



Local entrepreneurship through a multistakeholders' tourism living lab in the post-violence/peripheral era in the Basque Country

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Abstract

This paper examines a transformative tourism case study driven by local entrepreneurship in the coastal and post-violence/peripheral village of Zumaia, in the Basque Country (Spain). This paper aims at addressing an innovative methodology called “Tourism Living Lab through Multistakeholders' Penta Helix framework” in response to a globalized trend of increasing visitors. The result shows democratic tourism policy-making practices at the local level, including: (i) a participatory strategic formulation process; (ii) by fostering a local entrepreneurial ecosystem to overcome “tourism-phobia”; (iii) while renewing local identity; and (iv) through bridging social capital for a new post-violence era in the Basque Country.

KEYWORDS

Basque Country, living labs, local entrepreneurship, Penta Helix, tourism

1 | INTRODUCTION: POST-VIOLENCE/PERIPHERAL ERA IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY

Peripheral places are often exposed to the influence of changes from market dimensions to data technologies. From rural peripheral villages to urbanized metropolitan nodes, many territories acquire new economic, social, and cultural functions while becoming tourism destinations. Thus, they generate new opportunities for their development,

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becoming unique core city-regions by leaving their peripheral status behind, yet facing new risks derived from the dynamics of global changes, as in the case of the trend to increase tourism (Wilson & Antón, 2016).

Despite a geopolitical world context characterized by increasing boundaries to human mobility in an uneven realm full of walls and borders, current tourism patterns have not diminished. Indeed, translocal mobility reflecting a wide range of motivations, emotions, tools, destinations, and strategies provides new opportunities to analyse, experiment, and propose new smart policies that facilitate the transition to unexplored, sustainable and increasingly democratic tourism models (Wonderful Copenhagen, 2016; World Tourism Organisation [UNWTO], 2017) by overcoming the shortcomings and negative side effects of “tourismification” (Salazar, 2009), also known as “tourism-phobia” (Colomb & Novy, 2017). In the absence of innovative policy frameworks to strike a balance amidst such negative impacts, “tourismification” is largely responsible for forcing irreversible changes upon residents in local areas, resulting in an inevitable devolution into “tourism-phobia.”

Regarding required innovative policy tourism responses, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has stated as follows:

Rapid growth in international tourism flows, new consumer trends, digitalization of the economy, security issues, and adaptation to climate change are among the major challenges facing the tourism sector. These will require active, innovative, and integrated policy responses to ensure that tourism remains a competitive sector and continues to deliver economically and sustainably in the years to come. (OECD, 2016, p. 17)

However, very little is known about how unexplored tourism models and innovative integrated policy responses require local entrepreneurship initiatives and interventions, even in relation to peripheral and rural areas. Hence, this paper aims at presenting an evidence-based experimental and socially innovative intervention methodology based on Living Labs (Kronsell & Mukhtar-Landgren, 2018) that was applied to tourism practices and policies with the broad participation of a multistakeholder framework (see Figure 4) in the small coastal, peripheral, and rural village of Zumaia, located in the Basque Country city-region of northern Spain (Figure 1).

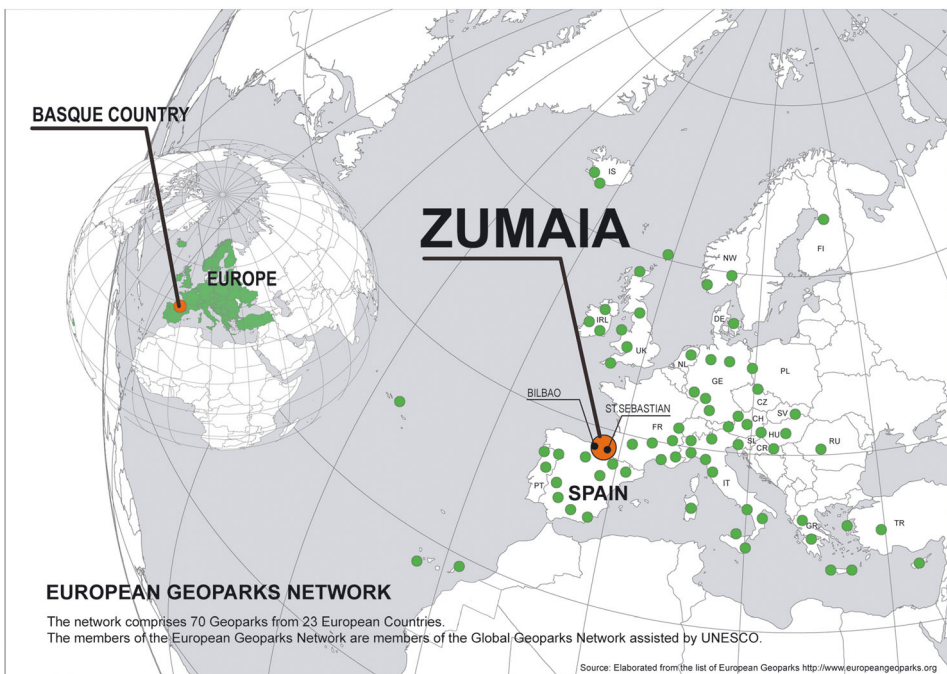


FIGURE 1 Zumaia is located in the worldwide European Geoparks Network

Source: Elaborated from the list of European Geoparks, <http://www.europeangeoparks.org>.



In Zumaia, as in many small coastal, peripheral, and rural villages in Europe (European Commission, 2016), fostering local entrepreneurship requires socially innovative approaches (Jürgen, Kaletka, Schöder, & Marthe, 2018) with complex tools to enhance strategic and prospective capabilities and scale them up among citizens (residents/locals or visitors/tourists), rather than merely applying technological recipes for “smart tourism” (Buhalis & Costa, 2006). Instead, “smart tourism” should be re-conceptualized as characterized by a democratic imperative towards a more sustainable political economy for territorial and urban development, which requires collective leadership that is constructively engaged with the local community by ensuring a highly representative participation and deliberation process and a regularly monitored action plan (Barcelona City Council, 2017; Harvey, 1989). Thus, this paper depicts an experimental methodological process carried out from January to December 2017 through Living Labs (Baccarne, Schuurman, & Merchant, 2014; Cardullo, Kitchin, & Di Felicianantonio, 2017; Steen & van Bueren, 2017; URB@Exp, 2017) to establish the 2018–2021 touristic roadmap with the participation of strategic stakeholders in the village of Zumaia as a means of both: (i) overcoming the narrow vision created by the “tourismification” phenomenon among locals; and (ii) establishing a participatory mechanism beyond the classical tools of strategic positioning.

In general, tourism destination planning and marketing are fundamental placemaking actions intended to shape the temporality of image and imageability of a place by locals and visitors (Lew, 2017) by avoiding “tourismification” (Salazar, 2009). Thus, locally rooted organic placemaking and emergent participatory planning processes are required to enhance community participation in the decisions that shape people’s surroundings. Local entrepreneurship initiatives can underpin culturally rooted, transformative, and adaptive translocal responses to create data-driven tourism living labs at the municipal level.

The experimental interventions that empower local communities regarding the role of tourists as visitors and locals as residents in remote, peripheral, and coastal regions are particularly remarkable in the context of this paper in relation to the key case of Zumaia in the Basque Country (Spain), which established a participatory local strategy for tourism after two remarkable events that had tourism-related consequences: (i) successfully attracting and gaining 50% of the visitors to the Basque Coast Geopark, a highly valued geological area of the UNESCO Global Geoparks' Network (European Commission, 2016; OECD, 2016; UNESCO Global Geoparks, 2016); and (ii) the filming of scenes for the blockbuster TV series *Game of Thrones* (Figure 1).

Zumaia is located in the cross-border Euroregion called Euskadi-Navarre-Aquitaine in the valley of the Urola-Coast in the province of Gipuzkoa and the city-region of the Basque Country (Gobierno Vasco, 2015) (Figure 1). Zumaia is a coastal town nestled in a bay formed by the mouths of the Urola and Narrondo rivers. With a population of approximately 9,800 inhabitants, Zumaia is configured as a peripheral and rural area with a high population density, a GDP *per capita* of 35,742 € and an unemployment rate of 10.55%. More than 70% of the residents speak the Basque language (Heller, Pujolar, & Duchêne, 2014) and show a strong sense of identity in relation to the territory, the natural environment, and traditions. Zumaia, as part of the Basque Coast Geopark, is a natural protected area with a highly valued geological heritage: 13 km of cliffs with a spectacular formation of rock layers known as *flysch* deposits. It has excellent transport links and is close to the three Basque capitals, as San Sebastian and Bilbao are only 30 and 50 minutes away by car, respectively.

The type of seasonal tourism predominant in the peripheral region is beginning to change the habits of and congest mature destinations such as San Sebastian. The high attractive value of Zumaia makes it one of the local destinations absorbing some of these visitors. Just as British visitors to rural France spend time and effort attempting to become “local” (Brotherton, 2015), Zumaia's visitors respect the environment and community. Indeed, the challenge is how to “localize” these generic, ideal-type visitors through their temporary and partial experience by achieving for them a richer, mutually “profitable” visit and local scenery enrichment. In addition, during the year, there was an ideal-type of targeted visitors and tourism connected to both knowledge of and research about the *flysch*. We can argue that the first type, the generic, is a more leisure-oriented tourist ideal-type (experiential tourist), whereas the second type, the specific, is a more knowledge-driven tourist ideal-type (cognitive tourist). At a glance, the evolution of the number of visitors to Zumaia from 2015 to 2016 has increased 18% (from 41,224 to 48,691), and the profile/ideal-type of visitor that has gained momentum is the international tourist. In 2015, the number of international tourists



was 6,772, and in 2016, the number was 10,157, a 49% increase (Figure 2, evolution in red). This trend shows that Zumaia could be portrayed as a post-peripheral site with a flow of international visitors/tourists that could “alter” the local social, economic, and lifestyle dynamics of the village. Indeed, that was the main concern of the Town Council and primary reason to initiate the participatory and experimental process and case called “#ZumaiaLab” that this paper addresses.

In addition to this partial policy concern, the broader regional context of the Basque Country in Spain inevitably must be described as a post-violence society, a fact that could have a direct influence on the increasing number of visitors, particularly from Spain. This case should thus be contextualized within a momentum: after gradually overcoming the dramatic consequences of the political violence (Voltes-Dorta, Jiménez, & Suárez-Alemán, 2016), to understand the socio-political challenge at the micro/community level and to suggest an experimental implementation (Evans, Karvonen, & Raven, 2016) considering the mutual stakeholders' interdependencies, a dynamic strategic intervention was implemented in Zumaia. Hence, discussing the links between local entrepreneurship and tourism in this case study cannot be addressed without underlining that Zumaia, and more generally the Basque Country (Boronska-Hryniewiecka, 2016), is making a transition towards a post-peripheral and post-violence era. This in turn has substantial institutional and social implications worth considering while reflecting upon existing policies and emerging practices to foster local development in such areas.

The paper presents the post-violence/peripheral era in a city-region and village via an in-depth re-examination and thus, a transition. The next section will address the rationale by introducing the working hypothesis describing a potential way to overcome “tourism-phobia” as a negative and popular expression of “tourismification” through multistakeholders' “Penta Helix” approach to fostering local entrepreneurship (Calzada & Cowie, 2017). Thereafter, the research design will be presented by examining how the Tourism Living Lab at Zumaia's municipality level was shaped. In the fourth section, the intervention results as the achieved strategic formulation will be shown. Finally, the paper will present its four conclusions.

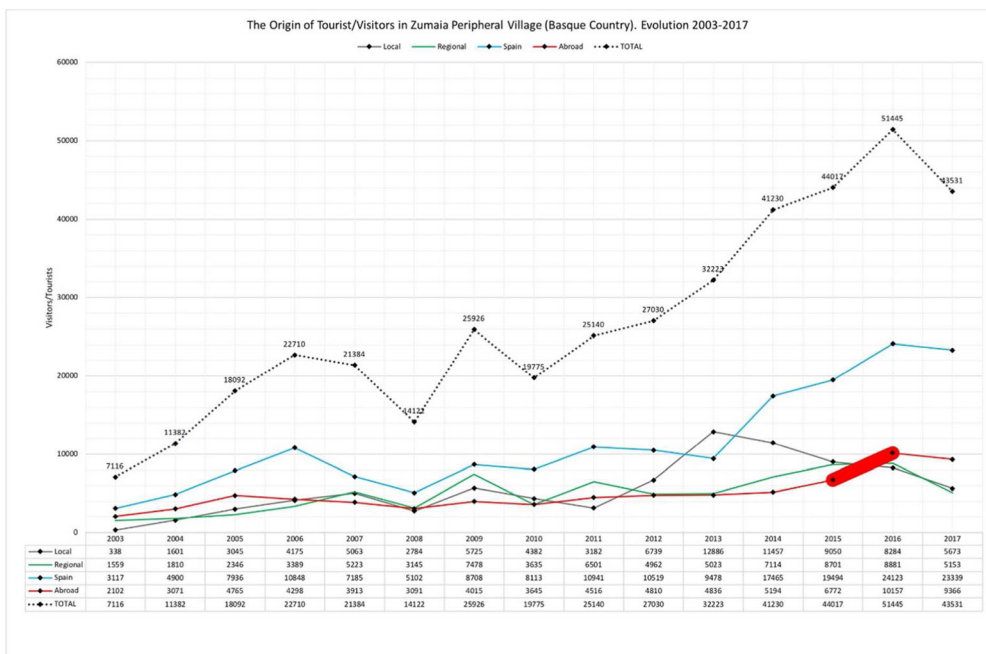


FIGURE 2 The origin of tourists/visitors in Zumaia peripheral village (Basque Country). Evolution 2003–2017
Source: Zumaia Town Council Tourism Office (2018).



2 | RATIONALE: OVERCOMING “TOURISM-PHOBIA” THROUGH MULTISTAKEHOLDERS’ “PENTA HELIX” APPROACH TO FOSTERING LOCAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP

In 2016, the Zumaia Town Council identified the challenge of the growing trend in its touristic peak. Additionally, “tourism-phobia” was spreading in the media, becoming visible in the streets through demonstrations and protests in larger cities such as Barcelona (Goodwin, 2017; Lambea Llop, 2017; National Geographic, 2017). Moreover, the “extractivist” penetration of the so-called “sharing economy” via Airbnb (Carson & Carson, 2011; Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2017; Dwarshuis, 2017; FairBnB, 2018; InsideAirBnB, 2018; Montera34, 2018; Paulauskaite, Powell, Coca-Stefaniak, & Morrison, 2017; Quattrone, Proserpio, Quercia, Capra, & Musolesi, 2016; Srnicek, 2017; Stone, 2016), Uber, and Cabify, among others, illustrated the threat of and reaction to “tourism-phobia” prevalent in many locations in Europe during 2017, particularly in cities such as Barcelona and Madrid but also in peripheral areas in Spain and Southern European countries. As Sunyer (2017) has recently argued, a new era of citizen tourism began by bringing together its enemies.

According to Salazar (2017), an alternative anthropology for the local level should be established to understand the changing nature of tourism as human activity. Likewise, from a critical perspective, Colomb and Novy (2017) argued that capitalism is desperately trying to re-make all of tourism in its own image, but has not fully succeeded in doing so. Thus, from the political economy perspective (Harvey, 1989), “tourism-phobia” can also be seen as dysfunctional because tourism is the least centralized major “industry” in the larger picture of current global markets. Local small business owners with little backing and only family labour, or perhaps a few employees or local (social) entrepreneurs at best, can still operate a successful boutique hotel, café, or restaurant and make a decent living for themselves and their workers. Thus, the emergent and so-called “sharing economy” appears to have taken the side of the corporate take-over of tourism, which is a step backwards, not forward, in wealth redistribution and social innovation. This issue, that of the “sharing economy” provoking “tourism-phobia,” is a threat, a challenge and an opportunity, as it is a key factor in the development of a tourism-led local entrepreneurship in post-peripheral areas such as the one under discussion here.

Amidst this changing global context (Kettle, 2017), as the key focus of this paper, a turning point and urgent policy response was required in Zumaia during 2016 following the exponential and rapid growth of national and international visitors in recent years as a consequence of (Figure 2):

1. the promotion of Zumaia in the UNESCO Global Geoparks Network (Figure 1);
2. the expected increase in tourism attributable to the super-production of the well-known series *Game of Thrones*, among other international and national blockbusters; and
3. the “sharing economy” in the local entrepreneurial ecosystem, given that data-driven territorial development has also reached post-peripheral small villages such as Zumaia.

The government and public agencies, mainly the UNWTO, the UNESCO Global Geoparks, the Basque Coast Geopark, the Basque Government, the San Sebastian Metropolitan area, the Coast Community of Urola and the Town Council of Zumaia, have been developing strategies for a consolidated tourism model defined by gastronomy, beaches, heritage and traditions, festivals, fishing, sport, health tourism, routes, and guided tours (Zumaia Tourism Council Tourism Office, 2018), thus guaranteeing the regional coordination of hospitality management and the tourism experience. The creation of innovative local enterprises, new jobs and high-quality training courses has stimulated new sources of revenue generated through geotourism, even though the geological resources of the area are protected (Farsani, Coelho, Costa, & Carvalho, 2011).

Having tested the success of the Basque Coast Geopark with a 50% increase in visitors during the summer period of 2015, Zumaia prepared itself to open the debate on a tourist model that ensures the coexistence of locals



and tourists in an open and participatory manner (Cilliers & Timmermans, 2014). It hoped to become a sustainable smart destination by directing attention towards experiences that unfold in remote and peripheral places with a strong cultural identity, such as New Zealand, which turned into a case reference to become a film location for the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy, and the international experience in the planning and management of sustainable tourism destinations in Iceland (Truter, Chambers, & Alley, 2017).

The reason this case can be presented as innovative is based on the results, which show a contribution towards a new placemaking touristic paradigm based on the following factors: (i) local entrepreneurship organized by groups of stakeholders; (ii) real-time deliberation through data literacy, citizen-centric engagement, and prototyping; and, ultimately, (iii) a democratic bottom-up process bridging the aftermath of a violent era and curing bounds to renew social capital. This paper aims to reveal a transitional paradigm for tourism placemaking through local entrepreneurship by avoiding the techno-determinism embodied by smart cities (Buhalis & Costa, 2006), smart specialization, and industry 4.0 policy schemes, and by favouring horizontal, accountable, critical, and participatory ecosystems that will channel sustainable development and community control over future touristic outcomes (Scholz, 2016).

Thus, the author examines the status of an amalgamation of local entrepreneurship initiatives in Zumaia fuelled by local public authorities that engaged a wide range of multistakeholders as well as the experimentation with novel placemaking processes by blending data-driven interventions with the Living Lab approach (Table 3). The method designed for the experimental Tourism Living Lab aimed to set up a participatory itinerary through a multistakeholder scheme following the Penta Helix multistakeholders framework by encompassing local authorities, the private sector, academia, research centres, civic society, (social) entrepreneurs, and activists. In particular, the use of the Penta Helix framework itself entails a differential of this intervention with others (Almirall, Lee, & Wareham, 2012). Despite the efforts to map out Living Labs experiences, this case stands out because it explicitly incorporates the fifth helix (social entrepreneurs and activists) as the seed to establish a locally based entrepreneurial ecosystem (Figure 3). Alongside the results of the intervention, remarkable potential has been noticed for the proactivity of these “fifth-helix” agents. As a strategic consideration, however, it remains unclear whether these agents could establish a critical mass to transform the local dynamics.

Multistakeholders' Penta Helix approach is based on the innovative methodological assumption that the Tourism Living Lab needed: (i) higher amounts of participation in the village than ever before; (ii) to invite the whole range of political views in town to participate; and (iii) a special effort to ensure that local entrepreneurship could flourish from the edge of the “helixes.” The backdrop of this multistakeholders' Penta Helix framework suggests that the Triple and Quadruple Helixes are not sufficient to foster local entrepreneurship and tackle social innovation in a broad sense (Deakin, Mora, & Reid, 2018). See the evolution of Penta Helix in Table 1.

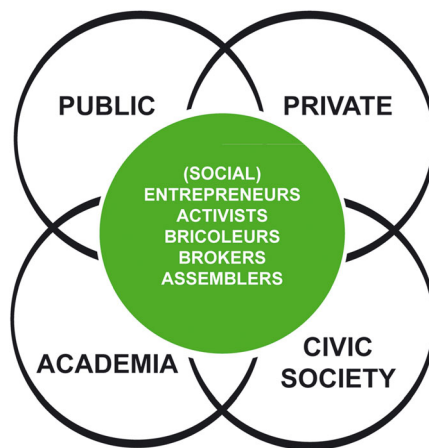


FIGURE 3 Multistakeholders' approach: Penta Helix

Source: Calzada and Cowie (2017, p. 27).



TABLE 1 Multistakeholders' Penta Helix framework: evolution from the Triple and Quadruple Helixes to the Penta Helix

	Rethinking stakeholders helixes-strategies		
	Triple helix	Quadruple helix	Penta helix
Multistakeholders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public • Private • Academia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public • Private • Academia • Civic society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public • Private • Academia • Civic society • Assemblers: (Social) entrepreneurs or/and activists
Paradigms	Public-private-partnership (PPP)	Civic Universities	Urban commons
Governance scheme and citizenship response	Invisible citizenship	Reactive citizenship	Proactive citizenship
Techno-politics of data	Technocratic top-down	Institutionalized bottom-up	Emergent & complexbottom-up

Source: Calzada and Cowie (2017, p. 26).

Upon reviewing the evolution from the Triple Helix to the Quadruple Helix, the Penta Helix framework highlights the need to include a transformative element of the system, such as (social) entrepreneurs, in the interplay with the other helixes (public, private, academia, and civic society).

By following the Penta Helix framework, the research methodology for the Tourism Living Lab, called #ZumaiaLab, was established by identifying a list of the following stakeholders per helix (the number of individuals representing institutions is grouped in Figure 4):

- Public sector: 31.
- Private sector: 29.
- Civic society: 29.
- Academia: 7.
- (Social) Entrepreneurs: 12.

3 | RESEARCH DESIGN: BUILDING A TOURISM LIVING LAB AT THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL

This section will develop the research design carried out by following multistakeholders' Penta Helix framework. Considering the socio-demographic features of the village, the Tourism Living Lab intervention was designed as the most suitable model to nurture local entrepreneurship. Before explaining the features of the Tourism Living Lab, a brief methodological note will be provided to explain the triangulation process that was undertaken through mixed methods:

1. Survey: from 1 June to 18 July 2017, a questionnaire with 59 items was provided online via the Town Council website and offline in the Zumaia Town Council Tourism Office. The questionnaire elicited 96 responses (#ZumaiaLab Survey, 2017).
2. In-depth interviews: from 1 June to 1 September 2017, 108 in-depth interviews were carried out. The semi-structured questionnaire aimed to identify potential stakeholders for the Tourism Living Lab intervention.
3. #ZumaiaLab 1: on 12 September 2017, the first Tourism Living Lab took place, with the participation of 71 individuals representing the Penta Helix distribution of stakeholders. In this Tourism Living Lab session, the strategic formulation was initiated by identifying ten strategic axes (#ZumaiaLab 1, 2017).

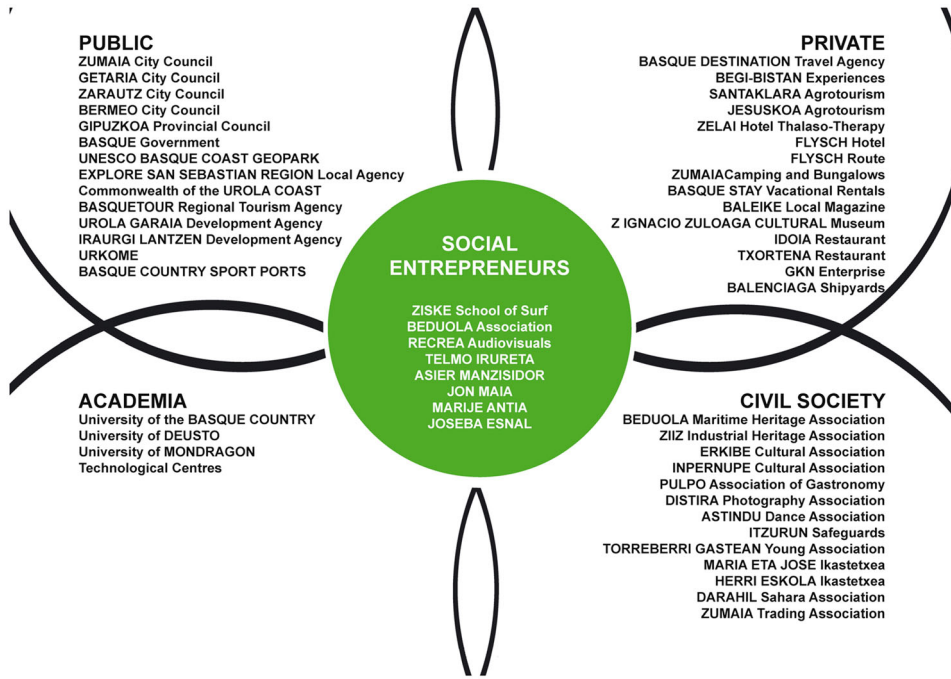


FIGURE 4 #ZumaiaLab Tourism Living Lab in Zumaia (Basque Country): Penta Helix Multistakeholders' framework

4. #ZumaiaLab 2: on 10 November 2017, the second Tourism Lab took place with a reduced intervention group of 51 people. In this Tourism Living session, prototyping was the aim, and five projects were developed (#ZumaiaLab 2, 2017).

Thus, the timeframe between the first and the second Tourism Living Lab was two months, which provided an efficient intervention rhythm from session to session, starting from the strategic formulation of the ten strategic axes (#ZumaiaLab 1) on 12 September 2017 and moving to the operational Living Lab prototyping session for the five projects on 10 November 2017. Table 2 summarizes the research design by detailing how the author has methodologically examined and therefore interpreted the qualitative and quantitative data that were collected (Calzada & Arranz, 2018).

This intervention design for the Tourism Living Lab of Zumaia was fundamentally driven by the idea of fostering a transformative alliance for local entrepreneurship in the policy field of tourism. As such, altering the dynamics in the deliberative process and establishing a collaborative platform to show, disseminate, and test ideas and initiatives *revolutionized* the touristic strategy for Zumaia.

The tourism model for Zumaia needed social innovation that would allow businesses and destinations to evolve and advance in terms of sustainability, reputation, and technology. The Tourism Living Lab itself was presented as an environment in which cooperation enabled innovation at the macro, meso, and micro scales within the territorial systemic framework from the perspective of open social innovation.

The notion of Living Labs was coined by Professor William Mitchell of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Boston. People were invited into living laboratories in which ethnographers and other researchers observed how they used newly invented information technology. Later, the concept moved out of the laboratories and into the real world. Numerous attempts have been made to define a Living Lab, but there is no firm consensus in the literature. We see Living Labs as innovation platforms in which the stakeholders develop and exchange ideas in a community. In the context of the smart city debate in the Basque Country, a slight evolution from smartness to experimentation, as something already given to or produced for us, can be noticed as a preliminary impact of this



TABLE 2 Research design explanation: mixed methods (through four intertwined techniques) and strategic and operational outcomes

Research design description				
Mixed methods			Strategic and operational outcomes	
Technique	Description and sequence	Participants	Sequence of the formulation	Timeframe of data collection (2017)
1. Survey	The survey, as the main quantitative technique, provided a broad diagnosis of the ten strategic axes, which were polished and tailored through the in-depth interviews.	96	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ten strategic axes 	From 1 June to 18 July
2. In-depth Interviews	In-depth interviews, as the first qualitative technique employed in the methodological sequence, facilitated the ways in which each multi-stakeholder helix group contextualized the strategic axes. This technique was extremely relevant to the design of the #ZumaiaLab Tourism Living Lab sessions.	108		From 1 June to 1 September
3. #ZumaiaLab 1	The first Living Lab session, as the second qualitative technique employed, aimed at validating and prioritizing ten strategic axes and defining five projects for prototyping for the second #ZumaiaLab Tourism Living Lab session. The quantity of participants but also the degree of representation (having regional and provincial ministers and policy-makers, among the participants) were remarkable. This session was the critical step for the strategic formulation and the bridge towards the prototyping phase in the #ZumaiaLab 2 session.	71	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Five projects for prototyping • 39 strategic lines • 15 strategic challenges • 143 operational actions 	12 September
4. #ZumaiaLab 2	Ultimately, #ZumaiaLab 2, as the third and final qualitative technique, provided rich, complex operational data. It was important to empower some stakeholders by enabling a diverse, heterogenous collective leadership among the participants.	51		10 November

Source: Calzada and Arranz (2018).

paper. As such, in this Tourism Living Lab in Zumaia, “smart citizens” were already being considered decision-makers rather than mere data providers (Calzada, 2018). However, although this new management model made a contribution at the beginning of the transformational process of tourism decision-making, it remains to be seen whether the Penta Helix framework can be established as a local entrepreneurial mechanism to assist in real-time policy-making.

Given the importance of local entrepreneurship, this innovative intervention was interested in how links can be built between cutting-edge practices and policies in tourism at the municipality level and the engagement of a diverse set of participants representing an entirely different socio-economic perspective. Thus, this Tourism Living Lab approach was defined as a site devised to design, test, and learn from social and technical innovation in real time.



As such, it included the following features and principles: (i) a technology infrastructure; (ii) an ecosystem of stakeholders who can interact to develop and assess products, services, processes, or systems; (iii) an innovation process that is as open as possible; (iv) users playing a key role as co-creators of the products, services and technologies being developed; (v) a human-centric design approach involving ethnographic observation, empathy, and rapid prototyping; (vi) sustained and meaningful interaction and community involvement; and (vii) consideration of users' natural environments.

To assess the impacts of touristic activities and how these impacts influenced visitor experience and locals' perception, a systemic approach was used, as it provided an understanding of the relationship between tourism and its social ecosystem in Zumaia. This offered the tools needed to clarify the complex realm of the touristic experience and opportunities for local entrepreneurship.

4 | INTERVENTION RESULTS: STRATEGIC FORMULATION

Following the previous section's explanation of the research design consisting of four techniques carried out by following an action research triangulation methodology, this section depicts the intervention results and data for the strategic formulation of the Town Council of Zumaia village. Further results and data are available in open access (#ZumaiaLab 1; #ZumaiaLab 2; #ZumaiaLab Survey, 2017) and through the hashtag #ZumaiaLab on Twitter.

1. Survey: at the time the survey was gathering responses, there was remarkable media pressure concerning the impact of "tourism-phobia." According to the results, 61% of respondents considered visitors/tourists as positive



FIGURE 5 #ZumaiaLab Tourism Living Lab in Zumaia (Basque Country): multistakeholders/participants



net contributors to the local economy, whereas 22% considered them a hindrance. When asking residents/locals if they would be happy to receive further visitors/tourists, 50% answered “more,” whereas 39% said “less.” The positive perception of tourism was moderate, given the cautious behaviour by locals in town and the minimal coordination and self-organization between multistakeholders.

2. In-depth interviews: the “big picture” was nuanced and clarified with the 108 interviews conducted. Given that in-depth interviews were the “bridge” to designing the Tourism Living Lab, this technique provided valuable information at that stage. In general, the diverse position of individuals aligned with their specific helix or stakeholder group determined their opinion. Additionally, given the highly politicized local environment, which allowed political violence in the past by provoking unrest among certain individuals, the political preferences of each participant in the Tourism Living Lab automatically determined their perception, practices, and policy choices on tourism (Figure 5).
3. #ZumaiaLab 1: The first laboratory showed different reactions caused by the strategic effect of tourism on the village. The manner in which participation and deliberation in a laboratory process were seen represented highly positive attitudes, even after years of political and communitarian confrontation. However, a clear division around the touristic model was evident from the beginning of the laboratory. Those aligned with the political left advocated for regulations and transparency and were critical of the touristic boom, whereas those aligned with



FIGURE 6 #ZumaiaLab 1.71 participants



political conservative positions were in favour of the free market and less public intervention. Nevertheless, the important conclusion is that local entrepreneurial initiatives provoked a curious effect by reaching an implicit overall agreement within the division, creating an opportunity to build a collective intelligence driven by action by bridging even heterogeneous stakeholders in the village. We must call attention here to the hypothesis that in the Basque Country, as a broader regional context of this case study, the Mondragon co-operative group has extensively influenced the private and public sectors towards a grassroots entrepreneurial subculture that we could align with the “commons” (Calzada, 2013; Zurbano, 2005). As such, alongside this intervention, we should leave one additional open question to improve the debate by stressing the intellectual output of this work: is this entrepreneurial subculture still influencing cases such as Zumaia in a positive way by overcoming the aftermath of the political violence in a past era and bridging local and communitarian social capital among locals/residents? In conclusion, this first laboratory established ten strategic axes after group deliberation and design-thinking sessions in the following order of priority and ponderation (100%): first, coexistence between locals/residents and tourists/visitors (17%); second, local tourism entrepreneurship (15%); third, local farming and environmental protection (12%); fourth, the Basque language and local culture/identity (11%); fifth, the cultural ecosystem of local associations and grassroots entrepreneurship (10%); sixth, inter-institutional collaboration for regional governance (10%); seventh, the UNESCO Basque Coast Geopark (9%); eighth, international geographic strategic positioning and global flows (6%); ninth, smart tourism destinations and apps (6%); and tenth, information and communication technologies (ICTs) (4%) (Figure 6).

4. #ZumaiaLab 2: The second laboratory resulted in further operational strategic formulation by putting local entrepreneurship into practice with five diverse prototyping projects. Five criteria were established for the validation of each project: (i) the degree of feasibility; (ii) the degree of implementation; (iii) the degree of prototyping; (iv) the degree of local entrepreneurship; and (v) the degree of data-driven solutions



FIGURE 7 #ZumaiaLab 2.51 participants



Hence, the five projects prototyped by the overall representation of the multistakeholders' Penta Helix framework are listed. The first project was entitled "As Old as Alive" and blended heritage, the Basque language, and the natural environment. The participants designed and validated touristic routes and sites where the new idea could take root. The second project was entitled "Management of Tourism Spaces" and aimed to establish a code of behaviour for visitors attracted by *Game of Thrones*. This project created a new position, termed the "tourism keeper/trainer." The third project was entitled "Tourism Synergy Activator" and addressed how to establish an ecosystem of starts-up and spin-offs in the field of scientific tourism and was linked to the UNESCO Basque Geopark. The fourth project, "Multilevel Public Governance," was a means to better coordinate public policy in tourism between institutions and to set up a regionally based tourism open data observatory. The fifth project, entitled "Tourism Infrastructure," focused on the level of coherence in the use of the physical environment, such as buildings and road networks (Figure 7).

5 | CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, this paper introduced an intervention that took place in the post-violence/peripheral village of Zumaia located in the Basque Country (Spain), where a Tourism Living Lab was implemented from January to December 2017 to foster local entrepreneurship and overcome the growing mass tourism trend and its negative side effects, which together are known as "tourism-phobia." This paper arrives at four conclusions by revisiting the aims of the paper, stressing the intellectual output of the work, and specifying implications for further research in this field as follows:

First, the impact on the village is the first priority for locals/residents, even before reflecting on the potential opportunities offered by a tourism boom. Despite the positive effect on economic revenue for local finances, the environmental concerns and the strong seasonality of tourists emphasize the requirement for a deliberative touristic governance model, one based on forward-looking strategies reinforced by bottom-up and participatory practices, policy, and strategic formulation, and ultimately fixed by the taxpayers. This suggests that there is room to explore community-driven business models of local tourism as a way to formalize an alternative policy-making procurement pathway based on co-operative platforms (Scholz, 2016).

Second, as the result of the intervention suggests, a multistakeholders' framework based on the Penta Helix could be a promising methodology to foster local entrepreneurship by breaking the silos between the "helixes" or the governance domains. In the case of Zumaia, strong social capital has been reinforced by overcoming the aftermath of the political confrontation and violent dynamics alongside the experimental approach to designing tourism practices and policies. In addition, the peripheral nature of the place has been replaced by a new, hopeful momentum led and empowered entirely by its citizens and stakeholders.

Third, the "sharing economy" alters not only the dynamics of large metropolizes but also peripheral and remote villages such as Zumaia, especially in tourism. In data-driven city-regions, extractive data aggregation activities owned by multinational giants, such as Uber and Airbnb, are socially gentrifying and territorially modifying the DNA of places. To overcome the negative side effects of the "sharing economy" and its "extractivist" business models in Zumaia, the intervention identified real consequences for coexistence and the lifestyle in villages (Bria & Morozov, 2018). Hence, socially innovative practices are now more relevant than ever to establish a third way of entrepreneurship between the market and the state at the local level. According to the intervention results through the strategic formulation, new economic activity based on the interaction among stakeholders would allow the emergence of a "tourism commons" in different forms based on data devolution and literacy. "Tourism commons" could be shaped as co-operatives run by local entrepreneurs to offer and co-create with tourists/visitors as another kind of human interaction and economic exchange. This new form of local entrepreneurialism will be crucial for both the transparency of the policies and the openness of the democratic systems at the municipal level.



Fourth, and revisiting the main aim of this paper, we can conclude by advocating experimental Living Labs at the municipal level as a way of establishing innovative policy-making participatory processes insofar as they could shed light on new manners to formulate strategy for policy practice and policy in tourism. In this attempt to envisage real social transformations: (i) where policy, politics, democracy, and data meet in conflicting strategies among stakeholders; and (ii) demands and in-depth bottom-up experiments to deconstruct dichotomies, inequalities, and misalignments, and (iii) where local entrepreneurs—as the fifth helix—are the agents of change, present themselves as implications for further research.

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Resumen. Este artículo examina un estudio de caso de turismo transformador, impulsado por el espíritu empresarial local en la aldea costera y periférica/post-violencia de Zumaia, en el País Vasco en España. El objetivo de este artículo es abordar una metodología innovadora llamada “laboratorio vivo de turismo mediante un marco pentahelicoidal de múltiples partes interesadas”, en respuesta a una tendencia globalizada de aumento de los visitantes. El resultado muestra prácticas democráticas de formulación de políticas turísticas a nivel local, como: (i) un proceso participativo de formulación estratégica; (ii) mediante el fomento de un ecosistema emprendedor local para superar la “fobia al turismo”; (iii) renovando al mismo tiempo la identidad local; y (iv) mediante la creación de puentes entre el capital social para una nueva era post-violencia en el País Vasco.

抄録: 本稿では、バスク地方（スペイン）の地中海沿岸にある、かつて暴動があり辺境の村であったスマイア（Zumaia）の、現地のアントレプレナーシップに後押しされて変化を遂げる観光業のケーススタディを行う。観光訪問者数の増加というグローバルなトレンドに対応するため、Tourism Living Lab through Multistakeholders' Penta Helix frameworkというイノベティブな手法に取り組むことを目的とする。結果から、地域レベルでの観光業の政策策定の民主的な方法には以下が含まれる。1)一般参加型の戦略策定のプロセスを、2)バスク地方の暴動後の新しい時代のために、社会資本の連携を通して、3)「観光業恐怖」を克服するたまたの地域のアントレプレナー的エコシステムを育成することによって行い、4)その一方で、地域のアイデンティティを一新する。