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A dynamic perspective on destination governance success: The case of an emerging network in the Dolomites

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Abstract

Development and competitiveness of tourism destinations have been often associated by previous literature to the effectiveness of destination governance. However, a thorough understanding of relevant dimensions explaining destination governance success, both from theoretical and analytical perspectives, is still lacking. With this paper the authors contribute to advancing the theory on destination governance, particularly focusing on the issue of governance success from a dynamic perspective. The theoretical and analytical framework proposed is based on the most recent developments of network governance studies and proposes an investigation of micro-dynamics to understand governance evolutionary paths towards successful or unsuccessful outcomes. The theoretical and analytical framework is applied to the case of an emerging network of stakeholders of an Alpine destination, the Comelico area. The analysis of the case, developed through an action research approach, allowed to identify both static (commitment and competences) and dynamic (framing and mobilizing) relevant dimensions in explaining successful or unsuccessful outcomes for emerging tourism destinations.

Keywords: Destination governance, governance success, networks, emerging destination, commitment, competences.

JEL Codes: Z380, L140

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1. Introduction

Even if defining tourism success is quite a controversial issue, and the construct itself is “elusive” (Bornhorst, Brent Ritchie, & Sheehan, 2010, p. 573), a consolidated stream of research investigates destinations’ performance from a demand perspective (Archer & Fletcher, 1996; Kozak, 2002), focused in particular on marketing activities (Bornhorst et al., 2010; Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014). As previously acknowledged by other contributions “less attention has been devoted to destination success relative to supply or from a resource-based view. In particular and most astonishingly, few have explicitly investigated the relationship between DMO success and destination success, and even fewer have scrutinized the major success determinants of effective DMOs.” (Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014, p. 65). However, previous research underscored that sustainable competitive advantage may be reached through the effective management and governance of all destinations’ components (Bornhorst et al., 2010, p. 572; Ritchie & Crouch, 2003). The role of coordinating and governing processes and activities has been traditionally associated with DMOs, and “previous research claims that DMOs capable of actively fostering collaboration between destination stakeholders are key to ensuring a destination’s competitiveness” (Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014, p. 64). Coordination of all components of the tourism product is fundamental for the overall evaluation of the tourism experience by destination’s visitors, and for this reason the emerging stream of research stresses the importance of investigating antecedents of destination governance success. However, very few studies were explicitly devoted to the investigation of this issue, and some very first steps have been made mainly in defining “what success means for a DMO and for a destination” (Bornhorst et al., 2010, p. 573) and in understanding “DMO and destination success by investigating the role played by networking capability” (Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014, p. 64). The relevance of these issues is even more stressed in the case of emerging destinations, where a destination’s success is heavily dependent on destination governance effectiveness (Hunt, 2014). Furthermore, it seems to lack a thorough understanding on dynamics of destination governance success, since extant contributions still offer mainly a static picture of outcomes (Dredge, 2006; Scott, Baggio, & Cooper, 2008).

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the theory of destination governance adopting a network approach. Our focus is on emerging tourism destinations that do not have a developed organizational and governance structure. In this context we show how a network approach focused on the study of micro-dynamics can contribute to understand destination's evolutionary paths and to assess destination governance success.

The paper is structured as follows: next section will review extant literature on destination governance success and will build the theoretical framework underlying our analysis; section three will introduce the methodology and the empirical case; section four will present the results of the empirical study, following the phases of network evolution; section five will summarize the results on network structure and micro-dynamics; section six will discuss the main findings and conclusions.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Defining destination governance success

In an increasingly globalized world in which tourism destinations are under new and stronger competitive pressures, understanding what influences destinations' success has become even more important for destinations' managers. The link between destinations' success and its governance has been underlined by several past contributions (Beritelli, 2011; Beritelli, Bieger, & Laesser, 2007; d'Angella, De Carlo, & Sainaghi, 2010; Dredge, 2006; Ritchie & Crouch, 2003; Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014), and it can now be considered commonly agreed by tourism management literature. However, a thorough analysis of destination governance effectiveness, of determinants of its success, and of the connection between governance and destination success is still lacking (Bornhorst et al., 2010; Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014).

Two main reasons may account for the lack of theorizing in this field: on the one side, the existence of several theoretical approaches adopted to study destinations' governance focused the debate on the issue of destination governance models (Beritelli et al., 2007; Bodega, Cioccarelli, & Denicolai, 2004;

d'Angella et al., 2010; Flagestad & Hope, 2001), thus far before the question about its effectiveness (Bornhorst et al., 2010); on the other, the complexity of theoretically defining and empirically studying destination governance performance (Ritchie & Crouch, 2003) makes the field suffering from a paucity of empirical evidence and exploratory research, the basis for developing theories in unexplored and under-theorized areas of research (Sandberg & Alvesson, 2011).

Notwithstanding the numerous approaches adopted to the study of destination governance, it is possible to identify two main streams of research based (i) on stakeholder theory (Bornhorst et al., 2010; d'Angella et al., 2010; Sheehan & Ritchie, 2005; Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014), and (ii) network studies (Baggio, Scott, & Cooper, 2010a, 2010b; Dredge, 2006; Dredge & Pforr, 2008; Nordin & Svensson, 2007; Svensson, Nordin, & Flagestad, 2005). Within the first stream of research, scholars relied on stakeholder theory, pioneered by Freeman (1984), to identify and categorize relevant groups of interest (Sheehan & Ritchie, 2005) that need to be taken into consideration in relation with destination governance, and to uncover those tensions arising from conflicting interests that need to be governed and managed in order to plan destinations' sustainable development (Ritchie & Crouch, 2003; Sautter & Leisen, 1999). As Sheehan and Ritchie (2005) point out, stakeholder theory has its core in its normative nature, even though the "normative, descriptive, and instrumental aspects of the theory are 'mutually supportive'." (p.314).

However, as acknowledged by recent literature, in advancing the theory on destination governance there has been "a growing interest in the potential benefits and drawbacks of managing tourist destinations in the form of networks." (Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014, p. 64). Numerous scholars have suggested the idea that coordination and networking, with or without a DMO acting as a network manager, are the key processes to pursue sustainable and competitive advantage of destinations (Dredge, 2006; Dredge & Pforr, 2008; Moretti & Zirpoli, 2016; Moscardo, 2011; Nordin & Svensson, 2007; Ritchie & Crouch, 2003; Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014). Also in the debate concerning destination governance models (Bodega et al., 2004; Flagestad & Hope, 2001), the idea of more social and loose ways of coordinating actors (based on trust, informal interactions, personal relations, etc.) underlies existing contributions

(d'Angella et al., 2010, p. 66): networks are explicitly (Dredge, 2006) or implicitly (d'Angella et al., 2010) addressed as the optimal form of governance for tourism destinations.

Studies adopting a network approach can be distinguished in two groups, depending on their focus and analytical approach: studies adopting a social network analysis (SNA) approach (Beritelli & Laesser, 2011; Cooper, Scott, & Baggio, 2009; Grama & Baggio, 2014; Pavlovich, 2003; Pforr, 2006), and studies adopting a network governance approach (Beritelli, 2011; Dredge, 2006; Dredge & Pforr, 2008; Nordin & Svensson, 2007; Novelli, Schmitz, & Spencer, 2006). The SNA approach includes contributions which investigated how structural characteristics of destinations' networks affect different dimensions of tourism management (Moretti, 2017, p. 96), among which power and influence (Beritelli & Laesser, 2011), actors' saliency (Cooper et al., 2009), network similarity with respect to competitors (Grama & Baggio, 2014), tourism policy dynamics (Pforr, 2006), and destination governance (Bodega et al., 2004). Studies adopting a network governance approach explore research questions related to coordination mechanisms between network members, and how they can be designed and enacted in order to effectively develop, plan, and manage tourism policy (Moretti, 2017, p. 96). Contributions developed within this domain have been devoted to the investigation of the interplay between formal and informal networks (Nordin & Svensson, 2007), the relevance of coordination mechanisms to foster cooperative behaviors (Beritelli, 2011), the impact of coordination on innovation and destinations' competitive advantage (Novelli et al., 2006), the relevance of coordination between public and private sectors for an effective tourism planning and development of destinations (Dredge, 2006).

Even if the network approach allows uncovering the link between destination stakeholders and some specific dimensions of destination success (power, policy, planning, etc.), studies investigating and theorizing on destination governance success from a network theory perspective are quite few. Two recent contributions, both focused on DMO as the subject in charge of destination governance (thus limiting their scope of application), can be taken as a reference point for discussing the issue. Bornhorst et al. (2010, p. 573), contribute defining DMO and destination success, while Volgger and Pechlaner (2014, p. 64) explored these constructs analyzing in-depth the networking capability dimension: both

studies provide important contributions in pushing further the theory of destination governance success. In particular, the former developed an extensive literature review on the concept of tourism success, on which the authors built a qualitative study aimed at proposing a model of determinants of DMO and destination success, highlighting their differences, commonalities, and confirming their interdependence.

Volgger and Pechlaner (2014) reviewed past definitions of destination governance success, revealing that the previous literature had adopted mainly a conceptual approach, focused on the identification of DMO tasks and activities, and on the definition of DMO success as the ability to carry out these tasks and activities. Among others, Presenza et al. (2005), basing their research on Ritchie and Crouch (2003), identified two main competences of DMOs: marketing and coordinating stakeholders. The former relates to DMO's external performance, and the latter refers to DMO's internal performance. Other papers focused on DMOs tasks (Heath and Wall, 1992), and analysed which competences (such as resource planning (Gill & Williams, 1994; Inskeep, 1991), and leadership (Gretzel et al., 2006; Harrill, 2009)), and constraints (such as funding and resources (Bieger et al., 2009; Getz et al., 1998), and DMO size (Bieger et al., 2009)) may affect their ability to perform these tasks. However, in the recent contributions "most consistently and strongly sought DMO capabilities refer to intermediation and networking (e.g. d'Angella & Go, 2009; Dwyer & Kim, 2003; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Sheehan & Ritchie, 2005)." (Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014, p. 66)

Following this stream of research, Bornhorst et al. (2010) defined a successful DMO as an organization able to sustain and foster coordination between destination's stakeholders (networking), to carry out operational activities (professionalism), to provide transparent evidence of its activities (transparency), and endowed with high-level resources (resources). Volgger and Pechlaner (2014) extended DMO successdefinition investigating specifically the networking dimension, and "highlighting the role played by authority, power and acceptance in linking networking capability to DMO success." (Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014, p. 65).

It is important to highlight that these two contributions were both focused on the investigation of DMO success, thus a specific type of destination governance arrangement. In fact, DMOs are organizations in charge of governing tourism in destinations that can be at different stages of their lifecycle (Butler, 1980), except the first two (exploration and involvement), in which the presence of a DMO is rare, if not existing. In emerging tourism destinations, in fact, tourism governance can be in the hands of local public administrations, or of powerful private stakeholders that want to develop local tourism economy. However, DMOs emerge only in the involvement or development phases of a destination's lifecycle, as stated by Butler (1980, p. 6-7) describing the involvement phase: "Some level of organization in tourist travel arrangements can be expected and the first pressures put upon governments and public agencies to provide or improve transport and other facilities for visitors."

In order to define success for emerging destinations, we state that we need to extend the definition from DMOs success, to destination governance success. Starting from past literature, we follow previous contributions focusing on the *networking* dimension of tourism governance as the determinant of governance success for emerging destinations. Networking ability, in fact, on the one side has been indicated by past literature as the most relevant dimension of DMO success (Volgger and Pechlaner, 2014) among the ones proposed by Bornhorst et al. (2010): on the other side, it is the only relevant dimension for emerging destinations, in which a DMO (with resources, professionalism, and transparency) does not exist.

2.2 Adopting a dynamic perspective to study destination governance success

The "networking" dimension, proposed by Bornhorst et al. (2010) as one of the determinants of DMO success, and further elaborated by Volgger and Pechlaner (2014) with the introduction of "power" and "acceptance" variables as mediators of the impact of networking capability on DMO success, underscores the relevance of a dynamic approach to the study of destination governance success, even though the authors are not explicitly addressing it. Networking, in fact, is the activity aimed at explicitly

changing the network's structure, thus altering the configuration of constraints and benefits linked to the architecture itself (Kilduff & Tsai, 2003).

As acknowledged by recent contributions (Ahuja, Soda, & Zaheer, 2012; Vissa, 2012), network participants engage in processes of tie formation and management that lead to the modification of initial network structures, associated with specific advantages or disadvantages (the “networking” activity mentioned above). It is thus necessary to adopt a dynamic analytical lens, without which “an understanding of network outcomes is incomplete and potentially flawed” (Ahuja et al., 2012, p. 434). The focus on the analysis of static network structures, in fact, could lead researchers to make conclusions on network outcomes that are “premature or, at best, transient.” (Ahuja et al., 2012, p. 435). The relevance of a dynamic dimension in the study of network governance success is acknowledged also by Volgger and Pechlaner (2014) in confronting their results with the former conceptions of destination governance models (the community model (Bodega et al., 2004; Flagestad & Hope, 2001), in particular), concluding that their results “pave the way for a very dynamic or maybe even cyclical conception of destination governance” (Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014, p. 72). Focusing on dynamics and evolutionary paths becomes even more salient when discussing emerging destinations (Hunt, 2014; Moscardo, 2011, 2005). As pointed out within the debate about social representations of tourism planning, in fact, the Anglo-Saxon approach to governance is mainly “characterized by a rule-bound, top-down approach to decision-making where power and control are invested in a small number of people who are supposedly working for the best interests of the larger group” (Moscardo, 2011, p.433). However, emerging destinations are usually in a fluid phase of development, in which people in charge of governing tourism development are people borrowed from public local administration, or controlling key tourism resources, or not clearly identified yet. Thus, investigating destination governance dynamics also at the initial stages of tourism development, during which no well-established management organizations are present, is fundamental to extend our understanding of evolutionary paths towards success or failure.

A promising avenue of research to answer the call to a more dynamic theory of destination governance success is the stream of research focused on network dynamics (Ahuja et al., 2012) and evolution (Padgett & Powell, 2012), which has already been applied to the study of governance failure in cultural tourism destinations (Moretti & Zirpoli, 2016). This literature relies on two main building blocks highly interrelated: (i) the conceptualization of networks as multiple systems (Kilduff & Brass, 2010; Moretti, 2017; Padgett & Powell, 2012) and (ii) the relevance of agency and micro-dynamics (Ahuja et al., 2012; Moretti & Zirpoli, 2016) to explain network evolution and outcomes. Describing networks as multiple systems allows to highlight how individual members may have different incentives, motivations, and ideas about networks' evolutionary paths, because they play different roles (i.e., business manager, friend, political representative, etc.) at the same time. Consistent with this view is the call launched to network scholars (Ahuja et al., 2012) to focus on individuals' agency and micro-dynamics to understand network evolution and outcomes. Especially the social network analysis tradition, in fact, has been criticized to have treated individuals as mere "nodes", without aims, needs, preferences, and strategies (Powell, White, Koput, & Owen-Smith, 2005, p. 1133). The lack of attention devoted to individuals' agency has the important drawback of overlooking those actions developed by agents pursuing their individual strategies. These actions, in fact, can affect the network evolution and the whole network structure, which can be intended as the architecture of benefits and constraints that network members aim at altering in their own favor. As a result, they affect network outcomes (Ahuja et al., 2012). The importance of individuals' agency has now been acknowledged by network studies, and "there is evidence of an agentic turn (e.g., Stevenson and Greenberg (2000)) even among the more sociologically inclined network scholars." (Kilduff & Brass, 2010, p. 336)

Consideration of agency and micro-dynamics is fundamental to understand network coordination, and thus it is an essential theoretical toolkit to develop theory of destination governance success. Previous literature already addressed the interdependence between effective destination governance and stakeholders' coordination (d'Angella et al., 2010; Dredge, 2006; Ritchie & Crouch, 2003): however, a

dynamic approach investigating micro-dynamics at initial stages of destination development is still lacking.

In order to push further the theory on destination governance success, building on previous literature on network governance, we focus our investigation on network micro-dynamics developed at the individual level between stakeholders of an emerging destination, localized in a fragmented territory. Given the focus of our theoretical investigation on micro-dynamics developed by agents involved in destination governance coordination, we adopted the action research approach, particularly suited for the analysis of dynamics developing at the micro level of interaction, while offering the opportunity to observe dynamics affecting the whole system at the same time. We conducted our research with an exploratory aim, in order to both to push further the theory of destination governance success.

3. Research approach: action research and the empirical setting

The action research approach is a participative research approach that allows to analyze dynamics developing at the micro level of network interaction, while offering the opportunity to observe dynamics affecting the whole system.

Originally introduced by Lewin (1946) with a psychological connotation (Holter & Schwartz-Barcott, 1993), action research evolved through time, and applied to many fields, like education (Kemmis & McTaggart, 1988).

Adaptability to the field of research, active participation by the researcher, a spiral process divided in multiple phases, and the possibility to empower the actors involved in the research (Berg, 2004), thus obtaining an immediate contribution to a practical concern, are recurrent features of the above-mentioned approach.

Although the participation of the researchers influences the study, the method has gained recognition over time, and has been employed in research contexts where *change* or improvement were sought (Berg, 2004). Its features were particularly appropriate for this study not only from a research

perspective, but also because they allowed the researchers to meet the needs of the local municipalities by providing them with technical support and field-specific competences when designing destination management and marketing strategies.

Our research is thus based on data collected during different phases of action research, in the form of field notes and direct observation and participation in organizational meetings (see Table 3 for details). Moreover, we triangulated our primary data with data from secondary sources, i.e. formal and informal documents, both private and public (see Table 4 for details). All qualitative data have been coded and interpreted by two different researchers, and when interpretations were different, data were again revised and discussed (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013). More details about the methodological approach are provided in section 4, “The empirical study”, in which we describe how we developed the action research in the empirical context under analysis.

3.1 The Comelico Area

The study was set in a mountain area in northern Italy, called Comelico, part of the Veneto Region and of the province of Belluno. The area comprises six municipalities with an overall population of 8.600 people (ISTAT, 2011b). The boundaries of the area are somehow critical, as it can be seen in Figure 1: a province and a region with administrative autonomy, namely the well-known South Tyrol and Friuli-Venezia Giulia, and a foreign country, Austria. The administrative imbalance between the areas, which are quite homogeneous in terms of natural features, has pushed three municipalities to request to join the adjacent autonomous regions – one of which has been successful.

Figure 1 around here

The area has an outstanding natural environment: part of it is in the Northern System of the Dolomites, as stated by UNESCO in 2009 (WHC, 2009), and the natural features have generally been preserved from major anthropic impacts. This is mainly due to the existence of a particular administrative institution, “*regola*”, which survives as a private law entity from the Middle Age on: it gathers all the male adults (head of the “*fuochi*”, families) and owns forests and pastures, which are subject to collective use (Zanderigo Rosolo, 2013). Farming still plays a significant role in local economy. Nevertheless, the number of farms has decreased, but the remaining ones have become larger and more technologically advanced. Several micro-industries have ceased to exist, due to the recent evolution of the production in the nearby eyewear district of Belluno (Unioncamere del Veneto, 2012). The local economy has become more tourism-based, even though the tourist numbers remain of little impact and the tourism infrastructure is allocated mainly on the two main municipalities of the area, Sappada and Comelico Superiore (see Figure 1). Furthermore, the area suffers from significant depopulation, which has led to a 25% decrease of residents in 40 years (ISTAT, 2011b, 2014).

As far as tourism product is concerned, all the area benefits from minor tourism numbers during summer and off-season periods, connected to trekking and family holidays. Moreover, two municipalities (Sappada and Comelico Superiore) have winter sport infrastructures, which generate winter tourism mainly linked to sport activities. As it can be seen in Table 1, these two municipalities emerge as the ones having higher tourism numbers. In particular, Sappada concentrates nearly a half of the area tourism numbers. This is also coherent with the availability of bed places compared to the area: Sappada and Comelico Superiore concentrate almost 2/3 of the total available bed places (see Table 2 for more detailed information).

Insert Table 1 around here

In the last 10 years (2006-2016), the area –quite like the province, which gathers more than a half of the Dolomites– has seen a weak decrease in overall arrivals but an increase in foreign tourist component. Furthermore, there is a significant decrease in nights spent, with a weak trend inversion from 2014 on (Regione Veneto, 2016). The overall shortening of stays is associated with a strong prevalence of non-hotel accommodation establishments (Table 2). The negative trend has recently been inverted for arrivals and nights spent, thanks to the non-hotel accommodation establishments. Length of stay, instead, continues to decrease (see Figure 2).

Insert Table 2 around here

Insert Figure 2 around here

4. The empirical study

The starting point of our investigation was the decision taken by the local municipality administrations to develop a joint program of destination policy and planning for the entire Comelico area, triggered by the acknowledgement of the possible positive impact of tourism on a critical economic scenario.

Two municipalities of the area, M1 and M2², started the process, thus acting as the network core dyad for the initial phase. In a second time, the initial dyad of the network invited the other four

² Municipalities' names have been labeled with anonymous acronyms in order to preserve anonymity of interviewees who took part into the project.

municipalities to join the project, which was called “Alte Dolomiti” (Northern Dolomites). The agreement was formalized through specific administrative documents (like ED1, See Table 4), approved internally by each municipality during 2015. The six mayors agreed on choosing council members as representatives. In the following months (see 4.2, the “Network Development” phase) three municipalities chose one representative, one municipality chose two representatives who attended the meetings jointly, one other municipality was represented by the mayor himself, and the last municipality changed three times the representative during the network evolution (only one representative at time attended the network meetings). These representatives are defined as the “network members”.

Two other institutions were involved in the project: a tourism association (which we will refer to as “Consortium”), a private company gathering part of the businesses of the local tourism supply (from all the municipalities but M1), and the M1 Tourism Public Board. The latter was born in 2015 by the will of the M1 administration to have a more efficient and skilled promotion of the local tourism. These two institutions were defined as “operational partners”, since only a practical contribution was expected from them by the public administrators: they had to support the developing network by helping them to implement the destination plan. For instance, they had to collect and organize tourist information, update websites and social networks, coordinate events, and so on. The research started in January 2017 and lasted until September 2017. During this period, researchers participated to several meetings with different participants’ composition (see Table 3 for details): five with all network members, two with the local mayors, two with some representatives of local businesses, eight single meetings with the network members, two with two network members, one with a network member and an operational partner.

Consistent with the literature (Kemmis & McTaggart, 1998; Berg, 2004), the research was structured in a spiral process which comprised various phases: *observation*, *data collection*, *analysis*, *discussion*, *theory building*, *sharing* and *action*.

The *observation* phase was initially structured around three key points identified before the first meeting following previous literature: *structure*, seen as the tools adopted in a governance perspective and the

organization of the network and its activities (Kilduff & Brass, 2010), *dynamics*, seen as the evolution of the relationships between members (Ahuja et al., 2012), and *strategical aims*, seen as the way the network shaped its own task (Kilduff & Tsai, 2003, p. 87).

The *data collection* phase consisted in the collection of data from different sources: the primary ones, namely field notes collected during the meetings (see Table 3 for details), and the secondary ones, i.e. formal and informal documents, both private and public (see Table 4 for details).

The research team then scrutinized this data in the *analysis* phase, producing reports where qualitative data were systematically organized around the above-mentioned variables (see Table 5).

These partial results were then *discussed* at three different levels with network members: individually, in sub-groups, and in plenary meetings.

By combining data analyzed through the reports with actors' feedback, pieces of context-specific *theory* were then *built*.

The results were then *shared* with the actors, and the specific *actions* were proposed.

After the first cycle concluded, the research process restarted, following a spiral path: the *observation* phase was widened by adding *legitimacy*, seen as the latitude each actor had within the network (*internal*) and in its own municipality (*external*), in order to have a better understanding of power relations (Human & Provan, 2000). Moreover, the strategical aims were observed more specifically following two perspectives, *policy*, seen as the strategical choices, and *planning*, seen as the implementation of policy (Dredge, 2006). Similarly, during the third cycle, *competences*, seen as the presence and degree of diffusion of both network-specific and tourism-specific knowledge and competence (Denicolai, Cioccarelli, & Zucchella, 2010; Schrank & Whitford, 2011), and *commitment*, seen as both the energy and the resources devoted to the project and the level of belief in network success (Ramayah, Lee, & In, 2011), were added. Given the light that these two variables cast on the network, the data collected in the preceding phases were re-analyzed taking also commitment and competences into consideration. The final observation protocol is represented in Table 5.

Results are presented in the following sections: the first one describes the starting point of the network under analysis; the following four sections describe the evolution of the network, from its initial development to its relative failure.

Insert Table 3 around here

Insert Table 4 around here

Insert Table 5 around here

4.1 The starting point

The research began in January 2017. All the municipalities had subscribed formal documents in 2015 to join in the project, and therefore had set some specific aims and programs like “reorganizing and promoting tourism in a unique way for all the area, with specific and shared actions and programs”, “coordinating tourism offices”, “developing and employing a destination brand to be called ‘Alte Dolomiti’” (ED1, see Table 4). However, during the two years before the research’s starting point, very few steps had been made towards these aims: only few meetings had been held, no coordination mechanism had been designed and no brand management practice had been started.

At the time of starting this research project, the only tangible result of the “Alte Dolomiti” project was the creation of a website (ED1, 2, see Table 4), which was being used by the municipality of M1 as a

showcase for trekking routes, traditional events, tourist accommodation establishments, etc.; the municipality of M2 had just started to upload information about trekking routes; all other municipalities were not concretely acting in the project, and, as emerged in the following network meetings (see Table 3), had not fully understood the aim of the project itself. Nonetheless, the attitude towards the project varied between the four remaining municipalities: the mayor of M4 reported to the mayor of M2 that he was convinced of the need of investments in the tourism field; the mayor of M3 reported to his deputy that he meant to delegate the project-related decisions to the deputy himself; the mayor of M5 had to deal with her deputy, who was not convinced about the project, before joining; the mayor of M6 had to be solicited by one of the M6 delegates before subscribing.

Even if a clear object for the project had been set (the creation of a shared marketing plan (ED1, see Table 4)), and it implied the creation of a unique destination to be marketed, it is interesting to note how the attention of the municipalities was devoted mainly to visual communication of local pre-existing offers, thus leaving behind all the aspects related to cooperation and product development.

Moreover, in the previous months the municipality of M1 had appointed its Tourism Board as an operational partner of the network, in charge of managing the website, following the idea that the tourism board staff was able to provide a more efficient and skilled promotion of local tourism. The Tourism Board had a full-time staff, consisting of three employees, who reorganized the available information and uploaded it in the website.

The other operational partner, the Consortium, participated to the network mainly via the mediation of the municipality of M2. The Consortium and the municipality of M2 had a pre-existing cooperation agreement, by which the Consortium managed the public aspect of local tourism, for instance running a tourism info-point, preparing a season event schedule, etc. Because of the lack of human and financial resources (the staff of the Consortium was constituted only by one part-time employee that could not manage more work than the operational running of the association) the Consortium hadn't been able to contribute to the website content creation as the M1 Tourism Board was doing. Despite some efforts at extending the pre-existing agreement, the municipality and the Consortium were not able to come to an

agreement to widen the Consortium's role. As a result, M2's network member had worked on the website in his free time. The municipality of M1 had also borne the initial cost of building up the website, and an informal agreement between the mayors was set up to split current and future expenses among the municipalities: each municipality had to pay a share, proportional to its tourism numbers. M1, therefore, borne nearly a half of the expenses (see Table 1). Besides this agreement, some informal coordination mechanism existed between the municipalities of M1 and Comelico, like a shared week schedule to update the Facebook page.

4.2 First phase: Network development

The beginning of the research somehow catalyzed the process of the network genesis, stimulating the municipalities to choose and indicate their representatives.

Some financial issues emerged, related to the fact that some of the municipalities lacked the funds to sustain the current features of the project (for instance, they were not able to pay their share of the expenses related to website building) and also the strategical actions planned for the future. Not all the network members shared the same tourism-specific competences and differed also over commitment to the project.

Insert Figure 3 around here

By observing the network members during the public and private meetings, the research team divided them into four categories (Figure 3), based on the level of competences and commitment: network actors were not equally distributed among the four categories. In particular, in this phase, the dominant category was the A (low commitment and low competences). Each category found on the base of the commitment-competences levels adopted a different *frame* (Goffman, 1974, 1986) while shaping the network's aims and while working towards these aims: (for instance, the category B (high commitment

but low competences) tended to emphasize the economic and active aspect of cooperation, and to *mobilize* (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986) the other actors toward a more concrete agenda. Conversely, the category C (high commitment and high competences) emphasized the importance of governance aspects, and tried to mobilize other actors toward the creation of a governance structure. Similarly, the category A (low commitment and low competences) tended to look for external partners to carry on the project-related activities. Since this category was the dominant one, volunteers were involved immediately: they were friends and acquaintances of the network members, who went trekking often and thus knew the local environment well. According to Provan & Kenis (2008), this decision affected the tension between *inclusiveness* and *efficiency*: while generating widespread support towards the project, it gave the actors less space to debate and agree on a governance structure to adopt. The absence of a shared vision of the project could lead to a difficulty in advancing the project itself in a way consistent with the previously set aims: following the action research approach, after a diagnosis it was recommended to create a steering committee. The first aim was to create a space where a shared vision of the project could emerge, separating the “governance domain” of interaction from the “production domain” of interaction, thus generating policy first, and then involving the volunteers for the action needed, like collecting photos and GIS data related to existing trekking routes. The second aim was to create a source of information that could avoid the predominance of behind-the-curtains communication, thus leaving less space to sub-group formation (Kilduff & Tsai, 2003).

In this phase *trust* was spread between network members, but not in the network as a form of governance, since actors had a weak perception of themselves as a whole and, as stated above, did not interact through the network in order to build a shared frame.

4.3 Second phase: Network peak

In this second period, network meetings became more frequent, and information and knowledge started to circulate systematically, since some communication tools (like periodical reports) were adopted;

therefore, some actors became more involved in the project and the balance between commitment and competences changed. Thus, the category with *low commitment and low competences* diminished (see Figure 4), and most of the actors were committed.

Insert Figure 4 around here

An agenda for the future was defined, providing detailed actions and timing, and it was proposed to employ a part-time manager as in a Network Administrative Organization (Provan & Kenis, 2008) form of governance. Nonetheless, the decisions that had been taken in the previous phase were not implemented, since no shared frame had emerged and none of the actors were committed to carry decisions out, not feeling them as a product of network governance. For instance, the network members had agreed on coordinating the volunteers, by asking them to collect photos and GIS data of some simple trekking routes, but in this phase the actor members complained they had not had enough time to contact the volunteers.

The operational partners (i.e. Consortium and Tourism Board) followed two distinct paths in this phase. The Consortium was confused about its role, and asked for clear tasks to complete, while the Tourism Board became more involved in the project and began to substitute for M1's mayor during the network meetings. Moreover, thanks to the network meetings, Consortium and Tourism Board started to cooperate for the first time to create a singular schedule of events for all the Comelico area for the summer season.

4.4 Third phase: Network crisis

In the third phase, one of the council members that had been following the project resigned from its position in the municipality administration, because of reasons not related to the network's activity. She was no more legitimated by the municipality as its representative, and thus left the network. This member was strongly committed to the project and had tourism-specific competences, and its leaving

entailed another change in the balance between competence and commitment within the network. Figure 6 represents the distribution of commitment and competences in network actors in this phase. The imbalance that derived from this event generated a paralysis in decision-making processes. The activities of the network collapsed, and the attention of the actors was dedicated to immediate concerns, like completing the website, instead of long- and mid-term policy and planning.

Insert Figure 5 around here

4.5 Fourth phase: stimulus and reaction

During the crisis phase, the network meetings ceased to be held for a month. Consistent with action research approach, all the network actors were to be warned about the risk of network failure. In order to overcome a possible cultural reluctance, which could lead the actors not to share their opinion in a plenary meeting, six single meetings with each representative were held by the research team. This also allowed to integrate the data collection process (Berg, 2004), observing micro-level dynamics (Arnaboldi & Spiller, 2011; Moretti & Zirpoli, 2016; Moretti, 2017).

Only two actors were aware of the risk of failure and of the crisis of the network, while the others had an overall positive perception of the project, which emphasized the cooperation as a novel and favorable element. As one actor said, *“we need to work together [...] to reach more tourists. We will then increase our awareness of the potential of our own territory”*. This perception can be related to the local cultural context, characterized by parochialism and local rivalry, in which cooperation represents something exceptional rather than systematic.

After the stimuli reached the actors, a meeting was convened with all the network actors: mayors, operational partners and representatives. After clearly declaring the network crisis, the decision was taken: the Consortium and the Tourism Board had to complete the website by the end of 2017. The Tourism Board had already completed M1's share of the task; the Consortium, instead, signed an agreement to complete the website for the other five municipalities. No organizational or governance

structure was planned. The aims of the network were thus reduced to create a tourist information channel, instead of developing destination policy and planning.

Another meeting was then held, in which network members set the agenda for the Consortium.

At the time of writing this article, no other network meeting has ever been held, the Consortium and the Tourism Board succeeded in creating a joint event schedule for the summer season, but the Consortium has not completed its activities of content-creation for the website.

5. The evolution of the emerging network: summarizing results on structure and micro-dynamics

Our investigation of network micro-dynamics developed between the stakeholders of an emerging destination, localized in a fragmented territory, allowed us to identify and describe four phases of our network evolution, both from a structural and governance perspective. Our results are summarized in Table 6. In particular, we computed some structural statistics based on network data about the network's structure described in the previous sections. We built four undirected, weighted adjacency matrices, one for each of the four development phases emerged during our qualitative analysis, representing relationships between all subjects involved in the project: mayors, representatives, and operational partners. We computed basic SNA statistics in order to represent the evolution of the network architecture. As suggested by the literature (Ahuja et al., 2012), in fact, network architecture casts a light on the web of benefits and constraints that influence individuals' behaviors, choices, and thus micro-dynamics.

Besides variables describing network architecture we synthesized also the main variables observed and described in previous sections regarding the more qualitative aspects of our network evolution: commitment, competences, internal and external legitimacy, micro-dynamics development, strategic aims, and network outcome.

Network structural characteristics confirm and emphasize data emerged from the qualitative analysis of our data about network governance, describing both through global and local metrics the progressive detriment of network relationships between members. In particular, metrics computed for phase 3, the

“Network Crisis”, show how the network structure was more centralized, and interactions between all network members were highly reduced. The situation experienced by single nodes is represented by local metrics, which describe a network in which members were isolated, and communicated with less peers than in the previous evolutionary phases.

Insert Table 6 around here

Few actors were controlling flows of communication and information, and thus interactions were, in general, brokered by a small subset of network members.

Conversely, the first two phases show a situation quite different from the subsequent evolutionary steps, since network members are more connected to each other, allowing information to flow across many interacting individuals.

From a structural perspective, well-performing networks, especially destination governance networks, are those in which individuals interact, exchange ideas and information, in order to foster coordination between destination's stakeholders (Bornhorst et al., 2010; Ritchie & Crouch, 2003; Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014). From a governance perspective, well-performing networks are those sustaining trust (Powell, 1990), competences (Schrank & Whitford, 2011), legitimacy-building processes (Human & Provan, 2000), and commitment (Ramayah et al., 2011) towards the common project—all dimensions that decreased over time for the network under analysis.

Completing the structural analysis with the investigation of network's micro-dynamics helped us understanding why the network under analysis ended up in a situation of underperformance. In fact, the four phases of evolution were characterized by decreasing levels of commitment of network members, overall competences present in the network, trust between members, and internal and external legitimacy, mainly driven by actions developed by individuals within the network, who were mobilizing others by means of framing dynamics (Goffman, 1974; Snow et al., 1986).

The initial framing contest (Kaplan, 2008) became more difficult to manage in the second phase of the network evolution, in which actors were trying to make one frame prevailing over the other, ending up marginalizing one coalition grouped around one way of interpreting the Comelico destination's governance. This unsolved contest about strategic goals of the common project, combined with a change in the equilibrium between coalitions in terms of commitment to the project and relevant competences (due to one member's exit from the network), led the group to redefine network's goals on more modest operational aims, mainly oriented on the short-term. The initial project of developing a common developmental plan for the whole Comelico destination

ended up in a far less ambitious project about creating descriptive contents about the six municipalities to be published on a common information website. Thus, the network in charge of developing a destination governance system, failed at creating a systemic coordination between network members and the hospitality system, being unable to define a clear and shared vision of the common project (that is to say, to make one common frame to prevail over the others).

6. Discussion and conclusions

The present work contributes to the theory of destination governance success through the investigation of a case study of an underperforming network emerged with the explicit goal of governing and developing an emerging tourism destination.

Relying on previous literature, we propose a synthesis between available studies on destination governance success (Bornhorst et al., 2010; Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014) and network effectiveness (Moretti & Zirpoli, 2016; Provan & Milward, 1995, 2001; Schrank & Whitford, 2011). Constructs and variables coming from both fields of study allowed us to describe four phases of network evolution, describing its pattern towards underperformance.

We extend previous literature explicitly addressing the dynamic nature of a destination's pattern towards a situation of partial failure, useful to detect causes and motivations that led to this outcome. In particular, we propose that, to assess destination governance success, researchers may usefully conceptualize destinations as networks in which micro-dynamics developed at the individual level may affect the outcome of the whole system. This seems particularly relevant for emerging destinations that cannot rely on established and well-oiled destination governance organizations. Looking at framing and mobilizing dynamics, in fact, we were able to describe the network's pattern towards governance failure: framing contest and coalition building dynamics that were developing without any guidance or governance attempt led the network in a deadlock, in which none was able to converge towards a common and shared idea of destination development.

This adds to the literature on several points. First of all, we investigated an empirical case of an emerging destination, in which the DMO did not exist, and the governance process was started and controlled by public local administrations. Literature on destination governance success (Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014; Bornhorst et al., 2010) has investigated mainly cases of destinations governed by DMOs, and theoretical models are limited in their scope of application to those situations in which these organizations exist and operate. However, success of emerging destinations is tightly linked to successful governance processes (Moscardo, 2011), and understanding antecedents of its success (or failure) is fundamental. The present contribution pushed further the investigation of the *networking* dimension (Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014; Bornhorst et al., 2010) as one of the key aspects determining governance outcome. From the *dynamic* point of view, our investigation underscored that framing and mobilizing dynamics were the key mechanisms guiding the evolution of the network towards a situation of underperformance: network members were engaged in a framing contest regarding the next steps of the destination's development, and they were not able to solve it. This was due to the fact that after a certain point of the network evolution, levels of commitment to the collective project and competences of network members decreased, causing the evolutionary process coming to a halt. The unsolved contestation about 'what to do next' led to a resizing of strategic goals to mere operational aims. Thus, commitment and competences emerge as the *static* dimension explaining destination governance pattern towards a situation of underperformance.

We posit that these two constructs are particularly relevant for emerging destinations, in which destination governance has to start every process from scratch. In fact, previous literature found that other variables have higher explanatory power with respect to DMO success, as for example "enhanced power" or "acceptance" (Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014): this can be explained by the consideration of destinations at different stages of development, emerging in our case, established or developing in other contributions.

Secondly, our research contributes to the literature from a methodological point of view. We add empirical evidence to the stream of literature conceptualizing tourism destinations as networks (Baggio, Scott, & Cooper, 2010a, 2010b; Dredge, 2006; Dredge & Pforr, 2008; Nordin & Svensson, 2007; Svensson, Nordin, & Flagestad, 2005), and we propose also a dynamic approach to the study of destination governance success, following the evolution of the governance project from the beginning. This is a quite unique opportunity for an empirical study, and allowed us to directly observe the evolutionary processes developing at the micro level of interaction. This research approach allowed us to uncover those mechanisms and constructs that can be addressed as the causes of the destination governance failure.

6.1 Limitations and future directions

Notwithstanding the contribution of our work, we were also limited by the time of observation. Being the attempt at governing the destination at its first steps, we could not have any indications about the overall performance of the destination. Future studies could extend the emerging literature on destination governance success connecting governance dynamics with destination performance. Several contributions are suggesting that in order for destinations to develop sustainable tourism, effective destination governance is the key. With our work we contributed to identify some antecedents for effective destination governance of emerging destinations, but we encourage scholars to extend this investigation also to their link with destinations' success. Defining destination success from a supply or resource-based perspective still remains one major gap in the tourism field. Moreover, as proposed by this work, the convergence between network studies and destination management literature seems to be a promising avenue for future research: we think that it could be particularly useful for extending the still limited empirical research on the issue of destination governance effectiveness and destination success.

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Tables and Figures

Figure 1 The Comelico area.



Source: prof. V. Ferrario, Department of Architecture and Arts, IUAV, Venice

Figure 2 Long-term and short-term evolution of tourism numbers in the Comelico area



Source: Regione Veneto, 2016

Figure 3 Network development - first phase. Division of actors into four categories: low commitment and low competences (A), high commitment but low competences (B), high commitment and high competences (C), high competences but low commitment (D).

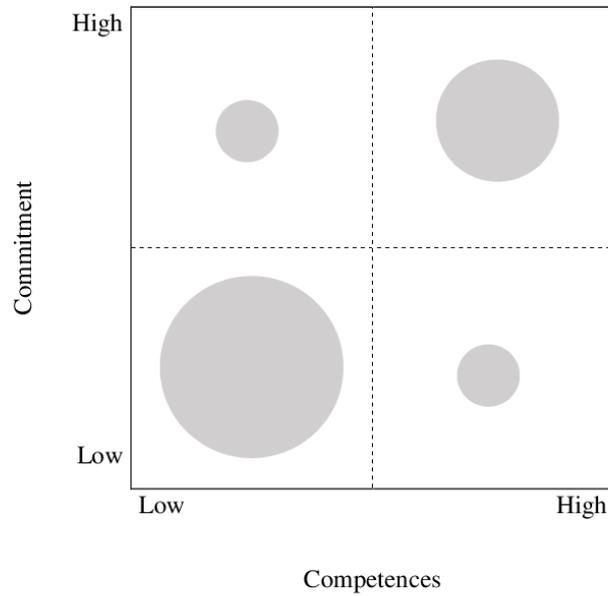


Figure 4 Network peak - second phase. Division of actors into four categories: low commitment and low competences (A), high commitment but low competences (B), high commitment and high competences (C), high competences but low commitment (D).

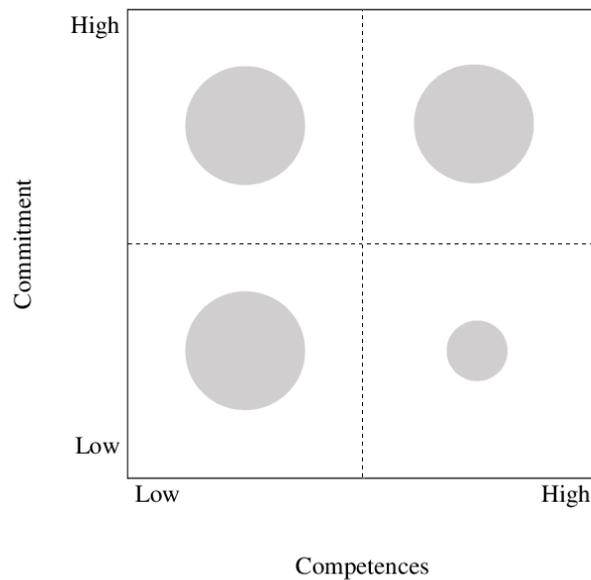


Figure 5 Network crisis - third phase. Division of actors into four categories: low commitment and low competences (A), high commitment but low competences (B), high commitment and high competences (C), high competences but low commitment (D).

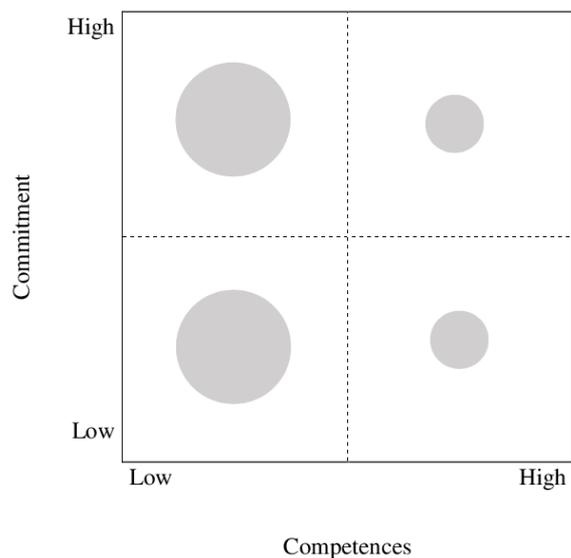


Table 1 Tourism numbers in the Comelico area

	Hotel arrivals	Hotel nights spent	Non-hotel arrivals	Non-hotel nights spent	Overall arrivals	Overall nights spent	Percentage of arrivals compared to the area	Percentage of nights spent compared to the area
Comelico Superiore	9872	27100	4456	24088	14328	51188	29,72%	25,99%
Danta di Cadore	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	649	2567	1,35%	1,30%
Sappada	13745	45030	8629	49006	22374	94036	46,42%	47,74%
San Nicolò di Comelico	0	0	1078	3582	1078	3582	2,24%	1,82%
San Pietro di Cadore	573	2292	878	7435	1451	9727	3,01%	4,94%
Santo Stefano di Cadore	5026	13900	3296	21984	8322	35884	17,26%	18,22%

Area	29216	88322	18337	106095	48202	196984	100%	100%
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Table 2 Tourist accommodation establishments in Comelico-Sappada area: availability and types of bed place (ISTAT 2011a, 2011b, 2014)

	Area		Comelico Superiore		Sappada	
	Hotel places	bed Non-hotel bed places	Hotel places	bed Non-hotel bed places	Hotel places	bed Non-hotel bed places
2006	1269	8968*	352	2357	598	2288
2016	1211	6700*	337 (28% of the area)	1753 (26% of the area)	564 (46% of the area)	2361 (35% of the area)

*please note that the dramatical decrease in non-hotel bed places is partially due to a change in regional law, which modified the codification of some type of tourist accommodation establishments (http://statistica.regione.veneto.it/banche_dati_economia_turismo.jsp).

Table 3 Empirical study sessions (2017)

Date	Participants	Duration	Type
26th January	Researcher, 7 representatives, 1 operational partner, 14 external volunteers	1h 52 m	Plenary meeting
22nd February	Researcher, M1 Mayor, M2 representative	2h 15 m	Private meeting with two actors
23rd February	Researcher, 5 representatives, local businesses	33 minutes	Meeting with local businesses
25th February	Researcher, 1 representative, staff from M1 Tourism Public Board	2 h 45 minutes	Meeting with an operational partner
2nd March	Researcher, 5 representatives, 2 volunteers	2 h 20 minutes	Plenary meeting
15th March	Researcher, M2 representative	1 h 50 minutes	Private meeting
16th March	Researcher, 1 representative, 6 mayors, 2 operational partners	42 minutes	Meeting with the mayors
28th March	Researcher, M6 representative (1 st)	2h 22 minutes	Private meeting
29th March	Researcher, 4 representatives, 1 operational partner	1h 25 minutes	Plenary meeting
8th April	Researcher, M2 mayor, M2 representative	1h 40 minutes	Private meeting with two actors
10th April	Researcher, 1 representative, local businesses	1h 10 minutes	Meeting with local businesses
27th April	Researcher, M2 representative	40 minutes	Private meeting

27th April	Researcher, 2 representatives, 1 operational partner	50 minutes	Plenary meeting
28th April	Researcher, M4 representative	2h 10 minutes	Private meeting
3rd May	Researcher, M3 representative	1h 50 minutes	Private meeting
30th May	Researcher, 2 mayors, 3 council members in mayors' stead, 2 representatives, 2 operational partners	1h 45 minutes	Meeting with the mayors
13th June	Researcher, 3 representatives	25 minutes	Plenary meeting
21th June	Researcher, M5 representative	2h 15 minutes	Private meeting
24th June	Researcher, M1 mayor/representative	2h 25 minutes	Private meeting
27th June	Researcher, M6 representative (2 nd)	1h 15 minutes	Private meeting

Table 4 Secondary sources: private and public documents

Secondary sources	Description
Executive document of one local municipality n. 1*	(ED1) Joining to the project “Alte Dolomiti”, approved by vote and describing the aim of the project itself.
Executive document of one local municipality n. 2*	(ED2) Specific norms to be followed when using the brand “Alte Dolomiti”, approved by vote
Executive document of one local municipality n. 3*	(ED3) Modification of an existing formal agreement between an operational partner and a local municipality, approved by vote
Project presentation for some local stakeholders	Presentation supporting a meeting among local municipalities and some local stakeholders, explaining the reasons that led to the project “Alte Dolomiti”
Brand handbook*	Graphic specifics of the brand “Alte Dolomiti”:

	font, color, sizes, etc. We
Draft of a formal agreement*	Draft of the formal agreement between the municipalities and an operational partner, defining tasks, budget, expiry date, etc.
Event schedule	A joint event schedule for the summer season, developed by the two operational partners and distributed during the month of July.

* private documents, not allowed to public consultation.

Table 5 Final protocol of observed variables.

Variable		Reference	Example
Structure		Kilduff & Brass, 2010	During a meeting with the mayors, one mayor invites the actors to discuss immediate actions in a separate meeting (meeting with the mayors, 16 th March, see Table 3).
Dynamics		Ahuja et al., 2012	Although many actors call for a “spontaneous coordination”, actors still find it difficult to communicate to each other in the period between two meetings (private meetings, f.i. 22 nd February, 15 th March, 28 th March, see Table 3)
Strategical aims		Kilduff & Tsai, 2003	The mayors call for a unique tourist promotion for the next season (meeting with the mayors, 16 th March, see Table 3).
	Policy	(Dredge, 2006)	
	Planning	(Dredge, 2006)	

			summer season is planned (see Table 4).
Legitimacy		(Human & Provan, 2000)	One representative complains about other actors not having enough latitude to take simple decisions without consulting with their mayors (meeting with the mayors, 16 th March, see Table 3).
Competences		(Denicolai et al., 2010; Schrank & Whitford, 2011)	A network member discusses about the project with the researchers, and demonstrates she understands destination strategies (private meeting, 28 th March, see Table 3)
Commitment		(Ramayah et al., 2011)	One member complains about not having enough time to coordinate the volunteers for the trekking routes, because his roles as father, deputy mayor and president of local association are too time-demanding (plenary meeting, 29 th March, see Table 3).

Table 6 Summary of results

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4
Structure- Global				
Nodes	15	15	14	13
Edges	30	30	26	21
Density	0,29	0,29	0,29	0,27
Transitivity	0,35	0,35	0,37	0,31
Btw. centr.	0,12	0,12	0,26	0,28
Dg. centr.	0,25	0,25	0,21	0,17
Structure- Local				
Eigenvector	0,21	0,20	0,20	0,24
Closeness	0,50	0,50	0,48	0,47
Dg. centr.	1,57	1,83	1,58	0,59
Btw. centr.	0,23	0,23	0,23	0,22
Av. Clust. Coeff.	0,29	0,29	0,26	0,22
Commitment	Medium	High	Medium	Low
Competences	High	High	Medium	Low
Trust	High	High	Medium	Low
Legitimacy –Int.	100% Low	60% High; 40% Low	50% High; 50% Low	100% Low
Legitimacy –Ext.	100% Low	40% Medium; 60% Low	34% Medium; 66% Low	20% Medium; 80% Low
Micro-dynamics				
<i>Framing</i>	4 competing frames	4 frames present, 3 competing	4 frames present, 2 competing	3 frames present
<i>Mobilizing</i>	A coalition grouped around one frame was leading the framing	Three coalitions formed around 3 competing frames in equilibrium (1 marginal frame)	Two coalitions representing two competing frames remained in equilibrium (2 marginal frames)	Three coalitions grouped around three different frames reached a deadlock
Strategical aims				
<i>Policy</i>	Reorganizing and promoting tourism through a shared plan for all the area	Same policy aims of Phase 1	Coordinating hospitality in the six municipalities	Promoting coordination between the hospitality system in the six municipalities (operational goal)

