1 Place-based Governance in Tourism: Placing Local Communities at the Centre of Tourism

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Introduction

> *'Much of what our nation has lost is that awareness that the earth can be for us a place of spiritual renewal, not just a place to stroll in a park, or hike in a forest, or find land to mine resources, but that it is a place where we can be transformed'.* (hooks, 2009: 201)

With the globalisation of tourism and the mass tourism approach to development, many communities around the world find themselves in a state of vulnerable dependency on tourism (see Bianchi, 2018; Lacher & Nepal, 2010). This was true well before the COVID-19 global pandemic placed issues of dependency in stark relief. A potent mix of multinational corporations' investments, complex global supply chains and compliant governments that offer up local places to global corporations and global tourists results in local communities being pressed by tourism and even potentially being dispossessed (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018). Signs of community discontent have long been apparent including expression of 'anti-tourism' sentiments, local activation to take back control of their local places and cooperation across jurisdictions to better empower local communities for self-determining futures (see Tomassini & Cavagnaro, 2020).

This chapter was inspired by a methodology of placed-based cooperative enquiry developed by Wooltorton *et al.* (2020), specifically in an Indigenous context. This is founded on Heron's (1996) work on cooperative inquiry and it offers a method by which local communities may be brought in better engagement and control of tourism development in their local communities. Wooltorton *et al.* argued that this approach has great

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value because it '…uses an extended epistemology inclusive of a relational ontology, in which knower and known are connected' (2020: 920).

In this chapter we explore issues of place and placelessness, the multitude of ways that local governance manifests in diverse locations, how decolonial and degrowth efforts are essential mechanisms and finally some tools that might serve local governance. We offer a detailed case study of Karajarri community engagement and governance of tourism to better understand how governance, relational ontologies and deep embedding in place may shape tourism for better futures for local communities, tourists and others. In light of the multiple crises we confront, place-based governance offers an approach through which just transitions can be negotiated.

Place and Placelessness

People are born in places and shaped by the communities that pertain to particular places. However, people are also mobile and so issues of attachment to place, return to place and care for place remain vital concerns. These connections have been made tangible in human cultures and ceremonies, for example in the widely used practise of placenta burial. Writing of this with regards to Eastern Polynesia, Saura *et al*. explained: '[This] custom is still widely observed and marks an essential connection between humans, the earth, plants and islands' (2002: 127).

Many cultures demonstrate the connection to place through their protocols, ceremonies and hosting. Thus, for instance, it is traditional in Māori public speaking for a speaker to place themselves with regard to their mountain, their river or sea, their locality, their tribal affiliation, their family and their own name (see Mason, 2021). This communicates that people and places are in relationship with one another and these ongoing relationships are practiced, nourished and respected. The stories of places may tell how the landscape, seascape and total environment came to be and the beings that inhabit these places were 'emplaced' in these places and set rules and protocols for good living. *Pakeha* (non-Indigenous) New Zealanders are beginning to observe these protocols as well, realising that deep connections to place can be nurtured and practiced. We see from human cultures that people and place are vitally interconnected.

There may be six ways of knowing place as explained in the work of Lukermann (1964).

(1) As a location that relates to other places.
(2) Place entails an integration of both cultural and natural elements.
(3) 'Although every place is unique, they are interconnected by a system of spatial interactions and transfers; they are part of a framework of circulation'.
(4) 'Places are localised – they are parts of larger areas and are focuses in a system of localisation'.

(5) 'Places are emerging or becoming…'.
(6) 'Places have meaning'. (citations from Relph, 1976: 3)

In geography, place refers to space to which people hold meaningful connection (Tuan, 2012). We might draw from the book *Detours*, the idea of physical spaces as 'storied places' (Aikau & Gonzalez, 2019: 16). Aikau and Gonzalez's book presents about knowing and caring for Hawai'i as a well-loved, storied place, explaining that the telling of Native Hawai'ian stories of place is a '…decolonial practice of restoring the relationship between people and places' (2019: 16). Wooltorton *et al.* emphasised the importance of Indigenous languages in knowing and taking care of places: 'This is because Indigenous languages function to enliven places through the naming and verbalising of animate life-giving energies and facilitate relational ways of understanding places, stories, narratives and verse' (2020: 919).

Places and being embedded in place are also sources of empowerment and well-being. For instance, in the Māori context in Aotearoa/New Zealand:

> Tūrangawaewae is one of the most well-known and powerful Māori concepts. Literally tūranga (standing place), waewae (feet), it is often translated as 'a place to stand'. Tūrangawaewae are places where we feel especially empowered and connected. They are our foundation, our place in the world, our home. (Te Ara, n.d.)

Place attachment can be defined as a positive, affective-emotional bond between people and places (Altman & Low, 1992). Such place attachment has meaningful outcomes: 'the main characteristic of [place attachment] is the tendency of the individual to maintain closeness to such a place' (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001: 274).

However, both globalisation and tourism can weaken people's connections and attachments to place. Taking a decolonial perspective, Hirmer explained:

> Colonial relations persist undisturbed through the globalisation of markets, while capitalism (and its latest expression neoliberalism) remains largely unacknowledged as primary factor in persevering neo-colonial exploitations… fierce competition for the maximisation of production and the conquest of markets leads to the reification and universalisation of a linear time- and growth-scale that is in great part alien to peoples with cosmologies and metaphysics different from a western worldview entrenched in Enlightenment values. (2020: 125)

Receiving tourists into local communities can have an impact on people's sense of and enjoyment of place. Recent research undertaken in Amsterdam explained:

> The recent debate about the fact that some neighborhoods are drastically changing to primarily serve the high number of tourists who visit has led

> to endangering the very unique character of cities, but, most importantly, residents don't feel at home any longer… As cities move to later stages of tourism development, where tourism starts to dominate the development of a city or even harm the quality of life in the city, residents' interpretations and evaluations of their cities are crucial. (Lalicic & Garaux, 2022: 202)

Placelessness is '…the weakening of distinct and diverse experiences and identities of place' (Relph, 1976: 6). Giridharadas argued our era may be characterised by the 'placeless' and the phenomenon of 'placelessness' as a result: 'What is arguably new is the influence of the placeless and the elevation of placelessness, in some quarters at least, to a virtue' (2010, n.p.). Tourism contributes to the creation of the placeless and placelessness, by supporting the disconnected, hypermobility of tourists and also through the displacement of local people from their home communities when these become commodified as tourism 'destinations'. This can be heard in the call from the small island of Waiheke (nearby to Aotearoa/New Zealand's largest city Auckland), 'Waiheke is a community, not a commodity' (Project Forever Waiheke, 2021).

The diverse economies field offers alternatives to the dominating and universalising forces of tourism and globalisation. For instance, Escobar mounted a defence of place in reaction to the 'de-localizing, disembedding and universalizing influence of modern economy, culture and thought' (2001: 141). Indigenous economies are examples of place-based economies built on relations, rights and obligations. Kuokkanen stated:

> The key principles of indigenous economies – sustainability and reciprocity – reflect land-based worldviews founded on active recognition of kinship relations that extend beyond the human domain. Sustainability is premised on an ethos of reciprocity in which people reciprocate not only with one another but also with the land and the spirit world. (2011: 219)

Kuokkanen recommended:

> …reconceptualizing indigenous governance initiatives around the concept of the social economy. I suggest that situating the social economy at the center of indigenous governance enables the reinstatement of the vital social institutions that traditionally played a key role in the community governance. The concept of the social economy also allows us to see indigenous economic systems and subsistence activities as part and parcel of indigenous governance. (2011: 232)

In thinking through localising efforts, Latouche argued that it is not the size that is decisive but rather the identity of place: 'What matters is the existence of a collective project rooted in a territory, defined as a place for communal living that must be protected and cared for the good of all' (2009: 45). Parajuli has developed a valuable conceptualisation of place-based, grassroots forms of governance built on fostering ecological

ethnicities and a simultaneous revitalisation of ecology and democracy; these stand in opposition to destructive totalising and globalising forces (Parajuli, 1996).

Essential to these diverse initiatives to push back against trans-local forces is a place-based leadership for place-based governance. Hambleton explained: ‘It invites leaders to move outside their organisation [or self-interests] (be it a local authority, a business, a social enterprise, a university or whatever) to engage with the concerns facing the place’ (2011: 15). Particularly as we face multiple, complex, compounding and cascading crises, such leadership is called on to defend place and peoples. However, this is not necessarily in prickly isolation but rather in related localisms, as explained in the Introduction. These practices must also engage with leading thinking on ‘just transitions’ which are emerging from dialogues on climate change, energy transitions, environmental justice and just sustainabilities (Kojola & Agyeman, 2021). Just transitions require addressing crises and challenges through approaches centring equity, inclusivity of diverse people and respect for human rights, with particular emphasis on real involvement of people in the development, implementation and enforcement of measures for transition (see Heffron & McCauley, 2018).

Understanding place-based governance in tourism can be served by learning from case study insights. Here we offer a brief case study from the Karajarri community and their Native Title Body, the Karajarri Traditional Lands Association (KTLA), who are located in the Kimberley region of Western Australia. Aboriginal communities such as the Karajarri name place as ‘Country’ and they have held roles of care and kinship for millennia, recognised through the use of the titles ‘Traditional Custodians’ and ‘Traditional Owners’ (TOs).

Case Study: Karajarri People, Country and Tourism

Behind every tourism idea, plan, programme and experience offered in Aboriginal tourism are individual people and families who are connected to their respective culture(s), communit(ies) and Countr(ies). In the case of Karajarri-led tourism, numerous individuals and families have been instrumental over the last decade in envisioning, building and delivering these tourism experiences. This section highlights the voices of some of the key tourism and cultural leaders in the Karajarri community and their reflections on the intersections of tourism, culture and place-based governance. Some of the research for this project occurred during the pandemic, so the impacts of COVID-19 are also part of this narrative. In many cases, these individuals are not only leaders of tourism development efforts among Karajarri, but also hold roles in the realms of culture, governance, business management and educational leadership that are vital to Karajarri people.

For well over the past decade, Karajarri people and KTLA leadership have been planning for increased tourism activities on their traditional Country, in particular at a coastal site near Port Smith. One of the key milestones in this tourism development journey was the launch of a Visitor Pass in 2016 that demarcates a 'Karajarri Tourism Zone' for certain areas of Country that are open for touring and approved recreational activities (KTLA, n.d.). The Pass also requires visitors and tour operators on Karajarri Country to pay for each day spent on Country, with generated revenues going directly to further tourism development. Following the launch of the Visitor Pass, KTLA embarked on its most ambitious tourism project – the launch of an official Karajarri Tourism Strategy (KTLA, 2016). Additionally, KTLA oversaw a Visioning report for the creation of a Karajarri Cultural and Tourism Hub, located on land acquired by KTLA at Port Smith. Plans for the Hub include: a Ranger's station, interpretive information, cultural walks, beach shelters and guided cultural tours (UDLA, 2018: 23–24).

In conversation with Karajarri tourism leaders on this tourism development journey, a top set of priorities articulated by most of the participants was to ensure that the tourism activities reflected a respect for Karajarri Country, Culture and the Traditional Custodians. According to Uncle Joe Edgar and Aunty Maria Morgan,[1] this respect for the Karajarri Country and its Karajarri TOs is reflected in having deep knowledge of the landscape where tours are conducted as well as ensuring that proper permissions are in place and the right people are informed about tours (see Figure 1.1). These permissions are viewed as essential to the tourism planning process on many different levels.

On one hand, the permissions are a critical tool in showing respect for the TOs that live in or near the areas being visited, or who maintain deep cultural, spiritual and stewardship connections to particular areas of land and water. Sam Bayley, who had worked as both Karajarri Indigenous Protected Area (IPA) Coordinator and CEO over several years and was deeply involved with Karajarri early tourism offerings, explained that if the TOs are not comfortable with visitors coming to their country, then tourism is simply not going to work. On another level, securing permissions also helps to ensure that Country is being looked after properly by knowing who is visiting certain areas of land and water, what they are doing there and how long they intend to visit. At the same time, these same permissions help to ensure the safety of visitors by informing TOs that tour activities might be happening on areas of Country that at times are inhospitable or dangerous due to excessive heat, cyclones, road conditions, bush fires or the presence of certain wildlife. Aunty Maria thus emphasised that being aware about the environment within which a tour operates is the key to not only looking after Country and being respectful to Traditional Owners, but also ensuring that the tour guests are comfortable and safe during the experience as well.

Figure 1.1 Uncle Joe Edgar shows visitors a *makapala* (bush banana) growing on a tree near the Karajarri Tourism and Cultural Hub. He explains the importance of these traditional bush foods and how many of them grow plentifully during the wet season. Credit: Co-author Bobbie Chew Bigby.

Emerging leader Wynston Shovellor pointed out three strategic priority areas that are driving and informing Karajarri-led tourism. The top priority is a focus on cultural maintenance and management, with tourism allowing Elders more opportunities to pass knowledge on to younger community members and inform outside visitors about Karajarri culture. He shared: 'This [culture and tourism] hub is to teach Karajarri TOs who don't have the cultural knowledge, but who want to learn about their culture'. The second key priority is generating the local economy for Karajarri people and creating a revenue source that is independent of grant funding from government and non-governmental partners. Wynston identified the third priority as proper land management. He explained how this land management is interconnected with other goals:

> In the past, there had been a lot of tourists that had been going to areas that are culturally significant and sensitive to TOs. We want to use best practices to properly manage the Country for ourselves and to make sure the public is safe as well. We have the authority to look after Country better and it is our responsibility to do so.

In conversation with Uncle Thomas 'Dooley' King, he immediately connected the ideas of priorities and values together with considerations of the direction of Karajarri tourism. From his perspective, the top priority of Karajarri-led tourism is to promote Karajarri values, which he articulated first and foremost as looking after Country and Culture, in line

with the importance that Uncle Joe and Aunty Maria have put on the priority of necessary respect shown to Country, Culture and TOs. Uncle Dooley stated:

> From a tourism perspective, we need to keep our key values and have them as the underlying principle of how we intend to and what we want to promote in the tourism space… as opposed to promoting what the standard, mainstream values are… the priority is to reach a point where we've got balance between protecting and sticking to our values and principles and not sacrificing those for the sake of economic independence.

Uncle Dooley explained that this priority of upholding traditional Karajarri values is vital for Karajarri people themselves for remaining connected to their culture, Country, community and identity. Thus, these values should shape the tourism experiences offered by Karajarri people. But Uncle Dooley also emphasised the guiding importance of these values in relation to another top tourism priority, namely using the tours to impact and influence non-Indigenous visitors. Uncle Dooley terms this priority as an 'indoctrination of non-Indigenous people to an Indigenous way of thinking and looking at the world'. He explained:

> [The gap] between Western and Indigenous ways of thinking… that's been our biggest challenge and hurdle [for us as Aboriginal and Karjarri people], and it's been the main place where most of the misunderstandings between Indigenous people come up… If they [visitors] can see the world in the way that we see it as Karajarri people, then that will hopefully influence them to have more respect for Country and respect for what Indigenous people are saying and what we value, the world over. White people indoctrinated us into the Western system of thinking. Now it's our turn. Now we use cultural awareness and Indigenous tourism to do that.

In this vision, Uncle Dooley firmly connects the priority of sharing, educating and 'indoctrinating' visitors with the central values of caring for Country and Culture that Karajarri people hold as sacred. Ultimately this loyalty and commitment to traditional values through Indigenous-led tourism is understood not only to have an impact on the visitors, but also helps ensure that Karajarri continue to maintain their connection and stewardship over their own culture and Country. According to Uncle Dooley: 'If tourism is more Indigenous-controlled, then you're more in the driver's seat to determine to what extent you want to expose people to your culture or the impacts that you have on Country'.

For Petrine McCrohan, a non-Indigenous cultural enterprise facilitator who has worked with Karajarri people and numerous other Kimberley Aboriginal groups on tourism planning over decades, relationship-building and reciprocity are core values that are central to Indigenous-led tourism. These are then embodied in characteristics such as authenticity

and integrity which underpin effective Indigenous tourism offers. Petrine stated:

> At the heart of tourism that embodies Aboriginal culture is the focus on reciprocity and relationships… relationship building is intrinsic to Indigenous people – relation to Country, to language, to each other… That sense of staying true and authentic, having integrity and respect for the ancestors and towards the culture and not moving away from that… to be honest, the only ones that are the most successful are the ones that do that – that come from a motivation of 'I'm not going to sell my soul to the broader system just because economic rationale says I should'.

Like Uncle Dooley, Petrine highlighted the fundamental importance of sticking with core values in Indigenous-led tourism, but also the inherent, deep tensions between implementing these traditional Indigenous values and Western economic systems and thinking. These values and approaches have been important pillars in the development and evolution of Karajarri's tourism model.

Reflections on the evolving Karajarri tourism model

The Karajarri tourism model has evolved over some 15 years. Indigenous tourism typically starts small to 'test the waters' and evolves in size and complexity based on learning through the evolution on how to manage and control engagement with tourism. Sam Bayley, a non-Indigenous professional who had worked with Karajarri over several years, gave the following summary of how Karajarri's tourism model started:

> It's really about starting slowly and getting something going… if you're waiting for the perfect product to happen, it's never going to happen, so you just need to start slowly with something people are comfortable with. It can be a big step up for some of the [remote] communities to deliver a [tourism] product. So simple things like self walks, self-drives, simple permit systems, bird viewing… you know, things people can do without having to rely too much on human capital to start with because a lot of tourism requires people to be there, present, all the time, and that's just not possible for a lot of Indigenous groups. For [Karajarri], it was a permit system where people could go to places under the right conditions. And then in time we're going to work with TOs to be tour leaders and tour guides and have accommodation… it's about good communication, going at the right pace and being open.

These points about transparent communication and securing the trust of the TOs are supported by Petrine's emphasis on the centrality of using a participatory planning model in Karajarri tourism. She noted that the fundamental strength of the participatory planning model is that community members are able to be in the driver's seat in building their own plan for tourism and choosing what levels of value and profitability are sought, understanding value in a plural sense including cultural, social,

environmental and economic value. Petrine also explained the utility in engaging with the 'Stepping Stones' model as a participatory planning tool (Stepwise Heritage and Tourism, n.d.). She used this Stepping Stones approach with Karajarri Traditional Lands Association (KTLA) members in 2010 which enabled Karajarri members to learn from tourism practitioners and advisers such as herself in building their tourism product (see Figure 1.2). A participatory model also helps communities to explore their points of strength and difference so that tourism offerings can be tailored to these circumstances. Petrine particularly emphasised that for the participatory model to succeed in guiding tourism as it evolves, it should be used regularly rather than only once at the beginning of planning. This continuous check-in with community members and participatory planning helps to ensure that as many voices are included as possible, even while there are fluctuating movements of people in and out of the

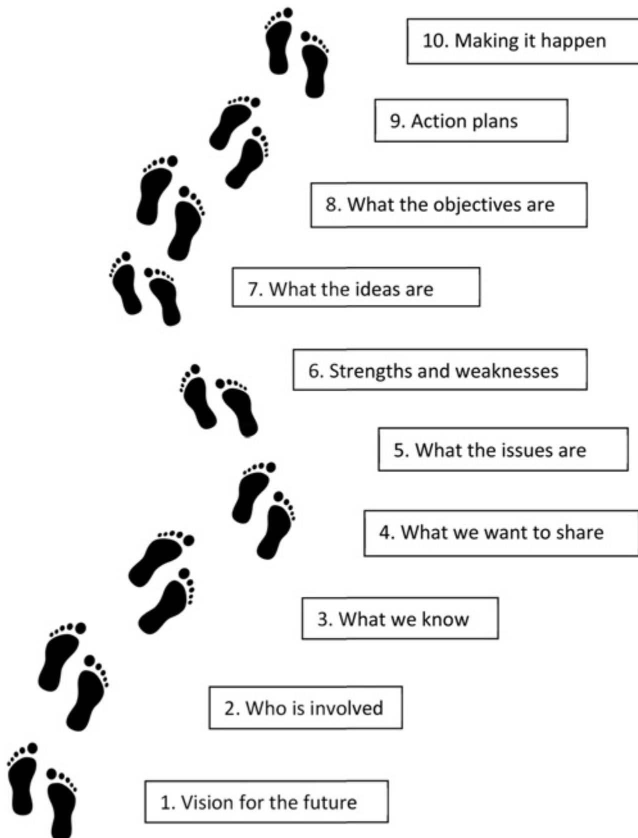

Figure 1.2 Stepping into tourism. Adapted from: Stepwise Heritage and Tourism (n.d.)

Figure 1.3 Karajarri tour leader Wynston Shovellor (centre) speaks to a group of students at a lagoon on Karajarri Country. He explains the significance of this waterscape to students, then demonstrates the Karajarri practice of *kuwiyinpijala*, where a person takes water in their hand and then blows it out, allowing the Country to know that person better. Credit: Co-author Bobbie Chew Bigby.

communities, so that communication remains strong, misunderstandings can be prevented and participation is ongoing.

Wynston spoke positively about the participatory and community-based nature of Karajarri's tourism model. He felt Karajarri tourism has developed at a steady pace that has been in line with what most Karajarri people are wanting (see Figure 1.3). He stated:

> Early on, there was a consultation with our Elders and the community about creating this strategic tourism plan. Tourism had started off with the rangers, how to manage their tourism area, and then with the strategic plan came the permit system up at Port Smith caravan park. Those were good first steps of trying to manage country better for us and for tourists. With the permit system, we just want to make sure everyone is comfortable and satisfied. What we generate from the permit fees, we want to give back to tourism and build shade shelters, picnic tables, creating better brochures, and employing more people on a casual basis… There are still gaps to be filled, but there's some promising outcomes in the near future.

This overview of the participatory and inclusive nature of the planning process presents an important reflection from a Karajarri man who is a former KTLA employee as well as a native of the Bidyadanga community. However, Uncle Joe offered a different perspective that lent vital insight into some of the difficulties and tensions regarding Karajarri governance and how this impacts tourism development both now and potentially in the future. According to Uncle Joe, many of these challenges arise from the

fact that the Western governance models imposed through the required structure of Prescribed Bodies Corporate (PBCs) and Registered Native Title Bodies Corporate (RNTBCs) – are not appropriate or aligned with traditional Karajarri governance ideas and practices. Uncle Joe asserted:

> Our PBC is following rules and regulations that are quite foreign to us, to our Indigenous governance. They say that we are following the PBC's rules in that we have a sort of democracy, where majority rules. If you're polling on a particular issue, whoever raises the most hands passes the policy. But when it comes time to land management and issues that directly impact on our country, those protocols should not exist. Because in our culture, the custodians are the TOs, but they are also the custodians of a particular part of the country, the tribes and totemism.

This tension between Western and Karajarri forms of governance manifests not only in the protocols of PBC meetings or how the KTLA body and enterprises are structured, but as pointed out by Uncle Joe, also subsequently influences issues over which KTLA has authority, including aspects of land management. From Uncle Joe's perspective, this inappropriate imposition of Western governance also impacts how tourism is planned and implemented. Uncle Joe explained:

> You know with Karajarri we have three different dialects [or language-based groups] and they come from different parts of our homelands. Nadja is the coastal. To the northeast hinterland we've got the Naudu and to the southeast desert is the Nangu. And those people from those particular areas, they look after their own country and have particular say over what should happen – development, mining, tourism. They should be entitled to reject it or endorse it. But currently, we're working under a system of majority rules, so anyone can have a say over parts of other people's country, which is totally, totally foreign and inappropriate… all of a sudden we're having people establishing tourism ventures on somebody else's country without protocols being adhered to. I've been really unhappy with it, I suppose.

In a parallel discussion with Uncle Dooley on the extent to which Karajarri values are implemented in the planning and development of tourism, he shares Uncle Joe's observations on the differences in Western and Indigenous management. In terms of bridging Karajarri values with the Karajarri tourism model, Uncle Dooley stated: 'How do we do that? It's what we are all trying to rediscover. Because business from a Western perspective is totally different to running business from an Indigenous perspective'. Uncle Dooley's perspective underscores the cultural differences between governance and business management models and acknowledges that navigating this tension is a part of the journey for KTLA and the Karajarri community as whole in relation to tourism.

In his reflections on Karajarri's evolving tourism model, Uncle Dooley placed strong emphasis on the need for Karajarri tourism planners to try

to understand their audiences and know who is being reached. This audience or market understanding is critical, in his eyes, not just in attempts to expand business to more targeted, interested visitors – a point shared by Petrine who advocates for finding and building niche markets that are receptive to Aboriginal cultural experiences. Moreover, Uncle Dooley believes that understanding audiences is critically important in order to know how to reach these people and open their eyes to what Karajarri tourism has to share. Uncle Dooley believes that speaking through the language of science is the key to this endeavour. He stated:

> I think that if we're going to promote our values in tourism ventures, we have to incorporate language, concepts and ideas from science where we can, to be able to explain. That's what I'm finding I'm doing now, having to explain it in a language that they [tourists] relate to. Because everyone is trying to explain it in an Indigenous way, and then they [tourists] scratch their heads. 'What are you blackfellas talking about?' … Our relationship to country, why is it important, the importance of protecting spiritual sites related to water and across country… It's imperative on us, as keepers of the land, the keepers of country to say you have to listen to us. We are not talking bullshit. Your own science now has proven, substantiated what we have been saying all along… so I think science is one of our biggest tools as we use tourism as a vehicle to educate people and bring them into our domain.

This need for understanding audiences and finding the right science-based concepts and language to communicate with visitors is still part of an evolving process in developing the Karajarri tourism package. Uncle Dooley characterised this as part of the process of 'refining' the tourism offerings and ensuring that Karajarri 'get in full agreement amongst everybody about who is doing what… to work in unison so the [tourism] package appears as one, holistic package'. For Uncle Dooley, one part of what he refers to as 'refining the tourism package' implies ensuring that Karajarri people are informed, in agreement, clear and on board with tourism plans. But another critical piece of the refinement process in his eyes in geared towards the audience engagement. In this respect, Uncle Dooley believes that it is critical for Aboriginal tour leaders to communicate clearly with non-Indigenous visitors and explain why certain things are prohibited on Country or in relation to culture. He asserted:

> We have to teach visitors that when you come onto Country, there are these places you can and cannot go visit. And they have to understand why they can't go. For a lot of people who ask why they can't go there, Aboriginal people don't fully explain why… this is what I mean about refining [the tourism] more. You've got to explain to them why and how that relates to our beliefs, values, principles and spirituality that we must follow… I think we have to be able to accommodate peoples' inquisitiveness and thirst for better information… I think that's one of the key parts of more effective Indigenous tourism.

From Uncle Dooley's perspective, the task of planning and implementing Karajarri tourism that is in tune with traditional priorities and values is thus one that is seen to have important consequences not only for Karajarri people and Country, but for the visitors themselves as well. This Karajarri case study demonstrates one example of place-based governance which works at multiple levels and uses tourism as an implement of local community governance to achieve multiple goals. Country sits at the centre and Karajarri responsibilities as custodians shape the practices.

Multiple ways, multiple outcomes

This in-depth Karajarri case may lead readers to conclude that it is Indigenous peoples that are particularly guided to this place-based governance approach being considered in this chapter. In the Karajarri example, as one of many Aboriginal nations that hold pride as the oldest continuing human cultures on Earth, their place-based knowledge, custodianship and governance makes logical sense. But they are by no means the only communities with these forms of place-embedded governance.

There are many places that we could turn to in order to demonstrate the meaning, value, approaches and limits to place-based governance and place-based governance in tourism. Governance comes from the myriad local institutions, processes, cultures and value systems that people have co-constructed during their lifetimes, as well as during their ancestors' lifetimes. Numerous examples have been studied and shared, including:

- Ubuntu, described as:
  'A collection of values and practices that black people of Africa or of African origin view as making people authentic human beings. While the nuances of these values and practices vary across different ethnic groups, they all point to one thing – an authentic individual human being is part of a larger and more significant relational, communal, societal, environmental and spiritual world'. (Mugumbate & Chereni, 2020: vi)
- Buen Vivir, explained as:
  'The term Buen Vivir is best understood as an umbrella for a set of different positions… [Buen Vivir] are the Spanish words used in Latin America to describe alternatives to development focused on the good life in a broad sense. The term is actively used by social movements, and it has become a popular term in some government programmes and has even reached its way into two new Constitutions in Ecuador and Bolivia. It is a plural concept with two main entry points. On the one hand, it includes critical reactions to classical Western development theory. On the other hand, it refers to alternatives to development emerging from indigenous traditions, and in this sense the concept explores possibilities beyond the modern Eurocentric tradition'. (Gudynas, 2011: 441)

- Ol'lau in Palau:
  Palau has developed a Visitor Pledge and responsible tourism programme based on its culture of hospitality. 'Ol'au in Palauan means to invite someone into your space' (Galloway, 2022). Through this culturally infused approach, Palau shows a way that pledges can be made tools for community empowerment and expressions of real local hospitality as participating tourists '…can then redeem their points to unlock cultural and nature-based experiences that are normally reserved for Palauans and their close friends' (Galloway, 2022). This programme '…is offering a world-first initiative of 'gamifying' responsible tourism, whereby travellers will be offered exclusive experiences based on how they treat the environment and culture, not by how much they spend' (Galloway, 2022).
- Gross National Happiness (GNH) in Bhutan:
  'In his Coronation speech, the Fifth King, His Majesty Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck, said "I have been inspired in the way I look at things by Bhutan's development philosophy of Gross National Happiness … to me it signifies simply 'Development with Values'". GNH at its core comprises a set of values that promote collective happiness as the end value of any development strategy. GNH might be described as:
  - Holistic: Recognising all the aspects of people's needs, be these spiritual or material, physical or social;
  - Balanced: Emphasising balanced progress towards the attributes of GNH;
  - Collective: Viewing happiness to be an all-encompassing collective phenomenon;
  - Sustainable: Pursuing well-being for both current and future generations;
  - Equitable: Achieving reasonable and equitable distributed level of well-being'. (Ura *et al*., 2012: 6–7)

Each of these – Ubuntu, Buen Vivir, Ol'au and Gross National Happiness – has intersected and influenced forms of tourism developed in particular places. For instance, in the latter case of Bhutan, a low-volume, high-yield approach has been pursued in order to protect the Buddhist culture of the country and limit the negative impacts of tourism on community and ecology.

There are also the examples previously discussed in Higgins-Desbiolles *et al*. (2019: 1936–7): of the Guna of Panama and their Statute on Tourism (see also Pereiro *et al*., 2012); the case of Lirrwi Tourism in Arnhem Land, Australia and their 'guiding principles' on tourism emphasising community-centric focus rather a tourism-centric one (see Lirrwi Tourism, n.d.); and the case of Kangaroo Island and its Tourism Optimisation Management Model initially prompted by community concern with an

imposed day-tripper market (see Miller & Twining-Ward, 2005). It is also worthwhile revisiting Scheyvens (2006) detailed work on 'beach *fale*' tourism in Samoa which recounted how village control and benefit from tourism was secured through budget-friendly travel and following the principles of *fa'a Samoa*, the Samoan way of life (see Beautiful Samoa, n.d.). In numerous places around the world, including Ghana and India, the care for sacred groves and their responsible access by tourists presents another relevant case to consider (see Ormsby, 2012).

In drawing attention to these multiple examples, we highlight the fact that local embedding allows for pluralistic approaches for communities rather than imposed monocultures of integration into the global economy (see Figure 1.4). It is the monocultural approach to tourism that results in dangerous levels of dependency and sees power shift away from communities to remoter levels of governance, to multinational corporations and to possibly the 'placeless' international tourists. We therefore need to understand the structural contexts which enable such a power shift away from communities and how this might be countered.

Figure 1.4 Principles of place-based approaches to tourism governance

Degrowth + Decolonising

> For some, placelessness has become the essential feature of the modern condition, and a very acute and painful one in many cases, such as those of exiles and refugees. (Escobar, 2001: 140)

Whether cast as the 'ongoingness of imperialism' (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2022), or globalising capitalism, modernising development (Escobar, 2001) or neoliberalism, the hegemonic and universalising practices of Western/Eurocentric pathways are contra to these ideas of place-based governance. It is important to understand that the wealth and power of these developed countries in many cases has been built on historic and ongoing colonial land and resource theft. More recently, this umbrella group of ideologies have in common a belief that everything in society as far as possible should be privatised and run for profit in the belief that this operates more efficiently. Increasingly fewer assets should be publicly owned and operated on a non-profit basis, but instead private ownership and profit-seeking are facilitated. Hospitals, universities, schools, social services, national parks, prisons and national security are no longer exempt. In this ideological worldview, employment should be kept low waged, non-unionised and 'flexible' with zero-hour contracts and precarity increasingly normalised. Most importantly, people are less enabled to see themselves as citizens with rights and responsibilities and instead encouraged to more strongly identify as consumers, in a system built on perpetual growth (see Sklair, 2016). Almost all governments, whether leftist, centrist or rightist, or designated as capitalist or socialist, are committed to perpetual growth, via market systems that are underpinned by a 'culture-ideology' of consumerism. A key feature of these systems is not the 'trickle down' of benefits to the poorest, but rather growing inequalities that are in fact a 'trickle up' to the wealthy elite. COVID has only compounded such dynamics; Chancel reported 'billionaires accumulated €3.6 trillion… of wealth during a crisis in which the World Bank estimates that some 100 million people have fallen into extreme poverty' (cited in Saraiva & Migliaccio, 2021).

Extractive forms of tourism and tourism monocultures have been facilitated in this context. Linehan *et al*. (2020: 9) noted: 'Ultimately, tourism dwells on the feelings of tourists rather than the toured objects where colonialism is viewed as symbol embodied with imagery, expectations and powers'. In this exploitative and extractive approach, local people become 'toured objects' and tourism industry interests prevail. As recounted in the introduction, this is why local communities sometimes oppose tourism development and form or join social movements to oppose the imposition of tourism. Additionally, these forms of extractive tourism overshadow, outnumber and out compete forms of tourism and leisure that are for the public good such as social tourism.

People are resisting these exploitative forces and continuing to challenge and respond to these modes of usurping space, place and community. Community struggles have adopted strategies that subvert these power plays and present alternative visions of community life, including delinking and degrowth (discussed in the Introduction). From the Zapatistas of Mexico with the practices of 'zapatismo', to the Kurds 'lab' in Rojava, to the cooperatives of Mondragón in Spain, communities are creating alternatives to the systems of domination described above. Importantly, these movements are connecting up and exchanging ideas through 'tourism'. For instance, the Zapatistas sent a delegation to Spain in 2021 marking the 500th anniversary of the Spanish 'conquest' of Mexico which was followed by tours throughout Europe to exchange ideas for social justice activism and solidarity (Vidal, 2021). These are one form of decolonial tourism, or 'Detours'. While tourism promotion and development are tied up with complex assertions of power to access, control and benefit from the resources held in communities around the globe, tourism is contested and a space for NGO advocacy, social movement formation and indeed these usurpations of tourism for social justice purposes such as Detours.

The idea of 'related localisms' introduced in the Introduction, offers some valuable solutions for furthering solidarity and these ideas have been explored from diverse corners of thought. For instance, sociologist Leslie Sklair proposed a similar concept:

> This is not the fantasy of cellular localism; my vision of an alternative, radical, progressive globalization envisages networks of small producer-consumer cooperatives (PCC) cooperating at a variety of levels, primarily to ensure a decent standard of living for everyone on the planet… all states end up being hierarchical, and that only in smallscale communities like PCCs, locally or globally linked via the Internet, can we avoid this inevitable slippery slope. (2016: 2–3)

In her 'Decolonial Manifesto', Hirmer envisioned:

> … a sustainable decolonised world-order is of a third kind: one where, instead of a reversal of centre-periphery relations or of an all-encompassing amalgamating centre, a multitude of interconnected units coexist, functioning at the same time as centres to themselves and peripheries to other centres. In this vision, power is diffused and boundaries between these centres may be porous, permitting non-hierarchical exchanges in multiple directions, as pares inter pares [equal among equals]. (2020: 124)

In such contexts, we could anticipate diverse forms and engagements with tourism as appropriate to particular places. Starting strategies might include practices of counter-mapping, a counter-cartographic practice that employs a diverse range of mapping methods, such as geospatial techniques, data visualisation, storytelling, art and performance that build on a body of collaborative work by critical cartographers, geographers,

artists, educators and activists. Such counter-mapping practices have generated tools for collective mobilisation and produced alternative visions of contemporary space and their future possibilities (see for instance, Boukhris, 2017; Chapter 5 this volume).

Tools such as the model of placed-based cooperative enquiry offered by Wooltorton *et al*. (2020) could be adapted to offer communities another tool with which to build place-based governance approaches to tourism. Such approaches integrate experiential, creative, conceptual and post conceptual learning forms. Using multiples rounds of cooperative inquiry, human relationships are built and human–ecological relationships are nurtured. These may serve as foundations for co-construction of community and place-based governance. This process emphasises local attachments to place and appreciation of local ways of being, knowing and doing so that local places may be better sustained through tourism. These would be ongoing cycles of engagement in community building and tourism governance with iterations of these four stages at each cycle. These work to deepen experience and knowledge of people, place and tourism for building better places.

There are many more worthy of consideration. The use of experiential learning and place-based education would have relevant approaches to learn from and adapt to place-based governance in tourism and to integrate into tourism education. The recent popularity of regenerative approaches could be used for considerations of co-building placemaking and place renewal through tourism. Such models assist in conceptualising tourism as nested within community and ecological systems and help mitigate against the tourism-centric thinking found in some quarters.

We ourselves believe there is much to be learned from Indigenous scholars and knowledge-holders. Associate Professor Mary Graham (Kombumerri/Wakka Wakka) has explained an ethos of respecting a law of obligation rather than rights approach which is derived from thinking in relation and relatedness rather than the current predominate survivalist mode activated by the crises we face (Graham, 2020). Graham explained that caring for land teaches ethics and also that ethics is done in the doing. This points to the vital need for pluriversal thinking and research to guide future work in place-based governance. But it is a unity within this diversity that is also essential. This is some of the most vital work before us:

> There must be some convergence among nations on the idea of what the end objective of development and progress should be. There cannot be enduring peace, prosperity, equality and brotherhood in this world if our aims are so separate and divergent – if we do not accept that in the end we are people, all alike, sharing the earth among ourselves and also with other sentient beings, all of whom have an equal role and state of this planet and its players. (the Crown Prince of Bhutan cited in Ura & Galay, 2004: xii)

Conclusion

In 2020, it was reported that Royal Caribbean International (RCI) cruise company has an agreement with Vanuatu to develop a 'private cruise resort' at Lelepa (RCI, n.d.). Chua reported: 'Having a destination under cruise line control means arrivals and departures are guaranteed. The line may bypass strict customs and health screenings should a similar pandemic to COVID-19 reoccur' (Chua, 2020). Such developments are deeply problematic when we consider the need for greater place-based governance and care.

While we think and connect locally, we cannot be impervious to what is occurring globally as human impacts have wrought widescale change, including global climate change. Scientists have proposed a 'planetary boundary' (PB) framework with a view to finding a way to deal with complex Earth systems impacted by human demands and impacts. '…by identifying a safe operating space for humanity on Earth, the PB framework can make a valuable contribution to decisionmakers in charting desirable courses for societal development' (Steffen *et al*., 2015: 736). This needs to be employed simultaneously to the myriad of place-based governance actions occurring in communities around the globe. It is both local and global approaches that are needed.

Values and relationships are essential pillars to these efforts. Engaging with the newest thinking on just transitions, we need all levels of governance empowering all diversity of beings to be recognised, valued and involved in devising pathways forward. The plural versions of these terms – 'communities', 'ecologies' and 'places' – guide us in respecting diversity but it is also diversity in relatedness not in disconnected, selfish isolation. The places where we live, work and play can teach us lessons for living well. Place-based governance for tourism can shape tourism to be suited to people and place. It presents a viable alternative to imposed and exploitative forms of tourism and helps us better live within place and planetary boundaries.

Note

(1) The titles of 'Uncle' and 'Auntie' are used in many Aboriginal communities as terms of respect for Elders. Elders are people who have gained recognition as custodians of knowledge and law and hold permission to share this with the right people, in the right contexts. Non-Aboriginal people should check the appropriateness of using these terms, which are often built on close relationships (http://www.indigenousteaching.com/glossary-terms).

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