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AN EXAMINATION OF THE ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE TOURISM
BUSINESS SECTOR AND THE OPPORTUNITY FOR COLLABORATIVE DESTINATION
MANAGEMENT IN SANTA CATALINA, PANAMA

By

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B.Sc. McMaster University, Hamilton, 2007

A thesis

presented to Ryerson University

in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Applied Science

in the Program of

Environmental Applied Science and Management

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2013

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Author's Declaration

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An Examination of the Roles and Responsibilities of the Tourism Business Sector and the Opportunity for Collaborative Destination Management in Santa Catalina, Panama
Master of Applied Science, 2013
Aydan Elizabeth Drumm
Environmental Applied Science and Management, Ryerson University

Abstract

Increasing development in absence of management can impact the environmental and social welfare of host communities. Collaboration is often used as a tool to mitigate the negative consequences of development, while allowing for the implementation of solutions which benefit a range of individuals who may have differing perspectives. This study examines the perceived consequences of increasing development in Santa Catalina, Panama, and the opportunity for collaboration to mitigate these effects. Stakeholder and collaboration theory were used to inform data analysis, but difficulties accessing government and local people limited the ability of these theories to be applied. Although this study explores the opportunity for collaboration within the business sector, perspectives from all stakeholders remains necessary for the overall success of collaboration. Maintaining access to reliable informants, ensuring adequate time for data collection, and increasing education may reduce conflict and improve communication, leadership and participation; improving the overall success of destination management.

Acknowledgements

There are a few people to whom I am very grateful for their support and encouragement throughout the process of the completion of this thesis.

First, I would like to thank Dr. Sonya Graci, my thesis supervisor and mentor throughout this process for her encouragement and guidance. Her feedback and interest in my research topic inspired me to commit whole-heartedly to the project, understand the research process and develop confidence and skill as a researcher.

I would also like to thank Dr. Michael Bardecki for his constructive criticism and feedback during the final steps of this process, his perspective and comments over the past few months have been extremely helpful.

To my thesis committee, thank you for taking the interest and time to provide comments as to how to improve my work.

To everyone within the community of Santa Catalina who provided support and encouragement for the project, your enthusiasm inspired me during times of difficulty throughout the data collection process and this did not go unnoticed.

And finally to my close family and friends, your confidence in my abilities and reassurance in times of self-doubt were essential to this study's completion.

Thank you.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The case of Santa Catalina, Panama presents the opportunity to examine the applicability of stakeholder theory and collaboration theory to issues surrounding resource management as a consequence of increases in development in rural regions. After its discovery as a surf destination in the 1970s, Santa Catalina's tourism industry began to grow, catering to small scale backpacker tourism. As Santa Catalina became a known destination in the surf community, tourist numbers increased as did the number of establishments providing tourist goods and services, with a mix of both foreign and local ownership. These establishments focussed on providing basic accommodation and food services as well as on the promotion of specific tourist activities including sport-fishing and marine and terrestrial exploration of nearby Coiba National Park to which Santa Catalina provides the closest mainland port (SantaCatalina.com, 2013).

In the past, tourism in Santa Catalina has been promoted through word of mouth and small tourist fairs, with a few businesses promoting through the internet. However, the 2005 accreditation of Coiba National Park as a United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Site has focussed the efforts of the Panamanian government towards promotion of the park, and has made the region an integral part of the Panamanian tourism marketing campaign (UNEP, 2008). This, along with the selection of Santa Catalina as the host for the 2010 International Surf Association (ISA) World Championship, has gained the area international attention (ATP, 2010). Over the past decade, Santa Catalina has gone from a small emerging tourist community catering solely to backpacker tourism to a destination offering a diverse number of tourism goods and services at a variety of price points and catering to a variety of tourist demands (SantaCatalina.com, 2013).

Although there are benefits to the use of tourism as a mechanism for job creation and income generation in rural regions, there are also many consequences that may emerge as a result of increasing development in regions which are unable to accommodate the large demands on resources that occur as a result (Moscardo, 2008). Tourism has proven to be a great driver for socio-economic progress through encouraging infrastructure investment in rural regions, as well as increasing employment opportunities and government tax revenues (Moscardo, 2008). These benefits should induce increases in the quality of life for residents in rural and peripheral regions; however, many regions rarely see the benefits of tourism development. This is because the

benefits are often outweighed by the costs of development. These costs include environmental degradation, community conflict, cultural challenges and the disruption of daily activities through increased traffic congestion, rising living costs, interruptions of religious ceremonies and changes in land use. As well, many communities may overestimate the benefits that may result from tourism and the time frame over which these benefits may be seen (Moscardo, 2008).

Many researchers have focussed on the negative impacts that tourism has on communities in the developing world (Allen et al., 1988; Moscardo, 2005; Mbaiwa and Darkoh, 2006; Graci, 2009). Evidence of the magnitude of the negative consequences of tourism development in relation to the minimal benefits suggests that tourism should be discussed on a case-by-case basis before implementation to determine whether or not it is the best development option for the community in question (Moscardo, 2008).

Stakeholder theory and collaboration theory have been used by many researchers to address the negative consequences of development. The use of stakeholder theory allows for those individuals who are important to the discussion surrounding development to be identified (Freeman, 1984). Upon identification, the perspectives of these individuals can then be analyzed to create a more complete view of problem areas and inform policy creation or the implementation of various strategies aimed at resolving issues and solving problems (Freeman, 1984). Stakeholder theory has been used to promote discussion surrounding development issues in a variety of sectors in rural regions including resource management (Grimble and Chan, 1995; Mitchell et al., 1997; Harrison and Qureshi, 2000; Briassoulis, 2002) and tourism development (Sautter and Liesen, 1999; Sheehan and Ritchie, 2005).

In many instances, limited resources and skills make it difficult for solutions to be implemented regarding resource protection if individuals are acting alone (Gray, 1989). However, through the process of collaboration, interested individuals can come together and work effectively to implement solutions which they would have not been able to achieve independently (Gray, 1989). In these situations, collaboration theory can be applied which outlines the conditions necessary in order for collaborative efforts to be effective at producing positive change (Gray, 1989).

Stakeholder theory and collaboration theory are often used in conjunction with one another, whereby the analysis of stakeholder perceptions of development is used to inform the direction in which collaborative partnerships will take to promote mitigation of the issues which are deemed to be of importance. The creation of collaborative partnerships has been recommended by several researchers as a strategy for environmental and resource management (Logsdon, 1991; Selin and Chavez, 1995; Austin, 2004; Sanginga et al., 2007) and tourism management (Jamal and Getz, 1995; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999; Roberts and Simpson, 1999; Aas et al., 2005; Erkus-Ozturk and Eradin, 2010). Collaboration aims to involve a variety of different individuals, each of which are able to provide their own resources and skills which aid in the facilitation of the collaborative process (Gray, 1989). In tourism destinations, collaboration between multiple individuals with various roles and responsibilities in the process has been argued as being essential to mitigating issues regarding environmental and social management (Jamal and Getz, 1995; Selin and Chavez, 1995; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999; Sanginga et al., 2007).

1.1 Purpose of this Research

This research aims to uncover whether or not increasing development has had negative consequences on those living in the community of Santa Catalina, Panama. Stakeholder theory is used to identify individuals who can affect or are affected by development in the region and to gain insights into their perceptions regarding the consequences of this development. Collaboration theory is then used in order to assess whether or not collaboration could be used as an effective strategy for mitigation of these consequences, should they exist. This research will not only provide insights into the implications of increasing development in the rural community of Santa Catalina in particular, but will add to the body of knowledge surrounding the applicability of stakeholder theory and collaboration theory to issues of resource use and tourism management in rural regions worldwide.

1.2 Research Question and Objectives

Can stakeholder theory and collaboration theory be used to identify and provide solutions to the negative consequences of increasing development in the rural coastal community of Santa Catalina, Panama?

The following are the objectives that will be explored and accomplished in order to answer the research question:

1. Review the literature and identify any gaps in knowledge regarding research on the use of stakeholder theory and collaboration theory to address the negative consequences of development in rural coastal communities;
2. Utilize stakeholder theory to identify key business sector stakeholders in the community of Santa Catalina and explore their perceptions regarding any problem areas that have arisen as a result of increased development;
3. Explore whether or not business sector stakeholders in Santa Catalina would be willing to work together collaboratively to address these issues using the preconditions for successful collaboration as outlined in collaboration theory;
4. Identify any existing barriers which limit the ability of business sector stakeholders to work together collaboratively;
5. Provide recommendations which may enable business sector stakeholders to overcome barriers to collaboration and implement strategies for resource management.

1.3 Research Approach

This study used a case study, multi-method approach which utilizes qualitative data collection methods including face-to-face interviews and observation to obtain information about business sector stakeholders and their perceptions while providing an explanation regarding the reasoning behind these perceptions (Sommer and Sommer, 2002). The results of stakeholder interviews are analyzed in a way which allows common themes among responses to emerge in order for appropriate conclusions and recommendations to be made.

1.4 Structure of this Thesis

This introduction presents the general study region, and the reasoning behind the use of stakeholder theory and collaboration theory as the theoretical basis for this research. In Chapter 2 a review of the literature is discussed as it pertains to the process of identifying and analyzing stakeholders as well as mechanisms for bringing stakeholders together through collaboration to help facilitate the implementation of solutions to environmental and social problems. Barriers to

the implementation of collaborative partnerships and strategies for overcoming these barriers will also be discussed with a focus on the rural developing country context. Chapter 3 outlines a description of the research setting: the country of Panama, town of Santa Catalina, and neighbouring Coiba National Park and their existing organizational structures for destination and resource management. Chapter 4 details the study methodology and the need for qualitative data collection and analysis techniques, including the interview guideline used in data collection. Chapter 5 describes the data collected during the interview process and the data analysis with a focus on the usefulness of stakeholder theory and collaboration theory in identifying stakeholders, analyzing their perceptions regarding development and providing solutions to mitigating the negative consequences of development. Chapter 6 outlines the conclusions and potential recommendations which may aid stakeholders in implementing solutions to help improve perceived risks in their community.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

Tourism has been seen as a particularly useful tool for developing countries and in rural and periphery regions worldwide. Not only do governments and development agencies invest substantial resources in tourism, but local organizations and individuals may also invest significant percentages of their own limited resources (time, finances, materials) in hopes that tourism will bring a range of economic and social benefits to their communities (Moscardo, 2008). This investment of resources by destination communities in many cases is wasted on attempts to create benefits from exploitative development practices. This can be especially seen in destinations where tourism markets are dominated by external actors or where the benefits of development are restricted only to the more influential decision-makers, leaving little benefit to the local community (Moscardo, 2008).

Most commonly, the goal of development is initially focussed primarily on improving the economic conditions of communities and national governments; with environmental and social welfare being less of a priority but many times occurring as a result of economic growth (Graci and Dodds, 2010). This is illustrated by a study done by Pearce and colleagues (1996) which uncovered that:

80% of residents surveyed in a rural region of Northern Australia reported that tourism had increased local job opportunities; however, this was overtaken by a rise in the costs of living as suggested by 90% of the population, and 63% which reported that tourism had decreased the overall quality of the local environment.

Similar findings were discovered by Mbaiwa and Darkoh (2006), who showed that the benefits to the local people of a community in the Okavango Delta in Botswana felt as though the benefits of tourism development were few, but the costs were quite high. Rapid development on the wetland and overcrowding from tourists was perceived by local populations to have led to environmental degradation and resource exploitation, cultural erosion and a loss of local tradition, as well as increased tensions within the community.

Graci and Dodds (2010) conducted a survey of the literature and created a list of issues and impacts that often arise from increases in development, some of which may be specific to

tourism. These include several economic, environmental and social consequences:

- Host communities complete economic dependence on tourism and the abandonment of other industries,
- Competition for scarce resources leading to resource exploitation,
- Loss of economic gains to external foreign investors,
- Inflation,
- Habitat and resource losses due to development and pollution,
- Loss of biodiversity,
- Decline in quality and quantity of water resources,
- Pollution (land, sea, air, noise),
- Increased pressure on infrastructure and services due to increases in population,
- Overuse of natural areas,
- Encroachment of coastal development,
- Erosion,
- Congestion and crowding,
- Loss of local tradition,
- Local displacement,
- Cultural conflicts.

Further solidifying the idea that the negative consequences of tourism development are many, and moving from an extensive list such as the one presented above to a more general description, Moscardo (2005) presented a review of 329 tourism development case studies which showed that more than 80% of the cases studied reported overall negative consequences of development. These impacts could be sorted into 5 key clusters: environmental degradation, conflict, cultural challenges, disruptions of daily life, and a disillusionment regarding the actual magnitude and timing of the benefits of tourism development.

In most cases, the desire to increase development to create economic benefits may cause governments and investors to lose sight of the important environmental and social consequences that may arise as a result. Specifically in regards to tourism development, environmental degradation, resource depletion, cultural conflicts and crime can be of increasing importance as

these are all factors which influence the quality of the region as a destination (Briassoulis, 2002). In absence of protection measures to help mitigate these negative consequences, the region may lose popularity among tourists due to increasing loss of resources which drive tourism including high environmental quality, community aesthetics and cultural authenticity (Butler, 1980; European Commission, 2007).

Tourism resources are often susceptible to mismanagement and overuse (Briassoulis, 2002). Hence, strategies for management of these resources should focus on balancing the interests of the different users and encouraging participation from multiple individuals in decisions regarding environmental conservation and social justice. By working to acknowledge and accommodate the variation in resource availability over time and space, users are encouraged to become stewards of their environment. Briassoulis (2002) argues that decisions should be implemented locally and involve “participatory and consensual approaches to policy design, as well as development of horizontal and non-hierarchical relationships and networks among the appropriators and users”.

In order to implement such mitigation approaches, it is first important to determine those who are being impacted by development, and who the important decision-makers are (Grimble and Chan, 1995; Selin and Chavez, 1995). Following this, a discussion regarding what the consequences of development include on a site-specific basis can be undergone, creating a more complete overview of the consequences of development by incorporating several different and often competing viewpoints. This has been done in several regions by previous student researchers with studies being carried out in Jamaica (Hyre, 1993), South-West Tobago (Dobbin, 1993), Nepal (Cook, 2011) and Gili Trawangan, Indonesia (McCabe, 2011; Willmott, 2012).

2.1 Stakeholder Theory

Before strategies can be implemented to help mitigate the negative consequences of development, it is important to identify which individuals are affected, and who is responsible for decision-making (Briassoulis, 2002). In the past, many development projects have failed to meet their objectives because they were unable to create a complete view of the problem they were addressing by failing to incorporate the views of key individuals into the decision-making process allowing for more effective implementation of solutions (Grimble and Chan, 1995;

Grimble and Wellard, 1997; Bryson, 2004). This is especially seen in developing countries, where decision-making most frequently fails to recognize the views of local communities. This can lead to increasing conflict and opposition in implementation (Grimble and Chan, 1995; Pomeroy, 1995). Hence, stakeholder theory can limit the negative consequences of development by offering an effective framework for identifying those who are important to the discussion regarding development, and enabling the priorities and values of these individuals to be better incorporated into the planning process (Grimble and Chan, 1995, Pomeroy, 1995).

During its conception, stakeholder theory provided a means for corporations to move away from the traditional shareholder approach to management and broaden the view of who is important to and affected by the decisions made within a firm (Schilling, 2000; Friedman and Miles, 2006). This approach served as a means to promote corporate social responsibility by including the perspectives of many different groups of individuals in the decision-making process, including those who did not have a direct financial investment in the company. Schilling (2000) argues that the central concepts found in stakeholder theory date back to work done by Follett in 1918, where emphasis was placed on the creation of a management structure which recognizes the interdependencies within a company and the environment in which it operates. Follett (1918) also argued for the creation of a decision-making approach which would reflect these interdependencies.

Stakeholder theory continued to develop and be applied by companies to aid in identifying which groups of individuals whose values and opinions they felt they needed to consider in order to be successful. Between the 1930s and 1960s several firms including the General Electric Company, Ford, Johnson & Johnson, Sears and IBM could be found identifying four major groups of concern to their operations. These included shareholders, employees, customers and the general public/community (Friedman and Miles, 2006). Although these groups of individuals were being identified for some time, the word “stakeholder” was first expressed in the 1960s by Ansoff, Stewart and Doscher who pioneered the idea in its early conception at the Stanford Research Institute (Friedman and Miles, 2006).

Despite the concepts regarding stakeholder theory being developed since 1918, the first in depth study of stakeholder theory was done by Freeman (1984) who popularized previous ideas and focussed on the creation of a more effective managerial approach to decision-making

within large firms. Here, large firms aim to meet the needs of multiple individuals or groups of individuals, and the more efficient they are at doing so, the more successful they will be (Freeman, 1984). These individuals or groups of individuals are known as stakeholders, and are identified by Freeman (1984) as:

Any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of an organizations objectives. Thus a group or individual qualifies as a stakeholder if it has legitimate interest in aspects of the firm's activities and has either the power to affect the firm's performance or has a stake in the firm's performance.

Freeman (1984) also created a "Hub and Spoke" model for identifying which stakeholders are important and should be included in the decision-making process. This model applies to stakeholders in relation to a large firm, and includes several stakeholder groups: employees, trade associations, government, political groups, competitors, owners, financial community, suppliers, activists, customer advocate groups and unions (Freeman, 1984).

Freeman's (1984) model of stakeholders in relation to large firms has been adapted over the years to be more applicable on a variety of different scales, from small businesses to community-wide decision-making (Grimble and Chan, 1995; Sautter and Liesen, 1999). In order to apply stakeholder theory to more complex social systems, identifying the stakeholders and analyzing their perspectives were adapted to become an approach known as stakeholder analysis. This approach can be used to gain a more complete understanding of the values and priorities of different individual stakeholders within a system (Grimble and Chan, 1995).

2.1.1 Stakeholder Analysis

Stakeholder analysis allows stakeholder theory to be applied on a wider scale, rather than simply focusing on the interests of an organization or firm. Grimble and Chan (1995) define stakeholder analysis as "an approach and procedure for gaining an understanding of a system by means of identifying the key actors or stakeholders in the system and assessing their respective interests in the system". In this way, stakeholder analysis provides a mechanism for identifying which stakeholders are important to the discussion and analyzing their perspectives on a case-by-case basis.

Like all approaches, stakeholder analysis has its limitations. One major weakness includes the tendency of stakeholder analysis to treat stakeholders as individuals who fit into one distinct stakeholder group or another. This, however, is usually not the case, as many stakeholders may fit into one or more stakeholder groups depending on their level of involvement (Grimble and Chan, 1995, Sautter and Liesen, 1999). Hence, a local resident may be a private business owner and may also play the role of a regulator. As well, different stakeholders may have such large differences in their understanding of important issues that comparing their competing views becomes quite challenging (Mitchell et al., 1997).

When using stakeholder analysis, researchers must be aware of these situations, and adapt the process to suit the organization, industry or community under investigation (Sautter and Liesen, 1999). Many researchers argue that, although stakeholder analysis has its weakness, it is a valuable tool for managers as gaining increased information from a variety of viewpoints and understanding trade-offs may lessen conflict and allow for more efficient planning and development to occur in a way which meets the needs of all those involved in the process (Freeman, 1984; Grimble and Chan, 1995; Mitchell et al., 1997; Sautter and Liesen, 1999; Sheehan and Ritchie, 2005).

2.1.2 Stakeholder Identification

Stakeholder identification is an important component of stakeholder analysis, as it allows for the views of those who are important to the decision-making process to be taken into consideration. The perspectives of stakeholders are considered to be a substantial asset to decision-makers as they provide unique insights into problem areas and illuminate aspects which may have previously gone unrecognized. Different methods for identifying stakeholders have been used by several researchers in regards to resource and destination management. These methods focus on a variety of different factors including a stakeholder's perceived level of importance in decision-making and their relationships with others (Grimble and Chan, 1995). As well, stakeholders may be identified based on their role and level of involvement in previous decision-making (Sautter and Liesen, 1999; Ackterkamp and Vos, 2007), or by their degrees of power, urgency and legitimacy (Mitchell et al., 1997)

In 1999, Sautter and Leisen studied the applicability of stakeholder analysis to tourism planning; a study which highlighted the need for stakeholder analysis and collaboration theory to be used together to produce positive outcomes from tourism development. Here, Sautter and Leisen (1999) adapted the “Hub and Spoke” model proposed by Freeman (1984) to the tourism development context and created a map of 8 different types of stakeholders relevant to the tourism industry (Figure 1).

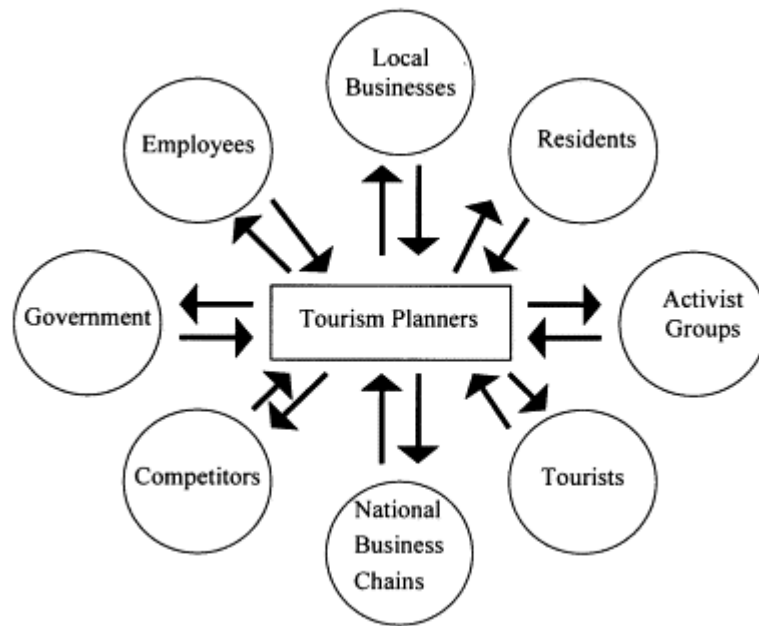


Figure 1: Stakeholders in the Tourism Industry (Sautter and Leisen, 1999).

Sautter and Leisen (1999) stressed that the stakeholders which they have identified provides a useful starting point for stakeholder analysis, but stakeholders may be added or removed from the map depending on the context under which the identification is taking place. Adding and removing stakeholders from this map can be done in a variety of ways. Sautter and Liesen (1999) suggest a focal group approach, which has also been mentioned by Grimble and Chan (1995) who used a similar method for adapting stakeholder theory to issues regarding natural resource management. In this way of assessing stakeholders, those stakeholders who have played a central role in decision-making in the past can be identified first, and other stakeholders are then be identified given their relationships to these key stakeholders (Grimble and Chan, 1995; Sautter and Leisen, 1999).

Grimble and Chan (1995) also discuss two other methods of identifying stakeholders: the reputational approach and the demographic approach. In the reputational approach, stakeholders are identified through a system of referrals similar to snowball sampling. Here, key stakeholders are asked to identify other individuals or groups who they feel are important and should be added to the discussion (Grimble and Chan, 1995). The demographic approach, which is often used to supplement either the focal or reputational approach, considers social groupings based on common demographic characteristics such as age, gender and race (Grimble and Chan, 1995). The demographic approach allows for a broader range of stakeholders to be included in the discussion in addition to those perceived to be important to the problem area (Grimble and Chan, 1995).

Once the initial stakeholders have been identified, it is then important to streamline this list of stakeholders in order to achieve a balance between the inclusion of important stakeholders and obtaining an easily manageable data set for analysis (Grimble and Chan, 1995). Here, Grimble and Chan (1995) argue that when addressing questions of effectiveness or potential success of a specific project or partnership only those whose interests, resources and position of authority which imply that they are of importance to the success or failure of that specific project or partnership will need to be included.

In order for initiatives to be implemented which allow for the mitigation of the negative consequences of development to be successful, all individuals which are important to the potential success or failure of such initiatives must be considered. As such, stakeholder theory has been adapted to address consequences of development in regards to environmental and resource management (Grimble and Chan, 1995) as well as destination management (Sautter and Liesen, 1999) in order to identify those who are affected and who can affect the decision-making process as a means of enhancing a project's potential success. Stakeholder analysis stresses that the inclusion of perspectives from a wide range of stakeholders is essential to the success of management projects (Freeman, 1989; Grimble and Chan, 1995; Pomeroy, 1995; Sautter and Liesen, 1999; Achterkamp and Vos, 2007). Success is achieved by allowing for the recognition of a broad range of stakeholder perceptions, values and circumstances and allowing for a clearer understanding of who is experiencing the costs and benefits of a specific project, and to what magnitude. Possible barriers to project development can also be uncovered through stakeholder

analysis, allowing problems and conflicts to be addressed which may inhibit the project's future success (Grimble and Chan, 1995).

2.2 Collaboration Theory

The formation of collaborative partnerships has been found to be an effective strategy which allows stakeholders to come together and openly discuss their perspectives on a given issue, and work together constructively towards implementing initiatives aimed at finding solutions for mutual benefit (Gray, 1989). The creation of productive and efficient collaborative partnerships between stakeholders is seen as a solution to many major issues in the planning and development arena, and has been used to facilitate the planning process in areas including environmental protection (Austin, 2004; Sanginga et al., 2007) and tourism development (Bramwell and Lane 1993; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Hall 1999; Selin, 1999; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 2002).

Collaboration theory also has a long history of conception within business management, but was first described in depth in a seminal work by Gray (1989) where it was discussed as a corporate business strategy. Here, Gray (1989) defines collaboration as “a process through which parties who see different aspects of a problem can constructively explore their differences and search for solutions that go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible”. Thus, collaboration is described as the process through which collaborative alliances are formed (Gray, 1989; Wood and Gray, 1991). Based on this definition, collaborative alliances between stakeholders may allow for problems to be addressed that would not have been able to be resolved by a single stakeholder acting independently. Hence, stakeholder theory and collaboration theory may work together, by first identifying those who are important to be included in decision-making through use of methods outlined in stakeholder theory, and then applying concepts regarding successful collaboration to these previously identified individuals.

If individual stakeholders are able to recognize a problem, although they may see different aspects of the issue as being important, they will still be able to come together through this commonality. Once together, partners can work to better understand and resolve important issues, creating mutual benefits for all parties involved (Gray, 1989). Gray (1989) outlines the three phases of collaboration that, when certain conditions are met can lead to greater resource-

sharing and more effective decision-making. These phases include the problem-setting phase, the direction-setting phase, and implementation/structuring (Table 1).

Table 1: Facilitating Conditions at Each Phase of the Collaborative Process (Gray 1989).

Problem-setting	Direction-setting	Implementation/Structuring
Recognition of interdependence	Coincidence of values	High degree of ongoing interdependence
Identification of a requisite number of stakeholders	Dispersion of power among stakeholders	External mandate
Perceptions of legitimacy among stakeholders		Redistribution of power
Legitimate/skilled convenor		Influencing the contextual environment
Positive beliefs about outcomes		
Opportunity for shared access power		

By considering the conditions which facilitate collaboration and taking steps to promote the facilitating conditions described above by Gray (1989), stakeholders may more effectively come together as partners to produce change. Using this outline, managers may evaluate where they fall in terms of their position within the collaborative process and identify areas where improvements can be made to promote collaboration. Hence, where little collaboration has been seen and the partners are in the problem-setting phase of collaboration, managers can focus on promoting the facilitating conditions that have been outlined by Gray (1989) which are essential to success during this phase.

This process, however, has been described in terms of its application as a management strategy for large firms. This process must be adapted to suit the broader application of this approach to industries and communities. However, many of the essential concepts remain the same as all other critical steps in the collaborative process, whether within firms or communities, are built upon this foundation.

2.2.1 Building Collaborative Partnerships for Resource and Destination Management

Many governments have recently been encouraging the development of collaborative partnerships to aid in the mitigation of resource exploitation and community conflict that has

resulted from increases in tourism development in the developing world (Jamal and Getz, 1995; Selin and Chavez, 1995; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999; Aas et al., 2005; Jackson, 2006). In emerging tourism industries, collaborative partnerships can be particularly beneficial, and through regular communication between stakeholders, partnerships can evolve to promote effective discussion and joint decision-making regarding the future of development (Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999; Jackson, 2006).

Table 2: Factors Influencing the Success of Collaborative Partnerships (Moote and Lowe, 2008).

	Born and Genskow 2000	Coughlin and others 1999	Kenney and others 2000	Leach and others 200, Sabatier	Lubell 2004c	Huntington and Sommerstrom	Schuett and others 2000,	Doppelt and others 2002	Imperial and Hennessey 2000	Williams and Ellefson 1997
Adequate resources										
Time	X	X		X		X	X			X
Funding	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Staff	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X
Common purpose, achievable goals										
Common problem or objective						X	X			X
Salient issue	X		X				X	X		
Clear, agreed-upon goals; common vision		X	X			X	X	X	X	X
Appropriate scope, achievable goals	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	
Recognized authority										
Broad representation, involve all stakeholders	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Active government support	X		X		X		X	X	X	X
Legal authority			X		X	X				X
Capacity for collaboration										
Social capital	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X
Willingness to work together, flexibility	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Leadership	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X
Trust		X		X		X	X	X		X
Mutual respect	X					X	X			X
Fair & effective process										
Open, transparent, equitable		X			X	X	X	X	X	X
Best available information	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	
Monitoring and evaluation					X	X		X	X	
Accountability						X		X	X	
Clear organizational structure	X	X			X		X	X	X	X
Deliberative		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Action-oriented, tangible results			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Collaborative efforts can also allow destinations to gain a competitive advantage in the marketplace, as they promote knowledge and resource-sharing, greater coordination of policies, increasing acceptance of these policies and more effective implementation of decisions (Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999; Jackson, 2006).

Moving from a firm specific application of collaboration theory to a more generalized industry-wide context, many preconditions which enable stakeholders to come together more effectively have been uncovered. In 2008, Moote and Lowe compiled a list of factors which influenced the success or failure of collaborative partnerships as reported by reviews of ten empirical research cases on collaborative partnerships focusing on resource protection. These factors could be placed into five categories and included access to adequate resources, a common purpose and achievable goals, presence of a recognized authority or leader, capacity for collaboration among stakeholders and perceptions of a fair and effective process (Moote and Lowe, 2008). A more detailed view of these ten case studies and their results can be found in Table 2. These factors have been found within a variety of successful collaborative resource management partnerships in general, but also in partnerships specific to destination management.

Here, it becomes evident that factors which influence the success or failure of collaborative partnership vary widely across destinations. This suggests that site-specific evaluation of the context in which collaboration theory is being applied is necessary in order to determine which areas have more influence over others in terms of collaborative success. The five broad categories of influencing factors for collaborative success or failure are described in the following sections as they pertain to the aforementioned cases.

2.2.1.1 Adequate Resources

Adequate resources, more specifically funding, skilled staff and adequate time to achieve the goals of collaboration were almost always linked to collaborative success (Moote and Lowe, 2008). In terms of funding for the support of initiatives, both adequate funding and more specifically government funding were both shown as being essential for supporting operations and paying staff salaries (Born and Genskow, 2000; Curtis and Lockwood, 2000; Curtis et al., 2002). In addition, several researchers argue that collaborative partnerships rarely see measureable outcomes during the first three years of operation, and the expectations of the

partnership should respect this reality (White et al., 1994; Born and Genskow, 2000; Leach et al., 2002).

2.2.1.2 Common Purpose and Achievable Goals

A common purpose and achievable goals were also mentioned as being important to collaborative success. Although the presence of a common problem or objective was outlined by three of the ten cases (Williams and Ellefson, 1997; Huntington and Sommarstrom, 2000; Schuett et al., 2000), more significant influences included the presence of a salient issue backed by a mandate, crisis or other incentive for finding solutions; as well as a clear and agreed upon vision along with an appropriate scope with achievable goals in order to instill a sense of confidence in the effectiveness of the partnership.

2.2.1.3 Recognized Authority

A recognized authority in the form of active government support, legal authority and a sense of authority in the partnership itself were also seen as important to success. More specifically, a broad representation of stakeholders within the partnership is essential for guaranteeing legitimacy in the process (Moote and Lowe, 2008). Not including the opinions and perspectives of all stakeholders has been shown to reduce the credibility of a partnership and leaves the decision-making process open to scrutiny and allegations of producing biased outcomes. Although participation from all stakeholders was described by all studies, participation may not be easily acquired in all contexts. Hence, the challenges of including the priorities and values of all stakeholders may be overcome by implementing a clearly defined consultative structure which leaves inclusion in discussion open to all interested parties, leaving the responsibility of participating on that of the participant (Kellert et al., 2000; Sabatier et al., 2002; Lubell, 2004).

2.2.1.4 Capacity for Collaboration

The success of collaboration is often based on community's social structure and the ability of the partners to facilitate open dialogue. In addition, partners must create an

environment which is conducive to this type of planning and decision-making process, one which focuses on utilizing social capital, leadership, and a willingness to work together.

Trust and mutual respect were also suggested to be important to collaborative success in some instances, and not in others. In contexts where trust and mutual respect were not seen as essential components of success, partnerships were focused more intently on achieving tangible environmental management outcomes rather than on the building of interpersonal relationships (London, 1995; Sabatier et al., 2002; Webler et al., 2003).

2.2.1.5 A Fair and Effective Process

The most effective way to encourage the participation of a broad representation of stakeholders in collaboration is through presenting the process as being fair, open and inclusive. A process such as this includes providing equal opportunity for input and is rational and transparent. Basing decision-making on scientific research and using the best available information along with proper monitoring to track progress can assure partners to the legitimacy of decisions (Margerum, 2001). In addition, providing a clear organizational structure and being deliberative, action oriented and providing tangible results are all important to success.

Accountability was only explicitly stated as being important to collaborative success by three of the ten cases reviewed by Moote and Lowe (2008). In these cases, a more formalized management structure was implemented which provided both incentives for participation and consequences for uncooperative behaviours. This strategy was seen as being more likely to ensure success, although some studies showed that it was not essential and that more informal management structures can be effective in situations where the partners do not have to work together closely, and specific roles and responsibilities are not necessary to define (Margerum, 2001).

2.2.2 Integrating Factors for Successful Collaboration into the Collaborative Process

Jamal and Getz (1995) have also identified many of the factors for success which were described by Moote and Lowe (2008) and integrated them into the process model of collaboration as described by Gray (1989) to create a framework for assessing the opportunity

for collaboration to aid in decision-making for tourism development (Table 3). Jamal and Getz (1995) have incorporated many of the same success factors that were uncovered by Moote and Lowe (2008) as well as determining which stage in the collaborative process that these factors are most important.

Based on the facilitating conditions for collaboration, Jamal and Getz (1995) have proposed a series of six propositions necessary for successful collaboration (Table 3, P1-P6): recognition of stakeholders interdependencies; recognition of mutual benefits gained from collaborating; perceptions that the processes is legitimate and decisions arrived at will be implemented; inclusion of all key stakeholder groups; use of a convenor; and the joint formulation of the goals of tourism development and self-regulation. This framework shows where in the collaborative process certain success factors are most important and when the fulfillment of these propositions should be focussed on. Here, the inclusion of all important stakeholders and the presence of a convenor or skilled leader are necessary in the problem-setting stage where stakeholders are first being brought together. A perception of legitimacy or authoritative nature of the process is also important in the initial stages and remains a focus through the direction-setting phase right up until actual plan implementation. Joint formulation of goals for development should not be focussed on in the initial stages, but come into play during direction-setting and into implementation (Jamal and Getz, 1995). Jamal and Getz (1995) also stress that to ensure success the recognition of stakeholder interdependencies and the mutual benefits that can be gained from collaboration should be present throughout the entire process.

This framework outlined by Jamal and Getz (1995) presents a means for evaluating the perspectives of stakeholders to determine whether or not collaboration theory could be applied to their specific context. Collaboration must be viewed as a dynamic process between stakeholders instead of an organizational state. This process is one which is developed over time and should be viewed as a temporary and evolving forum through which stakeholders can express themselves in order to address a common problem (Gray, 1989). This process begins with a situation assessment where stakeholders can come together to create a common definition of the problem leading to group formation and process design, the building of a consensus, the acquisition of resources and finally the implementation of decisions.

Table 3: The Collaborative Process for Tourism Development (Jamal and Getz, 1995).

Stages and Propositions	Facilitating Conditions	Actions/Steps
Stage I: Problem-Setting <i>Propositions applicable:</i> P1, P2, P3, P4, P5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Recognition of interdependence ➤ identification of a required number of stakeholders ➤ perceptions of legitimacy among stakeholders ➤ legitimate/skilled convener ➤ positive beliefs about outcomes ➤ shared access power ➤ mandate (external or internal) ➤ adequate resources to convene and enable collaboration process. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Define purpose and domain ➤ identify convener ➤ convene stakeholders ➤ define problems/issues to resolve ➤ identify and legitimize stakeholders ➤ build commitment to collaborate by raising awareness of interdependence ➤ balancing power differences ➤ addressing stakeholder concerns ➤ ensuring adequate resources available to allow collaboration to proceed with key stakeholders present.
Stage II: Direction-Setting <i>Propositions applicable:</i> P1, P2, P3, P6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Coincidence of values ➤ dispersion of power among stakeholders. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Collect and share information ➤ appreciate shared values, enhance perceived interdependence ➤ ensure power distributed among several stakeholders ➤ establish rules and agenda for direction setting ➤ organize subgroups if required ➤ list alternatives ➤ discuss various options ➤ select appropriate solutions ➤ arrive at shared vision or plan/strategy through consensus.
Stage III: Implementation <i>Propositions applicable:</i> P1, P2, P6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ High degree of ongoing interdependence ➤ external mandates ➤ redistribution of power ➤ influencing the contextual environment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Discuss means of implementing and monitoring solutions, shared vision, plan or strategy ➤ select suitable structure for institutionalizing process ➤ assign goals and tasks ➤ monitor ongoing progress and ensure compliance to collaboration decisions.

As an ongoing process, collaboration continues in a cycle with necessary collaborative skills and behaviours as well as open dialogue, information sharing, and relationship building at the core of the process (Gray, 1989; Jamal and Getz, 1995).

2.2.2 Benefits of Collaboration

In order to enhance participation in collaboration it is important for proponents to promote the benefits that can be achieved through collaborating, while still drawing attention to possible costs in order to ensure partners maintain appropriate expectations. Here, the process of bringing stakeholders together and improving communication between them can allow for a greater understanding of the perspectives of individuals who may be experiencing a variety of different negative aspects of a problem; aspects which may not be apparent to other stakeholders who are operating under different conditions (Gray, 1989). Hence, collaboration can provide a means for increased information sharing and public education, reduced conflict, improved trust and increased transparency in decision-making (Moote and Lowe, 2008).

Many of the benefits of collaboration are social as opposed to environmental (Moote and Lowe, 2008). Using the same empirical research studies that were reviewed in Table 2, Moote and Lowe (2008) describe both the costs and benefits that can be seen as a result of collaboration (Table 4). These benefits could be placed in four categories: increased capacity for collaboration, mutual learning, movement towards a more democratic approach and more effective outcomes (Moote and Lowe, 2008). Costs, on the other hand, were much fewer and included undesirable outcomes and higher transaction costs (Moote and Lowe, 2008).

Although there are costs to the development of collaborative partnerships, these costs are often outweighed by the many benefits that can be achieved. As well, the costs of collaboration are often seen as being relevant only in the short-term as they require the immediate investment of resources which may be limiting. However, the benefits that can be accrued through collaboration are much more long-term and although they may take longer time periods to be realised, they have often been cited as providing large returns by improving overall environmental and social conditions for generations to come (Moote and Lowe, 2008).

Table 4: Costs and Benefits from Collaboration (Moote and Lowe, 2008)

	Born and Genskow 2000	Coughlin and others 1999	Kenney and others 2000	Leach and others 2002 Sabatier and others	Lubell 2004c	Huntington and Sommerstrom 2000	Schuett and others 2000, Schuett and Doppelt and others 2002	Imperial and Hennessey 2000
Increased capacity for collaboration								
Increased trust, reduced conflict	X	X		X	X	X	X	
Better communication, new networks	X	X		X		X	X	
New institutions, better ways of doing business	X	X					X	X
Mutual learning								
Information sharing, mutual learning	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Public education	X	X				X		
More democratic								
More representative, more public participation	X	X				X		
More transparent, fairer	X							X
More effective outcomes								
Otherwise unattainable projects implemented	X	X		X		X	X	X
More innovative, more informed, better science	X	X			X			X
Stakeholders support implementation	X	X						
More efficient, saved time		X					X	
Undesirable outcomes								
Low-quality outcomes, focus on easier problems						X	X	
Inequitable, unrepresentative				X	X	X		
Expensive; harms the economy				X			X	
High transaction costs								
Time consuming	X				X			
Outcomes unpredictable				X				X

2.2.3 Barriers to Collaboration

Through improving the social dynamic between stakeholders, they may be able to come together more effectively and more easily implement solutions for reducing the negative

consequences of development. Here, improving social conditions through collaboration is a means for implementing positive change towards more effective resource protection and destination management (Moote and Lowe, 2008).

However, there may still be many barriers which deter stakeholders from working together. Even if stakeholders are able to fulfill the propositions outlined by Jamal and Getz (1995) and the conditions are present for collaboration to be successful, there are still several factors which may impede the ability of stakeholders to work together effectively to produce positive change. Many of these barriers are specific to, or present heightened challenges in the developing country context (Graci and Dodds, 2010). These challenges include: conflict (Buckles, 1999; Lovelock, 2002; Okasaki, 2008); lack of governance, government corruption and bureaucracy (Duffy, 2000; Graci, 2009; Slocum and Backman, 2011); lack of education and awareness (Ladkin and Bertramini, 2002; Moscardo, 2008); lack of skills and financial resources (Graci, 2007; 2009; Graci and Dodds, 2010); lack of participation (Tosun, 2000; Jamal and Stronza, 2009); short-term thinking and lack of planning (Halme and Fadeeva, 2000; Graci and Dodds, 2010); and limited infrastructure (Ladkin and Bertramini, 2002; Graci, 2009; Graci and Dodds, 2010).

These barriers can be felt on both the community and national level as environmental and social problems often occur on large scales, and require input and support from many external agents. Working to overcome these barriers may greatly increase the chances of partnership success, environmental protection and improving social conditions (Graci and Dodds, 2010). Fortunately, as the process of collaboration also improves relationships and awareness among those involved, implementing a partnership may allow for the reduction of these barriers over time, specifically those related to stakeholder relations and education (Moote and Lowe, 2008).

Chapter 3: Research Setting

This chapter describes the research setting used for this study. Here, the political, economic and social conditions of Panama are explored in order to provide context for the discussion. In addition, the future development plans of Panama, the perceived need for the expansion of tourism development into Panama's rural regions, and how Santa Catalina fits into the national tourism marketing strategy will also be discussed.

3.1 Panama, Central America

This study takes place in Panama, the southernmost Central American country found on the narrowest and lowest point of the isthmus between North and South America. Bordered by Costa Rica on the north and Columbia on the south, Panama is situated between 7 degrees and 10 degrees latitude and 77 degrees and 83 degrees longitude.

Panama has a total area of 78,200 km² and a population of 3,510,045. The country is divided into nine provinces: Bocas del Toro, Chiriquí, Veraguas, Herrera, Los Santos, Coclé, Colón, Panamá, Darién and three indigenous territories or *comarcas*: Ngöbe-Buglé, Kuna Yala (San Blas), and Emberá (Figure 2). The majority of the population (50.3%) lives within the Panama Province, with 1,272,672 people living in the region surrounding and within the country's capital, Panama City (Panama, 2011).

Panama was first explored in 1502 by Columbus and again in 1513 by Vasco Nunez de Balboa, a Spanish explorer who colonized the area in 1534 and promoted its advantageous position through recognition of the potential importance of the passageway between North and South America which would later become the Panama Canal (Anonymous, 2011). Panama remained a Spanish colony until 1821 when Central America revolted against Spain and Panama joined Columbia which had already obtained its independence, forming a union among Columbia, Venezuela and Ecuador known as the Republic of Gran Columbia (Anonymous, 2011). After a long struggle between the years 1850 and 1900, Panama declared its independence in 1903 with financial support from the United States, who in turn took control over the Canal Zone. After extensive deliberation, the Canal Zone was returned to Panamanian control in 1999 (Anonymous, 2011).



Figure 2: The Country of Panama (<http://www.worldheadquarters.com/panama/maps/province/>)

3.1.1 Governmental Structure and the Political Context

Panama is a constitutional democracy with three branches of government: an executive branch led by a president who is elected to a five-year term, a single legislative chamber and an appointed judicial branch (The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 2007; Anonymous, 2011). Panama has a quickly growing economy, but is hindered by a weak, non-transparent judiciary (Anonymous, 2011). The judicial branch includes nine members of the Supreme Court, each of who is appointed for a 10-year period (The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 2007). These Supreme Court members are appointed by the President, who in turn appoint the High Court judges, and the High Court judges who then appoint the local judges in a system of top-down appointments. This system is not based on merit and is argued to be a mechanism which greatly discredits the judicial system (European Commission, 2007).

In addition to a judicial system which is highly open to political influence, Panama's criminal justice system has also been undermined due to increases in government corruption surrounding the highly lucrative drug trade which has existed in Panama for many years (European Commission, 2007). Uncontrolled airfields and long stretches of unmonitored coastline have made Panama a key transit area for drug traffickers coming from South America

and until recently Panama was on the OECD-FATF blacklist of countries not concerned with participating in efforts to help reduce money laundering in relation to drugs (European Commission, 2007).

Corruption and a lack of transparency within the executive, legislature and judiciary are of high concern for Panamanian citizens and addressing these issues has been important to the political discussion in several election campaigns. As the Constitution grants legal immunity to members of the National Assembly preventing them from being prosecuted for corruption, laws were enacted in 2002 to ensure transparency within the government and legal systems (European Commission, 2007). This transparency law would ensure transparency in the government's management of public affairs by making information regarding the pay of public sector employees open to the all Panamanian citizens through completion of a "Transparency Pole" (European Commission, 2007). A National Transparency Council against Corruption was also created, which reports to the President and is concerned with prosecuting corrupt officials. At the end of 2004, the Transparency Law had provided information regarding the pay of employees in 50 public institutions via the internet to Panamanian citizens. In addition, the National Transparency Council against Corruption also audited several accounts and persecuted several officials. However, upon election in the following term the newly elected government immediately repealed a previously instituted decree which prevents compliance with the Transparency Law granting them legal immunity once again (European Commission, 2007).

Since the 1990s, Panama has been experiencing political and institutional change aimed at stabilizing democracy (European Commission, 2007). However, few political attempts have been made to address the country's main problems including a lack of social participation in decision-making, social inequality and low taxation (European Commission, 2007).

3.1.2 Economic and Social Conditions

Panama's economy is dependent upon its strong services sector which accounts for 77% of its total GDP (European Commission, 2007). Recent government investment in infrastructure and industries including construction, transportation, tourism and activities regarding the Panama Canal and its expansion have allowed Panama to become one of the fastest growing countries in Central America. Despite its status as a middle-income country, Panama displays high

inequalities in wealth distribution (European Commission, 2007). Its dependence on a highly specialized services sector based primarily around activities related to the Panama Canal have caused the majority of the population's wealth to be centralized around the Canal Zone and within Panama City, with rural inhabitants being barely integrated into the country's political and economic structure (European Commission, 2007).

Panama has been traditionally recognized as having a "dual" economy characterized by high inequality. Here, a rapidly growing urban sector based on exports and services from the Panama Canal is in contrast with poor rural and indigenous areas which have been shown to have more than twice the level of poverty as urban centres (Klytchnikova and Dorosh, 2012). The current income-generating activities in rural regions of Panama include agricultural production and fishing. A breakdown of the primary sectors of employment in Panama's urban and rural regions is shown in Table 5.

In areas where poverty is high, agriculture is seen as the primary source of income for residents (Klytchnikova and Dorosh, 2012). In 2004, agriculture accounted for 25% of all jobs in Panama, although only contributed to 7% of the country's GDP (European Commission, 2007). For those living in both the poor rural areas of Panama and in the indigenous comarcas (where almost 85% of Panama's population resides), agriculture accounted for 50% of total employment, and contributed to 25% of the rural populations overall income (European Commission, 2007; Klytchnikova and Dorosh, 2012). For those in poor rural and indigenous regions who have been characterized as living in extreme poverty (40% of the rural population), agriculture accounts for an even greater percentage, contributing up to 40% to the average household income (European Commission, 2007; Klytchnikova and Dorosh, 2012). The low productivity of the country's agricultural sector as displayed by its relatively low contribution to the country's GDP indicates that the ability of agriculture to act as a catalyst for growth in the rural economy is limited (European Commission, 2007). Hence, it is important for Panama to encourage the growth of more effective income generating sectors in rural regions.

Table 5: Primary Sectors of Employment: Panama's National Averages (in percent of the Labour Force) (Klytchnikova and Dorosh, 2012).

	Urban Poor	Urban Non-poor	Rural Poor	Rural Non-poor	Indigenous	Nonind Poor	Nonind Non- poor	Total
Agriculture, pastoralism, silviculture	4	2	51	43	54	29	12	20
Small and large-scale commerce, repairs	21	20	9	12	8	15	18	16
Health, personal and social services	10	11	4	4	4	6	9	8
Transport and communications	7	7	3	4	2	5	6	5
Manufacturing	7	8	6	5	9	5	7	7
Restaurants and hotels	6	6	3	3	2	4	5	5
Public administration and defense	7	8	3	4	3	5	7	6
Education	6	5	3	4	3	4	5	5
Domestic services	6	6	4	4	2	5	6	5
Construction	6	6	3	4	2	5	6	5
Other sectors	7	8	4	5	4	5	7	6
Unemployed	13	13	7	8	6	10	12	11

Note: Sector of primary employment by all household members in the labor force as percent of the total labor force. Unemployment figures are calculated using the definition of the *Contraloría*.

3.1.3 Environmental Conditions

Despite Panama's high biodiversity, its environmental quality is deteriorating due to a variety of factors including: deforestation, mismanagement of solid and toxic wastes, pollution caused by increasing demographic pressures and the increasing promotion of economically productive waste generating industries in the drainage basins of the Pacific (European Commission, 2007). As well, lack of waste control infrastructure, poor sewage and wastewater treatment and pollution from transportation, industry and agriculture all contribute to declining environmental quality (European Commission, 2007). In addition, Panama does not abide by international environmental law which governs fishing and shipping practices, and fishing often occurs in resource conservation areas (European Commission, 2007).

Environmental protection in Panama has yet to be properly implemented and enforced, and its system of environmental law and institutions is relatively weak (European Commission, 2007). To help mitigate environmental impacts the government has begun developing and implementing legislation pertaining to water conservation and as well as introducing co-

management partnerships with indigenous populations regarding the management of forestry practices (European Commission, 2007). Regional integration has also been promoted in the field of resource management through the development of several interest groups including the Central American Sustainable Development Alliance (Alianza Centroamericana de Desarrollo Sostenible), the Central American Environment and Development Commission (CCAD) and the Central American Inter-parliamentary Commission on the Environment and Development (CICAD) (European Commission, 2007).

3.1.4 Policies for Conservation and Development

In 1994, Panama attended the Summit of the Americas where it joined the other six Central American countries in signing the Alliance for Sustainable Development (CONCAUSA) which signified their commitment to promoting sustainable economic development in the region (The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 2007). Through recognition of a need for new development directions, this agreement focussed on an approach to regional and national development which makes a commitment to more sustainable resource use, changing attitudes towards sustainability, and making improvements in social welfare (OHCHR, 2012). The establishment of two councils as instruments for managing development were implemented based on this agreement: the establishment of National Councils for Sustainable Development in each of the signing countries which were to represent the public sector and civil society, as well as the creation of the Central American Council for Sustainable Development which aims to introduce mechanisms through which participation from residents is ensured throughout the entire process of development (OHCHR, 2012).

Currently, Panama's main priority for development is implementing systems for more equitable redistribution of wealth (European Commission, 2007). This includes a shift towards the growth of the services sector in rural areas, and a focus on improving infrastructure, increasing social services and improving rural access to these services. As well, development priorities focus on the modernizing of the public sector to include taxation and judicial reform, reducing corruption and promoting the decentralization of government power (European Commission, 2007). Moreover, Panama's environmental priorities focus on implementing and enforcing policy for forest, coastal and marine resource conservation (European Commission, 2007).

3.1.5 Tourism in Panama

In 2011, Central America had 8.3 million international tourist arrivals, with receipts totaling 7,174 million USD (UNWTO, 2012). With the second fastest growing tourism industry in the Americas between 1995 and 2011 (4.7%), the UNWTO (2012) predicts that international tourist arrivals will continue to increase in Central America well into the future with predictions reaching 14 million in 2020, and up to 22 million in 2030.

Panama, in 2011, had 1.5 million international tourist arrivals, an increase of 11.2% from the 2010 number which totaled 1.3 million (UNWTO, 2012). Although Panama's international tourist arrivals are second to Costa Rica, the country has a greater rate of growth, suggesting increasing popularity among travellers. Given the anticipated increase in tourist volumes, Panama is projected to overtake Costa Rica as the hottest development destination in Central America (Herman, 2009).

In 2007, Panama climbed to second place in the world in hotel occupancy with 84.7% occupancy, and the hotel industry in Panama is said to be very stable (Herman, 2009). The majority of Panama's development projects including more than half of the country's 17,000 existing hotel rooms are located in Panama City, providing a combination of business and leisure activities (Herman, 2009). Although investment within the country's capital is growing, infrastructure and hotel accommodations outside of Panama City are not yet sufficient for meeting increasing levels of tourism demand (Klytchnikova and Dorosh, 2012).

Panama is growing in popularity as a tourist destination because of its scenic landscapes, high biodiversity and rich cultural heritage (Klytchnikova and Dorosh, 2012). Business and shopping are cited as being the major contributors of tourism demand for the region, as well as recreation and visiting family and friends (Klytchnikova and Dorosh, 2012). Coastal, cultural, health and ecotourism activities in Panama are also on the rise, and a study by the Latin Research Network (2006) stated that 40% of foreign travelers visit the beach and 10% have participated in nature-based activities during their stay (Dichter and Neira, 2006 as cited in Klytchnikova and Dorosh, 2012). As tourism ultimately increases the demand for services, increased tourism development has the potential to create a variety of new income-generating opportunities for

residents of rural regions through job creation in the higher income generating services sector and lessening rural people's dependence on agriculture (Klytchnikova and Dorosh, 2012).

3.1.6 Government Plans for Tourism Development

In 1960, the Panamanian Decree Law No. 22 was passed allowing for the formation of the Panamanian Tourism Institute (IPAT). IPAT was created as a self-governing agency whose primary focus was to promote tourism in Panama within the public and private sectors and to coordinate the actions of national institutions that could affect tourism. Over time, as modifications were made to the law, IPAT became increasingly responsible for monitoring tourism development through the determination of "Areas of National Tourism Interest" and gained responsibility for protecting these areas and authority over beaches reserved for tourism (Suman, 2002). The law prohibits certain detrimental and exploitative activities, such as commercial fishing, sand extraction and pollution of ground and surface waters (Suman, 2002).

Despite the development of IPAT a lack of foreign and government investment in tourism infrastructure limited the growth of Panama's tourism sector (Cardenas and Salazar, 2007). During the 1960s and 1970s, the government of Panama was focusing primarily on establishing its main economic pillars: the Panama Canal, the Colon Free Zone (the second largest free trade zone in the world), and the Financial Banking Center (Cardenas and Salazar, 2007). It was not until 1994 that IPAT passed Law No. 8 in an attempt to promote tourism through the adoption of mechanisms to coordinate the actions of public and private stakeholders in the tourism sector. Law No. 8 was necessary to increase investment in tourism regions defined by IPAT as "Tourism Development Zones of National Interest" that currently lack basic infrastructure but possess qualities to attract tourism (Vallarino et al., 1994). The incentive here was that private sector corporations and businesses investing in these areas would enjoy significant tax advantages, while still contributing to the overarching goal of expanding the country's services sector through increasing tourism in rural regions (Vallarino et al., 1994).

3.2 The Veraguas Province and Santa Catalina, Panama

This study will focus on the Santa Catalina Region, including the village of Santa Catalina and Coiba National Park. Santa Catalina is located in the Veraguas province. In 2010,

there were 226,991 people living in the province, the majority of which live on the Pacific side leaving the Caribbean largely uninhabited (Geohive, 2010). The Veraguas province has an area of 11,239.3 km² and is divided into 12 districts (Geohive, 2010). Industry within the Veraguas province was previously built around agricultural practices, although this is quickly being replaced by increasing investment in the development of tourism infrastructure and services (SantaCatalina.com, 2013).

Currently, the coastal regions are among the poorest in Panama, with economies that are largely supported by commercial and artisanal fishing and low scale agriculture (Steinitz et al., 2005). Low soil quality particularly in the Veraguas province removes the option of implementing larger scale agriculture as a primary income generator for communities, and dwindling fish populations caused by unsustainable shrimp harvesting, over-fishing, illegal fishing, and shark-finning reduces possible income generation through a prolific fisheries industry. With few income generating options for poverty alleviation in the poor coastal regions of Panama, tourism has been advised as the best development option with a focus on small scale accommodations, restaurant ventures, handicrafts and tour operations providing exploration of the regions many national parks.

Tourism within the Veraguas province is largely based around its national parks, of which Coiba National Park is the most popular and most heavily advertised by the Panamanian government as a tourist destination (ATP, 2007). Santa Catalina (Figure 3), most recognized for its high quality surfing and as being the closest mainland access point to Coiba National Park, is situated within the Veraguas district of Sona which has an area of 1,519.1 km² and a population of 27,833 (Geohive, 2010).

Santa Catalina is a fishing village which existed in quiet seclusion until discovery by adventurous surfers in the 1970s. The climate in the Santa Catalina region is tempered by its location on the Pacific Ocean. Tropical year round, it is divided into the dry season during Panama's "summer" from December through May and the wet season or "winter" June to November. The entire year, temperatures hover around 30-34° C during the day, and drop to around 20° C at night (SantaCatalina.com, 2013).

3.2.1 Tourism in Santa Catalina

Santa Catalina is marketed as one of the next up and coming tourism destinations in Panama (Figure 2).



Figure 3: Santa Catalina, Veraguas Province, Panama (<http://www.veraguas.org/veraguas-villas.htm>)

Currently, the village's tourism industry provides a variety of tourist activities including surfing, fishing, marine and terrestrial exploration of Coiba National Park, and destination marketers promote an authentic rural experience. For an increased understanding of the general ambiance

of the community, photographs of establishments and the environment can be found in Appendix A.

3.2.1.1 Rural Charm and Cultural Authenticity

Experiencing the town's rural charm and "off the beaten path" nature is a feature which those in the tourism industry of Santa Catalina promote as a characteristic of the community which markets towards tourists looking for adventure and cultural exploration. Upon arrival in Panama City Airport, those wishing to visit Santa Catalina must travel from the nation's capital by bus first to Sona, a trip lasting approximately 5-6 hours depending on road conditions. Upon arrival in Sona, Santa Catalina is then accessible by a much smaller bus, one utilized by many residents as public transportation. This bus route takes approximately 1.5 hours as it makes many stops as it collects and drops off local residents along the 50 km stretch of road between Sona and Santa Catalina. In the past, this transit would have been much more difficult, although the newly paved roadways make driving conditions much safer, increasing transit efficiency. Current difficulties of travel to and from major city centres and Santa Catalina is a major deterrent for many travelers, as it involves immersion into the local way of life, especially on routes from Sona to Santa Catalina, where few transit workers and fellow passengers speak English, and vehicles can become quite overcrowded.

Once arriving in Santa Catalina, the rural nature of the community becomes increasingly apparent through its limited infrastructure and limited availability of electricity, water, foodstuffs, health services and transportation. Promoted primarily as a destination for adventure and backpacker tourism, development is currently small-scale with hostel-style accommodations and a mix of small locally and foreign owned restaurants. It is apparent that there is little availability of amenities, including personal hygiene items, pharmaceuticals and access to money. All tourists wishing to attain these items must do so in Sona, before travelling by bus to Santa Catalina.

3.2.1.2 Surfing

Santa Catalina is known as a world-renowned destination for beginner and expert surfers alike. In 2010, Santa Catalina hosted the Surf World Championship sponsored by the International Surfing Association which attracted competitors and viewers from 20 different

countries and brought in business from over 300 tourists (ATP, 2010). As Santa Catalina first gained popularity through the surf community, many of the initial businesses that were established were geared towards catering to the “surf lifestyle”.

These establishments include low budget accommodations and food service providers, surf shops and the establishment of several independent surf instructors. Surf instructors gain the majority of their business through referrals from hostel owners, hence creating strong links between these two industries. Surf tourism increased the value of waterfront properties, and promoted high development of beaches and coastal areas.

3.2.1.3 Sport Fishing

Santa Catalina offers a sport fishing experience through which tourists can expect to have access to both high quality fish populations and a high diversity of fish species including bottom fishing for snapper, grouper and other reef species and surface trolling for marlin and sailfish. In addition to year round local fish species, Santa Catalina’s specific location makes its warm waters home to many seasonal fish species during their migration.

Fishing tours can be seen ranging from the high-priced private charter fishing trips which use all the appropriate lures and equipment, to a small-scale, lower budget fishing experience which includes accompanying a local fisherman on one of his daily trips and experiencing the more traditional means of fishing. The latter option can be much more cost efficient and these businesses hope to appeal to the more adventurous traveler further enhancing the tourist experience for those looking for cultural emersion.

3.2.1.4 Marine and Terrestrial Exploration and Dive Tourism in Coiba National Park

Coiba National Park was named a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2005 (UNEP-WCMC, 2008). Heritage landmarks can be cultural or natural. In this case, Coiba National Park has been designated as a Natural Heritage Site, one which illustrates “outstanding biological and geological formations, habitats of threatened species of animals and plants and areas with scientific, conservation or aesthetic value” (UNESCO, 2012).

In terms of its marine environment, Coiba National Park lies in the tropical eastern Pacific region, the region considered to have the greatest coral diversity (Glynn, 1997). Due to

the convergence of major currents and the distribution of coral larvae and nutrients, the Pacific coast of Panama is one of the most prolific of the Pacific regions, with the shoreline being home to 91% of the world's reef building corals (UNEP, 2011). The coral reefs surrounding Coiba Island were found to contain 78 different species of corals (56 hard coral species, 20 species of soft corals, and two species of hydrocorals) 22 which are exclusive to Panama (4 hard corals and 18 soft corals) and 2 species of hard corals which are endemic to the region (Guzman, 2004; UNEP, 2011). The waters of Coiba National Park also provide habitat to 453 reported species of molluscs and other echinoderms, as well as larger animal species including fish, sharks, crustaceans, whales, dolphins and turtles (UNEP,2011). This illustrates the wide distribution of rare coral species and marine life in Coiba National Park and emphasizes the importance of the protection of its marine environment.

Coiba National Park, and more specifically Coiba Island has also been recognised as having great terrestrial diversity. Due to its isolation from development, Coiba Island has been able to preserve approximately 80% of its original tropical moist forest. Within these ecosystems, Coiba Island displays approximately 2000 species of vascular plants only 858 of which have been identified. Of these plant species, one genus is defined as being endemic to Coiba (*Desmotes*) along with an additional three endemic species (*Desmotes incomparabilis*, *Fleishmania coibensis* and *Psychotria fosteri*)(UNEP, 2011). Divergence from the mainland has also enabled many endemic animal species to develop, including 4 endemic mammals: the Coiban agouti, the Coiba Island howler monkey, the white-tailed deer and the black-eared opossum. There are also 20 species of endemic birds and one endemic species of snake. In addition to this, there have also been 53 species of insects which were first discovered on the island and are since new to science (UNEP, 2011).

Known for its large numbers of endemic, threatened and endangered species the park provides world-class diving in pristine environments, with Coiba Island being the primary island for terrestrial exploration offering a variety of hiking trails and opportunities for wildlife viewing. As Coiba National Park has just recently been gaining international attention, it has remained relatively undeveloped and its high environmental quality makes it highly desirable to tourists. Being the closest mainland port to Coiba National Park has drawn in many divers to Santa Catalina. This increase in dive tourism has lead to the establishment of many dive and tour

operators. In addition, increases in dive tourism have also led to the increase in the establishment of higher scale accommodations and food services.

Moreover, dive and tour packages are the main source of employment for local boat operators, offering higher paying jobs than construction or work in food and accommodations. The high prices of Coiba tour packages in comparison to surf lessons and other goods and services also constitute large economic gains to the area. A decline in the environmental quality of Coiba National Park would hence cause a very large decline in tourism demand for the community of Santa Catalina, and greatly reduce income generation from tourism.

3.3 Coiba National Park and Coiba Island

Coiba Island has an area of 503 km², a coastline extending 240 km and is situated 22.5 km southwest of the mainland of the Veraguas Province at its closest point (Figure 4) (UNEP, 2011). The Island is the largest in an archipelago consisting of nine other islands, and is the largest in Central America.

Coiba Island has a humid-tropical climate with a rainfall of up to 3500 mm/yr and average temperature of 25.9°C with clear seasonality. The environment constitutes a tropical moist forest ecosystem, one of the last remaining in Pacific Central America (UNEP, 2011). Coiba Island is a region of great terrestrial and marine diversity and provides habitat for many endemic, threatened and endangered species. In order to emphasize the ecological significance of the island, Coiba Island has been placed within a Conservation International designated Conservation Hotspot for its high numbers of endemic species, a World Wildlife Fund (WWF) Global 200 Eco-region which establishes regions that are a priority for conservation, a WWF/International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) Centre of Plant Diversity for high plant biodiversity, and lies in one of the world's Endemic Bird Areas (UNEP, 2011).



Figure 4: The Islands of Coiba National Park (www.coibanationalpark.com)

3.3.1 The History of Coiba Island: Penal Colony

Archaeological findings suggest that Coiba Island was inhabited by Pre-Columbian cultures that were supported through fishing, hunting and basic agriculture until the island was taken over by Spanish conquest in the 15th century (UNEP, 2011). Evidence also suggests that there were numerous pearl fisheries active on the island at various times from the 1700s up until the 21st century (Steinitz et al., 2005). In 1919, a Spanish penal colony was developed on the eastern coast of the island which held up to 3,000 convicts and guards in 22 convict camps along with several cattle populations and more advanced agricultural practices in order to support these populations (UNEP, 2011). In the 1980s, prisoner populations were documented at more than 1000. The penal colony continued to operate until 1991, being shut down by executive decree by the government of Panama when the region was declared a National Park (Steinitz et al., 2005).

Despite being shut down in 1991, prisoner populations remained on the island, and in 2008, there were approximately 80 remaining prisoners and 30-40 police officers due to leave

the island; along with over 2,000 cattle and several dogs, horses, pigs, and buffaloes (UNEP, 2011). Although the penal colony is scheduled to be completely removed from the island, there is fear that local peasant populations will begin to inhabit abandoned camps and illegal forestry practices will become more widespread, as the island contains valuable wood resources (UNEP, 2011). As well, this may cause illegal fishing practices that already exist around the island to become much more common, as long line and gill net illegal fishing practices already exist within park boundaries (UNEP, 2011).

3.3.2 Panama's Tourism Development Plan: A Focus on Coiba National Park

The government of Panama is now looking to Coiba National Park and the utilization of its UNESCO World Heritage status to increase tourism demand (UNEP, 2011). In 2004, there were 3,500 visitors to Coiba National Park: 2,450 (70%) foreign tourists and 1,050 (30%) Panamanian tourists. The majority of those visiting were primarily travelling to the biological station on Coiba Island (UNEP, 2011). Although the pristine environmental conditions of the park make it a prime candidate for scientific research and conservation, the Panamanian government along with other proponents for development argue that the development of tourism facilities on the island or in nearby mainland communities will help strengthen the Panamanian economy (Steinitz et al., 2005). Here, the primary argument for development is that, through increasing tourism demand and tourist expenditures in the region, funds will be generated which will aid in proper park management (Steinitz et al., 2005).

In 2001, before its UNESCO accreditation, the government of Panama began developing plans to reduce the existing penal colony structure on Coiba Island and invest in tourism related infrastructure (Steinitz et al., 2005). However, plans to invest in small scale accommodations within the national park were challenged by the National Association for the Conservation of Nature (Asociacion Nacional para la Conservacion of Nature, ANCON) and the Spanish International Cooperation Agency, who maintained that more legislation needed to be implemented in order to strengthen the legal status of the park and limit its development (Steinitz et al., 2005). A legislative act was then initiated in order to shift the decision-making power regarding issues within the park away from the National Environmental Authority, an institution that was widely known for being pro-development (Steinitz et al., 2005). Instead, the authority

of Coiba National Park was to be shifted towards local coastal municipalities. This piece of legislature was then further modified to prioritize environmental conservation and allow for the incorporation of local entities into the parks governance (Steinitz et al., 2005). Later approved in 2002, this law encouraged development in mainland coastal communities and banned development within the park boundaries (Steinitz et al., 2005).

Shortly after its approval, and against popular opinion, the law was quickly overturned by the President at the time, Mireya Moscoso, who stated that the law was too restrictive on tourism development (Steinitz et al., 2005). The office of the Presidency, in collaboration with ANCON, began redrafting the law to allow for an undefined number of “low-profile” accommodations within the park boundaries (Steinitz et al., 2005).

In 2003, Steinitz reviewed the current status of the park’s environment, along with the incorporation of the priorities of key stakeholders to develop a framework for assessing a series of development strategies for the region. Models were used to assess the outcomes of each alternative development plan, and were presented to the public in May 2003. These models took into consideration the impacts that development plans may have on the environment and the economy. The results of the models showed that maintaining the environmental integrity of the region was of great significance and would determine the success and longevity of the area as a tourism product (Steinitz, 2003). Increased development could also change public perception of the park, causing it to become like any other tropical island destination. Steinitz (2003) also advised that development remain “moderate” and proceed slowly while occurring primarily on the mainland, with little development on the islands themselves. This would allow for the amount of income generation necessary for proper park management while increasing income generation in mainland communities and keeping a focus on conservation (Steinitz, 2003).

Although development within the park boundaries has been very limited and falls in line well with what was proposed in 2003 by Steinitz, resource exploitation and overuse by tourists is still of concern. Park managers still lack access to funding, skilled labour, and appropriate facilities in order to properly manage the environment of the region and withstand the pressure of resource extraction (primarily fish and wood) in addition to managing tourism activities. Illegal activities including the logging of hardwoods, hunting of macaws for sale and declining fish populations are among the most pressing issues. UNEP (2011) has reported declining

populations of sharks, bullfish, rays, groupers and snapper from 2006-2011. Illegal fishing practices including the use of long lines and nylon gill nets is still prevalent within the park boundaries and has become a major concern for officials, despite these practices being prohibited in 2005 (UNEP, 2011). The park's boundaries are outlined using a series of buoys, but there are not enough funds to employ effective monitoring and enforcement of regulations. In 2011, total funding for park maintenance and management totalled 1,303,375 USD (UNEP, 2011). This allowed for the hiring of 10 ANAM officials (local people) and 10 National Police (UNEP, 2011). In 2009 the IUCN requested increased management and monitoring of the commercial fisheries sector, the removal of feral cattle from the island, and the creation of policies to further enforce current regulations.

3.4 Stakeholders in the Tourism Industry in Santa Catalina

Based on a stakeholder map described by Sautter and Liesen (1999), several types of stakeholders could be identified in Santa Catalina: businesses (local and foreign), residents, tourists, regulators, educators and government officials. However, due to the inability to obtain a strong enough sample from each of the stakeholder groups, a focal group approach was taken to identify stakeholders. This approach allowed for individual stakeholder who have been central to decision-making in the past to be identified first, and then other stakeholders were included based on their relationship to these initially identified focal stakeholders (Grimble and Chan, 1995; Sautter and Liesen, 1999).

Through this approach, the majority of stakeholders that were identified fell into one category: the tourism operators. Hence, this study will focus on the perceptions of different stakeholders within this category, involving local and foreign business owners, managers and employees who are involved in providing a variety of tourism related goods and services including accommodations and food service providers, surf instructors and rentals, dive and tour operators, land developers, transportation providers and fish mongers (Figure 5).

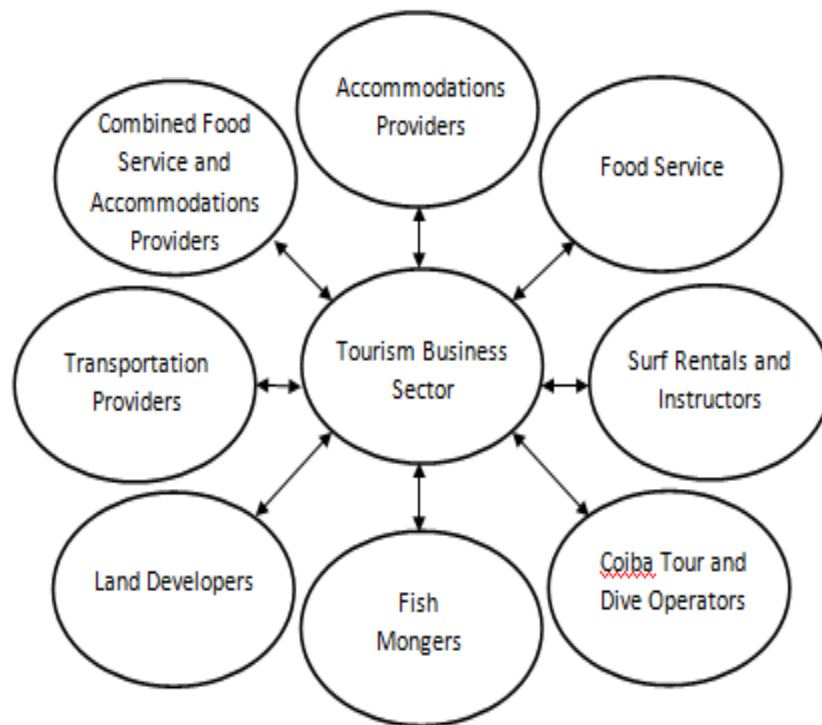


Figure 5: Map of Tourism Business Stakeholders in Santa Catalina

Chapter 4 Methodology

This chapter outlines the research methods and approaches used and why they are appropriate for studying the case of Santa Catalina, Panama. To examine the opportunity for collaboration amongst business stakeholders to identify and find solutions to the negative consequences of development, a multi-method study was conducted using face-to-face, semi-structured interviews in combination with casual observation to identify stakeholders, gather information regarding their perceptions of development and evaluate the opportunity for these stakeholders to work together.

4.1 Research Approach

This research used a multi-method, case study approach to data collection and analysis. The research approaches used in this study were exploratory, descriptive and applied. This research was exploratory as it investigated the specific social and environmental context of Santa Catalina, and the stakeholders perceptions of development in the region. The research is descriptive as it describes in general the opportunity for collaboration to be successful for mitigating the negative consequences of development, should they exist. Finally, this research is applied in that the collection and analysis of data are used to recommend practical solutions for overcoming barriers to collaboration and working towards solutions for destination management.

4.1.1 Multi-Method Approach

Social science methods should not be viewed as mutually exclusive alternatives among which we must choose only one and accept the limitations of that single method as a source of error. Although, individual methods might have inherent flaws, the flaws in each are not identical, and therefore, using several methods at one time allows for each method to display its individual strengths but also to compensate for particular faults found in other methods. The fundamental strategy of the multi-method approach is to “attack a research problem with an arsenal of methods that have non-overlapping weaknesses in addition to their complementary strengths” (Crano and Brewer, 2005). The multi-method strategy is simple, but useful. Methods have weaknesses that are different, and hence the convergent findings of many methods used at once can be accepted with far greater confidence than any single method’s findings. Each new

set of data collected from a different research method increases the researcher's confidence that their findings will be a more accurate reflection of reality rather than holding methodological error (Crano and Brewer, 2005).

4.1.2 Case Study Approach

The case of Santa Catalina, Panama presents an opportunity to explore the applicability of stakeholder theory and collaboration theory to determine whether or not collaborative partnerships can be formed to mitigate the negative consequences of development. Here, a case study approach is used, whereby the research objectives are focussed around determining whether or not these theories can be used to explain processes in all types of communities in developing countries, or whether they need to be specifically adapted to suit each community independently (Crano and Brewer, 2005).

During this study both deductive and inductive approaches were used in order to expand the understanding of factors that influence stakeholder views of development. Deductive reasoning was used to confirm if the arguments and assumptions made in aforementioned theories were applicable to the current situation in Santa Catalina, Panama.

4.2 Research Methods

Research requires information to be gathered in a specific way in order to maintain the credibility of its findings. The types of methods used are chosen depending on the theoretical basis for the research and which practices have been previously shown to be effective for answering similar questions. Hence, the theoretical basis for the research defines what information should be gathered, while the methodology determines which procedures are used to gather this information (Sommer and Sommer, 2002).

4.2.1 Interviews versus Questionnaires

Interviews and questionnaires can both be useful when gathering information about stakeholder perceptions. However, interviews were chosen in this study as they allow the respondent more flexibility in their answers as opposed to restricting the respondent to answers chosen by the interviewer, or limiting the space wherein the respondent can write their answers

(Sommer and Sommer, 2002). As well, interviews allow for probes to be used to gather more in-depth information on a specific topic, if the interviewer wishes to do so. This is a way of gathering information which is not available when using a questionnaire (Sommer and Sommer, 2002). Moreover, questionnaires may limit the detail in which the respondents answers questions due to the arduous and time-consuming nature of providing written answers as opposed to answering questions verbally (Sommer and Sommer, 2002).

4.2.2 Interview Style

A combination of face-to-face interviews supplemented by casual observation was used to gather information about the perspectives of business stakeholders regarding development. There are many different interviews styles which can be used to gather data. These include structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews which can be held both over the phone and in person. For the purposed of this research, face-to-face semi-structured interviews were used to gather data (Sommer and Sommer, 2002; Neuman and Robson, 2012).

Face-to-face interviews have a higher participation rate than phone interviews, and allow for the longest time frame for questions (Sommer and Sommer, 2002). Here, all types of questions may be asked and extensive probes can be utilized in order to reveal informative answers more readily than any other style of questioning. Interviews were undergone at the individual's place of business in order to reduce the travel costs often associated with scheduled meetings (Neuman and Robson, 2012).

Interviews were done in a semi-structured interview format. Semi-structured interviews represent the middle ground between using a structured and an unstructured interview method. Here, a set of interview questions are prepared ahead of time by the researcher. However, these questions are only used to guide the discussion, allowing the researcher to explore new topics in depth as they emerge within the discussion (Neuman and Robson, 2012). This style of interview ensures comparable and reliable information is gathered in a forum which allows respondents to answer in their own way as opposed to being directly focussed on generating a specific answer (Sommer and Sommer, 2002). A set number of questions was used and tailored to guide the discussion. Although the general direction of the interview was tailored to focus conversation on the objectives of the interview, respondents were able to elaborate on their answers as they were

asked each question. Here, additional information about personal values of the respondent was acquired in a way which is not present in a more structured interview process. Moreover, semi-structured interviews also ensure that comparable and reliable information is gathered for greater ease of analysis than is possible when using an unstructured interview style (Sommer and Sommer, 2002).

4.2.2.1 Developing the Interview Questions

The interview questions were developed based on the preconditions necessary for successful collaboration for resource management as discussed by Jamal and Getz (1995) which was adapted from Gray's (1989) theory of collaboration. Details of collaboration theory and how it has been adapted to address the consequences of tourism development was discussed in Chapter 2. The interview questions were designed in order to allow for detailed information to be collected regarding how stakeholders view current development and any negative consequences that they felt were occurring as a result. The design left room for probes to be used to allow the researcher to gain insights into the respondent's views of tourism in the area and its effects. The interview consisted of open-ended questions in order to aid in the collection of detailed answers and opinions from the respondents. The interview guideline can be found in Appendix B.

4.2.2.2 The Use of an Interpreter

Due to language barriers in cross-cultural research, interpreters may be used. Squires (2008) argues that if professionally-certified interpreters are not available due to funding constraints or location, the use of an interpreter who is not certified but who meets the requirements of certification associations can be used instead. In the case of this research, the interpreter, although not certified, did meet the standards as described by the American Interpreters Association (ATA, 2012). These requirements state that an individual with a bachelor's degree or advanced degree and two years of work experience as an interpreter may be eligible for certification (ATA, 2012). Hence, an individual with these qualifications could be used with confidence as an interpreter in a cross-cultural study where certified interpreters are not available (Squires, 2008). The interpreter used in this research possessed a graduate degree in Spanish languages and three years of translating and interpreting experience. The interpreter

had also been living in the region for two years and was able to understand the context of participant responses.

Prior to administering the interviews, the interpreter was debriefed by the researcher regarding the confidential nature of the study, the research question and its objectives as well as the theoretical basis the questions were based upon. The interpreter was given the interview questions ahead of time, allowing them to become familiar with the materials. Where language barriers did exist, the interpreter accompanied the research to the interview in order to convey each question and verify each respondent's understanding. Upon hearing the respondent's answer to a question, the interpreter reported the respondent's answer back to the researcher in an exact manner.

4.2.2.3 Piloting the Interview

Pilot tests were done in order to determine any problems that may have existed with the interview prior to data collection. These tests ensured that quality data would be collected once the interview is implemented in the field (Rothgeb in Lavrakas, 2008). Pilot tests provided valuable insights into the feasibility and appropriateness of the data collection methods.

Procedures for carrying out pilot tests have been outlined by Peat and colleagues (2002). Although these steps have been outlined with specific focus on pilot testing for questionnaires, they are easily adapted to the interview process (Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001). Here, respondents were presented the interview questions in the exact same manner as they were to be asked in the main study. The interview was timed to judge whether the interview was of an appropriate length. Following the completion of the interview, respondents were asked for feedback regarding any difficulties they had during the process. The interview questions were then revised to correct any difficulties described by the respondent and to remove ambiguous or irrelevant questions (Peat et al., 2002).

Pilot testing of the interview questions was done between April and May 2012 in Toronto, Ontario with three qualitative researchers who had experience using a semi-structured interview method to conduct environmental and social research in similar contexts. Modifications were then made and the interview guideline was reviewed and deemed appropriate by the Ryerson Research Ethics Board. Upon arrival in Santa Catalina, the interview

was then piloted again with two local Panamanian employees and one expatriate business owner to ensure the phrasing of the questions was appropriate within the site-specific research context.

Prior to piloting the interview, respondents were made aware of the confidential nature of the study, the purpose of the research as well as the risks and benefits that could be realized through their participation. These individuals were chosen in order to represent diverse levels of education regarding business practices and development issues that were to be incorporated into the actual study sample. A lay person of Panamanian descent who did not speak fluent English was included to ensure that the wording of the interview questions could be understood and the entire interview process could be completed in a timely manner when an interpreter was to be used. This allowed for changes to be made including re-ordering of question to ensure logical flow and that questions are easily understandable so respondents do not feel overwhelmed or intimidated by the nature of the questions.

The information that was obtained during the pilot study verified that the interview was sufficient to gather the information needed to answer the research question. It was conducted by going through the interview questions with the respondent while the researcher took detailed written notes that were transcribed directly after the interview.

4.3 Sampling: Stakeholder Identification

Several methods for stakeholder identification were discussed in Chapter 2. Prior to arrival in Santa Catalina, the following stakeholder groups were identified: business owners and employees, tourists, local people and government. To gather the study sample, this study used a purposive sampling approach to stakeholder identification whereby those individuals who have played a key role in previous decision-making in regards to resource and destination management were approached first (Jamal and Getz, 1995; Selin and Chavez, 1999). In purposive sampling methods, study participants are often principally approached based on their knowledge or personal connection with some event or experience, and only secondarily based on demographic characteristics (Sandelowski, 1995). Qualitative researchers choose study participants based on the information these participants are able to provide. It is not necessary to include in the study sample members from each demographic category. Individuals should only

be approached if they are able to contribute meaningful experiential information to help answer the research question (Sandelowski, 1995).

Following purposive sampling, other stakeholders were suggested to the researcher by a system of referrals, or snowball sampling. Qualitative studies can also utilize snowball sampling methods in addition to purposive sampling in order to gain a more generalized study sample. Snowball sampling involves taking a random sample from a finite group of sampling units and asking each unit within this random sample to name a specified number of others who they feel could contribute relevant information to the answering of the research question. This system of referrals can go on until the researcher is satisfied, and saturation has been reached (Goodman, 1961).

4.3.1 Strategies for Gaining Access to Informants

Gaining access to informants is one of the most fundamental tasks when undertaking qualitative fieldwork and can often present many challenges for developing an appropriate sample size and variability (Shenton and Hayter, 2004). In order to successfully apply stakeholder theory to the tourism industry in Santa Catalina, information must be gathered from a variety of different stakeholder groups. Although stakeholders may be easily identifiable, gaining access and participation from informants may be difficult especially when carrying out cross-cultural studies where language barriers exist and in regions with weak governmental structure. Hence, it is important to outline strategies which were used in order to increase the researcher's ability to obtain participation from the stakeholders that were identified within Santa Catalina: business owners and employees, local people, government agents and tourists.

The following strategies were used in this study to attempt to obtain information from 'hard to reach' populations. Behrens and colleagues (2008) identifies several different types of 'hard to reach' groups who are seen as persistent non-responders in survey and interview research. These groups include but are not limited to: people unable to speak the language in which the research is conducted, people who are disengaged from broader society and do not wish to be contacted, members of very high or very low economic standing and people who are afraid to let strangers into their homes or do not wish to reveal information about their lives. Prior to data collection, it was assumed that government agents and members of the local

community may be considered as ‘hard to reach’ groups. Hence, the following recruitment strategies were employed in order to promote participation.

4.3.1.1 Prolonged Engagement and the “Chameleon” Approach

Prolonged engagement and the “chameleon” approach are two tactics which can be employed by researchers in order to gain acceptance with members of the community in which they are gathering information. Through prolonged engagement, the researcher allows for a period of orientation over which they gain the trust and establish a rapport with potential study participants (Shenton and Hayter, 2004). In the “chameleon” approach, a similar goal of obtaining the trust of potential participants is achieved, however, this tactic emphasizes not only a period of time through which the investigator can establish rapport, but also the role that the appearance and manner in which the researcher presents themselves and interacts with potential participants can play during this period of orientation. This includes dressing appropriately, behaving in a professional manner and showing interest in personal conversations with potential participants (Ely, 1991; Glesne and Peshkin, 1992). This is argued by Ely (1991) to be essential in cross-cultural studies to encourage participation.

Both of these strategies were employed in this study to aid in gaining participation in the field. However, time constraints and language barriers proved to impose limitations on the use of these tactics. As the total length of time scheduled in the community was a period of five weeks, the researcher allowed for a ten day period in order to establish rapport with individuals whom were desired to participate in the study. Although this amount of time proved to be sufficient when establishing relationships with the business sector, it was insufficient for building relationships with members of the local community or government agents. Further adding to the limitations of this approach were language barriers which reduced the ability of the researcher to communicate effectively enough to develop personal relationships without the presence of an interpreter.

4.3.1.2 Emphasizing the Value of Participants Contributions

In preliminary meetings with participants, the researcher may encourage contributions to the study by emphasizing the dependence of the study outcomes on the participation of potential

interviewees and acknowledging how important their time, cooperation and perspectives are to providing research outcomes aimed at benefiting their community. Providing psychological benefits such as these provides an incentive for participation (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992; Shenton and Hayter, 2004).

This approach was also used in this study, but again proved to be insufficient for gaining participation from the local community and government. All potential participants were made aware of the dependence of the study outcomes on their perspectives and the benefits that could be achieved as a result of their participation. However, these psychological incentives did not prove to be large enough to promote participation from local people, potentially as a result of language barriers and past conflicts between local and expatriate groups in the community. Government agents were also not convinced to participate when presented the opportunity in this manner. This may be due to scheduling difficulties or that the value of these individuals time is greater than the incentive provided. Hence, it may prove more effective, if budgets allow, to provide monetary incentives as opposed to psychological incentives in order to ensure participation.

4.3.1.3 Endorsement by a Well-Known Local Leader

Allowing a well established member of the local community to provide introductions to members of 'hard to reach' populations can be effective when attempting to utilize the tactics described above. If the researcher is unable to come into contact with potential respondents from 'hard to reach' groups in the initial stages of field work then processes of relationship building and providing incentives can never be put into practice. Endorsement by a well-known community member can also provide a sense of legitimacy in the research process (Behrens et al., 2008).

Prior to the field work stage of this study, the researcher was in contact with an individual who acted as a key informant and assured that it would be possible to contact and achieve participation from government agents and local people. The authority of this key informant was verified by a second key informant, a qualitative researcher who was familiar with the study region. However, upon arrival it appeared to be much more difficult to get into contact with these 'hard to reach' groups. Hence, if possible it may appear to be more effective to have several different informants with strong relationships in each of the different stakeholder groups

in order to ensure representation. However, simply obtaining contact with these individuals was not enough, as even when introductions were able to be made the above tactics did not prove to be entirely effective and as such, it is important to improve the strength of all recruitment strategies.

4.3.2 Sample Size

There are no computational analyses that can be done in order to determine the number of individuals needed in a qualitative sample before data collection is being carried out (Sandelowski, 1995). There are, however, characteristics of the research that can be considered in order to help determine whether or not the sample size is appropriate for answering the research question. Sample sizes are often too small to achieve saturation or information redundancy; or too large to allow for a detailed analysis of all the data collected. Hence, characteristics of the research, including the aim of the research, the type of purposive sampling being used, and the data collection method being applied should all be considered when selecting an appropriate sample (Sandelowski, 1995).

As argued by Sandelowski (1995) that grounded theory and ethnographic studies require approximately 30-50 study participants. Purposive and snowball sampling methods were used to recruit interviewees, and interviews were conducted until saturation was perceived to be reached. This study consisted of interviews with 50 respondents from the business community.

4.4 Data Collection

Interviews were conducted between June 4th and July 7th, 2012. The intention was to complete the interviews before the beginning of July, as this is when the rainy season begins, and most local business shut down during this time. As well, the summer months (November-February) would not have been ideal as this is the busy season for tourism in the area and businesses may not have had time to participate in the study. Although strategies were implemented in order to gain participation from four different stakeholder groups, there was considerable difficulty in achieving a rate of participation from each of the stakeholder groups to allow for an accurate representation to be shown. Hence, data was only collected from the business sector. A map depicting the number of businesses and their distribution throughout

Santa Catalina is shown below in figure 6. This map was used to identify tourism businesses that were approached to be in the study.



Figure 6: Tourism Businesses in Santa Catalina (<http://laredcatalina.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/map-santa-catalina-panama.png>)

4.4.1 Transcribing

Comprehensive written notes were taken during the interview by the researcher. The notes were carefully transcribed and typed as soon as possible on the same day as the interview in order to preserve the integrity of the information gathered and so that the researcher could elaborate and clarify any context and meaning in relation to the respondents' answers. As well, any interruptions or events that may have influenced the respondents' answers in any way were documented. The advantage of having a hard copy of the interview notes is that they can be

referred to easily and quickly, facilitating the organization of data and coding notation for easier future analysis.

4.4.2 Casual Observation

In combination with other data collection methods, casual observation can provide an increased depth of understanding and place the respondent's answers in the appropriate context (Sommer and Sommer, 2002). Through casual observation, the researcher was able to observe people in their natural social environments. This allowed the researcher to become more involved with the group of individuals being studied. This also allowed marginalized or rural groups of individuals for which little information was known to be studied in their natural social setting.

The disadvantage to causal observation is that it is based on personal interpretation and perception of a situation; hence it lacks reliability (Sommer & Sommer, 2002). As well, subjects may act differently if they realize they are being studied and feel social pressure to change their behaviours. Because of this, this method usually used only in combination with other more concrete data collection methods.

Casual observation was used in this study to support information that was gained through the interview process and allowed the researcher to gain greater perspective and context regarding many of the topics that were discussed. This allowed for a more objective and accurate perspective to be achieved regarding the consequences of development, instead of relying solely on respondents subjective descriptions of the current situation.

4.5 Data Analysis

Qualitative analysis of the gathered data was carried out between July 2012 and March 2013. The qualitative data were analyzed by highlighting key themes and using a coding method. The coding process allows for easier analysis by classifying answers received during open-ended questions into common themes, reducing lengthy answers into response categories (Sommer & Sommer, 1991). Great efforts were made in order to code each answer appropriately while maintaining the accuracy of the respondent's attitudes, values, and views on all topics covered during the interview process.

To do this, the transcribed notes taken during the interview process were first read in their entirety and then analyzed. The interviews were divided and grouped by question. For each question, a spreadsheet was created, dividing all answers by common themes. These themes and key words were identified by colour coding and labelling. The number of respondents that responded similarly to a question was noted. These common themes were identified as indicators for common views and beliefs regarding the topics covered. The result was a clear indication of what themes were the most discussed and in what way respondents felt they were, or were not, influential. An example of how the data were coded can be found in Appendix C.

Analysis of the data collected consisted of simple counts of the number of times certain themes were brought up by respondents. This assisted in the identification of factors that influence implementation of environmental initiatives to help reduce the negative consequences of development in the Santa Catalina region.

4.6 Discussion and Conclusions

In the final phase of the research, the data was analyzed as it pertains to the objectives of the study. Conclusions that address the objectives and recommendations to mitigate the negative consequences of development in Santa Catalina were made. This was completed through the identification of key factors which can motivate or impede the implementation of sustainable initiatives as indicated by stakeholders when looking to implement an environmental and social strategy.

4.7 Limitations

There are some limitations to the research methodology used in this study. Great efforts were made in order to attain a high response rate, and acquire high quality and accurate data from those who participated. The following are potential limitations which may have affected the study.

4.7.1 Self-Reporting

Values, priorities, and questions regarding behavioural practices are based entirely on the responses from individuals participating in the study which may have caused biased answers to

be reported. Respondents were asked to elaborate on any behaviour or policies they deemed relevant, in order to determine the depth of knowledge on the subject, as well as provide hints as to the legitimacy of the answers provided.

4.7.2 Language Barriers and the Use of an Interpreter

Due to potential language barriers mentioned previously, an interpreter was used during the interview process. This may have influenced on the respondents' answers, as the interpreter is a member of the Santa Catalina community and respondents may have felt uncomfortable discussing some topics with full honesty. The use of an interpreter also made transcribing notes more difficult and time consuming which may have caused some context to be lost in the interpretation process.

Using interpreters during interviews changes the tone of the interview, making it more formal. This may have caused respondents to change their answers, as the exchange of information may not have been as free and smooth as it would if an interpreter was not being used. The status and physical characteristics of the interpreter are just as influential as those of the researcher, and this may have also played a role. Problems may have also arisen as information may have been lost during the process of interpretation, and the researcher may not have been able to align the respondent's body language with their answers as easily (Kumar, 1989). This is a common problem with the use of interpreters, as many do not translate responses as fully and accurately as they have limited depth of knowledge regarding the theory behind the research question, and what is needed to gain appropriate information to meet the research objectives (Neuman and Robson, 2012). Interpreters may also unnecessarily summarize or elaborate on respondent's answers, as well as interpret them in ways that may be different from how the researcher may have interpreted them. Hence, it was necessary to make sure that the interpreter used was carefully selected, proficient in both languages (English and Spanish) by checking their credentials and pilot testing, and carefully briefed in order to minimize their influence on the behaviour and answers of the respondents (Kumar, 1989).

The interpreter was thoroughly briefed on the objectives of the study and was prepared to deal with any issues that may have arisen. The interpreter was provided with an overall view of the study, including the types of answers that may be given. A knowledge of the study details

including the research question, study objectives, benefits and risks to the study were outlined to the interpreter prior to the interview process, further increasing the quality of the conversation and reducing the possibility of human error due to misunderstandings (Kumar, 1989).

When repeating the respondent's comments, the interpreter was trained to use the same phrasing, making the translation as close as possible to the original response as possible. During the interview, the researcher sat facing the respondent and responded to him or her directly and the interpreter was positioned to the side where they could clearly hear both parties speaking. Prior to the interview, the respondent was informed of the confidentiality agreement between all parties involved.

4.7.3 Biased Study Population

Every effort was made in order to contact a variety of stakeholders to ensure all key stakeholders from different stakeholder groups participated in the study. Some stakeholders including members of the community, tourists, small businesses and NGOs made this difficult. Stakeholders who were to be used in the sample were chosen based on their roles in past decision-making and their relationship with decision-makers. However, there were not enough respondents to accurately represent each stakeholder group. Hence, this study focussed on the perspectives of business sector stakeholders only. If certain characteristics are favoured over others in the sample, then error can be introduced due to sampling bias (Sommer & Sommer, 2002). Including only one category of stakeholder may have caused some development consequences or problem areas to be overlooked by the researcher and hence limit the applicability of the research to the community as a whole.

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion of Data Collection

This chapter describes the demographics of the study sample and presents the results and discussion of the data gathered through the interview process.

5.1 Demographics

Interview participants were chosen by using the focal group approach to stakeholder identification as outlined by Grimble and Chan (1995) and Selin and Chavez (1999). Initially, this study aimed at included a wide range of stakeholders from a variety of stakeholder groups. However, due to difficulties gaining participation from several stakeholders, not all groups could be accurately represented. Hence, this study focussed on the perceptions of business sector stakeholders only. A description of the study sample can be seen below, organizing respondents based on their country of origin either Panamanian (born in Panama) or expatriate (born outside of Panama) (Table 6), as well as by their level of employment (Table 7). A complete list of stakeholders can be found in Appendix D.

Table 6: Type of Operator and Their Origin

Type of Operation	Local Stakeholder	Expatriate Stakeholder	Total
Food Service and Accommodation Combined	6	6	12
Food Service Only	7	2	9
Coiba Tours (including SCUBA dive and island tours)	1	8	9
Surf Rentals and Lessons	2	3	5
Transportation	5	-	5
Accommodations Only	3	1	4
Land Developers	-	4	4
Fish Sales	2	-	2
Total Respondents	26	24	50

N=50

At least one individual from each type of establishment was use in the study sample. The majority of stakeholders worked in establishments which provided both food service and accommodations. The most common operation for local people to work in was food service, as this was the sector in which most local entrepreneurs were found to be working. The most

common operation run by expatriate stakeholders was providing tours to Coiba National Park, providing a variety of tourist activities within Coiba National Park and on Coiba Island.

The level of employment of each stakeholder included in this study can be found in Table 7. This study aimed to collect perspectives from individuals of all levels of employment within the business sector in order to allow for a representation of perspectives from individuals with varying degrees of familiarity with business practices and the tourism industry in general. As well, it was speculated that business owners may be more focussed on financial gains than lower level employees who may be less focussed on increasing revenues and more focussed on the environmental and social consequences of increasing development. Hence, to create a more complete view of the business sector as a whole, and as a precaution to sampling bias, individuals of all levels of employment were included in the sample.

Table 7: Level of Employment of Business Sector Stakeholders

Type of Business	Local Stakeholder			Expatriate Stakeholder			Total
	Owner	Manager	Employee	Owner	Manager	Employee	
Food Service and Accommodation Combined	3	1	2	3	1	2	12
Food Service Only	2	1	4	2	-	-	9
Coiba Tours (including SCUBA dive and island tours)	-	1	-	4	-	4	9
Surf Rentals and Lessons	2	-	-	2	-	1	5
Transportation	3	-	2	-	-	-	5
Accommodations Only	2	-	1	-	1	-	4
Land Developers	-	-	-	4	-	-	4
Market	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
Total Respondents	13	3	10	15	2	7	50

N=50

This study also aimed to include individuals in the sample who had been involved in the tourism industry when it was first emerging, as well as those who have become involved only recently (Table 8). This inclusion of both long-term and short-term investors in the tourism

industry would allow for perspectives to be included from individuals who have seen changes in the community over time. This also helped illustrate when the majority of businesses and development had entered the region. The lengths of time that operators have been involved in tourism also illustrated those with either long-term or short-term investment in the community. Those with long-term investment may be more likely to place high significance, and have a greater recognition of the environmental and social impacts of development as they may be more connected to the community as opposed to those with short-term investment, who may be looking to maximize revenues and feel less responsibility to the community as a whole.

Table 8: Length of Involvement in the Tourism Industry

Type of Business	Employment Level	Years in Business						Total
		0-1	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-15	15+	
Food Service and Accommodation Combined	Owner	-	-	2	3	1	1	7
	Manager	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
	Employee	2	2	-	-	-	-	4
Food Service Only	Owner	-	2	-	1	-	1	4
	Manager	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
	Employee	-	2	-	2	-	-	4
Coiba Tours	Owner	-	-	4	-	-	-	4
	Manager	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
	Employee	1	1	1	-	-	1	4
Surf Rentals and Lessons	Owner	-	2	1	1	-	-	4
	Employee	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Transportation	Owner	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
	Employee	-	1	-	1	-	-	2
Accommodations Only	Owner	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
	Manager	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	Employee	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Land Developers	Owner	1	1	-	1	-	1	4
Market	Owner	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
	Employee	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total Respondents		5	12	10	10	5	8	

N=50

5.1.2 Knowledge of the Drivers of Tourism Demand

In order to determine the nature of the tourism industry in Santa Catalina as perceived by business sector stakeholders, respondents were asked to describe why they felt as though tourists wanted to visit the community. This would help illustrate what operators felt were the most

important aspects of the community which would need to be maintained in order to increase both the demand for and the longevity of the destination as a tourist product. Environmental and socio-cultural factors which operators felt were desirable to tourists are shown in Table 9. This data aligned well with observations of tourists and the activities they participated in while visiting the community, and hence are seen as a reliable way of identifying features which are important to preserve to maintain the quality and longevity of the community as a tourist product.

Table 9: Perceived Drivers of Tourism Demand

Driver	Respondent	Frequency
High Environmental Quality	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 48, 49, 50	30
High Quality Surf	2, 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 27, 30, 33, 35, 43, 50	14
The Beach	6, 7, 12, 14, 17, 35, 36, 37, 39, 43, 44, 48	12
Quiet Lifestyle	1, 3, 4, 7, 12, 15, 16, 25, 49, 50	10
Diving	6, 7, 14, 15, 35, 43, 44, 45, 47	9
Good Weather	2, 8, 17, 20, 24, 30, 33	7
Fishing	6, 39, 40, 41, 42	5

N=50

The high environmental quality of the region was mentioned the most often as being the primary draw for tourists to the region. This included several responses: natural beauty, biodiversity, clean air and clean water. Environmental quality is shown as separate from good weather, as weather is a factor that cannot be controlled. All factors that fall under environmental quality are factors that are influenced both negatively and positively by operator practices and behaviours, and by development. High environmental quality was followed by the high quality surf, the beach, the quiet lifestyle (rural community setting, good food, easy living), high quality diving, good weather and fishing. All of these drivers could be considered resources necessary to maintain tourism demand, as a reduction in the quality of any of these factors may reduce the overall quality of the destination as a tourist product. Business stakeholders were able to recognize that the reduction in the quality of these drivers was linked to many of the negative consequences of development described below.

5.1.3 Perceived Importance of Coiba National Park to Tourism in Santa Catalina

The country of Panama's tourism development plan places a focus on drawing attention to the natural beauty and cultural significance of Coiba Island and Coiba National Park (ATP, 2007; 2010). Coiba National Park is also an important part of the local tourism industry in Santa Catalina as it is its closest mainland access point. Hence, a large percentage of tourism demand for the community of Santa Catalina directly stems from its geographic proximity to Coiba National Park. Drivers of tourism demand in Coiba National Park include the park's high quality SCUBA diving, its numerous endemic species and cultural significance.

Whether or not business sector stakeholders in Santa Catalina recognize the importance that maintaining environmental quality in Coiba National Park will determine whether they feel responsible for and hence more willing to play a role in the environmental management of the park. If stakeholders recognize the importance of the park to their success in the industry, they will be more likely to partake in initiatives that will conserve the environmental quality of the park. If they do not recognize this importance, the opposite may be true. However, when asked, all stakeholders agreed that Coiba National Park was important to tourism in Santa Catalina, and although only 29/50 respondents had actually travelled to Coiba National Park for either business or leisure purposes (Table 10), all operators were still aware of its role in the community's tourism industry (Table 11), and all agreed that Coiba National Park was important to the tourism industry and to the success of their business.

Table 10: Operators who have travelled to Coiba National Park

Visitation	Respondent	Frequency
Yes	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 26, 35, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	29
No	1, 9, 10, 11, 12, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37	21

N=50

Table 11: Operator Perceptions of Motivations for Visiting Coiba National Park

Motivation	Respondent	Frequency
Tourist Activities	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50	46
Business	1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50	38
Drug Trafficking	2, 4, 8, 39, 40, 41, 42, 48	8

N=50

5.2 Evaluating the Opportunity for Collaboration between Business Sector Stakeholders

This section discusses collaboration theory as applied to the context of Santa Catalina, and whether or not the opportunity exists for collaborative partnerships to be formed between business sector stakeholders in order to mitigate the negative consequences of development. In order to determine whether or not collaboration could be used successfully in Santa Catalina, data collection and analysis were structured around a set of hypotheses which have been formulated based on collaboration theory as discussed by Gray (1989) and a further adaptation of this theory to destination management as discussed by Jamal and Getz (1995). Based on the facilitating conditions necessary for successful collaboration the following hypotheses were tested:

- 1) Stakeholders recognize that sustaining tourism demand has benefits for all those in the community, including those not directly involved in the tourism industry;
- 2) There is a general consensus among stakeholders regarding one environmental and one social issue to which they believe are significant consequences of development;
- 3) Stakeholders recognize their interdependencies, and that the actions of other operators, the local community and the government can affect the negative consequences of development that are most significant;
- 4) Working together collaboratively is the most desired solution for addressing the negative consequences of development and will provide mutual benefits to all stakeholders;

- 5) There are several barriers to the formation of partnerships in the problem-setting phase of collaboration: stakeholder participation, lack of leadership, and a lack of perceived legitimacy in the process;
- 6) There are additional barriers which impede the ability of stakeholders to come to consensus and implement decisions during the direction-setting and implementation phases of collaboration;
- 7) These barriers are less likely to impede collaboration than stakeholders perceive.

5.3 Hypothesis One: Recognition of Mutual Benefit from Increasing Tourism Demand

This section presents the data needed to test the first hypothesis; that stakeholders will be able to recognize their interdependencies, and the mutual benefit that has been and will continue to be gained from development.

5.3.1 Reliance on Tourism

Tourism is very important to the community of Santa Catalina and little else can be seen in the way of income generation. Prior to tourism development in the region, many residents were self-sustaining, feeding their families through fishing and hunting with little need for money (Interview #13, 2012). When discussing the opportunity for other industries to thrive in the region, one long time operator stated that:

Many of our natural resources still have a chance, but this is coming to a turning point very soon. When the natural resources are no longer there, the locals will become dependent on tourism; they will be left handicapped and will need to find a new way of life. Resources like fish, shrimp, trees – they [local residents] need to learn to conserve...the area is basically already completely deforested (Interview #26, 2012).

A few respondents (13/50) most of which were local operators also mentioned that business from tourism had contributed to increasing their overall quality of life (Table 12).

Table 12: Factors which Contribute to Operators Quality of Life

Factors	Respondent		Total
	Local	Non-Local	
Natural Beauty	16	18	34
Personal Relationships (family and friends)	12	7	19
High Quality Surfing	6	9	15
Lifestyle (Quiet, Rural)	4	11	15
The Beach	6	7	13
Business from Tourism	12	1	13
Diving	2	8	10
Fishing	4	1	5

N=50

5.3.2 Community Support for Future Tourism Development

When asked if they were in support of tourism as the best way to continue to bring development into the community, 48 of the 50 respondents answered “yes”. When the two unsupportive respondents were asked as to why they felt tourism was not the most desirable development option, both shared a similar view stating that they “did not want the surf to become overcrowded and ruined” (Interviews #2, 33, 2012).

5.3.2.1 Perceived Benefits from Tourism

Stakeholders discussed several benefits that they felt were being seen in the community as a result of development (Table 13). These benefits included both economic benefits including job creation and entrepreneurial opportunities as well as social benefits including investments in infrastructure and accessibility. Infrastructure was discussed in terms of increases in communications (wireless internet and cell-phone reception), improvement in roadways, and the introduction of waste collection services. As well, two major construction projects (airport and hospital) are underway in neighbouring communities that will provide further benefits through increased public health, safety, and improved accessibility.

Table 13: Perceived Benefits of Tourism Development

Benefit of Development	Respondent	Overall Frequency
Job Creation	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50	39
Entrepreneurial Opportunities	1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 21, 22, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46	26
Improved Accessibility	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 22, 25, 27, 30, 31, 32, 36, 48, 49, 50	20
Waste Collection Services	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 14, 16, 17, 21, 28, 34, 35, 36, 43, 45, 49, 50	19
Increased Communications	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 26, 27	8
Improved Health Services	4, 5, 6	3

N=50

As shown in Table 13, operators were able to identify several benefits that tourism development has brought to the community. With the ultimate goal of maximizing economic gains through tourism, the government, unsolicited, has begun to work towards increasing the quality of the community as a destination and tourist product. Here, the intention is to maximize wealth, with improvements in social conditions occurring as a consequence. Many (15/50) operators felt as though if not for the communities tourism market potential, few, if any of these government investments would have been made (Interviews #2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 22, 27, 30, 31, 36, 48, 2012). A few (8/50) operators also felt as though there were many areas which could still be improved and that if tourism demand were to increase in the region, investments would continue to be made to community infrastructure and services, allowing for further benefits to be realized by both those who are and those who are not directly involved in tourism (Interviews #2, 3, 4, 6, 12, 27, 30, 48, 2012)

Although stakeholders see tourism as the best mechanism for providing benefits to the community, there are concerns as to the nature of future development. An accommodations operator and land developer stated that:

The construction of the airport nearby will make Catalina much more accessible to tourists who would otherwise be too afraid or hesitant about

visiting us. With more tourists coming in, it'll just be a matter of time before large companies want to start building here (Interview #6, 2012).

In addition to this, one local business owner fears that “this [large scale investment] is happening already. They [foreign investors] don't think about the effects on the community and the other businesses and negative effects on the environment” (Interview #13, 2012). A few (7/50) stakeholders felt that large scale building development would ruin the rural charm of the community and would like to do anything they can to prevent large investors from doing so (Interviews #3, 4, 6, 13, 25, 48, 50, 2012).

5.4 Hypothesis Two: Finding a Common Definition of the Problem

This section will address the second hypothesis, which addresses whether or not operators will be able to come to a consensus and outline a common definition of the problems that need to be addressed in the community as a result of increasing development. Gray (1989) suggests that in the initial problem-setting phase of collaboration, it is necessary for stakeholders to be united by a common goal. For this to occur, stakeholders must first be able to come to a consensus regarding what issues are of relevance to them, and how they would like to see these issues solved. This precondition for collaboration is necessary to address as soon as the partners begin to come together, and remains important throughout the entire collaborative process. Here, stakeholders come together to discuss the issues and make a commitment to work together (Gray 1989; Jamal and Getz, 1995). Several parties must have a common definition of what the problem is, and finding a solution to this problem must be significant enough for each individual to want to invest time in the collaborative process (Jamal and Getz, 1995; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999).

5.4.1 Perceived Environmental Consequences of Development

In order to determine whether or not stakeholders would be able to come to a consensus regarding which environmental consequences of development they thought were of importance, respondents were asked to describe these consequences and rank them in order of significance (Table 14). Respondents were not presented any indication of the following environmental consequences, but instead were asked to define which, if any negative consequences they felt

were relevant. Respondents were then able to come to these conclusions on their own without being guided towards an answer.

Table 14: Environmental Issues Perceived by Business Sector Stakeholders

Consequence of Development	Respondent	Overall Frequency	Order of Significance		
			First	Second	Third
Littering	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	40	37	3	-
Water Availability	5, 6, 9, 14, 17, 18, 19, 28, 34, 38, 48, 49, 50	13	2	10	1
Over-fishing	1, 4, 7, 15, 18, 19, 35, 43, 44, 48	10	2	7	1
Water Contamination	5, 13, 22, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 45, 47	10	4	5	1
Deforestation	21, 26, 29, 39, 40, 41, 46, 47	8	-	4	4
Lack of Recycling	3, 26, 45, 46, 47	5	-	2	3
Landfill Maintenance	1, 4, 16, 49	4	-	2	2
Not sure	8, 11, 23, 36, 37	5	-	-	-

N=50

Throughout the interview process, it was evident that there was a fairly high degree of agreement as to which issues were of relevance and why these issues were important. In regards to environmental concerns, 40 out of 50 respondents mentioned that solid waste management, specifically littering, was a major issue that they would like to see addressed. Other issues mentioned by several stakeholders included concerns with water conservation and illegal fishing practices, as well as water contamination, deforestation, a lack of recycling, and landfill maintenance.

5.4.1.1 Solid Waste Management: Littering, Landfill Maintenance and a Lack of Recycling

Littering was mentioned most frequently by operators and was most commonly stated as being the most significant consequence of development. Littering was primarily discussed as an issue which had become of increasing importance due to rising numbers of expatriates moving and starting businesses in the community in addition to increasing tourist numbers which placed too high of demands on the communities waste management infrastructure and collection

services. Although most (40/50) operators mentioned littering alone as being of concern, others were able to see the larger picture and also mentioned landfill maintenance (4/50) and a lack of recycling (5/50) not only as separate issues, but also as contributors to the littering problem. Those discussing these issues felt as though if the landfill was properly maintained or a recycling program was implemented, this may improve waste collection services and reduce the littering issue.

Operators discussed how not only was the community lacking the appropriate number of waste receptacles, but collection services were often unpredictable causing residents and businesses to accumulate so much waste that they felt as though they were forced to use less desirable waste removal techniques such as burning, burying and dumping their garbage in order to prevent it's accumulation. Stakeholders noted that "In general the population is increasing, there are many more foreigners and tourists here but there hasn't been any progression with how we take care of waste" (Interview #5, 2012). Operators felt as though the only progression in waste collection services had come as a response to operator concerns regarding the negative effects that waste accumulation was having on tourist impressions of the community. An expatriate hotel and accommodations owner who had been operating in the community prior to improvements in waste collection discussed that waste receptacles were first brought into the community two years ago (Interview #6, 2012) and the "litter problem has been improved since foreign investors and business owners have come into the region because it is the foreign business owners that have put out the garbage cans out in front of their property" (Interview #6, 2012). These waste receptacles were solicited from the government by a small group of expatriate business owners who felt as though the littering issue was becoming a detriment to their business (Interviews #4, 5, 15, 28, 50, 2012). However, garbage cans were only provided to those who suggested them and were not given to other businesses in the community who had not. This created tensions between operators as a few other operators (5/50) wished to receive garbage cans for their establishments, but were left out of the petitioning process (Interviews #3, 13, 17, 19, 22, 2012).

In addition to the lack of waste collection infrastructure, operators felt as though the issue of littering was also a behavioural issue on the part of the local community, who simply could not be bothered to put their waste in the receptacles that are provided. This general apathy

within the local community in regards to proper waste management practices was noted several times by operators as contributing significantly to the problem (Interviews #1, 4, 9, 10, 12, 33, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 48, 50, 2012). Because of this, operators felt that even with improvements in infrastructure and services for waste collection, the problem would not be solved. Only through improved education and increased social pressure to be more diligent with waste disposal would the littering problem be mitigated.

Operators mentioned that several attempts have been made in order to help instill a sense of responsibility in the younger generation of local residents. It has been stated that the local elementary school does not attempt to place emphasis on environmental conservation or the development of social behaviours that would be deemed appropriate by western standards (Interviews #4, 6, 10, 12, 34, 2012). This along with the perceived apathy that operators discussed on the part local parents has left operators and expatriate volunteer missionaries to be responsible for educating children about the value of the environment. There have been several community litter pick-ups that have been initiated in the community by expatriate missionaries along with several operators acting as volunteers. However, there have been difficulties gaining participation from the community in such initiatives (Interviews #3, 10, 2012). This may be because many attempts to educate the community as to the dangers of littering seem to go unrecognized. This leaves operators feeling as though volunteering for such events is a waste of time. One operator stated that:

The adults don't seem to care so this [education] needs to start with the next generation. It's just a nuisance really...I try to explain that this is the animal's house and everyone's house and no one wants to live in their trash. It's very difficult, no one seems to care or listen, but all we can do is keep trying (Interview #15, 2012).

Operators are very aware of the negative effects that littering can have on tourist impressions of the community. One beachfront operator stated that "litter that's been accumulating on roadside ditches and across beach fronts is a common scene in the community. This looks disgusting and has a large impact on how tourists see our town" (Interview #50, 2012). During rainfall events, large amounts of waste are washed into the ocean, and brought onto beaches with the rising and falling of the tide. As the beach has been previously suggested as one of the main drivers for tourism demand waste accumulation in these areas is considered

the most detrimental to businesses (Interviews #4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 20, 25, 37, 49, 50, 2012). Many (23/50) operators also discussed that the nature of tourism in a small community like Santa Catalina focuses most heavily on its reputation for surfing and scuba diving, but in addition to this, tourist reviews on the internet and through word of mouth contribute significantly to tourism demand. Operators (40/50) felt as though littering was the most significant issue as it is very apparent, aesthetically displeasing and almost unavoidable. “If a tourist comes to our town, it’s impossible for them to ignore the garbage. It’s everywhere!” a hotel owner stated, “people mention it to me all the time, and I sometimes overhear visitors saying things about how dirty the beaches are, and the roads; they’re always comparing it to other places they’ve been” (Interview #49, 2012).

5.4.1.2 Groundwater Availability

Issues related to the availability of water resources were mentioned by 13/50 operators, as increasing population size, tourist numbers and operators has increased demands for water, particularly for use in hostel and restaurant establishments. Water use in Santa Catalina is a large source of community conflict between the local residents and business owners. Stakeholders fear that without proper management strategies in place, water will become too scarce to support increasing tourist numbers. This is a main source of concern for operators, as it may be the limiting factor to their business success in the region. There are many issues regarding the current management of the community’s water resources. Stakeholders stated that the current water system is unsustainable, unreliable, and inconvenient, lacks proper funding for maintenance and remains unmonitored making collection of the water bill difficult to enforce.

With increasing number of tourists visiting the community, demands on water have increased dramatically (Interviews #4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 50, 2012). The increasing number of businesses in the area that cater to tourist demands means that water resources are needed for basic tourist needs including showers, laundry facilities, running toilets and cooking. Before tourism increased in the region, local residents did not feel any sort of pressure on their water supply and were receiving water free of charge. Now that tourism has increased, demand for water has increased, leaving local residents with less water availability while still receiving few if any benefits from tourism (Interviews #48, 49, 2012).

Water resources are perceived by one hostel owner to be quite scarce, as it was stated that “there is only 20,000 gallons of water for the entire village each day” (Interview #5, 2012). Operators explained how even when the distribution pump is fully functioning water is provided to different halves of the town on alternating days. On water collection day, individuals have one hour where they can collect water. Water scarcity can become even more obvious as one operator stated that “When its high season there’s not enough water for everyone usually, then you can’t flush, there’s no shower there’s no drinking water at all available” and that “...some places won’t get water for three days in a row” (Interview #14, 2012)

Currently the management of water resources is overseen by a single individual, a local regulator who is responsible for enforcing the collection of the water bill, handling the allocation of funds collected from the water bill (used for pump maintenance) and contacting external agents when technical expertise is needed to maintain the pump (Interviews #3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 20, 21, 50, 2012). This bill is currently 5 USD/month for residents and an increased rate of 10 USD/month for businesses (Interviews #5, 6, 12, 13, 50, 2012). However, there is much animosity over this price, as before businesses came into the region local residents were getting their water for free. This is a main source of conflict in the community, and has led to a widening gap between the local and non-local communities (Interviews #3, 6, 7, 12, 47, 50, 2012).

Increased conflict over the payment of the water bill has grown to such an extent that the individual responsible for collecting the water bill has become fearful to approach some residents and order payments. This individual stated that it is nearly impossible to get some community members to pay their water bill, and that these individuals have met him with such hostility that he fears going to their door to ask for payment. This local regulator also stated that “it has become almost like a game, members of the community are congratulating each other for not paying [their bills], it’s like they think they’re winning in a battle of us [local residents] vs. them [non-local residents]” (Interview #12, 2012). Due to minimal infrastructure, there is little that can be done when someone refuses to pay their water bill. Lack of metering and shut off valves make it impossible to cut off the water supply for specific individuals who have not paid, and hence there is no accountability for not paying.

The water pump often malfunctions as a result of poor engineering and improper upkeep. As the pump is run electrically, there are often power surges that cause the pump to fail resulting in a stoppage of distribution. These power surges have been said to be due to overuse and too high of a demand being placed on such a poorly constructed machine (Interviews #7, 50, 2012). During these times residents and business owners must wait to receive aid from governmental workers who deal with the maintenance of the pump. However, government workers take very long to complete the work, and the town can be out of water for up to five days (Interviews #6, 7, 50, 2012). Even when maintenance workers do arrive, the community rarely has the monetary reserves to pay for improvements and lack of forward thinking leads to a scramble to collect the funds. As one accommodations owner explained,

there was no water for five days and the town should have come together which they didn't. This meant we had no money to pay to get the pump working again so it ended up being funded by a just few people in town. We got it working again, but there's still a debt with the guy who installed the pump that still needs to be paid (Interview #6, 2012).

As business owners are at much more of a loss economically than local people from these outages, funding comes primarily from businesses who want to minimize the losses in tourist revenues. This necessity is recognized by the local people, and this has become a major source of community conflict. Thoughts concerning the improvement of water conservation in the region were summed up by one accommodations owner by saying: "The water service should be better and that could really only be done with more money and more cooperation and willingness to pay" (Interview #4, 2012).

5.4.2 Social Consequences of Development

When discussing which social issues operators felt were becoming more predominant as a result of increasing development, substance abuse (drugs and alcohol) was mentioned most frequently by respondents (29/50) and was often reported as being the most significant. As well, community conflict and a lack of communication were also often mentioned, along with a lack of green space available for public development, prostitution, violence, public health, workers rights and police corruption (Table 15).

Table 15: Perceived Social Consequences of Development

Social Consequence	Respondent	Overall Frequency	Order of Significance		
			First	Second	Third
Substance Abuse	2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50	29	19	9	1
Conflict	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 28, 34, 35, 38, 43, 44, 46, 49	21	15	2	4
Communication	1, 3, 4, 5, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 28, 34, 38, 48	13	3	10	-
Lack of Green Space for Public Development	6, 16, 29, 30, 31, 32, 41, 42, 48, 49	10	4	4	2
Prostitution	5, 13, 21, 25, 39, 40, 41, 42	8	-	6	2
Violence	7, 8, 33, 35, 43, 44	6	3	3	-
Public Health	25, 30	2	1	1	-
Workers Rights	14	1	-	1	-
Police Corruption	6	1	-	-	1
Not Sure	20, 23, 24, 36, 37	5			

N=50

5.4.2.1 Substance Abuse

Substance abuse was the most commonly mentioned social issue in the community. Stakeholders felt that although drug use was a problem, the much larger issue was alcoholism. Surprisingly, although excessive consumption of alcohol was seen as a way of life for local residents who, with nothing else to occupy their time see drinking excessively as a social activity, local operators discussed alcoholism much more frequently than expatriate operators. Alcoholism was frequently mentioned as having a negative impact on family life and the views of children who when exposed to this type of behaviour may eventually grow to model the drinking patterns of others (Interviews #12, 13, 14, 15, 23, 24, 27, 28, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 2012). Alcoholism was also stated as being a behaviour which affected community dynamics causing conflict, fear and a social divide (Interviews #2, 5, 9, 28, 29, 35, 49, 50, 2012), and having a negative impact on the tourist experience (Interviews #2, 5, 9, 12, 14, 15, 23, 28, 29, 31, 35, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 2012).

Substance abuse was said to be rising as a result of tourism development in the community. With increasing opportunities for income generation through employment in the

tourism industry, local people now have disposable income but lack the forward thinking to save their money for the future (Interviews #2, 4, 12, 13, 14, 15, 31, 35, 44, 45, 2012). In addition, pan-handling activities by local people soliciting charity from willing tourists has increased income for both the employed and the unemployed in the community (Interviews #2, 4, 23, 24, 27, 28, 45, 49, 50, 2012). With little experience dealing with income, local people have turned to substance abuse and visiting the Cantina as one of their primary social activities (Interviews #2, 4, 12, 13, 14, 15, 31, 35, 45, 2012).

It was recognized by 29/50 stakeholders that excessive alcohol consumption has a negative impact on the way that tourists perceive the community. A local operator explained that “tourists visiting the town would like to enjoy the peaceful relaxing nature of the village, not be threatened or intimidated by the town drunks” (Interview #15, 2012). In order to keep the tourists as far away as possible from these aggressive behaviours, restaurant owners have raised their prices for alcohol high enough so that local residents cannot afford to buy alcohol at their establishments. “We have the local and the non-local prices for alcohol” one local restaurant owner explained, “the Cantina, it has the lowest price, the local price. Other places raised their prices high so that the local drunks will stay away, and just stay in their own area in front of the Cantina” (Interview #30, 2012). However, this segregation has caused a large divide in the community, and the Cantina has become a local gathering spot where many non-local residents are fearful of visiting (Interviews #2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 14, 47, 50, 2012).

Gatherings in front of the Cantina is also non-ideal for tourism business owners, as one expatriate operator explained “the bus bringing tourists in from Sona drops people off right in front of the Cantina, right in the middle of a group of drunk men” (Interview #4, 2012). This operator also went on to say “that can’t make the town look good. That’s a tourist’s first impression of the village, something they will for sure go on to tell their friends and other travellers” (Interview #4, 2012).

5.4.2.2 Conflict

A little less than half of the respondents stated that they felt as though conflict had been increasing in the community as a result of increasing development. Respondents also stated this as a significant consequence of development. A few (9/10) operators felt as though conflict had

been induced due to an increasing number of expatriates residing in the community causing a divide between non-local and local residents. Operators described how as the expatriate population began to grow in numbers and dominate the tourism industry, local residents started to become increasingly hostile and stubborn (Interviews #3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 48, 49, 2012). Many refuse to change their behaviours and take the advice of expatriate business owners and adopt more socially and environmentally responsible practices out of spite and a means for preserving their traditional way of life (Interviews #4, 5, 7, 2012).

Increasing development has also placed pressure on resources such as water, and contributed to environmental issues which business owners place blame on local residents for being apathetic and uneducated. Witnessing residents in the community doing things that business sector stakeholders find particularly threatening to the quality of the tourist experience and ultimately their ability to gain revenues through tourism has made many (15/50) respondents perceive the local community in a poor light. Conflict was also seen as the leading cause of another problem, a lack of communication between local residents and businesses, specifically a lack of transparency in tourism decision-making.

5.4.2.3 Communication

Communication issues were expressed by 13/50 stakeholders, and was mentioned as being linked to conflict. The most important aspect of communication that was seen as something that needed to be improved was transparency. Following this, issues were mentioned regarding a lack of communication between the local and non-local populations, lack of communication between the community and the central government, and between classes (rich and poor).

A lack of transparency was mentioned primarily by expatriate operators as being the major cause of communication issues in the community (Interviews #1, 4, 5, 6, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 36, 41, 48, 2012). Stakeholders mentioned that the majority of decisions regarding the promotion of tourism for the community were done by a small group of individuals without consultation from the public, whether it be local residents or other operators (Interviews #1, 17, 18, 20, 21, 36, 2012). When open meetings were held, little was done in way of promoting the

event, and the details of town meetings including the date and time of the meeting, the location and the issues up for discussion remained vague. One non-local operator explained that:

we [the community] need to have more meetings and let everyone know when they will be and what they will be about...there was a meeting just last month and I was asked why I wasn't there but I had no idea it was even happening (Interview #17, 2012).

A few (5/50) stakeholders also mentioned a lack of communication between local and non-local stakeholder groups. When describing the integration between local and non-local stakeholders, one local operator said that:

The town is divided into three sides, the tourist business area by the beaches, the middle of town and the poor, back part of town where the locals live. Everyone stays pretty much to themselves; I'd say the non-local people are pretty scared to come back into our areas (Interview #11, 2012).

Those mentioning this issue stated that there was a general lack of integration between the two groups, whereby the non-local residents stayed primarily in their place of residence or business, and rarely ventured into town without a clear purpose (Interviews #3, 7, 11, 30, 49, 2012).

Similarly, a lack of communication between classes was mentioned by stakeholders who feel that the town is divided into the tourist business area of town and the local residential area of town (Interviews #1, 4, 5, 2012). The difference here is that the opposing stakeholders were group according to perceived financial status as opposed to their country of origin. Stakeholders feel as though separation of the community by class or race has negative effects on tourist opinions of the community. Community tensions are apparent, and this limits the authenticity of the experience received by tourists visiting the community (Interviews #1, 3, 30, 49, 2012).

5.4.3 Perceived Consequences of Development in Coiba National Park

In addition to consequences of development that were apparent within the community, respondents were also asked to identify any issues which they felt were of importance in Coiba National Park, and which they felt had negative implications for the tourism industry in Santa Catalina. The results of which can be seen in Table 16. There were many issues discussed in relation to the management of Coiba National Park. The most frequently mentioned issue was related to illegal fishing. This was often linked to the second most frequently mentioned issue of

Park ranger corruption and lack of enforcement of regulations. Following these were issues related to environmental destruction, drug trafficking, erosion and cultural destruction. There were also a large number of stakeholders who were unaware of any issues within the park boundaries and who knew very little about the island in general.

Table 16: Issues in Coiba National Park as Identified by Stakeholders

Consequence	Respondent	Overall Frequency	Order of Significance		
			First	Second	Third
Illegal Fishing	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22, 29, 33, 35, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50	29	26	3	-
Environmental Destruction	1, 3, 4, 5, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 26, 35	11	2	9	-
Police Corruption	4, 6, 7, 14, 16, 29, 33, 35	8	1	-	7
Drug Trafficking	2, 8, 10, 33	4	1	2	1
Erosion	29	1	-	-	1
Cultural Destruction	21	1	1	-	-
Not Sure	9, 11, 12, 17, 20, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37	16			

N=50

5.4.3.1 Illegal Fishing

The prevalence of illegal fishing within the park boundaries was mentioned most frequently and placed at the highest significance by operators. Many (29/50) operators who frequently visiting the park for business purposes noted seeing illegal fishing activities occurring within the park boundaries (Interviews #4, 5, 6, 14, 21, 26, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 2012). Stakeholders described that it is very difficult to bring illegal fishermen to justice without proper law enforcement officers or park rangers present as much evidence is needed to convict a perpetrator, and the collection of this evidence was often limited by fear. A dive operator suggested that:

it's dangerous, you need evidence. This is a small village so we ask tourists to take photos as evidence so it can't be traced back to us [tour operators]. We send these photos to Smithsonian but not a lot gets done (Interview #7, 2012).

A local dive instructor also noted that “sometimes we see the long-lines there so we cut them, sometimes we'll dive down and smash the lobster traps but it's risky because the fishermen are

like the mafia” (Interview #40, 2012). A non-local operator expressed concerns regarding illegal fishing and the impacts that depleted fish stocks could have on tourism in Santa Catalina, explaining that:

Coiba has the most amazing diving of anywhere else I’ve been, and I’ve been diving for 7 years. It would be a shame for all the illegal fishing going on to ruin it all for everyone else before they even get to see it (Interview #35, 2012).

A local operator also expressed concerns when stating that “A lot of the people that come to Catalina come here to dive in Coiba, people need to really pay attention to what’s going on in there because without diving, we’d be nothing” (Interview #43, 2012).

The way in which Coiba National Park is managed was stated by stakeholders as being improper, as there is little accountability for fishermen who partake in illegal fishing activities as there is little enforcement of regulation by park officials. A few (8/50) stakeholders mentioned that many park rangers are corrupt, and readily accept bribes and overlook illegal activities occurring within the park boundaries (Interviews #4, 6, 7, 14, 16, 29, 33, 35, 2012).

Respondents felt as though, without accountability on the part of the park rangers that all other existing problems would not be solved. A non-local operator who frequently operates tours through Coiba National Park and to Coiba Island explained that those caught participating in illegal activities are sometimes held accountable, but this may all be to keep up appearances.

In Coiba occasionally people have been fined, every now and then they [park rangers] do something to make it look like they’re doing something. There’s a three strikes rule for illegal fishing and on the third they confiscate the boat. This happened once, but the boat’s still sitting on the island [Coiba Island] still, just for show (Interview #4, 2012).

It was also stated that “just last month the head park ranger took a 300 USD bribe to allow spear fishing at one of our dive sites. This happens a lot” (Interview #7, 2012).

Operators felt as though illegal fishing practices had become more prevalent with increases in tourism demand. Sport-fishing operators were often seen fishing illegally within the park boundaries in order to gain access to more bountiful and diverse fish populations and provide a greater tourist experience (Interviews #4, 6, 7, 39, 40, 2012). In addition, with increasing tourism in Santa Catalina, there was a greater market demand in restaurants and

markets for fresh fish. Operators felt that without increased law enforcement within the park, it would be very difficult to reduce the prevalence of illegal fishing (Interviews #4, 6, 7, 14, 16, 29, 33, 35, 2012). A few (5/50) operators mentioned that they felt that the most effective way for them to do something to mitigate this issue would be to impose voluntary measures which may help reduce the demand in Santa Catalina for fish caught illegally (Interviews #3, 4, 5, 15, 26, 2012). Fish caught illegally were often caught out of season, or had not had the chance to mature. Operators felt as though one mechanism which may be helpful at reducing demands for fish caught illegally would be to create awareness on the part of the consumer. If tourists were aware that the fish they were selecting at a restaurant or fish market was not in season, they may be less likely to purchase this option over a fish that was in season. Restaurant owners could voluntarily agree to place an educational note on their menus or on a message board (Interviews #3, 4, 6, 15, 26, 2012). Making this distinction could create awareness among tourists and reduce the demand for illegally caught fish in Santa Catalina.

5.4.4 Summary: Common Definition of the Problem

Currently, there is limited open discussion between business sector stakeholders in Santa Catalina regarding the consequences that increased development is having on both the natural and social conditions within the community, as well as in neighbouring Coiba National Park. Although stakeholders have their own personal perspectives regarding which issues they feel as the most pressing and which they would like to find solutions to, there has been little done to stimulate an outward discussion and bring relevant issues to the forefront, allowing a consensus to be built to unite the business sector.

Gray (1989) stresses that in order for collaborative partnerships to be successful those acting within the partnership must be united through a common goal. It has been discussed in the previous section that there is strong desire within the business community to continue to develop the region through tourism, and to continue to increase tourism demand as well as increase the longevity of the destination as a tourist product in order for businesses and local populations to generate maximum benefits from tourism. This section explored areas which stakeholders fear are suffering the most from increasing development, and that they feel need attention and investment in order for the carrying capacity of the community to continue to grow

along with the increasing development they wish to achieve. Coming to a consensus regarding which issues are of relevance is an important precondition for the success of collaborative partnerships used for destination management (Jamal and Getz, 1995; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999).

Here, many environmental and social issues have been discussed by business sector stakeholders, both directly within the community, as well as issues in Coiba National Park through which businesses in Santa Catalina fear they will eventually feel the effects. Most often mentioned and also discussed as being the most significant consequence of development was the lack of solid waste management in the community, specifically littering. In addition, although mentioned less frequently, water conservation was seen as being the second most important environmental issue as increased development is beginning to place noticeable pressure on water resources. In regards to social consequences, substance abuse, increasing conflict and a lack of communication were seen as important problems. Within Coiba National Park, stakeholders felt as though illegal fishing practices were the most pressing.

5.5 Hypothesis Three: Recognition of the Interdependencies between Stakeholders

Whether or not stakeholders recognize the interdependencies between them is essential to the success of collaborative partnerships, and motivates stakeholders to want to work together as opposed to acting autonomously (Gray, 1989; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999; Selin and Chavez, 1999). Here, stakeholders must recognize that it is not only the way that they themselves are acting, but also the actions of others that affect their success. Interdependencies between stakeholders can also be found in their dependence on one another in their personal relationships (Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999). This recognition of interdependence is what motivates stakeholders to voice their concerns and opinions regarding current practices, and understand the points of view of others in order to work towards finding solutions and modify behaviours in a way which benefits everyone (Gray, 1989).

5.5.1 How the Actions of Others Affect Business Success

In the previous section, operators discussed the various environmental and social consequences of development which they felt were important to address. Operators were able to

make direct links between these consequences and the negative effects they were perceived to be currently having or would have on future tourism demand. Throughout this discussion, operators alluded to the fact that not only were they themselves responsible for causing and solving these issues, but there may be others who they felt were also responsible. This shifting of responsibility away from themselves and onto other stakeholders, including those outside the business sector, exhibits a recognition amongst operators that the actions of those they placed responsibility on were affecting their business success. Hence, for example, if an operator suggests that it is the government's responsibility to find a solution to the littering problem, it can be inferred that they feel as though the actions or inaction of the government is negatively affecting their business success as it has negative impacts on tourist impressions of the community and the overall quality of the destination as a tourist product.

For the various environmental and social consequences of development described by operators both within Santa Catalina and in Coiba National Park, operators were asked who they felt were both responsible for causing and solving these issues. Other individuals or groups who operators felt were responsible for contributing to these negative consequences would draw attention to those whose behaviours operators feel solutions should be aimed towards improving. Those who stakeholders feel are responsible for solving these issues, alludes to individuals or groups whose perceived lack of action or improper actions are negatively affecting the ability to find and implement proper solutions. In both cases, these are individuals which stakeholders feel are acting in a way which is affecting them negatively, hence illustrating their interdependence on these stakeholders for success.

When discussing those who operators felt were responsible for contributing to development problems within Santa Catalina, respondents mentioned a wide range of stakeholders including the local residents, government, public educators, and tourists. In regards to development consequences occurring within Santa Catalina, operators placed the majority of the responsibility for both causing (Table 17) and solving (Table 18) issues related to development on the community as a whole, and frequently identified themselves as part of this group. This illustrates that operators feel as though they have greater interdependencies between those who are active within the community: local residents and other operators. The lack of inclusion of government in this discussion may stem from a history of a lack of governmental

influence in the community, or be caused by the fact that both littering and water conservation were issues that were discussed by stakeholders as being caused primarily due to poor behaviours, apathy and a lack of education as opposed to being heavily influenced by external investment.

Table 17: Stakeholder Perceived to be Contributing to Negative Environmental and Social Consequences of Development within Santa Catalina

Environmental Consequences	Stakeholders Perceived by Business Community as Being Responsible for Causing Development Consequences						
	Themselves	Entire Community	Educators	Business Owners	Local People	Government	Tourists
Littering	17	26	7	--	9	3	--
Water Availability	--	5	--	1	4	8	--
Over-fishing	--	--	--	8	6	2	2
Water Contamination	8	5	6	--	--	2	--
Deforestation	--	--	1	--	4	3	--
Lack of Recycling	1	1	--	--	--	--	3
Dump Maintenance	--	--	--	--	--	4	--
Social Consequences							
Substance Abuse	25	4	5	5	14	2	--
Conflict	5	16	--	8	7	--	--
Communication	9	12	--	1	--	--	--
Lack of Green Space for Children	--	4	--	3	--	4	--
Prostitution	--	1	--	--	7	--	--
Violence	--	--	2	5	2	--	--
Public Health	--	--	--	--	--	2	--
Workers Rights	--	--	--	1	--	--	--
Police Corruption	--	--	--	--	--	1	--

N=50

In regards to issues in Coiba National Park, operators more frequently mentioned the government as being responsible for both causing (Table 19) and solving (Table 20) development problems.

Table 18: Stakeholder Perceived to be Responsible for Finding Solutions to Negative Environmental and Social Consequences of Development within Santa Catalina

Environmental Consequences	Stakeholders Perceived by Business Community as Being Responsible for Finding Solutions to Development Consequences					
	Themselves	Entire Community	Educators	Business Owners	Local People	Government
Littering	37	21	7	2	4	10
Water Availability	10	11	--	4	--	2
Over-fishing	7	--	4	--	--	9
Water Contamination	8	7	1	--	1	5
Deforestation	8	1	--	--	--	8
Lack of Recycling	5	1	1	--	--	4
Dump Maintenance	1	--	--	--	--	4
Social Consequences						
Substance Abuse	3	1	8	--	16	9
Conflict	21	20	--	5	--	--
Communication	13	12	--	1	--	--
Lack of Green Space for Children	6	3	--	5	--	8
Prostitution	2	--	--	--	3	5
Violence	1	--	2	2	--	5
Public Health	1	--	--	--	--	2
Workers Rights	--	--	--	1	--	--
Police Corruption	--	--	--	--	--	1

N=50

This may stem from the fact that Coiba National Park is a park utilized by many individuals, many of which may reside outside of the community of Santa Catalina (a fisherman from another mainland village may be fishing illegally within the park). This feeling of disconnect from the problem leads operators to take less responsibility for their contributions to development consequences, and finding solutions.

When operators did mention themselves as being responsible, this was discussed primarily as a lack of inactivity or ability on the part of the operator to shift government awareness towards this problem, and act as a catalyst for change. This illustrates that operators may feel greater interdependencies with government when it comes to dealing with issues outside of the community.

Table 19: Stakeholder Perceived to be Contributing to Negative Consequences of Development in Coiba National Park

Environmental Consequences	Stakeholders Perceived by Business Community as Contributing to Development Consequences			
	Business Owners	Local People	Government	Tourists
Illegal Fishing	3	6	30	1
Environmental Destruction	2	--	7	5
Feral Cows	--	--	1	--
Erosion	--	--	2	--
Social Consequences				
Police Corruption	2	--	8	--
Drug Trafficking	--	--	4	--
Destruction of Heritage Sites	--	--	1	--

N=50

Table 20: Stakeholder Perceived to be Responsible for Finding Solutions to Negative Consequences of Development in Coiba National Park

Environmental Consequences	Stakeholders Perceived by Business Community as Being Responsible for Finding Solutions to Development Consequences				
	Entire Community	Business Owners	Local People	Government	Tourists
Illegal Fishing	1	9	1	28	7
Environmental Destruction	--	4	--	7	3
Feral Cows	--	--	--	1	--
Erosion	--	--	--	2	--
Social Consequences					
Police Corruption	2	--	--	8	--
Drug Trafficking	--	--	--	5	--
Destruction of Heritage Sites	--	--	--	1	--
Not Sure	--	--	--	--	--

N=50

5.5.2 Perceptions of How Personal Relationships Affect Business Success

To determine the level of importance that operators placed on the formation of positive relationships, operators were asked whether or not they felt as though the way they interacted with local residents and other operators was necessary for their success. All respondents answered “yes”, and stated that they felt as though personal interactions were important for both their happiness as well as for the future success of the tourism industry in general.

5.5.2.1 Importance of Strong Personal Relationships between Operators and Local Residents

A few (11/50) stakeholders felt that maintaining friendly relationships with members of the local community made them feel safer, and that they feel less tension and conflict within the community as a result (Interviews #3, 4, 12, 13, 21, 22, 23, 28, 30, 49, 50, 2012). As an extension of this, 7/50 operators felt as though positive relationships with local residents made them more confident in the safety of their customers and that the presence of local residents at their establishments contributed to the overall tourist experience; making their establishment more desirable to tourists and more profitable overall (Interviews #13, 17, 30, 31, 32, 46, 50, 2012). Several food service providers shared that same sentiment that was expressed by a long time food service and accommodations owner who said:

having the locals come into your restaurant and be friendly towards you definitely makes tourists look at you in a better way and makes them want to come back more and more. The people [tourists] who come here [Santa Catalina] aren't looking for a resort experience, they want to interact with the local people and feel included (Interview #50, 2012).

Expatriate operators (7/50) also felt that maintaining relationships with local people made them feel more integrated into the community in a way which was socially satisfying, and granted them a feeling of social presence and respect amongst the local people (Interviews #3, 4, 15, 26, 35, 49, 50, 2012).

5.5.2.2 Importance of Strong Personal Relationships between Operators

In addition to operators feeling as though building positive personal relationships with local residents in the community was important, they also all felt as though maintaining positive

relationships with other operators was also thought to be necessary for the happiness of stakeholders and for the future of their success in the tourism industry. Many (23/50) stakeholders stated that they received the majority of their customers through a system of referrals (Interviews #2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 21, 25, 27, 33, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 2012). Hence, personal relationships between operators are a means for networking and increasing revenues. This was less important for hotels, but more important for all other sectors. To show the impact that business relationships can have between operators, an independent surf instructor stated that:

the majority of marketing for businesses is done through word of mouth, and therefore the better your reputation and the more friends you have the more likely people are to tell tourists to come to you. People usually ask at the hotel which dive shop or surf instructor or restaurant they feel is the best, and those people get the most business (Interview #10, 2012).

5.5.3 Summary: Recognition of Interdependencies

Recognition of the interdependencies between members of a collaborative partnership is essential to motivating stakeholders within the partnership to work together to understand the values and perspectives of all those involved and to find common solutions (Gray, 1989). The recognition that the actions of others affects personal business success is a necessary precondition for collaborative success which emerges in the initial stages of development of the partnership and continues to remain important throughout the entire process (Jamal and Getz, 1995). Here, when discussing the consequences of development which operators felt to be the most significant, they were able to identify interdependencies both with other operators as well as with local residents and the government. Operators felt as though interdependencies with local residents were much greater when discussing problems within the community, whereas interdependencies with the government were much more important when dealing with development consequences outside of the community in Coiba National Park.

5.6 Hypothesis Four: Solutions to Reducing the Negative Consequences of Development: The Opportunity for Collaboration

Stakeholders mentioned a range of solutions that they felt were necessary in order to mitigate the effects of development. Stakeholders were able to come to these solutions without

being prompted by the researcher. These included: collaborative partnerships used to lobby the government for infrastructure investment, increased law enforcement and the introduction of educational programs, as well as increasing the frequency of community events for relationship building.

5.6.1 Recognition of Collaboration as a Potential Solution

When discussing which resources would be necessary in order to implement solutions to mitigate the negative consequences of development and when lacking may act as barriers to implementation, the most commonly stated response was “a common voice” (Table 21). Hence, a very tangible incentive for the formation of collaboration as discussed by stakeholders was the creation of lobbying power within the community to allow for access to financial resources held by government agencies which would enable improvements to be made to infrastructure and allow for the hiring of skilled workers and regulators to monitor and enforce environmental and social policy.

Many (15/50) operators felt as though they were lacking in unity, and that they had little power in numbers (Interviews #3, 5, 13, 16, 21, 26, 27, 33, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 48, 50, 2012). This suggests recognition that working autonomously would not produce change. Collaboration is based upon the building of a common voice, and using this voice to gain awareness for a specific purpose and gain access to resources which were once unavailable to stakeholders who had been previously acting independently (Gray, 1989; Jamal and Getz 1995). Lobbying power was also suggested by stakeholders as a means to enable the community to encourage the investment of private and public sector groups in the community’s tourism infrastructure by highlighting the importance of the region to the national tourism marketing strategy which focuses on increasing tourism in Coiba National Park (Interviews #4, 7, 26, 2012). Access to Coiba National Park and the destination’s world-renowned surfing are both resources with notable tourism market potential. These resources have been recognized locally, nationally and internationally as drivers of tourism demand to the region, and thus emphasize the importance of the region on a larger scale (ATP, 2007; 2010).

Table 21: Barriers to Mitigating the Consequences of Development

Environmental Consequences	Barriers												
	Apathy and a Lack of Forward Thinking	Education and Awareness	Skilled Workers	Infrastructure	Policy and Enforcement	Financial Resources	Accountability	Government Corruption	Conflict	Transparency	Available Land	Leadership	A Common Voice
Littering	11	20	1	16	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	42
Water Availability	3	7	3	7	7	9	2	-	8	-	-	-	10
Over-fishing	6	3	1	-	4	6	8	3	-	-	-	-	-
Water Contamination	-	10	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Deforestation	4	1	-	-	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lack of Recycling	-	4	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dump Maintenance	-	-	-	-	3	4	-	-	-	-	2	-	5
Social Consequences													
Substance Abuse	22	5	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
Conflict	6	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	5	-
Communication	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	6	-	4	-
Lack of Green Space for Children	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	5	-	-
Crime	4	7	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Violence	-	3	-	-	1	-	6	-	2	-	-	-	-
Public Health	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Workers Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Police Corruption	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Consequences in Coiba National Park													
Illegal Fishing	2	3	-	-	27	12	9	8	-	-	-	-	14
Environmental Destruction	1	8	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Police Corruption	3	-	-	-	6	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Drug Trafficking	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Erosion	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cultural Destruction	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N=50

These resources have been recognized locally, nationally and internationally as drivers of tourism demand to the region, and thus emphasize the importance of the region on a larger scale (ATP, 2007; 2010). Recognition of the destination's market potential has already drawn in several external investors and tourists year round despite its relative remoteness and lack of infrastructure and services. Stakeholders have also suggested that tourism is the best option for continuing development in the region, although they would like to see this done in a manner which increases tourism demand but protects the rural integrity and high environmental quality of the community.

5.6.2 The Desire for Collaboration among Business Sector Stakeholders

When research was conducted in summer 2012, there was minimal collaboration taking place between tourism industry stakeholders in the community of Santa Catalina, Panama. Past attempts at public consultations and town meetings with a variety of stakeholders had failed and resulted in conflict. This failure greatly reduced the desire for stakeholders to participate in further discussions, leaving the majority of collaborative efforts since then to be discussed between small groups of three to four operators with no consultation with other stakeholders. These efforts have been focussed towards gaining governmental funding for infrastructure improvements (waste collection and water distribution) and increasing tourism marketing for the community. Throughout the interview process, five main priorities were established in relation to environmental conservation and social equity. These included: increasing the frequency of community programs, improving education and awareness, gaining external aid for infrastructure investment, increased policy creation and increased policy enforcement.

The majority of stakeholders (40/50) felt as though collaboration between community members would be possible (Table 22). This was an especially strong response in regards to expatriate operators, who all but one felt it would be possible. On the other hand, a 5/50 operators felt as though it would not be possible and 5/50 were not sure if it would be. These operators' desired collaboration, but past failures and resulting conflict had reduced the legitimacy of the process in their perspectives.

Table 22: Recognition of Possible Success of Collaboration among Operators in Santa Catalina

Possibility of Collaboration	Respondent	Frequency
Yes	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	40
No	10, 11, 12, 36, 37	5
Maybe	21, 40, 41, 42, 43	5

N=50

Respondents stated several reasons why they felt as though there was an opportunity for a collaboration partnership to be successful, the results of which are shown in Table 23.

Table 23: Reasons Why Collaboration would be Successful

Reasoning	Respondent	Frequency
It has benefits for everyone	1, 2, 5, 7, 14, 22, 23, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	21
It is desired by everyone	1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 14, 22, 23, 26, 28, 34, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48, 50	17
There is faith in the community that people will recognize the need to come together	13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 27, 34, 31, 32, 49	11
It is possible with only a few or interested parties involved	3, 6, 9, 12, 22, 26, 33, 41, 50	9
People have to have a positive attitude	16, 25, 27, 28, 38, 39, 50	7
It is necessary	14, 23, 30, 40	4
It is possible if it is efficient	4, 9, 35	3
Not Sure	20	1

N=50

5.6.3 Stakeholder Roles in Collaboration

A few (9/50) operators felt that collaborative partnerships would be more effective if the number of individuals involved in the partnership was limited to a few passionate individuals who could act as leaders and bear the majority of the responsibility for decision-making. Hence, collaboration would work primarily through a consultation process, with leaders being self elected, and the remaining individuals remaining informed and included in the process through

consultation. This was further demonstrated through the roles in which operators stated that they would like to play in collaboration. The results can be seen in Table 24.

Many of the roles that were discussed in regards to solving environmental and social issues in the community were also discussed in regards to the roles of stakeholders in collaborative partnerships. This may be because many stakeholders mentioned that they felt as though collaboration would be the best solution to improving community conditions, and hence when discussing solutions to perceived community issues, they were primarily discussing collaboration.

Table 24: Roles of Stakeholders in Collaboration

Roles	Respondent	Frequency
Attend and Participate in Town Meetings	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	42
Give Time to Volunteer for Community Events and Initiatives	3, 4, 16, 23, 24, 26, 27, 31, 32, 35, 45, 48, 49, 50	14
Provide Technical Knowledge	3, 5, 6, 14, 26, 30, 48	7
Provide Leadership	1, 6, 13, 47	4
no role	9,11,12,20	4
Host/Plan Community Events	10, 13, 29	3
Provide Financial Support	18, 19, 22	3

N=50

The most frequently mentioned role that stakeholders would like to play in collaboration is the role of a participant, but not a leader. All stakeholders stated that they wanted to be involved in the decision-making process regarding tourism development in the community, and most (47/50) said that they would like to play a role in a collaborative partnership if one were to be formed (Table 25).

Stakeholders felt most comfortable attending meetings and participating in discussion, but not with taking responsibility and being a leader. Secondly, stakeholders stated that they would be willing to play the role of a volunteer and donate their time to community initiatives but would not like to be responsible for planning these initiatives. Only three local operators stated that they would be willing to plan and host community initiatives. These results suggest

that stakeholders are more comfortable when they do not feel the pressure of decision-making, and they would like to be given a task or express their opinion while letting someone else take a leadership role, delegate tasks, and play a major role in decision-making.

Table 25: Operators who would like to be involved in Collaboration

Involvement	Respondent	Frequency
Yes	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	47
No	9, 12, 20	3

N=50

Only four respondents stated that they would feel comfortable with taking on a leadership position. Of these four individuals, both local and expatriate leaders emerged. These individuals all held positions within the community where they expressed a large degree of responsibility or leadership in past decision-making or acted as role models for the local community. Hence they had already assumed leadership roles within their daily lives, and were comfortable in this type of authoritative position.

5.7 Hypothesis Five, Six and Seven: Perceived Barriers to Collaboration

Many barriers to collaboration were discussed by business sector stakeholders and are shown in Table 26.

Table 26: Barriers to Collaboration

Barrier	Respondent	Frequency
Lack of Community Leadership	1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 14, 26, 35, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50	16
Poor Communication and Lack of Transparency	5, 7, 10, 14, 17, 18, 23, 24, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 41, 44, 46	16
Lack of Legitimacy in the Process	7, 10, 12, 13, 15, 21, 26, 42, 45, 46, 49, 50	12
Conflict	3, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 21, 36, 37	11
Lack of Forward Thinking	4, 7, 8, 13, 14, 23, 35	7
Lack of Recognition of Mutual Benefit	39, 40, 41	3

N=50

These barriers fell into two categories: barriers which prevented stakeholders from coming together, and hence would be most predominant at the problem-setting phase; and barriers which

may prevent the implementation of solutions once the partnership has been formed, and hence would be more predominant during the direction-setting and implementation phases of collaboration. This section will explore these barriers and their significance to the collaborative process.

5.7.1 Collaboration and Problem-Setting

Several barriers were suggested that may cause difficulties in the problem-setting phase of collaboration. In the problem-setting phase, a skilled convenor or individual in a leadership role is responsible for bringing together key stakeholders and uniting them through the recognition of their interdependencies and the mutual benefits that can be gained through collaboration. The belief that the collaborative process will be effective and that decisions made will be implemented is also necessary to motivate partners to come together (legitimacy of the process), so that the process will be seen as efficient as opposed to a waste of time (Gray, 1989; Jamal and Getz, 1995). Barriers that were suggested by stakeholder which may reduce their motivation or the motivation of others to participate in collaboration at this initial phase include: lack of leadership, lack of participation by key stakeholders and a lack of legitimacy in the process.

5.7.1.1 Leadership

Gray and Wood (1991) argue that collaborative partnerships are much more successful when led by a convenor or facilitator who is perceived to have legitimate authority over the process. Currently in the community of Santa Catalina there is a general lack of leadership and authority. Very few respondents (2/50) were able to identify the current leader (whether formal or informal) in the community. Most (46/50) respondents stated that they would not like to assume a leadership role. This was because conflict within the community is high, and stakeholders are not prepared to deal with the backlash that they felt would inevitably result from any decisions that were made. There were, however, 4 out of 50 respondents who suggested that they would be willing to assume a leadership role (Table 24). To explore the support that these self-nominated leaders could have if they were to be elected, respondents were asked to nominate individuals who they thought would be able to act appropriately as leaders while being open-minded to the views of stakeholders which may have competing values or viewpoints.

There was a high degree of consistency between those who were nominated as leaders and those who would like to be leaders. This was more evident when suggesting a leader to represent the local community than it was when suggesting a leader from the expatriate community.

The leaders that were suggested to represent the local community were those individuals who had working and personal relationships with both the local and non-local stakeholders. The most frequently mentioned individuals have been successful in becoming established in the tourism industry while maintaining a high degree of contact and influence in the local community through use of strong personal relationships. These individuals were chosen based on their ability to handle conflict, their roles as positive role models for local residents and their already established social leadership roles within the community. These individuals were trusted by many stakeholders and were perceived to possess a high degree of understanding regarding the situations of the poor and their values and priorities. Respondents felt that stakeholders with these characteristics were best suited to relay information regarding tourism decision-making to stakeholder with opposing viewpoints and priorities in a manner that would be the most effective and cause the least conflict (Interviews #2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 22, 25, 28, 30, 31, 32, 45, 48, 49, 50, 2012).

The leaders that were suggested to represent the expatriate community were those who were highly involved in the tourism sector and had built strong relationships with other operators. These individuals did not necessarily have technical knowledge or management skills, but instead were nominated due to their lengthy stake in the community and their commitment to building relationships with many different stakeholders. These nominees were also highly active in the surf community and hence had gained a degree of respect from local residents for their athletic skill and presence.

The consistencies between those who would like to assume leadership roles and those who were thought to be the most effective leaders suggests that it may be easier for a leader to emerge from the community than previously thought. It is clear from the interview process that stakeholders find conflict to be the largest deterrent for those considering assuming a large degree of responsibility in decision-making. Thus, those who were suggested as good leaders were those who were not necessarily well informed or educated regarding tourism and environmental and social management practices, but instead were those who possessed strong

relationships with multiple stakeholders as well as demonstrated conflict resolution and negotiation skills.

5.7.1.2 Participation by Key Stakeholders

It is argued that a broad range of stakeholders must be included in the decision-making process in order for collaboration to be successful. Including the values and opinions of multiple stakeholders allows for issues to be discussed in a more holistic sense, exploring sides of a problem that may not be obvious to others (Gray, 1989). During the problem-setting phase as outlined by Gray (1989), it is necessary to include the perspectives of all key stakeholders in order to develop a clear view of the problem and its implications in order to begin to develop appropriate solutions and allow for barriers which may occur later in the direction-setting and implementation phases to be avoided. Currently, stakeholders in the tourism industry in Santa Catalina have been working autonomously or in very small groups with limited participation from other stakeholders.

As discussed previously, operators felt as though when dealing with development consequences within the community they had strong interdependencies with the local residents. Additionally, when dealing with development consequences outside of the community, operators felt as though they had strong interdependencies with government. This suggests that when finding solution to issues in Santa Catalina, local residents may be key stakeholders who should be included in the discussion. As well, when dealing with finding solution to issues in Coiba National Park, the government may be a key stakeholder who should be included in the discussion. Although these stakeholders were often discussed as being influential, operators most often included themselves as being central to decision-making. Hence, the role of the business sector, the local residents, and the government may all be important and should be included in collaborative discussion regarding solutions.

Currently, private sector operators play the dominant role in all decisions that are made within the community of Santa Catalina. Business owners have often come together to discuss issues within the community, and have worked actively in the past to find solutions to these issues. With little influence from the local community and government in decision-making, many operators have informally assumed the roles that these stakeholders traditionally play.

Operators act as law enforcement officers preventing illegal fishing practices within the boundaries of Coiba National Park by cutting long lines and destroying lobster traps. Operators have also worked to implement a more effective waste collection service by soliciting government aid to fund public waste receptacles for the community. Operators have implemented the collection of a water bill to encourage the building of a pool of funds that could be used for maintenance of the water distribution system. Moreover, operators have given opportunities to local people to build their business and English language skills.

Operators have taken active roles in producing small changes towards destination management. However, they have not been able to make changes large enough to keep up with increases in tourism demand in the region. Many (22/50) feel as though large changes in policy and infrastructure need to be made before problems with waste management, resource conservation and social equity become too much to handle, and that collaborating with both the local residents and the government would be necessary to produce these changes (Interviews #1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 21, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 48, 2012). Operators often assumed responsibility for causing and solving environmental and social issues within the community. When discussing issues in Coiba National Park, many (47/50) operators did not feel as though they were not responsible, although they still made small efforts to protect the area.

Current attempts by operators at initiating collaboration have failed. In the past, town meetings had been organized and run by three expatriate operators (Interviews #2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17, 20, 34, 49, 50, 2012). Following these failed meetings, operators decided that it was too unproductive to continue to involve the local community in decision-making. Many operators simply went back to their daily activities, while a few concerned stakeholders held meetings of three to five individuals to discuss issues of importance to them without consulting other operators or the local community. A few (10/50) respondents reported being aware that there had been meetings occurring between a few individuals and that they had not been informed that these meetings were taking place (Interviews #1, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 31, 32, 34, 36, 2012). Twelve of the 50 stakeholders mentioned transparency was an issue, and that they would like to be involved in current efforts. They felt as though they were not being given the opportunity to express their opinions regarding what was being discussed during these meetings. A few (5/50) respondents saw this as a personal attack, and that they were being specifically left out of the

decision-making process (Interviews #1, 17, 31, 32, 34, 2012). These feelings of devaluation often led to distrust between operators. This distrust was evident when business sector stakeholders were asked how they perceived expatriate operators. Here, 18/50 respondents stated that they had poor views and regarded expatriate operators in a negative light, and 10/50 were indifferent. Hence, only 22/50 business sector stakeholders viewed the expatriate business community positively (Table 27).

Table 27: Operator Perspectives Regarding the Behaviours and Attitudes of the Expatriate Community

Perception	Respondent	Frequency
Positive	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 23, 24, 25, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 38, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	22
Negative	1, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 26, 27, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45	18
Indifferent	10, 11, 15, 17, 20, 28, 30, 34, 36, 37	10

N=50

Although past collaborative attempts have failed, operators have been able to produce small changes independently. The interviews suggest that there is potential to incorporate other stakeholders into a collaborative partnership, expanding efforts outside of the business sector. Many operators suggested that they would like to actively work towards building stronger relationships with local people and reduce conflict. Many suggested increasing the frequency of community events in order to foster personal relationships as opposed to operating strictly within business relationships. Operators frequently suggested that in order to produce change they would like to see the community come together with a common voice. They felt as though this was needed and possible, and they were willing to work actively to achieve this.

There are many barriers which inhibit the success of collaborative efforts, and these are magnified when dealing in the context of developing countries. Tosun (2000) identifies many barriers which may be impossible to overcome. One of these includes a lack of community participation in the development of tourism policies due to the majority of the power residing in highly centralized national governments, with destination communities having very little say in policy-making. This was discussed very frequently by stakeholders in Santa Catalina, as they felt that there was a general lack of accountability amongst all those acting in the region, and that the government could help solve many of the current issues relevant to the community and Coiba

National Park simply by providing more policing, monitoring and enforcement of current policy (Interviews #1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 16, 29, 33, 35, 43, 44, 48, 2012).

These policies included the collection of the water bill, the control of the sale of alcohol, monitoring fishing practices and preventing crime, drug use and prostitution. Moreover, stakeholders felt there was little government influence regarding the monitoring of those employed in the public sector including school teachers, police officers and park officials (Interviews #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, 14, 16, 17, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 38, 48, 49, 50, 2012). This left little accountability for those employed in the public sector to do their jobs properly, and in many cases had led to corruption. Stakeholders often discussed that they felt the national government did not consider the issues being faced in their community and in regards to Coiba National Park as being significant, even though they were highly aware of the importance of the park to the national tourism marketing strategy and tourism demand in the community.

There was very little mention of any level of government communication (local, regional or national) with community level stakeholders. Three non-local operators mentioned that they had tried on separate occasions to get in touch with government officials to gain information regarding land-use and zoning laws, tax collection, and infrastructure improvements (Interviews #4, 6, 7, 2012). These stakeholders stated government officials did not respond on most occasions, and those that did were untimely and unhelpful. This greatly discouraged stakeholders from attempting on their own to gain the support of government, but had in turn created a stronger desire for the creation of lobbying power through collaboration in order to gain government awareness of community issues. Those operators who had previously attempted communication with governments felt as though with more support from the community the government would be more likely to take their concerns seriously.

Often collaborative partnerships include only a small number of individuals meeting on several occasions to discuss planning and progress. The inclusion of the opinions of important stakeholders from a variety of stakeholder groups including the local residents of the community has been suggested to be a key component of sustainable tourism development and planning (Jamal and Getz, 1995; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999; Selin and Chavez, 1999). In developing countries in particular, local populations may participate minimally in collaborative efforts due to preoccupation with the struggles of daily life, in addition to a history of being

excluded from decision-making (Tosun, 2000). In Santa Catalina, there was very limited local participation in decision-making by individuals who were not employed in the tourism industry. Although several attempts were made at opening a dialogue regarding current issues in the community with local residents, these attempts were refused (Interviews #3, 4, 6, 22, 34, 2012). This may be an indication of limited resident participation in future tourism planning and consultation.

It was discussed by many stakeholders that conflict between the local and expatriate community is common. Of the 50 respondents, 46 stated that they felt as though there was a history of conflict in the community, meaning a history of tension, disagreement and arguments between local and non-local people (Table 28).

Table 28: History of Conflict in the Community

Perception	Respondent	Frequency
Yes	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	46
No	20, 23, 24, 29	4

N=50

The attitudes of local residents were also described by operators as being very distrustful of those currently participating in tourism development. Respondents stated that they felt local residents passed the majority of blame for current social issues, primarily substance abuse, conflict and exploitation on to tourism operators (Interviews #7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 36, 37, 2012). When business sector stakeholders were asked to describe their opinion of the local residents in the community, 30/50 respondents stated that they held the local residents in a positive light; whereas 15/50 respondents had negative views and 5/50 were indifferent in terms of their opinions of the local population (Table 29).

Table 29: Operator Perspectives Regarding the Behaviours and Attitudes of Local Community

Perception	Respondent	Frequency
Positive	3, 8, 9, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	30
Negative	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 35, 43, 44	15
Indifferent	16, 18, 19, 22, 30	5

N=50

Despite almost half of the stakeholders feeling negatively or indifferent about local residents, 46/50 business sector stakeholders felt as though they were perceived positively by the local community (Table 30). If the perceptions of business sector stakeholders are correct, and the desire among operators to collaborate with the local community exists, it may be possible for differences to be overcome and collaboration between these two groups to be successful.

Table 30: Operator Perspectives Regarding how their Behaviours and Attitudes are viewed by the Local Community

Perception	Respondent	Frequency
Positive	1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	46
Negative	2, 3, 18, 19	4

N=50

Numerous operators also claimed that local residents had been invited to attend town meetings. Many had declined to do so, and business sector stakeholders felt as though those who did attend meetings did so with a poor attitude and caused conflict. Language barriers and differences in education caused significant difficulties with communication between the non-local and local groups (Interviews #3, 4, 5, 6, 12, 13, 14, 15, 26, 36, 37, 49, 50, 2012). As well, a few (5/50) stakeholders stated that many local residents were unable to see the benefits that they were receiving from tourism, and could not recognize that they too would be benefiting if solutions were found to many of the community's environmental and social concerns (Interviews #4, 5, 6, 12, 46, 2012). Inclusion of local participants then became perceived as a detriment to the collaborative process, as tourism operators began to find involving the local community yielded unproductive results, and consensus and agreements were impossible to reach. This lack of productivity that resulted from the inclusion of the opinions of the local residents led them to be excluded from future collaborative efforts. Operators then began to hold private meetings, devaluing the values and priorities of the local community, reducing transparency and increasing conflict and distrust between the business and local communities (Interviews #9, 10, 12, 31, 32, 40, 2012).

To reduce conflict while still incorporating the values and priorities of poor communities, other consultative processes can be used in conjunction with collaborative partnerships. The

potential for participation through consultation with local community interest groups and residents has been proven to be successful (Pretty, 1995). Consultative participation allows for residents to express their opinions and concerns to a select number of stakeholders, usually professional facilitators. In the absence of skilled negotiators, concerned community representatives who hold the livelihoods of the poor at the highest regard may be used in the absence of third party intervention. The concerns of the poor brought up during the consultative phase will then be relayed to the collaborative partners through community representatives. Although these concerns will be taken into account by the collaborative partners, they are under no obligation to incorporate these views into decision-making if they do not see fit (Pretty, 1995).

Most (47/50) stakeholders felt as though community input into tourism decision-making would be done best through the election one or several local community members who may act as representatives on behalf of the community and then relay messages back to other stakeholders. Many (24/50) felt as though this would be the best way to reduce conflict and discuss decision-making more efficiently, allowing for more successful and timely implementation. Here, stakeholders are essentially describing a consultative participatory approach. This may be beneficial for the community of Santa Catalina, and it has been suggested that “effective participation in programs in tourism...requires a combination of techniques that will work best for its unique set of constituents” (Marien and Pizam, 1997).

Many (23/50) stakeholders suggested that they would like to work with the local community more effectively, and were willing to participate in relationship building initiatives and community events. This would allow stakeholders to build stronger bonds within the community and reduce conflict so that local residents may be more willing to participate effectively in consultation.

In effect, participation in collaborative efforts between stakeholders in the community of Santa Catalina has been largely seen between private sector tourism service providers from different sectors with the purpose of increasing tourism demand in the region through promoting investment in infrastructure. Given the commonalities between these participants, they were likely to share common goals, business practices and very few (2/50) were against tourism as the best development option for the community.

However, without input from key stakeholders including the government and local community it is much less likely that many of the pressing environmental and social issues mentioned by stakeholders could be mitigated successfully. Even if stakeholders participating were able to come to a consensus regarding what they would like to see done to mitigate pressing issues, there would still be many barriers preventing successful implementation if governmental support for policy creation and enforcement is not achieved. Limited involvement from the local community will also reduce the chances that implemented strategies will be respected, and could hinder implementation. Hence, recommendations may focus on gaining involvement from these key stakeholder groups who are only now playing very minimal roles in the planning process.

5.7.1.3 Lack of Legitimacy in the Collaborative Process

A lack of perceived legitimacy in the collaborative process was discussed by 26/50 stakeholders (Table 26). Gray (1989) describes legitimacy in the collaborative process as the belief that stakeholder feel that participating in collaboration will be worthwhile, and that plans decided upon will be implemented. As discussed previously, there are doubts within the business community that consultation will lead to consensus building and successful implementation as previous attempts at collaboration have failed. However, previous attempts at collaboration have failed because they were not approached in an appropriate manner. The details of what was to be discussed were unclear, and with a lack of proper leadership the discussion process was unstructured. As well, operators felt as though meetings would be more effective if they involved only a few concerned stakeholders who would be responsible for decision-making, and views from the community were taken into consideration through a consultative process. This, along with increased transparency could provide a more effective collaborative process through which solutions could be implemented more successfully. Incorporating these suggestions as outlined by operators to improve the success of collaboration may improve perceptions of legitimacy in the process and improve participation.

5.7.2 Collaborative Working and Direction Setting

Once stakeholders are able to come together during the problem-setting phase and discuss development consequences openly, they will enter into the direction-setting phase of the collaborative process where they must explore the problems they have agreed upon in-depth

while they search for alternatives and solutions. Here, the emphasis is on negotiation between partners in order to come to mutually agreed upon solutions (Gray, 1996). Although there has been little collaboration between stakeholders in Santa Catalina to this point, the interview process did uncover a few barriers which may impede the success of collaboration in the later phases (direction-setting and implementation) which may not be as significant in the initial problem-setting phase. These barriers include conflict and communication which may prevent decisions from being reached.

During the direction-setting phase, coming to an agreement upon an agenda that is acceptable to all those involved requires significant negotiation as partners often have differing views and priorities and vary in their educational levels and perceived degrees of power (Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999). Here, it is necessary to create a sense that the opinions of all those involved are being taken into consideration or else those who feel they are not may remove themselves from the process, weakening overall participation (Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999).

5.7.2.1 Exploring the Options and Reaching Agreements

If collaborative partners are to work together effectively, they must create and work within a set of specific guidelines which will enable them to listen to one another openly and build mutual respect and trust (Healy, 1997 as cited in Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999). In Santa Catalina, many respondents felt as though difficulties communicating would be a barrier to collaboration.

Table 31: Ease of Operator Expression of Perspectives Regarding Development Consequences to members of the Expatriate Community

Perception	Respondent	Frequency
Easy	1, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 15, 21, 23, 24, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 38, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	23
Difficult	2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 33, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44,	24
No Views	18, 22, 34	3

N=50

Of the 50 respondents interviewed, 24 stated that they felt as though it was difficult for them to express their opinions regarding current issues to members of the expatriate community (Table 31). In addition, 31 of the 50 respondents felt as though it was difficult to express their opinions to members of the local community (Table 32). Most stakeholders attributed these difficulties as being caused by differences in education level, language barriers, and the history of conflict which has instilled poor attitudes in many individuals (Interviews #2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 23, 29, 30, 31, 32, 44, 45, 46, 2012). Many (20/50) felt their concerns were devalued and not taken into consideration by others and hence were less likely to discuss them openly (Interviews #2, 5, 6, 17, 34, 49, 50, 2012). Respondents also stated that they would not discuss their opinion if it was different from that of the majority for fear of being ostracized (Interviews #13, 14, 2012).

Table 32: Ease of Operator Expression of Perspectives Regarding Development Consequences to Members of the Local Community

Perception	Respondent	Frequency
Easy	1, 4, 8, 9, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28, 34, 37, 48, 50	16
Difficult	2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49	31
No Views	20, 36, 38	3

N=50

When collaborative partners are able to express their opinions openly, it is much more likely that agreements will be reached (Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999). Despite the problems with communication discussed by operators, there was evidence that there was a shared vision amongst stakeholders for the future of tourism and which issues were of importance. Recognition of these through open discussion could aid in reaching agreements. However this may not be indicative of the view of the community at large, as the study sample included only tourism operators. These individuals clearly benefit economically from increases in tourist numbers. Nonetheless, a common goal of increasing tourism demand and development in the region could be enough to reduce conflicts and come to agreements if convenors or leaders of community groups can openly discuss the mutual benefit this may have for the community at large.

5.7.3 Collaborative Working and Implementation

During the implementation phase as outlined by Gray (1989) specific actions are taken to implement decisions that have already been reached. As there has been very little in the way of past collaborative effort and discussion regarding what options should be explored further, very little implementation regarding the ideas of stakeholders has been seen. The only instance of successful plan implementation that was described by stakeholders was the acquisition of government funded waste receptacles for the community. However, this plan was created with limited discussion and collaboration with other stakeholders, and was carried out by only a few business owners. Other plan implementations for infrastructure investment in the community had not been made with community involvement, but had been implemented by the government with little community input. Currently, stakeholders in the tourism industry in Santa Catalina have been working autonomously or in very small groups with limited participation from other community or external stakeholders. There have been few steps taken to promote more systematic relationships between community stakeholders and with external stakeholders. Due to the limited collaboration existing in the community at this point, nothing has currently been done in the way of structuring a more formalized system of sharing responsibility for decision-making and implementation. Once the other phases of collaboration have been achieved, more formal structure for reaching and implementing agreements may be instilled.

Nonetheless, stakeholders were able to foresee certain barriers that may impede their ability to implement solutions (Table 26). When discussing the barriers that affected the most important issues as perceived by operators, the most commonly suggested impediments discussed were: apathy and a lack of forward thinking; lack of education and awareness, and lack of infrastructure. Many of these barriers were thought by stakeholders to be overcome by the generation of lobbying power that would be gained through collaboration. Operators felt as though if they were able to come together with a common voice and develop appropriate plans that they would be able to approach government with an idea for a solution and use their power in numbers along with the knowledge of the government's perceived desire to increase tourism demand in the region to allow them access to educational resources and funding for infrastructure investment.

Chapter 6 Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter outlines the conclusions and recommendations that have been developed based on information gathered from tourism operators in the community of Santa Catalina, Panama, and innovative solutions which have been implemented with success in regions operating under similar conditions.

6.1 Conclusions

The Panamanian government has recently begun to invest in tourism development in its rural regions in order to increase income generation in its poor communities. Through movement away from traditional agricultural practices and placing more emphasis on developing the services sector through tourism, the Panamanian government hopes to enhance income generation, job creation and entrepreneurial opportunities for Panama's rural poor (ATP, 2007; 2010). Tourism has been used in this way to stimulate economic activity in communities worldwide (Moscardo, 2008). Although benefits may be realized through tourism, these benefits may be overcome by the many negative consequences that may also result in the absence of proper destination management. These negative consequences often include environmental destruction and social conflicts which, over time and without appropriate control strategies in place, can lead to a reduction in the quality of the destination as a tourist product, reduced tourist demand for the destination, and potentially destroying natural resources and local livelihoods (Allen et al., 1988; Moscardo, 2008; Graci and Dodds, 2012).

Santa Catalina, a rural community on the Pacific coast of Panama has received increasing attention as a tourist destination both nationally and internationally for its high quality surfing and proximity to Coiba National Park (ATP, 2007). Its newly emerging tourism industry relies on high environmental quality, rural charm and cultural authenticity (ATP, 2007); however, there were very few attempts made to control development and protect these important drivers of tourism demand. Hence, Santa Catalina, Panama presents the opportunity to examine the applicability of stakeholder theory and collaboration theory to issues surrounding resource management as a consequence of increases in development in rural regions.

6.2 Contribution to Knowledge

This study contributes to industry development literature on a local, national and global scale. On the local scale, this research provides site-specific insights into the business community within Santa Catalina, and provides recommendations to encourage the business sector to work together collaboratively to address the consequences of development which they feel are most significant to them.

Lessons may also be drawn from this study to inform both national and global studies which set out to utilize stakeholder and collaboration theory to identify and bring together important individuals. On the national scale, the government of Panama may apply findings from this study to other rural and coastal regions as it continues to promote the expansion of its services sector into these regions. On the global scale, this study may apply to emerging industries in periphery regions worldwide, including those in close proximity to Heritage Sites.

Although many studies have discussed the negative impacts of tourism demand in rural regions (Moscardo, 2005; Mbaiwa and Darkoh, 2006; Graci, 2010); as well as the use of stakeholder theory (Grimble and Chan, 1995; Sautter and Liesen, 1999; Sheehan and Ritchie, 2005) or collaboration theory (Jamal and Getz, 1995; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999) for mitigating these impacts, few studies had been done which provide practical applications for stakeholder collaboration to issues regarding destination management.

During the completion of this study, several barriers to data collection were uncovered which greatly impeded the ability to provide solutions which may benefit the entire community. Researchers aiming to conduct stakeholder analyses in developing countries should be aware of the importance of gaining perspectives from members of all stakeholder groups, and the difficulties which may be found when attempting to gain participation from difficult to reach populations including government and local people. Recommendations provided by this study suggest that researchers operating under similar contexts ensure the appropriate amount of preparation and resources are available for accurate and reliable data collect are essential when carrying out stakeholder analyses. As stakeholder analyses and the inclusion of all key stakeholders in the discussion surrounding decision-making is the backbone of collaboration

theory, a strong sense of the opportunity for collaboration cannot be seen without participation from all stakeholder groups.

Although this study was able to obtain perspectives from only one stakeholder group, it did identify other stakeholders who operators felt were also important in the decision-making process. This provided verification of the stakeholder analysis, as those stakeholder groups that were initially identified as being important to the study and were sought after for inclusion in the study sample were also identified by operators as being important for inclusion in decision-making. Moreover, this research supports the need for site-specific stakeholder analysis prior to the implementation of management models. Although mechanisms for managing destinations have been developed, the perspectives of stakeholders must be taken into consideration in order for these mechanisms to be successful. This study may allow for lessons to be drawn and applied in other regions by illuminating challenges to carrying out stakeholder analysis and implementing collaborative partnerships in rural coastal communities.

6.3 Achievement of Thesis Objectives

Five research objectives are achieved as a result of this study and are discussed below, along with the key findings that each objective contributed to the overall value of this research.

6.3.1 Objective One

The first objective of this study was to examine the existing literature and create a general overview of the conditions that may be faced by rapidly developing communities in rural regions. This allowed for the context of the community of Santa Catalina, Panama to become more clear. Through this, several review papers and case studies were examined, and many of the positive and negative consequences of development that have been seen in various regions in developing countries worldwide were examined, providing a basis for the necessity of this research through establishing priority for resource and destination management. Following this, lessons were drawn from previous studies which emphasized the importance of collaborative efforts in management, and the inclusion of the views and perspectives of a variety of different stakeholders in management decisions.

Many previous case studies of rural communities in developing countries promoted the idea of using collaboration theory and stakeholder analysis to implement successful management strategies and aid in the mitigation of the many negative development consequences that had been outlined. Hence, the community of Santa Catalina was used as a site-specific case which would provide insights into and develop practical applications for collaboration as a management tool. Moreover, this study would also serve to potentially support or refute claims that stakeholder theory and collaboration theory could be useful measures for evaluating current management practices and implementing decisions for positive change in areas of recent development.

6.3.2 Objective Two

The second objective of this study was to utilize stakeholder theory to identify and analyze the perspectives of stakeholders in Santa Catalina as they pertained to the consequences of development that they felt were negatively impacting their community and business success. This study utilized a purposive sampling approach to stakeholder identification, which proved to be successful in identifying key stakeholders. Here, stakeholders were identified based on their previous roles in decision-making or their relationships to previous decision-makers (Grimble and Chan, 1995; Sautter and Liesen, 1999). However, although this study was able to identify and analyze the perspectives of the business community, it was unable to achieve participation from other important stakeholder groups, including the local community and government agents. As the inclusion of these key stakeholders was unable to be obtained and included in the analyses, stakeholder theory was not applied effectively through this research to the community of Santa Catalina. Therefore, although stakeholder theory was able to outline which stakeholders were important to the study, it did not provide a framework for practical application to ensure participation and obtain perspectives from all stakeholder groups, particularly ‘hard to reach’ population. Hence, the second objective of this study could not be fulfilled as it pertains to the appropriate utilization of stakeholder theory. In the following section, recommendations will be provided which will aid in the development of a more appropriate and effective means for applying stakeholder theory in future studies operating under similar research constraints.

However, this study was able to apply stakeholder theory with a much more narrow focus, to identify and examine stakeholders as individuals within one stakeholder group. This approach may still be effective in describing one stakeholder group within the tourism industry as individuals displayed a variety of perspectives, values and priorities for development despite being traditionally classified into a single stakeholder group and defined by more general group ideals. In order to establish a sense of the variety of opinions within one stakeholder group, respondents were obtained from all sectors within the business community and included individuals from all levels of employment. Therefore, although stakeholder theory could not be applied in the traditional sense which covers a wide range of stakeholder groups whose perspectives are defined in more generalized terms, this study was able to uncover the variety of perspectives which may exist within a single stakeholder group by treating stakeholders as individuals. Through this process several development consequences were described by business sector stakeholders, the most significant being littering, water conservation, substance abuse, conflict, communication and illegal fishing in Coiba National Park.

6.3.3 Objective Three and Four

The third objective of this study was to examine the opportunity for collaboration to be used as a solution to mitigate the negative consequences of development that stakeholders had previously described as being important to them. In order to do this, collaboration theory was used to develop an interview guideline which would highlight the facilitating conditions necessary for the success of collaborative partnerships used for natural resource and destination management. The interview process revealed that there may be potential for collaboration to be effective in Santa Catalina. Many stakeholders desired collaboration, recognized their interdependencies, wanted to be active in collaborative efforts and were able to recognize the mutual benefits that could be achieved through collaboration. As this objective focused on a series of hypothesis testing, the acceptance or rejection of these hypotheses must be identified based on the majority rule.

6.3.3.1 Hypothesis One

Hypothesis one tested the hypothesis that stakeholders recognize that sustaining tourism demand has benefits for all those in the community including those not directly involved in the

tourism industry. This hypothesis was accepted as 40/50 stakeholders were in favour of current and future tourism development, and were able to identify several economic and social benefits that were being realized by everyone in the community not only those directly involved in the tourism industry. Stakeholders felt as though these benefits were achieved solely based on the community's tourism market potential, and would not have been seen otherwise.

6.3.3.2 Hypothesis Two

Hypothesis two tested the hypothesis that there is a general consensus among stakeholders regarding one environmental and one social issue to which they believe are significant consequences of development. This hypothesis was also accepted as stakeholders identified littering (40/50), illegal fishing in Coiba National Park (29/50) and substance abuse (29/50) as being consequences of development to which they felt were important to be addressed.

6.3.3.3 Hypothesis Three

Hypothesis three tested the hypothesis that stakeholders recognize their interdependencies, and that the actions of other operators, the local community and the government can affect the negative consequences of development that are most significant. This hypothesis was partially accepted, as although business sector stakeholders were able to recognize interdependencies with other operators, the local people and the government, interdependencies were not identified as existing between all groups for all significant issues mentioned. For the issues prevalent within the community: littering and substance abuse, stakeholders identified interdependencies with the entire community, including local people and other operators but excluding government (as there is no local government structure). For issues prevalent outside the community, in Coiba National Park, interdependencies were identified as being significant only with government, and did not include local people or other operators.

6.3.3.4 Hypothesis Four

Hypothesis four tested the hypothesis that working together collaboratively is the most desired solution for addressing the negative consequences of development and will provide

mutual benefits to all stakeholders. This hypothesis was accepted as 40/50 stakeholders suggested that collaboration would be a possible and effective solution for providing a “common voice” for the community and allowing for the generation of lobbying power to gain access to external resources. In addition, 47/50 respondents stated that they would play a role in a collaborative partnership if one were to be created. Stakeholders were also able to identify reasons why collaboration would be successful, and the benefits that would be achieved through this process.

6.3.3.4 Hypotheses Five, Six and Seven

Hypotheses five, six and seven address the barriers to collaboration and the opportunity to overcome these barriers. Hypothesis five tested the assumption that there are several barriers to the formation of partnerships in the problem-setting phase of collaboration: stakeholder participation, lack of leadership and a lack of perceived legitimacy in the process. In addition, hypothesis six tested the hypothesis that there are additional barriers which will impede the ability of stakeholders to come to consensus and implement decisions during the direction-setting and implementation phases of collaboration. Moreover, hypothesis seven tested the hypothesis that these barriers are less likely to impede collaboration than stakeholders perceive.

These hypotheses are partially accepted as stakeholders identified these, among other barriers that may impede collaboration at each phase of the collaborative process. However, data suggests that barriers including a lack of leadership, a lack of legitimacy in the process, education, conflict and communication may be more easily overcome than stakeholder perceive, although it may still remain difficult to gain participation from all key stakeholders.

6.3.4 Objective Five

The fifth and final objective was to develop recommendations to aid in the overcoming of the barriers to collaboration which limited the fulfillment of the facilitating conditions necessary for successful collaboration. The recommendations were based on stakeholder perspectives as well as lessons drawn from previous case studies of communities operating under similar contexts to Santa Catalina. In order to overcome the barriers mentioned by stakeholders, three recommendations were made: to implement a collaborative partnership between business sector

stakeholders; to improve access to educational resources for all those within the community; and to introduce an eco-tax to aid in the collection of funds which could be used to implement decisions regarding resource management and reduce the community's dependence on government financial aid.

6.4 Summary

This study built on the existing literature regarding natural resource and destination management strategies for the mitigation of negative consequences of development. While focusing on stakeholder theory to identify individuals important to the discussion surrounding decision-making for resource conservation and analyzing individual perspectives on development, the opportunity for collaboration to be an effective solution to management was explored. Further research, including follow-up studies to determine the success of the recommendations, further exploration of the barriers to collaboration and the collection of perspectives from individuals who were considered important to the study but were unable to be included in the sample due to recruiting difficulties could be carried out in order to further improve destination management.

6.5 Recommendations

The following recommendations identify strategies which may be used in order to help reduce the negative consequences of development that have been occurring in Santa Catalina due to its emerging tourism industry and rising tourist numbers. These recommendations have been developed in order to help address the barriers that have been outlined by operators as hindering their ability to manage the community as a destination and work together collaboratively.

As discussed in chapter 2, collaborative partnerships have been used in many regions with the aim of promoting natural resource and destination management (Logsdon, 1991; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Selin and Chavez, 1995; Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999; Roberts and Simpson, 1999; Austin, 2004; Aas et al., 2005; Sanginga et al., 2007; Erkus-Ozturk and Eradin, 2010). Collaboration allows stakeholders to come together and share information and knowledge, and allows them access to the resources needed to implement solutions which they may have once been unable to attain (Gray, 1989). Being united by a common goal along with

the recognition of their interdependencies and the mutual benefits of collaborating, stakeholders with varying interests and perspectives can work to understand one another, improve communication and reduce conflict (Gray, 1989). These recommendations help to bring stakeholders together by highlighting their common views and perspectives, and providing a means through which stakeholders with opposing views may learn to reach mutual agreements.

These recommendations begin by addressing collaboration within the business sector, and continue by discussing ways in which collaboration may in the future be expanded to include other key stakeholders that have been identified by operators as being important to management decision-making. Through the development of a collaborative partnership between business sector stakeholders, operators can begin to come together to generate lobbying power and provide a mechanism through which external aid can be solicited. Operators may then work to mitigate consequences of development which they feel are negatively impacting the quality of the destination and their overall business success. Following this, through increasing the accessibility of educational resources and skill building, local residents may be included in the decision-making process through consultation in order to broaden the views of development and include more key stakeholders. In addition, a recommendation will be made to implement an eco-tax aimed at providing funding to reduce detrimental fishing practices in Coiba National Park, and reduce the perceived dependency on government financial aid.

6.5.1 Recommendation One: Creation of a Business Sector Collaborative Partnership

Currently, little collaboration has been seen between business sector stakeholders which involves open discussion and the inclusion of a wide range of perspectives. Past efforts at collaboration have worked to serve the interests of only a few business owners. Although past efforts have been successful for those involved they did not include a large enough number of stakeholders, and solutions were not implemented on a large enough scale to be successful at producing positive change. In order to mitigate the consequences of development, solutions need to be implemented on a larger scale and address the behaviours and actions of a larger group of individuals. Hence, as the majority of industry in Santa Catalina is based around tourism, implementing solutions on an industry-wide scale may serve to be more effective at mitigating pressing environmental and social issues.

There are several facilitating conditions, which, when met can improve the chances that stakeholders will be able to come together effectively and successfully produce positive change. These include: recognition of interdependencies, recognition of the mutual benefits of collaborating, perceptions of legitimacy in the process, inclusion of all key stakeholder groups, use of a convenor, and joint formulation of goals and self-regulation (Gray, 1989; Jamal and Getz, 1995). Although these facilitating conditions may be more important at different stages of the collaborative process, they have all been argued to be essential for success (Gray, 1989; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Medieros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999; Selin and Chavez, 1999).

Throughout the interview process, perspectives and views regarding the desire for the formation of a collaborative partnership between operators, how this partnership should be structured, and which negative consequences of development this partnership should address have been brought to the forefront. Although there has been little collaboration between operators in the past, there is a clear desire for future collaboration, as operators see this as a mechanism to create lobbying power and gain access to the external resources needed to implement solutions.

There was a significant degree of consensus among operators that increasing tourism development has brought many benefits to the community and that without tourism these benefits may have never been realized. Because of this, stakeholders also felt as though continuing to increase tourism development in the region would be the best way to bring additional benefits to the community. There was a clear desire among operators to continue to increase tourism demand and to maintain the quality of the destination as a tourism product. In order to achieve this, operators felt as though infrastructure improvements and behavioural modifications had to be made to improve waste management, promote water conservation, control substance abuse, reduce community conflict and open lines of communication between operators and with the government and local community. These areas were all suggested by operators as being negatively affected by increasing tourism demand as higher populations have led to increased pressure on natural resources and have created social tensions.

Many stakeholders suggested that collaboration would be the best mechanism for implementing solutions, as coming together with a common voice would generate lobbying power and allow for operators to gain access to external resources such as financial and

educational resources. Moreover, collaboration may allow the community to bring governmental attention to issues which they felt needed improved law enforcement, specifically in regards to illegal fishing practices in Coiba National Park.

When discussing the structure of such a partnership, 9/50 operators mentioned that they felt that collaboration would be more effective if run by a few concerned and passionate individuals that would lead discussion and make decisions while the remaining stakeholders could participate in the process through consultation. All operators interviewed stated that they wanted to be a part of the decision-making process, and all but three operators stated that they would like to be a part of a collaborative partnership if one were to be developed. When discussing their roles in collaboration, many stated that they would only like to participate and attend meetings, giving their input into the discussion but leaving the responsibility of coming to decisions to those who were most comfortable in leadership roles.

As the use of a skilled convenor or leader from the community is a necessary condition for successful collaboration, a lack of leadership was often suggested as being a barrier to the formation of a collaborative partnership. However, through the interview process, a 4/50 operators suggested that they would like to assume a leadership role within the community and would be comfortable guiding decision-making for destination management. There was a high degree of agreement between those who volunteered themselves as leaders and those who other operators felt they would like to see in a leadership position. This suggests that those who would like to assume leadership roles may voluntarily assume these positions with little resistance from other operators, and that this barrier may be easily overcome.

Transparency was also suggested as being a necessary component, and should be inherent to the management structure of the partnership. This would include full disclosure regarding when, where and what issues would be discussed at each meeting, what decisions are being made, how they were decided upon, which resources would be needed, how they would be obtained and how they would be allocated once received. This would require meetings to follow a specific agenda, and for the decision-making process to be documented and made available to the public upon request.

Conflict and a lack of legitimacy in the collaboration process have also been discussed as being barriers to collaboration. These can be overcome by first allowing for less complex issues to be addressed as a starting point for the partnership (Austin, 2004). Legitimacy in the collaborative process can be enhanced by initially finding a solution to an issue that is highly relevant, observable and for which all residents and leaders can imagine solutions. This allows the partnership to focus on an issue that may be resolved more easily, and that affects a wide range of stakeholders. This may build confidence in the community as to how working together can solve problems effectively and provide observable benefits within reasonable time frames (Austin, 2004). Although these projects may be small scale and require few resources, they can be used as a stepping stone to build trust between stakeholders in the partnership (Austin, 2004).

An issue that is fairly well-defined and one that most have been found to agree upon through the interview process is littering. The littering issue may be an appropriate starting point as past attempts to solicit government aid to solve this issue have been successful. Addressing this issue may allow relationships to be strengthened through success before more challenging issues can be tackled (Austin, 2004).

Making advancements from the resolution of small scale and less complex issues to large scale issues with greater complexity will allow the decision-making process to be tailored to the communities specific circumstances through continual assessment of the alliance and its strengths and weaknesses (Jamal and Getz, 1995). As issues grow in scale, new stakeholders can be incorporated into the partnership, strengthening previous links and building an external support network (Gray 1989; Austin, 2004). Here, individuals can create partnerships through the utilization of strong personal relationships allowing for the establishment of networks and the bringing in of individuals in the community with weaker personal relationships (Austin, 2004).

6.5.2 Recommendation Two: Increasing Access to Educational Resources

Increasing education and awareness regarding resource and destination management practices and the negative consequences of uncontrolled development may allow for many of the barriers expressed during the interview process to be overcome. Many respondents suggested that they felt as though many of the consequences of development that were being seen in the community were enhanced simply because individuals, specifically local residents, were

unaware that their actions could have negative effects on the environment and society. Here, operators discussed increasing the capacity of the community as being a mechanism for changing behaviours and attitudes to be more accepting of conservation practices. Moreover, operators felt as though increasing education would allow individuals to understand the need for and mutual benefit that could be achieved through implementing conservation strategies, investing in infrastructure and soliciting government aid for policy enforcement. Through increased awareness, operators felt as though they would be able to convert individuals with opposing views to their way of thinking. This formation of a common goal would be most effective in bringing members of the local community into the decision-making process, thereby involving all stakeholders who operators felt were important to the discussion regarding environmental and social issues within the community.

Increasing access to educational resources may also allow for individuals within the community to do their part to aid in the mitigation of the illegal fishing problem that was identified in Coiba National Park. Awareness for fishermen, restaurateurs and tourists regarding the importance of fish conservation, which fish are in season and safe to consume and the dangers of illegal fishing practices may create social pressure and reduce the demand for fish caught illegally.

It is important that education and awareness be brought into the education system, instilling a sense of environmental and social responsibility within the local children of the community in order to allow them to form personal habits that reflect best practices for environmental protection. In order to ensure the success of information sharing, it is suggested that education come from an external source, and be provided through means of literature, visual presentation or external educators or facilitators. Operators often mentioned that they felt it was difficult to exchange knowledge between expatriate and local groups because conflict and lack of communication between has caused operators to feel as though they are being perceived as manipulative and condescending, and hence ineffective as educators. If knowledge sharing is to come from the business sector, it is suggested to be done between employer and employee in order to maximize efficiency. In the past, operators mentioned that attempts to educate the community had failed. Open business and language skill building workshops received very minimal attendance, even when heavily advertised. Business owners may create mandatory

workshops for employees to view educational materials or attend training sessions. Educational workshops may also be held and open to the public prior to consultation for decision-making to ensure that all who wish to participate in finding solutions have the means to participate effectively.

If education and awareness regarding the effects that tourism can have on the environmental and social conditions of the community can be made available to everyone, it will be more likely that stakeholders will be able to modify their behaviour towards best practices for resource conservation and better manage the negative consequences of development. In this way, tourism development can move forward while adopting socially responsible behaviours aimed toward environmental protection.

6.5.3 Recommendation Three: Implementation of an Eco-Tax

Implementing an eco-tax in Santa Catalina will allow for funds to be generated which can be used to finance environmental and social initiatives focussed on resource and destination management. As financial resources were mentioned often as being a barrier to implementation, an eco-tax may be used to overcome this barrier and reduce the need for the community to rely on solicited governmental funding to implement solutions. These taxes are established prices which are placed on tourist activities in order to internalize the external costs that these activities place on the environment (Graci and Dodds, 2010). Tourists who take part in nature-based tourist activities such as diving and exploration of protected areas have been shown to be more environmentally conscious and willing to pay for environmental protection, and are likely to choose environmentally friendly products over others when given the choice (Manaktola and Jauhari, 2007). Eco-taxes have also been used with success in Gili Trawangan, Indonesia and Koh Phi Phi, Thailand whereby 75 per cent and 95 per cent of tourists respectively were willing to pay an eco-tax of up to \$10 USD to help fund projects which offset the negative environmental and social consequences of tourism development (Dodds et al., 2010).

In Gili Trawangan, Indonesia, a small tourist island, an eco-tax was implemented by dive shop owners, as a subsidy to help fund fishermen to reduce illegal and detrimental fishing practices (Graci and Dodds, 2010). Over time, financial reserves were created which helped fund

a variety of other conservation projects including the hiring of an environmental coordinator and the hiring of a coast guard to monitor fishing practices off the coast.

Santa Catalina, a similar tax could be implemented by Coiba National Park tour operators in order to fund similar projects. Of those interviewed in this study, all but one establishment who carried out business in Coiba National Park was included. Of the individuals who were responsible for carrying out tourism business in Coiba National Park, all operators mentioned that illegal fishing was considered a problem that they would like to work to find a solution to. This common goal could bring these tour operators together to implement the tax without creating competitive advantages or disadvantages for any one establishment.

However, in certain contexts this approach has not been accepted, both by tourists in Majorca, Spain (Abram, 2002) or by business owners in the Balearics, Spain (Arino, 2002). In Majorca, tourists did not feel as though the tourism industry and hence, their presence, was causing the environmental issues that were seen in the region (Abram, 2002). In the Balearics, business owners did not feel as though their priorities were taken into consideration in the implementation of the eco-tax and felt it a market disadvantage (Arino, 2002). This suggests, that although eco-taxes may be appropriate in some cases, willingness-to-pay studies can be effective in determining the chances of successful implementation in site-specific contexts.

6.5.4 Recommendation Four: Conduct a Follow-up Study

Follow-up studies, in this case, are essential in order to fully apply both stakeholder and collaboration theory to the community of Santa Catalina. Due to the limitations of this study, this research essentially acts as one step in a series of stages which must be undergone in order to apply stakeholder theory and accurately assess the opportunity for collaborative destination management. Future studies must collect perspectives from the other key stakeholder groups that were outlined through the stakeholder identification presented here. These groups include government, local people and tourists. This study presented potential solutions to mitigating the negative consequences of development as perceived by the business sector, but this is only one part of the equation. Although this study initially set out to collect perceptions from all stakeholder groups that were identified, an inability to encourage participation from local people,

government and tourists proved to be the limiting factor in data collection. Hence, the barriers to gaining participation from these stakeholders may be taken into consideration during future studies in this region to ensure the success of data collection. Moreover, the analysis and discussion of the perspectives of the business community regarding development may be used to inform future interview guidelines development or allow for the study of specific issues in a more in-depth manner.

Follow up studies should be conducted with business sector stakeholders to examine if the recommendations of this study were implemented, if a collaborative partnership among operators was established successfully and if it is following the stages of development as outlined by Gray (1989). If these recommendations (business sector partnerships, soliciting educational resources and eco-tax implementation) have been successful, these studies would add to the body of work which supports the use of these strategies for destination management. If these recommendations were not implemented successfully, future studies could uncover further barriers which impeded their success.

In addition, since the tourism industry in Santa Catalina is newly emerging and dynamic, longitudinal studies are necessary in order to obtain current perspectives on the environmental and social consequences of development as the tourism industry and its stakeholders continue to change.

6.5.5 Strategies for Improving Stakeholder Participation

Although several measures were used which were meant to encourage participation from individuals from all stakeholder groups, these attempts were unsuccessful in the specific context of the study region. The impediments in the data collection process that were realised in this study were seen primarily as a result of a lack of available resources including time and reliable key informants.

This study showed that it is important when doing field research in communities with 'hard to reach' populations that a diverse set of key informants be used in order to ensure access to these groups and develop appropriate strategies for encouraging their participation. This may reduce limitations in data collection that may occur if only a single informant is being used, and

if this informant over estimates their ability to provide introductions between the researcher and ‘hard to reach’ groups. Hence, it may be advantageous for researchers to obtain at least one key informant from each stakeholder group that they wish to be included in the sample. This informant will not only be able to provide greater chances of positive introductions with potential respondents, but may also be able to provide important details as to how to most effectively use other tactics including the “chameleon” approach and the use of incentives to ensure the greatest chances of achieving participation.

Another limitation for achieving participation in this study was time. This study was carried out over a period of five weeks, with ten days devoted to developing rapport with potential interviewees prior to data collection. This limited amount of time proved to be insufficient for collecting data from several stakeholders for many potential reasons. Firstly, this period of time may have been too short for the researcher to develop strong enough relationships within the community to encourage participation. Secondly, this period did not provide enough time to follow-up with respondents who had declined to participate, and to conduct repeat requests. Thirdly, the time constraints of this study proved to make rescheduling interview appointments quite difficult. It is recommended that when conducting field research in regions where there are high uncertainties regarding the degree of participation that can be achieved, that the researcher allow for an adequate amount of time to be allotted to data collection with the assumption that follow-up requests and rescheduling will be required.

6.6 Summary

The four recommendation presented here attempt to overcome many of the barriers that operators had discussed were impeding their ability to implement solutions to environmental and social problems caused by increasing tourism development, while including ideas for solutions described by stakeholder throughout the interview process. Through taking into consideration the perspectives of operators as well as drawing lessons from previously successful innovative solutions, the formation of collaborative partnerships and the mitigation of the negative impacts of development may be successful in Santa Catalina, Panama.

Appendix A: Santa Catalina Establishments and Atmosphere



Figure A1: Entry into the Community of Santa Catalina



Figure A2: Bus Transportation from Sona to Santa Catalina



Figure A3: Oasis Surf Camp, Hostel on Estero Beach



Figure A4: Surfer's Paradise, Dormitory Hostel Room



Figure A5: Borders Haven, Home Rental



Figure A6: Rancho Estero, Private Accommodations

Figures A3-A6: Hostel Accommodations



Figure A7: Scuba Coiba, Dive Operator



Figure A8: Panama Dive Center



Figure A9: Fluid Adventures Panama

Figures A7-A9: Establishments in Santa Catalina Operating in Coiba National Park



Figure A10: Fast Boat Transportation to Coiba National Park



Figure A11: Waste Accumulation on Estero Beach (Primary Tourist Beach)



Figure A12: Santa Catalina Dump Site

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Interview Guideline

Date: _____

Stakeholder Group: _____

Other Considerations:

Establishment - Expatriate or Panamanian Owned; Interviewee – Expatriate or Panamanian

Level of worker (owner, manager, staff, volunteer, etc.): _____

Section A: Livelihoods and Importance of Tourism to the Community

1. How long have you been living working in the tourism industry?
2. Can you describe your current quality of life?
3. What do you consider to be something that adds to your quality of life? What do you think could improve your quality of life?
4. Do you think tourism is the best way to develop the community?
5. Why do you think tourists visit the community? What brings them here?
6. Can you describe your business? Does tourism relate to your business?
7. Do you think that Coiba National Park is important to tourism in Santa Catalina? Is it important to your business?
8. Do you think that your relationship with others in the community affects the success of your business?

Section B: Environmental/Social Issues in Santa Catalina and Issues Related to the Management of Coiba National Park

9. Can you describe any environmental/social issues that you would like to see addressed in the community? Can you describe any issues with the management of Coiba National Park that you think are of relevance to the community and your business?

The following questions apply to all issues mentioned:

10. Why is this issue of importance to you? To your business? To the community?
11. Do you feel as though you are partially responsible for causing this issue? Who else do you think is responsible?
12. Do you feel as though you are responsible for solving this issue? Who else do you think is responsible?
13. What would you like to see done as a solution to this issue? What resources would this solution require?
14. Would you like to be involved in this solution? What would you do?

Section C: Collaboration

15. What is your view of the attitudes of the local community? The business community?
16. How do you feel as though you are perceived by the local community? The business community?
17. Do you find it easy or difficult to express your opinions regarding the issues you have mentioned to the local community? The business community?
18. Do you think that there is a history of conflict in the community? Can you describe this conflict?
19. Do you think that it is possible for people in the community to work together to solve the issues you have mentioned? Why or why not?
20. Would you like to work together with other members of both the local and business community, government and other interest groups to work towards solving these issues?
21. Have there been past attempts to have town meetings to discuss these issues? What happened?
22. What do you think prevents people from working together?

23. Do you think anything could be done to encourage people to work together? If so, what?
24. What type of commitment would you be willing to make to a community organization if one were to be formed? Would you be a leader?
25. Who do you think would be a good leader from the business community? Why?
26. Who do you think would be a good leader from the local community? Why?

Appendix C: Example of a Qualitative Data Coding Sheet

Table C1: Example of Organizing Full Responses into Coherent Short Responses

Q 19. Do you think that it is possible for people in the community to work together to solve the issues you have mentioned? Why or why not?			
Interview Number	Response		Shortened Response
	Yes/No	Why or Why Not?	
1	Yes	Someone needs to take control but no one else wants to, but if we encourage people and work better together I'm sure someone will take control. We all know it needs to be done, there's just no one to do it.	Consensus regarding desire for collaboration; barrier – lack of leadership
2	Yes	It would take a lot of time, there are people on both sides who would want to make this happen. Most business owners want to because it helps them in the long run.	Desire in the community for collaboration; recognition of mutual benefit
3	Yes	We all want this to happen, but right now everyone just argues. Meetings would go better with fewer people, maybe representatives from different groups or just people who are really interested.	Desire in the community for collaboration; involve interested parties; barrier – conflict
4	Yes	People just need to work together more efficiently, we can work together and make some plans but it never goes through once a temporary solution is found, there's no forward thinking	Collaboration is possible if it is efficient; barrier – lack of forward thinking
5	Yes	People want to come together to tackle these issues. It doesn't take as much energy as you think, just takes persistence. This is the hard part getting people to come together and adopt one project.	It's desired; barrier – building a consensus on what needs to be solved
6	Yes	There needs to be a small group that dictates the rest and people don't think this is fair but that's just how it goes. I personally would like to see more unity in the community and not just locals here and foreigner there. The problem is that there's no one in the community who can has the capacity to create a unity the within the community.	Involve only interested parties in collaboration; barriers – lack of communication; lack of leadership
8	Yes	Right now people work together, but most just as bosses and employees and this is good but others	People seem to already be working

		don't care.	Together on some scale (desired); barrier – people don't care, no forward thinking
9	Yes	It would be easy to work together. I like to hear what people have to say and get their take. Meetings maybe twice a month, once a week for an hour would work. Ideally the foreigners and the locals, which is an issue getting them together, and some cops and the teachers...just all the people who have a say should come. We can say this week we will discuss this topic, and we'll talk about it at this time. If we could be more focussed on one topic at a time. I think it's clear to everyone what's important.	Collaboration should involve interested parties and meetings should be more efficient; there is consensus on what's important
12	No	Maybe the businesses can work together but not with the locals. Businesses should just do what they want for now because that's what's right; the community will understand in the future. Now everyone blames everyone else for all of their problems. It always ends in a huge fight, no one cares. I've been to many meetings and nothing goes anywhere.	Involve only businesses in collaboration; barrier - passing of blame and conflict; meetings are not effective (lacking legitimacy)
13	Yes	I think we can work together. I believe in a reunion. I'm not sure how it will work but I believe it has to. We need to.	It's necessary; faith in the community that they can work together
19	Yes	It will be hard but anything is possible you have to have faith	Faith in the community that they can come together
21	Maybe	It will be hard, there is a history of nothing really getting done at meetings, everyone just yells and it gets completely off topic, it becomes a forum where everyone just vents and blames everyone for everything else	Barriers - meetings are not effective (lacking legitimacy); conflict
23	Yes	It's difficult because some people don't understand and they don't seem to care. But I think everyone knows that now we have to do something. We have to.	It's necessary; barriers – people don't care; lack of understanding

26	Yes	We try to come together but once there's an issue then people just start to back off and that's natural, but they always try at least. We need some leadership, not everyone trying to figure everything out but just key players that can address each issue.	Only involve key stakeholders; past attempts have failed (lacking legitimacy); barrier – lack of leadership
30	Yes	It's possible and necessary for everyone to talk together. We just need to get some dialogue going and people will start to realize we need this. We need to work to get something done before it's too late	It's necessary; barrier – communication

N=50

Table C2 Categorizing Full Responses into Shortened Responses for Easier Theme Identification

Table C2.1 Operator Perception of the Possibility for Successful Collaboration

Is Collaboration Possible?	Respondent	Frequency
Yes	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 55	40
No	10, 11, 12, 36, 37	5
Maybe	21, 39, 40, 41, 42	5

N=50

Table C2.2 Reasons Why Stakeholders Perceive Collaboration to be Successful upon Implementation

Reason	Respondent	Frequency
It has benefits for everyone	1, 2, 5, 7, 14, 22, 23, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50	21
It's desired by everyone	1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 14, 22, 23, 26, 28, 34, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48, 50	17
Faith in the community that people will recognize the need to come together	13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 27, 34, 31, 32, 49	11
It's possible with only a few or interested parties involved	3, 6, 9, 12, 22, 26, 33, 41, 50	9
Have to have a positive attitude	16, 25, 27, 28, 38, 39, 50	7
It is necessary	14, 23, 30, 40	4
It is possible if it's efficient	4, 9, 35	3
Not Sure	20	1

N=50

Table C2.3 Perceived Barriers to the Implementation of Collaborative Partnerships

Barrier	Respondent	Frequency
Lack of Leadership	1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 14, 26, 35, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50	16
Poor Communication and Lack of Transparency	5, 7, 10, 14, 17, 18, 23, 24, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 41, 44, 46	16
Lack of Legitimacy in the Process	7, 10, 12, 13, 15, 21, 26, 42, 45, 46, 49, 50	12
Conflict	3, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 21, 36, 37	11
Lack of Forward Thinking	4, 7, 8, 13, 14, 23, 35	7
Lack of Recognition of Mutual Benefit	39, 40, 41	3

N=50

Appendix D: A List of Interview Respondents by Stakeholder Group

Interview Number	Stakeholder Sector	Origin	Specific Operation	Level of Employment
1	Land Developer	Expatriate	Hotel Construction	Owner
2	Surf	Expatriate	Surf Shop Entrepreneur	Owner
3	Hotel	Expatriate	Hotel	Manager
4	Coiba Tours	Expatriate	Coiba Island Tours Entrepreneur	Owner
5	Food Service and Accommodation	Expatriate	Entrepreneur	Owner
6	Land Developer	Expatriate	Hotel Construction	Owner
7	Coiba Tours	Expatriate	SCUBA Dive Instructor	Employee
8	Surf	Expatriate	Surf Shop Entrepreneur	Owner
9	Surf	Local	Surf Instructor	Owner
10	Surf	Local	Surf Instructor	Owner
11	Food Service	Local	Wait Staff	Employee
12	Food Service and Accommodation	Local	Entrepreneur	Owner
13	Hotel	Local	Entrepreneur	Owner
14	Coiba Tours	Expatriate	SCUBA Dive Instructor	Employee
15	Food Service and Accommodation	Expatriate	Food Service and Accommodation	Owner
16	Land Developer	Expatriate	Land Buyer	Owner
17	Food Service	Expatriate	Entrepreneur	Owner
18	Food Service and Accommodation	Expatriate	Wait Staff	Employee
19	Food Service and Accommodation	Expatriate	Wait Staff	Employee
20	Hotel	Local	Maintenance	Employee
21	Transportation	Local	Fast Boat	Owner
22	Food Service	Local	Entrepreneur	Owner
23	Food Service	Local	Bartender	Manager
24	Food Service	Local	Wait Staff	Employee
25	Food Service and Accommodation	Local	Bartender	Manager
26	Coiba Tours	Expatriate	SCUBA Dive Instructor	Employee
27	Food Service	Local	Wait Staff	Employee
28	Food Service and Accommodation	Expatriate	Hotel and Accommodation	Manager
29	Food Service	Local	Wait Staff	Employee
30	Food Service	Local	Food Service	Owner
31	Food Service and Accommodation	Local	Hotel and Accommodation	Owner
32	Food Service and Accommodation	Local	Hotel and Accommodation	Owner
33	Surf	Expatriate	Retail Clerk	Employee
34	Food Service	Expatriate	Food Service	Owner

35	Coiba Tours	Expatriate	SCUBA Dive Entrepreneur	Owner
36	Food Service and Accommodation	Local	Wait Staff	Employee
37	Food Service and Accommodation	Local	Wait Staff	Employee
38	Fish Monger	Local	Entrepreneur	Owner
39	Transportation	Local	Fast Boat	Owner
40	Transportation	Local	Fast Boat	Owner
41	Transportation	Local	Fast Boat	Employee
42	Transportation	Local	Fast Boat	Employee
43	Coiba Tours	Local	SCUBA Dive Instructor	Manager
44	Coiba Tours	Expatriate	SCUBA Dive Instructor	Employee
45	Coiba Tours	Expatriate	SCUBA Dive Shop Entrepreneur	Owner
46	Coiba Tours	Expatriate	SCUBA Dive Shop Entrepreneur	Owner
47	Land Developer	Expatriate	Hotel Construction	Owner
48	Fish Monger	Local	Entrepreneur	Employee
49	Hotel	Local	Hotel	Owner
50	Food Service and Accommodation	Expatriate	Food Service and Accommodation	Owner

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