

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF “TAMING” TOURISM

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I. INTRODUCTION

This essay describes and evaluates Professor Fred P. Bosselman’s many contributions to understanding, conceptualizing and managing tourism growth,¹ as well as the historical and academic contexts of those efforts. It also demonstrates how his work has been consistently prescient and describes how Professor Bosselman regularly enriched his analysis of complex tourism problems by references to concepts and methodologies from

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1. In the interest of full disclosure, the author notes his longstanding professional and personal relationship with Professor Bosselman.

disciplines other than land use and environmental law, his principal areas of expertise.

Professor Bosselman's contributions are best reflected in three major projects: a well known and long term consulting engagement on Sanibel Island, Florida; a remarkable 1978 book entitled *In the Wake of the Tourist: Managing Special Places in Eight Countries*;² and finally a co-authored 1999 work, *Managing Tourism Growth: Issues and Applications*.³

II. TOURISM TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

Twenty-five years ago, when Professor Bosselman began his many significant contributions to managing tourism growth, the tourism industry was far smaller and less important than today. Nevertheless, governments and non-governmental organizations were marshalling resources to address vacation travel as a potentially powerful tool in improving economic well-being throughout the world, especially in the developing nations.⁴ In 1972, for example, the President of the World Bank recommended that funds be allocated to foster mass tourism in developing countries, such as the now heavily visited Thailand, Indonesia, Egypt, and Turkey, as well as currently less traveled destinations such as Lebanon, Colombia, and Syria.⁵ At that time, the World Bank estimated that over the next ten years tourism would increase by forty million visitors, a 45 percent increase over the period.⁶

In the 1970s tourism growth in the United States was also a powerful agent of community change, triggered largely by private entrepreneurial activity rather than official interventions. Sun Valley, Idaho was one of those destinations, as chronicled by history Professor Hal K. Rothman.⁷ Rothman recites that private

2. FRED P. BOSSELMAN, *IN THE WAKE OF THE TOURIST: MANAGING SPECIAL PLACES IN EIGHT COUNTRIES* (1978).

3. FRED P. BOSSELMAN, CRAIG A. PETERSON & CLAIRE MCCARTHY, *MANAGING TOURISM GROWTH: ISSUES AND APPLICATIONS* (1999).

4. A very recent example of this phenomenon could well have occurred in those early days. The interests of elected public officials have not in this respect changed meaningfully. In July 2001 the newly elected President of Peru (of Andean Indian descent) conducted a symbolic inauguration at Machu Picchu, primarily in order to spur tourism and to bring more hard currency into the country. President Toledo stated that Peru's annual 600,000 foreign visitors per year were fewer than most of its neighboring countries and that his goal was three million tourist visits per year. *Peru's New President Replays Inauguration in Ancestral Andes*, N.Y. TIMES, July 30, 2001, at A4.

5. See generally PATRICIA GOLDSTONE, *MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR TOURISM* 45-73 (2001).

6. *Id.* at 51.

7. HAL K. ROTHMAN, *DEVIL'S BARGAINS: TOURISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICAN WEST* (1998).

developers purchased the Valley in 1964 to create a multi-faceted resort area for year-round visits.⁸ In addition to such traditional resort facilities as hotels, restaurants, and ski lifts, the owners developed condominiums (a new form of legal ownership at that time) and luxury houses.⁹ Local employment patterns rapidly changed from farming to the service sector,¹⁰ so that by the late 1960s “[the principal owner had] created a structurally and economically different community that, like Santa Fe and Aspen before it, catered to outsiders more than to locals.”¹¹ Then, Rothman notes, came a “backlash” against the impacts of the resort, led by many local citizens and longtime visitors who “felt that the quantity and quality of development threatened the community.”¹² Those people engaged in a number of efforts to modify the pace and style of change.¹³

This pattern of controversy and citizen activism in the face of rampant tourism growth was not limited to Sun Valley or to other communities¹⁴ in the Western United States during the 1970s. It also occurred in Sanibel Island, Florida.

A. *The Sanibel Island, Florida Experience*

Well-known to thousands of visitors and part-time residents from around the world, Sanibel is a small barrier island off the Southwest coast of Florida.¹⁵ It is famous for its seashell-covered beaches, havens for birds (especially in nature reserves that constitute half of the island) and a “laid back” ambiance.¹⁶ After 1963 visitors could easily access the island by car, using a newly built causeway to the mainland.¹⁷ This promptly encouraged developers to build condominiums, many of them tall and close to

8. *Id.* at 239.

9. *Id.* at 239-41.

10. *Id.* at 242-43.

11. *Id.* at 243.

12. *Id.*

13. *Id.*

14. Rothman also covers such destinations as Aspen, Jackson Hole, Santa Fe, and Ketchum, with a decidedly negative interpretation on the impacts of tourism development, reflected in the title of his book.

15. BOSSELMAN, PETERSON & MCCARTHY, *supra* note 3, at 137.

16. *See id.* at 137, 143.

17. Causeway construction usually has an immediate transforming impact because the number of visitors can, on the day of the bridge opening, increase many fold, while the infrastructure of the island remains the same. This naturally produces citizen conflicts because some local residents do not want any change and others plan to benefit economically (e.g. increased land values, more businesses to serve the new visitors) from that change. *See id.* at 137-44. The multi-year controversies over the now completed bridge to the Scottish Isle of Skye illustrate that type of conflict.

the high water line on the beaches.¹⁸ Golf courses and man-made lakes adversely impacted fragile interior wetlands.¹⁹ The population on this 12,000 acre island rapidly grew to 3,000 permanent residents and 13,000 seasonal visitors.²⁰

Many citizens wanted local control over their land use decisions. This was essential because the county standards permissively allowed about 30,000 potential residential dwelling units, which translated into a permanent and seasonal population of roughly 70,000.²¹ The first step was therefore to incorporate Sanibel as a municipality with concomitant land use regulatory authority, a legal milestone that occurred in 1974.²²

Armed with regulatory powers, the new city island hired prominent national consultants in many disciplines to create a comprehensive plan and consistent development standards.²³ Professor Bosselman, then in private practice, was prominent among that group, as was the famous design and planning firm of Ian L. McHarg, a visionary who, in 1969, had authored an influential book, *Design With Nature*.²⁴ That work promoted the concept that the environmental context of a development should determine its scope and design.

The burgeoning tourism growth caused three principal risks on Sanibel: hurricane risks to life, land, and buildings; risks associated with the ability of the island resources to tolerate²⁵ the increased human activity (now usually called "carrying capacity");²⁶

18. *Id.* at 137-38.

19. *See id.*

20. *Id.* at 138.

21. *Id.*

22. *Id.*

23. *Id.*

24. IAN L. MCHARG, *DESIGN WITH NATURE* (1969).

25. Non-island settings can also only tolerate a reasonable level of human activity. The famed Inca ruins at Macchu Picchu are a good example. There:

the biggest long-term threat is ... fast-growing popularity with tourists. Each year some 300,000 visit the site, which is surrounded by a large nature reserve sheltering more than 400 species of birds and dozens of rare orchids. In the dry season (May to September), up to 2,200 people tramp around the ruins each day. With them come problems: the gradual erosion of the Inca roads to the site; the chaotic growth of . . . a nearby village that has become an ugly town; and rubbish and other pollution at the ruins.

Tourism in Peru: Road to Ruin, THE ECONOMIST, July 21, 2001, at 30.

26. This evolving concept is undergoing continual re-evaluation and refinements. *See, e.g.*, PETER W. WILLIAMS & ALISON GILL, *CARRYING CAPACITY MANAGEMENT IN TOURISM SETTINGS: A TOURISM GROWTH MANAGEMENT PROCESS* (1991); Harry Coccossis & Apostolos Parpairis, *Tourism and the Environment: Some Observations on the Concept of Carrying Capacity*, in *TOURISM AND THE ENVIRONMENT* 23 (Helen Briassoulis & Jan van der Straaten eds., 2d ed. 1992). Related approaches include the "limits of acceptable change" (*see* GEORGE H. STANKEY ET AL., *THE LIMITS OF ACCEPTABLE CHANGE SYSTEM FOR WILDERNESS PLANNING* (1985)) and

and risks as to the adequacy of sewage and water supplies.²⁷ Professor Bosselman guided the consultants and citizen leaders as to the requirements of the Florida Statutes and judicial opinions, as well as the (then few) federal decisions on United States constitutional limitations such as the takings clause.

The interdisciplinary team of specialists then produced relevant data and opinions that proved invaluable in creating the plan and regulations (as well as in defending the new city in lawsuits filed by disappointed landowners whose developments would be adversely affected by the new restrictions):

Meteorologists provided the latest information on forecasting major storms, indicating how much time the island would have from the initial forecast until landfall contact; traffic engineers studied how many cars would be able to leave the island in what period of time, and offered ways to improve traffic flow; construction engineers recommended revised building standards to increase the ability of new construction to withstand storm damage; environmentalists studied the impacts of growth on the fragile ecosystem of the barrier island; other experts analyzed Sanibel's capacity to provide potable water and adequate wastewater treatment and its ability to expand utility services.²⁸

The most significant outcome of those scientific studies was a legal limitation on the number of dwelling units to 7,800 (roughly 26 percent of the number of units allowed under the previously governing county ordinance); that and many other provisions were embodied in a 1976 Plan and, in the 1980s, legally enforceable development standards.²⁹

At the time of the plan's adoption in 1976, it was the leading example (at least in the United States and probably in the world as a whole) of applying scientific methodologies to complex, tourism-driven land use problems and producing factual data upon which to rationally base land use regulatory standards and decisions.³⁰

"visitor impact management" (see F.R. KUSS ET AL., VISITOR IMPACT MANAGEMENT: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH (1990)).

27. BOSSELMAN, PETERSON & MCCARTHY, *supra* note 3, at 138.

28. *Id.* at 138-39.

29. *Id.* at 139.

30. *Id.* at 143-44.

B. Summary Observations

Professor Bosselman was a key “player” in this very successful effort. The project nicely illustrates the many benefits of plan development using a consulting team of experts. The basic concepts and approaches of the early plan are in place today; there were amendments in 1989 and again in 1997, but they refined rather than rejected the earlier conceptual premises and enactments.³¹ There has been, over the twenty-five years to date, a commendable level of predictability and continuity of benefit to the business community as well as to visitors and permanent residents.³² Lawsuits filed by disgruntled landowners were common in the early years,³³ but are now rare. The island is thriving (as are the birds and other wildlife).³⁴ The underlying factually-based methodology of the 1976 plan has allowed sufficient flexibility to accommodate new facts and analysis, such as an increased ability to forecast hurricanes and the effect of incremental commercial developments over the years.³⁵ Finally, using the carrying capacity of a geographical area as a method of controlling tourism growth is now a widely used planning and implementation tool.

III. AN INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY INTO THE IMPACTS OF TOURISM: *IN THE WAKE OF THE TOURIST: MANAGING SPECIAL PLACES IN EIGHT COUNTRIES*

In 1978 Professor Bosselman shared his views on tourism impacts in book form. *In the Wake of the Tourist*³⁶ was the product of a large project with extensive international fieldwork by Professor Bosselman and others and funded by a number of foundations (such as the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation) but principally by the German Marshall Fund of the United States.³⁷ The prominence of and high levels of support by the funders reflected their high level of interest in the process of tourism growth.

The time context of this important work is worthy of note. In 1978 the fields of tourism research and planning were in their infancies. There were very few tourism education schools or programs,³⁸ whereas currently there are hundreds around the

31. *Id.* at 139.

32. *Id.* at 143.

33. *Id.* at 139.

34. *See id.* at 143.

35. *Id.* at 143, 185-86.

36. BOSSELMAN, *supra* note 2.

37. William K. Reilly, *Introduction* to BOSSELMAN, *supra* note 2, at 14.

38. As to how the field should be regarded in academia, see John Tribe, *The Indiscipline*

world. There were very few academic journals in the field;³⁹ currently there are more than thirty-six in the general tourism field⁴⁰ and fourteen in the allied discipline of “leisure and recreation.” There are now also highly specialized research journals for industry leaders and educators,⁴¹ as well as professional affinity groups.⁴² When *In the Wake of the Tourist*⁴³ was published, there were very few books in the tourism literature,⁴⁴ far different from August 2001 when an internet search of the Amazon.com on-line bookstore list under the topic “tourism” produced 2,889 entries, and a search of articles in the English language in the database of Lexis-Nexis produced an unmanageable number (more than 1,000 entries over a sixty day period). Professor Bosselman’s 1978 book should thus be regarded as a very unusual entry into a then tiny literature concerning tourism impacts and planning.

Structurally, the book has five components: Building, Moving, Planning, Mediating, and Placemaking. In the “Building” chapter, Professor Bosselman analyzes two government initiatives: the then early stages of the Cancun, Mexico development and the Aquitaine region alternative to the overcrowded French Riviera. The “Moving” chapter is considerably more elusive, addressing two very different places: Ayers Rock, Australia (now called the Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1987), where the aboriginal and modern cultures meet on sometimes uncomfortable terms; and Amsterdam, where in the 1970s young drug-using drifters were allowed to camp out in a city park, to the chagrin of many citizens. In the chapter entitled “Planning,” Professor Bosselman focuses on numerous examples illustrating undesirable tourism sprawl (some sites in England and the Netherlands) and new styles of tourism creating stress in Westerland, Germany; Torquay, England; and Zihuatanejo, Mexico. Chapter Four (“Mediating”) covers how disputes generated by

of Tourism, 24 ANNALS OF TOURISM RES. 638 (1997); Krzysztof Przeclawski, *Tourism as the Subject of Interdisciplinary Research*, in TOURISM RESEARCH: CRITIQUES AND CHALLENGES 9 (Douglas G. Pearce & Richard W. Butler eds., 1993).

39. One of the earliest was the social sciences journal ANNALS OF TOURISM RESEARCH, begun modestly in 1974.

40. As to coverage of tourism impacts, this author feels that among the other leaders are JOURNAL OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM, THE TOURIST REVIEW, TOURISM MANAGEMENT, JOURNAL OF TRAVEL RESEARCH, and a recent new journal, TOURISM GEOGRAPHIES.

41. Examples include the JOURNAL OF HOSPITALITY AND TOURISM EDUCATION and the GAMING RESEARCH AND REVIEW JOURNAL.

42. For example, The Recreation, Tourism and Sport Specialty Group of the Association of American Geographers.

43. BOSSELMAN, *supra* note 2.

44. One of the earliest broadly framed works was published in 1982, the still influential A. MATHIESON & G. WALL, TOURISM: ECONOMIC, PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS (1982).

tourism pressures can be resolved, as typified by London and Japan. The final chapter, entitled "Placemaking," explores Professor Bosselman's highly original concept of "specialness," using as illustrations the parks at Mount Fuji, Japan and the English Lake District as well as the "Sea of Galilee," Lake Kinneret, Israel.

Although written more than twenty years ago, *In the Wake of the Tourist*⁴⁵ remains a classic in the field—lucid, analytically sound, and comprehensive. Additionally, the author's approach and many of his ideas were precursors to much of the best current literature of tourism policy.

Initially striking about the book's methodology is Professor Bosselman's *in-depth treatment of a wide range of destinations to support and illustrate his principal arguments*. Indeed, the sites he discusses are located throughout the world, with the exception of North America. Perhaps that region was excluded because many of the readers would be familiar with such places.⁴⁶ This is an encompassing approach, suggesting by the choice of places that there are many broad principles and practices that have validity irrespective of the country or cultural/social/economic circumstances, even though the nuances of the problems and potential solutions might well vary considerably. Much of the most interesting and useful current writing in the field uses the multi-country approach⁴⁷ taken by Professor Bosselman: two examples among many are *People and Tourism in Fragile Environments*⁴⁸ and *Sustainable Tourism in Islands and Small States: Issues and Policies*.⁴⁹ These two works, however, reflect a dilemma faced by participants in edited volumes: while most of the individual case studies themselves may be of high quality, they are written by many different authors, producing the challenge for the editor of creating appropriate interconnections between offerings. Professor

45. BOSSELMAN, *supra* note 2.

46. Interestingly and by contrast, Professor Hal Rothman chose to limit his historical analysis to the United States West. See ROTHMAN, *supra* note 7. Another excellent recent book addressing problems in an astonishingly broad range of "gateway" communities in the United States is JIM HOWE ET AL., *BALANCING NATURE AND COMMERCE IN GATEWAY CITIES* (1997).

47. See generally Douglas G. Pearce, *Comparative Studies in Tourism Research*, in *TOURISM RESEARCH: CRITIQUES AND CHALLENGES* 20 (Douglas G. Pearce & Richard W. Butler eds., 1993).

48. *PEOPLE AND TOURISM IN FRAGILE ENVIRONMENTS* (Martin F. Price ed., 1996) (discussing New Mexico; Nunavut, Canada; Far North Queensland, Australia; Northern Barents Sea; Richtersveld, South Africa; Flathead County, Montana; New South Wales; the Masai areas of Kenya, Zimbabwe; and the Monteverde Cloud Forest, Costa Rica).

49. *SUSTAINABLE TOURISM IN ISLANDS AND SMALL STATES: ISSUES AND POLICIES* (Lino Briguglio et al., eds., 1996) (covering the Shetland Islands, Zanzibar, Sri Lanka, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Barbados, St. Lucia, Belize, Dominica, Mykonos and Malta).

Bosselman's book is fully integrated in all respects, being much more than a strong collection of individual contributions.⁵⁰

A. Emphasis on Tourism Impacts on the Natural Environment

Another very strong element of *In the Wake of the Tourist*⁵¹ is its *emphasis on tourism impacts on the natural environment*. One telling illustration is the treatment of several natural areas on the mainland adjacent to Cancun Island, where Mexican government tourism development authorities scraped topsoil from fertile areas in order to construct a golf course and gardens. On Cancun itself, two wildlife sanctuaries were eliminated and important mangrove forests bordering some lagoons were destroyed in construction. When Professor Bosselman's book was published, it was in the vanguard; there was very little existing literature concerning the environmental impacts of tourism. Thankfully, this oversight has been largely remedied: each of the major tourism planning textbooks includes treatment of impact analysis and there are several books and scores of academic and other articles with principal focus on the topic.⁵²

B. Careful, Fact-based Planning Should Inform and Guide Tourism Growth and Activities

Another theme of Professor Bosselman's book is that *careful, fact-based planning should inform and guide tourism growth and activities*. In critiquing the tourism patterns at Ayers Rock, Australia (where aborigines conduct ceremonies in traditional venues located near visitor camping areas) he notes many planning deficiencies: "The makeshift motels, campsites, roads, airport, and garbage dump, and the almost constant drone from the sightseeing flights, tend to destroy the feeling that Ayers Rock stands isolated in the middle of the outback."

It is questionable . . . whether the unplanned growth of tourism at Ayers Rock can continue at its present pace without destroying the very things that attract people. Even small numbers of tourists can cause

50. Many then young professional field reporters participated actively in on-site field work, several of whom have reached prominence in later life.

51. BOSSELMAN, *supra* note 2.

52. See, e.g., ZBIGNIEW MIECZKOWSKI, ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES OF TOURISM AND RECREATION (1995); Richard W. Butler, *Pre- and Post-Impact Assessment of Tourism Development*, in TOURISM RESEARCH: CRITIQUES AND CHALLENGES 135 (Douglas G. Pearce & Richard W. Butler eds., 1993).

considerable destruction in this environment of harsh climate and fragile desert ecology. Poor planning of roads and trails has aggravated the damage to native flora. In many places around the rock, trampling has destroyed wide areas of vegetation. The paths from parking lots to special points of interest are not wide enough to handle busloads of people, so many wander onto the desert grasses.⁵³

Twenty years after the numerous calls within *In the Wake of the Tourist*⁵⁴ for tourism planning, there are many undergraduate and graduate school courses in the subject, as well as three leading English language course textbooks devoted to the discipline.⁵⁵

C. Wide-ranging, Structured Citizen Input into the Planning and Implementation of Tourism Guidance Systems

Perhaps influenced by his work on Sanibel, Professor Bosselman consistently encourages *wide ranging, structured citizen input into the planning and implementation of tourism guidance systems*. The quality of such interaction is partly a product of the attitudes of affected residents to the place itself. *In the Wake of the Tourist*⁵⁶ analyzes many situations where citizen input triggered sensible governmental actions (and where lack of input generated poor governmental decision-making). Three case studies stand out here. First, in the German coastal area of Sylt a very involved citizenry in the city of Westerland ultimately succeeded in overturning previously granted local permission to build a group of high-rise condominium buildings on the beach, on the grounds of excessive scale and numbers of units.⁵⁷ Second, in an English example, Professor Bosselman discusses with approval the efforts of local citizens to protest the proposed demolition of a Victorian era Pavilion at a time when many other Victorian structures had previously been demolished, much to the detriment of town character and ambiance.⁵⁸ Finally, a third example occurred in

53. BOSSELMAN, *supra* note 2, at 93.

54. BOSSELMAN, *supra* note 2.

55. See, e.g., CLARE A. GUNN, TOURISM PLANNING: BASICS, CONCEPTS, CASES (3d ed. 1994); EDWARD INSKEEP, TOURISM PLANNING: AN INTEGRATED AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT APPROACH (1991); and most recently a modest work but with an excellent bibliography, C. MICHAEL HALL, TOURISM PLANNING: POLICIES, PROCESSES, AND RELATIONSHIPS (2000).

56. BOSSELMAN, *supra* note 2.

57. See *id.* at 151-66.

58. See *id.* at 166-75.

Zihuatanejo, Mexico where local peasants who owned land in common successfully objected to a number of elements of a government relocation project. Protesters focused on the size, location, and infrastructure amenities of land to be given in exchange for land taken for the tourism program, the shape of streets, the restoration of some homes, and other elements.⁵⁹

The selection of those three destinations to illustrate the need for early and effective community involvement is typical of the eclectic site choices throughout the book. All three are seashore communities, but with many individual differences relating to history, culture, amenities, and other important characteristics. Westerland is the only city on Sylt, a destination for summer “health cures” and for quiet seaside vacations in Germany,⁶⁰ a country not known for beaches. Torquay shares the “health spa” history of Westerland but enjoys a Victorian ambiance.⁶¹ Zihuatanejo was a low-key, small-scale village with fifteen hotels and 12,000 (principally Mexican) visitors per year, but selected by the Mexican authorities for extensive development as a secondary resort and service center near Ixtapa, which the government agency was building four miles to the north.⁶²

Professor Bosselman’s choice of Zihuatanejo as a case study was particularly apt, as it has changed most dramatically since he examined it in the 1970s. As of 2001, in “Zihua” (as it is known to most of its returning visitors) there are still vestiges of the older village: fishermen park boats by palm-frond covered shelters on the relatively quiet beach of Playa Madera; another popular beach is reachable only by hiking in or taking a small boat.⁶³ On the other hand, the population has multiplied by a factor of ten from 1975, to a current total of 80,000.⁶⁴ There are now 400 hotel rooms, of varying price and amenities, from \$50 per night for a simple, small hotel to several decidedly upscale establishments charging more than \$300.⁶⁵

In each of these three cases, writes Professor Bosselman, the “glare of others’ views” was appropriate:

Those who sought to bring new development – and
more tourists ... might reasonably have believed that

59. *See id.* at 176-78.

60. *See id.* at 153.

61. *See id.* at 166-67, 172.

62. *See id.* at 176-77.

63. Christopher Reynolds, *Beyond Ixtapa: Zihuatanejo Offers Laid-back Approach*, CHI. TRIB., July 29, 2001, at 14.

64. *Id.*

65. *Id.*

they were creating benefits for the entire community. Seaside resorts, after all, depend on tourism. But people do not always see change as advantageous In assessing the environmental impacts of development, selfish values of existing residents can no more be dismissed than can the aspirations of potential tourists because a developer will make money satisfying them.⁶⁶

Professor Bosselman proposes that early citizen input is vital, characterized by good communication, using terminology that local residents can truly understand and methods that encourage public involvement.⁶⁷

Since the book was published, there has been a great deal of international progress in improving the quality and quantity of citizen input in tourism development decisions.⁶⁸ Professor Bosselman's recognition of the difficulty of resolving conflicts based upon disparate viewpoints is congruent with current thinking. In an article aptly titled *Crafting a Destination Vision*,⁶⁹ author J.R. Brent Ritchie points out that applying the current buzz-word theory of "visioning" in *normal* planning contexts to situations of planning for tourism destinations is complicated because the points of view of the many "stakeholders" (the identities of whom will vary with the proposed development) holding widely diverse views may be hard to resolve.⁷⁰ The leading book in the field is the superb work by Peter E. Murphy, called *Tourism: A Community Approach*,⁷¹ which presents a detailed, systemic approach (called by the author an "ecological" construct), which is consistent with the broad ideas on citizen involvement expressed in *In the Wake of the Tourist*.⁷²

D. Quality of Specialness

Probably the most elusive topic that Professor Bosselman addresses in his book is the *quality of specialness* of a destination.

66. BOSSELMAN, *supra* note 2, at 178.

67. *See id.* at 179-80.

68. Professor Maureen Reed has carefully analyzed the power struggles that occurred in a community-based tourism planning process held to guide development at Squamish, British Columbia, Canada, an emerging visitor setting. *See* MAUREEN G. REED, *Power Relations and Community-based Tourism Planning*, 24 ANNALS OF TOURISM RES. 566, 573-89 (1997).

69. J.R. Brent Ritchie, *Crafting a Destination Vision*, in TRAVEL, TOURISM, AND HOSPITALITY RESEARCH: A HANDBOOK FOR MANAGERS AND RESEARCHERS 29-38 (J.R. Brent Ritchie & Charles R. Goeldner eds., 2d ed. 1994).

70. *See id.*

71. PETER E. MURPHY, *TOURISM: A COMMUNITY APPROACH* (1985).

72. BOSSELMAN, *supra* note 2.

Professor Bosselman's simply expressed, but profound, conclusion from the case studies (and presumably his professional experiences at Sanibel and many other special places) is that "when people treat places as special, the development process generally seems to work out better."⁷³ The question then becomes how to identify those qualities that make a place special and how to communicate that specialness to visitors.

E. Application of Broad Perspectives and Learning

One of the many strengths of the book is its author's *application of broad perspectives and learning*.⁷⁴ Professor Bosselman summarizes a number of different approaches (each of which could well be extended into a book-length treatment) to evaluating *why* a particular place might be thought of as "special."⁷⁵ Drawing upon work in many disciplines (law, religion, poetry, and ecology), he wisely notes that one approach for determining the "value" of a place is symbolic: the place represents "important emotions and ideas."⁷⁶ A poetic approach (from Wordsworth) would contend that special places (like the Lake District of England) bring back feelings "of unremembered pleasure."⁷⁷ An ecologist might argue that the principal reason that a place is "special" is that a wide diversity of places is necessary to "maintain a wide variety of biological species: to ensure the availability of a maximum number of 'ingredients' for creative responses to unpredictable future conditions."⁷⁸ (This ecological perspective was especially creative in 1978 when *In the Wake of the Tourist*⁷⁹ was published; this now well-known field was then only modestly developed with a literature only a fraction of its current size and scope.)

F. Summary Observations

*In the Wake of the Tourist*⁸⁰ was a groundbreaking multi-national synthesis of many concepts, cutting across a number of disciplines. Written for an intelligent, non-academic audience, the book is (to use poet Robert Penskey's phrase) "unassumedly learned."

73. *Id.* at 240.

74. For example, he includes insights from such literary luminaries as Mark Twain, Herman Melville, William Butler Yeats, Washington Irving, and Gertrude Stein.

75. See BOSSELMAN, *supra* note 2, at 239-40.

76. *Id.* at 240.

77. *Id.*

78. *Id.*

79. BOSSELMAN, *supra* note 2.

80. *Id.*

IV. TOURISM ISSUES REVISITED TWENTY YEARS LATER:
MANAGING TOURISM GROWTH: ISSUES AND APPLICATIONS⁸¹

The twenty years following publication of *In the Wake of the Tourist*⁸² saw a rapid development in worldwide tourism. By the mid-1990s tourism was by many measures the world's largest industry, and certainly one of the most controversial. In many countries it was the fastest growing economic segment. In 1996 there were roughly 500 million international arrivals, with an expected 1.6 billion by 2020.⁸³ The employment impact was staggering, as well. According to the World Tourism Organization (which later developed a complex methodology called "National Satellite Accounting" for measuring the total economic impacts which it encouraged countries to adopt), the tourism industry employment in 1995 was 232 million.⁸⁴

By the mid-1990s scholars and others had identified many other potential benefits: fostering greater appreciation among residents in host communities of their local structures, landscapes and culture; replacing harmful activities (e.g. reducing slash and burn agriculture though jungle tourist visits); improving water, sewer, road and other infrastructure;⁸⁵ and opportunities for cross cultural communication.

Controversy, however, centered on issues of tourism impacts. Computer database searches of English language articles throughout the world for a two-year period generated thousands of references to negative effects, including such aspects as water and air pollution, overbuilding, illegal building, traffic congestion, crime, favoritism to certain neighborhoods, exploitation of visitors,

81. BOSSELMAN, PETERSON & MCCARTHY, *supra* note 3.

82. BOSSELMAN, *supra* note 2.

83. See BOSSELMAN, PETERSON & MCCARTHY, *supra* note 3, at 1.

84. Barbara Crossette, *Surprises in the Global Tourism Boom*, N.Y. TIMES, Apr. 12, 1998, at 5 (citing the World Tourism Organization). The boom continues to this day. According to the World Tourism Organization data as of Jan. 2001, there were in 2000 a total of 698 million international arrivals (in addition to arrivals that originated in the country of arrival) and a growth rate (compared with 1998-99) of an astonishing 7.4 %. Regions other than Europe and the Americas (which are the principal tourist-receiving areas) are growing the most rapidly, e.g. East Asia/Pacific 14.5 % and South Asia 9 %, each as of 2000. In 2000, receipts from international tourism were \$478 billion. *WTO Tourism Highlights*, (WTO, Madrid) 2001.

85. Travel essayist Christopher Baker remarked later to a Cuban professor of linguistics (then a hotel manager) that tourism had "created an inverted society in which bellhops and [casual prostitutes] make far more money than surgeons and college professors." The Professor responded that there were benefits to the changes: special events at the hotel for the poor and disabled, free entrance into the disco, and nominal rates for local citizens to use a huge protocol villa for birthdays and special occasions. CHRISTOPHER P. BAKER, *MI MOTO FIDEL*, 212 (2001).

manipulation of traditional culture, hostility of hosts to guests, decline in ambiance, and a myriad of other problems.

A. Success

Thus for some destinations, there were some (often significant) negative environmental, cultural and social impacts, even though the tourism development brought increased economic prosperity to many residents and businesses in the host communities. On the other hand, there were many destinations that *succeeded* (at least in part) in guiding tourism growth to bring the benefits sought by those communities, while minimizing the impacts that the community deemed harmful. In several years leading to 1999, Professor Bosselman and two co-authors conducted research on those concepts, leading to the publication of *Managing Tourism Growth: Issues and Applications*.⁸⁶

B. Potential

Each of the three co-authors believes that notwithstanding the many *potential* negative impacts, tourism can be appropriately managed to maximize benefits and minimize burdens.⁸⁷ We do not share the negative views of some skeptics, typified by Professor Hal K. Rothman, who argues:

Tourism is a devil's bargain, not only in the twentieth-century American West but throughout the nation and the world. Despite its reputation as a panacea for the economic ills of places that have lost their way in the postindustrial world or for those that never found it, tourism typically fails to meet the expectations of communities and regions that embrace it as an economic strategy. Regions, communities, and locales welcome tourism as an economic boon, only to find that it irrevocably changes them in unanticipated and uncontrollable ways. From this one enormous devil's bargain flows an entire collection of closely related conditions that

86. BOSSELMAN, PETERSON & MCCARTHY, *supra* note 3.

87. *Id.* at xi. Professor Bosselman tried to encapsulate this idea by suggesting a highly imaginative title for the book: OUTWITTING CIRCE. Circe was an enchantress in Greek mythology who lived on an island. She lured sailors and transformed them into beasts (a decidedly negative impact), as she did to the companions of Odysseus in THE ODYSSEY. But Odysseus was able (with the help of a god) to force Circe to break the negative spell and change his companions back from swine to humans (thus generating a very positive outcome).

complement the process of change in overt and subtle ways. Tourism transforms culture into something new and foreign; it may or may not rescue economies.⁸⁸

*Managing Tourism Growth*⁸⁹ offers insights on how successful management of tourism growth can proceed, using a combination of existing literature, case study, and analysis. Our project methodology was for one of the authors to research and prepare first drafts of particular chapters or sub-chapters, followed by full exchanges of views and editing by each of the two others. The result was a long work with full substantive and stylistic input by each co-author.

Professor Bosselman's unique contributions went far beyond being a very active "partner" in the enterprise. He suggested two especially noteworthy approaches that informed our thinking on tourism management strategies: first, drawing parallels to existing growth management strategies developed in the United States in non-tourism contexts; and second, developing analogies to the new interdisciplinary field called "common pool resources." As the book research progressed, it became evident to each of us that the tourism case studies, hundreds of other empirical examples, and our joint interpretations and analysis of available data, all fit (in a broad sense) very well into those two overarching analytical structures.

As to existing growth management strategies, Professor Bosselman was conversant with a wide array of potentially useful systems by reason of his previous and very well regarded activities as a land use law attorney and consultant to governments and landowners across America. Additionally, he included growth management components in his classroom teaching of land use law and, on occasion, in his outside lectureships. Based upon this extensive background and knowledge, he conceptualized growth management strategies as belonging primarily, but not necessarily exclusively, in one of three categories. First, "quality" of tourism development strategies are those that "focus on the quality of development, usually with the objective of encouraging only development that meets certain standards."⁹⁰ This category can be further sub-divided into districting, performance standards, and trade-off strategies. Second, "quantity" of tourism development strategies usually "regulat[e] the rate of growth or ultimate capacity

88. ROTHMAN, *supra* note 7, at 10.

89. BOSSELMAN, PETERSON & MCCARTHY, *supra* note 3.

90. *Id.* at 40.

for development.”⁹¹ The quantity category can have three variants: preservation rules, growth limitation, and incremental growth strategies. Third, “location of development” strategies “emphasize the location of development by expanding or contracting existing areas that attract growth or by diverting the growth to new areas.”⁹² As with other categories, this grouping is composed of several possibilities: expansion, dispersal, concentration, and tourism resource identification strategies. It is well beyond the scope of this essay to more fully explore (as we do in the book, using detailed case studies and many shorter examples) the implications and examples of this overarching conceptual framework.

As previously noted, another of Professor Bosselman’s creative suggestions was to use “common pool resource” studies to inform our analysis of tourism growth strategies. This approach began in the 1980s when scholars in a number of disciplines⁹³ began to study systems to regulate the use of property that is owned “in common,” that is, not privately owned. Ocean fisheries and common animal grazing lands are two good examples. Studies demonstrated that some systems (often customary, but sometimes enforced by legal mechanisms) work well to allocate rights without harming the resource being allocated (e.g., in one Turkish village the fishermen met once a year to draw lots for fishing positions, which were then rotated in one direction each day, allowing equal access to the best positions).

Drawing from a number of different published works in the field of common pool resources, Professor Bosselman posited to the team early in the project that a number of “objectives” and “elements” of successful common pool resource allocation systems might well be applicable also in the case of tourism growth strategies. This preliminary suggestion was fully borne out by our subsequently produced case studies and much additional data.

C. Objectives

The common pool resources scholarship, as well as our studies, suggest that four *objectives* are essential to success: equity, sustainability, efficiency, and resilience. An equitable system of management is perceived as fair by those affected by it. Sustainability (a “buzz word” in ecology and some other disciplines) implies the protection and conservation of resources for future

91. *Id.*

92. *Id.*

93. Such as anthropology, ecology, economics, geography, marine biology, political science, and sociology.

generations, as opposed to the current users unduly depleting them.⁹⁴ Efficient systems are those that create an appropriate, reasonable level of value, given the cost inputs⁹⁵ (not the optimal economic benefit that some economists promote). Finally, the term “resiliency” connotes a capacity to respond to changed circumstances, which are very likely to occur and affect the management system.⁹⁶

D. Elements

As to common *elements* of a system most likely to succeed, many common pool resources scholars (to varying degrees and using sometimes different terminology) have proposed six components for success: clear definition of the physical and temporal boundaries of the resource; identification of potential users of the resource; encouraging repetitive users, so as to promote confidence that long term interaction is likely; letting the users participate in making the rules, so as to improve the chance of compliance; localizing the rules as much as possible, so that they are carefully tailored to local conditions; and monitoring for rule violations.⁹⁷

In summary, Professor Bosselman offered a multitude of contributions to the conceptualization, research, and writing of *Managing Tourism Growth*,⁹⁸ the most creative and central of which are addressed in this essay. He was also a delightful colleague with whom to work on this most challenging project.

V. CONCLUSION

The last few paragraphs of *In the Wake of the Tourist*⁹⁹ are particularly prescient, compelling and appropriate material with which to conclude this essay. Professor Bosselman links tourism to the promotion of what today is generally called “inter-generational equity.”¹⁰⁰ The argument is that sensitive visitors who recognize the “special” quality of the places they visit will then be more conscious of the qualities of their own neighborhoods and, by extension, other neighborhoods, towns, regions, states, and countries. The potential for change is broad, even existential: “Concern for special places is a stepping stone—a consciousness

94. BOSSELMAN, PETERSON & MCCARTHY, *supra* note 3, at 18.

95. *Id.*

96. *Id.* at 19.

97. For detailed discussion, *see id.* at 19-38.

98. BOSSELMAN, PETERSON & MCCARTHY, *supra* note 3.

99. BOSSELMAN, *supra* note 3.

100. *See generally* TIMOTHY BEATLEY, ETHICAL LAND USE: PRINCIPLES OF POLICY AND PLANNING 134-52 (1994).

raising. Defining a geographic area and emphasizing its intrinsic merits helps people sharpen their perceptions, reorient their values, and take a new look at the world."¹⁰¹ Thus in Professor Bosselman's view, tourism can have the effect of enhancing the conservation of resources worldwide for the benefit of current and future generations. Professor Bosselman's twenty-five years of "taming tourism" have greatly advanced a number of policy fields and measurably enhanced present and future experiences of hosts and guests alike.

101. BOSSELMAN, *supra* note 2, at 257.