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Title: Exploring Parties' Manifesto Discourse on Tourism

Article Type: Full Length Article (6000 - 9000 words)

Keywords: Tourism Policy, Party Politicization, Issue-Salience, Manifesto, Elections, UK

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Abstract: This study explores the level of attention ('issue-salience') and use of language ('policy framing') related to tourism in political parties' manifestos in Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish elections in the UK. The findings reveal significant increases in the salience of tourism as an election issue - as well as parties' contrasting use of language when placing policy proposals before voters. Notably, as part of their state-building agenda, civic nationalist parties put particular emphasis on tourism as an expression of national identity and means of boosting international standing. This study's wider contribution to tourism scholarship lies in showing how public policy is grounded in the representative process and revealing party politicization and contingent nature of tourism policy development.



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Professor John Tribe,
Editor-in-Chief, *Annals of Tourism Research*
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15th November, 2014.

Dear Professor Tribe,

Ms. Ref. No.: ATR-D-14-00133R1

Further to your e-mail of 11th November advising that my paper "Exploring Parties' Manifesto Discourse on Tourism" has been accepted for publication in *Annals of Tourism Research*, subject to minor amendments. I am delighted to have my work accepted by ATR.

I am very grateful to you and the three anonymous referees for their constructive and helpful comments throughout the review process. In the revised version uploaded today have carefully addressed the minor point made by Reviewer #3. I have also re-read and carefully checked the paper against points 1-7 in your e-mail. I confirm that the change detailed in the brief summary table below is the only revision, the paper is otherwise as previously submitted in June with revisions addressing the referees' comments.

Once again, many thanks.

With best wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Paul Chaney'.

Paul Chaney
Chaneyp@cardiff.ac.uk

Author Response to Reviewer's Comments

Reviewer's Comments	Author's response
<p>Reviewer #3: However, there is one aspect, the author(s) have in my view not yet fully addressed, the acknowledgement of other work with clear links to this paper. In my initial review I had made the following comment: "In Chaney (2013 and 2014) a very similar method and analysis was adopted but these papers were not acknowledged in the manuscript although some of the wording was even almost identical. I can therefore only assume that Chaney has also contributed to this manuscript, nonetheless I feel it would have been appropriate to acknowledge these other studies in this paper."</p> <p>The author(s) responded that "The present study is part of a wider policy literature examining manifesto discourse (Gould, 2000; Aman, 2009; Edwards, 2012) and comes from a programme of work that has examined the formative origins of different aspects of public policy in election programmes (Chaney, 2013a, 2013b, 2014)". Personally, I would have liked to see a more substantial acknowledgement, in particular how these papers have, for instance, informed the methodology and analysis of this study.</p>	<p>I have carefully developed this aspect of the paper to address the reviewer's comments as follows:</p> <p>'The present study is part of a wider policy literature examining manifesto discourse (Gould, 2000; Aman, 2009; Edwards, 2012). It comes from a programme of work that has examined the formative origins of key aspects of public policy (for example, animal welfare, environmental policy and, foreign policy) in election programmes (Chaney, 2013a, 2013b, 2014). The aim of this is to provide insight into the formative phase of important aspects of contemporary manifesto programmes that have hitherto not been subject to detailed scholarly analysis. These earlier studies developed a mixed qualitative and quantitative methodology, an original contribution to the field of electoral research on party manifestos. In turn, this informed the present analysis of tourism policy by providing an original, transferable technique combining content and critical discourse analysis. Furthermore, as explained below, the current study not only benefitted from the application of a pre-existing technique of proven effectiveness (and one that allows comparison across policy areas), it developed it by adopting a more thoroughgoing dual measure of 'issue salience' – in other words, parties' level of attention to tourism as determined by content analysis whereby the number of references to tourism in each party manifesto was logged in a database (Krippendorff and Bock, 2008)'.</p>

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Paul Chaney is Reader in Public Policy at Cardiff University School of Social Sciences. His research interests include: public policy, territorial politics, governance, representation and, equality and human rights. He has written over fifty papers in leading academic journals and his books include: *Women, Politics and Constitutional Change* (2007, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, ISBN: 0708318959, co-authored), *Equality and Public Policy* (2011, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, ISBN-10: 070832326X, ISBN-13: 978-0708323267). He was a member of the UK government Steering Group that established the Equality and Human Rights Commission.

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Title: Exploring Political Parties' Manifesto Discourse on Tourism: Analysis of Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish Elections 1998-2011

Key Words: Tourism Policy, Party Politicization, Issue-Saliency, Manifesto, Elections, UK

No. Words: 8,390

No. Tables: 1

No. Figures: 5

Highlights

- An original mixed-methods study of the influence of electoral politics on tourism policy
- It reveals how tourism policy is grounded in the representative process in liberal democracies
- Findings show the contemporary party-politicization of tourism policy
- Data reveal the contingent nature of policy development in (quasi-)federal systems
- Analysis addresses a key lacuna in understanding the territorialisation of tourism policy

1 **Exploring Political Parties' Manifesto Discourse on Tourism: Analysis of Scottish,**
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3 **Welsh and Northern Irish Elections 1998-2011**
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9 **Abstract**

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12 *This study explores the level of attention ('issue-salience') and use of language ('policy*
13
14 *framing') related to tourism in political parties' manifestos in Scottish, Welsh and*
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16 *Northern Irish elections in the UK. The findings reveal significant increases in the salience*
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18 *of tourism as an election issue - as well as parties' contrasting use of language when*
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20 *placing policy proposals before voters. Notably, as part of their state-building agenda,*
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22 *civic nationalist parties put particular emphasis on tourism as an expression of national*
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24 *identity and means of boosting international standing. This study's wider contribution to*
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26 *tourism scholarship lies in showing how public policy is grounded in the representative*
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28 *process and revealing party politicization and contingent nature of tourism policy*
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30 *development.*
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42 **Key Words** Tourism Policy, Party Politicization, Issue-Salience, Manifesto, Elections, UK
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48 **Introduction**

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52 The present study makes an original contribution to understanding the contemporary
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54 development of tourism policy by presenting mixed-methods analysis of political
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56 parties' manifesto discourse. Its focus is on the level of attention afforded to tourism by
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1 parties (or, in the parlance of election studies, 'issue-salience') and the language used
2 (or 'policy framing') in Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish elections 1998-2011. This has
3
4 wider international relevance to tourism scholarship because existing work has given
5
6 insufficient attention to two key factors that shape tourism policy in many states: 1. the
7
8 global rise of multi-level governance (in other words, where public administration is
9
10 split across different tiers of government as states decentralise) and; 2. the way that in
11
12 liberal democracies tourism policy is grounded in the representative process (and thus,
13
14 the extent to which voters back or reject political parties' proposals on tourism when
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16 voting in elections).

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23 The present focus on electoral politics rather than policy implementation is
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25 justified in a number of important respects. 1. it centres on the process of mandate-
26
27 seeking as political parties' compete to secure voters' support for policy proposals on
28
29 tourism. 2. manifestos provide substantive details of future government (and
30
31 opposition) parties' policies; 3. They show how parties compare in the priority they
32
33 attach to tourism; 4. The discourse reveals areas of conflict and consensus between
34
35 political parties; 5. manifestos provide insight into how policy is shaped by ideology and
36
37 local socio-economic, historical and political factors; 6. They reveal the political use of
38
39 language underpinning policy development; and 7. they provide a 'discursive
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41 benchmark' (Marks *et al*, 2007) – or means of assessing parties' future delivery of policy
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43 pledges.

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51 Accordingly, the present focus is concerned with the process of political agenda-
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53 setting (Cobb and Ross, 1997) in relation to tourism. In conceptual terms it is explained
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55 by mandate and accountability theories (Budge and Hofferbert, 1990). Mandate theory
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57 suggests that governments should implement the policies that they pledge when
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1 standing for office. In contrast, accountability theory views elections as ‘opinion polls’
2 on whether parties deliver the policy programme that they were elected on (Ferejohn,
3 2003).
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8 Recent constitutional reform in the UK (circa 1998/9) makes the UK an
9 interesting context in which to explore the relationship between manifesto discourse
10 and tourism. This is because policy, including that on tourism, is no longer solely
11 mandated in state-wide Westminster elections. Instead, proposals are placed before
12 voters in elections to newly (re-)established legislatures for Scotland, Wales and
13 Northern Ireland. This has international relevance to scholars of tourism for it is part of
14 a phenomenon that is far from unique to the UK. As Rodriguez-Pose and Gill (2003, p.
15 334) observe, a ‘devolutionary trend has swept the world [... involving widespread]
16 transference of power, authority, and resources to subnational levels of government’
17 (see also Treisman, 2007).
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34 In summary, the following discussion explores the contemporary development of
35 tourism policy by: 1. exploring changes in political parties’ level of attention to tourism
36 in their manifestos for Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish elections 1998-2011; 2.
37 examining the language they use in framing tourism policy proposals; and 3. Analysing
38 and assessing the extent to which the elections (a). provide evidence of the ‘party
39 politicization’ of tourism policy. And (b). lead to the rise of distinctive local approaches
40 (or ‘territorialisation’) within the unitary state. Accordingly, the remainder of the paper
41 is structured thus: a summary of the research context precedes discussion of electoral
42 politics and the formative phase of tourism policy-making. This is followed by an outline
43 of the research methodology. The findings are then presented. Their implications
44 discussed in the conclusion.
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7 **Research Context**
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10 The United Kingdom is currently undergoing a process of rapid and significant
11 constitutional reform (Colley, 2011). It is the latest phase in the history of the UK, a
12 political entity formed by the political union of England - first with Wales, and later
13 Scotland and Ireland (Figure 1.). In the latter case, the subsequent independence of the
14 Irish republic in the twentieth century saw the creation of the province of Northern
15 Ireland (circa 1922) (Table 1.) (for a full discussion see for example, Mitchell, 2011).
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29 [Temporary Note – Figure 1. And Table 1. – about here]
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36 The wider significance of state restructuring to the contemporary study of tourism is
37 that analysis needs to be cognizant of the distinctive territorial approaches to policy
38 *within* – as well as between states. This is particularly important in countries that are
39 unions (or federations) of nations, as in the case of the UK. The prevalence of coalition
40 government at the ‘regional’ level (owing to widespread use of proportional electoral
41 systems) is an added reason why it is appropriate to focus on manifesto discourse (Cf.
42 Le Gales and Lequesne, 1998). This is because it is pivotal in the process of constructing
43 coalition government agendas as the respective partners seek to combine party-specific
44 election pledges into a single government programme (Stefuriuc, 2009).
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3 Before proceeding, it is important to reflect on the use of the term ‘regional’ in
4
5 relation to this study’s discussion of Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish elections. It is a
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7 term widely used in the academic literature to denote nations and provinces in Europe
8
9 and elsewhere (Cf. Danson and de Souza 2012, Deacon et al 2013). The borders of such
10
11 ‘regions’ may – or may not, align with those of nations. In the present case Scotland and
12
13 Wales are constituent *nations* of the United Kingdom. In contrast, the position of
14
15 Northern Ireland is contested and complex. In the following discussion the term
16
17 ‘regional’ is used as generic areal descriptor – it does not deny the nation status of
18
19 Scotland and Wales, but rather it is used as a convenient umbrella term for the three
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21 political systems (or polities) studied here. As noted, it is an approach that is consistent
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23 with the wider academic literature. Indeed, as the ensuing discussion underlines, far
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25 from denying nation status the significance of the post-1998 elections is that they are
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27 *national* elections for the territories concerned and tourism policies are often framed to
28
29 reflect conceptions of Scottish, Welsh, Irish and British national identity.
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39 It is not only constitutional factors that make the present focus on the ‘regional’
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41 level of government an appropriate one. It is also the key contribution that tourism
42
43 makes to ‘regional’ economies (Jones and Munday, 2004; Shone and Ali Memon, 2008).
44
45 In the case of Scotland it accounts for 200,000 jobs and an annual income of £11 billion
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47 (US \$16.3 billion). In Wales, it accounts for £6.2 billion (US \$10.3 billion) of GDP (13.3
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49 per cent of the entire economy) and 90,000 jobs (Deloitte, 2010, p.7). Moreover,
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51 tourism accounts for a greater share of employment in the regional economies. Thus, it
52
53 constitutes 6.3 per cent in Wales and 5.3 per cent in Scotland; significantly higher than
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55 in England (4.4 per cent). The sector is also of key importance in Northern Ireland
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1 where, between 2011 and 2012, tourist expenditure in Northern Ireland grew by 7 per
2 cent (£42 million), and directly contributes £683 million (US \$1.13 billion) to the
3 economy (NISRA, 2013, p.12).
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7 **Elections and the Formative Phase of Tourism Policy-Making**

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10 Just over three decades have passed since a survey of the academic literature on
11 tourism concluded that it is a policy area 'almost totally ignored by political science'
12 (Richter, 1983, p.313). Since that assessment the field has developed considerably, with
13 diverse political science perspectives - including attention to: the political implications
14 of tourism in producing notions of stateness and national identity (d'Hauteserre, 2011;
15 Rowen, 2014); the political economy of tourism (Mair, 2012); ways in which developing
16 countries' national tourism policies are affected by regional geopolitical relationships
17 (Nyaupane and Timothy, 2010); and the influence of politics and nationalism on the
18 tourism planning and development (Altinay and Bowen, 2006). However, within this
19 burgeoning body of work there remains a ley lacuna for the role that elections, and
20 specifically manifesto discourse, plays in the development of tourism policy has not
21 generally been subject to academic scrutiny.
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42 The term 'tourism policy' in this analysis follows established practice in denoting
43 interventions spanning the public, private and state sectors designed to impact on the
44 supply and consumption of services, facilities and activities associated with 'the
45 temporary movement of people to destinations outside their normal places of work and
46 residence, [and] the activities undertaken during their stay in those destinations'
47 (Mathieson and Wall, 1982, p.47; see also Pastras and Bramwell, 2013). 'Policy' here
48 refers to public policy - or purposive interventions linked to the state and the
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1 democratic process designed to solve a problem or shape an issue through a
2 combination of instruments including law and regulation, communication and the
3 allocation of resources (see Colebatch, 2002). Over recent decades, and the past fifteen
4 years in particular, public policy analysis in the field of tourism studies has developed
5 into a rich and burgeoning area of academic enquiry. Its diverse aspects include: critical
6 policy evaluation (Ponting, 2014), study of policy implementation (Krutwaysho and
7 Bramwell, 2010), case studies (Lacey et al, 2012) comparative, international analyses
8 (Forsyth, 2014), and explorations of the social and economic implications of policy
9 (Minnaert et al, 2009; Stylidis and Terzidou, 2014).

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23 In order to address the dearth of work exploring the origins of tourism policy in
24 electoral discourse the following draws upon the political science theory of ‘issue-
25 salience’ (RePass, 1971). This states that key importance lies in the attention that
26 parties afford to different issues in their election campaigns – such that, the more an
27 issue is emphasised by a party (thereby making it ‘salient’), the greater the probability it
28 will attract voters who share similar concerns.

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39 By focusing on ‘regional’ elections this study provides further insight into the
40 impact of multi-level governance on tourism policy-making. This locus of enquiry is
41 appropriate because, as noted, ‘devolution’ is part of the wider international trend of
42 state restructuring (Doornbos, 2006). Under the revised governance structures in the
43 UK the ‘devolved’ governments have responsibility for state tourism policy in their
44 territories. In timescale we consider the years 1998-2011. This covers all elections to
45 date since the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish legislatures were (re-)created in
46 1998-9. In order to contextualise ‘regional’ policy development, selective reference is
47 also made to data covering Westminster election manifestos.

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10 **Methodology**

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12 The present study is part of a wider policy literature examining manifesto discourse
13 (Gould, 2000; Aman, 2009; Edwards, 2012). It comes from a programme of work that
14 has examined the formative origins of key aspects of public policy (for example, animal
15 welfare, environmental policy and, foreign policy) in election programmes (Chaney,
16 2013a, 2013b, 2014). The aim of this is to provide insight into the formative phase of
17 important aspects of contemporary manifesto programmes that have hitherto not been
18 subject to detailed scholarly analysis. These earlier studies developed a mixed
19 qualitative and quantitative methodology, an original contribution to the field of
20 electoral research on party manifestos. In turn, this informed the present analysis of
21 tourism policy by providing an original, transferable technique combining content and
22 critical discourse analysis. Furthermore, as explained below, the current study not only
23 benefitted from the application of a pre-existing technique of proven effectiveness (and
24 one that allows comparison across policy areas), it developed it by adopting a more
25 thoroughgoing dual measure of 'issue salience' – in other words, parties' level of
26 attention to tourism as determined by content analysis whereby the number of
27 references to tourism in each party manifesto was logged in a database (Krippendorff
28 and Bock, 2008).
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1 This was complemented by 'frame analysis' (Schön and Rein 1994), an
2 examination of how, as political texts, manifestos enable parties to construct (or 'frame')
3 policy proposals on tourism and other matters. In electoral terms, as Nelson and Oxleya
4 (1997, p. 75) observe: 'frames influence opinions by stressing specific values, facts and
5 other considerations, endowing them with greater apparent relevance to the issue than
6 they might appear to have under an alternative frame'. In this way framing leads to
7 political agenda-setting (Cohen, 1963; Cobb and Ross, 1997) and, ultimately, the
8 substantive policies that are mandated.
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10 The analysis was conducted as follows. Electronic versions of the manifestos of
11 the leading¹ parties in 'regional' elections 1998-2011 were analysed using appropriate
12 software.² In addition, for comparative purposes, the number of references to tourism
13 policy in Westminster elections was also examined.³ References to tourism in the
14 manifestos were subsequently coded using a deductive coding frame (Boyatzis 1998)
15 that captured key themes related to tourism policy (See Figure 5.). In order to increase
16 data reliability the coding was done twice, first by the author and again by a research
17 assistant. Divergent views emerged in <2 per cent of references (N=1,051)⁴ (resolved by
18 discussion between coders).
19

20 As existing electoral studies reveal, over recent years party manifestos have
21 tended to become more detailed and have a greater word-length. This has potential
22 methodological implications for any claims made about changes in the level of attention
23 to policy issues over time; not least because it might be regarded as a function of
24 increased manifesto length rather than greater attention to tourism policy by the
25 respective parties. To control for this and increase reliability, not only are the total
26 number of references to tourism presented here, they are also recalculated as a
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1 percentage of all policy references in each manifesto (i.e. on all topics and issues; see
2 Figures 3 and 4).
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9 **Tourism Policy in UK Elections 1998-2011**

10 *Parties' Level of Attention to Tourism as an Election Issue*

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16 A comparative perspective on the level of attention paid to tourism policy in Scottish,
17
18 Welsh and Northern Irish elections is provided by analysis of the manifestos of the three
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20 main parties in *state-wide* ballots for the UK parliament 1997-2010.⁵ This reveals scant
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22 attention to tourism, there were just 46 references to tourism policy over this period.
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25 Further investigation shows this is broadly typical of the level of consideration given to
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27 other policy areas in the same government Departmental Expenditure Grouping (DEG)
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29 (Figure 2).⁶ Thus, whilst tourism accounted for 29.5 per cent of combined DEG
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31 references, 32.1 per cent related to arts and culture, whilst sport accounted for 38.4 per
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33 cent (N=3,412).
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40 These comparative 'benchmarks' from Westminster serve to underline the major
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42 discontinuity introduced by constitutional reform. They reveal how 'regional' elections
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44 have provided significant new political opportunity structures and how devolution has
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46 effectively driven tourism as a policy issue. For, in contrast to the low salience in state-
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48 wide ballots, there are no less than 1,005 references to tourism in the post-1998
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50 'regional' manifestos.
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58 [Temporary Note – Figure 2 – about here]
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3 'Party politicization' is a straightforward term in the election studies literature that
4
5 refers to the process by which a policy issue develops to be relevant and topical, thereby
6
7 rising up the political agenda and becoming the subject of political competition (Carter,
8
9 2006). A key 'test' as to whether a policy topic is 'party politicized' is whether it is
10
11 subject to increased attention in manifestos as parties compete for voters' support. The
12
13 total number of references to the issue in question (in other words, its 'issue-salience') -
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15 is the principal indicator used to assess such competition (Selck, 2007). In this regard,
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17 the present 'regional' election data are significant for they show increasing party
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19 politicization of tourism in the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish elections. Thus, when
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21 the total number of tourism references in the manifestos for the first 'regional' elections
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23 of 1998/9 is compared to the 2011 ballots, there has been almost a threefold increase
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25 1998-2011 (+266 percentage point) (N=137 in 1998/9 compared to N=364 in 2011).
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27 The absolute totals of references to tourism in each election reveal this increase (Figure
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29 3.) It is also confirmed when the data are presented as a proportion of all references to
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31 all policy issues (Figure 4.).⁷ Both methods confirm party politicization on the basis of a
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33 significant and sustained increases in parties' attention to tourism over successive
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35 elections.
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50 [Temporary Note – Figures 3 and 4 – about here]
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56 A second test as to whether a policy issue is party politicized is whether increased
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58 attention in one party's manifesto is matched by a corresponding increase in its rivals' -
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1 as they compete to advance proposals on the issue. Accordingly, across the devolved
2 nations, politicization is confirmed by correlation of election-on-election shifts in
3
4 salience for the two leading parties. This reveals that in the majority of cases (68.7 per
5 cent) an increase in the number of manifesto references to tourism over the previous
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7 election by the lead party is in turn matched by an increase in salience in the manifesto
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9 of its nearest rival.⁸
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16 The data also provide insight into the ‘territorialisation’ of tourism policy in the
17 UK. A burgeoning literature (Cf. Trouvé et al 2007, Verhage 2005, Breux et al, 2007)
18 details how this term refers to the *rescaling* of public policy when states restructure and
19 government is decentralised (this links to the academic literature on policy and
20 ‘territorial justice’ e.g. Davies, 1968; Kay, 2005). As a result policy is no longer mandated
21 in state-wide elections (a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach) but is done at a more local
22 territorial scale (‘territorialising’). This opens up the possibility of distinctive, ‘local’
23 approaches to policy issues and, in turn, policy divergence between nations within
24 (quasi-)federal states, such as the UK. In the present case, territorialisation is evidenced
25 by differences between nations in the total number of tourism references in the post
26 1998 electoral discourse ($P < 0.001$).⁹ Most references were made in Scotland (42.3 per
27 cent), followed by Wales (35.9 per cent) and Northern Ireland (21.8 per cent).
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46 Further underlining the party politicization of tourism, when parties in each
47 nation are compared, there are statistically-significant differences in the level of
48 attention each paid to tourism as an election issue. This matters because, in face of
49 competing policy claims, it reveals which parties attach greatest importance to tourism.
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51 The data show that in each nation politicization principally involved three of the four
52 main parties – and (with the single exception of the DUP) that these were Left-of-centre
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1 parties. Thus, in Scotland the Liberal Democrats make most references to tourism policy
2 in their manifestos (28 per cent), followed by the SNP (26.6 per cent), Scottish Labour
3 (24.7 per cent), and Scottish Conservatives (20.7 per cent) ($P=<0.001$).¹⁰ In Wales, the
4 Welsh Liberal Democrats accounted for most references (31.6 per cent), followed by
5 Plaid Cymru (29 per cent), Welsh Labour (23.5 per cent) and Welsh Conservatives (15.8
6 per cent) ($P=<0.001$).¹¹ In Northern Ireland the SDLP accounted for most references
7 (32.3 per cent), followed by the DUP (27.6 per cent), Sinn Féin (25.8 per cent), and UUP
8 (14.3 per cent) ($P=<0.001$).¹²

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21 In showing party contrasts in manifesto attention the foregoing data are
22 important - not only because they reveal the relative prioritization of tourism in each
23 nation; but also because they are indicative of a new dynamic in the formative phase of
24 tourism policy making because devolution has afforded regionalist parties
25 unprecedented policy influence. This is a key discontinuity with the pre-existing
26 situation; and is evidenced by the fact that following constitutional reform in 1998/9
27 each of the six regionalist parties considered here has held government office (SNP,
28 Plaid Cymru, DUP, UUP, SDLP and Sinn Féin); something that was unthinkable prior to
29 devolution.
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47 **The Differences of Approach in the Three Nations**

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50 Quantitative data analysis shows how locally-distinctive approaches to tourism policy
51 (or ‘territorialization’), is driven by statistically-significant differences in the way that
52 policy is framed in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland ($P=<0.05$).¹³ This is
53 summarised here with the use of ‘framing profiles’ for each nation (Figure 5.). These
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1 graphical devices give the percentage of manifesto references to tourism falling under
2 each frame. They show that the approach in Scotland gives greatest attention to
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4 governance aspects of tourism, followed by economic factors, heritage tourism, and
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6 rural development. In contrast, greatest attention in Wales focuses on the economic
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8 benefits of tourism, followed by governance, government investment and, marketing. In
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10 Northern Ireland the lead frame is governance, followed by government investment,
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12 economic benefits and developing an international 'brand'. Further key contrasts
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14 between the nations include significantly greater attention to eco- and sport tourism in
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16 Wales. Comparatively greater emphasis on developing an international 'brand', up-
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18 skilling the tourism workforce and, rural development in Scotland. In contrast, Northern
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20 Ireland places considerably more emphasis on national identity and government
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22 investment.
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34 [Temporary Note – Figure 5. – about here]
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41 A further core aspect of the party politicization of tourism policy is variation in
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43 parties' use of policy frames and constituent tropes. The latter form part of political
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45 discourse and cross-cut policy frames. As Fischer and Forrester (1993, p. 117) explain,
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47 they are 'figures of speech and argument that give persuasive power to larger narratives
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49 [including policy frames] of which they are part'. A number relate to the 'governance'
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51 frame. Foremost is 'regulation'. Here the data reveal a Left-Right cleavage. The parties of
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53 the Left (Welsh and Scottish Labour and Liberal Democrats, SNP, Plaid Cymru, Sinn Féin
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55 and SDLP) are generally concerned with overseeing and regulating market practices in
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1 tourism and upholding corporate social responsibility (Cf. Coles *et al*, 2013). For
2 example, 'we will work with the tourism sector to introduce a national tourism
3 registration scheme to guarantee quality service and facilities across Scotland' (Scottish
4 Labour, 2003, p.34). Whereas, in contrast, the Right-of-centre parties (Scottish/
5 Welsh
6 Conservatives, DUP, UUP) advocate a *laissez faire*, neo-liberal approach. For example:
7 'We would oppose any attempts by Labour or the other parties to impose a tourist tax
8 or any other additional burdens on the industry which would have an adverse impact
9 on visitor numbers and employment' (Scottish Conservatives, 1999, p.16).

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21 'Accountability' is a further trope that illustrates party politicization. It reflects
22 the growth in interest in 'new' governance theory (Kooiman, 2003) and Left parties'
23 response to neo-liberalism and the nostrums of new public management (Cf. Hood,
24 1991) as advanced by earlier Right-of-centre Conservative governments at
25 Westminster. In the 'pre-devolution' era before 1998, the latter presided over the rise of
26 non-elected (and therefore largely *unaccountable*) administrative bodies ('quangos')¹⁴
27 in policy areas such as tourism. Examples of this discourse include: 'We will boost
28 Scottish tourism... with a Tourism Committee of Parliament' (SNP, 1999, p.29); and 'We
29 will bring together responsibility for enterprise, tourism and infrastructure under a
30 single minister in the Department of Finance and Sustainable Growth, so that policy as a
31 whole reflects the needs and interests of the industry' (SNP, 2007, p.23).

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49 Party politicization and ideological differences between the parties are also
50 evident in the case of the 'extending investment/ government funding' frame where
51 there are statistically-significant contrasts in its use between nations ($P<0.05$).¹⁵ It was
52 the ninth-ranked in Scotland (4.9 per cent of all 'regional' references); compared to
53 third in Wales (11.1 per cent) and second (16.5 per cent) in Northern Ireland. The

1 politicization is again founded on a Left-Right cleavage in policy framing. In comparison
2 to the Right-of-centre Conservatives, DUP and UUP - Left-of-centre parties place greater
3 emphasis on state intervention. For example, 'in the next Government, Plaid will invest
4 an additional £3M a year in the new Tourism Investment Support Scheme which will
5 allow tourist businesses to realise new capital investment, drive quality improvements
6 and support up to 1,000 new local jobs in construction and other activity' (Plaid Cymru,
7 2011, p.18). Alternatively, the Right-of-centre parties emphasize private sector funding.
8 For example, 'we will establish a private sector group to deliver a wholesale
9 rationalisation [of tourism training provision] ... If Scotland is going to remain a major
10 player, we believe that it has to compete on quality, not price. That means getting
11 [business] investment into the industry' (Scottish Conservatives, 2011, p.31).
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28 In contrast, the 'heritage tourism' spanned the Left-Right cleavage and is a frame
29 that provides further evidence of the territorialisation of policy (it accounted for 10.1
30 per cent of manifesto references to tourism in Scotland, 8 per cent in Wales and 4 per
31 cent Northern Ireland) ($P < 0.01$).¹⁶ It also underlines the historically contingent nature
32 of tourism policy development (see Discussion and Conclusion – below). For example:
33 we will be 'developing a programme to capitalise on Wales' industrial heritage. This will
34 generate direct tourism but will also develop a strong sense of place which is essential
35 for community development' (Welsh Liberal Democrats, 2011, p.19); and 'the
36 vanguards of our heritage – from the Mining Museum in East Lothian to the National
37 Museums and Galleries throughout Scotland – are key to boosting our tourism industry
38 and attracting increasing numbers of visitors to Scotland' (Scottish Labour Party, 2011,
39 p.17).
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As a rich literature attests, issues of identity crosscut tourism studies (Kroshus Medina, 2003; Palmer, 2005; Nunkoo and Gursoy, 2012). This study is no exception. Party politicization is evident for the data show that civic nationalist parties' predominate in the use of the national identity frame. They account for 74.2 per cent of all references across the 'regional' polities. Examples include: 'we will actively promote events in Wales and across the world in order to boost Welsh tourism and increased awareness of our nation' (Plaid Cymru, 2011, p.18); and 'We will work with some of Scotland's leading artists as part of a wider initiative to promote Scottish culture abroad' (SNP, 2011, p.44).

Moreover, as Goulding and Domic (2009, p. 88) note, 'it is not uncommon for the dominant group to use its power to push its own history to the front, minimizing in the process the significance of subordinate groups as it crafts a national identity in its own image'. Such struggles are particularly evident in the Northern Ireland manifestos where a republican/ unionist cleavage is evident in relation to which aspects of heritage are emphasised in policy. For example, 'we have a rich cultural heritage which ought to be capitalised on. Loyal Order parades and the Ulster-Scots link to the United States are areas which have not been exploited fully in terms of tourism and there should be targeted marketing of these to make the most of that potential' (UUP, 2007, p.9). In contrast, and in furtherance of their constitutional ambitions, the SDLP and Sinn Féin both frame policy in terms of a united Ireland. For example, Sinn Féin assert that they will 'market tourism on an all-Ireland basis and provide sufficient funding to this key area of potential economic growth [and...] Actively promote the Six Counties as a cultural visitor destination within an all-Ireland framework' (Sinn Féin, 2007, p. 25). In a similar vein examples of the SDLP's framing includes: 'Social and Economic

1 Development – [we will advance] a strategic approach to developing north/south links,
2 paying particular regard to cross border initiatives in tourism... The full working of the
3
4 ['Good Friday'] Agreement¹⁷ and a peaceful environment will maximise the potential of
5
6 a comprehensive tourism strategy' (SDLP, 1998, p. 8); and 'leading on the North/South
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8 agenda - In negotiations, we already secured six powerful new implementation bodies,
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10 as well as an all-Ireland Tourism company' (SDLP, 2003, p.17).
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16 Over recent decades parties from across the political spectrum have espoused
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18 ecotourism owing to its green credentials and economic benefits (Luck and Kirstages,
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20 2002). Here the eco-tourism frame provides further evidence of party politicization
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22 based on ideological differences; not least, the Right's general antipathy to state
23
24 intervention in market practices (Dalton, 2009). Accordingly, Left-of-centre parties
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26 account for the majority (68.2 per cent) of references under eco-tourism frame.
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28 Examples include: We will 'promote Wales's commitment to sustainable development
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30 and our leading environmental policies as tourism drivers so that Wales is seen as the
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32 "clean and green" country world-wide' (Welsh Liberal Democrats, 2007, p.28); and
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34 'Scotland is ahead of the game on ecotourism and is currently ranked 9th in the world.
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36 Scottish Labour will encourage more companies to take part and get accredited through
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38 the Green Tourism Business Scheme' (Scottish Labour Party, 2007, p.38). Textual
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40 analysis also shows that the discourse under this frame resonates with what Weaver
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42 (2005, p. 439) identifies as a 'minimalist' conception of eco-tourism; one generally
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44 lacking in specifics, instead 'while its sustainability objectives are site-specific and
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46 status quo-oriented'.
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56 As Weed (2011, p.179) observes, increasingly 'sports tourism is used by
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58 politicians and the public alike to build, display, reinforce and celebrate identities
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1 associated with nations'. For parties it is often seen as a way of variously advancing
2 national unity (Heinemann 2005), an indicator of national pride and a measure of
3 international standing (cf. Bergsgard et al. 2007). Thus, as Houlihan (1997, p. 114)
4 notes, sport 'possesses a powerful symbolism that can be exploited on occasion to great
5 effect' (see also Bairner 2001, p.46; Jarvie 2006). In particular, these qualities have
6 shaped nationalist parties' discourse. Notably, the present data substantiate how
7 nationalist parties emphasize sports tourism as part of a wider concern with nation
8 building (such parties account for 72.4 per cent of references). Examples include: 'We
9 will invest in the Plaid Government Major Events Strategy to ensure that it is a success.
10 We will work with partners and stakeholders in the public, private and third sectors in
11 building Wales's position as a world-class destination for major sporting, events... There
12 will be a drive to attract major events to all parts of Wales and we will invest in the
13 gateways to our nation' (Plaid Cymru, 2011, p.42); and 'We are determined to maximise
14 tourist growth and draw new visitors to Scotland... specifically drawing visitors to
15 Scotland to... enjoy the celebrations in 2014, the year in which the Commonwealth
16 Games and the Ryder Cup will put Scotland centre stage in world sporting terms' (SNP,
17 2011, p.51).

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43 Data on parties' use of language in relation to tourism in the post-1998
44 manifestos also reveals politicking as each seeks to discredit or dismiss their rivals'
45 policies. This is integral to the party politicization of tourism at the 'regional' level in the
46 UK. Examples include: 'A growth ambition was set by the industry and the Labour/Lib
47 Dem Scottish Executive in 2005 to grow the revenue from Scottish tourism by 50 per
48 cent over ten years. We are now past the halfway point, with zero growth' (Scottish
49 Conservative Party, 2011, p.28); the previous administration '... has failed to promote

1 routes to, and the distinctiveness of, the Northern Ireland tourism product' (DUP 2007,
2 p.29); 'to ensure that our tourist industry thrives, two core problems must be overcome
3 - one is ineffective marketing and the other is poor accessibility' (SNP, 2003, p.35); and
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5 'In government we pledge a full review to radically improve the [previous
6 administration's] flawed Budget, and adoption of proposals which can raise £4 billion to
7 boost tourism' (SDLP, 2011, p.41).
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19 **Discussion and Conclusion**

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22 The evidence of Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish elections shows how devolution has
23 driven tourism as a policy issue. This is significant to understanding the contemporary
24 development of tourism policy because a growing number of liberal democracies have
25 undergone – or are undergoing, a transition to multi-level governance. The attendant
26 rescaling of policy-making means that policy is shaped in 'regional' party politics. These
27 differ to state-wide electoral politics in a number of key regards. For example, parties'
28 ideological position, Right-Left orientation, electoral strength, and constitutional
29 ambitions.
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43 Not only does the current study show how devolution provides greater political
44 opportunity structures for regionalist parties to develop policy on tourism, it shows
45 increasing party politicization of tourism in the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish
46 elections. This is confirmed by:
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- 54 1. a threefold increase in the total number of tourism references in the manifestos
55 (when the total for the first 'regional' elections of 1998/9 is compared to the
56 2011 ballots);
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2. political competition - whereby an increase in the number of manifesto references to tourism over the previous election by the lead party is in turn matched by an increase in salience in the manifesto of its nearest rival;
3. politicking and the use of language on tourism in the manifestos designed to discredit or dismiss rival parties' policies;
4. statistically-significant party differences in the level of attention paid to tourism as an election issue in each territory;
5. variation in parties' use of policy frames and constituent tropes;
6. and, parties' contrasting issue positions reflecting ethnic, social, cultural or religious differences (as in the case of the national identity frame) – and/or ideological differences (as in the case of neo-liberalism and the investment/funding' frame).

In addition to party politicization, this study shows how tourism policy is contingent on 'regional' socio-economic factors. As outlined in critical realist theory (Bhaskar, 1975; Carter and New, 2004), 'historical contingency' here refers to the way that contemporary social processes and phenomena are related to (or 'contingent' on) - past historical practices as they impact on different localities (Carlson and Michalowski, 1997; Phillips, 2007). Specifically, the present study evidences four (non-discrete ways) in which parties' framing of policy on tourism is historically contingent:

1. It is framed in the context of 'regional' party politics. In other words, there are distinct 'local' combinations of parties in each devolved nation. They are

1 grounded in – and express, local political traditions and are attuned to local
2 political issues.
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- 4
- 5 2. Policy is often framed in the context of locally-distinct histories that will attract
6 tourists – such as industrial heritage, famous cultural figures, local cultural
7 traditions etc.
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 - 9 3. Party pledges are shaped by conceptions of (national) identity – and thus
10 whether they are advanced in the context of a British identity frame – or reflect
11 distinct Scottish, Welsh and Irish identities – or, a combination of these.
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 - 13 4. In addition, the manifesto discourse is fashioned in the context of ‘regional’
14 constitutional histories and outlooks.¹⁸
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25 It is against this background that two aspects of the manifesto discourse on tourism
26 deserve further reflection for they underline the way ‘devolved’ party politics may differ
27 from earlier state-wide ballots with significant implications for shaping (and
28 mandating) tourism policy.
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36 First, the Left-Right orientation and electoral strength of parties is significant
37 because determines the balance between *laissez faire* approaches to governing and state
38 intervention. In this, as Qu et al (2005, p.939) explain, ‘government regulation has a
39 significant role to play in driving market orientation [and in turn...] this impacts on
40 business performance in the tourism sector’. In addition, it also affects issues of
41 sustainability and commercialism - as well as the extent of government support for the
42 tourism sector as a whole (Weaver, 2005; Wang and Bramwell, 2012). In the present
43 case, the three devolved nations are characterised by far greater Left-party strength
44 than has traditionally been the case in Westminster politics (Leach et al, 2011). The
45 discourse shows how this translates into a general rejection of neo-liberalism and has
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1 led to particular emphasis on regulation and extending different modes of state support
2 as national tourism strategies are developed in each devolved nation following
3 constitutional reform.
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8 Second, as Hechter (2000, p.15) observes, 'state-building' is the attempt to
9 assimilate or incorporate cultural distinctiveness into a state framework. It is
10 predicated on the idea of nations as 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991) and
11 founded on ethnic or cultural solidarity. Existing work in relation to other policy areas
12 reveals how nationalist parties use manifesto discourse to emphasize national identity
13 and promote awareness of cultural distinctiveness as part of a wider concern with
14 nation-building and independence (cf. Kpessa and Lecours 2011). Thus, as Nairn (1977,
15 p. 348) argues, this entails such parties projecting a national image by emphasizing
16 custom and tradition and 'a certain sort of regression by looking inwards, drawing more
17 deeply upon their indigenous resources'. Moreover, as Pitchford (1995, p.36) observes,
18 it may involve the projection of an image of citizens 'as bearers of a distinctive culture...
19 [such that] tourism has the potential to play a strategic role in a campaign for cultural
20 revaluation and preservation'.
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41 The present data reveal how these aspects of framing apply to civic nationalist
42 parties' manifesto discourse in Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish elections. Where, for
43 example, discourse on sport tourism has been used as a means of simultaneously
44 boosting tourism and extending international awareness of nationhood (Bairner, 2001;
45 Jarvie 2006; Vincent and Hill, 2011; Ramshaw and Gammon, 2005). It is a process that,
46 as Chalip (2007, p.109) notes, is concerned with fostering 'a sense of *communitas*
47 [whereby] the resulting narratives, symbols, meanings, and affect can then be leveraged
48 to address social issues, build networks, and empower community action'
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It is against this backdrop that the present study points to a future research agenda that builds on the current analysis and further explores the way that governance and electoral politics impact on the development of tourism policy. Accordingly, future work is needed to address knowledge-gaps related to: 1. the manner in which lobbying by civil society organisations and business – together with public attitudes data shape tourism policy pledges in party election programmes; 2. the internal party processes of agenda-setting on tourism policy as parties draft their manifestos, including the role of individual political actors and lobbyists; 3. the influence of tourism policy pledges on voting behaviour and, party donations; 4. The implications of tourism policy for civil society (cf. Scott, 2012); and 5. The application of accountability theory to explore governing parties' subsequent delivery on earlier manifesto pledges.

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In summary, this study underlines the need for contemporary tourism scholarship to acknowledge and explore the formative roots of tourism policy in the party politicized context of elections in liberal democracies. Moreover, against the backdrop of the global rise of devolution and state decentralisation, it provides a transferable methodology that can inform future longitudinal and comparative study of how policy is mandated in elections for different tiers of government in today's multi-level states.

66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 **Acknowledgement**

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¹ Defined in terms of share of the popular vote.

² The software used was Nvivo 9.

³ The manifesto texts were divided into ‘quasi-sentences’ (or, ‘an argument which is the verbal expression of one political idea or issue,’ Volkens 2001, p. 96). Dividing the text in this manner controlled for long sentences that contain several policy proposals. For example, the statement ‘we will establish an international cultural tourism festival to showcase Welsh talent and provide local jobs’ would be coded under the ‘economic benefits’ and ‘international standing/ image’ frames.

⁴ 11 incidences.

⁵ these run on a different cycle to the ‘regional elections’

⁶ H. M. Treasury (2005) see also: <http://budgetresponsibility.org.uk/category/publications/briefing-papers/> [Last accessed 30.03.14]

⁷ in other words, tourism references (or ‘quasi-sentences’) were plotted as percentage of all quasi-sentences

⁸ ‘Two lead parties’ – defined as the two parties accounting for most quasi-sentences on tourism in each polity. In Wales co-efficient (Welsh Liberal Democrats and Plaid Cymru) = 0.81146342; In Scotland co-efficient (Scottish Liberal Democrats and SNP) = 0.896; Northern Ireland co-efficient (SDLP and DUP) = 0.670217392

⁹ $P < 0.001$, $Df = 2$, $\chi^2 = 66.364$

¹⁰ ANOVA $P = 5.3771E-22$, $Df = 13$, $F \text{ Crit} = 1.995220853$

¹¹ $P = 0.00062425$, $Df = 3$, $\chi^2 = 17.262$

¹² $P = 0.00165114$, $Df = 3$, $\chi^2 = 15.203$

¹³ ANOVA $P = 0.022191803$, $Df = 12$, $F \text{ Crit} = 2.164891452$

¹⁴ “quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations”

¹⁵ $P = 0.04491426$, $Df = 2$, $\chi^2 = 6.206$

¹⁶ $P = 0.00004377$, $Df = 2$, $\chi^2 = 20.073$

1 ¹⁷ Alternative name for The Belfast Agreement that was reached in multi-party negotiations to end the on-
2 going civil conflict and signed on 10 April 1998. See [https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-](https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-belfast-agreement)
3 [belfast-agreement](https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-belfast-agreement) [last accessed June 10, 2014]

4 ¹⁸ e.g. a greater level of political autonomy for Scotland than Wales during the pre-1999 era of
5 administrative devolution; the complex and contested nature of Northern Ireland's constitutional status;
6 parties' contrasting constitutional ambitions – whether it is maintaining the union state or aspiring for
7 independence etc.
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Statement of Contribution: The Annals review policy asks all authors to supply a supporting statement which addresses two questions:

1. What is the contribution to knowledge, theory, policy or practice offered by the paper?

This study's wider contribution to tourism scholarship lies in: 1. showing how public policy is grounded in the representative process in liberal democracies as parties seek a mandate and envision the role of the state in relation to tourism. 2. revealing how this leads to the party politicization of tourism policy, part of the rise of valence politics. And, 3. showing the contingent nature of policy development in (quasi-)federal systems whereby sub-state electoral politics and local socio-economic and historical factors influence the formative phase of policy-making leading to the territorialisation of tourism policy.

2. How does the paper offer a social science perspective / approach?

Political science is one of the social sciences. A range of authors have lamented the limited attention that political scientists have afforded to tourism. Crucially, the development of public policy on tourism has largely been overlooked in election studies. This study addresses this lacuna and makes an original contribution to the literature by presenting mixed-methods analysis of political parties' manifesto discourse. Its focus is on the level of attention afforded by parties (or, in the parlance of election studies 'issue-salience') and the language used (or 'policy framing') in relation to policy proposals on tourism in UK regional elections 1998-2011. The analysis draws on a number of theoretical perspectives including the concepts of: issue-salience, valence politics, 'new' governance, and mandate and accountability theory.

Year	Constitutional Event
1535-42	Acts of Union between England and Wales
1707	Act of Union with Scotland
1800-1	Acts of Union with Ireland
1885	Scottish Office founded (administrative devolution)
1921/22	Founding of Northern Ireland/ Irish Republic
1964	Welsh Office founded (administrative devolution)
1997/98	Devolution referendums
1998	Northern Ireland Assembly founded
1999	First elections to the National Assembly for Wales and Scottish Parliament

Table 1. The Historical Context of Devolution in the UK - Brief Chronology of Events

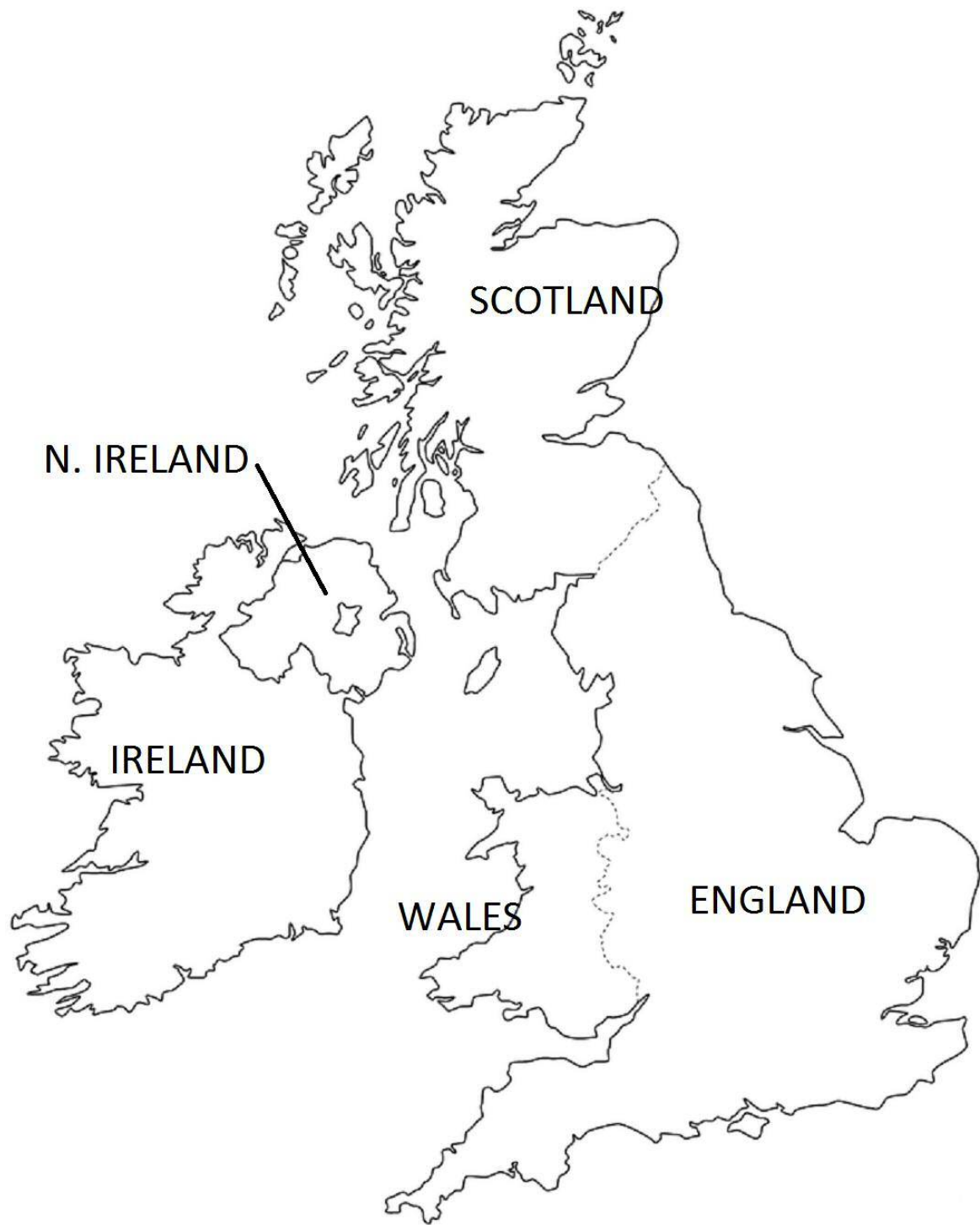


Figure 1. The Constituent Nations of the United Kingdom

Figure 2. Comparative Issue Salience: Tourism within its Government Departmental Expenditure Grouping, Regional Elections 1998-2011 (N= 3,412).

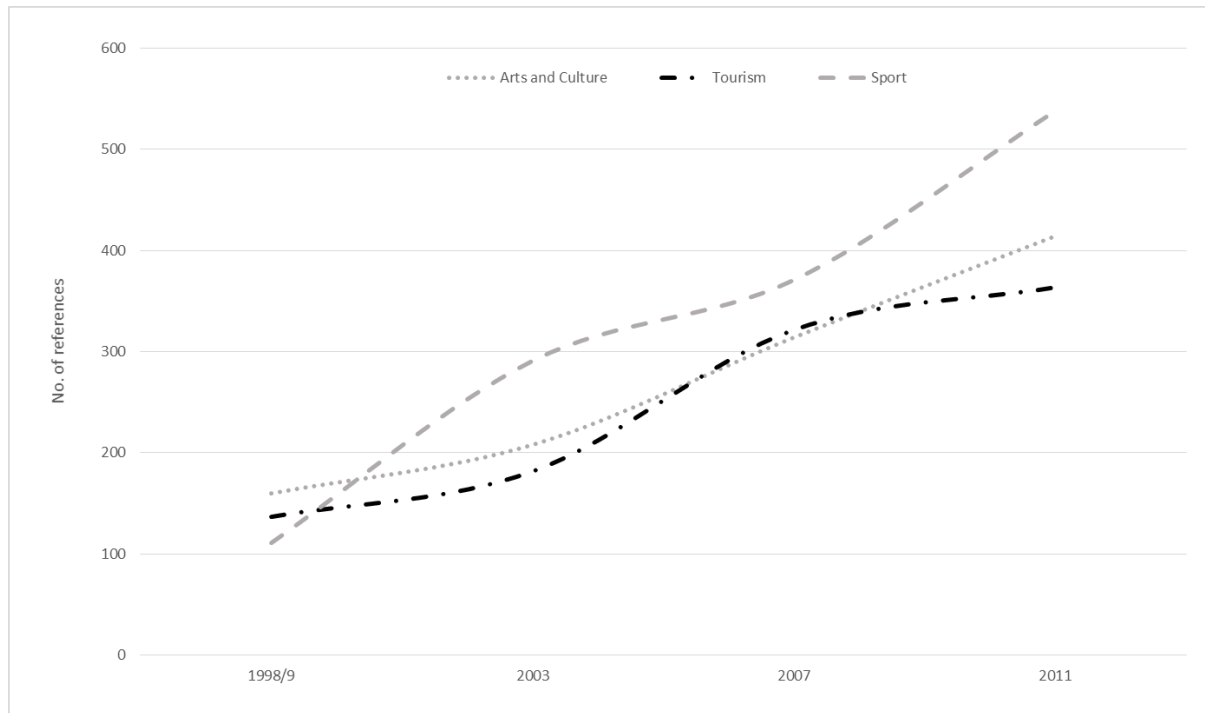


Figure 3. The Issue Salience of Tourism Policy in Party Manifestos: Regional Elections 1998-2011, by Polity (No. of Tourism Quasi-sentences, 'absolute totals') (N=1,005).

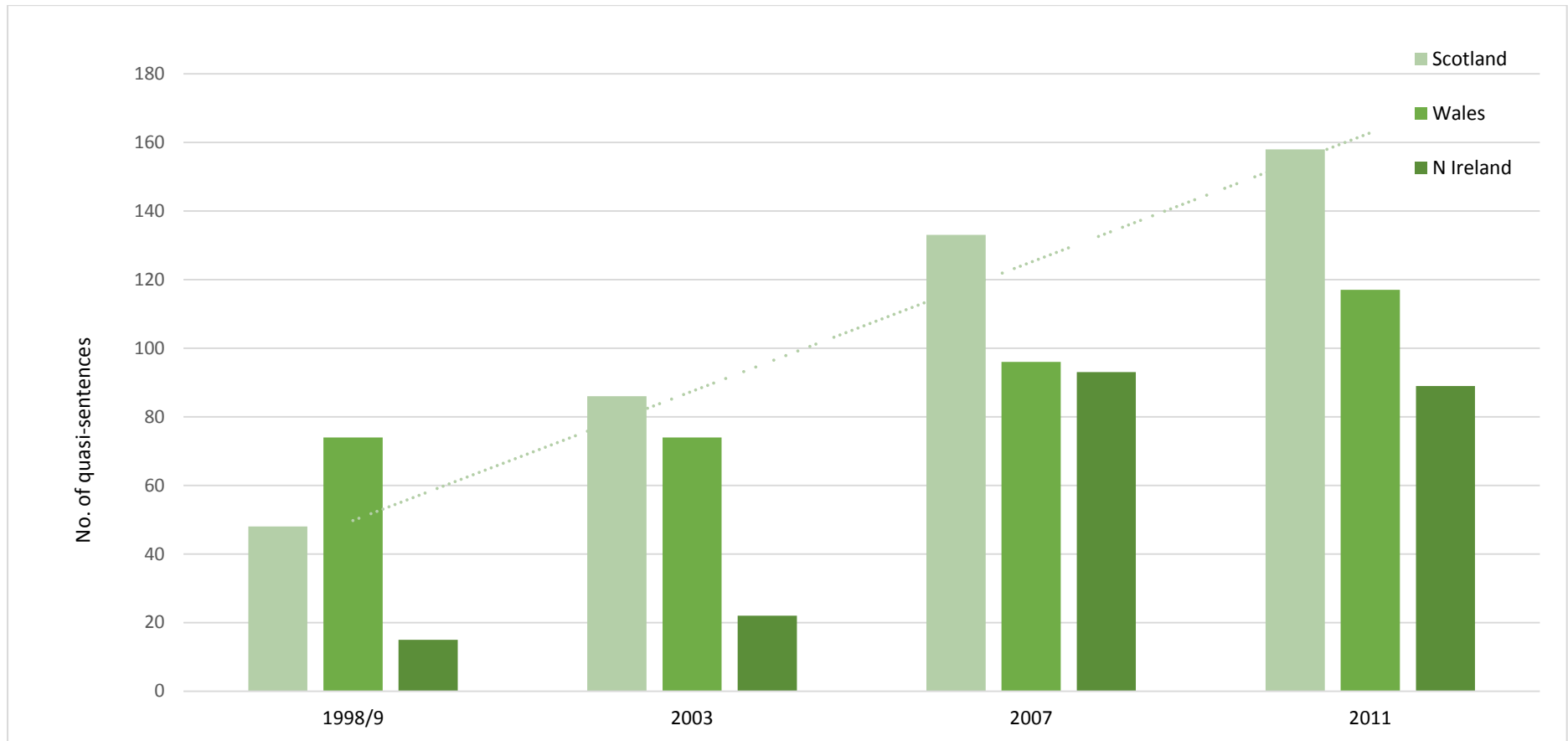


Figure 4. The Issue Salience of Tourism Policy in Party Manifestos: Regional Elections 1998-2011, by Polity (Percentage of All Quasi-sentences, 'relative totals').

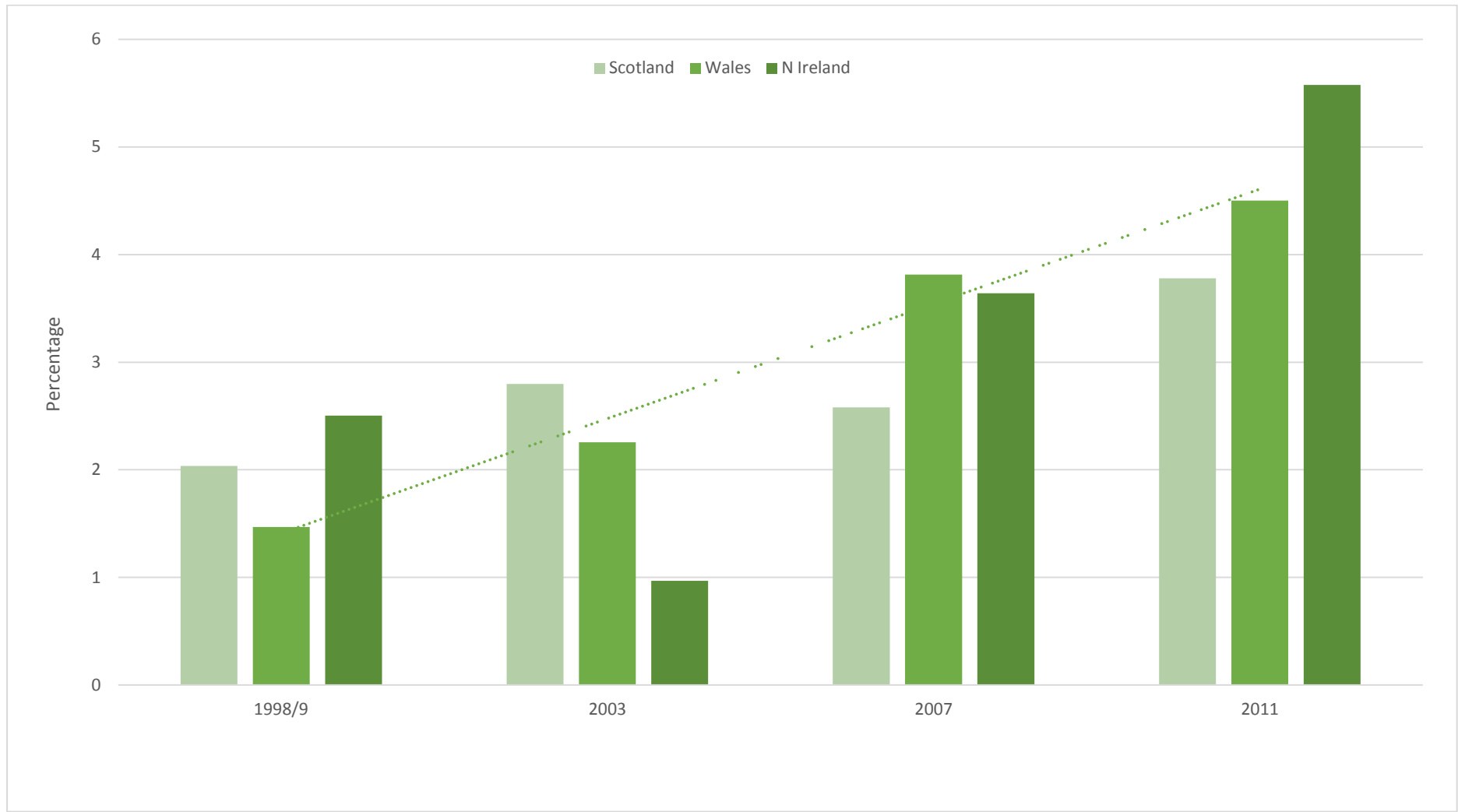


Figure 5. Policy Framing Profiles: UK Meso-elections 1998-2011: (All-Party Total of Quasi-sentences under each Frame. Each Territory = 100% N=1,005).

