Resilience, tourist destinations and governance: an analytical framework

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Tourism destinations are facing numerous crises caused by climate change, natural disasters, economic recession, political instabilities, internal turmoil and terrorism (Dahles, Susilowati, 2015 ; Paraskevas, Altinay, McLean, Cooper, 2013). These crises affect considerably inbound tourism flows and consequently the tourism industry. The first aim of literature was to understand the way destinations managed the crisis and the way tourism actors respond to a crisis (Hystad, Keller, 2008 ; Laws, Prideaux, 2005). A second aim was to understand how the tourism industry recovers after a crisis (Ndlovu, Heath, 2011) including the small tourism actors in developing economies (Dahles, Susilowati, 2015) and their ability to find an alternative business (Williams, Vorley, 2014). By raising the idea that destinations are vulnerable to crisis, these authors pave the way to resilience.

Resilience refers to the "ability of a system to maintain its identity and adapt its essential structure and function in the face of disturbance" (Orchiston *et al.,* 2016 : p.145). There are competing definitions of resilience. In mechanics and physics, resilience "describes the stability of materials and their resistance to external shocks" (Davoudi, 2012 : p.300). In psychology, it is an individual adaptation process that enables a person to cope with difficulties and overcome adversity (Buikstra *et al.*, 2010). In regional studies, it is "the ability of a region to anticipate, prepare for, respond to and recover from a disturbance" (Foster, 2012 : p.29). In economics, resilience is the capacity to reduce "the vulnerability of economies to crises and strengthening their capacity to absorb and overcome severe shocks while supporting strong growth" (OECD 2015). This diversity of definitions should no more be a debate. Priority should instead be given to the way resilience is used (outcome, process, property). It is employed in various contexts (history, culture, economic development), different time periods (before, during, after the crisis), and numerous locations and scales (MacAskill, Guthrie, 2014).

Tourism resilience or resilience applied to tourism is the "ability

of social, economic or ecological systems to recover from tourism induced stress" (Tyrell, Johnson, 2008 : p.16). In the literature, tourism resilience is first considered as a way to improve sustainability after an ecological or environmental disaster and offers an alternative to sustainable development (Lew, 2014 ; Dahles, Susilowati, 2015), even if the term could become a buzzword (Davoudi, 2012). Whereas sustainable development aims at anticipating a shock in particular fields, resilience aims at bringing an answer to an expected or unexpected shock that is expensive in its direct and indirect impacts and asset losses (Hallegate, 2014).

The link between tourism and resilience has been developed more on case studies than on theoretical constructs (Lew, 2014). Progressively resilience shifts from a strictly ecological point of view to climate and environment changes and sustainability (Luthe, Wyss, 2014, 2016 ; Scott *et al.*, 2016 ; Tsaï *et al.,* 2016 ; Tsao, Ni, 2016 ; Lew *et al.,* 2016). Pushed by some natural disasters in highly touristic areas, the literature turned to analyze disasters and risk/crisis management at a community (Biggs *et al.,* 2012 ; Hall, 2010) or a destination level (Cochrane, 2010 ; Larsen *et al.,* 2011). More recently, resilience is used to help local actors to plan tourist development (Simmie, Martin, 2010) and to organize the transition towards sustainable development. Moreover, resilience is also applied to organizations and individual businesses in tourism (Dahles, Susilowati, 2015) and uses a quantitative approach (Orchiston *et al.,* 2016). The resilience of tourism organizations relies on firms' adaptation and innovation abilities.

The link between resilience and tourism destinations is a significant issue because disturbances are diversifying and not exclusively connected to ecology, climate, and natural environment. Political crises, sanitary disaster, terrorist attacks, industrial risks, digital economy and its blurring effects on tourists' behaviors such as knowledge development have to be seriously considered as "shocks" (Paraskevas *et al.,* 2013). The destination appears to be a significant level to observe resilience and the best way to put into practice resilience-based governance relying on resources and knowledge creation.

This chapter tries to specify, in a theoretical way, the link between resilience and tourism as well as the methods of resilience-based governance of a destination. Resilience does not only concern sustainable development (climate, biodiversity, etc.) but also social and environmental changes (income disparities, fiscal imbalances) and technologi-

cal changes (digital economy). In a first point, we will discuss the concept of resilience. We will see that being resilient is not a status but a frame of mind. This point of view will apply to tourist destinations. In a second point, we develop the concept of resilient-based destination and introduce an accurate and original reading in terms of a resilient-based governance of a tourist destination.

Resilience: an emerging concept in destination management

The typology we present gives content to the term of resilience, but the question we need to answer is also whether or not resilience is a new concept and why it seems entirely suitable for destination management.

Typology of resilience

From the literature, we distinguish four categories of resilience starting with disciplinary resilience and ending with a systemic one (Table 1). The first and narrower resilience, called engineering resilience, is seeking status quo preservation and is a way to return and recover a former equilibrium without adaptation (Pisano, 2002). The second definition, ecological resilience (Pimm, 1984), is rooted in ecology and linked to the stability of the ecosystem and its ability to prevent, manage, recover and absorb shocks (fire, pollution, etc.). It measures the vulnerability of a place, and it is an alternative paradigm for sustainable development. The third definition, social-ecological resilience, focuses on interactions within a social system and its capacity to continually change (Berkes, Ross, 2013). The system escapes from the necessity to return to equilibrium. Resilience is seeking adaptive capability, and learning and innovation capabilities in a context of dynamic interactions. Resilience focuses on planning and resources management within a dynamic system. Davoudi (2012) adds a fourth category, evolutionary resilience, which concerns the social world and its ability to live in a complex and continuously changing world. As far as resilience embraces a more systemic functioning, capabilities and complexity become crucial elements. To catch the complex nature of resilience, the concept of panarchy is often used to insist on cross-scale interactions (Becken, 2013 ; Gunderson, Holling, 2002 ; Pisano, 2012) and the necessity to pay attention simultaneously to all levels.

Resilience	*Focus*	*Orientation*	*Aims*	*Actions*
Engineering	Stability	Status quo	Return to equilibrium	Survive
Ecological	Natural world	Sustainability	Preserving resources	Survive
Social-ecological	Social world	Planning	Resources management	Adapt, adjust
Evolutionary	Social world	Decisions, sense-making	Asset management & new trajectories	Adapt to complexity & constant change

Table-1 : *A four-type resilience*

Sources : authors according to Davoudi (2012) ; Pisano (2003) ; Folke (2006).

Evolutionary resilience: a concept to challenge complexity

When resilience focuses on social and systemic interactions, it is understood as a process and relates to the capacity of adjustment and adaptation to overcome vulnerability linked to conflicts, terrorism, climate change, natural disasters, financial and fiscal imbalances, excessive urbanization, income disparities, aging populations or technological changes. By extension, resilience refers to the ability of a socio-economic system to cope with disturbances, to absorb exogenous and endogenous shocks, to adapt its organization, to shape change via constant innovation and learning (Hudson, 2010). Resilience is about choices, adaptation, recovery, renewal and "emergence of new trajectories" (Folke, 2006) in a complex, volatile and changing world. As Figure-1 shows, resilience is embedding reactive capabilities (absorption and auto-organization) as well as proactive ones (learning and innovating) and considers acceptance of shocks as a fundamental element.

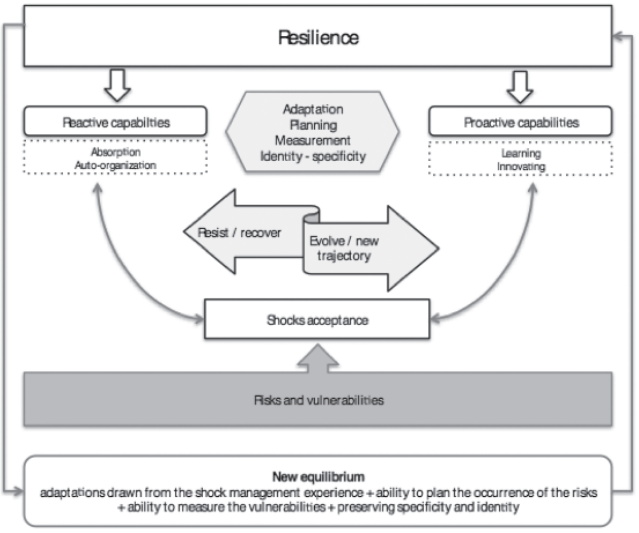

Figure-1 : *Resilience as a frame of mind*
Sources : authors

Evolutionary resilience: a concept to challenge destination management

From a tourist's point of view, a destination is a physical space in which (s)he spends working or leisure time away from home for at least one overnight (UNWTO 2016). In our concern, a destination is a complex system that articulates various stakeholders seeking to develop a set of natural, cultural, built and intangible resources within physical and administrative boundaries (Figure-2). A destination is a network of actors more or less articulated, dependent upon them in a political, economic, technological, environmental, cultural and social system.

For a destination seen as a complex and collaborative system, resilience is an appropriate concept that seeks to address constant and massive change rather than avoid it. The type of resilience we need to mobilize is the evolutionary one. To integrate various levels (individual/collective ; local/regional), a destination needs to set up a resilience-based governance.

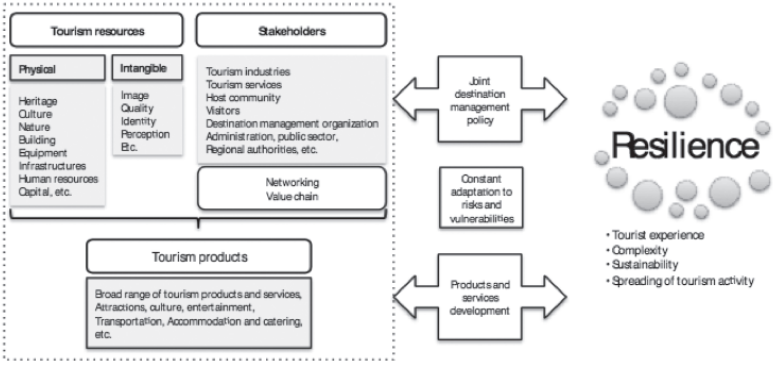

Figure-2 : *Destination as the fundamental unit of analysis*
Sources : authors

Resilience-based governance for destinations

Different external or internal shocks can involve a decline in tourist arrivals, impacting income and livelihoods. Making a destination resilient requires the substantial involvement of each stakeholder. We need then to understand how the resilience-based governance develops reactive and proactive capabilities to address changes rather than avoiding them.

Resilience to what?

The shocks a destination may encounter are tremendously varied. Using second-hand data analysis research methods, an extensive literature review was undertaken based on academic journals, international institutions' reports, and the Internet to collect examples of shocks. As far as academic journals are concerned, 2878 papers were collected from various Databases such as Business Source Complete (70 papers), JSTOR (104 papers), Springer Online (1822 papers), Taylor & Francis (508 papers) and Web of Knowledge (374 papers). The keywords used to collect papers where "resilience" and "tourism" for the period 2003-2017 and only papers in English with full content access were selected. Reports freely available on the Internet came from International institutions such as the United Nations and the World Bank. Some resilience research groups' websites such as Stockholm Resilience Center were also explored. From this material, a classification to build a typo-

logy was made. Indeed, it was observed that most of the shocks analyzed by the authors are published in Reviews in the field of ecology and sustainability and are linked to nature and environment and have atmospheric, geological, or hydrological origins. However, recent evolutions show that medical, economic, political and geopolitical shocks have considerable impacts on destinations' attractiveness as well as technological and social ones.

To overcome the massive amount of publications, it was decided to classify the subjects of the papers by categories of shocks and exclude the geography of risks. As shown in Figure-3, eleven categories were obtained: natural and environmental disasters, climatic risk and extreme weather, sanitary disaster and epidemics, industrial risks, political and social crises, macroeconomic shocks, population, urbanization, technology, economy, and ecology. Secondly, it was observed that all these categories belong to two families of origin: exogenous or endogenous. Most of the shocks are exogenous and hard to predict, but some of them are endogenous and more predictable in the long run. This methodology provides the opportunity to focus less on individual cases studies (or success/failure stories) than on the categories of shocks a destination may have to consider (Figure-3).

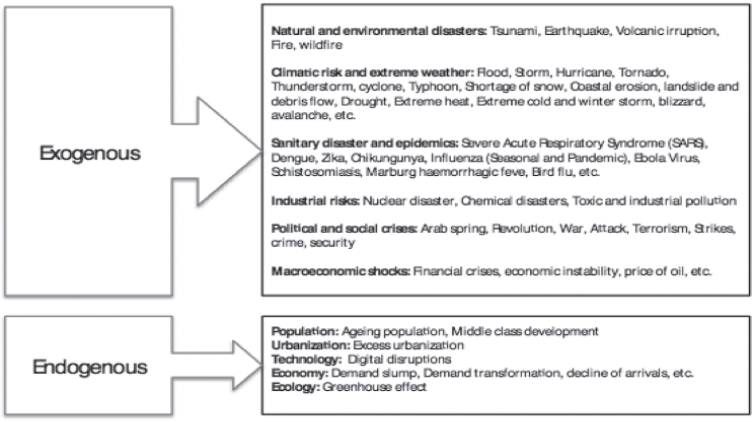

Figure-3 : *Typology of shocks*

Source : compilation made by authors from various international and national institutions, academic papers and the Internet.

Making a destination resilient

Resilient-based governance is a coordination process of various actors that are independent of central power and acting at different levels in response to observed or expected changes and their impacts. As shown by Baggio *et al.* (2010) or Zeghni (2015), the governance of destinations is organized through multiple levels. Adaptive governance relies on embedded polycentric institutional arrangements (Ostrom, 1996). Such governance relies on networks that connect stakeholders at multiple organizational levels. It also relies on collaborative, flexible and learning-based approaches or adaptive destination co-management. Such a governance process may generate self-organization and cross-scale linkages among stakeholders and may achieve better outcomes than decentralized, centralized or hierarchical governance systems in an uncertain environment (Pechlaner, Innerhofer, 2018).

Reactive capabilities use resilience to pursue the destination management and to make acceptable what is not. In the short term, they depend, on the one hand, on the destination's resistance and, on the other hand, on its self-organization capacity. Proactive capabilities participate in a profound political renewal to ensure the effectiveness of the destination's sustainable transition. In the long run, it makes it possible to limit the potential damages and losses related to significant disturbances. Besides, disturbances create new opportunities to reinforce the destination via learning. The improvement of the adjustment processes enables the destination to choose a new path or to prevent future catastrophes. The aim is to ensure the destination's survival by integrating the disturbances into its development path. In this case, resilience aims at transforming the destination to improve its performances and to ensure its survival under changing conditions. The resilience mechanism is based simultaneously on the mobilization of learning and adaptive capabilities to evolve and improve its structures in the long run.

Governance in a resilient destination

To study a multilevel governance system in a resilient destination, it is necessary to consider issues of change and stability, adaptation and design, hierarchy and self-organization. Some more flexible governance processes such as network governance, public-private partnerships, and self-organization, are more efficient in a complex world. These new forms of destinations' governance rely on decentralization, self-regulation, and participative deliberation systems. A third type of

governance model can be added known as "adaptive, deliberative and reflexive governance". Adaptive governance aims to build capabilities based on past experiences and a commitment to social learning. It consists of self-organization and self-enforcement of networks of the stakeholders involved in a flexible, collaborative and learning-based process to develop destinations. Reflexive governance, according to Voss, Kemp (2006, p.4) "refers to the problem of shaping societal development in the light of the reflexivity of steering strategies - the phenomenon that thinking and acting with respect to an object of steering also affects the subject and its ability to steer (…). Reflexive governance thus implies calling into question the foundations of governance itself, that is, the concepts, practices and institutions by which societal development is governed, and that one envisions alternatives and reinvents and shapes those foundations." Table 2 gives a summary of the different approaches to governance. In a complex world, an efficient governance system for the destination should recognize the multiplicity of actors, networks, spaces and scales. It has to take into account the importance of particular political histories and cultures.

	Governance Top down	**Networked governance**	**Adaptive, reflexive, deliberative governance**
Stakeholders	Distinct stakeholders Bounded destinations	Multiple actors, scales and spaces interaction and networking within space or scales and between them	Shifting solidarities and interdependencies, institutions renegotiated through adaptation and deliberation; marginal, transient and inter-institutional spaces.
Tools	Formal rules, formal relations between actors Planning, technical and scientific approach to risk management Hierarchy, expertise	Informal rules, relationship based on interactions and learning, path dependency, network power	Adaptation and deliberation process Multiple knowledge and multiple expertise sources, co-construction

Table-2 : *Comparing Governance approaches*
Sources : according to Zeghni (2015)

Academic literature shows the necessity of a new form of governance more adapted to complexity. Case studies show that there are many difficulties in establishing adaptive governance (Innerhofer *et al.,* 2018 ; Oteros-Rozas *et al.,* 2015). Nevertheless, we consider adaptive governance as a modern way to build a resilient destination, even if such governance relies more on theory than on practice. If it enters into practice, it is at an experimental level. As Djalende *et al.* (2011)

stressed such governance is in need of intense stakeholders' participation, cross-scale institutional linkages, and long run planning to cope with uncertainty and abrupt change. Resilience to a shock, whatever its origin, will depend on the ability of the destination to self-organize, learn and adapt (Table-3).

Olympic Games Paris 2024 Observatory	To anticipate the implications of the OG for the destination in a long-run perspective. The University Paris-Est Marne-la-Vallée (France) and the French Olympic Organization Committee have set up in February 2018 this observatory to anticipate impacts for the Paris Region's stakeholders.
"No Tourist" Movement in Barcelona, Dubrovnik, Berlin, Venetia, etc.	Destinations may face hospitality problem because inhabitants do not accept to be less considered than tourists or to be excluded from the city centers by Airbnb. A resilient way to maintain de destination's attractiveness is to make the place more inclusive for inhabitants.

Table-3 : *Some examples of adaptive governance by resilient destination*
Sources : authors

Adaptive governance is a process in constant evolution, and the gap between theory and real life can be critical especially when individual interests are at stake.

Conclusion

This chapter stimulates new and essential questions. Resilience gains in explanatory power if we skip from resilience applied to specific fields to systemic resilience. This shift puts forward the governance of a destination. A resilient destination can build and achieve resilience, which is necessary to increase inbound tourism, to ensure flexibility, transition, innovation, and to build a new trajectory for renewed attractiveness or image. The resilience of a tourist destination is the ability of the stakeholders to accept shocks, which rely on planning and anticipation and responsiveness. It is simultaneously a decentralized process and collective response. The decentralized process offers several answers, while a collective response ensures flexibility for the development of the required capacity (Folke *et al.,* 2005 ; Becken, 2013). In fact, a resilient-based destination is a learning destination. This point merits to be explored in more depth in future research.

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