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PART II: Island Tourism Policy, Planning and Development



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A Comparative Analysis of Tourism Policy Networks

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6.1 Introduction

Policy making in tourism is the process of formulating tourism policies that will guide tourism growth and development. The policy making process is often viewed as a consultative one that engages a number of stakeholders and can thus be perceived as a policy network (Dredge, 2006; Pforr, 2006). An output of the policy making process is tourism policy content that forms part of public policy that Hall and Jenkins (2004) describe as involving government action as a political activity. Tourism policy content is defined as regulations, guidelines, directives, objectives and strategies to affect tourism development (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003). Based on policy guidelines derived from consultative processes with stakeholders, mandates are given to certain implementation agencies to fulfil the intentions of tourism policy.

Stevenson, Airey and Miller (2008) note that tourism policy making is a social process that involves communication, negotiation and consensus building. Consensus is needed to move forward for the implementation of effective tourism policies. The divergent views about which policy directions to take mean that policy making as an activity requires attention. Yet, there has been limited examination of the policy making process itself as to whether the tourism policy content is appropriate to affect tourism growth and development.

A network perspective can therefore add value to understanding the tourism policy making process. Several researchers have examined these networks (Dredge, 2006; Pforr, 2006; Dredge and Pforr, 2008; Wong, Mistilis and Dwyer, 2010; Dela Santa, 2013). The interrelationships of stakeholders in the tourism sector occur in several different ways. First, there are formal links through the government and non-government agencies including the private sector. Second, there are interlocking directorships, which may not be designed as pre-determined formal arrangements but often become formal in

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nature since directors may have been officially appointed to the government agencies to serve in a particular capacity on state or non-state boards. Third, there are informal links resulting from the personal relationships of tourism stakeholders through for example political affiliation, alumni links, associations, groups and societies.

While acknowledging the importance of informal links, it is the formal relationships that are the focus of attention here. This is because formal relationships are generally forged by the purposeful design of the policy actors in order to implement, in this instance, tourism policy. Further, formal structures are more likely to provide a basis for interactions around the policy making agenda than informal structures. Indeed, although formal and informal networks exist within tourism destinations (Strobl and Peters, 2013; Pforr, Pechlaner, Volgger and Thompson, 2014), formal network structures around an organization or board of directors form higher network densities (Pforr, 2006). Also, Strobl and Peters (2013) considered that while informal relationships may be safe based on trustworthiness, formal relationships based on their legal character are safer. In the context of tourism, which comprises so many different stakeholders, formal relationships are of prime significance in policy making and have a particular time-frame for existence that can allow for an examination of the results that emerge from these relationships. This is because such relationships normally exist over a longer period of time, whereas informal relationships are more fickle in terms of establishing policy making influences. Against this background, this chapter seeks to examine the formal network relationships that influence the tourism policy making process. It commences with a brief review of the literature on social network analysis, which provides the foundation for [investigations](#) of policy networks, before proceeding to a discussion of tourism policy and policy making. In order to illustrate the complexities of the tourism policy making process and the importance of networks within this context, the next section of the chapter provides an empirical analysis of formal tourism policy networks in two Caribbean countries – Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings and the central lessons that have been learnt about the influence of networks on tourism policy making.

6.2 Literature Review

Social network analysis

Based on the network perspective the analysis is broadly underpinned by the theory and methodology of social network and its analytical techniques. A social network refers to the relationships among social entities or actors. Social network analysis (SNA) thus seeks to understand the nature, patterns and implications of these relationships (Wasserman and Galaskiewicz, 1994; Otte and Rousseau, 2002). According to Scott (2013), SNA first developed in the mid-20th century from the structural concerns of eminent English social anthropologist Alfred Radcliffe-Brown. Mizruchi (1994) highlights its interdisciplinarity through having roots in several theoretical perspectives in psychiatry, anthropology, structural sociology and the structuralism of Levi-Strauss. Scott (2013) also points to the recent link between SNA and the theory of social capital. In this sense, social networks are a 'particular form of social capital that individuals can employ to enhance their advantages and opportunities' (Scott, 2013, p. 8). However,

he argues that social networks are more than that as they may be also networks of economic transactions and political conflicts. For Scott, 'Social network analysis must be seen as a comprehensive and all-encompassing approach to the relational features of social structures.' (2013, p. 8).

In a similar vein, Wasserman and Galaskiewicz (1994) argue that SNA does not focus on analysing individual behaviours, attitudes and beliefs but on the relationships among actors in interaction with each other and how these constitute a structure that can be studied in its own right. They suggest further that this kind of analysis makes certain assumptions: first, that actors and actions are interdependent and not autonomous units; second, that relational ties among actors act as channels for the flow of resources; and third, that structures form enduring patterns of relationships among actors. Knoke and Yang (2008) elaborate on these assumptions by claiming that structural relationships are often more significant for understanding observed behaviours than are attributes such as values and ideologies. Further, they indicate that perceptions, beliefs and actions are affected by these social networks through various structural mechanisms that are socially constructed through the relations among entities; and structural relations should be seen as dynamic processes. Social networks exist at the micro level as in egocentric or personal networks and at the macro level of organizations, institutions or even whole countries.

It is evident that SNA has relevance for a plethora of contexts of social life including the political. Indeed, social and political reality is complex and strongly interconnected (Kenis and Schneider, 1991). In this sense SNA can be adapted to illuminate the nature of the policy making process and importantly the concept of policy networks became popularized at the end of the 1970s as a result of significant changes in the political governance of modern democracies (Kenis and Schneider, 1991). As early as 1978, Katzenstein envisaged a policy network as akin to:

a political metastructure integrating different forms of interest intermediation and governance, forming a symbiotic relationship between state and society in policy making (Kenis and Schneider, 1991, p. 31).

Much later, Rhodes, in a similar vein, suggests that a policy network can be viewed as:

... formal institutional and informal linkages between governmental and other actors structured around shared if endlessly negotiated beliefs and interests in public policy making and implementation (2006, p. 426).

In tourism, as noted later in this chapter, SNA has also been used to understand the relationships among actors within tourism policy making.

Tourism policy and policy making

Dye's often quoted definition of policy as being 'whatever governments choose to do or not to do' originally articulated in 1972, but subsequently appearing in later editions of his text (2008, p. 3), provides a clear description. However, at the same time it misses a key and increasingly important aspect of public policy that has been recognized through the use of a network approach. That is that it is not government alone that has a monopoly on public policy. As Airey and Ruhanen suggest in relation to

tourism, it misses the point that policy involves 'complex interacting elements' (2014, p. 150). Policy eventually is the outcome of negotiations between stakeholders including, but not confined solely to, government. These complex interacting elements provide the context for this research.

Tourism policy content is an important consideration to effect tourism development. Jenkins (1991) notes that tourism policy can be distinguished based on different policy directions for tourism development. He created a framework, which suggests that these directions can be: public or private sector driven; focused on international or domestic tourism; and/or lead to integrated or enclave tourism. The nature of the direction taken within a particular tourism policy framework is important since this will contribute to the design and involvement of implementation agencies. For instance, if sustainable tourism is an overarching tourism policy direction, then agencies relating to climate change and environmental management practices may emerge to manage its implementation.

The process of changing government policy seems to be ad-hoc and occurs when a problem or opportunity arises. Fayos-Solá (1996) calls for a balanced partnership between stakeholders in the policy making process. To move beyond a 'midsummer or ephemeral perception of a tourism policy' Fayos-Solá (1996, p. 409) suggests broad-based input from a range of tourism actors. Public sector intervention alone is not adequate and several authors indicate that networks often emerge to formulate tourism policy (Tyler and Dinan, 2001; Pforr, 2006). Tyler and Dinan (2001) note that a tri-axial network comprising three sub-networks operated as a policy network in England including government, public resource management and commercial tourism groups. These sub-networks were inter-connected with links between government and public resource management and, government and commercial tourism, with a weak link between public resource management and commercial tourism (Tyler and Dinan, 2001); relationships between network agents are described as immature and thus perhaps emerging. Pforr (2006) studied a sub-set of 54 tourism sector organizations to understand their connections within the context of tourism master planning. Several exchange relationships emerged as a result of the connections between these organizations. These connections determined the planning processes of the public, private and not for profit agents. The study concludes that policy making was influenced by political interest and tourism sector priorities.

In summary, the literature suggests that SNA can be adapted to analyse the policy making process in tourism and can reveal the complex range of networks in tourism, especially those underpinned by formal relationships. The literature also illustrates the importance of network structures thus establishing the theoretical context for this study. Within small island destinations policy networks are particularly important to understand as an individual can play multiple roles and be a member of several organizations at the same time. This type of formal inter-connection in small island destinations can at the same time provide an opportunity to build consensus and also constrain the provision of new ideas in the policy making process. Two Caribbean countries, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, provide contrasting settings to undertake this exploration of the complex interrelationships involved in tourism policy making. The chapter now turns to the methods before reporting on, and discussing the findings.

6.3 Tourism Policy Networks Methods

Research design

This chapter explores the agencies involved in tourism policy making in two Caribbean countries using SNA. In so doing, the chapter also illustrates the importance of tourism policy formulation and the goals achieved in terms of decision making. Networks involve stakeholders in the development of tourism policy and these stakeholders have access to tourism information that is utilized for tourism policy making. As discussed, SNA was utilized since this approach broadly examines the inter-connections between tourism policy actors in tourism policy making. UCINET software was utilized for analysis (Borgatti, Everett and Freeman, 2002) and NetDraw software for illustration (Borgatti, 2002).

There are two social network research designs: a whole network design; and an ego or personal network design (Borgatti, Everett and Johnson, 2013). The latter exists at the micro level and consists of a focal node (ego) and the nodes with which it is directly connected (alters) along with the ties, if there are any, among the alters. The former exists at the macro level and the focus here is on the design of entire networks and the recognition of structural positions and components of the network (Wasserman and Galaskiewicz, 1994). Given the preoccupation of the current study with tourism policy networks among formal institutional actors, it is apposite to draw on a whole network approach. This approach enables the inclusion of comprehensive connections between the policy actors (nodes), to explore their involvement with implementing tourism policy and reduces the exclusion of actors and ties that can influence the policy making process.

Agencies were categorized using Hall's (2011, 2012) elaboration of a governance typology comprised of: hierarchies in the public sector; markets in the private sector; networks of partnerships; and communities and citizens groups. Hierarchical governance focuses on the legislative and regulatory role of the state (and supranational institutions) in a top-down process of governance. This is seen as a traditional approach, which does not adequately account for the role and power of non-state actors (largely the private sector) in contemporary societies. Indeed, the rise and ubiquity of neo-liberalism has led to the privatization of much of the tourism industry and tourism functions and thus the market has emerged as a key player in tourism governance. Networks refer to a more collaborative form of governance where partnerships are created between public and private sector stakeholders. Network governance is seen as a sort of 'middle ground' between hierarchies and markets, which can lead to a more integrated approach to tourism policy making. Community governance exists where the involvement of local citizens within tourism policy making and implementation is greater and more direct. This is seen as essential for more sustainable forms of tourism development (see Hall, 2011, 2012). To provide an additional context, in this chapter distinctions were made between international, regional and local agencies. The agencies' influence were mapped and in the mapping exercise several formal relationships that could influence tourism policy making emerged in terms of reporting, inter-board and information sharing relationships.

Case study areas

The tourism industry exhibits different characteristics and patterns between the two case study areas and also between the twin islands of Trinidad and Tobago. Jamaica is a mature tourist destination and the industry there is said to have blossomed from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This was due to the concerted efforts made by Government to promote the industry and by private investors to establish large hotels. While the accommodation sector is largely Jamaican owned, in recent years the industry has witnessed a trend in the construction of large hotels by Spanish hotel chains (Planning Institute of Jamaica, 2009). All-inclusives are the main type of accommodation also accounting for the majority of room capacity and significantly higher rates of room occupancy. Considerable progress has been made in achieving growth targets but other areas such as community-based development and environmental sustainability have not witnessed commensurate progress (Planning Institute of Jamaica, 2009).

Trinidad and Tobago as a twin island state has mixed stages of tourism development. Trinidad, the larger of the two islands, has an oil-based economy while Tobago is heavily dependent on tourism. In Tobago tourism accounted for 98.4% of direct exports and 47.6% of jobs in 2009 (Ministry of Tourism, 2010). Both islands also have different potentials for tourism development with Trinidad centring on its cultural diversity and business tourism, while Tobago is promoted as a 'semi-rustic, idyllic island' with a focus on the leisure tourism market (Ministry of Tourism, 2010). While there are similarities in the types of accommodation, generally Tobago has smaller, independent, non-brand properties while in Trinidad there are some large brand hotels. While recognizing the differences between both islands in terms of tourism development trajectories, the twin island republic nevertheless saw itself in 2009 as an 'emerging destination' (Ministry of Tourism, 2010) with tourism seen as having critical potential for the success and advancement of the nation.

Figure 6.1 illustrates contrasting tourism growth between the two case study countries with Jamaica on an upward growth path while Trinidad and Tobago's tourism growth is somewhat stalled on an undulating curve. Jamaica celebrated receiving over two million stop-over visitors in December 2013 while Trinidad and Tobago approached half a million stop-over visitors annually. According to the Caribbean Tourism Organization's (CTO) country statistics, Jamaica received 2.1 million stop-over visitors in 2014 and 1.4 million cruise visitors (CTO, 2015). Jamaica's main market is the United States of America with 62.3% of visitors coming from there in 2014 (CTO, 2015). Visitor expenditure was US\$2 billion with a budget of US\$38.6 million being spent on the sector and the average room occupancy rate was 60.5% in 2010 (CTO, 2014a).

Trinidad and Tobago's Carnival is a major generator of visitors and expenditure. In 2012, over the Carnival period from February 3rd to 21st, 38,252 visitors were recorded (CSO, 2014). The country received 412,537 visitors in 2014 with the United States of America accounting for 38.4% of those visitors (CTO, 2015). Cruise passenger arrivals were just over 42,820 excursionists (CTO, 2015). The CTO notes a tourism budget of US\$4.1 million and a tourist expenditure of US\$366.6 million (CTO, 2014). This tourist expenditure is 18.3% of the tourist receipts of Jamaica. The average room occupancy was 52.0% in 2010 (CTO, 2014a).

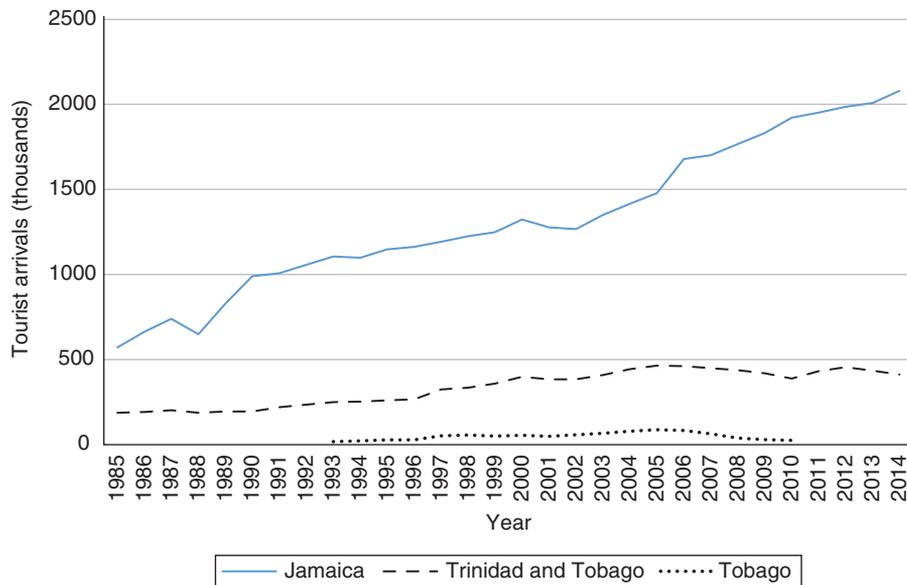


Fig. 6.1. Stop-over visitor arrivals to Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago (1985 to 2014). (From Jamaica Tourist Board; Trinidad and Tobago Ministry of Tourism and Trinidad and Tobago Tourism Development Company. NB Separate figures for Tobago shown for emphasis only.)

The national tourism policy of both countries can be compared to explore important differences in tourism development within these two island states. The Government of Jamaica has articulated a vision for the tourism sector that is based on the National Tourism Policy, 'An inclusive, world-class, distinctly Jamaican Tourism Sector that is a major contributor to socio-economic and cultural development, with a well-educated, highly skilled and motivated workforce at all levels within a safe, secure and sustainably managed environment' (PIOJ, 2009, p. 48). According to the Approved National Tourism Policy of Trinidad and Tobago 'The Government of Trinidad and Tobago shall create an environment that facilitates the country's tourism growth by addressing human resource development, community development, infrastructure and transportation development, investment promotion, accommodation issues, product development, and marketing' (Ministry of Tourism, 2010, p. 27). Both policy documents have highlighted the specific policy issues that require attention for the development of tourism in the countries. Whereas Jamaica has concerns for its workforce, specific mention is made of safety and security and for Trinidad and Tobago, the policy direction is based on a list of destination management issues to be addressed.

Data collection and analysis for tourism policy making

Data were gathered from archival sources of Caribbean tourism policy documents. Two documents formed the starting point for data collection: National Tourism

Policy of Trinidad and Tobago (2010); and Vision 2030 Jamaica Final Draft Tourism Sector Plan (2009). Secondary data sources can provide valuable information without making primary contact. Information regarding actors within a network can be obtained within a short time frame using secondary data. Another advantage is that there is no refusal or non-participation since a comprehensive list of actors is sourced. These archival documents were provided by the Caribbean Tourism Organization's library and formed the basis for identifying the agencies involved with tourism policy, planning, development and management. Once the agencies were identified and coded the next step was to identify the inter-connections among them. Interconnections were found through identification of the composition of the boards of directors and where possible an online search for the agency or agencies to which an individual director belonged. Once a director had been identified in one tourism agency with a relationship with another tourism agency then a link was recorded between agencies.

Connections were also formed through formal arrangements such as the provision of data and information from one agency to the other and reporting relationships. Information on these came from an online search that included a list of agencies related to a particular ministry. Joint marketing and product development relationships were considered as in the case where the Jamaica product development agency (Tourism Product Development Company) works with the marketing agency (Jamaica Tourist Board) and both agencies report to the Ministry of Tourism in Jamaica. *LinkedIn* was a good source of information for confirming the directors of agency boards. In terms of information relationships, the Jamaica Information Service's (JIS) website also provided the links between the government bodies and their agencies. Recent newspaper articles in both countries were examined to determine any changes in the relationships of the various tourism agencies. This was particularly relevant in Trinidad and Tobago as a newspaper report revealed that there was a change in the governing political party during the period of the research. A subsequent online search revealed that one ministry closed and this information was noted.

In order to provide an external dimension to the information secured from the secondary sources, a summary of the results was presented to tourism industry officials at the 3rd University of the West Indies (UWI) International Tourism Conference, November 9–11, 2014. This provided an opportunity to refine the information obtained and for external validation of the data sources. This conference presentation highlighted the network diagrams of the Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago tourism policy networks, and the various power values of stakeholders. It was suggested by the industry officials present that the Jamaica tourism policy network include those stakeholders that are directly responsible for tourism policy. This feedback was useful to refine the Jamaica network.

It is important to note that the setting of a network boundary must be theoretically relevant to the subject under study. While institutional stakeholder mapping of the tourism agencies in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago have been mapped (see McLeod, 2015), there was a need to strengthen understanding of the policy making framework in these two Caribbean countries. In this case, the tourism policy making actors and relationships between them were the relevant criteria and therefore certain actors were either included or excluded for a number of reasons. The data included those organizations primarily engaged in the business of tourism (transport,

hotels and attractions), and were cleaned to remove those that were not (Appendices I and II). The Vision 2030 Jamaica Final Draft Tourism Sector Plan (2009) mentions a number of government agencies such as the Cabinet Office and Ministry of Education, however, given that these agencies were not directly relevant for tourism policy-making, they were excluded from the analysis. In the case of Trinidad and Tobago all the agencies mentioned in the source document (Ministry of Tourism, 2010) were included. This meant that certain industry associations and several tourism-related agencies that were not listed in this source document, for example the National Carnival Commission, were excluded from the analysis. In this regard, an agency is treated as non-relevant for tourism policy making if it has not been listed by the tourism agency that authored the source document utilized in this research study.

The agencies were coded by country or region, then by governance type (hierarchies, markets, networks or communities) and finally a unique identifier in the form of a number was placed at the end of the node label. The unique identifier counts the number of agencies in each country or region. Each actor can potentially have one or three different types of relationships (official reporting, inter-board and information-sharing). ~~For the purpose of this research study, each relationship is counted only once to normalize having a relationship once.~~ Each agency relationship was developed as a linked list. The data were symmetrized, which means that flows occur between two agency actors, which are connected.

Data collected about institutional stakeholder mapping have been included to strengthen understanding of the policy making framework (see McLeod, 2015). Institutional stakeholder mapping involved identification of the policy issues in the tourism sector and the stakeholders involved in its development and management. Connections were then made between the policy issues in the Caribbean region, capacity management, economic linkages, environment, health and safety, marketing and transportation (Caribbean Tourism Organization, 2014b), and the actors involved with addressing these issues. The final step in the institutional stakeholder mapping involved validation of stakeholder maps by interviewees. This draws upon an earlier study, (McLeod, 2015; McLeod and McNaughton, 2016) which shows these stakeholder maps in the tourism sector for five Caribbean countries including Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

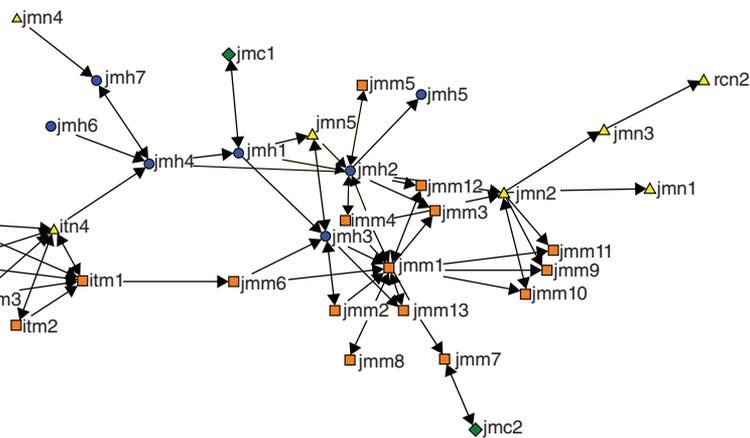
6.4 Policy Making in Two Caribbean Countries

This work furthers understanding of the tourism policy making interactions within the tourism sector of the countries as the data show the actors involved include three types of hierarchical relationships among agencies: an official reporting relationship; an inter-board relationship; and an information sharing relationship by virtue of being in the same region, industry or practice. Figures 6.2A and 6.2B show the tourism policy networks diagrammatically, for both fieldwork sites. For each they provide the numbers of actors, their composition and structure. The findings show that there were important differences between the two countries. These figures show that the Jamaica tourism policy network includes 34 actors, with 27 actors in Trinidad and Tobago and that the shape of the structures vary with Jamaica's tourism policy network being more circular (Fig. 6.2A).

itm1, itm2, itm3, itm4 and itn4). The Trinidad and Tobago tourism policy network is particularly susceptible to fragmentation based on the numbers and positions of the cut-points (Fig. 6.2B) as there are more nodes in the Trinidad and Tobago tourism policy network, which can fragment the structure.

Figures 6.3A and 6.3B show the composition of the policy networks for the two fieldwork sites based on Hall's (2011, 2012) typology of Hierarchy, Market, Network and Community. There are a number of observations that can be made from these findings. First, the various types of tourism policy actors are polarized in the Trinidad and Tobago network. From left to right there is a clear separation of the network actors from the market actors with three market actors, ttm1, ttm2 and

(A)



(B)

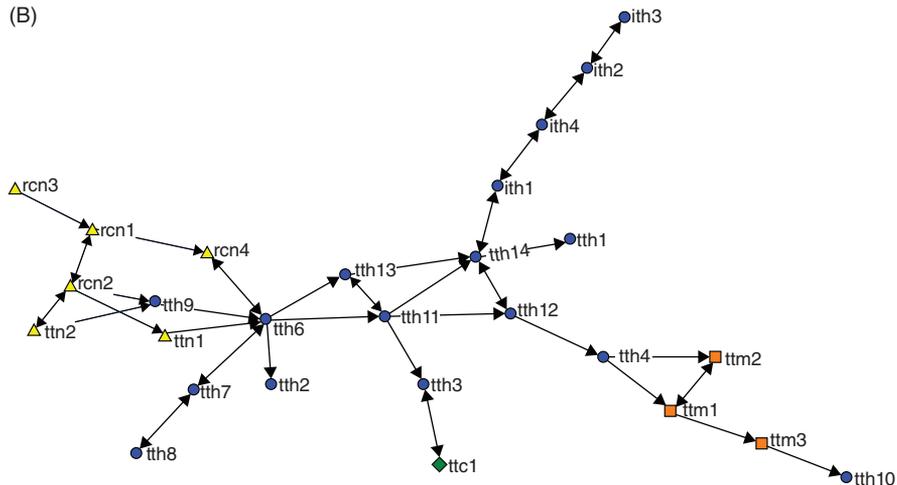


Fig. 6.3. (A) Jamaica tourism policy network (composition). (B) Trinidad and Tobago tourism policy network (composition). Key: Hierarchy (blue, circle); Market (orange, rounded square); Network (yellow, up-triangle); Community (green, diamond).

ttm3, positioned at the far right of the network (Fig. 6.3B). Second, the number of actors in each group is different as while there are 13 hierarchy actors in the Trinidad and Tobago public sector, there are 7 in Jamaica's public sector and for the market actors there are 17 in Jamaica's tourism policy network and 3 in Trinidad and Tobago that can influence tourism policy making. Third, the composition differs in terms of the mix of international, regional and local actors as there are 5 international actors (itm1, itm2, itm3, itm4 and itm4) shown at the bottom left of Fig. 6.3A in the Jamaica tourism policy network and 4 international actors (ith1, ith2, ith3 and ith4) shown at the top right in Trinidad and Tobago tourism policy network (Fig. 6.3B).

Another view of the policy making process involves the institutions and the policy issues being addressed. Institutional actors involved in addressing tourism policy issues for Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago were identified in McLeod and McNaughton (2016) and the stakeholder maps illustrate the inter-relationships between the key stakeholders, tourism data and the main tourism policy issues in five Caribbean countries. The institutional stakeholder maps for Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago show different characteristics as different institutions address various policy issues (McLeod, 2015; McLeod and McNaughton, 2016). For instance, in Jamaica the Tourism Product Development Company handles capacity management and manages environmental issues and the Jamaica Tourist Board addresses marketing issues whereas in Trinidad and Tobago, a single entity, the Tourism Development Company handles and manages all these issues. These institutional distinctions influence the policy formulation process as co-ordination of the actors' interactions between the institutions would be rather important to ensure the policy making process works.

6.5 Reconstituting the Tourism Policy Making Process

For successful tourism policy making in both island nations there is need to consider the composition of the policy networks and the goals that have been articulated in the policy documents of both countries. Although there are on average 30.5 actors in each network there are differences in terms of the governance actors' inputs into the policy making process as the composition of the actors vary and policy making in the tourism sector falls largely within the influence provided by one particular group of governance actors in the policy networks. Assessing differences in the composition of policy networks are important to bring about the right balance in the policy making process to achieve policy goals and also to understand the distribution of influence among the policy actors in the policy making process.

In terms of the policy networks in the two Caribbean countries, certain agencies and the nature of the links are more important for the formulation of tourism policy. For example there is an evident dominance of market actors in the Jamaica policy network and hierarchy actors in the Trinidad and Tobago policy network. Clearly, this should result in policies being formulated to reflect on the role played by market actors in tourism development in Jamaica as there are 17 market actors in the Jamaica tourism policy network (Fig. 6.3A) as compared to 3 market actors in the Trinidad and Tobago tourism policy network (Fig. 6.3B). Nevertheless, the stated tourism policy in Jamaica seems to be focused more on the benefits that are derived by locals

from the tourism sector. In addition, in Trinidad and Tobago the number and position of cut-points in the tourism policy network (Fig. 6.2B) can potentially stall the policy making process as the actors have weak links that lack consensus building. Another concern is that tourism policy making in Trinidad and Tobago is primarily public sector driven. Collaboration and partnering with market actors to a greater extent as suggested by Dredge (2006) should be addressed in Trinidad and Tobago's tourism policy making.

The divergence between stakeholder interactions and stated policy goals should be addressed by reconstituting the policy making process. Without reconstitution, the typologies of both policy networks illustrate potential avenues for tourism policy failure particularly if a wide range of stakeholders is not involved in the policy making process (see Fayos-Solá, 1996). For example, the number of community actors has resulted in the limited advancement of community-based tourism and its role in poverty alleviation and might also have restricted the 'trickle down' effect in tourism. In the case of Jamaica, a Community Tourism Green Paper has been tabled and now a White Paper (Ministry of Tourism and Entertainment, 2015). To ensure that policies are being formulated and implemented the policy actors that are relevant to the policies should be involved in the policy formulation process and therefore more community actors would be needed in the policy network.

6.6 Conclusion and Lessons Learned

This chapter provides a network perspective of Caribbean tourism policy making drawing on social network analysis, which it is argued can be adapted for political analyses. Using a whole network approach, the formal actors and influences in tourism policy formulation have been clarified. The findings also illustrate that the relationships forged between tourism policy actors are official reporting relationships, inter-board relationships and information sharing relationships and these are important for the formulation and implementation of tourism policy. The overall network structure of the policy actors and the composition of the network contribute to the formulated tourism policies in the two countries. The goals set out for tourism development to occur should work hand in hand with the policy network characteristics to bring about successful tourism policy formulation and implementation. In the case of both countries there is an opportunity to incorporate policy actors that can assist in achieving the vision for tourism in both countries. An example of this will be including these actors in formal tourism relationships such as Board of Directors.

The contributions of this chapter are that it provides both theoretical and methodological approaches for understanding the tourism policy making process. In this regard, policy making is a process that involves certain inputs of policy actors and an output of articulated policies in policy statements. In both cases, the low influence of community actors belies the governments' commitment to sustainable, responsible and more inclusive tourism development as enumerated in their tourism policy documents. In order to achieve this vision for tourism development there is a need for both countries to seek to develop and implement strategies that can empower communities so that they can potentially have greater influence in tourism policy making and by extension, tourism development. With limited community involvement Jamaica's

tourism vision for an ‘inclusive, world class, distinctly Jamaican’ industry’ (Planning Institute of Jamaica, 2009, p. 1) can be challenged.

Tourism policy mechanisms exist within destinations, however an elaboration of the characteristics of these networks allow for understanding how changes in terms of tourism policy would likely occur and who are the actors involved. This is important as tourism policy can affect tourism development (Jenkins, 1991) and the performance of the tourism sector. An assumption of SNA is that network structures are dynamic and will alter over time as actors, resources and the wider sociopolitical environment within which actors operate change. Policy networks also continue to evolve as for example the Ministry of Tobago Development has now been closed (TobagoNews, 2015) and therefore actor tth13 is no longer in existence. In this context, it would be useful for future research to analyse the evolution of tourism policy networks by conducting longitudinal studies. In particular, the involvement of agency actors from other governance types can be tested to determine how the policy making process might change.

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Appendix II

Jamaica Tourism Policy Network Actors

Region/ Country and Governance type	it	tc	jm
	International	Caribbean	Jamaica
Hierarchies (h)	Ministry of Tourism and Entertainment/ Tourism Enhancement Fund/ Jamaica Vacations Limited	Jamaica Tourist Board	Tourism Product Development Company Limited
			Ministry of Transport and Works/ National Works Agency
			Jamaica National Heritage Trust
			Norman Manley International Airport
			Port Authority of Jamaica
Markets (m)	Sandals Resorts International	Superclubs	Chukka Caribbean Adventures
			Jamaica Tours Limited
			Rondell Village
			Sunflower Resort and Villas (Fisher's Point Hotel, Skycastles)
			Jakes Hotel, Villas & Spa
Networks (n)	Jamaica Protected Areas Trust/Forest Conservation Fund	Jamaica Hotel and Tourist Association	Jamaica Co-operative Auto- mobile and LimousineTours Ltd.
			Virgin Atlantic
			International Civil Aviation Organization
			International Air Transport Association
			International Institute for Peace through Tourism
			Jamaica Association of Villias and Apartments
			Association of Jamaica Attractions Limited
Communities (c)	Community Tourism Partners Committee	BREDS The Treasure Beach Foundation	Countrystyle and Unique Jamaica Foundation
			Can Jet
			Sumwing
			Delta Airlines
			Courtleigh Hotel & Suites (Holiday Inn, Jamaica Pegasus, Knutsford Court Hotel) (JTB & JHTA)
			Dolphin Cove (JHTA)
			Round Hill Hotel & Villas (JHTA)
			Tensing Pen (JTB)
			Island Routes (TPDCo)

