporting the businesses and residents through

façade grants can be an example to follow for other heritage sites in the US and around the world.

Examples from some studies and international practices suggest BCS tourism governance could take a more proactive role (Wight, 2002; Chettiparamb & Kokkranikal (2012). From Catibag-Sinha and Wen's (2008) 7Es of sustainable tourism planning (environment, economics, enforcement, experience, engagement, enquiry, and education), the important role of governance for BCS tourism can be underlined as enforcement and engagement. Among a few, two principles of sustainable tourism emphasize pursuing multi-stakeholder engagement and supporting local communities (Goodwin, 2011; and UNEP-UNWTO, 2005). Choi and Shirakaya (2005) highlighted "fair distribution of economic benefits" (p. 383) among residents as one of the aims of community tourism. They argued this could be achieved when there is maximum community participation and support from the government including "(1) the strengthening of tourism programs, and (2) providing low-interest loans"... (p. 383) among others. Of course, there are some loans available through SBA for "starting, acquiring and expanding a small business" (U.S. SBA Loans, 2016, para. 7). Once viewed from these national and international perspectives and practices, local governance agencies in BCS possibly need to look into additional avenues such as organizing additional interactive forums with the community beyond the regular ones (including back of the house ethnic minority staffs) potentially to improve stakeholder engagement and to support local communities for engaging in tourism. Rather than assigning the majority of tourism activities to be handled by the CVB (basically a destination marketing body), agencies such as cities and the County can organize various stakeholders' interactions on tourism, including non-tourism stakeholders such as community organizations (including churches) and school districts. This could potentially help bring residents' perspectives for tourism development, better communicate potential opportunities of tourism to wider public, and enhance trust among multiple stakeholders of tourism (Byrd, 2007).

Another area of tourism governance in CBT is community empowerment and education, and many local/national governments in other developing countries support communities to develop tourism entrepreneurial skills through training (Cooperation A.P.E. 2010, p 31, 42-43; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005). Dodds, Ali, & Galaski (2016) emphasized education and training for capacity building as another element of CBT success to be initiated by planners. They emphasized the need of conducting workshops and courses by government agencies, NGOs or local experts. If local governments in BCS could replicate such programs, it could contribute towards equity and justice by engaging more people in tourism and sharing tourism benefits. In another instance, Chili and Xulu (2015) stated that, “the government at all levels has the obligation to ensuring that the plight of the poor is addressed and turned around through sustainable tourism development” (p. 27). If their statement is to be applicable in all levels of governance, BCS tourism governance likely should make additional efforts for those ethnic minorities and economically disadvantaged groups which are not capable of taking equal benefits of tourism due to the past impacts of racism and segregation as stated by some of the participants.

## **6.2 Mechanism for Collaborative Participation & Decision-Making**

The study findings suggested that BCS exercised both structured and informal mechanisms of collaboration to resolve issues facing tourism development. Mainly the cities, County, and CVB were charged as responsible bodies to help ensure collaboration and participation related to tourism development or addressing issues. Both cities and County have set mechanisms for consultation and discussion with major stakeholders including the Bureau, the Arts Council and other associations through ex-officio representations in boards and through public hearings and meetings. Bryan, College Station and the Brazos County Office have representations in various associations such as the CVB, Chamber of Commerce and BVLA, which have helped make inter-organizational collaboration and partnership structured and functional. Many restaurants, hotels and community organizations have attended city council meetings organized by



the cities. Networking of small businesses including restaurants coordinated by the DBA in Bryan was found to be effective.

The DBA also organized Thursday morning meetings, which were thought to be effective in information-sharing regarding tourism, upcoming events, and enhancing networks. The researcher attended one such meetings to gain first-hand information about stakeholder interactions. While there is a Brazos Valley Restaurant Association located in University Dr. in College Station (its contact phone was found non-functional or not well attended), a participant (#18) stated that restaurants in College Station lacked a central coordinating body to raise their voice or concerns unless they maintained a personal rapport and said:

I have direct contact with many members of the city councils. So again, if I feel like I'm not getting somewhere, I certainly know I can go back to the people that have the control to purse strings but at least get my voice heard. They've always been receptive.

A hotelier in College Station (#24 White, male) also stated that restaurants were mainly dependent on local traffic or part of out of city traffic already marketed by the hoteliers or the CVB. In this sense, they were said not feeling the need for a separate body or association of restaurants (maybe for College Station) though many of them were associated with the Chamber of Commerce. One of the co-partners of a restaurant (#18) stated the city is “dead over Christmas; what can we do?”, suggesting dependency of restaurants on other bodies such as the CVB, cities, and TAMU sports for bringing in tourists to BCS during the off-season.

The study also found that collaboration among major stakeholders of tourism was very strong, and those interested in issues related to tourism voluntarily attended city council (public) meetings organized by the cities and county and expressed their concerns. However, a few participants in the restaurant group (three out of eight: #11, 13 and 15) stated that they were not invited or consulted for discussions/decisions; possibly their top management/owners were. It should be noted that all these meetings are open to public. The study suggested that back of the house staff basically housekeeping and

kitchen staff were most affected by slow business and occupancy in summer as their working hours were reduced. Possibly City Council meetings would be the forums for them to attend and raise voice about this issue, so that cities would start thinking and make some response plans in coordination with the industry.

The current study also suggested that issues of tourism development/governance relate more to higher-level positions in organizations than lower- or medium-level staff. Back of the staff showed nothing sort of involvement in such issues. In the cultural group, the AAC participant and another participant from the antique shop also felt they were not invited for discussions and decisions. This gap also suggested big sporting events in College Station did not affect their businesses significantly for #6 (White, female), #26 (African-American, male), #27(White, male) and #(30 African-American, male). These opinions, though spoken by only a few participants suggested the need towards improving collaboration. Jamal & Getz (1995, p. 188) promoted collaboration theory in community-based tourism (CBT) planning, and defined collaboration as “a process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organizational, community tourism domain to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or to manage issues related to the planning and development of the domain.” Whether some of the participants raising concerns on the mechanism of discussion/collaboration are the key stakeholders is a subject for further study; however, addressing problems underlying the domain could better serve BCS tourism through improved collaboration. Choi & Sirakaya (2005) emphasized full and active multiple stakeholders’ participation in decision-making and collaboration before developing community (tourism) development goals and objectives. In the context of community-based tourism, Smith & Duffy (2003, p. 104) emphasized that “social justice is about more than just giving a fair share of profits back to the local community; it also requires the involvement and consent of the whole community”. This scholarly feedback suggests that city offices could possibly organize a few rounds of exclusive meetings on tourism, inviting tourism stakeholders (hotels/motels, restaurants including some back of the house workers/representatives) as well as allied stakeholders (such as fast food, gift

shops, retailers, liquor shops, community groups including churches), etc. As mentioned earlier such exclusive meetings aimed at stakeholder involvement could be utilized for getting public informed and educated about the topic and issues facing sustainable community tourism, for incorporating public values and opinions, enhancing trust, and generating new ideas for planning (Byrd, 2007). Such meetings/interactions may provide cities multiple perspectives for tourism planning and marketing and improve stakeholder satisfaction through participation and help address issues relating to ‘ethic of care’.

### **6.3 Responsible Agencies for Tourism Development**

The current study was guided by research on ST and CBT (Bramwell & Lane, 1993/2011; Cole, 2006; UNEP-UNWTO, 2005; Garrod & Fuall, 1998; GSTC, 2015; Scheyvens, 1999/2002) and started with a focused approach on the issues of justice and equity in the domain of governance identifying the cities, county and CVB as the main responsible bodies pertaining to tourism governance, development and handling issues relating to tourism in BCS. The findings of the study also established that though the cities, County and CVB were the main accountable bodies for tourism; tourism in BCS is a multi-stakeholder industry. Texas A&M University plays a role in recruiting large number of students including international students, organizing various sports and educational events, and offers a unique and rich tradition/culture, and was found to be a main driver of tourism to BCS and influencing tourism development decisions to some extent. A majority of participants highlighted the role of TAMU as the main driver of tourism and some thought it to be responsible for tourism development issues along with the police department. Engagement of various stakeholders in BCS tourism for multi-level integration (Hall, 2011), and pluralistic dialogue (Jamal and Watt, 2011) could possibly bring multi-agencies’ perspectives in addressing issues. Suggestions received from a majority of participants suggested a need for placing TAMU as one of the core planners and decision-makers for tourism development and for addressing issues related to sports and crowding. However, such an inclusion of TAMU supported by stakeholders’ consensus on how best to include TAMU’s potential for tourism planning and decision-making could be more beneficial to all. Furthermore, Texas A&M

University as per its mission statement of “providing the highest quality undergraduate and graduate programs is inseparable from its mission of developing new understandings through research and creativity” (TAMU, 2016, para. 1) possibly cannot serve as nor should be the central body of tourism planning. However, by integrating TAMU in the planning and strategy development phases of tourism development/marketing, there is a better possibility of integrating issues of justice and equity as TAMU remains the main driving force of BCS tourism and economy.

As mentioned by a majority of participants (#1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28 and 29) in the study, system of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) provides a level-playing field and it is fair and justifiable. All participants from back of the house groups (#31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 and 40) also agreed that there is an equal employment opportunity in place. Only a few #24 (White, male) and #30 (African-American, male) from earlier 30 participants mentioned that due to historical factors of race and discrimination, some ethnic groups are not capable of receiving equitable benefits. Further, a few participants such as (#34 African American, female) suggested past robbery background specifically of African-Americans worked as a barrier to job. For participant #37 (Hispanic, male) stigma or stereotype relating to Hispanics affected jobs whereas for participant #38 (Hispanic, male) “There were a lot of Hispanics” in tourism business or jobs. The study also failed to find the special mechanisms invented/employed by the governments/s to ensure greatest benefits to the least advantaged ones in BCS tourism as Rawls’ *Theory of Justice* (2003) stated. However, one participant from back of the house (#34 African-American, female) stated some special incentives/preferences for ethnic minorities would be good, though she did not have idea how that could be done.

Texas A&M University by its mission is not a directly-tourism-related institution though it has a major influence in BCS tourism. Some of the proactive steps with respect to diversity and inclusiveness applied by the university possibly set an example for BCS tourism. Lawrence (2016) wrote in *Campus Reform* that Texas A&M University has been attracting and recruiting a growing number of students from ethnic minorities due

to its proactive policies and programs. The programs include Texas' Top 10 Percent Rule program "to attract minority high school graduates... and university's proactive minority outreach programs and low-income scholarships" (para 7). Lawrence (2016) also noted that such awards specifically considered individual student merit and recruited minority students (from African-American and Hispanic majority areas) by conducting outreach programs among underachieving, poor minority students' in those areas such as east Dallas. This is how even without officially recognizing affirmative action as a policy for inclusiveness and diversity, Texas A&M has been able to address diversity and inclusiveness through minority-student targeted individual programs. Lawrence (2016) further stated, "since 2003, A&M has more than doubled its enrollment of Black and Hispanic students from 10.8 percent to 23.1 percent, compared to UT Austin's considerably smaller 7.3 percent jump in the same time frame" (para 6). A distinction should be noted here that UT Austin has espoused affirmative action since 2003. This reference is just an example how similar to the public university of Texas A&M, private businesses in BCS can also increase the chances of employment for ethnic minorities through proactive practices.

In another exemplary practice, Human Resources Department of Texas A&M University (Human Resources, TAMU, 2016) has devised statements for creating a diverse pool of applicants. A few of the guidelines include: "advertise in a variety of media; request names of potential candidates from women and minorities at your institution and at institutions; ...and contact professional organizations, associations, and agencies that have a job referral service" (Human Resources, TAMU, 2016, para. 1). Such statements also include department's commitment to affirmative action. This is how Texas A&M as a public university has shown leadership in inclusion and diversity in employment and it can be assumed that it has positive impacts in BCS business and community.

#### **6.4 Other Issues**

Tourism associations such as the CVB, the Arts Council, DBA, and the Expo Center depend more on HOT funding (closer to 90-100 percent) generated through

tourism. Besides, tourism serves as the lifeline for many tourism, art, culture, events and convention promotion organizations. Even the city offices, which are responsible for providing city services such as roads and utilities and recreational facilities such as parks and sports to their residents, were largely dependent on the sales tax generated through tourism (#7 and 28). A star hotel in Bryan was mainly dependent on activities generated by TAMU (#22). However, some of the small businesses, such as a restaurant, an antique shop and the AAC were not heavily influenced by the increased visitors' flow in College Station. The state of lack of their marketing skills or budget deprives these businesses and organizations from the potential benefits of tourism. For example, participant #27 (an antique store in downtown Bryan) stated challenges for his business such as "How to reach people?", "What the market is?" and "What draws people in?" For distributing tourism benefits more equitably to small businesses and community at large, Lucchetti and Font (2013) suggested "integration of CBT initiatives with mainstream tourism markets" (p. 3). The CVB has done a commendable job by linking all such properties in its website; however, if CVB or cities could support/organize some annual marketing workshops to keep such properties updated regarding where to market or how to market, those initiatives could potentially benefit such businesses and others interested. During the interview, The Arts Council participant stated that they provided some additional services for their affiliate members such as the African American Museum (AAM). The services included:

And another thing I am doing is that part of the role of our organization is professional development so we provide free workshops, and things for non-profits it would not necessarily have it. I am doing the board retreat and development session for AAM in May which is free that's what we do and that is something that group may not have the money to go out and hire a consultant. Where I can come in and do that for them and help them lead through strategic planning process of that so that they can figure out what they want to do and you know make sure they are adhering to the best practices and make a plan for their board because they are working hard to do that. You know they do not have money to go out and hire somebody to come in and do that for them. So these are the little things we do but I wish we could do more.

These kinds of services, from an umbrella organization to its affiliate members, deserve appreciation. However, the financial difficulties the AAM has currently been facing (working with two part-time staff, having a low number of 3,000 visitors a year), and the issue small businesses face regarding “What the market is?”, “What draws people in?” (#27) indicated that possibly more needs to be done from the governing/marketing bodies as stated earlier. An additional guidance/assistance from the governing bodies could contribute to the growth of such institutions, which contribute to the cultural diversity and heritage of the community and help sustain the local economy through small businesses.

### **6.5 Distribution of Tourism Revenues and Benefits**

Results of the study suggest that the cities and county, following the HOT regulations mandated by the state, distribute tourism revenues (benefits). As the regulations have strict criteria that HOT money must be spent as an investment for (1) directly promoting tourism; and (2) directly promoting convention and hotel industry. There are other nine categories, which mention that HOT can also be spent for the promotion of arts and culture, establishment or maintenance of a convention center, and tourist transportation among others (For details see Appendix IV). The CVB, DBA, the Arts Council, the Expo Center, and the Kyle Field are some of the organizations that have received major HOT funding. Of them, the CVB has received the most for carrying out its main job of marketing BCS as a tourism and convention destination and filling the hotel rooms. There are other organizations (such as the GBPLM, RVP, TAMU Athletics Department, AAM and various cultural organizations) that have received HOT directly, through the Arts Council or through events grants. Since the cities and county distributed HOT in consultation with these organizations, the stakeholders expressed a great sense of satisfaction. Resident satisfaction has been suggested to be one of the critical success factors of CBT (Scheyeveens, 2002; Vajrakachorn, 2011). Most stakeholders stated that the HOT distribution has largely remained fair, equitable, and justifiable. Moreover, the official of the City of Bryan highlighted the inclusive representation system the city had:

Our council is representative of specific areas of our cities. We are single member district representation. For example College Station, all the council members are at large, our city council members are elected from districts in our city. We have five single member districts. So you will have 2 districts that are largely minority populations. One is predominantly Hispanic area, another is predominantly African American and then you have like I said total of 5 areas. So those representatives they meet with their constituents often, particularly in those two minority districts, districts one and two. Council members put out signs and paraphernalia, but they hold their own town meetings and they hear from their constituents and of course a lot of the diverse populations...there is a lot of opportunities for the city of Bryan to receive feedback. Not just coming to public meeting but the representation from those neighborhoods.

The statements from the city official emphasized that Bryan specifically had more inclusive representation that provided a platform for citizens (through their unique representation system) to express their concerns regarding HOT distribution and other issues. However, concerns expressed by participant #24 regarding the granting of incentives to a hotel in Bryan and opposition to the City of College Station's proposal to develop Southeast Park through HOT money suggests a need for wider stakeholder consensus. To the researcher it seemed like the hoteliers took incentives to a new hotel in Bryan seriously as the participant (#24 White, male) stated, "I'm sure they'll (City of Bryan) remember forty hoteliers showing up in red shirts." However, when the researcher contacted the City of Bryan official for a second round of interview and inquired about this issue, he informed the researcher that the city has done this as per its policy-decisions for promoting economic development.

The current study also suggested that stakeholders exhibited a great degree of influence in the distribution of HOT as they have been able to stop the passage of a law that would have allowed the City of Bryan to buy land from HOT money (claimed by participant #1 and 4). However, this was refuted by the city official of Bryan, as he had said there had never been an effort to make such a provision. Additionally, some participants from Bryan (#6 and 14) held concerns that the CVB had too much emphasis on promoting College Station and its sports, rather than Bryan and its culture. This could be a useful suggestion for the cities and CVB for future planning. Possibly, hoteliers from College Station have claimed a bigger share of promotion for their higher



contribution to the HOT funding, which was also agreed by the CVB participant. As stated earlier in the analysis, not all participants from housekeeping group had information relating to mechanism for distribution of tourism (HOT) revenues. It can be suggested that there was no relationship between the job assignment of back of the house staff and more managerial level issues such as tourism revenue distribution and tourism decisions. Contrary to this, officials from governing bodies and a majority of owners and management level staff of hotels and restaurants knew about tourism revenues distribution mechanisms.

On the issue of financial incentives to locals to run tourism-related businesses or on the provision of incentives for minority-operated businesses that relate to justice and equity, the study observed some practical difficulties in addressing those issues. The foundation of a liberal democratic society of the United States guarantees equal individual liberty and freedom to all, disapproves all types of discriminations based on race, sex, religion, national origin, age, disability and so forth, and tries to ensure equal employment opportunities. This is highly likely a majority of participants including back of the house emphasized a level playing field for all and did not have knowledge or information about the existence of incentives or preferences to locals to start up their businesses (including tourism) or any specific incentives for ethnic minorities or disadvantaged groups to assist in their businesses. Some of the participants suggested a reference of SBA for providing such business assistance. Theoretically, equal employment opportunity is the best a society could aim to achieve, but practically it could leave the poor poorer and give more opportunities to the rich to get richer. This situation can be a great challenge in achieving intra-generational and inter-generational equity in sustainable development including CBT operations as emphasized by the WECD (1987). All participants from back of the house emphasized a level playing field; however, some of them suggested such financial incentives would be good, but not based on race or ethnicity. Participants #31 (White, female) and #34 (African-American, female) stated financial support/government support for businesses would be good; participants #39 (African-American, male) and #40 (Hispanic, male) stated such

incentives or loans should come from the government or the city council. Participants (#34, 39, and 40) further suggested that such incentives would be good to start a business. Currently, as stated by the cities (#7 and 28) and county official (#23), they do not have provisions for such financial incentives and loans, possibly as a part of tourism governance, these agencies could think about this issue in collaboration with some financing/lending institutions. U.S. SBA seems to have a provision for small business loans and preferences for historically underutilized businesses (HUB) as detailed later.

Scholars have presented examples of how equity and justice in tourism have remained problematic elsewhere. Discussing tourism, economic development, and political economies specifically in the context of Third World countries, Crick (1989) mentioned that “benefits from tourism unlike water, tend to flow uphill...but the profits go to the elites-those already wealthy, and those with political influence...the poor find themselves unable to tap the flow of resources while the wealthy need only use their existing assets (e.g. ownership of well-positioned real estate, political influence) to gain more” (p. 317). Crick’s statement holds significance even in the context of developed countries and liberal economics such as the U.S., where some disadvantaged people in BCS do not seem to be engaged in tourism enterprises due to the effects of historical discrimination as some participants #24 (White, male), #26 (African-American, male) and #30 (African-American, male) mentioned. Further, a participant from housekeeping group (#32, African-American, female) also mentioned that she has not seen a hotel in the community run by an African-American; however, she did not know the reason why. In a related study, Blanchflower, Levine, & Zimmerman (2003) found that “black-owned small businesses are about twice as likely to be denied credit even after controlling for differences in creditworthiness and other factors” (p. 930). Further, Gold’s (2016) study on black American entrepreneurship also supported that race-based disadvantages including “low level of earning, lack of wealth, poor education, lack of experience in a family business, and difficulty in getting a loan” (p. 1712) as reasons and most significant being critical race theory (CRT), systematic racism, and colorblind racism. These are a few examples from scholarly research, which support the

suggestions from participants # 24, 26, and 30 that historical discrimination is somehow responsible for lower rate of businesses or business success by African-Americans.

On the positive side of this issue, there are some efforts on federal government scale to facilitate the disadvantaged communities and ethnic minorities through some proactive programs. For example, the Historically Underutilized Business Zones (HUBZone) program of U.S. SBA encourages economic development in HUB zones through the establishment of preferences. The U.S. SBA's HUBZone program has objectives "to promote economic development and employment growth in distressed areas by providing access to more federal contracting opportunities." (U.S. SBA, HUBZone Program, 2016). SBA HUBZone Program (2016) stated that benefits of the HUBZone program include "competitive and sole source contracting; and 10% price evaluation preference in full and open contract competitions, as well as subcontracting opportunities"(para. 5). However, there are specific eligibility criteria to qualify for HUBZone program. Some of these requirements included: "It (the business) must be owned and controlled at least 51% by U.S. citizens, or a Community Development Corporation, an agricultural cooperative, or an Indian tribe; its principal office must be located within a 'Historically Underutilized Business Zone,' which includes lands considered 'Indian Country' and military facilities closed by the Base Realignment and Closure Act; and at least 35% of its employees must reside in a HUBZone" (U.S. SBA, HUBZone Program, 2016, para. 5). Based on the qualification criteria for HUBZone program, possibly some ethnic minorities or other economically disadvantaged groups in BCS may not qualify for a HUBZone program. Interestingly, no participant from back of the house group seemed to have any idea of SBA operations as none mentioned it. However, other SBA provided loans for starting, acquiring and expanding a small business could be helpful to some of the residents and ethnic minorities if they are genuinely interested to start tourism business and do not qualify for HUBZone program.

Measured from the perspectives of Rawls' *Theory of Justice* (1971, 1990) and *Justice as Fairness: A restatement* (2003) people from disadvantaged communities also enjoy equal basic liberties, and fair equality of opportunity in the liberal democratic

system of the US and as envisioned in Rawls' two principles of justice. However, the difference principle that economic inequalities are acceptable when the greatest benefit for the least-advantaged members of society are ensured is perceived to be problematic by the current research from an implementation perspective. The observation that Rawls' account of "distributive justice that is widely, though (he later admitted) not universally applicable" (Smith & Duffy, 2003, p. 99). However, Smith & Duffy (2003) further stated Rawls' *Justice as Fairness* provides an objective way of measuring the competing notions of justice employed in various social contexts by various social groups. Further, they believed Rawls' account "remains culturally relative (to modern Western societies) rather than universal" (Smith & Duffy, 2003, p.101). This seems worth considering in the context of BCS tourism. Moreover, spending of tourism tax money by the cities for public benefits such as education, health, infrastructure development, police, fire services, parks and recreation facilities development, etc. can also be considered "all-benefitting" expenses, which the least advantaged also enjoy equally in BCS. In this respect, issues of justice and equity in and through tourism seem to be somehow balanced and beneficial to all, though additional focused programs supporting/expanding skills development programs as launched by the Chamber of Commerce could be beneficial to all including the disadvantaged.

Lucchetti and Font (2013), using examples from developing countries such as Peru, emphasized four aspects for the success of CBT implementation: "planning, partnerships, community's capacity to deliver, and funding and micro-credits" (P. 5). The mechanism of funding such as investments or micro-credits provide support to CBT organizations and some of residents in the community for start-up funds or through micro-credits with easy access and flexible repayment terms. However, in the context of liberal democracies such as BCS, Rawls' (2003) second principle of justice that, "social and economic inequalities are to satisfy two conditions: first they are to be attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity; and second, they are to be to the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged members of society (the difference principle)" (p.43) seem to face critical implementation challenges. There

seem to be no provisions of specific incentives for ethnic minorities or disadvantaged communities through regular tourism revenues except the ones available through U.S. SBA. This suggests that tourism-governing bodies in BCS may take some proactive steps such as allocating resources (from regular budget) for capacity building through CVB or Chamber of commerce or organize consultative forums to assist the disadvantaged.

There are examples in other parts of the world where some preferences to disadvantaged individuals are in place. For example, in Strambach & Surmeier's (2013) study of Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA), one of the categories of ownership and control that FTTSA-certified businesses must follow is, "Take steps to ensure that historically disadvantaged individual (HDIs) are equitably represented in decision-making structures, including but not limited to top management" (p. 740). Possibly, provisions such as this might empower certain disadvantaged groups in other countries, which may not be equally applicable in the context of BCS in the U.S. This is an example of how criteria of CBT development and direction to address equity and justice issues may not be equally effective in different geographical and political settings.

Given the purpose of this research to look into the issues of equity and justice in the domain of governance, some conceptual definitions of equity were presented earlier (In Section I). To help frame the discussion, Sharpley (2000) defined equity as, "development that is fair and equitable and which provides opportunities for access to and use of resources for all members of all societies, both in the present and future." (p. 8). Sharpley's (2000) definition strongly supports the goal of inter-generational and intra-generational equity as championed by the WECD (1987). While exploring the gap in equity and justice in tourism operations in BCS, some of the participants (#24, 26, and 30) suggested that they have seen ethnic minorities involved in tourism operations such as fast foods and restaurant businesses; however, they have not seen any African-American owned hotels in BCS. A participant from kitchen group #32 (African-American, female) also stated that she also has not seen any African-American owned

hotel in BCS, but did not know the reason, why. This information possibly indicates some sort of historical discrimination leading to the current economic disparity. Therefore, the rhetoric of WECD (1987) for achieving inter-generational and intra-generational equity do not seem to hold significance and practical application for those disadvantaged communities. Such disadvantaged communities possibly still continue the impacts of past prejudices and discrimination as mentioned by a few participants #24 (White, male), #26 (African-American, male) and #30 (African-American, male) and there is no provision of affirmative action or special provision for the disadvantaged ethnic groups for sharing economic benefits. For example, UNEP-UNWTO (2005) defined social equity as “a widespread and fair distribution of economic and social benefits from tourism throughout the recipient community, including improving opportunities, income and services available to the poor”(p. 18). The study suggested that the residents in BCS (including ethnic minorities) have benefitted from tourism through increased opportunities for jobs and city services. In an instance, the city of Bryan official stated the city receives some funding from Housing and Urban Development (HUD), which is spent on housing for people with low incomes. This is how some of the ethnic minorities might have been advantaged from the city’s community development programs, but not directly from HOT funding as it cannot be spent directly ensuring equitable benefits.

A reference made by a few study participants #24 (White, male), #26 (African-American, male, and #30 (African-American, male) that historic discrimination affects the business entrepreneurship of some ethnic groups, such as African Americans, is supported by some earlier studies in other disciplines (Blanchflower, Levine, & Zimmerman, 2003). In a study of *Discrimination in the Small-Business Credit Market*, Blanchflower et al. (2003) found that “black-owned small businesses are about twice as likely to be denied credit even after controlling for differences in creditworthiness and other factors” (p. 930). This study presents an example that correlates to the statement of one of the interview participants (#30, African-American, male) who stated that (lending) criteria are power, which could potentially treat different people differently.

Further, Sólorzano, Villalpando & Oseguera's (2005) used critical race theory (CRT) to analyze the "educational inequities and racialized barriers faced by Latina/o college students when navigating the educational pipeline leading to a college degree" (p. 272). They found that for Latinas/os, race and ethnicity affects the quality and equality in educational achievements throughout their educational career. The authors suggested that "race and racism are woven into the structures, practices, and policies of colleges and universities" (p. 286) and further stated that these objective, meritocratic, and color blind practices said to be in the pursuit of equal educational opportunities inhibit the educational success of Latinas/os and other students of color. The authors further claimed, "CRT argues that higher education in the United States cannot separate itself from the historical fact that its current identity and practices have been largely shaped by legal and sociopolitical forces that have continuously redefined concepts of race, ethnicity, national origin, language, class, and justice" (p. 287). This statement seems to have implications for other fields including tourism/CBT. Despite the provision of EEO, less participation/ownership of African-Americans and Hispanics in businesses (including tourism-related such as hotels by African-Americans) based on race and ethnicity could be linked to historical discrimination as some studies have suggested (Blanchflower, Levine, & Zimmerman, 2003; Gold, 2016). Tourism businesses possibly cannot be isolated from such deep-rooted issues of historical racial discrimination. However, such issues of historical discrimination affecting tourism business participation may require a further specialized research, which is beyond the objective of this study.

One of the criteria of equity proposed by the IOG (2015) is to ensure equity in terms of benefits to disadvantaged groups (justice). In the context of the United States, where legal frameworks do not make a distinction between economically advantaged group and disadvantaged groups, implementation of justice and equity issues are perceived to get further complicated by the current research. Contrary to this, there are some positive examples from developing countries where government interventions have brought positive impacts for economically disadvantaged groups. Drawing from a case

study of Kumarakom, India, Chettiparamb & Kokkranikal (2012, p. 320) argued that besides voluntary codes of conduct by/for the tourism industry itself, some sort of regulation, enforcement and coercion is needed from the government to provide social equity and community well-being through responsible/sustainable tourism practices. The authors stated that, “it was the personal involvement and unwavering insistence of top-level bureaucrats that finally coerced the industry partners to compliance and cooperation in the early days” (p. 320). These compliance measures included industry partners’ responsibility to buy the produce from the local farmers, until a self-regulating mechanism was established that benefitted the outside investors and tourists through diversified tourist products and experiences. It also helped enhance the very foundation of community goodwill and support. Amidst various forms of state/local government influence, one step of cajoling 18 hotels and resorts “into signing up to an agreement to purchase produces exclusively from the farmers of the locality” ( p.317) in the initial stage worked as setting a foundation for responsible/sustainable community tourism development. Example from Kumarakom, India may be effective in places where government plays a more authoritative role, though it might not make in other places where government is more collaborative or disintegrated, as it seems in the context of BCS tourism governance.

#### **6.6 Consideration to “Ethic of Care”**

A sub-title (Section II 2.6.4) elaborated how there is a close connection between ethics and justice in tourism. As explained earlier, Hultsman (1995) conceptualized ethicality as just tourism and stated that just tourism is what is virtuous, moral, and ethical. Lee and Jamal (2008, p. 46) brought a reference from Aristotle and stated “just behavior is virtuous behavior, and fairness in society (or community)”. Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) argued that justice tourism “seeks to reform the inequities and damages of contemporary tourism...to chart a path to a more just global order” (p. 345). Further, Scheyvens (2002) described justice tourism as “both ethical and equitable,” which consisted of attributes, such as that it: “(1) builds solidarity between visitors and those visited; (2) promotes mutual understanding, and relationship based on equality,



sharing and respect; (3) supports self-sufficiency and self-determination of local communities; and (4) maximizes local economic, cultural and social benefits” (p. 104).

Another idea closely related to justice/ethical tourism is ‘ethic of care’, which is associated with giving respect for people and their places. Smith & Duffy (2003), referring to Shiva (1989), emphasized that sustainability was more than about extracting benefits indefinitely. They suggested sustainability also meant to ‘bear up’ and to be considerate of others. These authors concluded that ‘ethic of care’ denotes several aspects such as interactions between the visitors and hosts, stakeholders and their staff, and stakeholders and residents in terms of recognition, understanding, honesty, tolerance, rights and heritage of ethnic minorities, mutual understanding and respect.

The study findings suggest that employees in tourism businesses in BCS received ‘ethic of care’ as they were respected in terms of monetary exchange for the work they deserved. All businesses, whether big or small, whether a star-rated hotel or a small restaurant, paid their staff at least minimum as required by the law and a majority of them paid higher as per the staff skills or to enhance business through staff satisfaction. A limited number of properties also provided internal job trainings for their staffs or sent their managers to places such as Houston for career training. Four participants in housekeeping group (#33, 34, 35 and 36) stated they were given job-related trainings by their hotels; and another participant (#31) stated it was individual responsibility to develop job related skills. Similarly, four participants in kitchen group (#37, 38, 39 and 40) stated that they received 2-3 week long on-the-job training from their work places. However, unlike the managerial staff sent to other big cities for higher career trainings as mentioned earlier, two housekeeping participants (#34 and 35) stated that they were not considered for higher career training.

The study, however, observed one issue relating to the ‘ethic of care’ which is mostly missing in most of the tourism business operations in general (Jamal & Camargo, 2014) which can relate to the BCS back of the house housekeeping staffs specifically relating to promotion compared to Front Office or other departments (#31 White, female and (#34 African-American, female). The kitchen staffs in this study (#37, 39, and 40)

also suggested limited promotion opportunities given the small size of their restaurant business. However, some staff members both in housekeeping and kitchen suggested that they also had opportunities to move to other units/departments in their business depending on their skills, education, and experience. All participants in back of the house groups were paid at least minimum or above minimum wages. Two participants in housekeeping (#31 White, female and #36 African-American, female) stated they were paid “pretty decent wages” and “get paid pretty good” respectively whereas other participants in the group (#33, 34, and 35) stated they could have been paid better. A housekeeping supervisor in a hotel (#31 White, female) said the hotel started wages from \$8.50-9.00 per hour for housekeeping staff instead of \$7.25 (state minimum), and participant #33 (Hispanic, female) said she was paid more than \$9.00 per hour, but \$10.00 per hour would be good. In the kitchen group, three participants (#32 African-American, female, #38 Hispanic, male, and #40 Hispanic, male) stated that they received a good pay; however, two participants (#37 Hispanic, male; and #39 African-American, male) suggested their wages could have been made better. A kitchen staff (#37 Hispanic, male) suggested kitchen staff should have \$8.50 to start up, then \$9.50 per hour suggesting wages for back of the house staff differed business to business, but they all were paid minimum or above minimum wages. Opinions of some non-back of the house participants reinforce the promotion and wage related concerns expressed by back of the house participants. For example, participant (#24, White, managerial level male staff) suggested that these back of house staff were paid at least minimum or barely above the minimum and participant (#22 GM, White, female) said that they had not enough career growth (promotion) opportunities. If staffs have low morale it may affect the productivity of the overall business; therefore, an “ethic of care” in terms of better promotion opportunities or a better pay (though not easy and simple) can be suggested, as argued by many scholars (Smith & Duffy, 2003; Jamal & Camargo, 2014; Hultsman, 1995; Macbeth, 2005). This might be an important issue for BCS tourism from the perspectives of justice and equity and help contribute to sustainable community-based tourism development.

Another major concern for back of the house staff that seemed more critical than hourly wages is the reduction in their weekly work hours due to low business and hotel occupancy in summer when A&M is not in full session. Though such low business season is somehow supplemented by the sports events, but these participants were suggested not having full hour jobs compared to home-football season when they have at least 40 or more hours of work. Working hours of housekeeping participants ranged somewhere between 30 hours a week (#33 Hispanic, female), 30-37 hours a week (#35 Hispanic, female), and 36-40 hours a week (#36 African-American, female) and none of them got more than 40 hours a week in summer. Four participants (#33, 34,35 and 36) stated less working hours in summer affected their paychecks which made their living harder; and participant #31(a housekeeping supervisor, White) stated it mainly affected lower housekeeping staff. Four participants in kitchen group (#32, 38, 39 and 40) also stated lower business/occupancy in summer for restaurants and hotels affected their weekly working hours. Participant #32 has a full time job, but summer occupancy affected it, a hotel (workplace of participant #38 Hispanic, male) had weekly staff hours of 35-38 for other staff members and 15-30 hours for housekeeping staffs depending on occupancy. Participant #39 (African-American, male) worked 40-45 hours in two weeks (part-time) and had a second job. Two participants: #38 and 40 (Hispanic, males) had full hours (40 or more) even in summer, and as participant #38 (executive chef) said he could support his family with the wages, it can be assumed that he was paid a decent wage and got at least 40 hours. The study suggested that a majority of back of the house participants were affected by work-hour reduction in summer; they were paid minimum wages or more but not close to the limit set by Living Wage Calculator (LWC); and some of them tried for second jobs without a success. Living wage has been defined as a decent wage an individual can take pride in his/her work, that meets the basic costs of living of the earner and her/his family without need for government support or poverty programs (LWAC, 2016). This definition holds significance from the perspective of 'ethic of care' to back of the house workers for viewing how their jobs are supporting their livelihoods.

The Living Wage Calculator (LWC), developed by Professor Amy Glasmeier of MIT (A Story Map, Esri, 2016) provides a foundation for examining the issue of tourism workers' living wage in BCS. According to the Living Wage Calculator for Brazos County, TX, a parent with spouse and two children, a single parent with one child, and a single adult would need living wages of \$22.87, \$21.13, and \$10.99 per hour respectively against the current minimum wage of \$7.25 per hour. This calculator suggests a difference of \$15.72, \$13.88, and \$3.74 per hour respectively for a parent with spouse and two children, a single parent with one child, and a single adult. The data shows that BCS workers (excepting a few kitchen and housekeeping staff) are paid (if a single adult) almost a living wage (as they are paid above average, \$2-3 more per hour as stated by participants #20 (White, male), #21(White, male) and #22 (White, female). Some of the housekeeping/laundry staff made good wages: participant #36 (African-American, female) made \$10.40 an hour; and participant #34 (African-American, female) made \$10 an hour. In the kitchen group, participant #40 (Hispanic, male) stated he made \$13 an hour and he suggested that all other staff members at the restaurant were paid minimum \$10 per hour. Another participant #38 (executive chef, Hispanic, male) suggested his wages was enough for him and family. However, when the working staffs have a spouse or children, it can be suggested a majority of them (excepting a few above) were not making a living wage.

Just to present a comparison, New York County in New York has a minimum wage of \$8.00 per hour, where a living wage ranges from \$26.56, \$27.44, and \$14.30 respectively for a parent with spouse and two children, a single parent with one child, and a single adult. This scenario brings a wage gap of \$18.75, \$19.44 and \$6.30 per hour respectively for a parent with spouse and two children, a single parent with one child, and a single adult. The Living Wage Calculator gives reasons for such differences that, "a city with a relatively high minimum wage, for instance, may still show a large gap due to a high cost of living. Conversely, living expenses tend to be lower in rural areas, making even a relatively low minimum wage come closer to meeting basic household needs" (A Story Map, Esri, 2016). Low- to mid-level cost of living stated for BCS by

participant such as #11 (White, female) and #14 (White, female) make most BCS workers' wages a living wage. However, a few back of the house participants suggested that though they are receiving a minimum or a little above minimum wages, their wages could have been made better or their summer work hours could have been increased. This is where more collaboration and coordination among the agencies responsible for tourism governance such as cities and county offices and big tourism entrepreneurs such as hotels assisted by CVB could possibly work together to find options how back of the house staffs could be paid a living wage at least through full work hours. Smith & Duffy (2003) contended tourism cannot be sustainable without addressing the issues of the disadvantaged with ethics of care and justice, and Shiva (1989) stated that sustainability meant more than 'bearing up' and embracing caring attitude and considering the needs of others.

There are other sides of wage increase debate currently surfacing in the United States. California's \$15 minimum wage effective 2022 (from current \$10) has already sparked debates. There are early predictions that significant raise in minimum wages can have major negative impacts on the local/regional economy. Bergman (2016) reported in KPCC that due to increased cost of labor an estimated number of 700,000 people will lose jobs, and as it "will be too much for companies to afford, so they will do layoffs, replace people with computer kiosks and robots" (Bergman, 2016, para.4). Further, Lee, (2016) (Contact Reporter in *Los Angeles Times*) predicted four consequences coming out of \$15 minimum wage growth. The four consequences included: (1) It may increase unemployment among minority youth (as their jobs will be taken away by better-educated workers), (2) There is no certainty new minimum wage will help reduce the increasing disparity in earnings between the highest and lowest paid workers in those states, (3) It could worsen the income gap between rich and poor states, and (4) More low-paying jobs will go underground. These writings expressed concern that minimum wage increase considered to be good from equity perspectives can ultimately affect those minority workers without jobs or with less paid underground jobs due to the movement of better educated workers in the area. These predictions, however, possibly right from

their angle of analysis, could also be labeled as too speculative, and too early in judgment. Possibly time will show whether low-paid workers in California will have improved quality of life or they will face harder competition.

Other positive factors relating to “Ethic of Care” that were suggested included that: college sports events and the high number of visitations from outside the community improved the image of BCS, enhanced the quality of living with added facilities, and provided much needed word-of mouth publicity for the community as a welcoming place. Due to this, many participants suggested that many visitors expressed their desire to retire, to relocate business, and return for future visits to BCS. This suggests perception of emotional solidarity, mutual understanding and respect was strong among the community, residents, and visitors as understood from the perspectives of stakeholders. As all stakeholders (except one #35) participating in the in-depth interview for the study identified themselves as BCS stakeholders, one additional advantage of this study remains in interpreting the stakeholders’ perspectives from residents’ perspective as well.

Regarding the benefits of tourism, participants across all groups (housekeeping group suggested a few benefits) suggested the benefits included: tax dollars, increased revenues and jobs, enhancement of community pride, image of the city as a better and safer place to live, and maintenance and expansion of basic city services such as health, police, firefighting services, parks and recreation and so on. Participants further suggested that benefits of tourism reached all residents equally and ethnic minorities and economically disadvantaged communities benefited through lowered city taxes. Participants in the housekeeping group suggested tourism brought businesses (#31, 34, 35 and 36), created jobs (#35, 36, and 38), provided opportunities to meet new people (#32 and 33), and tourists brought in money (#32). Further, participant #38 stated that tourism made town livelier, and participant #40 stated tourism helped local economy grow. Participants from both housekeeping and kitchen group had similar opinion that tourism contributed to local residents in various forms by creating jobs, bringing in more

money and bringing in new people to meet, and helping the growth of city and city economy.

Another potential positive aspect of BCS tourism was that not a single participant suggested negative impacts of tourism as mentioned in many destination communities such as vandalism, littering, theft, or negative cultural impacts (Hall and Lew, 2009). However, concern expressed by the Fiesta Patrias participant that to benefit from tourism, ethnic minorities such as Hispanics could be better communicated about the benefits in business by joining Hispanic Heritage Committee in the Chamber of Commerce may need attention from governing bodies in terms of more proactive communicative dialogues and forums. As stated earlier, city and county governments might look into the possibility of providing entrepreneurship, capacity-building related trainings for low-income people through community organizations. Such programs could enhance tourism employment from diverse ethnic communities and address justice and equity issues to some extent.

Tourism participants also shared several issues facing BCS as a travel destination. The issues were both short and long-term. Some of the issues suggested were the requirement of a better airport, bigger air service, and nearby interstate development, which possibly need long-term planning consideration. Conversely improving ground transportation would likely require short-term planning but improved collaboration. Additionally, seasonality issues associated with fewer educational and sports activities in TAMU during the summer and after the end of fall classes may be addressed through long-term planning. A few participants from the back of the house also made suggestions to have something more than A&M to keep occupancy up (#31), and participant (#35) suggested for new attractions such as a water park or a Dave and Busters. Alternatives proposed through the establishment of a mega convention center (by participants #14, 20 and 21) could also be a viable alternative. Sharpley (2007), in a case study of Alnwick Garden in Northumberland, England, which served as a flagship, or mega-attraction in drawing the increased flow of visitors was found to contribute to the rural sustainable tourism development of the area. Perhaps this case study can be

transferred to BCS tourism. A convention center could possibly complement Kyle Field, which is also conceived as a mega-attraction; however, the convention center holds the possibility of attracting year-round business.

Another issue explored in the study relating to ‘ethic of care’ was the contribution of tourism towards fostering cultural pride and respect for the diverse cultural groups and traditions. A mechanism of support from HOT funding remained active for the celebration of various ethnic festivals such as the Fiestas Patrias, Texas Reds and Steaks Festival, and the Brazos Valley World Festival. Various ethnic community members expressed their happiness for the opportunity of continuing their heritage and tradition through the celebration of festivals and sharing them with other people in the community, and to visitors from outside the community. A few participants from the back of the house also suggested that tourists came for A&M, downtown Bryan and for some of the festivals which contributed to the promotion of BCS culture. The researcher, as a participant observer, attended all above-mentioned festivals including The Blues Festival, the Juneteenth Festival. All participants the researcher talked to expressed happiness these festivals had cultural and economic significances and promoted community cohesion, one of the criteria outlined in CBT success (Scheyevens 1999, 2002; Boley, McGehee, Perdue & Long, 2014).

The designation of Downtown Bryan as a Historic Cultural District (among 26 such districts in Texas) is one of the major achievements for downtown Bryan for historic preservation (DBA, 2016). Further, the City of Bryan matching grants for the restoration and preservation of heritage buildings promoted the history and heritage of Bryan through tourism. Moreover, Texas A&M culture, known as an Aggiland or Howdy! was suggested to serve as a unifying factor in reviving and promoting the BCS culture. This is one strong example how tourism and sports tourism have supported the preservation and promotion of heritage and culture in BCS.



## **6.7 Perception of Emotional Solidarity**

Justice tourism and ethical tourism seem to be closely interconnected and perception of emotional solidarity shares some common features with justice tourism. For example, Scheyvens (2002) described justice tourism as “both ethical and equitable” (p. 104). Other scholars (Woosnam, Norman & Ying, 2009; Woosnam & Norman, 2010) have created emotional solidarity scales (ESS) to measure the density of relationships (emotional closeness) resulting between hosts-guests as shared beliefs, shared behavior, mutual understanding, respect, etc. which could have implications for destination planning and marketing. The current study used these concepts for exploring community cohesion and tourists-stakeholder interactions in BCS in terms of destination justice and equity. As can be seen that there are many elements common in “ethic of care” and emotional solidarity. “Ethic of care” mainly denotes respect, recognition, equality, solidarity and mutual understanding which come very close to emotional solidarity principles including sympathetic understanding, emotional closeness, welcoming nature, shared beliefs, etc. (Woosnam & Norman, 2010).

An exploration of the perception of emotional solidarity among the tourism stakeholders and visitors in the study suggested that their emotional solidarity (ES) was guided by elements of bonding including: family ties, mutual respect and trust, which were very strong, and carefully built on the foundation of customer services. A few participants suggested that visitors to BCS seemed to have been strongly influenced by the rich hospitality, (Howdy! Culture) of the staff and enjoyed the local food. Participants also suggested safe image and rich hospitality of stakeholders and residents made many visitors want to/make revisit (#3,4,7,10, 11,13, 14, 15,18, 20,21, 22, 24, 25,26 and 28), move to (#1, 2, 3, 7, 9 and 17), or retire (#3, 8 and17) in BCS. The perception of emotional solidarity among stakeholders and residents was also suggested to be very strong (#1, 5, 11, 12 and 23) filled with warm welcome and bonding (3, 4, 5, 8, 14, 17, 18, 22, 24, 28 and 30) and full of mutual respect and understanding (1, 9, 14, 18, 19, 20 and 21). Participants in the housekeeping group stated that they enjoyed a very strong/good relations/ bonding with visitors (#31, 33, 34, and 35), and all these

participants added tourists made return visits. Participant #36 stated they made tourists feel welcome. In the kitchen group participants (#32, 37, 39 and 40) mentioned they shared strong bonding with visitors and three participants (#32, 38, and 40) mentioned people came back as they liked services or asked about festivals. This study supports the findings of Woosnam and Norman (2010) that residents' sympathetic understanding, welcoming attitude, and emotional closeness (bonding) to tourists have implications for tourism marketing bodies for planning return visits and making residents visitor friendly. All the participants in this study identified themselves as residents of BCS (except one #35) and their sense of bonding, mutual understanding and respect, and welcoming attitude towards visitors has the potential to positively affect revisits, and visit satisfaction.

Finally, the study also analyzed and presented three data-generated emergent themes: Texas A&M as a Driver of Tourism to BCS, Texas A& M Culture/Aggie Tradition Shapes BCS Culture, and Game-day Traffic Creates Temporary Social Disruption in BCS, suggesting the need for destination governments to broadly embrace other institutions such as TAMU in the governance or decision-making process as of BCS tourism. Texas A&M University, as per the mandate of the educational institute, likely will not be in charge of tourism to BCS even though it drives tourism to BCS and promotes BCS culture to alumni and newcomers. Moreover, integrating the strength of a major pull factor (Texas A&M and its football) in the planning and implementation phase of tourism and convention promotion endeavors can potentially bring better tourism benefits for BCS, which may require further study.

### **6.8 Texas A&M University Driver of Tourism to BCS**

As mentioned in the analysis, a majority of participants suggested that Texas A&M University is the primary driver of tourism to BCS and that A&M sports benefits BCS businesses. This is also supported by the study of Oxford Economics (2012) that "Texas A&M football is an economic engine, generating substantial business sales, employment, personal income, and local taxes" (p. 6). Officials of both the City of Bryan and College Station stated that the BCS economies were associated with TAMU.

A few studies have discussed the economic impacts of college football on the local economies, however, these studies offered different perspectives than what the participants of this study stated. Contrary to the above, a few studies including an empirical study to find the economic impact of spectator sports on local economies by Baade, Baumann, & Matheson (2008) found no “statistically significant evidence that college football games contribute positively to a host city’s economy” (p. 14). The analysis covered a period from 1970 to 2004 in 63 metropolitan areas in the United States including Texas A&M University that hosted big-time college football games. The study further stated that “neither the number of home games played, the winning percentage of the local team, nor winning a national championship has a discernable impact on either employment or personal income in the cities where the teams play” (p. 14). The findings of the college football study further stated that big crowds inside the stadium did not necessarily mean big money outside the stadium, which is contrary to the opinions of a majority of participants in this research as they stated that the tourism economy in BCS is largely driven by Texas A&M University and college football. Moreover, a few participants in Bryan said the big number of visitors in college football (#6, 27 and 30) did not have significant impacts for their businesses or number of visitors, which conferred to the findings of the Baade et al. (2008) study.

In another instance, Coates & Depken’s (2008) study of college football games and its impacts on local sales tax revenue for four college cities in Texas: Austin, College Station, Lubbock, and Waco suggested that college football games were not economically justifiable. The study further indicated the need of inter-agency or inter-city collaboration and cooperation to handle additional traffic or crowds on game days. They further suggested it may have some impacts on city revenues, the authors suggested. Therefore, the findings of this study relate more to temporary traffic and crowd management than the permanent social disruption.

It is interesting to note that Baade, Baumann, & Matheson’s (2008) study and Coates & Depken’s (2008) study did not find significant contributions of college football games to city economies. This is contrary to the suggestions of this study as a majority

of participants stated that college football significantly contributed to the local economy. Furthermore, a study on the economic impacts of Texas A&M home football games conducted by Oxford Economics (conducted for BCSCVB) found that college football had a significant economic impact on the local economy.

The Oxford Economics study was conducted in the context of discussion around moving college football games outside (to Houston) for two years for the renovation of Kyle Field. The study reported, “In 2011, A&M home games attracted over half a million (545,557) out-of-town spectators”...and “Direct expenditure in Brazos County related to Texas A&M home football games totaled \$120 million in 2011, or \$17.1 million per game” (Oxford Economics 2012, pp. 6-9). The report further stated that total business sales in 2011 generated by the home football game was around 3% of total economy sales, the football season supported over 2,400 jobs in Brazos County which was around 3% of all employment in the County. Based on the stakeholder input sessions and surveys, the study further reported that “66% or two-thirds of respondents stated that the impact would be significant or catastrophic to their businesses” (p. 15) if home games were played outside and the businesses also indicated that “home games represented 10% of annual revenues and 32% of profits last year” (Oxford Economics, 2012, p. 15). If home games were played outside of the Brazos County it could also mean a loss of “\$63 million in direct business sales and \$86 million total sales over a seven-game season” (p. 14), including a loss of \$3 million in tax revenues for local governments in Brazos County, the report further stated.

In a report regarding the hotel occupancy, Average Daily Rate (ADR), Revenue Per Available Room (REV PAR) for College Station compiled by STR, Inc. (2016) support Oxford Economics’ (2012) findings that home games significantly contribute to BCS economy through high hotel occupancy during game days with high ADR earned by the hotels. The following three tables provide a glimpse of occupancy, ADR and REV PAR for the city of College Station for past couple of years.

Table 19. Month -wise hotel occupancy (Occu.%) in College Station for select years\*

Occu. %	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total Year
2010	42.7	57.5	59.7	61.6	53.2	61.9	64.3	62.0	55.4	61.8	52.2	36.8	55.8
2011	46.9	57.3	65.2	63.8	58.1	64.7	64.9	54.9	59.0	63.5	52.1	39.1	57.4
2012	47.3	63.5	65.5	60.5	55.8	61.3	63.0	61.4	60.0	62.8	58.2	43.1	58.5
2013	51.5	70.1	65.6	72.7	60.8	74.1	73.1	73.4	64.3	71.3	61.0	44.0	65.1
2014	61.6	74.9	76.1	77.8	70.0	81.9	80.1	79.3	73.7	76.3	70.8	52.2	72.7
2015	56.3	65.2	62.2	62.7	58.9	70.2	70.0	69.5	61.4	68.0	53.6	42.4	61.6

Table 20. Month -wise Average Daily Rate (ADR\*\*) in College Station for select years\*

ADR \$	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total Year
2010	83.62	87.87	87.18	95.79	94.34	86.16	86.36	88.93	98.94	102.16	103.36	84.08	91.83
2011	85.40	88.18	91.76	99.29	99.00	87.83	87.69	86.00	113.16	106.77	109.67	85.95	95.35
2012	85.87	91.14	99.88	93.59	100.52	90.84	89.74	88.44	121.61	105.45	107.74	90.25	97.36
2013	89.37	96.99	92.60	103.65	103.20	94.18	92.82	99.40	124.76	118.09	113.93	96.03	102.24
2014	91.90	99.88	98.75	111.64	110.69	103.58	104.40	103.83	116.89	122.45	129.12	103.03	108.30
2015	99.31	108.86	104.82	116.53	114.41	105.14	106.03	102.67	115.60	139.14	127.66	100.99	112.11

Table 21. Month -wise Revenue Per Available Room (REV PAR<sup>\*\*\*</sup>) in College Station for select years\*

REVPAR \$	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total Year
2010	35.72	50.50	52.07	59.04	50.20	53.35	55.52	55.17	54.82	63.12	53.91	30.91	51.28
2011	40.08	50.49	59.81	63.30	57.55	56.86	56.95	47.20	66.72	67.82	57.16	33.58	54.72
2012	40.59	57.88	65.45	56.61	56.14	55.70	56.50	54.28	73.01	66.25	62.70	38.89	56.94
2013	46.01	68.00	60.75	75.40	62.79	69.79	67.85	72.99	80.19	84.15	69.45	42.30	66.55
2014	56.57	74.81	75.20	86.84	77.52	84.81	83.65	82.32	86.14	93.47	91.42	53.83	78.76
2015	55.95	70.95	65.23	73.06	67.43	73.80	74.21	71.33	71.02	94.60	68.46	42.84	69.09

Source\* STR, Inc. (2016)

**\*\*ADR (Average Daily Rate)** — A measure of the average rate paid for rooms sold, calculated by dividing room revenue by rooms sold.  $ADR = \text{Room Revenue} / \text{Rooms Sold}$

**\*\*\*RevPAR (Revenue Per Available Room)** — Revenue per Available Room (RevPAR) is the total guest room revenue divided by the total number of available rooms. RevPAR differs from ADR because RevPAR is affected by the amount of unoccupied available rooms, while ADR shows only the average rate of rooms actually sold.  $\text{Occupancy} \times \text{ADR} = \text{RevPAR}$

Table 19 above showed that college football season (Home games) did not significantly improve hotel occupancy (Month-wise) as suggested by some of the participants; however, the revenue on game days increased significantly. For example, home games taking place at Kyle Field during September through November (6 days in 2014, all on Saturdays except one Thursday) and (7 Saturdays in 2015 as per Table 22 below) did not significantly boost hotel occupancy in those months than the summer months (as shown in Table 19). However, both occupancy and average daily rate (ADR) in the hotel rooms reach the highest level on game day weekends. As shown in Table 22 for November 7, 2015 home game day hotel occupancy was 94.7 % compared to monthly average of 53.6% (November 2015), and ADR for that day was \$252.97 compared to monthly average of \$127.66. Further, the months of September, October, and November have registered highest ADR than rest of the nine months in a year. The ADR for 2015 September, October, and November were \$115.60, \$139.14, and \$127.66 respectively, which are much higher than rest of the nine months in the given year (see Table 20). Interestingly, hotel occupancy on game day has always been more than 90%, which is another good economic indicator that home games have significant economic impacts on BCS economy.

Table 22. Hotel occupancy, ADR, and REV PAR during game days in 2014-2015

Year/Month	Occupancy %	ADR\$	REV PAR\$
2014 September 5, Friday	75.8	161.44	122.34
2014 September 6, Saturday	92.2	171.29	157.87
2014 September 12, Friday	80.5	167.64	134.91
2014 September 13, Saturday	95.1	177.33	168.60
<b><i>Monthly Average in September 2014</i></b>	<b><i>73.7</i></b>	<b><i>116.89</i></b>	<b><i>86.14</i></b>
2014 October 10, Friday	93.0	223.17	207.58
2014 October 11, Saturday	96.6	229.59	221.72
<b><i>Monthly Average in October 2014</i></b>	<b><i>76.3</i></b>	<b><i>122.45</i></b>	<b><i>93.47</i></b>
2014 October 31 Friday	79.6	167.57	133.43
2014 November 1 Saturday	77.5	165.33	128.19
2014 November 14 Friday	90.4	220.61	199.35
2014 November 15 Saturday	94.8	232.93	220.84
2014 November 26 Wednesday	71.4	209.53	149.52
2014 November 27 Thursday*	87.1	217.83	189.67
<b><i>Monthly Average in November 2014</i></b>	<b><i>70.8</i></b>	<b><i>129.12</i></b>	<b><i>91.42</i></b>
2015 September 11, Friday	76.3	169.9	129.62
2015 September 12, Saturday	90.5	183.56	166.12
2015 September 18, Friday	82.2	164.77	134.40
2015 September 19, Saturday	67.5	153.10	103.34
<b><i>Monthly Average in September 2015</i></b>	<b><i>61.4</i></b>	<b><i>115.60</i></b>	<b><i>71.2</i></b>
2015 October 2, Friday	77.2	216.98	167.55
2015 October 3, Saturday	95.3	225.89	215.17
2015 October 16, Friday	92.5	241.55	223.33
2015 October 17, Saturday	94.1	247.47	232.84
2015 October 30, Friday	80.9	208.28	168.52
2015 October 31, Saturday	70.8	197.53	139.92
<b><i>Monthly Average in October 2015</i></b>	<b><i>68.0</i></b>	<b><i>139.14</i></b>	<b><i>94.60</i></b>
2015 November 6 Friday	83.2	240.17	199.80
2015 November 7 Saturday	94.7	252.97	239.66
2015 November 13 Friday	80.3	164.96	132.44
2015 November 14 Saturday	94.8	183.86	174.24
<b><i>Monthly Average in November 2015</i></b>	<b><i>53.6</i></b>	<b><i>127.66</i></b>	<b><i>68.46</i></b>

Source: STR, Inc. (2016)

Hotel occupancy in College Station for summer months (June through August) seems equal or better than home game months (September through November) in general as shown in Table 19. However, January and December followed by May (early



summer) seem to be lowest performing months in terms of occupancy. This is where possibly some extra efforts might be needed to attract visitors throughout the year to keep BCS busier and make tourism job opportunities and work hours improving.

Contrary to other studies, the findings of the Oxford Economics (2012) and STR Inc. (2016) resonated the potential suggestions of this research that Texas A&M football is one of the major drivers of tourism to BCS: it generates economic activities and supports bridging the gap of economic inequity through the creation of additional jobs. After Texas A&M's entry to the SEC and additional spectator capacity added to Kyle Field, the economic impact of college football seems to have increased significantly. Possibly, in this changed context, economic impacts of college football games in BCS likely need fresh studies.

### **6.9 Texas A&M Culture/Aggie Tradition Shapes BCS Culture, and Topics Relating to Social Impacts and Game Day Traffic**

Several studies have discussed reasons for community change (Warren, 1987; Bridger, Luloff & Krannich, 2002; Mataritta-Cascante, 2012) as well as social, economic, cultural, and physical impacts that occur due to community change. Some of the factors that have been found to be associated with community change have been associated with energy-based boom- and bust-towns, service-based packaging industries, and amenity-rich places pulling new types of seasonal or permanent visitors (Weeks, 1990; Shumway and Otterstorm, 2001; Trabalzi & Sandoval, 2010; Matarrita-Cascante, 2012). However, limited amount of research has also mentioned the economic impacts of game days on the community/residents and issues related to handling of traffic and crowding on game days (Coates & Depken, 2008; Baade, Baumann, & Matheson, 2008).

Additionally, some studies have mentioned game-related social impacts such as aggressive and destructive behavior by fans. Regarding the relationship between college football games and crime (taken from 119 Division I-A NCAA football programs in the United States covering a period between 2000-2005), Rees & Schnepel (2009) suggested that “the host community registers sharp increases in assaults, vandalism, arrests for disorderly conduct, and arrests for alcohol-related offenses on game days” (p. 68) with a

9% increase in assaults, and an 18% increase in vandalism. The study also indicated that home games were linked to a “13% increase in arrests for drunk driving, a 41% increase in arrests for disorderly conduct, and a 76% increase in arrests for liquor law violations” (p. 81). Fortunately, for College Station and Texas A&M home games, no such incidents have been reported in the recent years and home games run very smoothly. According to KBTX news (2014) Texas A&M University Police published crime statistics for 2013 that they looked pretty good for the most part. The statistics reported declining number of crime in many categories on the Texas A&M campus; and violent crime remained pretty much nonexistent. As per the statistics, “In 2013 there were zero reported cases of murder, manslaughter, arsons, hate crimes or domestic violence” (KBTX news, 2014, para.1). Students felt safe in and around the college. The researcher’s personal experience as a student at Texas A&M for about five years plus also supports the voice of other students that the college is pretty safe, and the researcher also has not seen or experienced any type of violence or vandalism taking place during the home games or tail-gating for last five years.

While Coates & Depken (2008) did not find college football games economically viable for four college cities in Texas (Austin, College Station, Lubbock, and Waco), their study further indicated the need for inter-agency or inter-city collaboration and cooperation for handling additional traffic or crowds on game days. Yet, they did naturally may have some impacts on revenues. Thus the suggestions and conclusions of this study relate more to temporary traffic and crowd management than the permanent social disruption as discussed in community change literature. Results of the current study suggest The community of BCS is not heavily impacted by the temporary flow of sports fans. Many participants of the study suggested that their daily activities were somewhat affected due to game day traffic (which was more related to the issue of traffic management) but most found ways to cope with it.

Compared to findings such as these, only two participants (#10, 11) in the current study reported that some visitors were rowdy or intoxicated. This study rather suggests a notion of warm welcome, an “ethic of care,” and a very strong sense of emotional

solidarity between the hosts and visitors. This has possibly helped to boost the image of BCS as a safe and friendly destination. Participant #18 suggested that BCS welcomes all visitors as he stated:

I always tell visitors this after football games, I didn't care if the other team was maroon, I didn't care if the other team was purple...Again my job is to hopefully try to make some money that day. I don't care who you're cheering for that day as long as you come in respectful and take care of my guests and be nice to everybody. You know what, you're going to get treated the same way by everyone.

Therefore, results suggest there are little permanent disruptions in the community due to the games. Nor are the tourism stakeholders or residents worried that their way of living is impacted by game days except for temporary traffic issues or big lines at restaurants.

## **7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **7.1 Conclusions**

Relating to the question of system of tourism governance addressing collaborative participation, decision-making and responsiveness, the study revealed a multi-level collaborative governance system comprised of cities and county offices working in partnership with CVB and other institutions. The system of governance was suggested to be supportive to partner organizations, providing them a platform for discussion and participation, and that they listen to their voices. The system of governance was also suggested to be responsive to a large extent, as the majority of participant-identified issues were resolved except some voices, which provided alternatives to incentivizing one particular hotel property or on a proposal from the city of College Station to develop Southeast Park with HOT money (not finalized yet).

To better address the concerns of stakeholders, those in governance can be suggested to be more inclusive and structured for enhancing collaboration with their stakeholders (major and small ones). The system of governance in BCS was suggested to follow the principle of procedural justice by clearly devising structures for participation and discussion and keeping the stakeholders informed while accommodating their suggestions properly. This process fulfills several criteria identified as critical success factors (CSFs) of CBT ( as detailed in Table 4) such as economic benefits, providing funds (to some institutions), collaborative planning (though integrated planning seems lacking in BCS) and through a system of interaction among the stakeholders. However, non-discriminatory provisions of respect for diversity and EEO provisions could potentially work against some disadvantaged ethnic communities who are possibly not equally capable of taking equal benefits due to past social and racial discrimination. This deep-rooted social issue potentially remains an obstacle to the distribution of equitable benefits through tourism, an area possibly requiring a detailed study or to be addressed politically.

Regarding the distribution of tourism related goods and services and respect to “ethic of care” the study found that a majority of the stakeholders were happy with the way the HOT money was spent. The criteria set up by the state has allowed HOT money spending on tourism, convention and hotel promotion, and the preservation and promotion of arts and culture. A majority of stakeholders suggested that they received fair benefits through HOT spending and that the agencies, which spent HOT money (i.e the CVB) were accountable.

Regarding the issue of “ethic of care,” tourism workers in general were paid above average or better; and many participants from back of the house were also suggested to be paid higher than minimum, but had limited opportunities for job promotion. A majority of back of the house participants faced job hours cut in summer, which affected their living. It is possibly also linked to lower ADRs earned by hotels in the summer compared to home games. This could potentially compromise the quality of care and respect to human capital, which has been found to be important for business success and operations. Nonexistence of any provision of financial incentives directly through tourism governance to the local residents or economically disadvantaged groups in ST/CBT settings could potentially widen the gaps in inter- and intra-generational equity. However, as stated earlier, SBA provided “loans to eligible borrowers for starting, acquiring and expanding a small business” (U.S. SBA Loans, 2016, para.7). Through the Historically Underutilized Business Zones (HUBZone) program, U.S. SBA encouraged economic development in HUB Zones through the establishment of preferences (U.S. SBA, HUBZone Program, 2016). However, except a few participants in other groups, no participant from back of the house group had some idea of SBA operations or knew about small business loans available. Furthermore, tourism governance in open-market capitalist economy such as the U.S. is not expected to regulate private businesses regarding staff wages and work-hours. Therefore, reduced work hours for back of the house staffs in summer could potentially be a complex issue from the perspective of ‘ethic of care’. Therefore, criteria established by international agencies such as UNWTO Guidebook (2004) and GSTC (2015) seemed to lose power

and currency when they were not equally regulated from the local/national governments. This suggests the need for tourism governance in BCS to organize some consultative meetings with business owners including representatives of back of the house staffs communicating to them what options are available for starting small businesses in tourism, and how summer work hours of back of the house staff could be improved. Increased dialogues and facilitation from governing bodies more proactively can possibly show concern, care for tourism workers, and find some avenues to address those issues. Dodds, Ali, & Galaski's (2016) suggestions of financial assistance from government, funding institutions or private sector to facilitate access to the formal economy for the success of CBT; and Wight's (2002) suggestions to local tourism governments to provide advice and assistance to current and potential operators, and hold consultations with stakeholders and the public for the success tourism could have some implications for BCS tourism

On the other side, benefits of tourism were deemed to contribute to the economic well-being and to promote residents' satisfaction through tourism. Celebrations of various ethnic cultures and festivals, and provision of city grants for heritage restoration contributed towards fostering cultural pride through tourism. Further, the perception of emotional solidarity between the stakeholders and tourists and stakeholders and residents was found to be very strong, filled with mutual respect and sense of service, care and bonding. Many of the CSFs of CBT as outlined in Table 4 (such as community cohesion, networking, sense of community, quality of life, respect for local culture and tradition, and tourism resource conservation) were met. One criteria of local capacity building (for ethnic minorities/community groups) which did not appear to be addressed by local tourism governance was engaging in activities to develop human resources/skills.

Finally, criteria such as inter-and intra-generational equity, equitable benefits of costs and benefits, distributive justice benefiting disadvantaged populations seemed problematic due to lack of specific mechanisms or regulations supporting/enforcing those criteria. The criterion of applying moral/ethical principles in tourism was further suggested to be challenged by lack of "ethic of care" regarding some back of house

employees. The conclusions of the study suggest the need for more collaboration, requiring more facilitatory form of governance that benefits the disadvantaged for equitable distribution of tourism benefits.

This study presented a preliminary, integrated framework of sustainable community-based tourism with the identification of some under-addressed issues in the domain of governance including inter and intra-generational equity, equitable distribution of costs and benefits, goods and services; distributive justice benefitting disadvantaged populations; and respect and recognition for diverse values, among others. Some of these issues could be addressed through capacity building, empowerment, business ownership, and with a more proactive form of government engaging and facilitating residents in tourism especially ethnic communities.

The research drew from a comprehensive pool of sustainable tourism and community-based tourism criteria to form an integrated framework of SCBT which can have implications for research and practice. As argued by many researchers, conventional tourism has given way to the new paradigm of sustainable tourism (Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2005). However, this research shows that the sustainable tourism paradigm also faces challenges even in the context of a liberal democracy and advanced economy of the United States, which could possibly be improved by adding some criteria that address the issues of justice, ethics, and equity with a use of a more proactive type of tourism governance. It is thus believed the current research complements and enhances the existing body of knowledge by addressing some of the gaps in sustainable-community based tourism and by providing a foundation for future research.

The study has limitations as it includes only the tourism stakeholders in a single community setting. The views coming from particular individual business owners/managers or staffs working in different hotels and restaurants can possibly relate more to those specific properties and may not represent the wholesome picture of BCS tourism. Inclusion of other stakeholders such as residents outside of the field of tourism and visitors would have given justice and equity issues broader perspectives which

future studies can explore. The study has other limitations as some of the criteria of ST/CBT designed in the context of socialist democracies, which the study borrowed; face some implementation problems and comparative challenges in a free-market capitalist economy such as the United States. The stated policy of “Equal Employment Opportunity” in the U.S. does not allow preferences for jobs for the disadvantaged communities (as is the practice in South Africa as mentioned earlier). Differences in political, social and economic systems in various countries make issues of justice and equity more complex, and possibly suggest a mix of context specific solutions. As a time-bound field-study of about two years with limited number of 40 tourism stakeholders, this research may have additional limitations compared to other cross-sectional and longitudinal studies of similar nature. Therefore, the findings of this research may not be transferrable. Further, the researcher would like to suggest implementing agencies to complement the current findings with additional studies for making policy-decisions. However, exploration of justice and equity issues from a tourism community in a liberal democratic setting such as the United States holds significance for providing references for other liberal societies and economies, and also for other developing economics to see the similarities and differences.

## **7.2 Recommendations**

Based on the discussion above and possible courses of action that have been suggested from the study participants and the body of literature available in the field, the following recommendations are proposed. Justice and equity are integral for tourism sustainability; however, measures and recommendations on such issues could be suggestive as tourism operations in various geographical and social contexts are influenced by the local social, economic and political systems. Smith & Duffy (2003) argued that whether tourism developments are ‘good’ or ‘bad’ are morally charged (p. 2), and it will be difficult to prescribe straightforward solutions on ethical and justice issues relating to tourism development. However, the knowledge and debate on ethics can help to interpret and communicate what could be right or wrong in a given situation and why. The findings and conclusions of this study are not different from what Smith



and Duffy (2003) stated. Therefore, the recommendations of this study may hold value for the stakeholders specifically managing tourism governance in BCS and may provide a reference for other SCBT research or operations. Further, the recommendations made in this study are suggestive rather than prescriptive.

Table 23. Table of suggestions and recommendations

<b>Suggestions/Recommendations</b>	<b>May Address Issues of</b>	<b>Agency/ies Likely to Implement the Suggestions</b>
1. Need to establish an apex body for integrated tourism planning and development in BCS.	May provide short-term and long-term tourism development direction in BCS with a system of integrated tourism planning.	City of College Station, City of Bryan, Brazos County, CVB, Texas A&M University and other agencies such as DBA, The Lodging Association, and the Arts Council and so on.
2. More pro-active tourism governance.  Further enhancing collaboration/networking.	Involving/engaging people in tourism through support mechanism. Can enhance and improve stakeholder satisfaction & ownership.	City/County governments. Can also be assigned to CVB or other community organizations. Cities/County can devise extra forums specifically focusing on tourism.
3. Creating a few more annual events/festivals/attractions to minimize off-season impacts	Events tourism seems a new booming business in the 21 <sup>st</sup> century. Creating new off-season events can help BCS become more of a year-round destination.	The cities, County, CVB should identify and facilitate event organizers and promoters.
4. Supporting/communicating economically disadvantaged groups/businesses to get skills development training (capacity building) in tourism.	Bringing economically backward communities and ethnic groups to entrepreneurial workshops; increasing their eligibility to jobs) (Addresses justice & equity)	Cities can run/assist training programs through CVB, or community organizations fixing criteria for low annual income (personal/ household) people or targeting certain education groups. The provision may naturally include ethnic minorities as they often are at the lower-end of income.
5. Rewarding/Incentivizing the corporate innovation/initiative. Showing more concern and care from governing agencies.	May positively affect summer work hours of back of the house/kitchen staff and enhance “Ethic of care” and living wage	Cities/CVB Can publically recognize/award institutions/businesses that practice an “Ethic of care” to all working staffs.
6. Establishment of a Mega-Convention Center.	Identified by a study ( Hunden Strategic Partners)	City of College Station (supported by City of Bryan, Brazos County).
7. Establishing local shuttle services	May link various destinations in BCS, helps lengthen visitors’ stay.	The twin cities and County to facilitate some local agencies.
8. Expansion/upgradation of Esterwood airport and air-services	Can contribute to increased flow of visitors.	Texas A&M University, Cities and County to coordinate.

**1. Need for Integrated Tourism Planning:** As suggested by a few participants, there lacks a mechanism for central/integrated tourism planning in BCS. The CVB as per its nature of work markets convention tourism and complements hotel businesses. Both the City of Bryan and City of College Station do not have tourism planning divisions or units. Although a major driver of tourism to BCS, TAMU is neither a tourism planning nor a marketing body. The CVB itself cannot have a long-term planning as it has to request for annual budget to cities and county every year. Possibly, issues of seasonality and developing new attractions could be better addressed through integrated system of tourism planning. Since tourism remains one of the major sources of the economy for both Bryan and College Station, it sounds rational to form a central/coordinating body of tourism that oversees policy level issues and long-term plans to establish BCS more as a year-round travel destination. Establishing BCS as a year-round travel destination may contribute to increased jobs, thereby addressing the issues of justice and equity through increased income and employment.

**2. More Proactive Tourism Governance:** A few participants suggested for more collaborative participation and decision-making relating to the distribution of HOT money and tourism development decisions. Thus, agencies responsible for tourism governance in BCS, such as the cities and County, may initiate additional interaction forums specifically focusing on tourism by inviting both tourism stakeholders and community representatives. Another area where local government in BCS can show its strong presence is through assisting capacity building and entrepreneurship development by facilitating/organizing workshops targeting economically disadvantaged groups and communities. Such forums could be informative/educating too, as some participants in the back of the house group suggested they did not have information where further career trainings were available, and a majority stated it would be nice to have some kind of government loan or incentives to start up their own business, but did not have information where and how to get such loans. Organizing such facilitative forums (once or twice a year) by the cities/County in collaboration with other organizations such as Chamber of Commerce could be productive. Such forums can also target back of the

house staff along other participants/businesses to inform and suggest about the support mechanism available through Chamber of Commerce or U.S. SBA. Initiation of facilitative forums may potentially address justice and equity issues to some extent by improving communications with residents and securing their active engagement and trust (Byrd, 2007). It also enhances stakeholders' sense of ownership in tourism governance (Bramwell & Lane, 2011).

Integrating small businesses to mainstream tourism markets through additional efforts and funding to CVB or DBA may help increase total tourists' arrivals and address issues of equity and justice to small businesses to some extent. Ruhanen, Scott, Ritchie, & Tkaczynski's (2010) study identified 40 dimensions of governance and found six dimensions—accountability, transparency, involvement, structure, effectiveness and power—as most important from the perspectives of tourism governance. If involvement is considered as an important dimension, BCS tourism governance potentially can further improve its collaboration through inviting and involving various stakeholders and non-stakeholders in tourism for tourism-focused meetings. By initiating some intentional representation from back of the house staff governing entities can better understand the issues of housekeeping staff, and come back with newer perspectives for policy decisions. It would give stakeholders an increased sense of ownership for tourism-decisions and planning.

**3. Creating more Annual Events and Festivals:** One of the major barriers to tourism growth in BCS as suggested by some of the participants is the issue of seasonality. BCS has fewer visitors when the university's educational or sports calendar are low and many businesses see decreased revenues. Slow summer season seems to affect housekeeping and kitchen staff most as their work-hours are reduced which are tied to slackness in business, low hotel occupancy, and possibly low ADR in summer compared to home game season. As tourism attractions could be both natural and man-made, similarly events could be traditional/cultural or created. BCS tourism has already done an exemplary job by successfully launching some tourism and cultural events such as Fiestas Patrias, Texas Reds and Steaks Festival, and the Brazos Valley World

Festival, which have assisted to increase visitors flow to BCS and for cultural preservation. Possibly, additional efforts by cities, CVB, and Texas A&M in creating new mega events and attractions (as suggested by a few participants) could be helpful in addressing seasonality issues to some extent in the future. There were several suggestions relating to minimizing off-season impacts by adding new attractions to BCS. A few participants suggested that there are a limited number of attractions such as Messina Hof Winery and Resort or George Bush Presidential Library and Museum, and other museums in the BCS vicinity, but they alone likely cannot hold visitors for some time. A few back of the house participants also suggested that BCS needs more attractions rather than being over-reliant on Texas A&M (#31) and another housekeeping participant (#35) suggested some new attractions such as a water park or a Dave and Busters need to be developed in BCS. Development of additional tourism attractions would likely help; however, a policy of no incentives in the tourism sector by the cities (except by the city of Bryan's incentives for economic development) can hamper new investments. Possibly, cities can work together with RVP if they could attract mega-investors in tourism with tax incentives for a few years. The concept of a mega-waterpark already forwarded in The Strategic Plan 2012-2015 of the Board of Directors of BCSCVB holds significance in this respect (BCSCVB, 2012-2015).

**4. Supporting Economically Disadvantaged Groups:** It was emphasized in the discussion section that community empowerment is one of the integral factors of successful community-based tourism. One of the criteria of community empowerment is supporting individuals and businesses to develop capacity/skills relating to jobs or entrepreneurship through trainings.

As stated in the definition part of this research, Hispanics and African-Americans among others fall in the category of ethnic minorities. The United States Census Bureau reports further substantiate that these two ethnic minorities are in the highest category of poverty, in lowest income brackets, and with lower educational attainment compared to other racial groups. DeNavas-Walt & Proctor (2015) reported (for U.S. Census Bureau) that in 2014, the United States' official poverty rate was 14.8 percent and there were

46.7 million people in poverty. “The poverty rate for non-Hispanic Whites was 10.1 percent in 2014, lower than the poverty rates for other racial groups... Non-Hispanic Whites accounted for 61.8 percent of the total population and 42.1 percent of the people in poverty” (DeNavas-Walt & Proctor, 2015, pp-13-14). Median household income in the United States in 2014 was \$53,657. A detailed breakdown of poverty and annual household income by race and Hispanic origin has been presented as follows.

Table 24. People in poverty, and annual household income by Race & Hispanic Origin

Race & Hispanic Origin	Number of people in poverty (thousand) Percent** (2014)		Annual Household Income (2014)*
White	31,089	12.7%	\$56,866
White Not Hispanic	19,562	10.1%	\$60,256
Black	10,755	26.2%	\$35,398
Asians	2,137	12.0%	\$74,297
Hispanic (any race)	13,104	23.6%	\$42,491

Source\*: U.S. Census Bureau Income and Poverty in the United States: 2014 pp. 5-6; \*\* (pp. 13-14)

The figures in the above table clarify that two ethnic groups, African-Americans and Hispanics are at the two highest scales of poverty. African-American were lowest in income with \$35,398 followed by Hispanic (any race) with an annual household income of \$42,491. Both of these groups are substantially below the national annual household income of \$53,657 whereas Asians are at the top. White, and White Not Hispanic also perform better than the national annual household income.

Ryan & Bauman (2016) reported for U.S. Census Bureau that in 2015, educational attainment in the United States remained as follows:

Table 25. U.S educational attainment by Race and Hispanic Origin

Race & Hispanic Origin	High School Graduate or more	Some College or more	Associate's Degree or more	Bachelor's degree or more	Advanced degree
White	88.8%	59.2	42.8	32.8	12.1
Non-Hispanic White alone	93.3%	63.8	46.9	36.2	13.5
Black alone	87.0	52.9	32.4	22.5	8.2
Asian alone	89.1	70.0	60.4	53.9	21.4
Hispanic (any race)	66.7	36.8	22.7	15.5	4.7

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2015 Current Population Survey.

The above table showed that educational attainment varied by race and Hispanic origin. Non-Hispanic White alone topped in the high school graduate or more category whereas other categories above some college were topped by Asians alone. Unlike incomes where African-Americans were at the bottom, Hispanic (any race) remained at the bottom of educational achievement followed by Black alone in the second lowest attainment.

In another study, U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey for the City of College Station for 2014 estimated median household income of \$33,434, persons in poverty 35.5% and educational attainment (percent high school graduate or higher) 94.3%. Similarly, the Bureau estimated median household income of \$39, 231, persons in poverty 27.3%, and educational attainment (percent high school graduate or higher) 77.3% for the city of Bryan (U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 2014). The figures showed BCS had lower than national annual household income. People in poverty in BCS seem to be higher than the national average by Any Race or Hispanic Origin in 2014.

Further, Bureau of Labor Statistics (2016) provided quarterly average unemployment by various ethnic groups. In the second quarter of 2015, total national unemployment was 5.3% which was 4.6% for White, 9.6% for Black or African American, 4.0 for Asian, and 6.5% for Hispanic or Latino. Unemployment rate in Brazos

County, Texas in 2015 remained 3.4%, which is lower than national unemployment rate of 5.3% (Texas Association of Counties, 2016). The highest rate of unemployment among African-Americans followed by Hispanics suggests some sort of intervention, incentivization, or facilitation needed on part of governing bodies to address issues of inequity and create a just society as propounded Rawls (1971, 1999; 2003).

Observations of this study somehow support the figures of U.S. Census Bureau and other reports that in terms of educational attainment, employment, annual household income, and poverty rate two ethnic minority groups: African-Americans and Hispanics are at the bottom two rungs compared to other races. This is where role of the state and local government agencies remains important in addressing such issues of inequity possibly through devising more proactive policies and programs targeted to assist the disadvantaged. As a free-market capitalist economy, government cannot provide any preferences for any ethnic groups as in other socialist countries. However, replication of proactive employment and admissions policies and practices adopted by Texas A&M University by cities and tourism businesses in BCS possibly can make a difference in the lives of people who possibly are looking for a guidance and support to improve their quality of living.

In another instance, small businesses in Bryan complained about having less business even during game days as they are not linked to mainstream markets. Given their limited budget and size, small businesses hardly find themselves comfortable to market in mainstream-generating markets (Lucehetti & Font, 2013). Marketing in the mainstream-generating markets may require a professional approach as marketing perspectives constantly change in an era of paradigm shift (Li & Petrick, 2008). The CVB as a destination marketing body has been linking and promoting local businesses in its website. However, local tourism governments such as the cities or County in collaboration with CVB can conduct periodic workshops/trainings for small businesses focusing on areas such as product packaging, partnership marketing, or promotion by different market segments. Workshops such as these to be conducted through professional firms could further enhance tourism collaboration and participation and

may contribute to entrepreneurship and skills development as well. Dodds, Ali, & Galaski (2016) suggest initiating such education and training programs for capacity building by planners, government agencies, NGOs or local experts for CBT success.

The study found that tourism governance in BCS did not have a mechanism to support community empowerment programs supporting individuals and businesses to develop capacity/skills relating to jobs or entrepreneurship through trainings excepting a few programs run by the Arts Council or Chamber of Commerce. In order that tourism development in BCS also addresses the issues of justice and equity by addressing the skills/capacity-building needs of some disadvantaged groups (including ethnic minorities), cities and counties are recommended to initiate such programs through some training institutions or community organizations. It may not be through HOT money, possibly cities/County can create joint funds for training scholarships (through regular budget) in collaboration with BVLA or Brazos Valley Restaurant Association (BVRA) to help back of the house staff to enhance skills for better jobs. It may indirectly address training and promotion issues of ethnic minorities (as they were said to form the majority as back of the house staffs) while equally serving other back of the house staffs from other majority groups, too. While respecting the state policy of non-discrimination, such measures may better assist disadvantaged groups. A statement by Rawls' (2003) that "a basic principle satisfying the difference principle rewards people, not for their place in that distribution, but for training and educating their endowments, and for putting them to work to contribute to others good as well as their own" (p. 75) holds significance in this context.

**5. Rewarding/Incentivizing the Corporate Innovation:** "Ethic of care" has been observed as an issue in the context of tourism businesses in BCS especially applying to housekeeping and kitchen staff. Though it is difficult for cities and counties to enforce regulations beyond minimum salaries, these governance agencies, in coordination with CVB, The Arts Council, DBA, Chamber of Commerce or other business organizations, can possibly provide public recognition for businesses/corporations which practice an "ethic of care" in the real terms for all staff,



whether kitchen staff or housekeeping staff. They can allocate some of the regular tourism revenues (not HOT money) in conducting staff satisfaction surveys in businesses (sounds unusual than the common practice of guest satisfaction surveys) and provide recognitions and awards to outstanding businesses. Additionally, as mentioned earlier the hotel occupancy, average daily rate (ADR), and revenue per available room (REV PAR) of College Station hotels increased significantly during home game days. This is where governing bodies in tourism can proactively engage in dialogue with tourism entrepreneurs and hoteliers in BCS to somehow compensate back of the house staff (for reduced work-hours in summer/pre-summer) as a part of corporate social responsibility. This is one of the measures of 'ethic of care' as explained by Smith & Duffy (2003) and Shiva (1989) through the expression of concern or an initiation of dialogue.

**6. Establishment of a Mega Convention Center:** A couple of participants (#14, 20 and 21) suggested that the location of BCS as a center of four big metropolitan cities such as Houston, Dallas, Austin, and San Antonio can cater to the convention and meeting needs of these cities almost from an equidistance point. As the HOT spending criteria allows the establishment of a convention center, an action towards that direction is suggested. However, a prior market feasibility study of the convention and conference center conducted by Hunden Strategic Partners in 2004-2005 needs to be considered since it would be a huge, long-term investment and a few attempts of the City of College Station in the past for building a convention center have been unsuccessful. As discussed earlier Sharpley's (2007) case study of Flagship Garden, England, which attracted much higher visitors than the projected numbers due to its features such as the novelty, flagship character, etc. could be a learning example for BCS. In the meantime, multiple use of A&M's existing convention facilities by the city of College Station through a preferred partnership agreement, deserves appreciation. Under this agreement, the City of College Station has been able to attract summer sports tournaments such as softball, baseball, and soccer to BCS by utilizing the existing sporting and convention facilities with A&M. Participants from both the City of College Station and the CVB stated that summer visitation to College Station has improved significantly through convention and

sports tourism over the past few years. In response to the researcher's question, What has CVB done to minimize seasonality impacts in summer? The CVB official responded (by e-mail dated September 12, 2016):

The CVB continues to look for events, conferences, meetings, sports tournaments, etc. to fill need dates. The summer months, while historically have been slower months for hotels, have now been filled with tournaments and events. The CVB has played a huge role in acquiring these events in our community. Texas 4H State Roundup (has been held in BCS for the past 64 out of 65 years) – but for the past 3 years – the 4,000+ attendees no longer stay in dorms on campus – but rather in our hotels. State 7on7 is now 2 weeks long – PrimeTime and State Tournaments are now held on 2 separate weekends. IFA/VTD – softball tournament is now 2 weeks long. Soccer tournaments such as Presidents Cup (held in June 2016). Fire School hosted by TEEEX is held year round for a week at a time. The 3 biggest of those are the last 2 weeks of July and the first week of August.

The activities launched by CVB, cities and TAMU Athletics Department in attracting summer sports seem to have made some positive impacts in summer tourists arrivals. This is supported by a sound hotel occupancy data in summer.

Interestingly, contrary to the claims by a majority of participants from back of the house that their work hours are cut in summer, hotel occupancy in summer months (June through August) seems equal or better than home game months (September through November) in general as shown in Table 19. However, January and December followed by May seem to be lowest performing months in terms of occupancy. Possibly, attracting more sporting and convention events during January and December and during early summer (May) can address further seasonality issues and increase work-hours for back of the house staff. Low ADR in summer could be another reason for summer jobs reductions, which may require a further research.

Further, the potential of a big convention center serving as an attraction may also complement Kyle Field, already established as a mega-attraction for college football. However, concerns expressed in some recent reports (Erickson, 2012) which showed the declining profitability for convention businesses draws serious consideration. Erickson's article *Is it time to stop building convention centers?(2012)* stated that United States'

convention space has increased by 50 percent over the last 20 years; and since 2005, 44 new convention centers have been planned or constructed. Erickson (2012) presented another aspect of convention business and stated, “The actual number of conventions hosted in the U.S. has fallen over the last decade. Attendance at the 200 largest conventions peaked at about 5 million in the mid-1990s and has fallen steadily since then” (p.3, para. 3). Erickson (2012) further stated, Chicago’s McCormick Place, the biggest convention center in the country, has its many selling points and it successfully hosted large-scale events in the past. However, “Between 2001 and 2011, the number of delegates attending trade shows and meetings at McCormick place fell about 37 percent, from 1,333,906 to 828,013. Other national venues have seen a similar decline” (Erickson, 2012, p.9, para.2). Therefore, consideration of current market trends in convention business in the United States is worth consideration while capitalizing on the strength and unique location of Bryan-College Station as an equi-distance convention location for four big cities in the nation.

**7. Establishing Local Shuttle Services:** Other suggestions, which relate to justice and equity also need attention. Some of the participants stated that College Station and its sports has been given more marketing focus by CVB than Bryan and its culture (#6 and 14), which can be taken as feedback for future planning by the cities and CVB. Another concern from participants was that due to the lack of public transport or shuttle services, tourists are confined to major attractions such as Texas A&M, George Bush Library and Museum, and Messina Hof to some extent. Addition of city-transport services or shuttle services could provide visitors opportunity to explore more attractions in BCS and to lengthen their stay. Possibly this suggestion may not be very urgent for BCS governance currently; however, it seems important for future planning.

**8. Expansion/Upgradation of Esterwood Airport:** The study suggested upgradation of airport facilities to increase air-services and passengers, which was found to be the top concern for the Texas A&M University including some study participants supported by the cities and county offices, BCS community.

*A Market Update for American Airlines* of Bryan/College Station, Texas (CLL) stated, “Local demand for air travel services, both domestic and international, has never been greater than it is now” (Abramson, n.d., p.2). The market update report further revealed that Bryan/College Station “Ranked second in list of best small cities for business and careers by Forbes in 2014”...and “Ranked second among fastest-growing college towns by SpareFoot in 2013” (Abramson, n.d, p. 5).

The market update report stated the Easterwood Airport only captured 28% of Bryan/College Station’s true traffic demand; leakage totaled 421,247 annual O&D (577 PDEW)<sup>3</sup>. Three primary alternative airports used included: IAH (George Bush Intercontinental Airport) captured 34%, Bergstorm Airport, Austin captured 18%, and Houston Hobby airport captured 12.2% of total traffic demand. BCS annual O&D traffic by carrier in 2006 was 38% for American Airlines (AA) and 62% for United Airlines (UA), which changed to 72% and 28% respectively for 2014. The market update report further stated since 2005 Bryan/College Station capacity is down 18%, while traffic is up 2%, and average domestic fair is up 31%. Given the amazing economic growth of Bryan/College Station in South Central Texas which was 20% population growth from 2007-2014 and 36% GMP (Gross Metropolitan Product) growth in the same period, the area holds potential for future business growth and growth of air-traffic. The fact that the Esterwood Airport (CLL) currently captured only 28% of Bryan/College Station’s true traffic demand gives room for airlines facilities and airport services upgradation.

Another study by InterVISTAS (2015) on College Station Market Leakage Analysis (April 30, 2015) revealed:

Average fare comparison in the top 10 College Station area O&D passenger markets reveals that CLL passengers pay on average 12% lower than IAH passengers, 8% higher than AUS passengers, and 18% higher than HOU passengers (p.3).

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<sup>3</sup> Origin and Destination; Passanger Tirps Per Day Each Way.

The InterVISTAS study also suggested the need of making BCS airfares more competitive. Based on these Easterwood Airport related reports and inputs from the research participants, this study suggested that given the increasing travel demand and business growth potential of Bryan/College Station, CLL needs upgradation to cater to bigger aircrafts to increase passenger volume and possibly by providing more lucrative landing and rental fees. Such steps could possibly address passenger loss to other nearby airports to some extent and attract more direct traffic to BCS during home games, during other sports events and during academic ceremonies such as Parents Days or Graduations. Increased passenger volume will be associated to the creation of more local jobs and infusion of new money to businesses. This is how the expansion of Easterwood Airport could positively contribute to the issues of justice and equity in BCS tourism by creating more job opportunities for local people including ethnic minorities.

It is reported that Texas A&M outsourced the airport's management to Astin Limited (a private company) in 2014 (Clark, 2016). In a positive development relating to Easterwood Airport improvement, Clark (2016) recently reported (in *The Eagle*) that "The Texas A&M University System's vision to bring more travelers and — potentially — more airlines to Easterwood Airport" (para. 1) is to start in fall 2016 with \$11million in improvements. The improvements will consist of renovation of McKenzie Terminal, new hangars on the fixed-base operator side of the airport and expanded parking and washing bays for rental cars. A university official was quoted saying, "the changes will increase the number of flights and airlines, and in turn bring more passengers through Easterwood Airport" (Clark, 2016, para. 3) and the official anticipated it will take about a year and half to secure more flights. This is how improvements and upgradation of facilities and services taking place at the Easterwood Airport will eventually enhance visitors' flow to BCS and contribute to establishing BCS as a year round travel destination.

To conclude, the study reiterates that issues of justice and equity are most critical for sustainable development including tourism; however, they are the highly challenging ones to be achieved. Many reports including Pisano, Endl, & Berger-ESDN (2012) have

stated that ST governance at the national, regional and international scales has lagged substantially in addressing issues including equity and justice. This study attempted to explore the status of ST and CBT practices in BCS in relation to justice and equity and ways of addressing them through tourism governance. Smith and Duffy (2003) underlined “genuine sustainable development is always and everywhere about ethics” (p.159); however, they suggested that rather than finding universal answers for ethical/justice issues or theories, applying ethical values in the context of tourism development can contribute to sustainable development and community benefits. Taking reference of justice tourism as “both ethical and equitable” (Scheyvens, 2002, 104), this research explored some issues relating to justice and equity in BCS tourism.

The findings of the study suggested that issues of justice and equity in BCS tourism were largely addressed by the governing bodies through mechanisms of collaborative participation and decision-making. Tourism contributed to heritage preservation and enhanced community pride and cohesion. This research also suggested that community benefits through tourism such as jobs and revenues, improved city services and facilities contributed through tourism revenues benefited all residents including ethnic minorities. However, some of the challenges faced by a few ethnic minorities in getting hired, starting businesses and not having full work hours in summer suggest a need for a proactive facilitation and coordination on behalf of tourism governance. Policies of equal employment opportunity and non-discrimination provide every individual equal opportunity; however, ethnic minorities who generally lag behind in education and income due to various social, political, and economic barriers, seem to be in need of ‘ethic of care’ through the governing bodies. This task is more challenging given the liberal political system of the United States that ensures equal basic rights and liberties to all and no discriminatory or affirmative policy steps could be introduced. Moreover, without some positive interventions from the governance in favor of justice and social equity for the disadvantaged, it seems more likely that disparities in the distribution of tourism revenues and benefits may widen even further. Therefore,

inclusion of under-represented, yet pressing criteria of justice, ethics, and equity in the policies and mechanisms of tourism governance could be a positive step in this direction.

In addition to this, by devising more collaborative plans for attracting increased visitors to BCS around the year, some of the issues relating to justice and equity could be addressed. The UNEP-UNWTO's (2005) call for applying principles of sustainable tourism in all destinations including mass tourism , and Weaver's (2012) call for sustainable mass tourism (SMT) to meet the visitor/destination demand and economic growth may be applicable in the context of BCS tourism growth. Finally, as stated earlier in the limitations of the study, the researcher wants to put a word of caution that recommendations from this study are suggestive only and should not be treated as conclusive.

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## APPENDIX I

### REQUEST FOR INTERVIEW

4/14/2015

To....

Position...

The Arts Council of Brazos Valley  
College Station, TX

Dear Sir,

My name is Tek Dangi, a graduate student in the Recreation, Park and Tourism Sciences Department (RPTS) at the Texas A&M University. I am contacting you to request for an interview relating to sustainable community-based tourism in Byran-College Station in connection with my PhD dissertation. The research has been approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Texas A&M University. I interviewed ... of BCSCVB a few days back and... gave me your reference as a resource person I need to meet and interview.

The objective of my research is to examine tourism stakeholders' interests, business operations and the relationships of tourism to the wellbeing of diverse stakeholders in the BCS community including the economically marginalized groups with especial emphasis on destination justice and equity. The findings of the study will be used to confirm the sustainable community-based tourism (SCBT) framework proposed which may be helpful in providing feedback to local tourism operations and policy making in BCS; and the study findings may be transferrable to similar settings.

Your participation in the interview is voluntary. There are no foreseeable risks and rewards associated with this research. It should take approximately one hour of your time. If you feel uncomfortable answering specific question/s, you can skip them and still participate in the study. You may completely withdraw from the interview at any point. Your responses will remain anonymous and confidential as I will use pseudonyms in the report and data from this research will be reported only in the aggregate. With your permission I will use audio recordings in order to quote accurately. If you do not want to be audio-recorded you are still welcome to participate.

If you would have time to consider my interview request, I would like to request you for an interview anytime in the morning shifts all three days from 8:00 AM to 1:00 PM on (April 21, Tuesday), or (April 23 Thursday), or (April 24, Friday). Your convenient time perfectly works for me. However, if the date and time proposed should not be suitable to your schedule, we can arrange another suitable time. I am flexible and can make adjustments to the schedules that are convenient to you. Please let me know and I will arrange it accordingly.

I eagerly anticipate learning from your experience and expertise relating to tourism development and promotion in BCS.

Looking forward to your kind cooperation and response,

Sincerely yours,

Tek B. Dangi, PhD Candidate  
RPTS Department, Texas A&M University  
Tel: 307 460 1892

Note: Upon the completion of interview, in appreciation of your time and sharing your expertise, an open buffet lunch coupon for 2015 (at Taj Indian Cuisine or another restaurant in Bryan/ College Station) will be presented to you.

## APPENDIX II

### CONSENT FORM/LETTER

Howdy!

I, Tek Dangi, am a graduate student in the Recreation, Park and Tourism Sciences Department (RPTS) at the Texas A&M University. I am contacting you to request for an interview relating to sustainable community-based tourism in Bryan-College Station in connection with my PhD dissertation.

It is widely argued that businesses including tourism need to take economic, social-cultural, environmental, ethical, justice and equity issues into consideration to make them sustainable. Sustainable tourism is defined as one that takes economic, social, and environmental impacts into consideration for the current and future generations and also addresses the needs of visitors, host community, and the tourism industry. The objective of my research is to examine tourism stakeholders' interests, business operations and the relationships of tourism to the wellbeing of diverse stakeholders in the BCS community including the economically marginalized groups with especial emphasis on destination justice and equity.

The findings of the study will be used to confirm the sustainable community-based tourism (SCBT) framework proposed which may be helpful in providing feedback to local tourism operations and policy making in BCS; and the study findings may be transferrable to similar settings.

Your participation in the interview is voluntary. There are no foreseeable risks and rewards associated with this research. It should take approximately one hour of your time. If you feel uncomfortable answering specific question/s, you can skip them and still participate in the study. You may completely withdraw from the interview at any point. Your refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. There is no right or wrong answer/s to any of the question/s. Your responses will remain anonymous and confidential as I will use pseudonyms in the report and data from this research will be reported only in the aggregate. No identities linking you to this study will be included in any sort of report that might be published unless you wish so. Audio recordings and interview notes will be stored securely and only my adviser and I will have access to records.

For any questions regarding this research, you may contact the study investigator, Tek B. Dangi, PhD Candidate at Texas A&M University at (307) 460-1892 or [tekdangi@gmail.com](mailto:tekdangi@gmail.com); alternate contact: Dr. James Petrick, Adviser/Professor, RPTS Department: (979) 845-8806 or [jpetrick@tamu.edu](mailto:jpetrick@tamu.edu). For other questions relating to your right as research participant; or should you have any complaints, questions, or concerns about the research, you may call the Texas A&M University Human Subjects Protection Program Office at (979) 458-4067 or [irb@tamu.edu](mailto:irb@tamu.edu).

With your permission researchers will use audio recordings in order to quote accurately. If you do not want to be audio-recorded you are still welcome to participate.

[Upon the completion of interview, in appreciation of your time and sharing your expertise, an open buffet lunch coupon for 2016 (at a restaurant in Bryan/ College Station will be presented to you)].

**Statement of Consent**

I agree to be in this study and know that I am not giving up any legal rights by signing this form. The procedures, risks, and benefits have been explained to me, and my questions have been answered. I can ask more questions if I want. A copy of this entire consent form will be given to me.

-----Yes, I would like to be identified in written and audio publications of the information collected.

(initials)

I would like to be identified as -----

No, I do not want to be identified in publications. I wish to remain anonymous.

(initials)

-----I give the researcher permission to make an audio recording of the interview.

(initials)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Signature Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Printed Name Date

Investigator's Affidavit:

Either I have or my agent has carefully explained to the participant the nature of the above project. I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge the person who signed this consent form was informed of the nature, demands, benefits, and risks involved in his/her participation.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Presenter Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Printed Name Date

IRB Number  
IRB Approval Date

IRB Expiration Date



## **APPENDIX III**

### **INTERVIEW PROTOCOL**

#### **Ice-breaking Questions**

1. Self-introduction of the interviewer. (Also presents a few CBT examples including from his home-country, Nepal)

#### **Main Questions**

##### **Governance, Collaborative Participation, and Responsiveness**

1. How does your business relate to tourism? (ascertain how dependent the business is on tourism)
2. What mechanisms are in place for you to participate in (i) discussing the distribution and use of tourism revenues and benefits in BCS for tourism development in general, and your business in particular?
  - a. Do you feel well connected to the rest of the tourism industry? Are there opportunities for everyone to meet and discuss tourism development?
  - b. Are you a member of the BCSCVB or any other organization? What role does the CVB play in guiding tourism development in BCS?
  - c. Would you like more voice or say in the way tourism revenues are being distributed and used in BCS?
  - d. Would you like more voice or say in what type of tourism related developments are occurring in BCS?
3. Do you think there is a person, organization, or organizations in charge of making decisions relating to tourism development in BCS?
  - a) Who are they?
  - b) Are you involved in any way with them?
  - c) How do they make decisions?
4. Do you think your voice or the voice of other tourism stakeholders is taken into consideration while making decisions relating to tourism development in BCS?  
Please elaborate.
  - a) Do you know how decisions regarding tourism development in BCS are made?
  - b) If you could change the way the decisions are made, what would you do?
5. How much support do you receive to grow as a tourism entrepreneur in BCS (in the form of money, regulatory support, or incentives)? Please elaborate.
  - a) Where do you get such support from? What is the form of support?
  - b) What else would you like to see as a support to succeed further in business?

6. Who do you speak to if you have any issues or challenges you want to discuss about tourism in BCS or to your business? Who's in charge? Who would be held responsible for ensuring that BCS develops well as a tourism destination?

7. What opportunities are in place to enable diversity and inclusiveness in tourism development in BCS?

- a. How are the ethnic minorities/disadvantaged groups represented in tourism development in BCS?
- b. Do you explicitly offer some incentives and preferences to the ethnic minorities (disadvantaged groups) in areas such as jobs, business opportunities or the like?

8. What suggestions do you have to improve collaboration and participation among the tourism industry members in tourism related matters (e.g. new developments, infrastructure, financial support)?

#### **Tourism Development, Distributive Justice, and “Ethic of Care”**

9. How are tourism revenues (receipts?) and goods (benefits) being distributed among the tourism industry?

- a) Mechanisms for distribution? Who gets what?
- b) Do you feel the incomes (revenues) from tourism are being distributed fairly among the tourism industry stakeholders? Are there financial incentives and opportunities to encourage locals to own and operate their own tourism-related businesses?
- c) What about the living standards and wages of tourism workers – are they getting a fair wage? Should more be done to provide a “living wage” to tourism related workers in BCS?
- d) With respect to minority operated tourism businesses and attractions faring? Should they get more assistance from tourism revenues and benefits in BCS?
- e) Are there financial or other incentives for enabling for lower income groups and residents (e.g., minority populations) to engage in tourism development? Are there any special program/s that enable diverse groups like low income and ethnic minorities to get involved in tourism?
- f) Overall costs and benefits: What are the major issues facing the tourism industry? Facing your business? Are the costs and benefits of tourism to BCS being fairly distributed? Do you feel you are getting a fair share of the overall benefits? How are the residents benefitting? How are minority populations and low income residents benefitting from tourism?

g) Who decides how the tourism revenues/benefits are to be distributed? (Government and CVB, but what role does the local industry play here?)

10. How much attention is being paid to fostering cultural pride and respect for the diverse cultural groups (residents) and traditions in BCS (through tourism)?
11. What do you (and other service providers) do to educate the visitors about the diverse history and culture of BCS?
12. What is your perception of emotional solidarity (feeling close), mutual understanding and respect with visitors to BCS?
13. What is your perception of emotional solidarity (feeling close), mutual understanding and respect with residents in relation to tourism development in BCS?
  - a) What kind of good experiences you had?
  - b) What kind of bad experience you had?

### Demographic Questions

This section relates to your business/Office and some demographic information. Please ✓ the one that best represents your business and demography.

1. Which of the following best describes your business? Please ✓ one.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Accommodation (hotel, motel, etc.)   | <input type="checkbox"/> City of Bryan/College Station/County Office |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Restaurant (Food & beverage service) | <input type="checkbox"/> Church                                      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wineries/ Breweries                  | <input type="checkbox"/> School                                      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Gift shops/Convenience stores        | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please describe)                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other Attractions (Museum/library)   |  |

2. What is your category of business ownership/type? Please ✓ one. If not-applicable, please move to question # 4.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Private/Sole Proprietor | <input type="checkbox"/> Corporation            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Partnership             | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Franchise               |   |

3. What is the approximate time your business/Office was established in Bryan-College Station Area?

----- (years)

4. Are you a resident of BCS community? Please  $\checkmark$  one.

Yes

No

If No, What is the current city/town you live? Name.....

6. What position do you hold in this business/Office? Please  $\checkmark$  one.

City planner/

Employee

Business owner

Other (please specify)

Business partner

Manager

7. What is your gender? Please  $\checkmark$  one.

Male

Female

8. What is your age? Please  $\checkmark$  one.

Below 20 years

41-50 Years

21-30 Years

51-60 Years

31-40 Years

61 and above

9. What is your education level? Please  $\checkmark$  one.

Grade school or some high school

High school diploma or GED

Technical, vocational or trade school

Some college (includes junior college)

Associate Degree

Undergraduate Degree

Master/PhD Degree

10. What is your race? Please  $\checkmark$  one.

White

Hispanic or Latino (of any race)

Black or African-American

American Indian or Alaska Native

Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander

Asian American

Any other....

11. What is your approximate annual household income? Please  $\checkmark$  one.

Less than \$ 20,000

\$20,000-\$39,999

\$40,000-\$59,999

\$60,000-\$79,000

\$80,000-\$99,000

\$100,000 or more

At the end of the interview, finally, do you want to add some aspects you think important but not included/discussed in the questionnaire?

## APPENDIX IV

### DEFINITION OF TOURISM/TOURISTS/VISITORS AND HOTEL OCCUPANCY TAX (HOT)

#### Definition of Tourist/ Visitor

Texas Hotel and Lodging Association (2014) states, “Tourism is defined under Texas law as guiding or managing individuals who are travelling to a different city, county, state or country” (p.13).

A most recent and widely applied definition of tourist forwarded by UNWTO states:

Tourist (or overnight visitor): “A visitor (domestic, inbound or outbound) is classified as a tourist (or overnight visitor), if his/her trip includes an overnight stay, or as a same-day visitor (or excursionist) otherwise” (UNWTO, 2014). The UNWTO further expands the definition of visitor and states,

Visitor: A visitor is a traveller taking a trip to a main destination outside his/her usual environment, for less than a year, for any main purpose (business, leisure or other personal purpose) other than to be employed by a resident entity in the country or place visited. A visitor (domestic, inbound or outbound) is classified as a tourist (or overnight visitor), if his/her trip includes an overnight stay, or as a same-day visitor (or excursionist) otherwise.

Thus UNWTO (2014) uses the terms visitor and tourist interchangeably and makes a distinction between a visitor/tourist staying at least one night and same day visitor (excursionist) not spending a night. In case of domestic tourist UNWTO elsewhere has put requirements of staying more than a night but not exceeding six months within the same country outside usual environment.

However, the above definition faces some operational constraints. One also finds that several national governments/national tourism organizations (NTOs) have defined duration of stay and travel distance in their own ways. In the U.S. the distance is defined at least 50 miles (one way) from home; in Ontario, Canada it is 25 miles; in Australia it is at least 40 kilometers; and in United Kingdom short trips includes duration of less than 3 nights and long-trips includes duration of four plus nights (Goeldner and Ritchie, 2009, pp. 8-9). Since the purpose of this analysis is to provide a general picture of definition of tourists/visitors from both national and international perspectives, this analysis takes a stance that all travellers to BCS are accounted as visitors/tourists if they make at least one night's stay (both domestic and international), and they will be counted as excursionists (both domestic and international) even if they travel at least 50 miles distance one way from within the US, but do not spend a night.

## **Hotel Occupancy Tax (HOT)**

Hotel Occupancy Tax (HOT) is collected by hotels and motels from guests/visitors for the city/municipal office as mandated by the Texas state law. HOT is the main direct source of tourism revenue, which is mainly redistributed for tourism development and promotion by the City and County Office/s. Texas Hotel and Lodging Association (THLA, 2014) states, “over 500 Texas cities levy a local hotel occupancy tax” (p.3) and most cities are eligible to impose a HOT up to 7% in hotel, motel, and lodging operations for the use of hotel room or for those providing sleeping accommodations. All lodging properties in Texas are subject to a six percent (6%) state hotel occupancy tax, which is administered by the Texas Comptroller. A combined state, county and municipal hotel occupancy tax cannot exceed 15 percent in general, but Texas has one of the highest in the nation with El Paso at 17% (THLA, 2014). As per Texas Hotel and Lodging Association (2014) there are two stringent criteria which regulate HOT expenses. The two criteria are as follows:

Criteria # 1. Every expenditure must directly enhance and promote tourism and the convention and hotel industry.

This criteria places strict emphasis on spending HOT on (1) directly promoting tourism; and (2) directly promoting convention and hotel industry. Promotion of the convention and hotel industry has been explained as a program directly contributing to hotel occupancy and convention activity growth.

Criteria # 2. Every expenditure of the hotel occupancy tax must clearly fit into one of nine statutorily provided categories for expenditure of local hotel occupancy tax revenues.

The nine statutory categories under criteria # 2 include:

- 1) Funding the establishment, improvement, or maintenance of a convention center or visitor information center
- 2) Paying the administrative costs for facilitating convention registration.
- 3) Paying for advertising, solicitations, and promotions that attract tourists and convention delegates to the city or its vicinity
- 4) Expenditures that promote the arts
- 5) Funding historical restoration or preservation programs
- 6) Funding certain expenses, including promotional expenses, directly related to a sporting event within counties with a population of under 1 million.
- 7) Funding the enhancement or upgrading of existing sports facilities or sports fields for certain municipalities.
- 8) Funding transportation systems for tourists
- 9) Signage directing tourists to sights and attractions that are visited frequently by hotel guests in the municipality.

(Source: Texas Hotel and Lodging Association 2014, p. 13-21)

HOT thus collected remains as a major source of tourism revenue which is redistributed by city/county offices for tourism development and promotion within the framework and criteria as mentioned above. BCS has 15.75% of HOT of which 7% goes to city, 2% to county, 6% to state and .75 to the Kyle Field. HOT has a significant role in promoting

BCS and bringing visitors and locals to BCS as a destination to spectacle many events taking place here mostly college sports events. As detailed in the analysis and discussion later, HOT is mainly distributed/spent through the Bryan-College Station Convention and Visitors Bureau (BCSCVB), The Arts Council of the Brazos Valley (ACBV), and Downtown Bryan Association (DBA). Besides the HOT, visitors/tourists' expenses on other establishments and services such as food and restaurants, groceries, gasolines, liquor bars, departmental stores and malls, craft-shops etc. contribute through general sales tax (GST) and turn BCS as a thriving economy. However, due to the limitations of this study, participants were mainly asked about HOT, its mechanism for distribution and stakeholder participation along the other questions. Reference of GST, however, is made several times by participants regarding its overall contribution in the community.