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Participatory Destination Governance and other Pipe Dreams

A Study of What a Host Community Actually Wants – and What It Doesn't

Partizipative Governance von Destinationen und andere Luftschlösser
 Eine Studie darüber, was eine Gastgebergesellschaft wirklich möchte –
 und was nicht

ABSTRACT: Over the last 50 years, scientific research on destination governance has initiated various models focusing on its participatory aspects, such as collaborative and community-based governance. Sociological concepts such as empowerment or social capital were often used as an explanation. However, the implementation of these concepts is still lacking, even though the sustainable development discourse has emphasized the importance of residents' consent regarding local tourism development. This paper shifts the perspective from academic concepts to the actual opinions of host communities, in this case Munich, Germany. To collect in-depth data on the perceptions of local residents, and subsequently analyze *if* and *how* they wanted to participate in tourism governance, a qualitative, mixed-methods approach including focus groups and photo elicitation was applied. The empirical results show that residents are not very interested in actively engaging – due to a lack of interest, knowledge and time. Based on that finding, the researcher team expanded and connected current destination governance models so as to subsequently draw recommendations for governance action.

Keywords: Participation, Residents, Destination Governance, Munich – Partizipation

Schlagworte: Bewohner, Governance von Destinationen, München

1 Introduction¹

Before the world came to a travel halt due to the COVID-19 virus, there was a noticeable growth in tourist numbers in many European urban destinations. The pandemic – clearly revealed that communities handle problems very differently, depending on their culture, needs and resources. This extends to less severe issues. Prior to COVID-19, the growth in tourist numbers in urban destinations contributed to issues such as rising housing prices and increased traffic congestion (ANDERECK et al. 2011, 250; JANUSZ et al. 2017, 127; MILANO 2017, 5; KOENS et al. 2018, 8; DWFI 2019, NIJS 2017; UNWTO

1 The data processed in this article were collected before the start of the Corona pandemic. More recent data are now available but could not be included in this paper. Receipt of the manuscript: 10.3.2020.

2018). While Catalonians protested against their growing tourist numbers, people in Munich chuckled about visitors sharing their table at the beer garden. Hence, tourism researchers question these diverse responses of urban communities (POSTMA 2013; MARSIGLIO 2017; NAMBERGER et al 2019; BELLO et al. 2017; AMORE et al. 2020). Gaining knowledge about this will be an essential element of rebuilding the travel industry after the global travel halt. In light of increasing visitor pressure (UNWTO 2018, 28 et seq.) and media coverage about *overtourism* since 2017, the role of the host community in tourism governance has been changing (IVARS-BAIDAL et al. 2019, 125; KOENS et al. 2018; LALICI & ÖNDER 2018; MOSCARDO 2019). When browsing through tourism planning and governance literature, it becomes clear that adjectives such as “collaborative”, “community-based”, or other participatory concepts are very popular. Scholars, policymakers and planners have designed strategies based on their understanding and on abstract concepts such as *empowerment*. Nevertheless, research to gain in-depth knowledge of the perspective of the host communities on participating in tourism governance is lacking. Hence, before drafting the *n*th model of participatory governance as it should be from a researcher’s perspective, scholars should engage in in-depth dialogue with communities to follow a social-constructivist epistemology.

This paper aims to reveal *for which reasons* host communities, in this case in Munich, Germany, want – or do not want – to participate in tourism governance. Based on these empirical results, the most common participatory governance concepts will be expanded, combined and updated. Hence, this paper challenges some of the many existing participatory governance models in line with the theory of disconfirmation through real-world phenomena (see KOCK et al. 2020). To assess the perspective of host communities and to understand their perception, qualitative research is essential and requested by scholars (BOLEY et al. 2014; SHEIVACHMAN 2019; BELLO et al. 2017; SZROMEK et al. 2020; ANDERECK et al. 2011). For this reason, this study tests an innovative qualitative mixed-methods approach employing focus groups and photo elicitation (COOPER & HALL 2019; SHARPLY 2018). The intention is to ultimately change the process of how governance models are designed, and how host communities can come to be considered an available resource.

2 Participatory governance and other pipe dreams

Research on the participation of communities in planning and governance processes has existed for more than 50 years. ARNSTEIN’s *Ladder of Participation Theory* (1969), which draws on power distribution, is one of the most referenced models (see HERNTREI 2019; LALICIC & ÖNDER 2018; Hung et al. 2011; DANGI & JAMAL 2016; DREDGE & JAMAL 2015; BOLEY et al. 2014; JAMAL & WATT 2011; HAKLAY et al. 2018; WALKER-LOVE 2016; MOSCARDO 2019). However, the pressure from sustainable development brought scholars to the conclusion that citizen involvement is essential for a socially sustainable future (UNWTO 2018, ANDERECK et al. 2011; KEOGH 1990; MARTINS 2018; MOSCARDO 2019; LALICIC & ÖNDER 2018). In fact, without the cooperation of residents, desti-

nations suffer from conflicts and a loss in attractiveness, as the media show in weekly *overtourism* discussions.

Traditionally, tourist destinations are managed top-down as a conventional economic sector. The stakeholders who manage and market tourism – destination management/marketing organizations (DMOs) – are either public bodies, and thus part of the local government and politically influenced, or they are private companies and hence profit-driven. Local communities, meaning the residents of the destination, are usually excluded from (tourism) planning and decision-making processes (HEALY et al. 2012; LALICIC & ÖNDER 2018). However, the political emphasis on sustainable development supported by global activist movements (especially in climate change concerns) have disrupted this traditional form of governing. Hence, the term *government* was superseded by *governance* to encompass the change of governments' role in Western economies shaped by neoliberal policies (JAMAL & WATT 2011; HEALY et al. 2012; HALL 2014). The CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES (CEPS, 1995, 5) defined governance as “the whole system of rights, processes and controls established internally and externally over the management of a business entity with the objective of protecting the interest of all stakeholders.” The first multilayered concepts of collaborative governance were outlined in the 1990s. Collaborative governance models are characterized by including three parties – public governmental structures, private entities, and the community at large – in the analysis of mutual needs, the creation of a common vision, and the processes of decision-making (ANSELL & GASH 2007; PECHLANER et al. 2015, XI). In light of the complexity of this process, researchers have developed several models on how participatory destination governance might or should look like.

KEOGH (1990) was one of the first *tourism* researchers to state that public participation was important for tourism planning. His case-study analysis of Canada in the mid-1980s showed that economic, social and ecological consequences of tourism development influenced the way communities perceived tourism. However, he postulated that the “basic aim of any public participation program should be to provide concerned citizens with adequate information,” which only corresponds to the third of eight rungs of ARNSTEIN's *Ladder of Participation* (1969).

Just like ARNSTEIN's typology, climate change governance research often falls back on power distribution (DI GREGORIO et al. 2019 VINK et al. 2013). This was not applied in tourism governance research until recently. In 2016, NUNKOO & FUNG SO analyzed four governance models that were based on the power-related *Social Exchange Theory*. They concluded that residents who felt that power was equitably distributed had stronger trust in their government, which improved their life satisfaction; this in turn positively influenced the perceived effects of tourism. An explanation is missing, except that “tourism benefits are shared across individuals” and that they should be educated and trained to achieve resident empowerment (ibid. 858).

BOLEY et al. 2014 combined SCHEYVENS (1999) trichotomous understanding of power (psychological, social and political power) with WEBERS *theory of formal and substantive rationality* and developed a *Resident Empowerment through Tourism Scale* (RETS) model. NIJS (2017) tested this concept in his research about residents' atti-

tudes towards tourism in Bruges. He found out that pride, positive social effects, and having a voice and communication about positive impacts, led to empowerment and subsequently support for tourism by local residents (ibid.). However, NIJS (2017) requested further research to examine the factors affecting resident empowerment and to test if empowerment is applicable and successful, as it is yet again just a theory from scholars' perspectives.

Analyzing "co-participative" tourism planning, LALICIC & ÖNDER (2018) suggested including residents in decision-making by using technology, for example in the form of information communication technologies (ICT) or e-governance tools. They also categorized other common approaches to boosting social capital into three broad approaches: education, dialogue and co-production of knowledge. Finally, they argued that resident inclusion would need to evolve from one-off occasional activity to substantial co-creation (ibid. 8).

In addition, YUDHA et al. (2019) developed the "Collaborative Governance Model in Urban Tourism Development", based on the concept of social capital and a quintuple helix or "pentahelix". They placed communities next to government and business as the acting parties of the tourism development process, and added academicians and media. Together, these parties are thought to produce an outcome of "tourism development sustainability", but no further description is given about how this process is supposed to work (ibid. 42).

MOSCARDO (2019) pointed out that tourism planning has remained stuck in its strategic business planning since the 1980s. She clearly stated that involvement was not solely about information exchange and methods such public meetings, surveys, participation in planning groups, and a website with information, but rather about community empowerment and the enhancement of social capital. Among other tools, she brought up education about the local tourism system for community leaders and *local heroes*. MOSCARDO even mentioned theater as a possible creative educational tool. This approach is highly interesting, since gamification of governance can increase the motivation of the community to participate.

Based on a comprehensive research project by POSTMA, the WORLD TOURISM ORGANIZATION (UNWTO) included local communities' participation in its 2018 report about overtourism management. However, the UNWTO reduced this mainly to communication methods such as local discussion platforms, content-sharing via social media, and educational communication about behavior. "In this sense, community participation means more than merely asking residents what they want. Active participation means that stakeholders, in this case the local community, have a good overall understanding of the issues and are capable of informed decision making" (UNWTO 2018, p. 20). By stating this, the UNWTO basically claimed that education would lead to the capability to actively participate. However, specific actions and – foremost – incentives for the successful implementation of this idea were missing.

Besides the aforementioned research studies, scholars are continuously working on more models and concepts about resident participation, which go beyond the scope of this paper. The purpose of this section is to show a sample of ongoing destination

governance research. Summarizing, the distribution of power and the enhancement of social capital seem to be the key to fostering resident participation in destination governance from the scholars' perspective. In the following, the consensus of the literature will be contrasted with empirical data collected in Munich (Germany) to determine whether those concepts are applicable.

3 The case study

The city of Munich is home to 1.5 million people, and experiences residential growth of approximately 0.75 % every year (MÜNCHEN 2020). Local tourism development, however, has experienced much higher growth rates. In 2019, 8.7 million arrivals (growth of 5.9 % compared to 2018) and 18.3 million overnight stays (growth rate of 6.8 % compared to 2018) were registered in Munich (Tourismus MÜNCHEN 2020). The number of overnight stays has doubled in the last decade (MÜNCHEN 2019). At the same time, the tourism intensity of Munich is similar to that of the often-discussed "overcrowded" cities of Barcelona, Amsterdam and Berlin (KAGERMEIER & ERDMENGER 2019, 69).

The DMO of Munich – *Tourismus München* – is part of the city administration, and a subdivision of the *Referat für Arbeit und Wirtschaft* (RAW, meaning "Department of Labor and Commerce"). In addition to the DMO, there is an organization of partners from the tourism industry called the *Tourismus Initiative München* (TIM), which is (ideally) supposed to contribute 50 % of decision-making processes – and also contribute equally to the tourism budget. This collaboration between the DMO and the TIM, often referred to as the *Munich Model*, thus follows a public-private collaborative governance model.

Due to its popularity as a tourist destination and continuing tourism growth, Munich is often the subject of overtourism discussions and related research (NAMBERGER et al. 2019; KOENS et al. 2018; POSTMA 2013; KAGERMEIER & ERDMENGER 2019). Two quantitative studies are presented below to contrast the findings with the qualitative results of the present paper.

First, KAGERMEIER and ERDMENGER (2019) conducted a research project on the effects of overtourism in Munich as part of a Master's course at the University of Trier in the summer term 2018. During a one-week field trip, the students conducted 84 standardized face-to-face interviews with residents of Munich following a research by NAMBERGER et al. (2019) to facilitate a trend observation. Overall, the researchers conclude that residents of Munich perceive few problems related to tourism. However, the citizens are aware of crowding, overloaded public transport and rising (housing) prices (KAGERMEIER & ERDMENGER 2019, 77). Even though residents pay attention to the overtourism discussion in the media, locally the situation mainly seems relaxed, with a high level of tolerance.

The second comprehensive quantitative research was initiated by the DMO of Munich and executed by the dwif consulting company in 2018 and 2019. Within this study, 507 (510) residents of Munich participated in the online survey about tourism

awareness and tolerance. The results of the study showed that the respondents evaluate the effect of tourism on the city of Munich on a scale from 0 to 100 (from a not very positive effect to a very positive effect) slightly less positively than in 2018, with a score of 73, but overall rather positively (DWIF 2019). Another negative trend was visible in the residents' willingness to have personal contact with tourists (ibid.). At the same time, the study shows that citizens of Munich do not feel disturbed by tourists (78 %) and mainly feel comfortable with having contact with tourists (79 %) (ibid.). The most positive effect perceived is the creation of new culture and leisure offers in Munich due to tourism (ibid.) In contrast, the most critical aspect are rising prices (ibid.). Overall, tolerance monitoring agrees that the atmosphere is generally quite positive towards tourism, but also reveals a few slow negative trends. The results are thus consistent with KAGERMEIER and ERDMENGER's (2019) results.

4 Methodology

Considering that tourism affects the everyday life and quality of life of residents in a destination, revealing the perceptions and responses of the individuals involved requires an in-depth qualitative study (SHARPLEY 2018, 301 et seq.; COOPER & HALL 2019, 200). Knowing where, how and why individuals feel affected by tourism gives insights into the extent to which they are willing to tolerate tourism, revealing potential tipping points regarding tourism growth (insofar as these "tipping points" are a product of perspective) (HALL 2019, 43). Therefore, the present research aims to complement the numerous quantitative research results on the matter of residents' perception of tourism (ANDERECK et al. 2005; BOLEY et al. 2014; LEE 2013; NUNKOO & FUNG SO 2016; KAGERMEIER & ERDMENGER 2019; DWIF 2019) with a qualitative research design of photo elicitation and focus groups supported by stakeholder interviews. It should be pointed out that the present data collection serves as explorative tests with a small sample size to compare their appropriateness for the research matter. Subsequently, the method will be reviewed and adapted for a more extensive and elaborate data collection in 2020.

Explorative informal interview

To get first impressions of the citizens' opinions, four residents (RES1–4) were invited for an informal and open discussion about the research topic. The participants differed in cohort and residential district. They were chosen by convenience sampling (FLICK 2018, 181), since this was sufficient and efficient for an initial exploration. The interviews followed WITZEL's design of problem-centered interviews (FLICK 2018, 232; MAYRING 2016, 67), meaning that they were open, narrative, and focused on the topic of the perception of tourism in Munich. The interviews were not recorded; they were only docu-

mented by the researchers' records. These results were subsequently used to develop a research design composed of photo elicitation and focus groups.

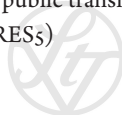
Photo elicitation

Photographs can be effectively used as stimuli to provoke emotions and facilitate articulation (ABASCAL et al. 2018; JANUSZ et al. 2017). Image use in tourism research has mostly been limited to travel motivation, and has generally been underutilized in human geography (ABASCAL et al. 2018; VAN MELIK & ERNSTE 2019). Different methods of photo elicitation were tested in this study, and will be described below (JANUSZ et al. 2017, 131 et seq.).

To find potential interviewees, the residents involved in the explorative informal interview were asked to contact friends and acquaintances. Even though sampling was based on the snowball system, sampling criteria (diverse residential districts) were defined beforehand (FLICK 2018, 174 f.) to obtain a heterogeneous group. In the end, only one person showed an interest in doing the walking interview instead of the focus group discussion.



Fig. 1: A newly established multi-modal public transit station at Kidlerplatz in Munich, December 2019 (Photograph by RES5)



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The interviewee (RES₅) was told by email that she would walk with a member of the research team through her neighborhood to take photographs (see Figure 1) of places that either influenced her quality of life or had been affected by tourism development. The interviewee was asked to think about a walking route based on the topic.

To try a different version of photo elicitation, the researchers took and printed 20 photographs themselves. The images showed either very popular and crowded tourist hotspots, such as the Viktualienmarkt in Figure 2, or places that are slowly gaining in popularity as “hidden gems”, such as the Gärtnerplatz. The photos were shown to the interviewee after the first part of the walking interview to observe whether the new stimuli and perspective change led to the interviewee having new thoughts.

The whole interview, lasting 1 hour and 45 minutes, was voice-recorded. The audio file was transcribed and thematically coded in MAXQDA (FLICK 2018, 473). The coding structure was developed deductively based on the literature research and the explorative informal interviews. Finally, a qualitative content analysis was executed (MAYRING 2016, 114 ff.).



Fig. 2: Traffic at Viktualienmarkt, December 2019 (Photograph by E. Erdmenger)

The first part did not deliver a great deal of information. This was likely caused by two factors: on the one hand, the interviewee was so focused on talking that she became disoriented during the walk and suggested sitting on a bench instead. The interviewee also

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forgot to take photos, which led to the interviewer taking the initiative to continuously remind the participant to photograph places he/she talked about, resulting in a researcher bias. Moreover, the interviewee did not seem to be comfortable with the camera that the interviewer provided. The second part of the interview, however, prompted new memories and in some cases put the interviewee's opinion into a different perspective.

Focus group discussion

Focus groups are a qualitative research method in which a group of five to twelve participants discusses a topic (DANIELS et al. 2018, 184). The method is mostly used in social sciences to determine people's perceptions about certain topics (ibid. 185). These perceptions depend not only on the core values of the society they belong to, but also on the social group to which they belong (BROWN et al. 2004). Hence, a focus group can provide immediate insights into a given sociological phenomenon from different viewpoints at the micro (individual) level *and* the meso (community) level. Therefore, this method seemed appropriate to research the perception of tourism in a community.

The participants were identified following snowball sampling as described above. The group (RES6–10) was composed of four middle-aged men and one woman. The group covered three different districts of Munich plus one person living 100 km north of Munich who commuted to the city for work purposes.

To start the discussion, the moderator presented the vision of Munich's DMO (*Tourismus München*) as a stimuli and invited the participants to describe what they think and feel. Afterwards, the moderator asked questions about their quality of life in Munich and how tourism affects life in Munich. Finally, the same 20 photographs that were used in the single walking interview were passed around and the focus group was asked to discuss their thoughts and opinions about them. The focus group discussion took two hours, and was recorded for video as well as for audio. It was then transcribed and coded with MAXQDA using the same coding structure as for the photo elicitation interview.

Generally, this method delivered more valuable information for the research question, since group interaction provoked emotions and opinions, which a one-on-one interview would not have accomplished. However, the discussion was inhibited by a strong consensus among the participants. Future focus groups should therefore be formed more carefully by collecting the sampling criteria of each individual (such as demographics) beforehand to ensure heterogeneous perspectives within the groups.

Expert interviews

In addition, some tourism stakeholders were interviewed to reveal further viewpoints. Representatives of two citizens' initiatives (CI₁, CI₂) and of two local DMOs (DMO₁, DMO₂) agreed to give a semi-structured interview. It is important to point out that

CI1 is a traditional alliance of citizens who want to engage on their own terms, whereas CI2 is an initiative of the city government's Department of Social Services, i. e. an official governmental organization, called *Allparteiliches Konfliktmanagement in München* (AKIM, loosely translated as "Multipartial Conflict Management in Munich"). The interviews were voice recorded, coded with MAXQDA and analyzed following the method outlined in photo elicitation. In this case, no photographs were involved.

5 Findings – live and let live

Generally, the opinions about residents' participation differed due to various understandings of the term. While RES5 explained that social media enabled everyone to host or attend events in the neighborhood, RES1 suggested using district councils as a possibility to participate in discussions about urban issues. At the same time, the interviewees criticized the fact that participation is usually limited to involvement *after* decisions have been made (CI1; CI2; RES6). RES6 complained: "it is generally a dilemma that the citizen is not involved in the planning. ... I think it is actually necessary to include the citizens, and the district councils do not help at all". The residents agreed that the city should approach local residents at an earlier stage and make the process of contribution more attractive (CI1; CI2). CI2 had the impression that authorities put little effort in announcement events, and that they seem relieved if few people show up – especially people with objections and dissenting opinions. The undesirability of opponents was also obvious in the interview where one of the DMOs reported on several citizen initiatives against new hotel buildings outside of Munich, describing it as "alarming" and "exhausting", as it might scare potential investors away (DMO2).

The residents in the focus group, however, mentioned *self-initiative* as a key factor for participation. There are a few examples in Munich where residents took matters into their own hands and were successful, i. e. the development of the creative quarter "Werksviertel" (RES6) or the enhancement of the Sendling neighborhoods by organizing events and activities on an online community website called "nebenan.de" (meaning "next door") (RES5). Moreover, residents around Gärtnerplatz, which had become a popular meeting place at night, approached the city with their concerns (CI2). However, both interviewees from the citizen initiatives reported that it was always the same few volunteers who were active and engaged (CI1; CI2). RES7 explained that she would like to share her opinion, but did not have the time and motivation to get involved over a longer period of time. CI1 urged the city to create "urban planning cells", explaining that they were "'representative' panels [...] in relation to certain projects".

Furthermore, most people interviewed used the term "participation" quite often in the context of *culture*. While CI1 explained that all residents could participate in Munich's culture and that no one would be excluded, the DMO representatives expanded on this thought by stating that all tourists can participate in the local culture very easily due to its special integrationist value, citing Oktoberfest as an example (DMO1; DMO2). As DMO2 put it:

On the one hand, you wish or want to offer this participation to the guest, meaning in the town squares, including the topic of Oktoberfest and folk festivals. Theoretically, the guest sits next to the people of Munich. That is, for one thing, a unique selling point that is presented externally, but I think that also works the other way around. The inhabitants of Munich say, ‘when it’s Oktoberfest, the world is our guest’, and that has been learned and we accept that somehow. Maybe *we* also learned this culture of participation somehow.

Both DMOs also emphasized that they have actively tried to support this possibility to participate when developing new products. Besides Oktoberfest, many interviewees named the local beer gardens as a place of participation, as they elaborated that locals and visitors easily came into contact and struck up conversations (RES5; RES6; RES9; DMO1).

Another key topic that came up a lot during interviews was *acceptance*. One of the group interviewees noted that participation works “because you increase acceptance. That’s what it’s about. ... Whether it works well is an open question, but it’s about taking them [the locals] along, meeting them, about participation. ... Simply that people get the feeling nothing is forced on them” (RES7). Monitoring residents’ attitudes to tourism and their acceptance rate (see DWIF 2019) is one activity that the DMO of Munich instituted as a consequence of the increasing overtourism issues in other competing destinations. As the DMO1 representative noted:

In Munich, we have some other tourist hot spots in addition to just downtown. I’m already fairly calm about that, but it has to remain limited to those hot spots. Because that’s what the residents always clearly emphasize in acceptance monitoring: “Fair enough, but I don’t want to have them everywhere. The beer garden in my neighborhood should remain the beer garden in my neighborhood.

The DMOs reported about their efforts to not only monitor, but also foster locals’ acceptance of tourists (DMO1; DMO2). According to Munich’s current tourism strategy, moderate and sustainable tourism growth is one of the three main goals to ensure that the local population supports tourism development and maintains their welcoming attitude (TOURISMUS MÜNCHEN 2017, 3).

However, acceptance does not automatically lead to a willingness to participate. Even though residents want to be included in the city’s development, not one of the ten residents interviewed could imagine (how) to be involved in *tourism planning* (RES1–10). Several reasons were given. First, these residents did not know and could not imagine what “tourism planning” was or even that organizations and companies existed solely for that purpose (RES10). Second, those residents who were aware of DMOs called them “the experts” and believed that they themselves could not contribute anything due to a lack of expertise and knowledge (RES9). Third, the local citizens did not perceive any problems caused by tourism, and if there were no problems, there was no interest for them to get involved (RES3; RES4; RES5). Drawing on experiences from the multi-partial conflict management initiative, CI2 framed it this way:

Why should they bother to be committed? So tourism increases? That is not necessarily in their interest ... I don't have to do anything for that ... that's already taken care of. Commitment always presupposes interest. Otherwise, they don't fight for anything. Interest or money.

These statements demonstrate that the interviewees did not see any personal benefit or incentive to the cost of getting involved in tourism planning. Generally, they do not feel (negatively) affected by tourists and follow the Bavarian mantra to "live and let live" (RES₅; RES₈). To sum up, it seems that there is a lack of interest, knowledge and time, which inhibits the interviewed residents from participating in local tourism governance or planning.

6 Discussion – what scholars want residents to want, and what they really want

As analyzed in Section 2, governance research on resident participation is often based on the sociological phenomenon of empowerment, social capital and ARNSTEIN's ladder of participation. In this section, the researcher team will firstly draw the line between those concepts and the empirical findings. Secondly, the theory will be expanded by suggesting a framework that contextualizes the concepts.

The interviewed residents of Munich reported that invitations to participate in political or planning matters are made at a very late stage of the process, are not attractive, and that people with opposing opinions are not very welcome. Besides the criticism on the governance side, the citizens furthermore appeared not to be motivated due to a lack of interest, knowledge and time to participate in (tourism) governance processes. The lack of time contradicts LALICIC & ÖNDER (2018, 8), who stated that residents should not be included in an "on-off occasional" manner only, but rather in a "substantial" way. The interviewed residents of Munich clearly stated that they had neither the capacity nor the time to become amateur policymakers. Even though some people have become more active, mostly due to climate change, activism is often only short lived, or remains within private activities instead of public activism. Indeed, only a few people are currently active in the local citizens' initiative (CI₁). To overcome this lack of interest, participation must become more attractive and tolerable for residents. The reply by RES₅ to the question of participation is telling:

I don't know, I don't want to. However, if I lived in a neighborhood that was affected, well, then I would indeed be thankful if I were included. As far as that goes, maybe my thinking is a bit short-term. Maybe, yes I do.

This quote shows that the resident would have a potential interest in participating if the lack of interest, knowledge or time were eliminated.



Empowerment & social capital

Several researchers have concluded that residents need to be empowered to boost the social capital and thus enable participation (DI GREGORIO et al. 2019 VINK et al. 2013; NUNKOO & FUNG SO 2016; MARTINS 2018; BOLEY et al. 2014).

In the case of Munich, residents are noticeably proud of their city and identify with it. Nevertheless, the community could be even more *psychologically empowered* to evoke not only trust, but also commitment. One good example of this was a series in a local newspaper which invited residents of Munich to explore their home city from a tourist's perspective, fostering place attachment and identity (ERDMENGER 2019, 444). Further recommendations for action are lacking in policy papers and research concepts, and leave a gap for future research.

Social empowerment can also be improved through communication and awareness creation. How this empowerment can be achieved is well addressed in the overtourism management strategy (strategies six to nine) by the UNWTO (2018). However, many of those measures focus on benefits for visitors, which should simultaneously improve the situation for residents but do not specifically target them, i. e. "extend opening times of visitor attractions" (UNWTO 2018, p. 11). In Munich, most of the residents knew nothing about the goals of tourism planning nor about the effects of tourism on the city. The DWF1 study (2019) supports those findings because 43 % of the residents stated that they did not feel informed about the relevance of tourism for Munich. Furthermore, only 65 % of the survey respondents believed that tourism plays an important economic role for the city (ibid.). NUNKOO & FUNG SO (2016) emphasized that sharing the benefits of tourism with residents, and educating them, are key aspects of gaining trust and distributing power. If awareness and knowledge about the value of tourism were fostered, residents would perceive tourism more positively, as many researchers have determined (NIJS 2017; KOENS et al. 2018; UNWTO 2018; AMORE et al. 2020; MULER GONZALEZ et al. 2018).

In contrast, *political empowerment* relies much more on providing tools and structures to join political processes. The tech-focused approach of LALICIC & ÖNDER (2018) and IVARS-BAIDAL et al. (2019) would be one innovative way to achieve political empowerment. Nonetheless, the DMO of Munich has only recently started to work with digitalization, i. e. for a "smart" visitor guide system (DMO₁) and, like most destinations, is not yet considering e-governance. However, Munich does have a promising collaborative destination governance model – the *Munich Model* (see Section 3). As the DMOs reported, collaboration between the tourism industry and public governmental authorities is already strong; it seems realistic to invite community representatives to the same table. Also the system of district councils offers a network for residents to become (politically) involved.

In a nutshell, the case of Munich shows quite well that social and political empowerment seem to be more tangible and viable than psychological empowerment. What remains is the question how this empowerment can lead to actual resident participation.

Participation

Based on the empirical data from this study, it is necessary to conclude that the interviewed residents are not interested in participating in tourism planning. This result is contrary to the results of several other research projects (NIJS 2017; POSTMA 2013). This can be due to either cultural differences or the immature research design of this pilot study and small sample sizes.

Nonetheless, during the interviews some positive examples emerged and showed very well how the three pillars of empowerment enhance community participation. The first of these was the multipartial conflict management initiative, which mediates between residents and the late-night revelers (who are actually rarely tourists) in residents' neighborhoods (CI₂). The representative from the initiative explained that they were not solution-finders, but that they focused on inviting people to change their perspectives (psychological empowerment) and therefore facilitate greater understanding and tolerance with each other (social empowerment) (CI₂). On top of that, they indicated that residents appreciate having a contact person who visits them, who takes their concerns seriously and looks into the issue to understand the circumstances (political empowerment) (CI₂). This leads to a higher tolerance level, resident support and ultimately a more resilient community. As CI₂ stated, "If we know that what I think matters, then I can dare to think about what I really want."

Another positive example that emerged concerned a pilot project that DMO₁ hosted at an outdoor art and culture festival in Munich in 2019. The communication activity project, called "tourism in dialogue", invited residents to talk with employees of the DMO about local tourism (social and political empowerment) (DMO₁). Following MOSCARDO'S (2019) approach, the DMO used creative methods such as an integrationist improvisational theater group to communicate with passers-by in a playful and appealing way (psychological empowerment) (GRAF 2019). Even if the preceding and subsequent analysis were very unstructured, the DMO's high awareness of the need to complement tourism development with the wishes of Munich's residents is praiseworthy: "I think that tolerance is grounded in participation. If everyone has the feeling they will mutually benefit, then, I think, rejection is not that strong. It is in that connection that the key to commitment actually lies" (DMO₁).

Hence, if the community is empowered, relational, cognitive and/or structural social capital are enhanced as a consequence (for details about social capital, see ERDMENGER 2019). Either this can lead to participation in the degree of tokenism (ARNSTEIN 1969) or resident(s) would become even more supportive and therefore likely start participating with a higher degree of citizen power (*ibid.*).

Summarizing, there is an interdependence between empowerment, social capital and (degree of) participation. The researcher team presents these interrelations in a framework in Figure 3 to expand the theory and make the process more understandable and applicable.



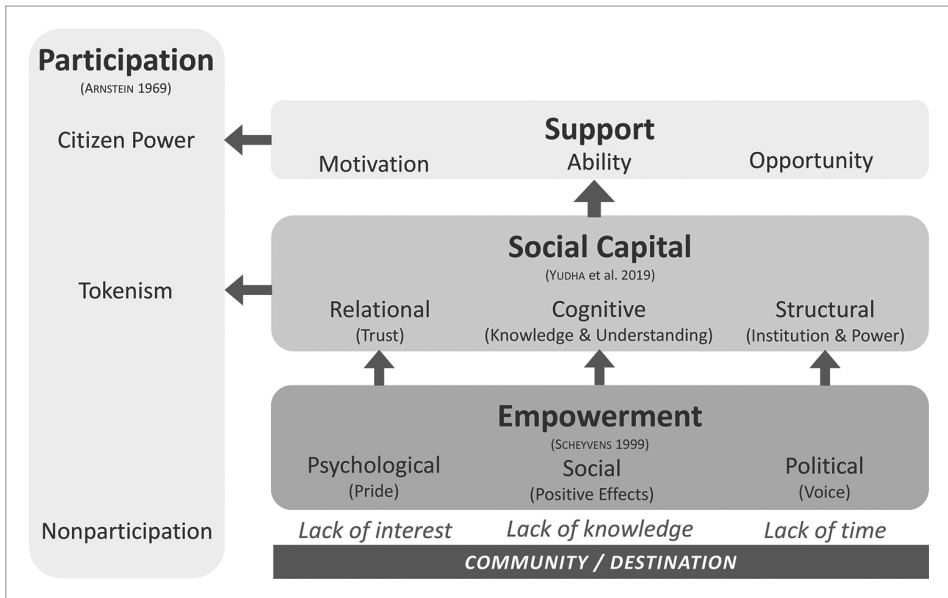


Fig. 3: Interrelation of empowerment, social capital and participation (own design)

Recommendations for action

Based on the empirical findings and the framework in Figure 3, there are several recommendations for governance action.

First, considering that the interviewees referred to social media platforms, neighborhood events, and even policymaking meetings, it became clear that they all understood “participation” in very different ways. Therefore, once contact with interested residents exists, everyone needs to mutually agree on the general conditions of participation. This means that public authorities (local government) and private stakeholders (the DMO) must first allocate resources to make resident participation realistic, followed by the residents’ stepping up to speak for themselves and define participation: who should participate how, why, when, where, to what extent, and how often/long? A contract would support the relational and structural capital of this collaboration. Besides asking how *more* people can be motivated, authorities should make a virtue out of necessity, and empower those who are already dedicated to become local ambassadors, i. e. via district councils. Local ambassadors or “heroes” benefit from high relational capital (see Figure 3). After all, they are probably more successful at making themselves heard among their neighbors than politicians and policymakers. In addition, the concept of AKIM could be an inspiration for this. Dialogue with residents could be held at touristic places or in shared host-guest spaces such as beer gardens (KAGERMEIER & ERDMENGER 2019). Moreover, occasional events organized by the nebenan.de community offer communication opportunities. On top of that, the DMO could reinforce the findings

of their quantitative monitoring with qualitative data retrieved from such dialogue to understand what lies behind those figures.

Another recommendation for governance action aims for broader actor collaboration. Talking about the effect of tourism on Munich, the interviewees complained about urban planning and traffic issues, because *that* is what they perceive in their daily life. Residents do not see the connection between tourism development and urban concerns. However, this phenomenon is not limited to citizens' perception. There were many incidents during the study where governmental departments redirected the researcher team to the DMO, stating that their department had nothing to do with tourism. However, tourism does influence traffic, housing and many other sectors in a destination. This awareness is lacking, which is alarming. This overlap of urban and tourism planning is possibly the optimal area for residents to get involved, since this may cover a wider area of interest and knowledge on the part of citizens. CI1 mentioned one example: "If citizens can use it themselves, like our fountain that we fought for back then."

In a nutshell, participatory governance has to reach the next level. In times of DMOs restructuring from destination *marketing* to *management* organizations, the redistribution of tasks has to be reviewed on a bigger scale. Therefore, DMOs should consider assigning certain tourism governance tasks to public authorities insofar as these authorities should be more people-focused, have different resources and are not in economic competition. This would also foster collaboration between urban and tourism planning, in contrast to economy-driven and marketing-skilled DMOs. The result could be public destination *community* organizations or councils. The focus of such institutions should be on the empowerment of local residents.

They choose what works for them. So choice is everything – and power decides choice. And we need those in power – politicians, leaders, governments, planners, researchers and all of us in our everyday life need to respect choices. Instead of choosing what is right for people, ... let's acknowledge and empower their choices. And that is how we can build better and inclusive cities for tomorrow, completing the imagery of cities built by the choices of its own people. (JOHARI 2019, n. p.)

7 Conclusion

The participation of citizens is essential to the achievement of sustainable tourism development, (KABISCH et al. 2018, 6; SPIL et al. 2017, 122). To this end, scholars and policymakers developed numerous participatory destination governance models. However, these guidelines remain very vague, and authorities should make sure that citizen participation is not just a "socialwashing" activity. The present study dared to question this, taking a qualitative approach and asking locals if they actually *wanted* to participate in tourism governance. Hence, the paper aimed to reveal the reasons why host communities, in this case in Munich, Germany, want (or do not want) to participate in tourism governance.

In this study, 100% of the respondents are unwilling to participate in tourism governance. Such opinions are rationalized by the fact that the residents did not perceive any negative effect on their quality of life stemming from tourism, and so they had no incentive or motivation. As a result, contemporary citizens' lack of interest, knowledge and time is too high. Hence, participatory destination governance still remains a conceptual pipe dream.

To change this, the researcher team came up with some recommendations for governance action based on the empirical findings and the theory expansion (Figure 3). First, the meaning of participation needs to be defined and registered in a contract between all governance stakeholders, including residents, to improve the structural social capital. Second, the process of participation must be more simple, attractive and inviting. Communication on events or via local ambassadors improves citizens' understanding, awareness and knowledge about tourism. Third, tourism should finally be acknowledged as being relevant for urban and traffic planning and for improving collaborative governance beyond tourism stakeholders.

There is a reason why scholars have designed plenty of pipe dreams about participatory governance models over the past 50 years. Participatory destination governance is without a doubt necessary for socially acceptable tourism development. On the one hand, the current global travel halt underlines the importance of making the travel industry more resilient, but on the other hand, it offers a great opportunity to take the forced step back and rethink previous tourism development. Researchers, planners and policymakers should finally talk to the key stakeholders involved: the residents of tourist destinations.

This study has left some questions open. The empirical data shows that residents of Munich are not interested in participating in tourism planning activities. In contrast, NIJ'S (2017) research showed that, in Bruges, 7 out of 10 residents stated that they wanted to be involved in tourism planning. In light of BARCACCIA et al.'s (2013, 187) conclusion that culture is a "macro-component" of quality of life, further cross-cultural comparisons are needed to analyze this coherence. Another open question is the role of place attachment, ethnocentrism and the identity of the local community (see GUO et al. 2018; KOCK et al. 2019), which appeared to be a crucial factor for the relational social capital in Munich.

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