ABSTRACT

SWANSON, JASON R. The Tourism Policy Puzzle: Pieces and Precepts Discovered Through Qualitative Investigation of Federal Public Policy Preferences and Advocacy Activities of Tourism Associations in the United States. (Under the direction of Dr. Gene Brothers and Dr. Larry Gustke.)

This dissertation uses the guiding theoretical frameworks of Social Exchange Theory, Resource Dependency Theory, and Advocacy Coalition Framework to examine the federal public policy advocacy agendas and activities of national tourism-related associations in the United States. The research questions were: (a) What are the roles and motivations of tourism-related associations that engage in advocacy? (b) How are organizational resources used to develop tourism policy? (c) How are tourism policy advocacy coalitions managed? (d) Under what circumstances do those involved in tourism advocacy cooperate with each other? (e) How are tourism policy agendas developed? (f) What are the public policy preferences, at the federal level, of tourism associations in the United States? Looking through a post-positivist lens of critical realism, research questions were answered using the qualitative research methods of content analysis and in-depth personal interviews.

Industry sectors contained in the Travel Economic Impact Model (TEIM) served as the framework to organize the search for tourism-related associations. TEIM contains seven categories and 18 sub-categories of tourism activities, based on North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) codes. Data from *Encyclopedia of Associations* and other sources indicated specific associations classified by NAICS codes included in the TEIM. These efforts revealed a universe of 229 nationally-focused tourism-related associations.

Fifty-four associations comprised the sample. Thirty sample organizations were involved in federal public policy advocacy, from which the public policy agendas were

content-analyzed. A total of 20 government affairs executives from sample organizations with public policy agendas provided data via in-depth personal interviews. Fifteen interviewees were associated with organizations in Washington, DC. Five executives from organizations located outside the Washington, DC area were interviewed via telephone.

Data indicated tourism associations engaged in advocacy formed coalitions to advance their public policy agendas. Cooperation among coalitions centered on similar policy preferences. Organizations with similar policy preferences and complementary resources formed coalitions. Financial wherewithal, the reputation of an organization and its affiliates, an organization's membership base, and an organization's knowledge were resources associations used to complement attributes of coalition partners. Disagreements, personalities, mistrust, and occasionally working on opposing coalitions impeded cooperation among coalition members.

According to sample data and supported by existing theory, policy preferences compelled tourism policy coalitions while association resources regulated progression toward policy objectives. Sample organizations typically behaved as the guiding theoretical frameworks prescribe. However, data revealed tourism advocacy associations also exhibited other behaviors not explained well by existing theory in areas related to association resources, coalition management, and agenda development.

The research makes two types of contributions to existing knowledge. The first contribution involves activities or needs found in the data but not addressed well in the guiding theoretical frameworks. The second contribution involves activities existing theory claims should be happening but were not found in the data. Both types of theoretical contributions are incorporated into policy precepts. The Ten Tourism Policy Precepts are

activities related to association resources, coalition management, and agenda development. The precepts are derived from the data and further develop theory describing how tourism association advocacy groups behave.

The Ten Tourism Policy Precepts are (a) develop association advocacy resources, (b) contribute money to political causes, (c) localize tourism advocacy, (d) create a travel consumer advocacy initiative, (e) reach out to atypical advocacy partners, (f) expand reciprocity, (g) understand the will of association members, (h) anticipate policy needs, (i) analyze impacts of tourism policy, and (j) confront political realities.

The Tourism Policy Puzzle: Pieces and Precepts Discovered Through Qualitative
Investigation of Federal Public Policy Preferences and Advocacy Activities
of Tourism Associations in the United States

by
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DEDICATION

To Ellen. Thanks for your loving help and support. I owe you for a lifetime.

BIOGRAPHY

Jason's professional experience consists of hotel operations, technology consulting, market/feasibility analysis, hospitality real estate advisory services, and tourism development. He has worked for consulting clients in the restaurant, hotel, spa, convention center, marina, golf course, and government sectors in over 40 markets throughout the United States, the Caribbean, and Asia. He also serves on the Southeast Tourism Policy Council, the governmental affairs arm of the Southeast Tourism Society (STS). Jason has a unique blend of hospitality operations, tourism, and consulting experience coupled with skills in project management, tourism policy development and analysis, public speaking, technical report writing, and marketing research.

During graduate work at Cornell University's School of Hotel Administration, the Travel Industry Association of America (TIA) and the National Tour Association (NTA) recognized Jason for his achievement in the North American tourism industry. His studies at Cornell centered on tourism development and marketing with a special emphasis on tourism policy, and social and community development. After graduate school, Jason started a tourism development consulting firm that enhances tourism communities by providing strategic planning and implementation assistance to governments and private-sector tourism businesses.

Jason's doctorate degree is in Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management from the College of Natural Resources at North Carolina State University. His doctoral research is a qualitative investigation of tourism policy advocacy at the federal level in the United States. After his studies at NC State, Jason accepted a job as a Lecturer in Hospitality Management and Tourism at the University of Kentucky and was promoted to Assistant Professor.

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There is as much greatness of mind in acknowledging a good turn, as in doing it.

-Lucius Annaeus Seneca
Roman Philosopher
(c. 4 BC – AD 65)

My first acknowledgement of thanks goes to Erica Cutchins, the NC State Thesis Editor. As we make the final ascent to the summit of our educational journey, Erica waits with an outstretched hand, providing a calm reassurance that we have almost reached the top of the mountain we set out to climb. Without her help, I believe the final steps toward dissertation completion and graduation would be much more difficult.

The second set of acknowledgements goes to my dissertation committee Karla Henderson, Rich Clerkin, Gene Brothers, and Larry Gustke. Thanks to Karla Henderson for opening my eyes, and the eyes of many young scholars, to qualitative research. Your openness and expertise is invaluable. Thank you to Rich for teaching me the foundations of public administration and for your persistence on quality. Thank you, Gene, for your constant flow of enthusiastic ideas. Thanks to Larry for decades of service and mentorship to a host of students. Hopefully your retirement is fun and exciting.

Coincidentally, Larry is the second tourism professor who retired as I completed my degree. The other professor to retire as I graduated, Mac Noden at Cornell University's School of Hotel Administration, remains a close confidant and mentor. Thank you, Mac, for your continued teaching as I have progressed through my academic and consulting career. I hope we have many more years to work together.

I would like to thank others in the PRT department at NC State. Dr. Beth Wilson deserves many accolades for her hard work developing the doctoral program and developing doctoral students. Drs. Candace Goode-Vick, Roger Moore, Aram Attarian, and Yu-Fai Leung provide great models for budding scholars and young faculty members. I will miss the many lunches and conversations with Janell Moretz, the best undergrad academic advisor I have come across.

Outside of those from NC State, I must also acknowledge and thank groups of people from other parts of my life. One such group is a cadre of professionals who make up an important part of my support network: Bill Callnin, Cornell Hotel School, class of 1956 and Chairman of Cayuga Hospitality Advisors; Bill Hardman, Jr., President of Southeast Tourism Society; Bill Hardman, Sr., Bill Jr's dad; Frank Wiley, President and CEO of Compass Investment Group, LLC; and Dr. David Edgell, former Under-Secretary of the United States Department of Commerce. Dave, it's time for us to write another book, I'd say. Other important professional friends include Dr. Michael Shearer and Dr. Lari Jackson of NC State, Halle Czechowski and Steve Richer in Washington, DC. A special thank you is also due the staff of the United States Department of Commerce Office of Travel and Tourism Industries, particularly Helen Marano. And, of course, I would have no dissertation without the help of the 20 government affairs executives I interviewed for my research.

My friends in the tourism profession from around the country also deserve recognition as many of them have unwittingly been unofficial research subjects during many hours of conversation I've had with them over the years. Among others, these friends include Neville Bhada, Chuck Bonelli, Stacey Bowman, Amanda Burgess, Linda Devlin,

Thank you to my entire family – parents, siblings, niece and nephews, aunts, uncles, grandparents, first cousins, and second cousins – I promise I won't go back to school again! Thanks also to the Peterson family for constant caring and occasional cookies.

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And finally, thanks to all of my colleagues in the PRT Ph.D. program, especially Inés Palacios. The Ph.D. experience was quite an adventure – I am thankful to have done it, but I am more thankful to be done with it.

What's next?

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I've been part of so many coalitions and, yeah, it's literally the lifeblood of what we do in this town. It really is and it's an interesting process.

-Tourism Association Executive

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Tourism in the United States appears to be experiencing a public policy problem as disjointed tourism policy interests have often led to inefficient tourism policy outcomes (Dredge & Jenkins, 2007). Travelers to and within the United States are changing their behavior as they notice symptoms of the public policy problem such as security processes at airports (Blalock, Kadiyali, & Simon, 2007), higher fuel costs (Gillen, Morrison, & Stewart, 2004), and other price increases (Crouch et al., 2007). The public policy problem may be remedied by better tourism policy research and more effective tourism advocacy. For more than three decades, tourism scholars have lamented the need for better research about the development of tourism-related public policy in the United States (e.g., Gray, 1974; Eyster, 1976; Edgell, 1983; Hall & Jenkins, 1995; McGehee & Meng, 2006). Tourism professionals have responded to the policy problem, in part, by forming coalitions for advocating public policy positions beneficial to tourism (Blake & Sinclair, 2003; Edgell, Allen, Smith, & Swanson, 2008).

The confluence of concern among tourism scholars, tourism professionals, and tourism consumers is indicative of a major public policy problem. This chapter begins by presenting symptoms of the public policy problem noted by the three groups. Subsequent sections of the chapter detail tourism's size and scope, the research questions, the importance

of my research, and tourism policy fundamentals. Chapter 1 concludes with a description of the research approach and the organization of my dissertation.

Symptoms of the Public Policy Problem

The call from scholars (Eyster, 1976; Edgell, 1983; Edgell, 1990) concerning the need for better tourism policy research has been on-going and is being heard. Eyster (1976), for example, called for a better understanding of government roles in tourism development (i.e., tourism policy) subsequent to the advancements in jet travel and communications in the 1960s that brought about a new era of tourism. Edgell (1983) noted that research is the starting point for tourism policy development. Edgell also suggested the role of the government should include improving business conditions to allow for better competition and facilitating international visitation through multi-national agreements, claiming "tourism is simply too important an industry to be permitted to develop without planning and policy direction" (p. 433). Edgell (1990) also stated tourism needs to develop public policies to deal with expected challenges associated with threats of terrorism along with additional advancements in communications and transportation.

Hall and Jenkins (1995) provided ideas about the nature of tourism policy scholarship claiming, "The majority of studies of tourism policy have been analysis *for* policy not analysis *of* policy (e.g., Edgell, 1990)…they are prescriptive studies of what governments should do rather than what has happened and why" (p. 24). Hall and Jenkins believed prescriptive studies lack the power and impact of research involving critical inquiry into how policy decisions are made. Realizing the need to understand how policy decisions regarding

tourism are made, McGehee and Meng (2006) built on Hall and Jenkins's work in their survey of state legislators and discovered communication disconnects between tourism professionals and political decision makers. The work of scholars from the final decades of the 20th century claimed what needs to be done and more recent scholars, such as McGehee and myself, are taking up the call.

In response to the need for more constructive tourism policy, leaders of tourism industries have created advocacy coalitions to advance a tourism public policy agenda. In 2009, the Travel Industry Association of America and the Travel Business Roundtable merged, forming the United States Travel Association (US Travel), to align advocacy efforts and promote a unified agenda (Chandler, 2008). The merger formalized a relationship that began in 1995. When the two organizations originally started working together, Roger Dow, President and Chief Executive Officer of Travel Industry Association stated, "One industry, one voice…to more effectively represent our members through a coordinated, cohesive strategy to communicate our industry's interests to lawmakers across the country" (*Travel industry trade groups form strategic partnership,* 2005; p. 1). The Chair of the Travel Business Roundtable and Chairman/CEO of Loews Hotels, Jonathan Tisch, echoed Dow's sentiments, "…we intend to make sure our leaders understand the industry's value to America's interests economically and diplomatically…we intend to be a major unified voice on behalf of the travel industry that policymakers will find impossible to ignore" (Loew, 2005, p.1). Dow and Tisch remain in leadership roles at US Travel and made similar statements regarding the formal merger.

Changes in travel behavior are also important indicators of a public policy problem. Real travel and tourism spending (i.e., spending adjusted for price changes) decreased 0.4% in 2008, which is the first annual decline in real spending since 2001. Not only has real spending decreased, but year-over-year growth in real spending has slowed at an increasing rate since 2004 (Griffith & Zemanek, 2009). Other key tourism metrics such as international in-bound arrivals and global tourism market share described in the following paragraphs also show changes in travel behavior.

In the last 20 years, growth in international in-bound tourism to the United States has slowed. According to data from the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), roughly 39.5 million people visited the United States from foreign lands in 1988. In 2008, international in-bound visitation totaled 59.7 million. This change represents a compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 2.1%. CAGR is a measurement of growth that adjusts for fluctuations over time, smoothing out growth as if increases occurred at a steady rate. During the same period, global international visitation increased more rapidly at a CAGR of 4.7%.

International in-bound visitation is an important metric because it is an input in measuring the share of the global tourism market captured by the United States. During 1988 to 2008, the United States' global market share of international visitation decreased from 5.7% to 3.4%, as illustrated in Figure 1.1. The WTTC data indicated more people are traveling, but they are increasingly choosing destinations other than the United States.
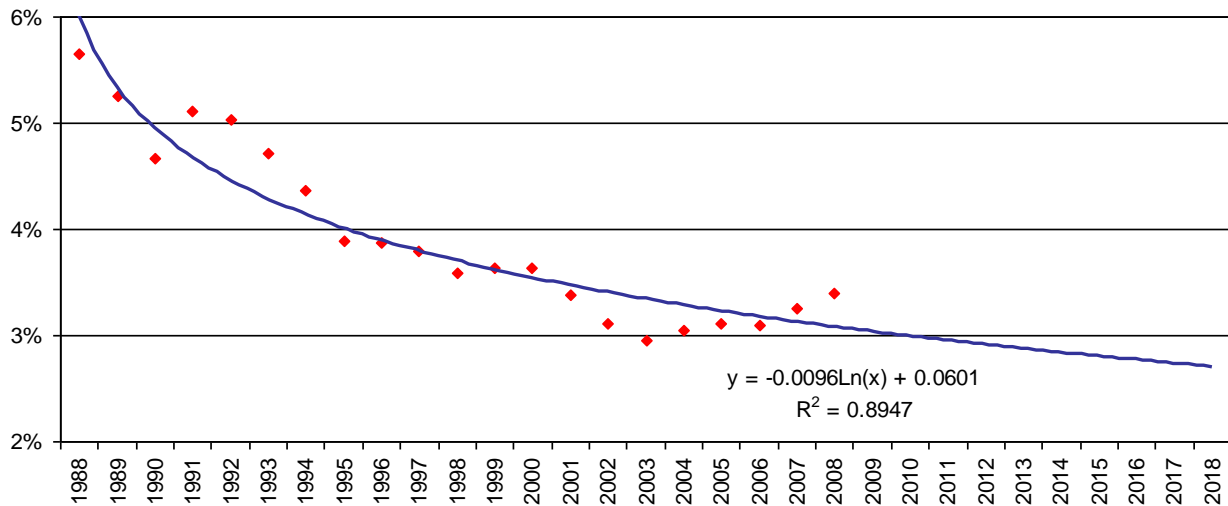
Note. Historical data from World Travel and Tourism Council.

Figure 1.1 U.S. Global In-bound International Market Share (1988 – 2018 projected).

Figure 1.1 includes a trend line, which depicts the logarithmic regression of the global in-bound international visitation market share captured by the United States since 1988. I used a logarithmic regression analysis because the rate of change in the market share data changes quickly and then levels out. The trend line shows the U.S. market share has declined slowly, but steadily during the previous 20 years. The R-squared value, which measures how well the model predicts future data points, is 0.89 for the market share data. The closer an R-squared value is to 1, the more accurate the regression line and future predictions (D. Freedman, Purves, & Pisani, 2007). An R-squared value of 0.89 indicates the model is a strong predictor. The capture of global tourism by the United States is projected to continue a slow decline.

Some of the changes in consumer behavior may be linked to new public policy. An example of policy that has affected travel behavior is legislation enacted in response to acts

of terrorism that increased security at all 429 commercial airports in the United States. The

legislation and added security is intended to protect the homeland from future threats, but it

also hinders travel demand and tourism revenues (Blalock, 2007). Losses in airlines'

revenue attributed to changes in travel behavior resulting from the new policy to screen all

checked baggage equated to over $1 billion in fourth quarter 2002. Moreover, those who

substituted road travel for air travel as a result of the change in baggage screening policy

were involved in more than 100 roadway fatalities that would not have occurred if the

selected mode of travel had not changed (Blalock).

A common element among the concerns of scholars, professionals, and travelers is

uncertainty about tourism's fit within the cultural, political, and economic landscape of our

society. For example, Eyster (1976) pointed out the need for a better understanding of the

government's role in tourism development. McGehee and Meng (2006) highlighted a divide

among lawmakers and professionals in the understanding of tourism's role in the public policy

process. Hall and Jenkins (1995) argued that many tourism policy scholars lack the

understanding of how tourism policy development fits into the public policy process as a whole.

Tourism's Size and Scope

The scope of tourism may be one factor limiting understanding of how tourism fits in

the political, social, and economic reality. Tourism is a system of economic sectors and

travel behaviors – an amalgamation of facilities, services, resources, motivations, and

activities that combine in some form to create individual travel experiences. The

combination of components makes tourism difficult to define (Jafari, 1983). Figure 1.2 is a

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model for tourism policy and planning I have developed that reflects the diversity of the universe of tourism policy associations and how tourism supply components are linked to create tourism experiences in the destination.

The model shown in Figure 1.2 includes two major elements – supply and demand. Demand factors are visitors to the destination and the promotions and communications designed to attract visitors and create demand. Although many public tourism agencies such as destination management organizations and convention and visitor bureaus are charged solely with creating demand, differentiating destinations is more difficult to achieve when supply does not exist to meet the markets targeted (Pike, 2008). The model allows for consideration of tourism supply and tourism demand when developing tourism destinations and public policy.

Components of supply include natural resources, destination management, infrastructure, and operating sectors. The destination's natural resources, such as its history and culture, serve as built-in differentiators for communities. Destination management included organizations that are responsible for promoting and developing tourism in a community, such as a convention and visitors' bureau or economic development agency. Infrastructure is the collection of structures and services that support a community, such as roadways, airports, sewer systems, and telecommunications, along with police, fire, and trash removal.

The tourism operating sectors represented by puzzle pieces in Figure 1.2 are based on the industry sectors included in the Travel Economic Impact Model (TEIM). The TEIM is a model that estimates tourism's economic impact in communities. Tourism operating sectors

are accommodations, auto transportation, entertainment and recreation, food, public

transportation, retail, travel arrangement, and other businesses.
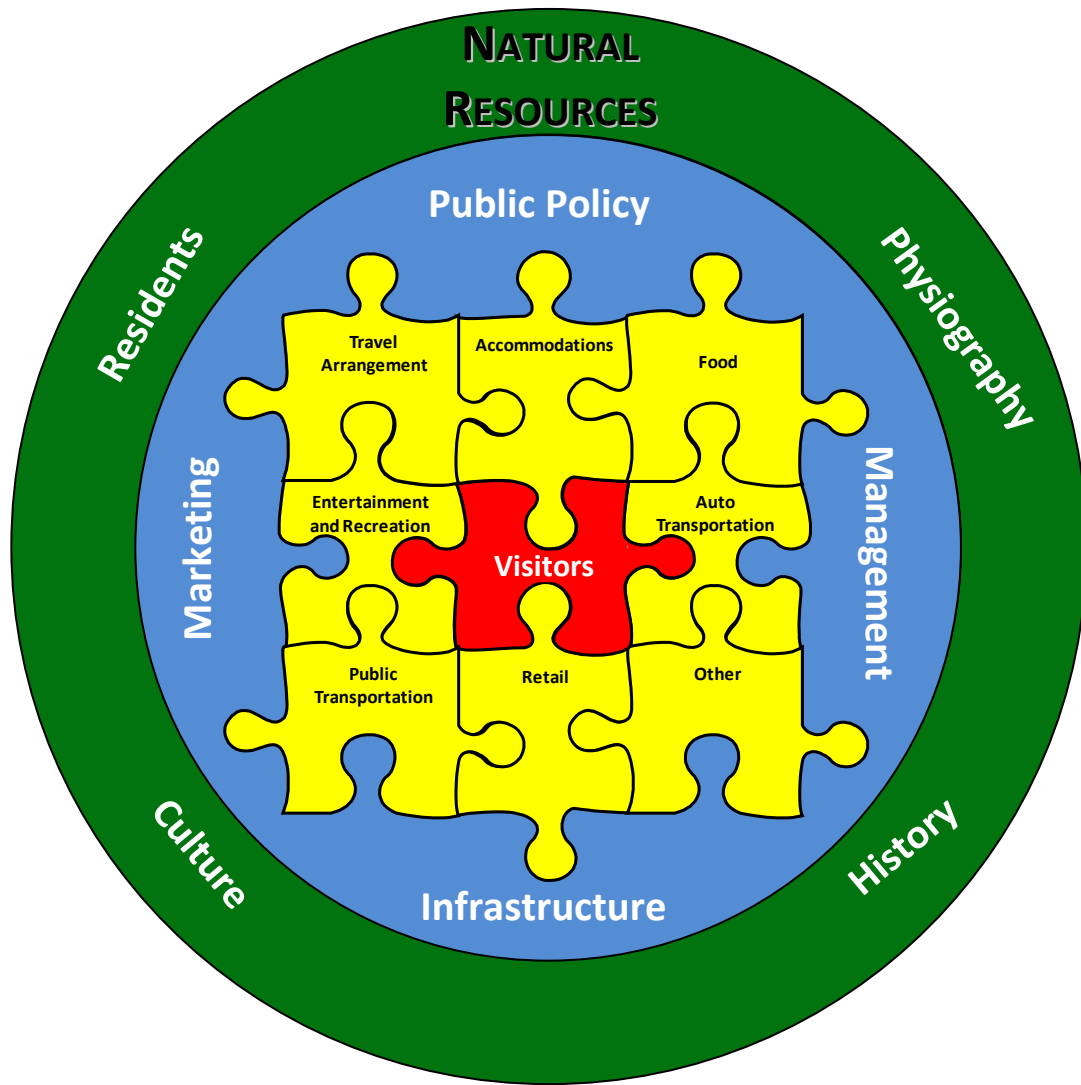
Figure 1.2 System model for tourism policy and planning.

In addition to the 5.9 million jobs created directly by tourism (Griffith, 2009), travel

and tourism can also be a means to expand understanding among cultures (Besculides, Lee,

& McCormick, 2002). The size of tourism and its cultural importance adds to the magnitude

of the potential impact if tourism policy challenges are not investigated and solved. With

further decline in the competitiveness of the United States and the possibilities of future

catastrophic events such as a terrorist attack or health pandemic, there may be a crisis

involving tourism similar to crises involving automobile manufacturers and financial

institutions. A tourism crisis may not garner as much public attention as crises in other

sectors of the economy, but addressing tourism problems may enhance the economic and

social stability of the nation (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2006).

Research Questions

To address the concerns of tourism scholars, professionals, and consumers, I

investigated the following research questions: (a) What are the roles and motivations of

tourism-related associations that engage in advocacy? (b) How are organizational resources

used to develop tourism policy? (c) How are tourism policy advocacy coalitions managed?

(d) Under what circumstances do those involved in developing tourism policy cooperate with

each other? (e) How are tourism policy agendas developed? (f) What are the public policy

preferences, at the federal level, of tourism associations in the United States? Each question

relates to national associations with a focus on some aspect of tourism.

Importance of the Research

The importance of this research is grounded in the idea that public policy created

many of the important components of the tourism system such as the National Park Service,

the Interstate Highway System, and the Federal Aviation Administration. For example, the

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National Park Service, through legislation known as the National Park Service Organic Act

of 1916, was created to preserve natural resources for the enjoyment of people (NPS, 2005).

The National Park Service's founding philosophy aligns with the *General Welfare* principle

outlined in Article I, Section 8 of the United States Constitution. The Federal Aviation

Administration was created by legislation passed in 1958 as a means to proactively deal with

the anticipated introduction of jet aircraft and to reactively deal with a string of midair

collisions earlier in the 1950s (Kraus, 2008). President Eisenhower championed the

formation of the Interstate Highway System, which was created in 1956. President

Eisenhower got his inspiration for the interstate roadways after traveling across the country

in a truck convoy in 1919 (Pfeiffer, 2006). American automakers, through their advocacy

efforts, also persuaded the president to be a champion of the Interstate Highway System

(Pfeiffer). Tourism was built on the foundation of public policy in the 20th century and is

now increasing in political importance as traditional industries such as mining,

manufacturing, and agriculture decline (Swanson, 2003; McGehee & Meng, 2006).

Finding answers to the research questions is particularly important now as tourism in

the United States approaches a crossroads in the political, social, and economic landscape,

which leads to new realities. The new concurrent realities consist of multiple wars, increased

safety and security measures, threats of terrorism, immigration battles, possible global

pandemics, nuclear weapons in unstable nations, and economic crisis (Obama, 2009). As

Goeldner (2006) stated, "new realities will force tourism policy makers and the tourism

industry to alter dramatically the way it both develops and operates" (p. 557). Seeking

answers to the research questions is necessary because it can highlight areas where tourism

advocacy discourse may need to be adjusted so that the United States can remain competitive as a tourism destination, and so tourism can increase in political, economic, and social importance.

In a new era of war and terrorism, the image of the United States has had a negative impact upon international inbound tourism demand (*A blueprint to discover America,* 2007). As a reaction, President George W. Bush's Secretary of Commerce, Carlos M. Gutierrez, received recommendations from the U.S. Travel and Tourism Advisory Board (TTAB) in September, 2006 regarding a national tourism strategy. The TTAB is a 16-member panel created to advise the Secretary of Commerce on tourism issues. In 2006, the board included members in the accommodations, airlines, auto transportation, destination marketing, travel agency, food services, tour company, attractions, economic development, and retail sectors of tourism.

The document produced by TTAB entitled, *Restoring America's Travel Brand: National Strategy to Compete for International Visitors*, laid out strategies in the areas of increasing the ease of travel, international travel promotion, and marketing effectiveness research (U.S. Travel and Tourism Advisory Board, 2006). These recommendations have been translated into policy agenda items for some tourism-related associations. However, the importance of these policy issues to the wide array of tourism organizations and what other issues might also be important is unclear. It is also unclear how tourism organizations advance these and other policy issues through advocacy. Another challenge not addressed by the TTAB report is planning for environmental and social impacts the anticipated increase in visitors may have on communities as the visitors move throughout the country.

The free flow of visitors to and through the destination is one of the most important issues to tourism professionals (Heraty, 1989). This issue is reflected in the policy agendas of tourism advocates that support easier border crossing for international visitors. However, easier border crossing limits the ability to control terrorism (Ackleson, 2005). Beyond the threat of terrorism to society as a whole, terrorism is even more of a threat for tourism because tourism is often the vehicle by which terrorists strike. For example, tourists from foreign lands are invited through promotional programs to visit the United States. Terrorists traveling here to carry out an attack may be among groups of tourists who are invited to visit. The terrorists-tourists may be issued a tourist visa or may be citizens of countries that are not required to issue tourist visas to their citizens to travel to the United States. Upon arriving in the United States, the potential terrorists will be consumers of tourism through their use of airplanes, rental cars, taxi cabs, restaurants, and hotels while carrying out their terrorist plot.

In addition to terrorists playing tourist roles, they may use tourism as a target for terror activities. Between 1970 and 2006, terrorists targeted tourism in 264 incidents in 46 nations (Edgell et al., 2008). Tourism is a popular target for terrorists for several reasons: (a) the media presence at a large festival or sporting event is attractive to terrorists, (b) cultural, historic, and natural sites are often national icons, and (c) large visitor areas provide cover and anonymity for terrorists (Sönmez, Apostolopoulos, & Tarlow, 1999). The links between terrorism and tourism creates an opportunity, if not an obligation (Goeldner, 2006), for tourism advocates to propose policies that provide security for visitors once they are allowed to enter the country.

Added to the discussion of border security and terrorism is the argument that increased border security may limit immigration (Ackleson, 2005). Immigration reforms may restrict the supply of workers for tourism jobs. Immigration reform issues are also on the advocacy agendas of tourism-related associations. Analyzing and advocating positions on a complicated web of policy issues – such as the conundrum of homeland security, immigration, employment, and facilitating international travel – requires a clear understanding of the policy process (Majone, 1989).

Searching for answers to the research questions as the nation enters a new era of political leadership is also important. President Obama, in a January, 2009 meeting with corporate CEOs, called this a time "where each of us chips in so that we can climb our way out of this crisis" (Obama, 2009a). The president was preparing to deal with rising unemployment and economic recession as he began his administration. Within this political reality, tourism advocates must understand how to advocate for issues that are not only important to tourism, or individual sectors of tourism, but also issues that make sense socially, economically, and politically.

How well tourism advocates understand the spirit of cooperation the president was requesting at a time of acute social and economic needs in the United States is unclear. For example, CEOs of tourism companies met with the president at the White House for 30 minutes in March, 2009. Among others, meeting attendees included Roger Dow of US Travel and J.W. (Bill) Marriott, Jr., Chairman and Chief Executive of Marriott International. The main outcome of this meeting appeared to be a broad expression by the president in support of a strong tourism industry (Gibbs, 2009; U.S. Travel Association, 2009). However,

the day after the meeting with the president, Bill Marriott published an op-ed piece in the Washington Post stating meetings and convention demand had significantly declined because of public statements by the president construed to be discouraging all business travel (Marriott, 2009). In reality, the president's statements were targeted at the prospect of irresponsible spending on travel by companies receiving stimulus money, not all business travel.

At a time when corporate CEOs and all Americans are being asked to take responsibility and work together to solve major problems, tourism leaders publicly placed blame for business downturns on a new administration that, according to the White House Press Secretary, "believes it's important to have a strong tourism industry" (Gibbs, 2009). This example also illustrates tourism's fragmented voice and a potential misunderstanding of the tourism policy process.

Tourism Policy Primer

The definition of tourism along with the difficulties of defining tourism, as previously described, add to the challenge of formulating, implementing, and understanding public policy across the fragmented conglomeration of industries (Edgell et al., 2008). The best approach to defining tourism policy may also be the simplest by beginning with Thomas Dye's classic definition of public policy, which is "whatever governments choose to do or not to do" and apply it to tourism (Jenkins, 2001, p. 69). In essence, tourism policy is any government act – legislative, administrative, or judicial – that affects tourism.

Most tourism-related public policies have a primary focus on other issues but may have a secondary impact on tourism. For example, legislation focused on public lands, the Interstate Highway System, or homeland security have an impact on tourism but also have a primary objective to preserve nature, facilitate commerce, or protect borders. Some public policies may be designed to have a direct impact on tourism. An example of this *direct tourism policy* is an appropriation to the Department of Commerce for marketing the nation to international visitors. Since associations typically do not incorporate a wide array of issues in their advocacy agendas because of resource constraints, industry sector focuses, or the will of those they represent; analyzing the agendas of associations across the spectrum of tourism components may lead to a better understanding of the tourism policy process.

A major challenge to understanding tourism policy advocacy is including all the sectors that comprise the travel industries such as those included in Figure 1.2. Tourism is a complex phenomenon made up of many supply components including natural resources, people (i.e., members of host communities and visitors), destination management organizations, and an array of operating sectors. To account for the many facets of tourism, US Travel uses North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) codes when modeling the economic contribution of various tourism-related operating sectors. NAICS codes are how federal statistical agencies classify businesses for statistical data research. US Travel groups the tourism-related NAICS codes into seven categories: accommodations, auto transportation, entertainment and recreation, food, public transportation, retail, and travel arrangement (Cook, Pearson, Wang, & Tian, 2003). These represent the major components of tourism supply (i.e., tourism operating sectors). In the United States, each operating sector

is represented by several industry trade associations, many with their own independent public policy agendas. My research indicates the universe of tourism-related membership associations with a national focus in the United States includes at least 229 organizations. With multiple organizations presenting independent agendas, all under the guise of tourism, the pursuit of a greater understanding of the tourism policy process must be carefully constructed. The scenarios of how to develop tourism policy and the challenges facing tourism-related advocacy groups have not been empirically studied from a national perspective in the United States.

Approach to the Research

My dissertation employs qualitative research data to answer the questions and to better understand the tourism policy process. I content-analyzed the federal public policy agendas of a sample of tourism-related associations in the United States to reveal policy preferences and potential advocacy coalitions. I also interviewed lobbyists from organizations in the sample to identify the conditions such as shared resources and interdependency, that must be present for autonomous interest groups to form coalitions in pursuit of similar public policy agendas.

I investigated the research questions using a post-positivist philosophy of science because of the specificity of the questions and associated working hypothesis, along with my values and viewpoints. For any philosophy of science, it is important to understand its associated ontology, epistemology, and methodology. Ontologically, regarding the nature of existence, post-positivism purports that reality cannot be fully understood because of

disconnects among inflexible incidences and the imperfect intellect of humans. Reality,

therefore, must be investigated using the broadest critical inspection possible known as

critical realism. Two aspects of critical realism are pragmatism and harmonism.

Epistemologically, the nature of knowledge within post-positivism is objective and the

findings are assumed to be true based on the findings' fit with preexisting knowledge.

Hermeneutics, which involves interpreting the meanings associated with text, is the

epistemological approach used to explore my dissertation data. The investigator and the

subject of the research are not necessarily independent and one may influence the other

without the need to suppress the researcher's values. Methodology, the nature of inquiry,

used in post-positivism research is largely qualitative because of the desire to understand the

meaning and purpose of the actions people take (Guba & Lincoln, 2004). This emic, or

insider, viewpoint separates post-positivism from the positivist tradition, while still allowing

the researcher to investigate solutions to specific problems that may not be possible through

an interpretivist approach.

Qualitative approaches are appropriate for several reasons. First, I hope to get close

to the individuals providing data by getting personally involved in the research process.

Second, the research questions may change as data emerge. Third, I favor a post-positivist

paradigm and qualitative approaches because of a philosophical partiality toward the

pracademic pragmatism that should make my research more applicable for tourism

professionals. Fourth, as Majone (1989) states, "public policy is made of language" (p. 1),

which is something social scientists often forget but politicians know full well, according to

Majone.

For the last seven years, I have been immersed in the topic, as Henderson (2006) prescribes. Being a founding member of the Southeast Tourism Policy Council, the government affairs arm of a tourism trade association, has afforded me several opportunities to witness the inner workings of the tourism policy process – forming coalitions, lobbying Members of Congress and their staff, discussing the state of tourism policy with lobbyists and tourism professionals, and teaching the basics of public policy to tourism professionals and college students. This involvement was spurred by my previous academic research, which reviewed elements of tourism policy at the state level in multiple states. I soul-searched the topic before I researched it for my dissertation.

Organization of the Dissertation

The remainder of my dissertation provides evidence uncovered during the course of investigating the research questions. Chapter 2 includes the review of literature that has been written on tourism-related public policy, advocacy coalitions, and other relevant theories. Chapter 3 addresses the research methodology, including post-positivist approaches and the qualitative methods used to collect and analyze data. Chapter 4 highlights the findings of the research. Chapter 5 analyzes the data and discusses the results using theoretical and practical applications.

Nobody ever gets everything they want. There's always compromising. That's part of the game.

-Tourism Association Executive

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Through a review of the literature, I examined how interest groups (i.e., private organizations that try to influence public officials) work together in pursuit of similar advocacy agendas. The research related to understanding tourism policy processes is typically focused on individual components of the tourism system presented in Figure 1.2, as opposed to research on policy as it relates to the whole tourism system. I formulated my research questions, listed in Chapter 1, from the review of the literature.

Advocacy is the act of attempting to influence public-sector decision makers. The interest groups that are the subjects of my dissertation are trade associations or consumer organizations that serve members who have a direct interest in at least one of the elements included in the System Model for Tourism Policy and Planning (Figure 1.2). Having a focus on the entire United States is another characteristic of the organizations I studied. The associations in my universe were voluntary organizations that provided collaborative opportunities between companies or individuals that had similar purposes or similar interests. The literature review connects the topics of interests groups, public policy, advocacy, and tourism and concludes with investigative opportunities.

While philosophies of science are about beliefs in how the world should be, theories seek to explain how the world is, based on assumptions of the theory. All investigations that

are part of my dissertation were conducted under the guiding theoretical frameworks of the

Advocacy Coalition Framework, Social Exchange Theory, and Resource Dependency

Theory. The post-positivist research paradigm, which is characterized by an emic

perspective that facilitates the understanding of the meaning and purpose of individuals'

actions, was presented in Chapter 1. The ontology, epistemology, and methodology

employed in this study are described in Chapter 3. This chapter includes discussions of

advocacy, research related to tourism and public policy, and the guiding theoretical

frameworks employed in my study. A conceptualization of the research design for this study

is depicted as Figure 2.1.

Understanding Lobbying and Advocacy

Understanding the differences between lobbying and advocacy and how the terms are

used is important. Lobbying is advocacy, but not all advocacy activities are lobbying.

Lobbying is only one aspect of advocacy (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998). A generally

accepted definition of lobbying is the provision of information directly to members of

Congress, their staff, or administration officials to maintain and expand the size of an

organization's coalition and to affect the content and outcome of proposed legislation or

administrative decision (Hojnacki & Kimball, 1998).

Research Questions

(a) What are the roles and motivations of tourism-related associations that engage in advocacy?
(b) How are organizational resources used to develop tourism policy?
(c) How are tourism policy advocacy coalitions managed?
(d) Under what circumstances do those involved in developing tourism policy cooperate with each other?
(e) How are tourism policy agendas developed?
(f) What are the public policy preferences, at the federal level, of tourism associations in the United States?

Paradigm

Post-positivism

Ontology

Critical Realism

Pragmatism

Harmonism

Theory

Advocacy Coalition Framework

Social Exchange

Resource Dependency

Epistemology

Hermeneutic

Methodology

Content Analysis

In-depth Interviews

Results and Analysis

Tourism Policy

Figure 2.1 Dissertation design flowchart.

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Baumgartner and Leech's (1998) meta-analysis of large sample quantitative studies of interest group activities revealed several major advocacy-related tactical areas in which interest groups are involved. The types of tactics used as well as the popularity of various tactics were consistent among the six large sample surveys conducted between the early 1960s and the mid 1990s. The list of lobbying tactics is included in Table 2.1. Although all of the elements in the Baumgartner and Leech findings were advocacy activities that lobbyists engage in, not all were of concern to the government from a regulatory standpoint.

Lobbying defined by the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 is summarized as the process (research, preparation, and communications) of influencing elected or administrative government officials or members of their staffs – also known as *covered officials* – regarding the formulation, modification, or adoption of local, state, or federal public policy (Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995, 1995). Money spent on lobbying differs from political contributions, which involve support for an election campaign and can be considered advocacy. Trying to sway the opinion of the general public through mass communications is also not considered lobbying, but it is advocacy. Based on the federal government's definition of lobbying, Table 2.1 presents the advocacy-related tactical areas presented by Baumgartner and Leech (1998) characterized by regulated and unregulated advocacy activities.

Table 2.1 Regulated and unregulated advocacy activities.

Regulated Advocacy Activities (Lobbying)	Unregulated Advocacy Activities
Coalitions: • Planning strategy with government officials *Individuals:* • Direct contacts of legislators or other officials • Informal contacts of legislators or other officials *Other tactics:* • Influencing appointments, doing favors for officials	*Coalitions*: • Working with other groups *Other tactics:* • Testimony at legislative or agency hearings • Campaign contributions, campaign work, candidate endorsements • Drafting legislation, drafting regulations, shaping policy implementation, serving on advisory commissions, agenda-setting • Letter-writing or email campaigns, working with influential citizens, alerting legislators to district effects • Filing suits or amicus briefs, presenting research results, protesting, talking to journalists, paid advertisements, monitoring policy

Note. Adapted from Baumgartner and Leech (1998).

Tourism Policy

Although tourism is a complex phenomenon, many components of tourism have

become better understood as research has advanced. For example, popular frameworks

regarding tourism motivations (Iso-Ahola, 1982; Fridgen, 1984) social impacts of tourism

(Milman & Pizam, 1988; Ap, 1992; Lindberg & Johnson, 1997), and sustainable tourism

(Hughes, 1995; Hunter, 1997) facilitate understanding and practice. However, the attributes

and goals of tourism policy are not always well understood by tourism practitioners

(Swanson, 2003) and have not always been well-conceptualized by scholars (Hall & Jenkins,

1995; Jenkins, 2001). The lack of scholarly conceptualization corresponds to the state of

tourism policy in the United States, which can also be improved according to some scholars

(Eyster, 1976; Ronkainen & Farano, 1987; Ditman, 1998; Edgell et al., 2008). In this section, I describe the state of tourism policy research and the state of tourism policy from a practical perspective in the United States.

Tourism Policy Research –Models and Fragments

Tourism policy models have been proposed over the past four decades. All have strengths and most have weaknesses, from which learning evolves. As Jenkins (2001) stated, tourism policy has been a fragmented research domain. Examples of tourism policy research fragments include the work of Beaman and Meis (1994), who wrote about tourism research and policy; Martin and Williams (2003), who wrote about policy related to wine and agri-tourism; and Woodside and Sakai (2001), who wrote about marketing and associated public policy. However, these fragments are important pieces of the tourism policy puzzle. Comprehensive models have also been developed that attempt to conceptualize tourism policy in the context of the comprehensive tourism system.

As a conglomeration of industries, much has been written about how public policy affects specific components of the tourism system. Jafari (1983) laid an important part of the foundation of the tourism policy literature with his article "Anatomy of the Travel Industry." This work contributed an understanding of the many components that make up the tourism system. Jafari grouped these components as accommodations, restaurants, transportation, travel agencies, recreational facilities, and miscellaneous businesses. He further categorized attractions as natural, socio-cultural, and man-made. All public policy or programs that affect any of these components of the tourism system can be considered tourism policy. The

following sections summarize the research that has been conducted on tourism policy

fragments and comprehensive tourism policy models. The discussion is organized around

research related to the development of tourism policy agendas and tourism policy

implementation and evaluation.

Development of Tourism Policy Agendas

Agenda setting is the creation of a list of problems or issues to which an interested

party pays close attention. Interested parties could include members of a political party,

grassroots organizers, administration officials, special interest groups, or any other group

with an interest in particular public policy issues. One way for agendas to be influenced is

through the accretion of knowledge on a certain issue area, which is then diffused through

political systems via unwavering public presentations, hearings, and the introductions of bills

(Kingdon, 2003). The works of several tourism scholars (i.e., Richins, 2000; Andriotis and

Vaughan, 2003; Thomas and Thomas, 2006) have advanced research concerning agenda

setting and tourism policy.

To understand how political decisions are made regarding tourism at the local level,

Richins (2000) conducted a study of Australian communities. A mail survey was employed

to collect data from 78 individuals that included tourism professionals; federal, state, and

local government agents; as well as outside authorities such as academics, researchers,

consultants, and tourism developers. Factors found to influence tourism-related decisions in

local governments were (a) community needs such as tourism's positive and negatives

impacts, (b) the desire for a sense of community, and (c) federal government mandates. The

study can equip decision makers and interested parties that wish to create agendas with better ways to handle diverse issues and outcomes from complicated decisions.

Using survey methodology and multi-factor analysis within the theoretical frameworks of social exchange and social representation, Andriotis and Vaughan (2003) investigated the attitudes of members of host communities in the urban setting of Crete. The analysis resulted in three clusters. One cluster was made up of individuals who had a high appreciation of the benefits of tourism. Members of this cluster were classified as *advocates*. A second cluster, known as the *socially and environmentally concerned*, held strong beliefs concerning social and environmental impacts of tourism. *Economic sceptics* were the final cluster. These community members exhibited a low appreciation for tourism's economic potential. The cluster analysis and surveys put forward as part of this study can facilitate community participation in tourism planning and development and aid in understanding what is important from the host community perspective when setting policy agendas.

Thomas and Thomas (2006) set out to identify the role small (i.e., micro) tourism businesses play in influencing tourism policy agendas by using a framework that examines the propensity of micro-businesses to participate in the policy process. The research used micro-businesses in a British town to form a case study. This study is important because most tourism-related businesses are very small firms. According to the authors, a government must provide appropriate motivation, in terms of economics and ideology for micro businesses to engage in policy coalitions and agenda setting. Government must also analyze the capacity of the micro-firms and provide adequate resource assistance to spur

involvement. These are pre-requisites for micro-firms to participate in the policy process and "challenge the power of other local interests" (p. 100).

Several scholarly works have produced models regarding how tourism policy is created or developed. Indeed, the early major contributions to the tourism policy literature by Eyster (1976) and Gray (1974) were policy formulation models. Other scholars (i.e., Evans and Chon, 1989; Edgell and Smith, 1994; Beaman and Meis, 1994; Ritchie, 1999; Pforr, 2001) produced tourism policy formulation models.

Eyster (1976) developed a comprehensive model for governments of developing nations. Much of Eyster's work was based on the unpublished master's thesis of Jafari (1973) who wrote about tourism's role on socio-economic transformation in developing countries. Other foundations for Eyster's comprehensive approach to tourism policy can be credited to personal interviews he conducted with scholars at Cornell University including anthropologist Davydd Greenwood, tourism researcher Malcolm Noden, and rural sociologist Ruth Young. Eyster's model is important because it includes all stakeholders, considers benefits and costs of tourism development, and frames tourism as one alternative among various economic development options. Eyster suggested the government's role in developing tourism includes protecting social and cultural interests.

Although Gray (1974) is better known for his contributions to the economic literature than to tourism policy literature, he provided a solid foundation for tourism policy development from an economic perspective. He used a technical economic approach, not common to tourism policy research. His model balanced the perspective of the visitor and members of the host community, while showing how tourism can be not only an alternative

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economic development strategy, but also how tourism can be a complement to other industrial pursuits. He posited the costs that must be managed, or endured, are putting up with the "irritating quality" (p. 386) of visitors, environmental preservation, and the political process that should go along with the choice to ration scarce land use by non-residents.

Building upon the managerial framework concepts put forward by Edgell (1987), Evans and Chon (1989) created a framework to formulate tourism policy using importance-performance analysis. The subjects of the research were two destinations – one mature and one emerging. The technique was used to identify what was important to tourism suppliers in a mature destination and to community members in an immature destination. In this study, the important attributes, according to members of the host community and visitors, are listed in Table 2.3. Knowing what is important to stakeholder groups helps policy makers formulate tourism policy.

Table 2.2 Importance of tourism activities to stakeholders.

Activities or programs with high importance to the community	Attributes or benefits with high importance to visitors
• Operating the destination's welcome centre • Developing and promote special events • Spokesperson with government agencies • Communication of promotional plans to local businesses • Development through media promotion and advertising • Conducting market research to define target markets and key competitors • Developing staff to solicit group business • Developing linkages with regional tourism organization to promote the entire region • Attending consumer/trade travel shows	• Suitable restaurants • Golf and tennis opportunities • Water sports opportunities • Suitable accommodations • Historical culture • Rest/relaxation opportunities • Scenic attractions • Hospitality of local people

Note. Adapted from Evans and Chon (1989).

In a later study, Edgell and Smith (1994) combined their practical experience while both were working at the United States Travel and Tourism Administration, an agency within the Department of Commerce that was charged with promoting and developing tourism in the United States. Edgell and Smith devised policy prescriptions regarding what should be included in tourism policy agendas. The Edgell and Smith policy prescriptions include:

1) Tourism can be an avenue for friendship and respect among nations.

2) Impediments to travel (e.g., foreign exchange, visa restrictions) should be minimized.

3) Governments should work more closely with regional tourism bodies and the WTO.

4) Tourism offices and suppliers should have the most advanced management and marketing software that is available.

5) Tourism development should consider the needs of local populations to maintain certain historic and local values.

6) Tourism product and infrastructure must be compatible with the natural environment in order to maintain a quality tourism experience.

7) Airline capacity and facilitation to large and small airports are critical in regards to transportation.

8) More and better texts and articles are needed to address emerging tourism issues in the future development and management of international tourism.

9) Policies are needed that address the protection of visitors from sickness, crime, and accidents.

10) Host communities must offer the best possible conditions of hygiene and access to health services if they are to offer a quality tourism product.

Ritchie (1999) used the Banff-Bow Valley Study to showcase recommendations for the formulation of tourism policy relating to the environment. The Banff-Bow Valley Study is a detailed research report tasked with designing policy initiatives to help protect Canadian National Parks. According to Ritchie, future tourism and environmental policy should show respect for and enable appreciation of the environment, reflect the value of residents, be non-discriminately accessible to all residents, create learning and enjoyment opportunities for visitors, recognize economic importance, foster community pride, and provide authentic rather than artificial experiences.

Beaman and Meis (1994) proposed tactics to manage challenges related to the research function of tourism policy formulation. One of the challenges with tourism-related research for managers was acquiring the necessary social and economic research interpretive skills. Another conclusion of the work involved the need for a balance between the validity, which is important to the researcher, and profitability, which is important to the tourism professional. For example, tourism businesses or organizations may not have been willing to commit the financial resources to fund a comprehensive research program and instead would choose to rely on research with questionable validity. Beaman and Meis prescribed organizational development precepts such as supportive organizational context, senior management support, sufficient reporting levels, direct channels of communication, and

defined functional accountability that are necessary to develop effective research. Without a solid organizational foundation, research limitations may hinder policy formulation.

Pforr (2001) made contributions to tourism policy formulation literature using the Tourism Development Masterplan (TDMP) of Australia's Northern Territory as a case study. The policy formulation process for the Northern Territory policy document was controlled by political and business interests, and thus, was top-down instead of bottom-up, which left community issues a secondary concern. In a later study, Pforr (2006) analyzed the formulation process of the TDMP using the policy network framework. The framework allows the key policy actors involved in the formulation process to be identified and then classified by their decision-making relevance. Pforr concluded that government administrative actors, as opposed to legislators, held a dominant position of influence in the policy formulation process.

Tourism Policy Implementation and Evaluation

The implementation of public policy is largely the responsibility of bureaucrats, generally a different set of actors than those who establish agendas and formulate policy. Bureaucrats can also be critical advisors to policy makers regarding how a policy or program can be implemented. Thus, the motivations and activities of those who implement policy may have an impact on the outcome of the program once it is implemented (Kingdon, 2003). Understanding how tourism-related policies are implemented after they are formulated is important.

Fayos-Sola (1996) not only provided a historical review of tourism policy, but also suggested national programs that can serve as models for tourism policy implementation. The national programs highlighted were the 1992 Spanish Framework Plan for Competitiveness in Tourism and the 1992 Australian National Tourism Strategy. These exemplars establish competitiveness as the goal of tourism policy and also incorporate social, economic, and environmental concerns. According to Fayos-Sola public, private, and non-profit cooperation is required for high-quality tourism policies and programs and effective implementation of policies and program in most destinations.

Subsequent to the introduction of innovative branding and promotions policies in London, Bull (1997) prescribed other areas that policy must be addressed for the city to successfully implement the new promotion policies. First, a study of visitor motivations revealed historical/heritage attractions were the main reason for travel to London for roughly 70% of London visitors. However, beyond the Tower of London and Buckingham Palace, the supply of attractions and experiences able to accommodate this demand was limited in London. Increased demand was expected to be regulated by queuing or shifts in travel to alternative destinations. Second, accommodations supply was not expected to be able to meet the new demand without sharp increases in room rates, thus limiting the induced demand. Third, the bulk of tourism supply is concentrated in a central area of London, which created a planning challenge regarding transportation and municipal services. However, this challenge creates an opportunity to develop tourism in areas outside of the centralized districts, but planners must consider social concerns if tourism development was to spread to other portions of the city. Bull also highlighted the need for matching tourism supply and

demand and the inefficiency of implementing promotional policies without taking into consideration the inventory of tourism supply.

Policy evaluation seeks to identify the impact, intended and unintended, of a policy or program. From a tourism professional perspective for example, measuring the effectiveness of a marketing campaign is a common way to evaluate the return on the investment made by governments in marketing their area to visitors. Higher perceived returns help legitimize tourism's position in the municipal budget (Pike, 2008). Thus, sound evaluation techniques are critical and the evaluation of policies (e.g., particularly marketing and promotion) has been a popular topic among tourism scholars.

Using the Middle Eastern countries of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and Syria as a laboratory, Alavi and Yasin (2000) developed a systematic approach to tourism policy to enable policy makers to capitalize on the region's natural attributes by restructuring tourism strategies. The authors employed the economic tool of shift-share analysis using visitor arrivals data to measure changes in regional tourism market share. The technique could be used to identify competitive positioning for any region in which uniform visitor arrival data are available.

Dwyer and Forsyth (1993, 1997), and also Dwyer, Forsyth, and Spurr (2003, 2004), contributed to framing the study and application of tourism policy particularly in terms of evaluating marketing programs. In 1993, the scholars presented the costs and benefits to the government of inbound tourism promotion, using the case of Australia, to address the real costs and benefits of tourism promotion. They furthered their contribution to the tourism policy literature by presenting a discussion of net visitor expenditures versus gross visitor expenditure. Tourism yield, or the net benefit to the host community from visitors, can be

used to inform public policy. Yield inputs included visitor expenditure, economic, environmental and social variables (i.e., costs and benefits) associated with tourism development. Dwyer and Forsyth also highlighted the gains and losses to host-nations in regards to foreign exchange earnings, economic surpluses from tourism, employment generation, cultural and sociological impact on the host population, conservational or environmental impact (including sustainability), promotion of international understanding and co-operation, and income distribution consequences.

Faulkner (1997) developed a model for evaluating marketing programs of national tourism offices. Faulkner's model provided a starting point to test the effectiveness of the investment spent on the funding appropriations governments make for international tourism marketing. The model can be improved and, as Faulkner pointed out, a range of studies should be conducted so that each facet of the evaluation process (i.e., program review, performance monitoring, causal analysis, and cost-benefit analysis) could be analyzed to develop better evaluation of each marketing tactic (media advertising, billboard posters, direct marketing).

Woodside and Sakai (2001) produced a meta-evaluation of government tourism marketing performance audits to identify how to achieve effective tourism marketing campaigns. In essence, the research revealed that tourism marketing campaign evaluations should embrace continual formal training in program evaluation, audit both program activities (i.e., implemented strategies) and impacts on planned objectives, use a multi-theory based paradigm for performance audits of tourism marketing programs that includes

stakeholder participation, and transform government tourism marketing strategies from one-shot transactional to multiple-step relationship marketing.

Beyond just marketing, Iwersen-Sioltsidis and Iwersen (1996) investigated the costs and benefits of tourism in developing countries and highlighted several negative results of tourism development. Negative results can include effects to employment, infrastructure, training, balance-of-payments, waste disposal, and utility supply. Problems involving the negative impact of tourism could be minimized with greater public involvement throughout the planning process. According to Iwersen-Sioltsidis and Iwersen, tourism policy should require increased public involvement in the development process, while continually assessing the compatibility of tourism development with the social infrastructure of the destination once policies are implemented.

Mabugu (2002) used a short-term equilibrium model to follow the direct effects of policy in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe had challenges different from most developed countries in that many of the economic benefits of tourism were transferred to those outside the nation. Mabugu concluded the economic leakage was a result of poor macro-economic policies and a political environment that is not suitable for development. The primary cause was lack of control over the budget deficit, which limited economic growth and has had a negative effect on the nation's politics.

By evaluating policies regarding wine tourism in British Columbia, Martin and Williams (2003) created recommendations for new policies that could be developed at the local level. The influential policies that have led to successful enological tourism in British Columbia included the development of the attraction and protection of natural resources.

The researchers concluded by encouraging destination managers and political decision makers to enact policies related to wine tourism that reflect localized values.

Previous tourism policy scholars have created models that can be applied to many aspects of tourism and its associated public policies. The pieces exist. However, they have not been formed in to a comprehensive model for tourism policy development. The guiding theoretical frameworks described in the next section provide some of the additional pieces necessary for a comprehensive understanding of the tourism policy process.

Tourism Policy in the United States

The relevant tourism policy literature presented in the previous section highlights the state of tourism policy research. This section highlights the state of tourism policy at the federal level in the United States. Several scholars have called for *better* tourism policy in the United States. In 1998, David Ditman, Dean of the Cornell University School of Hotel Administration, called for policy that would: (a) unify tourism sectors in governmental statistical records to enable better research, (b) ease entry requirements for international visitors, (c) train tourism employees in foreign languages, (d) minimize taxes and fees for tourism-related purchases, and (e) provide federal funding for tourism research. Ditman's statement is an echo of previous calls for the United States federal government to take similar action (Eyster, 1976; Ronkainen & Farano, 1987) that has continued to reverberate into more recent literature (Edgell et al., 2008).

Brewton and Witham (1998) compared tourism policy in the United States with tourism policy in 23 other nations using data disseminated by the Organization for Economic

Cooperation and Development (OECD). In the OECD report, thirteen general categories of tourism policy were found in the nations studied. These categories are broken down into internationally-oriented policies and domestically-oriented policies as shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.3 Tourism policy elements for 24 nations.

	Int'l. marketing and promotion	New products and services	Foreign earnings	Domestic promotion	Public infrastructure	Industry licensing	Employment and productivity	Private-sector involvement	Decentralized participation	Research and data collection	Public education	Tourist protection	Protection of tourism assets
Australia	●		●	●	●	●	●		●				
Austria			●							●			
Belgium									●	●			
Canada	●			●	●		●	●	●	●		●	●
Denmark	●	●	●	●		●			●	●			
Finland	●			●						●			
France	●	●	●	●	●		●		●	●			
Germany				●			●			●			●
Greece		●		●	●			●	●	●			●
Iceland									●	●			●
Ireland						●	●	●		●		●	
Italy	●								●			●	
Japan	●				●	●		●		●	●	●	●
Netherlands		●					●	●					
New Zealand						●		●				●	
Norway								●	●	●			●
Pakistan	●	●					●	●					
Portugal				●		●		●	●	●			
Spain	●			●	●	●	●	●	●	●			
Sweden	●	●		●						●			
Switzerland							●	●	●	●			●
Turkey	●		●	●	●					●			●
United Kingdom	●						●	●		●		●	●
United States	●		●				●			●			

Note. Adapted from Brewton and Withiam (1998).

No nation's policy contained all 13 policy elements, but some nations had as many as seven or eight while other nation's tourism policy included only two or three. In the United States, the study showed tourism-related public policy only addressed international

marketing and promotion, foreign earnings, private-sector involvement, and research/data collection. Although few policy issue areas were covered, the challenge of formulating tourism-related public policy was made more difficult because tourism policy is the responsibility of roughly 50 federal agencies (Brewton & Withiam, 1998), and in the United States many policy issues are dealt with by state and local governments.

However, the OECD data did not identify all the policy areas that apply to tourism. For example, the National Park Service is responsible, and was at the time of the OECD report, for product development (i.e., parks, seashores, historic sites). Another example is policy related to public infrastructure that is implemented through the Department of Transportation. Therefore, the issue category *new products and services* could be added to the list of policies implemented by the United States. Other areas likely could also be added if the OECD research was repeated with a more comprehensive approach to the study of the tourism policy process.

Approaching tourism from another discipline, Richter (1994) advanced the relationship between tourism and political science. Richter claimed that because of the lack of attention paid to politics by tourism researchers and professionals in the United States, tourism development has not been optimized, as short-term goals have conflicted with long-term goals, both of which frequently conflict with public interest. An example of such disconnect came in a letter 24 executives of tourism-related trade associations sent to President-elect Obama in December, 2008. In the letter, the executives requested additional federal grant programs for the tourism capital projects at the same time as asking for tax breaks in the short term (Pantuso et al., 2008). The request was made at a time of serious

national economic crisis. Richter (1994) posited that United States "tourism *can* succeed if the political issues are directly confronted" (p. 229).

The apparent limited breadth of tourism policy at the national level in the United States, relative to other nations, is mirrored in the tourism policy literature. Most articles on the subject of tourism policy have been contributed by non-American scholars and focus on tourism-related public policies in other nations. In the 1990s country-focused tourism policy literature was put forward in several nations such as South Korea (Ahn & Ahmed, 1994; G. Waitt, 1996), Turkey (Alipour, 1996), the Philippines (Choy, 1991), the Gambia (Dieke, 1993a; Dieke, 1993b), and Ireland (Nevin, 1995). Since the turn of the 21st century, Euro-centric tourism policy has dominated the literature (Cardona Alvarez, Perez Guerra, & Ceballos Martin, 2000; Church, Ball, Bull, & Tyler, 2000; Ruzza, 2000; Hope & Klemm, 2001; Tyler & Dinan, 2001a; Tyler & Dinan, 2001b; Van Meegeren, 2001; Ooi, 2002; Bramwell, 2003; Coles, 2003; Hall, 2003; Tsartas, 2003; Weed, 2003; Andriotis & Vaughan, 2004; Duval, 2006; Thomas & Thomas, 2006). Tourism policy in Australia and New Zealand has also gained prominence in the literature since 2000 (Richins & Pearce, 2000; Sharma, Carson, & DeLacy, 2000; Dredge, 2001; Dredge & Jenkins, 2003; Simpson, 2003; Carter, Whiley, & Knight, 2004; Pforr, 2005).

The work of these scholars provides accounts of the similarities and differences in tourism policy among nations and illustrates what nations can learn from each other. Ireland provides another example as the nation enjoyed success in the mid 1980s and mid 1990s as a result of a cogent tourism policy, including government investment in tourism and a reduction in taxes on tourism (Nevin, 1995). Australia formalized a bilateral agreement with

the important emerging travel market of India that facilitated two-way travel between the nations through commercial means. Another intent of the Australia-India agreement is to develop "a better knowledge of each other's history, culture and way of life" (OECD, 2003, p. 37). The policy issue of bilateral agreements was once a priority for the United States (Edgell, 1999). Bilateral agreements later fell out of favor with policymakers (Edgell et al., 2008). However, in the final years of the Bush administration multi-national agreements became a higher stated priority (Department of Commerce, 2007).

Guiding Theoretical Frameworks

From a public administration perspective, I use the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) as the guiding theory for this research because of its explanatory power related to how policy actors with similar beliefs interact to affect policy change (Sabatier & Weible, 2007). Characteristics of the ACF align with my interest in how interest groups, such as trade associations or consumer organizations, advocate for policy positions. The ACF borrows elements from other theories, particularly Social Exchange Theory (SET) and Resource Dependency Theory (RDT), which are also relevant for my research and explained in this section.

Jafari (1983) described the shared resources and interdependency of tourism system components by stating, "When all components of the tourism industry acknowledge their interdependence and coordinate their efforts to produce high quality goods and services, the result will be the growth of that community as a popular tourist destination" (p. 77). Jafari's statement illustrates how elements of ACF, SET, and RDT are connected in tourism

development initiatives. Figure 2.2 is a Venn diagram that illustrates the relationships among

the three theoretical frameworks.
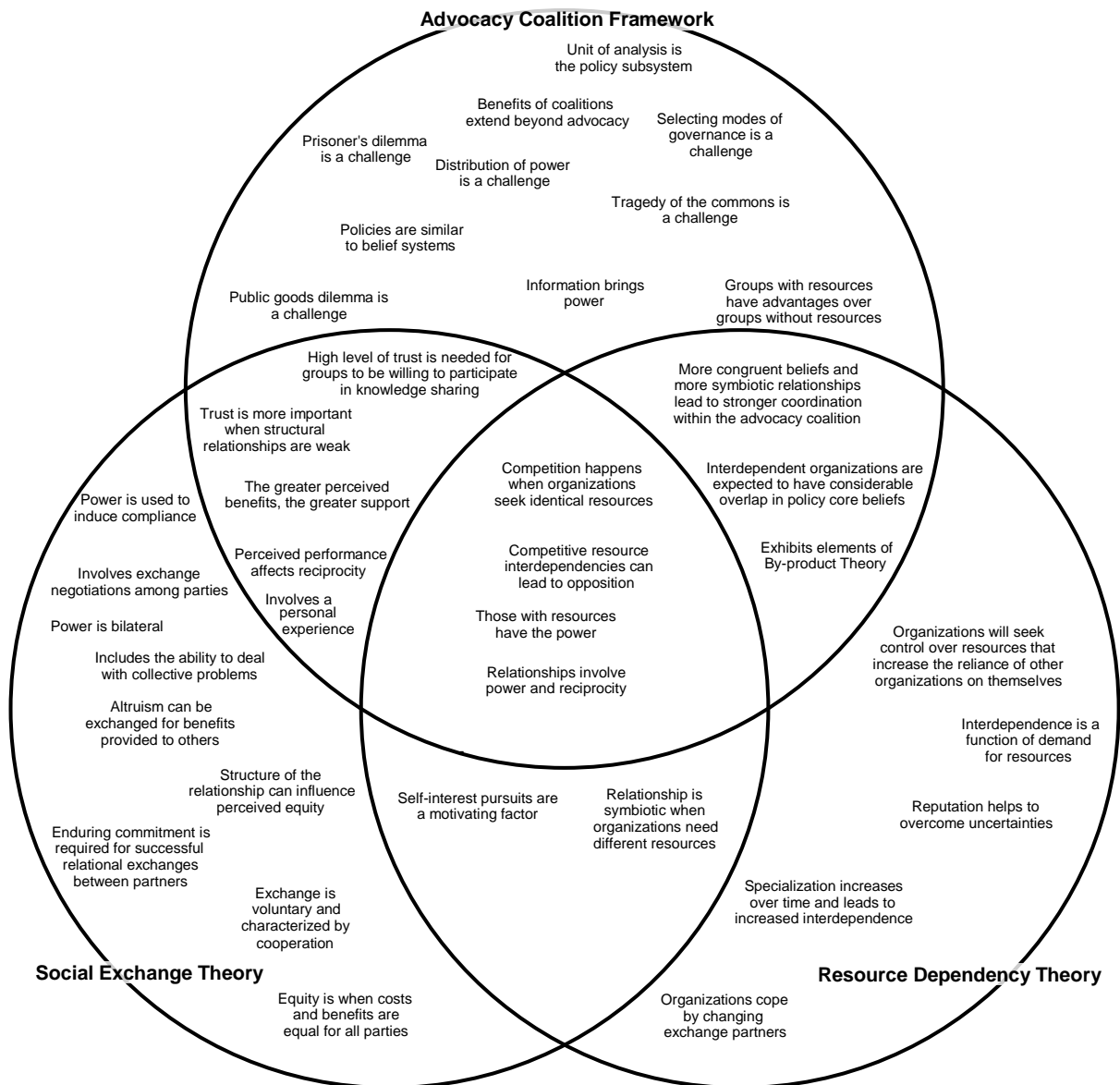
Figure 2.2 Relationships among Advocacy Coalition Framework, Social Exchange Theory
and Resource Dependency Theory.

As shown in Figure 2.2, areas of overlap among the three theoretical frameworks of the ACF, SET, and RDT center around relationships and resources. Tenets common to all three frameworks were competition occurring when organizations seek identical resources, competitive resource interdependencies leading to opposition, those with resources have power, and relationships involving power and reciprocity. RDT and the ACF are related in that both offer premises that common belief systems are believed to be associated with stronger advocacy coordination and interdependency among organizations.

Common tenets between RDT and SET are self-interest pursuits as a motivating factor, resources leading to power, and symbiotic relationships resulting from organizations' needs for different resources. The intersection of SET and the ACF is illustrated by several precepts: (a) a high level of trust is needed for groups to be willing to participate in knowledge sharing; (b) trust is more important when structural relationships are weak; (c) the greater the perceived benefits of the relationship, the greater support for the relationship; (d) the perceived performance of the relationship affects the willingness of reciprocity among its members; and (e) both involve a personal experience. SET and ACF also involve a personal experience. Determining the overlap among the three guiding theories not only shows integration among the theories, but also strengthens the explanatory power of the theories developed as part of my dissertation regarding shared resources and interdependency.

Isolating overlapping tenets among the three frameworks helped me develop theory regarding how tourism advocacy groups might behave. According to existing formal theory, tourism organizations should be motivated by advancing their own agenda and should form strong advocacy relationships with other organizations that offer complementary resources,

have similar policy preferences, and are trusted. Power and reciprocity are characteristic of advocacy relationships and power is a function of the organization's resources. The following sections describe the individual attributes of each theoretical framework.

Advocacy Coalition Framework

The ACF is a policy process framework that allows for goal conflicts and technical disputes among groups with similar public policy agendas (Sabatier & Weible, 2007). During the 1980s, Sabatier (1987, 1988a, 1988b) studied advocacy coalitions en route to developing the ACF. The theoretical construct emerged subsequent to a search for alternatives to the Stages Heuristic, which theorizes that public policy is developed along a linear process in various steps and the thought that technical information should play a more prominent role in understanding the policy process (Sabatier, 1987). Two of the basic premises of policy implementation that comprise the foundation of the Advocacy Coalition Framework are (a) the most useful unit of analysis for understanding advocacy processes is the policy subsystem, and (b) conceptualization of public policies is similar to how belief systems are conceptualized (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999). In my dissertation, the two basic premises of policy implementation play primary roles in identifying the tourism policy process.

Like most theoretical frameworks, important terms are associated with the ACF that must be understood. These terms are policy domain, policy subsystem, advocacy coalition, deep core beliefs, policy core beliefs, secondary beliefs, and policy preferences.

A *policy domain* is the general category of related issues. For example, sales tax issues and property tax issues fall under the policy domain of taxes. A *policy subsystem* is the collection of actors who attempt to influence policy on a regular basis. These actors come from different organizations, but are interested in policy issues within common policy domains. For example, organizations interested in changing sales tax legislation would fall within the same policy subsystem.

Policy subsystems are made up of *advocacy coalitions*. Members of an advocacy coalition can include agency officials, interest groups (e.g., associations in my research sample), legislators, policy analysts, researchers, and journalists who share a common belief system and show significant coordinated efforts over time (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999). For example, organizations opposed to sales tax increases would be in one advocacy coalition and organizations supporting sales tax increases would be in another advocacy coalition. A coalition need not be a formal legal entity.

Members of an advocacy coalition have four different types of beliefs – deep core beliefs, policy core beliefs, secondary beliefs, and policy preferences. *Deep core beliefs* are foundational values that can be found in essentially all policy domains. Basic examples include life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The basic freedom to travel is also an example. *Policy core beliefs*, on the other hand, are those principles that are common among organizations within a coalition. For example, one advocacy coalition's policy core beliefs may be pro-economic development, while another coalition is concerned with advancing social justice. Organizations with differing policy core beliefs may or may not interact within the same policy subsystem and would likely not be in the same coalition. As Sabatier

and Jenkins-Smith (1999) stated, policy core beliefs are "the fundamental glue of coalitions" (p. 122).

Stances on specific issues may vary among members of a coalition. For example, in a coalition seeking to affect legislation that would encourage people to travel, airline advocates may not be concerned with legislation affecting public land use. Likewise, park managers may not be concerned with issues related to the Transportation Safety Administration. These issues are referred to as *secondary beliefs*. Policy actors may also have *policy preferences*, which involve beliefs on particular policy proposals within a policy subsystem. Differences in policy preferences may lead actors that typically work together in coalitions to oppose each other (Sabatier & Weible, 2007). As Sabatier and Weible stated, "Policy preferences might be the stickiest glue that binds coalitions together" (p. 195). Policy preferences are indicated by the stances on the issues, or types of issues, taken by a policy actor.

In addition to addressing beliefs and preferences, the ACF also explains benefits gained by organizations that form partnerships. Hojnacki (1997) outlined three conditions regarding benefits under which coalitions are likely to persist. The conditions are (a) clear identification of coalition beneficiaries, (b) benefits received are related to costs of coalition members, and (c) the mutual monitoring of coalition members' activities, which relates to trust. Hojnacki concluded if coalition members have little to offer the coalition, then the costs will be too great for members who have more to offer.

The benefits of organizations aligning with each other extend beyond advocacy. Partnerships and coalitions provide organizations with the potential to offer more with less. Such relationships can reduce duplication in service delivery and common overhead

expenses. Coalitions can also increase exposure to funding opportunities as organizations within the coalition may be introduced to the philanthropic communities of other coalition members. Some of the benefits that can be realized by forming a coalition cannot be defined at the beginning of the collaborative relationship (Lowndes & Skelcher, 1998), but become apparent as the relationship matures.

Organizations originally formed for purposes other than advocacy such as a private-sector business or trade association, are more efficient policy advocates than groups formed solely to provide collective benefits, according to the by-product theory of large interest groups (Olson, 1965; Schlager & Blomquist, 1996; Mawhinney, 2001). For example, compared to groups formed solely to provide collective benefits, businesses and large associations are able to be more selective of the issues and their positions because of the resources they are able to employ. Typically weaker ideological groups seek out businesses or trade associations with similar policy stances when looking to form advocacy coalitions, although they may be strange bedfellows at times (Baumgartner & Leech, 2001). As a hypothetical example, a local environmental conservation group may align with the National Rifle Association on the issue of banning the use of snowmobiles on public lands. The conservationists would be concerned with the negative environmental impact snowmobile use may have, while gun owners might be concerned with the impact that snowmobiles may have on hunters and their experience while hunting. However, outside of the snowmobiling issue, the two groups would likely oppose each other regarding hunting access on the same public lands.

Advocacy Coalition Framework and Tourism

Examples of coalitions that have been the subject of studies range from groups in transport policy to domestic violence and metallurgical development to sport policy (Sabatier & Weible, 2007). Of particular importance to my research are applications of the ACF to coalitions that involve some aspect of tourism.

Dolan (2003) used the ACF as the guiding theoretical framework in his study of the National Economic Council (NEC) and processes associated with its international and domestic economic policy. The NEC is a group of economic advisors responsible for vetting the policy proposals from nearly 30 federal agencies involved in economic policy. The NEC was established by President Clinton and continued by President G.W. Bush. The NEC was formed to "integrate disparate views into coherent policies" (p. 222). Dolan concluded that the ACF is useful to evaluate the policy processes of the NEC and suggested that the framework can be applied to other areas of policy studies, including homeland security and domestic policy.

The Tourism Policy Council, a group similar to the NEC, is coordinated by the Office of Travel and Tourism Industries in the United States Department of Commerce. The Tourism Policy Council consists of leaders from nine federal agencies and is responsible for coordinating policy relating to international travel and tourism. While the Tourism Policy Council is not the subject of my research, my dissertation research does explore the ACF's applicability to tourism-related coalitions.

Nicholson-Crotty (2005) showed how actors that have similar beliefs or policy preferences can also work in opposing advocacy coalitions on occasion. A case study on the

land-use struggles between the National Park Service and the Bureau of Reclamation was used. The Bureau of Reclamation wanted to build a dam in a National Park unit as part of a larger water resources management plan. In opposition, the National Park Service wanted to protect the land in accordance with its mission of conserving the natural state of public lands for the enjoyment of future generations. The Advocacy Coalition Framework was able to explain the struggle between the two organizations, showing groups that were typically part of the same coalitions were at times in opposition because of "significant competitive resource interdependencies" (p. 357). I refer to the phenomenon of two groups working together on one issue but opposing each other on another issue as *coalition crossover*.

In a forest policy study, Burnett and Davis (2002) showed that wildlife groups such as Friends of the Earth and the Sierra Club, formed *amenity coalitions* with recreation and tourism-related groups and others who also wanted to use the environmentally-stable forests for activities such as hiking, off-road motorized vehicle riding, or other trail uses. While the wildlife groups typically want to save the forest from timber harvesting to protect wildlife, they also realize that human use can have a significant negative impact on wildlife. However, with the help of recreation and tourism-related partners, wildlife groups gained a stronger voice opposing those who wanted to harvest the timber, which would negatively impact wildlife and human enjoyment. Using the unusual groupings of coalition members (i.e., amenity coalitions), the researchers examined the relationship of a coalition's policy core beliefs and secondary beliefs, finding that actors may shift on their policy core beliefs to advance secondary beliefs. This countered the claim of Zafonte and Sabatier (1998) that

similarities in policy core beliefs were implicitly always more important than belief similarities regarding secondary issues.

Tyler and Dinan (2001a) described the relationship between tourism-related interest groups and the government in the emerging tourism policy network in England. The study highlighted the methods used by the policy network to affect policy development, including trust, resource-based power arrangements, and communications management. Trust involves creating understanding and relationships among trade groups, government agencies, and the private-sector. In terms of resource-based power arrangements, groups with more available resources such as money, staff time, and political clout were at an advantage over organizations with fewer resources. Regarding communications management, groups must clearly formulate and elucidate arguments based on facts that support the policy position and identify and communicate how that position aligns with objectives of political decision makers. Those groups able to communicate reliable, fact-based information to legislators enjoyed more power.

Tyler and Dinan (2001b) also analyzed tourism policy coalitions operating within the framework of umbrella organizations. An umbrella organization, or peak association, is a group of groups. They usually have greater financial resources afforded by a wide array of members. One advantage, found by Tyler and Dinan was umbrella organizations were typically better able to carry out research initiatives because of financial resources and organizational capabilities. A quote by the CEO of a tourism-related trade association, taken directly from Tyler and Dinan's qualitative research study, provided an explanation of the benefits of umbrella organizations:

We have a body which acts as a clearing house and is made up of 15 different

organisations. We collectively decide which bodies are directly interested in an issue.

The interested groups then form a sub-group and we decide which will be the lead

group on an issue based on their expertise and their memberships' interests. That

group will do the most work, do the research, put together a position paper, and

establish the most appropriate lobbying strategy. That way we can get a common

view from the industry which in turn helps government with the consultation process

(p. 234).

Challenges to Advocacy Coalitions

Advocacy coalitions and similar partnerships are not without criticism and

challenges. Skelcher (1998) pointed out that coalitions may transfer power from elected

officials to non-elected, self-selected groups and individuals. However, even operating

within the guise that advocacy coalitions are good for democracy, inherent challenges still

exist. These challenges include managing coalitions and competing for scarce resources.

From an operational standpoint, several challenges exist to forming and managing

advocacy coalitions. For example, including or excluding organizations when a coalition is

formed and determining how power and responsibilities are distributed within the coalition,

are questions that must be addressed by coalition participants. The central challenge for a

coalition lies in selecting and managing the appropriate mode of governance (i.e. network,

market, or hierarchy) throughout the lifecycle stages of pre-partnership, partnership creation,

partnership program delivery, and partnership termination (Smucker, 1991; Lowndes & Skelcher, 1998).

Another challenge organizations face within a coalition is competing for scarce resources, including government and philanthropic money. Lowndes and Skelcher (1998) pointed out that mutual benefit, trust, and reciprocity were not necessarily the intentions of those involved in a coalition. This notion may be supported by Resource Dependency Theory, which states organizations will seek control over resources that enable them to lessen their dependence on other organizations. Organizations will also try to gain control over resources that increase the reliance of other organizations on themselves. Pursuit of these goals affects the power of organizations within a coalition (Ulrich & Barney, 1984). Gaining control over resources is exemplified by the realities of resource-strapped nonprofits competing for limited resources. For example, organizations funded by philanthropic and government sources are competing for grant moneys, while many of the grants stipulate that applicants should collaborate. Thus, nonprofits, and other organizations, must be adept at maneuvering within the constraints of coalitions.

According to Sabatier and Weible (2007), very few research studies have focused on the resources of coalitions, as opposed to coalitions' belief systems. Sewell (2005) and Weible (2006) laid a foundation from which Sabatier and Weible developed a typology of "policy-relevant resources that policy participants can use in their attempts to influence public policy" (p. 201). The typology of resources included (a) formal legal authority to make policy decisions, (b) public opinion, (c) information, (d) mobilizable troops, (e) skillful leadership, and (f) financial resources. Having members with more formal legal authority,

such as elected and appointed government officials, than other coalitions is a resource of

dominant coalitions. Support from the electorate (i.e., public opinion) for a policy position is

another important resource for a coalition.   The resource of information includes

communicating the importance of the policy problem and the costs and benefits of various

policy alternatives. Mobilizable troops, or grassroots resources, enable an advocacy coalition

to demonstrate broader support while investing fewer financial resources. Skillful coalition

leaders are required to produce policy change. Financial resources permit the purchase of

other resources.

I explored literature related to other theories to deal with some of the challenges to

the ACF. To better understand social and management problems specific to tourism

advocacy coalitions, I explored the literature of Social Exchange Theory (SET). SET

analyzes choices that individuals or organizations make in their own self-interest concerning

relationships. I also surveyed literature related to Resource Dependency Theory (RDT) to

understand how scarce resources are managed within tourism coalitions. RDT explains the

processes associated with how interdependent organizations attempt to influence each other

through their resources.

Social Exchange Theory

Social Exchange Theory seeks to explain social change and stability by analyzing the

processes of exchange negotiations among parties. The theory posits that parties or actors

have and make strategic and rational choices (Befu, 1977). Decisions regarding relationships

are made by comparing alternatives in a cost-benefit analysis that is mostly subjective.

Equity in relationships is found only when the costs and benefits are equitable for all parties in a relationship. Thus, when an interest group perceives the benefits of the relationship are less than the costs of the relationship, the interest group would be expected to search for ways to change its involvement in the relationship. SET offers a framework for analysis at both the collective and individual levels, enabling the convergence of cultural norms and strategy and the ability to deal with collective problems (Befu).

The application of SET to public policy advocacy research has been limited. Graziano (1994), in one of the few papers published on this topic, concluded the study of advocacy fits within the framework of social exchange. For example, organizations with an advocacy agenda are interested in advancing their self-interest and self-interest pursuits are a motivation for action under SET. Exchange and reciprocity opportunities are part of public policy advocacy activities, similar to organizational behavior and human relations. Data from my interviews indicated the importance of managing human relations when working with coalition partners.

Similarities exist among advocacy, SET, and personal relations. Rijt and Macy (2006), for example, tested SET in the realm of sexual activities and found theoretical predictions can be made about sexual reciprocity. Nakonezny and Denton (2008) used SET to show marriage as a system of exchange, not just a system of rewards, characterized by "different degrees of reciprocity, trust, unequal power, value, utility, outcome, norms, and the social conditions for interpersonal behavior: complementary in some situations, competitive in others and, in yet others, altruistic" (p. 410). Lobbying and advocacy is a personal

experience (Baumgartner & Leech, 2001), therefore applying research on human relations and social exchange to organizations and advocacy seems reasonable.

Gwartney, Fessenden, and Landt (2002) used SET and content analysis of public documents in their study of conflict resolution among groups. They concluded, within the framework of SET, the use of practical-based content analysis is superior to empirical laboratory research studies because of the controlled interaction among groups. The results of the study showed that a variety of human interactions rely on reciprocity and rewards in exchange for reciprocity, which is characteristic of SET.

Social Exchange Theory has been applied to tourism, primarily at the intersection of tourism development and community development. Lee and Back (2006) built on the work of Pizam (1978) and Ap (1992) in illustrating SET as it relates to the personal benefits residents of a tourism community perceive and the positive attitudes toward tourism development. The higher the perceived personal benefit of the community member, the more that individual will support tourism development. In a similar study, Jurowski and Gursoy (2004) applied SET to show how the distance between residents' homes and tourism attractions affected the residents' perception of tourism development. Similar studies were conducted by other researchers on specific components of tourism such as the research of Waitt (2003) regarding the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney, and Kang, Lee, Yoon, et al. (2008), who looked at the impacts of gaming on communities. Harrill (2004) used SET to analyze an extensive amount of literature on the perceived costs and benefits of tourism development and residents' attitudes toward tourism development.

Social Exchange Theory has been broadly applied within the field of management in areas such as business ethics, strategic alliances, and networks. Chen and Choi (2005) showed how SET can apply when what is being offered as an exchange is not tangible such as social status or reputation. They also showed how the level of coordination among the exchange relationship (i.e., structure of the relationship) can influence individuals' perception of what is fair within a social exchange relationship. SET can also be used to explain the impact of a variable on the nature of inter-organizational relationships depending on the variable's effects on trust and dependencies (Bunduchi, 2008). For example, a firm's use of the internet for business to business transactions is dependent, in part, on the mutual trust and inter-dependency of the firms involved.

Other researchers have examined SET within the context of strategic alliances such as advocacy coalitions. Murraya and Kotabe (2005) examined the performance of a strategic alliance, considering the form and characteristics of the alliance. Murraya and Kotabe concluded that both the proper form (e.g., equity vs. non-equity) and attributes (e.g., trust and formalization) were necessary for successful business alliances. According to Muthusamy and White (2006), the perceived performance of an alliance positively affected reciprocity.

Cropanzano and Mitchell (2005) pointed out theoretical ambiguities within SET related to exchange rules and exchanged resources. Rules of exchange include more than just reciprocity. The social exchange theorist must also consider other rules such as altruism (e.g., providing benefits for others in exchange for feelings of enhanced self-worth), group gain (e.g., contributing to a common depository serving the benefit of a group), status (e.g., benefitting from a person's standing within a group), and competition (e.g., harming others,

perhaps through revenge seeking, even at one's own expense). Resources exchanged can

include love, status, information, money, goods, and services. These resources can be

exchanged at different times in different ways. Understanding how exchanges take place and

what is exchanged, is important not only for a more robust application of SET, but also to

deal with the theoretical ambiguities related to exchange rules and exchanged resources that

Cropanzano and Mitchell highlighted.

Power in SET is defined, or explained, as when one party is unwilling to voluntarily

surrender a resource desired by another party and is able to use the resource to force or

induce compliance (Befu, 1977). The party with the resource has power. Power is bilateral

and each party can potentially have power over the other, depending upon resources and

needs (Befu). Differences exist between power relationships and exchange relationships in

that power involves those participants without power acting against their wills, while

exchange is voluntary and is characterized by cooperation. In reality, relationships involve

both power and exchange, with power-only relationships and exchange-only relationships

being extreme outliers (Baldwin, 1978). Even war or child custody battles can have elements

of cooperation at the same time as both sides are trying to gain power over the other. Power

can be used to advance a cause and also to establish position within a relationship.

Trust is a key element of SET. Staples and Webster (2008) found a high level of trust

is needed for any type of group to be willing to participate in knowledge sharing, but trust is

more important in situations where structural relationships are weak. For example, if two

associations have different missions and do not have prior experience working together (i.e.

low task interdependence) then the level of trust between the organizations must be strong for

the two groups to partner. Kwon and Suh (2005) confirmed Morgan and Hunt's (1994) hypothesis regarding trust and SET, which posits enduring commitment is required for successful relational exchanges between partners. Trust is the foundation upon which a partnership is built.

To summarize, Social Exchange Theory analyzes rational choices regarding relationships that individuals or organizations make in their own self-interest. Choices to engage in a relationship are made based on alternatives where benefits are greater than costs and variables include power, trust, and reciprocity. Although the application of SET to public policy advocacy research is limited, much has been written about SET and private-sector management and personal human relations, which facilitates understanding of the behavior of advocacy coalitions and their members.

Resource Dependency Theory

Resource Dependency Theory (RDT) was developed as a way to understand the processes associated with how organizations use resources to influence other organizations. Dependence among organizations is a function of demand for resources. One organization is dependent on a second organization whenever the first organization does not control all of the resources necessary to achieve the desired outcome. Organizations are interdependent, or dependent upon each other, when they share common resources such as the same stakeholders, offer similar services, or have similar goals (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). For example, a tour bus company forms interdependent relationships with its suppliers who

provide fuel and motorcoaches. The tour bus company may also be interdependent with a labor union that has influence over the tour bus company's drivers.

When an ample supply of resources for a given demand exists, interdependence between organizations needing the same resource is decreased. Also within interdependency, two organizations can be in a competitive relationship when they seek identical resources (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). For example, two interdependent hotels in the same downtown district compete for business from the travel booking websites. An increase in the supply of customers, which are resources, will decrease interdependence between the two hotels.

Another proposition of Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) regarding RDT is that organizations have increased in specialization over time, which has led to increased interdependence. Trade associations exhibit an indication of increased specialization over time. For example, prior to 1940, only three air transport associations existed. Since 1940, at least twelve associations have been created for various specialties of air transportation ranging from flight safety to airport ground transportation. Table 2.4 illustrates the growth in specialized air transport trade associations in the 1900s. With increased specialization, trade associations may have to look outside of their functional area to find potential coalition partners and allies with which to exchange resources. More interdependency has been developing.

Table 2.4 Growth in specialized air transport trade associations.

Association Name	Year Founded
American Association of Airport Executives	1928
Air Transport Association	1936
Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association	1939
National Air Transportation Association	1940
Airport Ground Transportation Association	1945
Flight Safety Foundation	1947
National Business Aviation Association	1947
Air Traffic Control Association	1956
International Airline Passengers Association	1960
National Air Carrier Association	1962
International Society of Air Safety Investigators	1964
Regional Airline Association	1975
National Association of State Aviation Officials	1986
Airports Council International	1991
Air Carrier Association of America	1997

Note. Data from Encyclopedia of Associations online database.

Elements of RDT have been added to the Advocacy Coalition Framework to increase its explanatory power. Sabatier and Zafonte (1998) expanded the ACF by adding imposed interdependencies concerning the overlap of primary functions among organizations. For example, fisheries management and water supply management may have high interdependence when coastal development is perceived to be a cause of declines in recreational fisheries.

Fenger and Klok (2001) continued the introduction of interdependency into the ACF. Their approach focused on cognitive factors in policy making found in the ACF and the power dependence attributes of policy networks. The authors developed the table presented as Table 2.5 to predict the level of conflict and coordination among actors within a coalition relative to their common policy core beliefs and interdependency. In essence, the more congruent the beliefs and the more symbiotic the relationship (i.e. high interdependency),

then the coordination within the advocacy coalition is stronger. Organizations that are

interdependent (i.e. have common stakeholders, offer similar services, or have similar goals)

are expected to have considerable overlap in policy core beliefs.

Table 2.5 Coalition behavior as the result of interdependency and belief congruence.

Interdependency		**Beliefs**	
	**Congruent**	_**Indifferent**_	_**Divergent**_
**Symbiotic**	Strong coordination	Coalition of convenience	Unstable conflict, depolitization, learning
**Independent**	Weak coordination	No coalitions	Weak conflict
**Competitive**	Coalition with severe collective action problems	Weak conflict	Strong conflict

Note. Adapted from Fenger and Klok (2001).

To illustrate Table 2.5, an association of print media, for example, might compete

with an association of broadcast media for customers and sponsors. However, both groups

believe in freedom of the press. While their beliefs are congruent, their interdependency is

considered competitive, which could lead to collective action problems in a coalition of print

and broadcast media. On the other hand, recreational boating associations and marine

manufacturers both support access to water for recreational users and have a symbiotic

interdependency because both industries serve the same customers.

<center>Connection of Literature to Research Questions</center>

This literature review illustrates the connection between the guiding theoretical

frameworks of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), Social Exchange Theory (SET),

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Resource Dependency Theory (RDT), and research on tourism-related public policy. The

review of the literature also reveals gaps or opportunities for investigation, which are

presented in this section and serve as the basis for my research questions.

The gaps revealed by the literature review are investigative opportunities and are the

links between the theories and research questions. Lowndes and Skelcher (1998) pointed out

that when associations coalign for advocacy purposes, other benefits may also be gained by

each organization. The new benefits may be in the form of economies-of-scale related to

service delivery, overhead expenses, and funding sources, among other areas. Policy actors

may also be motivated by the potential to gain other benefits. The concepts put forward by

Lowndes and Skelcher relate to the overlap of SET and ACF regarding the affect of

perceived performance on reciprocity. The overlap among the theories is the foundation for

the first research question: *What are the roles and motivations of tourism-related*

associations that engage in advocacy?

Tyler and Dinan (2001a) showed that advocacy actors must clearly communicate

arguments in support of their position based on facts and connect the fact-based arguments to

the objectives of those they seek to influence. Information is an important resource in the

tourism policy development processes. Organizations with better resources, such as better

fact-based information, are more powerful than those with fewer resources. The idea that

power is a function of resources is a tenet of ACF, SET, and RDT. Another question

emerged: *How are organizational resources used to develop tourism policy?*

The work of Schlager and Blomquist (1996) showed how actors with shared belief

systems are more willing to coalign if information costs are low and if there is repeated

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interaction among the coalition partners. Schlager and Blomquist's research confirmed the work of Olson (1965) and is reaffirmed by Mawhinney (2001). These studies support claims regarding trust and symbiotic relationships among all three theories. Another research question arose: *How are tourism policy advocacy coalitions managed?*

Blau (1977) concluded actors have strategic choices and make rational decisions based on subjective analysis of the costs and benefits of available options. Actors search for equity, which is when costs and benefits are equitable for all parties in a relationship. The search for equity is a major tenet of SET and ACF. The cost to resource-rich coalition members will be too great to coalign with members with little to offer to coalition efforts, according to Hojnacki (1997). Thus, another research question: *Under what circumstances do those involved in developing tourism policy cooperate with each other?*

The work of Richter (1994) led to questions involving the technical skills of tourism professionals involved in developing and advocating for tourism policy positions. Richter stated that successful tourism development relies on individuals and agendas that are able to directly confront political issues and social problems. One way to deal with issues of political and social problems is through compromise and reciprocity, as outlined in SET (Gwartney, Fessenden, and Landt, 2002). This led to the following research question: *How are tourism policy agendas developed?*

Zafonte and Sabatier (1998) and Fenger and Klok (2001) raised questions in the area of interdependencies and beliefs as explained by the Advocacy Coalition Framework and Resource Dependency Theory. For example, the more that beliefs are congruent among two organizations and the more mutually beneficial (i.e., symbiotic) the relationship of two

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organizations, the coordinated advocacy within the coalition is expected to be stronger. Thus another research question: *What are the public policy preferences, at the federal level, of tourism associations in the United States?*

Conclusion of Literature Review

No research exists that uses trade associations to examine the ACF within the context of SET and RDT. Also, no other researchers have examined the tourism policy process at the federal level in the United States using the Advocacy Coalition Framework. The areas of tourism policy development, implementation, and evaluation are addressed in depth in the literature. However, the tourism and public policy literatures leave opportunities for further research on the roles and motivations of tourism-policy actors, resources of advocacy groups, the management of tourism policy advocacy coalitions, impediments to cooperation among tourism policy advocacy groups, and the public policy preferences of tourism associations in the United States. Research findings related to these areas are presented and analyzed in Chapters 4 and 5. The research methodology is described in the next chapter.

If people didn't worry about who gets the credit, we'd get much more done.

-Tourism Association Executive

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Qualitative approaches offer the opportunity to evaluate theories when large samples are unavailable or exploratory research is preferable (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). My research is exploratory because no other research has employed Social Exchange Theory (SET) and Resource Dependency Theory (RDT) in conjunction with the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) to examine the behavior of associations. My dissertation is also exploratory because, as previously explained, the tourism policy process at the federal level in the United States has not been investigated using the ACF. Specific qualitative approaches, such as personal interviews and content analysis, can be better than large sample surveys at describing *how* variables influence each other because the researcher can trace the decision-making processes or chain of events to gain a better understanding of the theory (Van Evera, 1997). Thus, research questions asking about the tourism policy process are appropriate to investigate using qualitative methods.

Kuhn (1996) noted challenges have been posed to the traditional and rigid research paradigm of positivism once posed by previous generations of scholars such as Comte, Hennequin, and Popper. Some scholars advocate that the job of science is to create not only knowledge, but also *wisdom* to address problems of post-modernity such as the "moral, ontological and epistemological malaise" (Rooney & McKenna, 2007, p. 114) created by a sense of relativism prevailing at the expense of truth. Maxwell (2007), a modern-day British

philosopher, has campaigned for a new paradigm in science – a paradigm in which the pursuit is *wisdom* as opposed to mere knowledge. Maxwell's definition of wisdom includes "knowledge, understanding and technological know-how" (p. 254) and realizes what is of value to society such as helping people create a better world. Maxwell sought to understand the nature of the universe as a physicist at the same time as trying to understand humanity through literature, specifically novels. Maxwell took, at least implicitly, the viewpoint that the traditional scientific method (i.e., quantitative approaches) is by itself inadequate in advancing science, particularly in the realm of social sciences.

A shift is taking place in how science views qualitative research. During the last half century many scholars including but not limited to Rudner (1954), Walle (1997), and Henderson (2006), presented arguments for the legitimacy of a philosophy other than positivism that uses qualitative research methods to create wisdom and understanding as described by Rooney (2007) and Maxwell (2007). As the paradigm is shifting, the need to justify a philosophy of science that leads to qualitative research may soon be satisfied.

The world seems to open when, instead of looking through the lens of strict scientific method, the researcher glances in his peripheral vision and discovers what may have gone unseen. Critical realism suggests the ontology sheds light on the structures that shape the course of events. Through critical realism, science is not an inductive or deductive process, but instead reductive – leading or bringing back (Guba & Lincoln, 2004). As Patomaki and Wight (2000) stated, "Science is seen to proceed through a constant spiral of discovery and understanding, further discovery, and revision, and hopefully more adequate, understanding" (p. 224). Two examples of the critical realism ontology are pragmatism and harmonism.

Two of the founding scholars of public administration, dating back to the late 1800s and early 1900s, who applied pragmatism are Dewey and Peirce (Shields, 1998). More recently, Shields presented arguments for pragmatism as a philosophy of science in the context of public administration. The central focus of pragmatism is human inquiry, which is a continuing process acknowledging problematic situations arising from the human experience – an experience believed to be qualitative in nature. Pragmatism brings together scientists to solve real problems, using theory to bridge the gap between creating new knowledge and producing goods or services via application of the new knowledge. Thus, pragmatism captures the voice and experience of tourism professionals.

Henderson (2006) advanced an argument for an approach that could be termed *harmonism*, wherein science and art (i.e. craft) are employed in a less restrictive manner through qualitative approaches. Harmonism brings together the yin of positivism and the yang of interpretivism. According to Henderson, "we need multiple perspectives arising from these world views" (p. 21) of positivism and interpretivism, while clearly communicating research intentions. I also add post-positivism to Henderson's recommendation of using multiple perspectives. Henderson's harmonism is in line with Maxwell's recommendations for the search of wisdom through both science and art. Pragmatism aligns with harmonism, as it brings together academics and professionals to create a more *pracademic* approach. Pragmatism and harmonism as applications of critical realism are the bases for my dissertation research methods.

Research Design

The research design for my qualitative study is complex. The research began with journaling my thoughts and feelings about the research. Journaling activities continued throughout my study, as I created a research record. The second step was to identify the universe of tourism-related associations. Once the universe was identified, I created the sampling framework and collected data through content analysis and in-depth personal interviews. Based on research findings, I made periodic adjustments to the sample during the research. Adjustments to the sample are described later in this chapter. This section details my research activities of documenting the research record, identifying the universe, selecting and stratifying the sample, and collecting data through content analysis and in-depth personal interviews. Data analysis and reporting are presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the path I took while collecting data for my dissertation. The number of associations in the universe and the number of associations in various strata of the sample are included in boxes within the flowchart. Sample sizes include associations that were added after the sample was adjusted. The adjusted sample sizes are indicated by the term *adjusted* in parentheses.
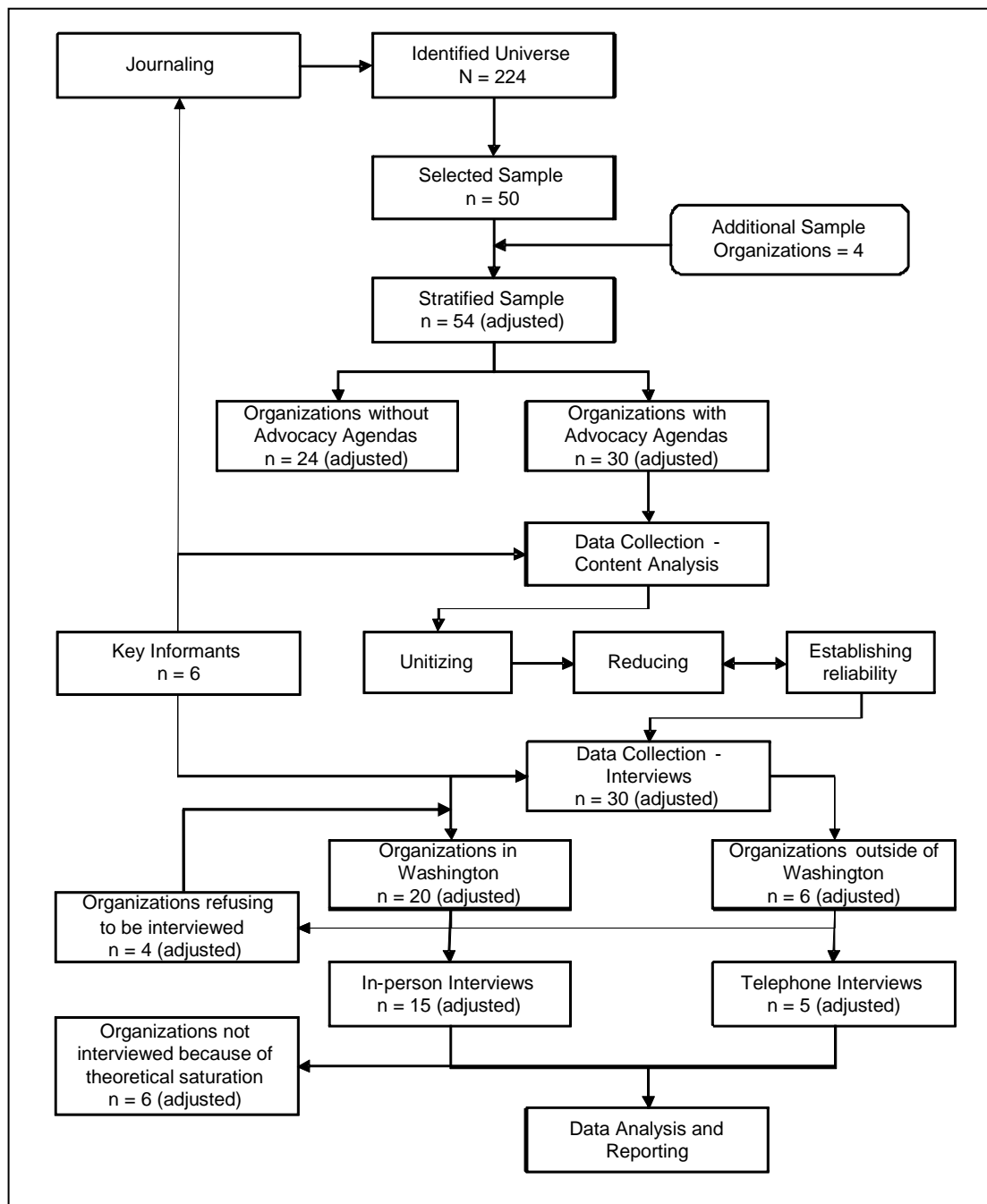
Figure 3.1 Research design flowchart.

Validation of the research findings in qualitative research is achieved through

triangulation, which incorporates multiple data sources, methods, or theories (Henderson,

2006). Accordingly, two methodological approaches were employed to answer my research

questions. The first method was content analysis of public policy agendas, which used the

epistemological approach of hermeneutics. Hermeneutics involves interpreting the meanings

associated with text (Henderson). The second methodological approach was in-depth

personal interviews with interest group executives. My journaling activities created third

source of data and were the foundation for the research record.

Research Record

Notes taken by the researcher while in the field are an important part of qualitative

analysis. Documenting and describing observed incidents allows the researcher to remember

the setting, identify important non-verbal cues of the interviewee, record thoughts regarding

theory that is stimulated by the data, and highlight data in need of verification. These notes

taken in the field can be coded and treated as data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) to add to the

richness of the study. My research record includes memos made in my dissertation diary,

comments I wrote down during interviews with executives of sample organizations, and

interviews I had with key informants.

Dissertation Diary

Throughout my research process, I wrote down my thoughts in a notebook, which I

called my dissertation diary. As prescribed by Corbin and Strauss (2008), and following the

advice of my committee chairperson, my diary entries started at the beginning of my

research. I used the diary to keep track of processes early in the research. I also used it to

describe how I was feeling and what I was thinking throughout my dissertation experience. The nights following interviews, I wrote down my thoughts from the day about the individual interviewees and about the data I collected. Writing in my dissertation diary allowed me to begin analysis during the data collection process.

Keeping track of my thoughts, feelings, and activities helped me remember the changes that occurred and specific challenges that I faced during the process. My written records of analysis, or memos, were kept in my dissertation diary. For example, after one of the initial days of interviewing I wrote about some of the common responses I received, including:

> All of my interviewees today (four) were adamantly positive about the importance of working in coalitions. It seems as though that's how business gets done in Washington. One of them may have even said that. Going in, my assumption is that some associations would not form coalitions, however, I don't think it's possible not to work in some kind of coalition at least sometimes. So, it's not *if* they work together, but *how* they work together.

Without journaling my daily experiences in-the-moment, I may have not remembered this early lesson about how associations work together in Washington. Suspecting that all organizations work with other organizations at least some of the time enabled me to probe deeper into how they choose which organizations with which to partner. My diary made learning lessons about how to do qualitative research processes much easier.

Interview Notes

Other than my dissertation diary, my research record also includes notes I took during the official interviews and notes I took during interviews with key informants. During each interview, I had a list of guiding questions and a separate pad of paper on which I took notes. The interview notes I took contained descriptions of the non-verbal cues of the interviewees, my thoughts that needed to be turned in to memos, and any comments made by the interviewees on which I wanted to follow-up. Some of the follow-up occurred during the interview by asking the interviewee for clarification and some of the follow-up occurred when I transcribed the interview.

Discussions with Key Informants

Six individuals served as key informants during the research. All of the key informants had lobbying experience. Four of the key informants' lobbying experience was directly related to tourism, while the other two individuals worked for organizations outside of tourism. Of the six key informants, two were association presidents. The group of key informants was able to provide various perspectives on several aspects of my study. For example, if I needed to clarify data I had collected regarding what is important when an association establishes a public policy agenda, I could approach the two association presidents. If I needed to understand the general nature of lobbying, without being biased by tourism influences, I could reach out to the lobbyists who did not work on tourism issues.

The two key informants that were presidents of tourism associations were not part of my research sample. However, the individuals offered to assist me by serving as key

informants. I had established relationships with each person before beginning research for this study. Both of the association presidents were located outside of Washington, DC, but had made frequent trips to the capital for lobbying activities. One of the association presidents had worked in tourism advocacy for more than 20 years. The other association leader, now retired, had been advocating for tourism policy issues for more than 60 years. This key informant was able to provide rich information from a long-term perspective regarding how tourism advocacy has evolved over the past six decades and longer.

Two other key informants were tourism association lobbyists based in Washington. One of the organizations with which these key informants were associated was included in the sample. The other key informant's organization was not included in the sample. I had built trust with these two individuals through my professional activities with the Southeast Tourism Society and I wanted to use them as key informants to provide further insight into tourism advocacy from a Washington lobbyist's perspective. I was able to return to these two key informants regularly when I needed validity checks on lobbying processes, historical context of coalition relationships I was noticing in the data, or as legislative issues that were on the agendas of sample organizations flowed through Congress during the course of my research. For example, when the Travel Promotion Act legislation failed, I phoned the key informants asking them to explain why the bill was not successful beyond what was reported in the news. Also, one of these key informants introduced me to staffers of a member of Congress who was influential in tourism-related legislation. This provided me with a better understanding of how advocacy messages sent by tourism lobbyists were being received.

The final two key informants were also lobbyists, but were not associated with tourism organizations. One of these key informants was a contract lobbyist based in Raleigh. The other was an individual in Washington who had worked as a lobbyist with several associations. During data collection I would speak with these individuals also using them as validity checks and to gain clarification on lobbying processes and to gain insight on how lobbying processes of non-tourism businesses and associations may have differed from tourism advocacy. I believe the varied backgrounds of the key informants and the nature of the relationship I had with each lobbyist mitigated bias that any particular key informants may have added to my research.

The Universe of Tourism-related Associations

Before my research, the universe of tourism-related associations was unknown and had to be identified. I organized the search for tourism-related associations around industry sectors contained in the Travel Economic Impact Model (TEIM). The Travel Industry Association of America (TIA), now US Travel, through their US Travel Data Center developed TEIM more than 20 years ago. The operating sectors in my System Model for Tourism Policy and Planning, shown in Figure 1.2, are based on the components of the tourism system. The TEIM model is used to provide estimates of travel expenditures at the local, state, and national levels so that data can be compared across geographic regions (Frechtling, 1994). I verified the TEIM model inputs with the Director of Research at the North Carolina Division of Tourism who collects economic data that is input for the model.

The current TEIM model contains seven categories and 18 sub-categories of travel activities, based on North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) codes (Cook et al., 2003). NAICS codes replaced the antiquated U.S. Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) system in 1997 to facilitate economic comparison of the United States and other nations. To accommodate for the transition from SIC to NAICS, the U.S. Census Bureau developed a translation guide (*1997 North American industry classification system-1987 standard industrial classification replacement,* 1997). The translation guide is important so that historical data organized under the SIC system can be compared with newer data collected under the NAICS system. The TEIM categories and their associated NAICS codes are listed in Table 3.1.

The NAICS system enables the classification of individual businesses in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, by its economic activity "to facilitate the collection, tabulation, presentation, and analysis of data relating to establishments, and to promote uniformity and comparability in the presentation and analysis of statistical data describing the North American economy" (North American industry classification system-updates for 2007, 2007, p. 79,500). NAICS is used by government agencies that collect or publish data by industry. In addition to all levels of government, trade associations and the private-sector also use the NAICS systems for economic evaluation.

The *Encyclopedia of Associations* is one resource that still relies on the SIC coding system to classify organizations. The *Encyclopedia of Associations* includes descriptive data on more than 22,200 American associations of national scope. After being granted temporary access to the electronic database, I searched the *Encyclopedia of Associations* to

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identify associations that serve the economic sectors included in the TEIM. However,

because the *Encyclopedia of Associations* uses SIC codes, I had to translate the NAICS codes

used by the TEIM to the corresponding SIC codes. The listing of NAICS codes used in the

TEIM and the corresponding SIC codes are shown in Table 3.1. Searching the *Encyclopedia*

of Associations generated 232 tourism-related associations, after NAICS to SIC translation.

Table 3.1 SIC and NAICS codes used in the Travel Economic Impact Model (TEIM).

NAICS Descriptions	NAICS Codes	SIC Descriptions	SIC Codes
Accommodations		*Accommodations*	
Traveler Accommodations	7211	Hotels and Motels	701
Recreational Vehicle Parks & Campgrounds	7212	Recreational Vehicle Parks & Campsites	703
Auto Transportation		*Auto Transportation*	
Passenger Car Rental	532111	Passenger Car Rental	7514
Gasoline Stations with Convenience Stores; Other Gasoline Stations	447110; 447190	Gasoline Service Stations	554
Motor Vehicle & Parts Dealers	4411; 4412; 4413	Automotive Dealers	55 (excl. 554)
Entertainment and Recreation		*Entertainment and Recreation*	
Amusement, Gambling, & Recreation Industries	713	Amusement and Recreational Services	79
Performing Arts, Spectator Sports & Related Industries	711		
Museums, Historical Sites & Similar Institutions	712	Museums, Art Galleries, Botanical and Zoological Gardens	84
Food		*Food*	
Foodservices & Drinking Places	7221; 7222; 7224	Eating & Drinking Places (Alcoholic Beverages)	581
Food and Beverage Stores	4451; 4452; 4453	Grocery Stores	541
Public Transportation		*Public Transportation*	
Passenger Air Transportation; Airport Support Activities	481; 4881	Air Transportation	45
Interurban & Rural Bus Transportation	4852	Interurban and Rural Bus Carriers	413
Charter Bus (interstate/interurban)	4855102	Charter Bus/Interstate	4142
Taxi & Limousine Services	4853	Taxi & Limousine Services	412
Water Passenger Transportation and Excursion & Sightseeing Boats	483112; 483114; 483212; 487210	Water Transportation of Passengers	448
Retail		*Retail*	
General Merchandise Stores	452	General Merchandise Stores	53
Other Retail Stores	453; 44611; 4483; 45111; 45112; 45121	Miscellaneous Retail Stores	59
Travel Arrangement		*Travel Arrangement*	
Travel Arrangement & Reservation Services	5615	Travel Arrangement	472

Note. Adapted from Cook (2003).

To augment the search in the *Encyclopedia of Associations*, I searched the database of Lobbying Disclosure Forms (LDFs) compiled by the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP), which are disseminated through their website opensecrets.org. LDFs are quarterly reports, required by the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995, that must be filed by all lobbyists spending more than $20,000 on lobbying activities in a particular quarter (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998). The CRP classifies businesses and other organizations by 209 categories of industries, which included 27 industries used in the TEIM. The CRP does not use SIC nor NAICS codes to classify industries, therefore the 27 categories used are based on the names of the industries assigned by the CRP. These industries are: Air transport; airlines; alcoholic beverages; automotive; bars & restaurants; beer, wine & liquor; casinos/gambling; cruise lines; cruise ships & lines; entertainment industry; food & beverage; food stores; gambling & casinos; gambling, Indian casinos; hotels, motels & tourism; Indian gaming; liquor, wine & beer; lodging/tourism; miscellaneous transportation; professional sports, sports arenas & related equipment & services; railroads; recreation/live entertainment; restaurants & drinking establishments; retail sales; sea transport; sports, professional; and wine, beer & liquor.

I then searched within each selected industry for associations that had not been identified in the *Encyclopedia of Associations* search. As a final check, I conducted a Google search to identify any additional national tourism-related associations. The most helpful information from the Google search was supplied by lists compiled by Michigan State University (*TTRRC links to national tourism trade associations,* 2006), and business to business websites (*Trade associations for travel and tourism,* 2008; *Travel and tourism*

organizations information, 2008). The CRP and Google searches resulted in 63 additional

associations, for a total potential association universe of 295.

To validate the list of 295 associations, I collected the mission statements of each of

the cases from the organizations' websites. I analyzed the mission statements or descriptions

of each association and eliminated those not involved in some aspect of tourism. For

organizations without websites but with available phone numbers, I placed calls in an attempt

to determine their mission and purpose. Organizations without a web presence or available

phone number were assumed to be no longer in existence and were discarded. An

organization was also discarded if its primary focus was not on the national level or if it was

headquartered outside of the United States. After these criteria were applied, 224

associations remained. I then sent this listing of 224 associations to a panel of three tourism

experts, asking them to verify the completeness of the list. There were no suggested

additions that had not already been considered.

I assigned any organization that was not identified with a NAICS or SIC code to a

NAICS category based on my understanding of the organization. Several organizations had a

clear interest in tourism but could not be easily categorized in a NAICS category. The

Hospitality Sales & Marketing Association International and the Travel and Tourism

Research Association are examples of organizations that could not be clearly classified. For

such unclassifiable organizations, I created an *Other* category.

Research Phase One

The first phase of the research involved collecting and analyzing data about the public

policy agendas of tourism-related associations. I selected a representative sample from the

universe of tourism-related associations, identified cases with an advocacy agenda, and

designed and implemented a plan to analyze the content of agendas from sample

organizations. This section details the processes associated with the content.

Phase One Sample Selection

The sampling for Phase One was a stratified random sample. My dissertation

committee suggested an initial exploratory sample of 50 organizations. To ensure a

representative sample, organizations were randomly selected from within each operating

sector category in proportion to organizations in each category of the universe. For example,

since the accommodations category includes 8% of the total organizations in the universe,

four accommodations associations were selected as part of the initial exploratory sample of

50 organizations. Table 3.2 summarizes the proportion of organizations broken down by the

seven TEIM categories, plus the *Other* category.

Table 3.2 Sampling framework.

Category	Total	Percentage of Total	Sample(n) = 50
Accommodations	18	8.0%	4
Auto Transportation	10	4.5%	2
Entertainment and Recreation	81	36.2%	18
Food	28	12.5%	6
Public Transportation	36	16.1%	8
Retail	7	3.1%	2
Travel Arrangement	36	16.1%	8
Other	8	3.6%	2
TOTAL	224		50

After the number of cases within each category was determined, I randomly selected organizations to fill the required sample size for each category using the RAND function in Microsoft Excel 2002. The RAND function returns an evenly distributed random number within a set of numbers. All organizations within a category were assigned a number between 1 and x, where x is the total number of organizations within that category. The associations' assigned numbers comprised the set of numbers for each category from which the RAND function was calculated. The organization associated with the number returned by the RAND function was moved from the universe list to the sample. This activity was repeated until each category in the sample contained the appropriate number of cases in proportion to the universe and the sample totaled 50 cases.

Further Stratifying the Sample

Following sample selection, I classified each organization in two strata – those that had an existing public policy agenda and those that did not. I reviewed all organizations' websites and downloaded the most recent public policy agenda from each organization with an agenda available their website. I then mailed letters to executives in all sample organizations informing them of the study. The purpose of the letter was twofold. The first purpose was to inform the organizations of their inclusion in the research sample. The second purpose of the letter was to ask each organization's representative to provide their latest public policy agenda if not on their website or to confirm that their organization did not have a public policy agenda. A sample of the letters is included as Appendix A.

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Executives in 27 organizations responded to my letter – 24 sent an email, two responded via phone call, and one mailed a letter to me. Of the 27 organizations, 20 stated they did not have a public policy agenda. However, through my review of the organizations' websites, I had already found public policy agendas from three of the organizations claiming not to have an agenda. Yet another executive stated in an email message, "We are very small and wouldn't add value to your survey." I did not heed this advice and the group remained in the sample. This indicated that there may be something to be learned simply from the responses to my letter. Contents of the communications in response to my letter were analyzed and some of the revealing comments are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. I did not receive any response to my letter from 23 organizations. However, I had previously found the policy agendas for 21 organizations of the 23 that did not respond to my letter.

I searched lobbying disclosure filing records to find potential public policy agendas from organizations that did not make their agendas readily available. Filing records are disseminated by the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP) at www.opensecrets.org. My search of the CRP database revealed the public policy agendas of three additional organizations. In total, 28 public policy agendas were collected from the initial exploratory sample of 50 organizations.

Adjusting the Stratified Sample

As Miles and Huberman (1984) suggest, research samples in qualitative studies are subject to change. The number of cases in the sample is malleable and can change as data are collected and the findings are theoretically analyzed (Henderson, 2006). Such is the case

with my research. Representatives from four organizations never responded after several attempts to make contact and schedule an interview. The organizations which the non-responders represent were replaced, on a case-by-case basis, in the same method that the exploratory sample was selected – randomly based on the NAICS distribution of the original universe. The newly-selected organizations became part of the exploratory sample. Two of the new members of the exploratory sample had advocacy agendas and I included the agendas in the content analysis and requested an interview with government affairs representatives. After this exercise, the sample size increased to 54, of which 30 organizations had advocacy agendas. The research process and corresponding sample numbers are summarized in Figure 3.1. The resulting research sample is shown in Table 3.3.

Content Analysis

I used content analysis to analyze the public policy agendas of associations in the sample to identify issues important to each organization and their positions on the issues. Researchers have employed content analysis to study documents across organizations in a variety of areas including policy agendas (e.g., Wattier & Tatalovich, 2000; Driedger & Eyles, 2003), Advocacy Coalition Framework (e.g., Stratigaki, 2004), management (e.g., Stemler & Bebell, 1999; Hassink, de Vries, & Bollen, 2007), public policy (e.g., Pudrovska & Ferree, 2004; Jewell & Bero, 2007), and tourism (e.g., Lee, Cai, & O'Leary, 2006).

Table 3.3 Sample tourism-related associations.

Tourism Component (TEIM)	Association
Accommodations = 4 cases (4 initial cases plus 0 replacements)	American Hotel and Lodging Association Asian American Hotel Owners Association Dude Ranchers' Association Green Hotels Association
Auto Transportation = 2 cases (2 initial cases plus 0 replacements)	Alliance of Automobile Manufacturers Recreation Vehicle Dealers Association
Entertainment and Recreation = 20 cases (18 initial cases plus 2 replacements)	American Canoe Association American Federation of Arts American Gaming Association American Recreation Coalition Int'l. Assoc. of Amusement Parks and Attractions Boat Owners Association of the United States Club Management Association of America International Association of Conference Centers International Association of Fairs and Expositions International Festivals and Events Association Kansas City Barbeque Society League of Historic American Theatres National Assoc. of Recreation Resource Planners National Recreation and Park Association National Thoroughbred Racing Association Outdoor Amusement Business Association Outdoor Industry Association Theatre Historical Society of America United States Tour Operators Association World Waterpark Association
Food = 6 cases (6 initial cases plus 0 replacements)	American Culinary Federation Distilled Spirits Council of the United States International Culinary Tourism Association International Flight Service Association National Council of Chain Restaurants National Restaurant Association
Public Transportation = 10 cases (8 initial cases plus 2 replacements)	Air Taxi Association Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association American Bus Association Association of American Railroads Cruise Lines International Association Governors Highway Safety Association Motorist Information and Services Association National Association of State Aviation Officials National Marine Manufacturers Association Regional Airline Association
Retail = 2 cases (2 initial cases plus 0 replacements)	International Association of Airport Duty Free Stores National Association for Retail Marketing Services
Travel Arrangement = 8 cases (8 initial cases plus 0 replacements)	American Automobile Association Association of Destination Management Executives Destination Marketing Association International Medical Tourism Association National Park Hospitality Association National Tour Association Society for Accessible Travel & Hospitality United States Travel Association
Other = 2 cases (2 initial cases plus 0 replacements)	International City/County Management Association Hospitality Sales and Marketing Association International

Content analysis can be inductive, allowing themes and patterns to emerge during data analysis. The approach involves coding documents and other written forms into conceptual categories based on specific rules of coding. Thus, it follows a hermeneutic approach – identifying the meaning of words and phrases in the documents under study. Krippendorf (2004) outlines six key processes associated with content analysis: unitizing, sampling, establishing reliability, reducing, inferring, and narrating. Unitizing, establishing reliability, and reducing are described in the following paragraphs. Sampling for the content analysis in my dissertation was described earlier in this section. Inferring, or analyzing the data to discover meaning, and reporting the conclusions in narrative form are presented in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

To address unitizing, I analyzed the paragraphs that described a public policy issue an individual association is concerned with and the association's position on that issue. The issue descriptions for an individual association make up that association's public policy agenda.

Reducing involves coding and summarizing data to limit complexity in the analysis (Krippendorf, 2004). In this study I used *a priori* coding, as opposed to emergent coding, which involves more than one researcher. By contrast, *a priori* coding relies on prior theory or studies to establish categories used for coding (Stemler, 2001). The general issue area codes required on the Lobbying Disclosure Form (LDF) served as codes used to categorize issue descriptions listed in the associations' public policy agendas. Each individual or organization that spends more than $20,000 in a quarter on lobbying legislative or administration officials must indicate on the quarterly LDF the issues they are trying to affect.

Baumgartner and Leech (2000) pointed out challenges associated with using LDF codes for empirical research. Challenges include relying on open-ended questions to which different respondents provide varying levels of detail. For example, some respondents provide detail on the small clauses of a particular policy issue, while others are less descriptive.

I scanned the Lobbying Disclosure Forms of several random organizations to further understand the challenges of using LDF codes, specifically how organizations report their lobbying activity, and how I should code issues. In practice, organizations tend to use the general issue area codes on the Lobbying Disclosure Forms based on their perspective. For example, lobbying activities related to proposed changes to the Americans with Disabilities Act were coded as CIV (Civil Rights/ Civil Liberties) by the American Association of Retired Persons, as LBR (Labor Issues/ Antitrust/ Workplace) by the National Association of Manufacturers, and as LAW (Law Enforcement/ Crime/ Criminal Justice by the National Restaurant Association. In this example, members of each organization are affected in different ways by the Americans with Disabilities Act and the associations' reporting appears to reflect that.

The idea that organizations choose issue area codes based on how they align with their policy priorities was confirmed through conversations I had with Washington lobbyists who served as key informants for my study. Because of the inconsistencies of LDF issue coding across organizations, it is important that my coding was consistent and I was able to explain the general preferences of organizations lobbying on the issue. Lobbyists or other researchers may make different choices than I did when assigning LDF codes to issues, but my coding remained consistent throughout my analysis.

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Another challenge with using LDF codes is that not all organizations file the reports. If an organization spends less than $20,000 per quarter on lobbying legislative or administration officials, then no LDF is required. Therefore there were no LDF forms to review coding purposes for some organizations in my sample, even though the organizations have public policy agendas. When no LDF form was available for an organization in my sample, I searched the CRP database by bill number, when a bill number was mentioned on the public policy agenda. The search by bill number indicated all the organizations that had lobbied on that issue. I then reviewed several LDFs of other organizations to assign codes to issues in my sample. I assigned codes by employing the analytic tool of constant comparison described by Strauss and Corbin (2008) to the description of any remaining issues that were similar and had not been coded by the organizations. Constant comparison involves evaluating each case against previous cases analyzed to identify similarities and differences.

Yet another challenge with using LDF forms as a basis for coding is that organizations are not required to include their positions on the issues. While most organizations indicate positions on issues in the advocacy agenda they publicize, some organizations do not. For organizations that did not explicitly state their positions on issues, I analyzed the agendas of related organizations that had lobbied on the same issue. For example, I built the agenda for the Alliance of Automobile Manufacturers (AAM) based on the LDFs the organization filed, which did not include positions on issues. To estimate their position on issues, I looked at organizations such as members of AAM (i.e., General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler) or the Association of International Automobile Manufacturers to determine the position on issues that potential coalition partners might hold. My assumptions in estimating issue positions are

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based on the premise that interdependent organizations – those that have common stakeholders, offer similar services, or have similar goals – are expected to have considerable overlap in policy core beliefs and preferences, as explained by the Advocacy Coalition Framework. I was able to determine all organizations' positions on issues by looking at organization agendas or agendas of comparable organizations lobbying on the same issue.

The LDF codes became a tool to analyze issues and preferences within a common domain and to categorize the data. For example, 39 issues on the agendas of six organizations in my sample were coded as CSP (Consumer Issues/ Safety/ Protection). The six organizations make up part of what could be considered the consumer protection policy domain. In total there were 28 policy domains, or LDF general issue area codes, among the 261 issues in the initial exploratory sample.

I analyzed the issues within each category for similarities. Issues that were similar were put into smaller groupings which became policy subsystems. As defined during the discussion of the Advocacy Coalition Framework, a policy subsystem is the collection of actors who attempt to influence policy in a common domain on a regular basis. The 39 CSP issues were categorized into eleven policy subsystems: automobile owners' rights, truck safety, automobile passenger safety, driver safety, motorcycle safety, pedestrian safety, bicycle and personal conveyance safety, price gouging, amusement park safety, cruise ship safety, and insurance.

Organizations' positions on the issues within each policy subsystem revealed potential advocacy coalitions. Advocacy coalitions consist of organizations with the same preferences toward issues in the same policy subsystem. I returned to the public policy

agendas in the sample or reviewed text of pieces of legislation to ensure I was correctly interpreting the issue and organizations' positions on the issues. This undertaking was necessary because many of the agendas were written in a way that made the organization's stance appear more positive than negative. I re-worded positions on issues into preference statements that would be common among the organizations in the potential advocacy coalition. For example, the automobile safety policy subsystem, included organizations with different stances on automobile safety. No organizations expressed a position that automobiles should be less safe, but there were varying concerns about the balance of safety and business operations. Thus, some organizations' preferences were more in line with a preference statement such as, *all roadway vehicles should be as safe as possible*, while other organizations tended more toward a preference statement such as, *vehicles should be safe as long as costs to businesses are not too large*. Organizations that align with one of these preference statements could form an advocacy coalition based on similar policy preferences. The CSP policy domain included 14 potential advocacy coalitions. Six of the potential advocacy coalitions within the CSP policy domain held opposing viewpoints. This potential conflict is further elucidated in Chapters 4 and 5.

Once I had coded and categorized the issues, I analyzed all agendas again to establish stability or reliability. Stability occurs when the same results occur after the same coder analyzes each unit multiple times (Krippendorf, 2004). The issues coded with conflicting results were analyzed on a case-by-case basis. When necessary I contacted the association's government affairs department for clarification.

Content analysis is not without inherent disadvantages. The principal disadvantages are possible misinterpretation of the data (Roe, 1994), minimal interaction with participants, and the requirement of a carefully designed coding system (Henderson, 2006). The first two disadvantages were mitigated, at least in part, by the in-depth personal interviews that followed the content analysis. The third disadvantage was diminished by the constant comparison technique previously described. When an issue description was difficult to code, I would put it aside and return to it after coding other issues so that there were more cases for comparison. Using the coding system provided by the Lobbying Disclosure Form also helped alleviate the third disadvantage.

Research Phase Two

Through personal interviews, I set out to identify how interest groups worked together, or do not work together, while pursuing similar public policy agendas. Phase Two is contingent upon Phase One because the content analysis of the public policy agendas identified organizations that engage in advocacy. The content analysis also revealed the policy preferences of sample organizations that engage in advocacy. The research questions, content analysis, and literature review informed the interview questions and assisted in determining the appropriate number of interviews to conduct.

Phase Two Sample Selection

The selection of executives to interview was purposive. I only wanted to interview representatives from organizations that had an existing federal public policy agenda. The

research questions involved seeking answers regarding the advocacy efforts of tourism associations. Therefore, those executives who are actively involved in advocacy are best able to provide data about the processes of how advocacy coalitions are formed and managed. Including only organizations with advocacy agendas eliminates the opportunity to learn about the behavior of organizations that do not engage in advocacy. However, this opportunity can be investigated in future research.

A second criterion was applied to sample organizations with an advocacy agenda regarding how I would interview professionals. I conducted two forms of in-depth interviews – in-person and telephone. For in-person interviews, I only targeted professionals in organizations in the Washington, DC area because of my limited resources to travel. I targeted executives in organizations outside of Washington, DC for telephone interviews. Speaking with government affairs executives in sample organizations outside of Washington, DC reduces coverage bias that could be attributed to only interviewing those in Washington.

Of the 30 sample organizations with public policy agendas, 24 were located in the Washington, DC area and six were located elsewhere in the United States. I conducted in-person interviews with 15 executives in the sub-sample of 20 Washington-based associations. I also interviewed five executives in the non-Washington sub-sample of six organizations. I interviewed 75% of the Washington sub-sample and 83% of the non-Washington sub-sample. I over-sampled the non-Washington sub-sample to account for variability in experiences among the fewer, yet more geographically diverse non-Washington based executives. In addition to interviews with executives in the sample, I also conducted several interviews with three key informants throughout the research process. Several of the

executives I interviewed held previous jobs in non-tourism industries. I asked about how tourism advocacy compares to the advocacy efforts of other industry groups.

During the week of December 21, 2008, I sent an email to a government affairs executive in each of the target organizations in the Washington, DC area. The email included a list of dates during January that I would be able to travel to Washington, DC to conduct interviews. I asked each recipient to select the date for a 45 minute meeting that was most conducive to their schedule. I followed up twice each week for the next three weeks via email or phone call with those who did not respond to the initial email. The follow-up communication included revised dates that I would be available for interviews.

January, 2009 represented two significant events in government that may have affected the availability of those in the target list. First, a new session of Congress was sworn in on January 7, 2009. Any new session of Congress attracts the attention and energy of lobbyists. This condition was exacerbated by the second significant event – the inauguration of President Barack Obama, which took place on January 20, 2009. More than just the first change in the administration in eight years, the National Capital Area was virtually shut down to business as usual from the afternoon of January 16 to January 22. Also, one of the major legislative initiatives in January, 2009 was the Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP), which was designed to stimulate the economy during the recessionary period of 2008 and 2009. Many associations were working hard to position their industries to collect as much of the economic stimulus monies as possible through the TARP program.

In retrospect, it could have been more beneficial to schedule interviews for the week after November 4, 2008, the date of the general election and before the first day of the 111th

Congress. However, the uncontrollable but not unplanned historical events that took place during my fieldwork may not have had an impact on scheduling interviews. Of the original targeted list, only one association executive said she was unavailable to meet with me.

In-depth Personal Interviews

Personal interviews have been used as a research method in similar studies analyzing organizations and public policy agendas (e.g., Goumans & Springett, 1997; C. Gray & Mabey, 2005), advocacy coalitions (e.g., Weber & Christophersen, 2002; Weible, 2005; Houlihan & Green, 2006; Larsen, Vrangbaek, & Traulsen, 2006), and public administration (e.g., Bennett & McPhail, 1992; Kendall, 2000; J. Freedman, 2002; Broad, 2006;). Personal interviews can generate data through interactional conversations with people about their lived experiences. The conversations can take several forms ranging from highly-structured to free-flowing exchanges. The interviews for my dissertation research were semi-structured, which allowed for free-flowing exchanges as the conversation progressed. However, I controlled any digressions interviewees made that diverted the discussion away from relevant information.

According to Holstein and Gubrium (1995), "All interviews are reality-constructing, meaning-making occasions" (p. 4). Through a critical realist approach, the interview can take place within the context of discovering *how* the knowledge is created, in addition to the equally important notion of *what* the knowledge is. In interviewing, the interviewer is the instrument. Interviews require the researcher to focus, while knowing that failure to collect meaningful data is the interviewer's fault (Henderson, 2006).

In-depth interviews offer the researcher personal encounters with research participants and can facilitate cooperation in the research process. Furthermore, personal interviews allow for immediate probing and follow-up with those being interviewed. Illuminating possible interconnections that might be suspected during content analysis of sample advocacy agendas was important for my study. Also, the personal interviews were used, in some cases, to validate or triangulate data discovered through the first phase of research (Henderson, 2006).

I conducted two types of personal interviews – in-person and telephone. All in-person interviews were conducted in the offices of the associations. Although I asked each executive to schedule 45 minutes for the interview, many were longer. The timing of the interviews ranged from 25 minutes to 68 minutes. Only three of the interviews were shorter than 30 minutes. Two interviews were conducted with two people. The remaining were solely with my primary contact. I continued interviewing government affairs executives until I felt that I had reached theoretical saturation. Theoretical saturation is when new data collected provide little new to conceptualizing the research findings (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Details of theoretical saturation as they apply to my study are described later in this Chapter.

At the beginning of each interview I reminded the interviewee of my study and why I was in his/her office. I then reviewed and asked them to sign an informed consent form, as required by the Institutional Review Board (IRB). The informed consent form stated that participation in the research was voluntary and outlined the risks and benefits of participating in the study. No foreseeable risks or discomforts for the executives who participated in the

research were expected. Likewise, no substantial benefits were offered to participants. The form also assured participants of confidentiality in that no references will be made to that might link the participants to the study. A copy of the informed consent form is included as Appendix B.

None of the interviewees objected to signing the form and a copy was given to each interviewee. I then asked for their permission to record our conversation. No one objected to being recorded. Interviews were recorded on a digital voice recorder and a mini-cassette recorder, which served as a back-up. After engaging the recording devices, I asked each interviewee to confirm their agreement with the interview being recorded. I then proceeded with the interview protocol, which is presented as Appendix C.

As Schutt (2008) stated, "If money is no object, in-person interviewing is often the best" (p. 296) data collection method. However, because of my limited resources of money and time to travel to all members of my sample, I conducted personal interviews over the phone with executives from organizations based outside of Washington, DC. For the telephone interviews, I followed a similar routine described in the previous paragraph for the in-person interviews. Just as with the in-person interviews, the telephone interviews were conducted during normal business hours and I phoned the executive in his/her office. I was able to mitigate response bias based on the different methodologies because of the comparable environments in which the two types of interviews took place (Schutt).

The first question I asked during each interview was *Does your organization work with other associations to advance your organization's public policy agenda?* Depending on the response to this yes or no question, the interview would have followed different paths.

However, all interviewees stated they worked with other organizations in advancing their policy agendas, which eliminated the need for follow-up questions for responses of *no* to the first question. After the first question, subjects were asked how they work together, with whom they work, and other questions related to the benefits, management, and power of coalitions. I also explored constructs of my theoretical frameworks during the interviews. For example, the professionals being interviewed were asked about how coalitions are formed and managed, how organizations pursued and controlled resources, and how coalition leaders dealt with free-riders.

During the eighth interview, I was asked who else was on my list of association executives to interview. I mistakenly read organization and executive names from the list to the inquisitive interviewee. Out of concern that future interviewees could be influenced by those who had already been interviewed and to combat future response bias, I changed the interview protocol by asking each subject after the eighth interview if they had heard of my study or had any conversations with anyone who had already been interviewed. None of those asked claimed to have any knowledge of my research.

Potential disadvantages of using the personal interview method can be categorized as those pertaining to the researcher and those pertaining to the respondent. Researcher issues include possible misinterpretation, required training, discomfort as a researcher, and the researcher's abilities. Respondent issues include necessary cooperation, honesty, and concerns related to obtrusiveness and reactivity in answering interview questions. In addition, there may also be effects stemming from the interaction of the participant and the researcher such as distrust or dislike (Henderson, 2006).

I followed interview guidelines as prescribed by Henderson (2006) and Holstein and Gubrium (1995) to combat misinterpretation and other research-related issues. I have conducted several hundred interviews over the past decade during the course of consulting and academic research. This experience has not only enhanced my skills, but also brought about a high level of comfort in conducting interviews with executive-level professionals. The disadvantages attributable to respondents may have been mitigated by the interviewees' interest in the outcomes of the research and their willingness to help a graduate student with research that affects them professionally.

I was able to create trust with some of my interviewees by being, on the fringe, a part of them. I work with a tourism trade association – the Southeast Tourism Policy Council (STPC) – on public policy issues and represented the STPC at a December, 2008 gathering of tourism associations working to draft a collective policy agenda that was sent to President-elect Obama. During an interview trip to Washington, I realized that I could squeeze one more interview in if one of my targets would make himself available. I phoned a representative in my sample and asked if I could interview him. His response was, "Meeting with you is the least I can do since you joined us last month," referring to my participation in the December meeting. His willingness to meet with me was reciprocation for my help in developing the letter for the new president. It was Social Exchange Theory in action. Since we met after the buses had stopped running from his office, I drove him home, at his request, as reciprocation for the time he spent with me. Another interviewee told me that she probably would not have met with me if we had not previously met at an advocacy function. My previous interactions with both interviewees added to my credibility. Those who I had

not previously met required more work to get appointments. However in the interviews I gained their trust by doing maintaining a professional demeanor, following IRB guidelines and formalities, and demonstrating an understanding of associations, of advocacy, and of tourism.

I transcribed all recorded interview data using Express Scribe into a Microsoft Word document. Express Scribe is a digital transcription audio player software program that can be used in place of the electric Dictaphone-type dictation machines. Express Scribe eliminates the need for foot pedals. Audio control playback is controlled through the function keys on the computer keyboard. To protect the identity of the person being interviewed and also to organize the data, I used a numbering system to identify the organization with which the individual interviewee was associated.

To analyze the interview transcript data, I used ATLAS.ti, version 5.2. ATLAS.ti is a software program that facilitates the analysis of large amounts of textual data. The software enables qualitative researchers to systematically code, manage, and analyze data. The software also has the capability to display relationships among data, allowing the researcher a hierarchical view of data, which helps in model and theory building.

Adjustments to the Universe

Interviewees mentioned roughly 35 coalition partner associations that were not included in the universe of tourism-related associations I created. Similar to evaluating organizations to establish the initial universe, I evaluated publicly-available information about each association mentioned during interviews to determine the organizations'

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involvement with tourism at the national level in the United States. I added six organizations

to the universe after analyzing the associations mentioned in interviews. The associations

added were the Alliance of National Heritage Areas, GLAMER/Bank Travel, the Receptive

Services Association of America, Travel Professionals of Color, U.S. Conference of Mayors,

and the World Religious Travel Association. Adding these six associations represent an

increase of only 2.7% to the original universe of 224 organizations. The small increase from

the original list adds validity to the initial findings regarding the size of the universe of

tourism-related associations.

While I was conducting the research, two of the associations – the Travel Industry

Association and the Travel Business Roundtable – merged, reducing the number of cases in

the universe from 230 to 229. The universe of national tourism-related associations is listed

in Appendix D. However, as described in Chapter 3, I selected the research sample of 54

from my original list of 224 tourism-related associations.

Data Organization and Coding

Once interviews are transcribed, data must be organized and coded to facilitate

analysis and interpretation processes. Organizing data into discrete categories leads to

conceptualization of the data and is the foundation of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin,

1998). Data organization can include descriptive, interpretive, or explanatory coding, which

may be most effective when combined (Henderson, 2008).

The analytic process of *open coding* includes descriptive, interpretive, and

explanatory coding. During open coding "concepts are identified and their properties and

dimensions are discovered in data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 101). Organizing concepts

into *categories* creates fewer units and facilitates analysis. Conceptual categories enable the

researcher to explain phenomena and predict future behavior. Category and sub-category

names can come from various sources including the list of concepts discovered in data, *in*

vivo codes (i.e., the words of the research subject), and the literature (Strauss & Corbin).

Axial coding uncovers relationships among categories, based on the category's properties and

dimensions discovered during open coding (Strauss, 1987).

   I conducted open coding and axial coding to organize interview data. The initial

concepts discovered during open coding resembled questions asked during interviews.

Names of data categories emerged from the list of concepts created during open coding. As I

collected and analyzed data, the names of the data categories evolved to better describe the

phenomenon. The resulting data categories were: *characteristics of policy actors* (roles and

motivations), *association resources*, *coalition management*, *cooperation mitigators*, *agenda*

development, and *policy preferences*.

   The data categories were the launching point for supplemental selective coding based

on interpretation of the data. Selective coding facilitates examination of how the data fit

together as inter-related concepts. The inter-related concepts result in theory (Henderson,

2006). The discussion of the research findings in Chapter 4 is organized around the data

categories and sub-categories. The discussion on inter-related concepts is presented in

Chapter 5.

Theoretical Saturation

The stopping point in data collection for qualitative research is at the discretion of the researcher based on the level of theoretical saturation that has been reached (Henderson, 2006). Theoretical saturation occurs when new data gathered "add little new to the conceptualization" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 263). Saturation does not imply that no new information can be gained, but instead collecting additional data seems counterproductive and much of the possible variability in the data has been accounted for in the analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

As previously stated, at the end of each interview day, I would write my thoughts from the day in my dissertation diary. The dissertation diary data were coded along with my interview data. During data analysis I noticed common themes among my notes in the dissertation diaries regarding my thoughts about the data I was collecting through interviews. For example, after the fifth day of conducting in-person interviews, I had met with 13 trade association executives. On this evening, I wrote in my journal and then reviewed what I had written after previous interview days. My journal entries included comments about how each interviewee believes coalitions are crucial, much confusion exists about what tourism means, a void in leadership exists among tourism coalitions, and an apparent disunity and in-fighting among some tourism-related associations often exists. It was becoming clear that the power and reciprocity (lack thereof) aspects of Social Exchange Theory, tenets of the Advocacy Coalition Framework involving the management of coalitions, and resource interdependency concepts from Resource Dependency Theory were surfacing in each conversation with my interviewees.

I checked further for theoretical saturation during my next visit to Washington by discussing my findings with one of my key informants, a DC-based independent lobbyist with extensive tourism advocacy experience. The key informant was not associated with any sample organizations. During our meeting, I asked the key informant specific questions regarding data I had collected in each category and the relationship among categories. We also discussed my ideas of potential theories to explain the behavior of tourism advocates

After my initial examination of theoretical saturation and discussion with the key informant, I interviewed seven additional trade association executives from the sample. During these interviews, I explored the areas that needed further probing to increase the density of the dimensions within each category. Because of limited time and financial resources, I had to stop data collection after 20 interviews. "Variability is differences in conditions, actions/interactions, or consequences" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 211). I sought to maximize variation by adding the folks from outside of Washington. I also added variation by including a wide array of tourism organizations.

Theoretical saturation within most categories was confirmed while transcribing the interviews, from the research record, and throughout various stages of data analysis that led to my findings. Other data categories, described in Chapter 4, are less dense and variation and are less developed than desired. These categories can be explored in future research to strengthen the theory I present in Chapter 5.

Conclusion of Methodology

The guiding theoretical frameworks of the Advocacy Coalition Framework, Social Exchange Theory, and Resource Dependency Theory not only framed my research questions, as described in Chapter 2, but also the research design. I used a systematic approach to determine a representative sample of tourism-related associations. The sampling frame was based on the Travel Economic Impact Model (TEIM), an existing model that integrates all tourism components to estimate the economic impact of tourism.

The qualitative approaches used for this investigation provided a path to answering the research questions. The content analysis of the sample organizations' public policy agendas and in-depth personal interviews with association leaders supplied rich data that was used to explore theories and make discoveries. The qualitative methodology and the research design of my dissertation were structured so that the result was not only new knowledge, but also hopefully wisdom that can be used by tourism stakeholders to understand how tourism fits culturally, politically, and economically within our society. In the next chapter, I present the research findings based on the research design presented in this chapter.

The fact is that most of us have been around for a while and we hope to be around for the future and we're going to do the best we can to be able to learn to cooperate. We're all trying to do the right thing.

-Tourism Association Executive

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

The research methodology and theoretical frameworks I employed resulted in several findings, which are described in this chapter. Some of the results provide information that could be used to affect change in the tourism policy process. Other findings may enable understanding of the tourism policy process. Some findings were just interesting and some may be irrelevant. Findings associated with each data category, described in the sections that follow, are organized around the data categories presented at the end of Chapter 3, which were *characteristics of policy actors* (roles and motivations), *association resources*, *coalition management*, *cooperation mitigators*, *agenda development*, and *policy preferences*. The data category *policy preferences*, which describes actors' stances on policy issues, is the central data category to which all other data are related. Relationships among data categories are detailed in Chapter 5.

This chapter includes discussions of findings associated with each data category. Qualitative data is considered dense when all properties of a data category have been reasonably identified. Density gives a data category precision and increases the theory's explanatory power (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Data categories with the most density were *characteristics of policy actors*, *association resources*, and *cooperation mitigators*. Variability relates to the dimensions and range of responses within data categories (Strauss &

Corbin). Most of the variability in the data involved *coalition management* and *agenda development*. Density and variability of data in each category are discussed in the sections that follow and are summarized at the conclusion of this chapter.

<div align="center">Characteristics of Policy Actors</div>

When I asked an association lobbyist how one knows what issues an organization can have an impact on, the response was, "Well, one of the ways is to judge who's involved in it." In other words, tourism advocacy success depends on the competencies and resources of the actors in the policy subsystem. This section answers the question, *What are the roles and motivations of tourism-related associations that engage in advocacy?* My findings associated with tourism policy actors describe the groups involved in tourism policy advocacy, from the perspective of the association executive. Characteristics of policy actors also include the roles and motivations of the identified tourism policy actors.

<div align="center">*Actors Identified*</div>

The first finding of significance regarding tourism policy actors is at least 229 associations exist in the universe of national associations in the United States that serve members in the NAICS codes included in the Travel Economic Impact Model. The breadth of tourism-related associations is akin to the mélange of federal government agencies responsible for some aspect of tourism, as described in Chapter 1. This finding is also consistent with the complex nature of tourism previously defined as *a system of economic*

sectors and travel behaviors – an amalgamation of facilities, services, resources, motivations, and activities that combine in some form to create individual travel experiences.

More organizations existed that could have also been included in the universe of tourism-related associations. For example, the Southeast Tourism Society and the Western States Tourism Policy Council were not included in the universe because the two organizations are not national in scope, which is characteristic of the organizations in my study. Both organizations serve particular geographies within the United States and neither has a national focus. However, both organizations have played an important role in tourism policy development at the national level (Edgell et al., 2008). The success of localized advocacy organizations is consistent with tourism's characteristic as being a local phenomenon. Several interviewees mentioned the importance of working with grassroots organizations to advance a national tourism policy agenda. Mobilizable troops, according to Sabatier and Weible (2007) is an important resource of advocacy coalitions. Investigating the efficacy of tourism advocacy at the regional and local level is an opportunity for future research.

Another meaningful finding is some tourism policy actors may not be fully aware of their involvement in advocacy. For example, communications I received from six association executives claimed their organizations did not engage in advocacy. However, I was able to find lobbying agendas for three of these organizations. One executive explicitly stated, "[The organization] is a voluntary trade association and we do not have a published policy agenda." Although the organization did not have a *published* policy agenda, I

collected the organization's policy agenda during the course of research from a publicly available source.

Reasons why an organization's government affairs executive claimed to not have a policy agenda when the organization did have a policy agenda could involve the executive not wanting me to have the information, the individual being uninformed about organizational activities, or the person not understanding my question. The first two reasons were beyond my control, but the last reason was not. An email from another association executive stated her organization also did not have a public policy agenda but they "do, upon occasion, provide comments to the government agencies regarding regulations if they are expected to have an impact on [our] industry." This comment made me wonder what association executives consider a public policy agenda and made me realize I had to clearly and carefully explain *policy agenda* in all future communications.

All association executives interviewed stated their organization coaligned with other organizations for advocacy purposes. The coalitions were based on policy preferences and were centered on the issues. No variability in responses was found regarding the importance of similar preferences among coalition members. As one interviewee stated, their traditional partnerships were "primarily with related industries." However, some partnerships may be less traditional on specific issues. For example, a general aviation association may partner with the American Civil Liberties Union when trying to prevent extensive background checks for private pilots and their passengers. Both organizations have the same policy preference toward this issue, but for different motivations.

Examples of other non-tourism associations the interviewees' organizations worked with were Americans for a Strong National Highway Network, International Automobile Dealers Association, American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators, Paralyzed Veterans of America, and International Association of Chiefs of Police, among others. Organizations in the universe of tourism-related associations sought possible alignments with non-tourism associations based on common policy preferences, which is consistent with the Advocacy Coalition Framework. However, some variability in responses existed because of limited resources to seek out new partners and some organizations' reluctance to reach out beyond traditional tourism partners.

Although organizations in the research sample partnered with a myriad of groups depending on the issue, my research focused on organizations involved with tourism. Commenting on the number of tourism-related associations, one association executive stated, "There are at least 30 to 40, what we call vertical associations and a bunch beyond that. There are smaller organizations, but probably 30 to 40 that have some type of fairly active role in some way in policy related to tourism." My research indicated many more than 30 or 40 organizations were involved with tourism policy advocacy at the federal level in the United States. The quantity depends, in part, on how tourism is defined. For example, some sample associations may not be viewed as tourism organizations by executives from other organizations in the sample. One interviewee, when I mentioned including an auto manufacturing association in the sample, stated, "I would consider them on the periphery, but I can see how they are involved in tourism, from the periphery."

At times executives from advocacy groups in the sample did not realize they were part of the tourism system, although their organizations share common policy preferences with other tourism associations. An entry in my dissertation diary at the end of an interview day included a description of the reaction of one association executive when I mentioned my research focus involved tourism associations and the sample included this executive's organization. The person's head cocked to the side and brow furrowed in a state of apparent curiosity.

Since the ACF predicts policy actors would seek coalition partners with similar policy core beliefs and policy preferences, the curiosity by a "peripheral" organization may indicate opportunities for tourism groups to reach out to organizations that may not be traditional partners (e.g., hotels, restaurants, attractions), but are a natural fit. Some variability in the data existed regarding reaching out to non-traditional advocacy partners, as a few sample organizations had expanded their coalition network beyond what was considered traditional tourism partners.

In addition to partnering with other national organizations, most sample associations also formed partnerships with tourism associations at the state and sub-national levels. For example, the National Restaurant Association may partner with state chapters on state tax issues and with local restaurant groups on proposed liquor-by-the-drink initiatives, which are local laws. National organizations also tried to create an upsurge of grassroots support for national issues by mobilizing state and local chapters. But for limited resources, partnerships among organizations could be limitless as long as policy preferences align.

Interview data showed private-sector firms were also tourism policy actors. As indicated in Figure 1.2, tourism producers include industries such as airlines (public transportation), hotel companies (accommodations), restaurants (food), and automobile companies (auto transportation). Many companies in these industries are large corporations with significant resources devoted to government affairs and advocacy. Most interviewees indicated their organization had worked with private corporations to advance a common stance on an issue. Discussing involvement with a coalition that involved large manufacturers, one interviewee stated, "I think it's a good thing obviously. They're politically savvy, they're all big organizations. So, it's good." Tourism organizations may find non-traditional partners (i.e., organizations on the "periphery" of tourism) when aligning with businesses offering services that are complementary to tourism. Caterpillar, which in addition to manufacturing heavy earthmoving equipment also makes diesel marine engines for recreational boats, is an example of a non-traditional private-sector partner with which tourism organizations may share similar policy preferences.

As interest groups, corporations have different characteristics than trade associations. For example, stakeholders of corporations (i.e., owners) are different than stakeholders of trade associations (i.e., members). A corporation works for the good of itself (i.e., a single corporation) while a trade association works for the good of the industry (i.e., many corporations), which may include many corporations and other interests. The different characteristics and motivations may lead corporations to exhibit different advocacy behavior than associations exhibit (Hojnacki, 1997). At least two interviewees mentioned how some of their members have lobbied against each other because of competing interests. At times, the

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competition among corporate members of sample associations caused the associations to take

a less active role on issues of contention among its members. Accordingly, analyzing the

behavior of private-sector tourism advocacy groups is an important opportunity for future

research.

In addition to associations and private corporations, government agencies were also

mentioned by interviewees as tourism policy actors. According to the Advocacy Coalition

Framework, coalitions' relationships with government officials are considered a resource

(Sabatier & Weible, 2007). Consistent with the findings of Hall and Jenkins (1995) and

McGehee and Meng (2006), comments from interviewees about the involvement of

government agencies and elected officials with tourism policy typically described

deficiencies. For example, one executive stated, "What we don't have this go around

[session of Congress] is *the* champion in Congress. The member who is going to carry this.

We don't know who that's going to be yet." Another claimed, "I get the sense that tourism's

not as much of a focus from the Commerce Department and the other federal agencies."

Another interviewee talked about tourism's best supporters in Congress saying:

> They are members in the Senate and the House who represent states and districts that
>
> are tourism intensive. So Harry Reid's the Senate Majority Leader. He represents
>
> Nevada. The biggest industry in Nevada is travel and tourism. It's gaming, it's
>
> lodging, it's entertainment, it's all those components. He gets it. So, those are our
>
> biggest champions.

The previous quote illustrated a challenge for tourism, which involved not having the

level of political importance that may be enjoyed by other industry sectors (Hall & Jenkins,

1995; McGehee & Meng, 2006). Working within this reality, as opposed to working to change the political importance of tourism, may be a better use of tourism advocates' limited resources. Data collected regarding how tourism advocacy groups operate within the reality of tourism's political position is described later in this chapter. The various roles of coalition member organizations is presented in the next sub-section.

Roles

Tourism policy actors in the research sample played one of three roles within a given coalition. The roles assumed by tourism policy actors were leaders, members, and experts. Leaders were organizations that coalition members depended on to organize or manage an advocacy coalition. Members were partners in a coalition that may not have been able to take the lead because of limited resources or because the issue was of secondary importance to that organization. Experts provided technical advice on a given subject matter. The role of advocacy coalition participants can change among leaders, members, and experts depending on the issue, to which one interviewee attested, "Depending on the issue, you have people who sort of percolate to the top." Interviewees' responses did not vary when describing that the role an association plays within a coalition was based on resources they could employ. The three roles are described in the following sections.

Leaders

One interviewee described the role of coalition leaders by saying, "It's important to have coalitions that have clear lines of authority and it's important for members of a coalition

to yield to what you might call the leading members." Responsibilities of an advocacy

coalition leader organization included implementing advocacy strategies, taking media calls,

developing communiqués, commissioning a website, taking meeting minutes, and scheduling

meetings, among other activities. Taking a leadership role can also have negative aspects

and be a strain on organization resources, as an interviewee described about the activities of

another organization, "They're clearly in the leadership position. They're also doing all the

work." Coalition leadership depended on available resources and the policy issue. One

interviewee commented on how issues drive coalition leadership:

> This past year, there was a rule that came out of Homeland Security on exit data,
>
> biometric data, primarily fingerprints needed to be collected that the airlines and
>
> cruise lines should collect it rather than Homeland Security or some other government
>
> agency. That was going to change the price of a ticket. So, that's not a major issue
>
> for us, but it would impact the cost of doing business for our association members, so
>
> we got behind IATA, who led the charge and they did the lobbying, they organized,
>
> mostly airlines, but we got in there and so did others who use airlines. We were
>
> endorsers. On some other issues, we were the ones out front because there was a
>
> direct impact on our members.

Another interviewee described how leadership grew out of the issues by commenting,

"Typically what happens is one group will sort of initiate the policy position or will enquire

of their interest or try to bring others along and see if we can all come to basically a

consensus agreement on a position." The issue must be important enough to devote limited

resources to leading a coalition. An interviewee illustrated this by stating, "I think it just

generally comes back to that lack of ability to just do everything. I have so many hours in the day and you kind of need to get stuff done." Another claiming, "Those with more resources tend to lead the effort because they have the background and the knowledge." Another interviewee elaborated on an organization's resources relative to its coalition leadership capabilities, claiming larger organizations were typically leaders:

> The organizations that really have the time, the money and the staff are really the ones that take the lead. The other folks within the associations assist where they can and get their members involved when they can. There certainly is from the larger associations, significantly more money and resources.

One of the interviewees mentioned the potential of the National Restaurant Association (NRA) as a leader among tourism policy actors: "They have a million dollar PAC. They've got 10,000,000 employees, they've got an average of 500 restaurants in every congressional district. You know that if those guys get organized, they're going to be something to contend with." This interviewee pointed out NRA's role as a leader among foodservice businesses and the potential existed for the organization to take a larger role in tourism policy advocacy issues.

Interviewees commonly noted two organizations as being advocacy leaders in the tourism policy arena – the American Recreation Coalition (ARC) and the United States Travel Association (US Travel), formerly the Travel Industry Association of America. The Travel Industry Association of America (TIA) and the Travel Business Roundtable (TBR) merged to form US Travel in January, 2009. ARC was formed in 1979 to protect outdoor recreation resources, such as public lands and waterways. The recreation community

recognized a need to formally unite to look out for themselves. When ARC was founded, the current President, Derrick Crandall, was a staffer at one of the member organizations and he decided to take a leadership role in maintaining the coalition.

ARC is an association of associations. Member associations of ARC include a wide variety of travel of tourism organizations, however most of the member organizations are focused on nature-based outdoor recreation, such as the American Council of Snowmobile Associations, National Park Hospitality Association, Recreation Vehicle Industry Association, and the American Sportfishing Association. To illustrate the heft of the ARC, a complete list of ARC members is included as Appendix E. Most government affairs executives interviewed mentioned that they look to the American Recreation Coalition for tourism advocacy leadership.

The other organization mentioned frequently as a leader by those interviewed was US Travel. According to the organization's website, US Travel "will serve as the leading advocate for increasing travel to and within the United States and provide its members with valuable research, events and marketing." Some association executives had positive comments about the advocacy efforts of US Travel during my interviews. One interviewee stated, "Our travel and tourism activities have been funneled through the Travel Business Roundtable, which has now become part of US Travel Association." Another claimed, "Our partners are traditionally from two areas. They would be in the transportation window that we work in. Or they might be people in the travel and tour side of the industry like US Travel." Another interviewee praised US Travel by saying, "So it's good because you've got airline

guys who are going to disagree with some of the other people on how they want to do it, so TIA (US Travel) kind of puts everybody together."

The newly-created US Travel includes the TBR. Some interviewees expressed concerned about the focus of TBR's agenda, which was largely geared toward international tourism marketing. Since TBR is a collection of chief executives of major corporations such as Disney, American Express, several airlines, and others, one interviewee described TBR's agenda as "a total waste," a statement that was followed by a mocking laugh. This particular advocacy executive thought the group should focus on issues that mattered more to businesses in general such as taxes, labor, and immigration because of the power and resources of the chief executive officers who are members of TBR. Seeing the need for general business issues to have a higher priority, the same government affairs executive drafted a letter advocating on general business issues for members of the tourism community to send to the new Congress. At the time of the interview, US Travel had shown limited interest in working on general business issues with this organization.

Although US Travel had positioned itself as the umbrella organization for tourism, and several executives interviewed looked to US Travel for tourism policy advocacy leadership, data revealed strong variability in how the effectiveness of US Travel was perceived by tourism association government affairs executives interviewed. The frustrations about US Travel's advocacy leadership were shared by an association executive in the following exchange:

Jason: An umbrella organization. Is there a need for that in tourism?

Interviewee: Absolutely.

Jason: Is that US Travel?

Interviewee: That's what we hope. That's what we think is appropriate, because we're not. We only represent our members and we work with strategic partners in the way that we've discussed. It is absolutely not in [our] plan, mission statement, none. We are only focusing on our members.

Another executive described his organization's experience with TIA when creating a surface transportation coalition. "Hotels came to the table. They were interested because if you don't have good access roads, it's hard to get to the hotel. We had four or five, six associations that were interested and we could never get TIA on board." Another interviewee stated, "There should be kind of a broad umbrella, tourism messaging to the hill. To me it seems like TIA should be carrying that message...but they're really not." Another interviewee believed, "TIA has trouble getting beyond the kind of bigness of itself, if you will." Another interviewee spoke of TIA's reluctance to join coalitions by stating, "I'm not sure if it's still there anymore, but their philosophy was, if we're not in charge of the coalition, then we're not going to play. It's either we're running it or we're not going to be involved." Yet another criticism from an interviewee questioned the professional competence of the organization, "I'm not sure that there's ever been anyone over at TIA that understood what government affairs was."

The harsh criticisms of US Travel, formerly TIA, may not be entirely accurate. The data showed variability as several interviewees praised the advocacy work of US Travel. For example, one interviewee showed support of US Travel claiming:

I think travel and tourism has come a long way and I think US Travel Association has done a lot for that. Getting the word out on how important it is to lobby a member of Congress for the past few years and how important we are as an industry, how much money we bring in to the states.

Among those interviewed, roughly half expressed some sort of frustration with the advocacy efforts and leadership role of US Travel. Chapter 5 includes analysis of the frustrations shared by interviewees regarding US Travel's tourism policy leadership.

Coalition Members

Another role of sample organizations was being a member of a coalition. Coalition leaders sought members that were perceived as able to increase the power of the coalition by offering complementary resources. The role of a coalition member-association depended on how important the issue was to the coalition member. An interviewee's comments reflected this:

Sometimes we're in coalitions with people and, on a priority scale, it's not a number one issue for us. We might get involved in a coalition because we don't want to do all the work that it takes to lead an issue. We may be involved in the coalition so we can be part of it without having to lead it. It kind of depends.

An interviewee described the roles of coalition members by claiming, "It's organic and a lot of people will join coalitions because they either don't have the time or capacity to do day-to-day lobbying." Describing the activities of various types of coalition members, another executive noted:

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A lot of coalitions will have a core group of three or four interests and then there will be a much larger range of groups that will put their names on letters, will call, will get their constituencies engaged, but ultimately it's the core groups that are making the day-to-day decisions, creating the target lists, going up to the Hill.

Another interviewee claimed, "There's always sort of an active core group…in a coalition and others who are just sort of there in name only." Duties of core coalition members included participating in coalition meetings, visiting government officials, signing letters, encouraging co-sponsors of legislation, activating a grassroots network, and contributing money. An executive explained activities of coalition members as:

One arm is doing ads, another arm is talking to their members to talk to members of Congress, educating employees and employers on how to get the word out. There are different levels of different things that each association, each group will do. Coalition members are there to kind of spread out that work.

Since some organizations had fewer financial resources than others, organizations not able to contribute money were not excluded from coalition activities or receiving common benefits. However, the coalition would expect input in some form from all members. For example, a well-known organization, without large financial resources, may provide comparable benefits simply by lending its name or adding credibility to the cause because of its reputation.

Every coalition member has "equal opportunity" for responsibilities, influence, and benefits no matter how much money is contributed. An interviewee stated, "A lot of times when you join a coalition, you're signing up for a lot more additional work and

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responsibilities and you may not have the resources." Another interviewee continued the thought, "But what they (coalition leaders) need and want is consensus positions with other members and they want us (coalition members) to be out in meetings on the Hill and pushing a specific position but it's less about financial resources if you don't have them".

Experts

In addition to leaders and members, tourism policy actors can also take the role of experts. As one interviewee stated, "There's so many issues that we lobby on. You can't be an expert on all of the issues, so people (or groups) have their expertise." Some organizations were willing to assist a coalition by providing expertise even if the expert organization did not fully agree with what the coalition stood for. For example, one interviewee claimed, "We become more of an advisor to that coalition, lending our support. But not necessarily completely signing off on everything that the coalition does." Within a coalition, experts were highly valued and respected, as illustrated by a quote from a government affairs executive about a particular individual: "There's a gentleman who works for one of the coalition members who's a tax expert. And none of us are tax experts. And he's great. It's like whenever he comes to a meeting, it's just like, whoa!"

Depending on the issue and resources available, the role of coalition partner organizations changed and sometimes overlapped among coalitions. For example, an expert could also be a leader or a member. One interviewee summarized the roles of coalition partners by saying:

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My experience has been that there's going to be a core group of people in a coalition

that are there all the time and there's going to be people who just drop in and out and,

if there's a lot of money on the table, well that can bring out the best or can bring out

the worst.

The quote above also speaks to reasons why organizations were motivated to become

involved in advocacy coalitions. Motivations of policy actors are explained in the next

section.

Motivations

The motive of tourism policy actors for participating in coalitions was to bring in

different groups on an issue and to broaden the coalition's appeal while the actor pursued the

ultimate goal of advancing its own public policy agenda. The *motivation* data category is

dense because all interviewees described the ultimate goal of advancing their own

organization's agenda. The self-interest motivation found in the data is supported by the

self-interest tenets of Social Exchange Theory (Befu, 1977; Graziano, 1994). One

interviewee described it as "self-interest, associations have their own agendas."

The agendas of tourism policy actors were designed to benefit their constituents. In

the case of associations, the constituency is the organizations' members. When explaining

the actions of another organization regarding whether or not the association would join a

particular coalition, an interviewee stated, "They're going to have to do whatever their

(association) members want them to do." Another interviewee explained the personal

connection of the lobbyist to representing the will of the association members:

The thing with coalitions of associations is that when you come to the table, you have to represent what your members say. And if you as a representative of an association do not reflect what your members say, then you could easily be no longer a staff person of the association.

Social Exchange Theory suggests that organizations perform a cost-benefit analysis, at least informally, when deciding to join coalitions. As one interviewee explained, "You have to figure out for your organization, if I get involved in this can I have an impact. Or is it just something that's so big or so diffuse that maybe my participation is going to be marginal." Knowing the issues on which a coalition could impact was important.

Another association executive described a complicated cost accounting regulation that was proposed and how one of the large associations in the executive's industry sector decided to focus on that issue despite all the attention the issue was receiving from many other interest groups. However, the executive noted that there was an industry-specific tax that would get no attention if industry groups were not working on the issue. The executive stated, "If our industry doesn't come together and work on that issue, nobody else is going to work on it, but everyone's already working on the cost accounting issue."

One benefit organization members were looking for in their cost-benefit analysis was complementarity among issues and resources. For example, an organization concerned with access *to* the water for recreational boating may partner with an organization concerned with recreational boating access *on* the water. Complementarity also applied to resources such as finances or organizational recognition. Organizations with fewer financial resources or less

recognition looked to partner with organizations that had greater financial resources or had better name recognition. One interviewee stressed the importance of complementarity:

You're also looking for people to complement you so when you walk in the door together, when you have this other group with you who a lawmaker wouldn't necessarily think is a natural ally, they tend to sit down, they tend to listen.

If agendas among potential coalition partners do not align well, groups may find it beneficial to participate in a coalition to capitalize on expected future benefits. One interviewee described this expectation of future benefits:

There are times when it may not be very beneficial to you. It may be only marginally beneficial. But you say, "Gosh, I should help this other group out because I want them to join our infrastructure tax incentive." So I'll give them some help on their issue that is marginally important if I have some hope of getting them to join our coalition on tax credits. It's accruing chits. Chits are basically like a bill that you can collect in that way somebody else owes you. So you try and collect chits from helping them on other issues and then you want to cash those chits in when you want them to help you on a big issue. So there's a lot of that. It's also referred to as back-scratching.

At times, organizations were motivated to avoid being part of a coalition. A function of government affairs executives was to know when to involve their organization and when to avoid organizational involvement in a coalition because of issue priority or resource constraints. One shared the following story:

There's a credit/financial issue that we're not getting involved with. Every time I see this lobbyist at a fundraiser, he's all over me to get our guys on board and we're like, "It's not a groundswell and we want to stay away from it." And he just beats me up on it constantly. Yeah definitely, it can be tough sometimes when we don't get on board with things.

On some occasions, organizations accrued costs by not being involved. One sample association was not able to mobilize quickly enough to take advantage of a tax relief proposal. The government affairs executive from this association stated, "Every time that happens it reminds us that there is a cost to doing nothing."

Reacting to events, such as major hurricanes or flooding, has been when tourism organizations have worked best toward a common agenda. The terrorist attack of September 11, 2001 was a defining moment for tourism advocacy. One interviewee described tourism's reaction saying, "I think post-9/11 was one of the better examples of where the various associations came together, created a game plan, and money was raised." Another interviewee claimed, "In times of crisis I think it's easier for associations to come together and to drop the more parochial interest and decide there's a larger interest at stake." Crises have motivated tourism advocacy groups to work together. Coming together in times of crises is consistent with the claim in the Advocacy Coalition Framework that shocks external to a subsystem can cause major policy change (Sabatier & Weible, 2007).

An interviewee stated that the individual's organization was "pulling out all the stops," in promoting the Tourism Promotion Act, as a response to the economic situation at the time of my research and the decline in tourism's market share, "because the industry

needs it," as the executive declared. Another quote revealed the challenge of crises and cooperation among tourism associations:

> In normal times, the challenge for travel and tourism is no different than other
> industry sectors. I don't think we necessarily suffer any more greatly from an
> inability to agree. You're not going to have unanimity. Somebody's going to say,
> "Yeah, well I sort of agree, but I'm not going to spend time and political capital on
> that right now. We've got other priorities." So the challenge I think is really getting
> people to see that larger issue, that larger priority, to step outside of their own
> parochial interests. Again crises do that. Normal times, more of a challenge.

The motivation of coalition member organizations and the roles organizations took within a coalition were dependent, in part, on resources they had available. The next section describes the resources of tourism advocacy groups.

Resources of Tourism Advocacy Groups

The second research question was *How are organizational resources used to develop tourism policy?* Resources are attributes of the coalition that can be used to influence public policy. Once potential coalition partners with common issue positions were identified, organizations sought other organizations with complementary resources.

The organization that is a popular coalition target because of their resources should be able to "cash in their chits" when a future need arises, as one interviewee described. Another interviewee described the search for partners with complementary resources by claiming, "Sometimes you want their name, sometimes you want their money, sometimes you want

their energy, their people. Sometimes you want access to their members. Usually it's all of them. And you don't usually get all of it." Another executive said, "Resources and size always make a coalition powerful." Yet, as another stated, "Everybody has a fixed amount of human resources, a fixed amount of financial resources. Particularly smaller groups like mine. There're definitely benefits of being part of coalitions because smaller groups with fewer resources can have more impact." Another interviewee's organization was a target for potential partners who were interested in gaining access to the grant money controlled by the organization's members. Being aware of this, the interviewee was skeptical of new members until trust had been developed. The reputation, which includes trustworthiness, of coalition members was also an important resource.

I asked all interviewees how they identify other groups' resources. The method of determining the resources of potential coalition partners was informal, often relying on personal experience with other associations and individuals. The following quote illustrated how tourism policy actors learned about other actors' resources: "We kind of know, again, over time and through experience, you kind of know what other people's resources are." Another interviewee continued, "Part of it is personal experience. I've been doing this for 20 years, so I know many people in a lot of other organizations and you hear things. You just pick it up one way or the other."

Important resources for tourism advocacy organizations revealed in the data were (a) finances, (b) reputation, (c) organization members, (d) knowledge, and (e) product and location. Sabatier and Weible (2007) created a typology of advocacy coalition resources that

differed slightly from what my data showed. The difference revealed in my data involved the products produced by association members and the association's geographic location.

Finances

The lack of money was mentioned by all interviewees (i.e., no variability) as an obstacle to successful coalitions. One interview aptly stated, "Everybody talks about the importance of money in Washington and the power of your Political Action Committee (PAC)." A PAC is an organization established to collect and distribute money for electoral campaigns. A PAC gives an association influence. One of the interviewees stated, "Sometimes when we're trying to influence people, we're going to offer money." Donating money also brings attention to the donor organization, as an interviewee illustrated by saying, "We have a minimal amount of money that we spend at fundraisers compared to the bigger groups around town, but we have a little bit of respect." Another interviewee illustrated the importance of a PAC by saying, "All that does is help open the door, when we're going to speak to somebody. It doesn't buy their support or buy their allegiance. But it does make them accessible so we can sit down and have the conversation." PACs were also mentioned by several interviewees as an opportunity for tourism policy actors to increase advocacy effectiveness. One executive stated, "There are very few travel industry areas that have any kind of Political Action Committees where they can write checks."

Beyond political contributions and funding basic operations, a coalition may need to raise money from its member organizations to wage an advertising campaign or fund research to support their policy position. One interviewee described how financial resources

were used to bolster the effectiveness of coalitions by being able to invest in a clipping service:

> These subscription services are not cheap. I think ours is between $3,000 and $5,000 a year. For a smaller association that's a big chunk of change. Having those kinds of resources and dedicated staff, we're able to send that information around a lot faster than for those that advocacy has never really been their focus.

Organizations' financial resources enabled larger staffs, which created time resources. One interviewee noted the important relationship between financial and human resources despite other positive organizational attributes by stating, "Even though we have a good brand, we don't have a ton of staff here." Another executive pointed out the effects of the 2008-2009 economic downturn, by describing:

> A lot of our state associations have folded and weren't run properly so they went bankrupt, so we lost dues. So, yeah, when I got here we had about 72 people employed by the association and now there's about 35. So we're doing twice as much work. We are lean and mean. But, we [government affairs within the association] have the biggest staff. So, pretty much everybody hates us, because we've never had to get fired. (Laughter)

The above quote illustrated the importance of government affairs to this particular organization. The importance of government affairs to tourism organizations is an area that could be further studied to gain a better understanding of how important government affairs is to tourism organizations relative to other departments.

Sometimes, organizations looked to align with another group because that group's

members may have financial resources. As one executive described it, "My members administer these federal grant programs. So often an organization will want to partner with us, because that's a way to access the individual states that have these grant programs."

Reputation

In addition to finances, an organization's reputation, or credibility, was another key resource. One interviewee stated, "Credibility. In this town that is your biggest asset." Another said:

> Somebody told me a long time ago, that what you bring to this town and you leave with is your reputation. So if your reputation is besmirched in any way, if you've lost your word, you've kind of lost faith. And people lose faith pretty quickly in your ability to stand behind what you say.

Associations avoided partnering with another group if the other group had a bad reputation. An interviewee illustrated this by stating, "You know who to work with and who not to. Based on their reputations and their past actions, you kind of just know." Describing an organization with a bad reputation, an interviewee claimed, "People know about it and they hear about it and then, they won't work with you or they won't want to work with the other members of the coalition, if those guys are not acting in a trustworthy manner." Even without the hindrance of a bad reputation, relationships with other advocacy groups appeared fragile, as one interviewee illustrated by claiming, "In this town, everybody is on their own. You've heard that saying, 'If you want a friend in Washington, get a dog.' Unfortunately, I hate to say it, but it's so true, it's terrible."

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An organization's reputation, if the reputation is good, was a resource that helped build relationships among associations that were critical to coalition success. An illustration of this is exemplified in the following quote: "Our CEO has a lot of personal connections with the Hill and different relationships he has, so we're able to leverage a lot of that." Organizations looked for coalition partners that had relationships with political decision makers. One executive stated, "Number one, we'd be looking for connections. What their connections are to the Hill or regulatory agency, depending on the issue." Even the relationships that organizations sought were dependent on the policy issue. The advocacy coalition process began when tourism policy actors reached out to other groups with whom they had a relationship or with whom they had common policy preferences. The following quote illustrates this:

> A lot of it kind of depends on who do you know. If we're working on an energy issue and we want to reach out to the oil companies - either try to get them on board with us on something we're pushing or just even in an information gathering way to find out where they are on a particular issue. I may have certain contacts at a trade association or I may have a close friend or close contacts at an individual company. I may call both and I think that's how it ends up working with others too. Your initial outreach is to who you know and then you go beyond that.

The reputation of the American Recreation Coalition was mentioned by nearly half of the interviewees as one of that organization's greatest strengths. One interviewee commented on the reputation of ARC claiming, "When (ARC) takes on an issue, people know that a prodigious effort will be made." Another commented on the reputation of the

ARC stating, "Derrick Crandall (ARC President) over there is helpful and he has his staff there as well." Another interviewee stated, "The American Recreation Coalition is small in staff, it's small in budget. But it has some very important members and has some good political reach." An organization's membership base, such as that enjoyed by ARC, was mentioned by several interviewees as an important resource. The resource of organization members is described in the next section.

Organization Members

An organization's members were another important resource when associations looked for other groups with which to align. An organization with many members geographically dispersed through the nation offers the ability to implement a large grassroots initiative. According to Sabatier & Weible (2007), a mobilizable base of constituents is an inexpensive alternative resource for coalitions that lack large financial resources. As one interviewee stated, "There's only so much you can do at the trade association level, you've got to get your members involved." However, "Tourism is not that great at delivering votes for support", as another executive claimed, which highlighted an improvement opportunity for tourism advocacy groups.

Several executives used the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) as an example of one of the most powerful advocacy organizations because of its ability to mobilize a grassroots initiative. One interviewee stated, "Who's generally considered to be the most powerful lobbying association or outfit in Washington? It's AARP. They don't

have a PAC but they have millions of old people who vote. So they have massive grassroots efforts."

The Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association (AOPA), BoatUS, and the National Restaurant Association (NRA) were examples in my sample that had large membership resources. AOPA had 414,000 members and the larger BoatUS had more than 650,000 members. According to the NRA, at least 500 restaurants were in every congressional district, many of which were NRA members. Most interviewees mentioned how such a large membership base can bring instant credibility to an issue. Therefore, organizations with a large membership base resource were prime coalition targets for organizations with fewer members. An executive stressed the importance of partnering with organizations that can help with grassroots at the local level, by saying:

> We've got in-house lobbyists, out-of-house lobbyists, law firms and different
> lobbying firms, but the component you need that's so critical is that element back
> home, which is a real live breathing GM of a hotel, a president of a tour company, the
> owner of a local restaurant that relies on travelers.

On the opposite extreme of organizations with many members was an organization such as the Distilled Spirits Council of the United States (DISCUS). The membership of DISCUS represented nearly 80% of the liquor industry in the United States, but membership was comprised of only 15 companies. More of a challenge for DISCUS was that DISCUS members were concentrated in Kentucky and Tennessee where bourbon and whiskey are made. The Alliance of Automobile Manufacturers was in a similar situation with few members in a tight geographic concentration. According to interview data, to compensate for

this resource deficiency, manufacturing organizations lacking a large membership base resource may seek retail partners. For example, DISCUS may align with beverage retailers or restaurants while the automobile manufacturers may partner with automobile dealers.

"There's strength in numbers," as one executive reported. The executive continued, "And organizations have to seek partners with the grassroots resources that will provide strength and mass appeal." Another interviewee expressed a similar notion:

> If one group is concerned with a particular issue regarding a product that is manufactured in five states, but the members of a congressional committee are in these other five states where we have membership. So while you're aligned on that issue, we have a better target list in terms of constituents in that area.

In addition to mobilizing grassroots, organizations that could activate corporate chief executives also had a sought-after member-related resource. Being able to leverage the power and influence of corporate CEOs provided a significant reach on Capitol Hill. One interviewee commented on the importance of CEOs when groups meet with elected officials.

> Amazing how quickly you can get meetings with the administration or senior leaders in congress when you say the Chairman of Marriott or the CEO of United Airlines or the Chairman of Hertz Rental Car. They move heaven and earth to find a meeting spot for them. Versus the director of sales and marketing for, you know, pick out an attraction wants to meet with you. In terms of a company, you got to get the chairman, you got to get the CEO.

US Travel illustrated the advocacy power of chief executives, as described in the previous quote, when they got an audience with President Obama in March, 2009. However,

the Washington Post op-ed written by Bill Marriott, described in Chapter 1, raises the question of how well some tourism policy actors understand their power or the wants of political decision makers. The discussion at the meeting, which focused on the president's comments about employee travel of companies receiving stimulus money, illustrated the doubts that some interviewees had in the efficacy of US Travel's advocacy efforts. Another important resource of tourism advocacy groups, knowledge, is described in the next section.

Knowledge

The ability to provide fact-based information was another important resource of advocacy organizations. One interviewee, describing the importance of research stated, "We want to be able to give our members that have a problem the tools and the encouragement to go out and solve it themselves because we just don't have the financial and time resources to handle all of these problems." The ability to do research was often limited by an organization's resources. One interviewee stated, "We're really small so we end up contracting for larger more in-depth studies and some of those things we'll do jointly with another organization for a combination of fiscal reasons."

Some of the sample organizations' knowledge resources included news tracking service subscriptions, call centers for quick telephone surveys, in-house research departments, and professionals with the ability to interpret and communicate secondary research. One interviewee described how knowledge resources can be mobilized:

If we get a specific policy issue that comes up, we'll do a survey just on the spot. If I need to, I could do a telephone survey this afternoon so that within probably four to six

hours I would have a representative sample of our members queried on a particular topic.

Being able to conduct research such as phone surveys of member attitudes, economic impact analysis of industries, or public policy analysis was critical for the political and economic health of industry sectors. One interviewee described:

It's very important because that's what Wall Street uses to make recommendations on where to invest, you know like in hotels or theme parks or airlines. So it's a big part of how we operate. It's really critical. And the most important thing is, is the information valid and is it unbiased?

Resources related to finances, reputation, organization members, and knowledge are existing components of the Advocacy Coalition Framework. My data also revealed additional resources related to the products produced by association members and the geographic location of associations. Descriptions of product and location resources follow.

Product and Location

Some trade associations' resources were unique to the industries served by the associations. For example, motorcoaches from tour companies, accommodations from hotels, airplanes from general aviators, and recreational boats from marine businesses were examples of resources mentioned by interviewees that could be used by politicians or coalition members. One association received some positive publicity after its members' services were used by an environmental interest group. The association's executive explained, "We take that and parlay it into some of our Hill messages for the future."

Another resource was the physical location of the association. One entertainment and

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recreation association was part of a coalition in which all other coalition members were located outside of the Washington, DC area. Being located in Washington and being able to meet with government officials was a resource this association provided fellow members of the coalition.

Including non-Washington based organizations in the sample allowed me to further probe the differences among organizations in Washington and those outside of Washington. All executives from the non-Washington organizations interviewed indicated that their organizations' headquarters location outside of Washington was not a detriment. The non-Washington executives believed this because their organizations offered other resources that were important to potential coalition partners such as grassroots or financial contributions. The only hardship was travel costs related to coalition management, such as face-to-face meetings. Coalition management activities are described in the next section.

Management of Tourism Advocacy Coalitions

According to Fayos-Sola (1996) collaboration among interest groups is required for developing and implementing high-quality tourism policies and programs. The importance of coalitions led me to my third research question: *How are tourism policy advocacy coalitions managed?* All interviewees stressed the criticality of working in coalitions. One interviewee expressed the importance of cooperation quite plainly, "If I've learned nothing else in my 25 years here – this town is all about collaborating."

Some of the coalitions interviewees' organizations were part of included the Coalition for a Democratic Workplace, Food for Fuel, Washington Representatives Meeting (lodging

companies), Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway Association, Coalition for Recreational Trails, OneRail, 21 Coalition, Choose Responsibility, Packaged Travel Coalition, American Recreation Coalition, and the Boat Blue Coalition. According to one executive, "For almost every issue there's probably a coalition for it. If not, we'll make one." One interviewee talked about the number of existing coalitions: "They pop up all the time. Sometimes you run out of brain capacity to remember the acronyms for all the new coalitions that exist." Interviewees indicated it was important to know how to manage the coalition experience because so many coalitions existed.

One interviewee likened the relationship among policy actors to intimate personal relationships stating, "Not to be too odd about it, it's not much different from a personal relationship. Whether it's someone to be a lifetime friend, someone to be a partner, a spouse, it's over time." The management of advocacy coalitions, like personal relationships, is a complex process with common activities among groups. The common activities of managing tourism-related advocacy coalitions found in the data were the same coalition management functions described by Sabatier and Weible (2007): formation, maintenance, and termination.

Formation

Tourism policy actors learned of coalition opportunities through informal mechanisms such as experience working with other groups, professional networks, and by searching within an industry for complementary components. One interviewee described how organizations looked for potential coalition partners claiming, "We have a lot of partners

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in sister associations that represent related or peripherally related industries. A lot of user groups have clubs and organizations that they form. We often ally with our consumer group." Another interviewee stated, "You have more impact with a bunch of organizations supporting a general position than you do with individuals, one organization, or even a bunch of organizations working in parallel."

As one executive stated, "Coalition building involves a mix of strategic decisions and capacity issues. And you're happy to have the help – whatever a coalition partner is going to give to the cause." Clear objectives were critical when forming coalitions. Another claimed, "First of all a coalition has to have a very well defined objective. There can't be a lot of nuances to it. There can't be a lot of different priorities." Another interviewee stated, "Moving forward, you don't want to get into a situation where it's just forming something to form it and there's no agenda and no direction, there's no focus, there's no goal at the end."

Some coalitions were formed with more structure than others. One interviewee described the range in structure of coalitions, by saying:

> There are formal coalitions that have dues for them. You've got a structure, you've got a management committee, you've got a legislative committee, a communications committee, fundraising. All of that. Then there's ad hoc non-dues paying (coalitions) with associations sitting around a table trying to figure out strategy and work together. So, it kind of runs the gamut.

The more structured coalitions (i.e., with dues and committees) were designed in such a way to protect the interests of coalition members. An executive described it as, "A lot of business used to be done on a handshake, now they have contracts. That's to make sure

people keep their word. Because there are people looking after number one." Another interviewee talked about experiences with coalitions that had various levels of structure:

> Usually it sort of rotates around. "Yeah we'll host it this month and we'll provide the cookies and the coffee." When you start getting in to dues structure, what you're usually paying for is advocacy advertising. It's usually advocacy ads or outside attorneys to advise, maybe you're going to file a lawsuit and you've got to get outside council, so you've got raise money.

An important part of forming a coalition was developing the coalition's initial policy agenda. Developing an agenda on complicated issues can take some time. For example, highway reauthorization funding is an important issue for some tourism-related associations. Components of the policy cover roadway transportation, trail development, and intermodal transportation, among other areas important to tourism. One sample organization formed a coalition five years ago in anticipation of the next highway reauthorization bill, expected to be debated in 2009. Although it was formed five years prior, the coalition had not formally met as coalition members were still developing their positions while I was collecting data.

As predicted by the ACF, the more closely aligned the policy preferences of two organizations, the sooner the organizations came together and a coalition moved forward. For example, one interviewee stated, "When an issue is sort of as much in someone else's wheelhouse as it is in ours, then we will bring them in early on as we're forming our position." Government affairs executives in the sample tended to agree that the greater the number of organizations in a coalition when it was formed, the more difficult it was to

develop policy positions that all can agree with, which indicated coalitions may function better when policy issues are the catalyst.

On occasion, events occurred such as external shocks (e.g., Sabatier and Weible, 2007) that caused organizations to form new coalitions reactively. An association executive told a story about a particular piece of legislation that provided an example of an event leading to the formation of an advocacy coalition.

So that issue really united us and we tried to work on it at the time. It came up very last minute. It was a very backdoor kind of deal where a Congressman brought it out. It was passed within three days so there was really very little we could do to work on it. Literally within three months after that, we started working together and we held our first national industry day this year with a huge release of economic numbers.

Forming coalitions was facilitated when government affairs executives knew their counterparts in other organizations. A government affairs executive described:

Well, on tax issues, you've got the contacts and you're working with those people. You see a lot of them. You talk to them a lot. You say, "Hey this new issue came up. What do you guys think about it?" And it easily turns into, or can turn, into a new group or, "Hey let's do this on this specific bill or a broader effort."

When looking for organizations with which to partner, interviewees typically responded that knowing the positions of another organization was based on their own familiarity with the organization and other groups in the industry sector. One executive explained, "You identify who the stakeholders would be for an issue and then you can hazard

an educated guess on where those different stakeholders would be on the particular issue and then start reaching out to them."

Sometimes an organization may want to form a coalition with another organization with which no formal contacts have previously been established. I asked an interviewee, "How do you get to know new people if there's someone you don't know?" "Cold call," the executive responded with a laugh. The executive continued, "You just call. You call your counterpart and you say I want to talk to you about this issue and you just kind of go from there." The interviewee recalled cold calling a lobbyist only once during the past decade, indicating that this may not be a common practice. Instead data indicated most coalition relationships were formed among organizations that were already familiar with each other.

Maintenance

Since coalitions are usually temporary, maintaining them can be a challenge. Much of the successful maintenance of a coalition was attributed to trust among coalition members. One interviewee described coalition maintenance by saying, "Over time you will develop a relationship and develop trust as assignments are made, as people are given tasks."

An important part of maintaining a coalition was reaching agreement. Another interviewee described the process of reaching agreement in the coalition:

By the time we got a compromise, all of our constituents were ready to kill us. And then we knew we had reached agreement. When everyone was unhappy, we knew we had a proper balance of agreement. We met for about six to eight months. And then the agreement ended up being embodied in federal law.

One of the keys to successfully maintaining a coalition was communication among organizations in the coalition. Frustrations among coalition members began when coalition leaders were not proficient at communicating and keeping members informed. One interviewee stated, "If (coalition members) don't know what we're achieving, then they're not going to want to join the next coalition." Another interviewee continued the thought by saying, "You have to regularly communicate with members of a coalition. You have to show them what the results are. You have to show them what the benefits are to being part of the coalition."

Managing the relationships within the coalition was critical to the survival of the coalition. For example, one interviewee gave an account of working with three major national trade associations from various advertising sectors. The executive likened managing the coalition to being "a leader of the United Nations trying to keep these three factions from killing each other." Another executive described experience with coming to agreement in a coalition, "Usually people agree to disagree, now we're agreeing to agree." The following quote highlights the keys to successfully coming to agreement within a coalition:

> Coalitions occasionally involve negotiations and people may differ on specific aspects of that. The important thing is that you have processes in place to make sure that you can ameliorate any differences and come to a consensus whether that be through a formal voting process or through an organizational structure or if you can just rely on trust and partnerships and goals to get you through differences.

Dealing with the actions of coalition partners that may stray from coalition objectives was another important aspect of maintaining coalitions. Actions of such rogue organizations

included contributing less than expected (i.e., free-riders described by Olson, 1965), creating

conflicts with a member of Congress, adding issues to a coalition's agenda without

agreement from the group, and substituting their own interest for the group proposal.

Avoiding the consequences that rogue partners bring to the coalition was important so

that coalition members could be effective advocates. One interviewee described controlling

the impact of rogue partners:

> The last thing you want to do is to go into a member of Congress or a staffer or go to
>
> a federal agency and say, "Well we don't agree with that." So what you try to do is to
>
> make sure that the message is coordinated so that you don't have people freelancing
>
> during meetings.

One interviewee described rogue partners as having "a member off the bases." Rogue

coalition partners were a problem because, "If they can't participate, you know you're not

getting much out of that partner," as one interviewee described. However, another

interviewee described experiences with uncommitted partners differently:

> Something one coalition that we're a part of is doing is raising money. And my
>
> organization has raised millions and a lot of the other associations haven't ponied up.
>
> But there's only so much you can do. And you still want them involved and you want
>
> their members involved…for grassroots and other things. But yeah, there's always
>
> people who aren't carrying their weight.

Based on comments such as the previous quote, organizations that benefit more than

their fair share from coalition efforts (i.e., free-riders) may not be a problem for some

advocacy coalitions. Just having an organization support coalition efforts by lending its

name was helpful to coalition efforts in some cases because, "There's strength in numbers." Previous ACF research, described in the next paragraph, supports this claim.

According to Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999), the ACF provides three underlying principles that may overcome Olson's (1965) free-rider problem of collective action and encourage potential free-riders to work for the benefit of the group. The three underlying principles, which have not been empirically studied according to Sabatier and Weible (2007), are (a) low transaction costs so that potential free-riders are encouraged to contribute more, (b) exaggeration of perceived benefits to co-aligning so that potential free-riders are encouraged to contribute more, and (c) opportunity for potential free-riders to vary their level of coordination within a coalition. Data from my study relating to the last underlying principle is discussed in the previous paragraph.

My data may reveal another incentive for individual organizations to work for the benefit of the group that was not mentioned by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999) or Sabatier and Weible (2007). The incentive for potential free-riders to work toward group goals revealed by my data was to protect the coalition member's reputation so that the member could participate in coalitions in the future. One interviewee expressed the importance of reputation as related to rogue partners:

> That goes back to trust and what's your reputation like. Those people or that organization won't be invited to do whatever the next thing will be because they're not pulling their weight, they're not helping out, so what's the point in having them involved.

When asked how to deal with coalition members not fully aligned with coalition

objectives, one interviewee stated, "I don't know that you cut people out of the coalition."

Another continued, "Nobody ever wants to anger anybody by removing them from the

coalition. You don't want to burn a bridge." Another gave the following account:

Whoever that individual is, what you normally do is after the meeting on the Hill,

take them aside and say, "Hey you know, you introduced this but we don't really

agree with that." Or depending on the severity of something, you may just actually

speak up. You hope those things don't happen. It's not uncommon because people

have their styles. And when they get into conversations, it's not uncommon that

people get animated and pretty soon they're saying things that are off-script.

Committed partners could remove themselves from the coalition or let uncommitted

members wither away. Another interviewee shared, "We've had it before, the rest of the

coalition says, 'Okay let them go. There's ten of us who are still together. Let those guys go

off on their own.' You go with the team that you have." Another government affairs

executive described the importance of coalition leadership when dealing with rogue partners:

It depends on the leadership of the coalition and a strong leader will kind of put a

fence around the person and not allow them to dominate the discussions or veer off

the objective. If you don't have a strong leader, then the members of the coalition

might get frustrated.

Communicating among group members seemed to mitigate challenges of rogue

partners. One interviewee described the importance of a group communicating when their

positions changed by saying, "In politics, government relations, business and personal

relationships, people can handle anything if you tell them what's really going on versus if you try to hornswaggle. That's how you develop trust. You tell them good news and the bad news." Another interviewee shared that to avoid being an uncommitted partner, an organization should inform the coalition that "We can't be on this with you." He continued, "I don't think anybody would have a problem with that."

A way organizations avoided being in a coalition with rogue partners was to work with partners who had already earned trust. For example one interviewee stated, "I think there's an inherent trust that is built in to getting to know the organization that you're dealing with. So like with ARC, it has been a trust built up over many years."

Termination

Coalitions were terminated for a variety of reasons. One reason why coalitions were terminated was due to resource constraints. Coalitions also ended because of disagreement among coalition members. Another reason coalitions ended involved solving the policy problem or meeting coalition objectives. The final reason, from my data, why advocacy relationships ended resulted from the coalition being broken up by another coalition. Each of these reasons are described in the paragraphs that follow.

Termination of a successful coalition allowed members to allocate resources to other pressing issues. If members were not fully engaged in the coalition efforts, the coalition may have ended. "It's really, really easy to do your work that your (association) members are paying you to do, to solve your problems and to say, I don't have time. And I think that's where a coalition can just sort of fade away."

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Coalitions also ended without achieving positive results when disagreements or disorganization halted progress. However, termination of a coalition allowed serious members to form another coalition. One executive spoke of a coalition experience that was so poorly managed that it "Left such a bad taste in everybody's mouth, they said, there'll never be another [coalition]." The executive continued, "That coalition is just dissolved, forget it, we'll never do that again. So now, the major players have come together and put together an informal coalition. We just agree to work together, no charter, no chairman."

"Coalitions kind of come and go based on very specific issues or objectives," was how one interviewee described the termination of coalitions. Since coalitions formed around issues, once the issue was resolved, many coalitions no longer had a purpose. Another interviewee stated, "Accomplish a legislative goal and move on." One such coalition was known as Teaming Against Taxes, which was a grouping of organizations, some of which were in my sample, with the purpose of fighting a proposed tax on retail sales of recreation equipment. They hired a contract lobbyist, charging him with the sole purpose of stopping the legislation. "The idea was to kill it dead. And then it was gone. No more Teaming Against Taxes," said one of the interviewees when describing the resolution of their policy objective. The executive continued, "That coalition has been disbanded. Problem solved."

Another way coalitions ended was to be broken up from the outside by members of another coalition. An interviewee described this phenomenon by saying, "Part of the game in Washington is always trying to break apart the other side's coalition and either move them over to your side or at least get them to stay silent on an issue." When I asked another interviewee how breaking up a coalition worked, the response was:

You pick somebody, I mean a lot of times coalitions will be made up of people who are, like if it's sort of public interest coalitions, then there's a broad spectrum of those and some of them may have more radical points-of-view or stances and others will be more moderate. And you might try to make common cause with some of the more moderate ones who are kind of less, they have a philosophical goal that generally lines up with their coalition partners but they also see politics as the art of compromise and they want to get something done now in the next two years, rather than in the next five or ten years from now so you might be able to make common cause with them on something.

Or somebody who is approaching an industry-based coalition, the coalition might broadly agree about something but then you on the other side might pick a very narrow sub-issue within the broader issue and you might take a stance that might really narrowly benefit one member of the other side's coalition and then try to get them to come join you because of the thing you want to do really benefits them specifically.

The logistics of managing tourism advocacy coalitions including formation, maintenance, and termination centered on a policy issue and achieving policy objectives. One interviewee described, "It can be quite a food fight. I don't know that there's any industry sector that I would point to necessarily that has mastered the art of coalition building." Another interviewee summed up the management of advocacy coalitions:

Part of it is setting up the purpose of a coalition. Most of them tend to be temporary. So you agree that this coalition is coming together for the explicit purpose of fill-in-the-

blank. And they morph over time and that issue goes away. Another threat arises,

maybe another opportunity arises. They're fairly fluid. Some can be more formal and

they'll lay down bylaws and whatever. Most are not that formal.

Cooperation Mitigators

Data indicated that cooperation among associations within coalitions was based on

similar preferences about similar issues. Once organizations with similar policy preferences

were identified, coalitions formed among organizations with complementary resources.

After initial analysis, I realized that sample organizations cooperated with other groups under

these circumstances. This answers the research question, *Under what circumstances do those*

involved in developing tourism policy cooperate with each other? Since groups were already

cooperating, I asked interviewees what caused groups to not work together.

In this section, I detail circumstances discovered that impeded cooperation among

coalition members. The three most common circumstances mentioned were disagreements,

personality conflicts, and a lack of trust. A separate phenomenon that led to temporary

changes in cooperation is *coalition crossover*. Coalition crossover occurred when two

groups that worked together on one issue, were on the opposite sides of another issue.

Disagreement

Disagreement within a coalition occurred when two coalition members had varying

viewpoints on a policy position or on how coalition strategies should be implemented. All

executives indicated they had some form of disagreement, at times, with fellow members of a

coalition. Disagreement occasionally existed between organizations that were closely

related. For example, general aviation may disagree with commercial aviation, freight rail

may disagree with commuter rail, or even sail boat owners may have different viewpoints on

an issue from owners of motorized vessels. Disagreement among associations can lead to

strong feelings. One interviewee stated, "They hated our guts," when describing the feelings

of another group with which the interviewee's association was in temporary disagreement.

Disagreement among coalition members may be perceived as weaknesses by

outsiders. For example, a government affairs executive representing an industry that often

fights with labor groups stated, "It's perceived by members of Congress as, 'Why can't you

guys get together? When you're together (with labor) we're able to do things a lot easier

than when you're fighting.'" Another interviewee made a similar comment in the context of

the many components that comprise tourism by stating, "You're severely weakened if there's

a perception that you are not unified." Disagreement among coalition members was

perceived to add political pressure that may have led to a coalition's policy objective being

compromised as politicians capitalized on the fissure to advance their own agendas.

Another area of disagreement was in the style of advocacy – direct lobbying versus

grassroots lobbying. One association in my interview sample actually split several years

prior to my research because of disagreement on advocacy styles among members of the

organization. Describing this case, the interviewee stated:

> Our association and that association split over the lobbying issue. Because our focus
>
> is grassroots. We don't do a huge amount of direct lobbying. They do a lot more
>
> direct lobbying. Since the late 60s early 70s, they took a whole different tack to it

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and have gone in a different direction. However, we do find ourselves on the same side of issues at times, we just choose not to work with that other organization.

If these two organizations had similar policy preferences, the difference in advocacy style should have been a partnership opportunity because of the complementary styles. However, it came out in the interview the real difference leading to the organizational split involved the personalities of individuals within the organization.

Personalities

The success of coalitions was based, in part, on the behavior of individuals who represented coalition member organizations. Nearly all executives interviewed mentioned the importance of the individual who represented coalition members. If the individual betrayed the coalition, it hindered trust in the organization. One interviewee claimed, "Individuals bring a lot to it. They bring integrity or a lack of integrity. They bring honesty or a lack of honesty. They bring inclusiveness or exclusiveness."

In some instances, personalities of association representatives hindered trust in only one particular area, as exemplified by the following quote, "You sort of know, there's a certain person in an association who we can trust or we can't trust. Or we can trust them, except in this policy area." Untrustworthy individuals in an organization were sometimes bypassed and once bypassed, did not hinder the relationship between two organizations. One interviewee gave an example of this by saying, "I'm not going to go to Joe, I'm going to go to John at a given association. Same association, different person."

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The standard of behavior for an association was usually derived from the top of an organization. For example, almost all interviewees mentioned how the attitude of an organization's chief executive, or his or her willingness to work together, set the tone for the behavior of other individuals in the organization. The success of the ARC, for example, was attributed to the personality traits of its president. A good relationship among the CEOs of coalition member-organizations was an advantage for a coalition, as one interviewee professed, "We're in a fortunate position because our CEOs of all the organizations within the coalition have a great relationship and rapport and they actively communicate with each other."

However, after an untrustworthy person was no longer with the organization, trust could have been restored. One interviewee stated, "As the staff changes, someone new comes in, it's really kind of a whole new establishment of trust." Another stated, "A lot of that has to do with the passage of time," continuing, "The inevitable change in personnel kind of mutes bad experiences over the years." Recounting a time when an individual let down a coalition around a particular issue, another interviewee explained, "Frankly in the ten years since that whole issue happened, the whole leadership of the industry has turned over. So nobody remembers that. Nobody even has any knowledge. Only old dinosaurs like me remember stuff like that." Another interviewee expressed hope in the emerging generation of government affairs leaders:

> I think it's just been a question of the personalities (of association representatives). A lot of the old players are gone. A whole change in attitude. I hate to say it but

younger folks around the table who realize we're not going to get anything done if we're fighting about it.

Trust, as described in the next section, was commonly mentioned when interviewees discussed personalities. As one interviewee stated, "The person that is the most dangerous is the one that you think you can trust, but you can't. Because they're really knifing you in the back. That's the worse."

Trust

In some cases, a lack of trust impeded cooperation among coalitions. Examples given by interviewees of potential trust problems included subverting the coalition interest to protect individual organizational interests, leaking coalition information to the media, not working hard enough, and not performing assigned tasks. An interviewee stated, "If you can't trust the people (other coalition members) you're working with or they can't trust you, you don't have a functioning coalition, so it (trust) is absolutely critical." Placing trust in other groups was a necessary risk of advocacy coalitions.

Breaching trust was more detrimental to associations' representatives than to the organization itself. An interviewee described what might happen if trust was compromised, "Folks kind of remember things like that, especially in this town. It's only a thing you can really afford to do once." A breach of trust led potential coalition partners to view the untrustworthy association representative with "a jaundiced eye when it came time to work together again," as one executive described. However, if an untrustworthy person found new employment, trust in the organization could be restored.

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According to the ACF and SET and confirmed by my data, coalitions are personal relationships based on trust and therefore, interactions among organizations' representatives were a factor in building trust. One interviewee spoke to this idea by saying, "Relationships aren't based on one hundred percent agreement, they're based on trust." Another interviewee continued the thought:

Trust is absolutely crucial. What you normally find is, there are some organizations that I have a high degree of trust and there are other organizations, while I may be in a coalition with them, I never want them behind my back, because you just don't trust the person or you don't trust the organization. So you can agree on something but it doesn't necessarily mean you're going to have a deep degree of trust.

The degree of trust an organization had in another was often a function of time. As one interviewee stated, "Trust comes with time. I mean what you're talking about is relationships." As relationships among organizations developed over time, some groups became involved in more than one policy issue and in areas beyond advocacy, such as collaborative research or co-sponsoring conferences. One interviewee described this by saying:

And with the industry groups, there's a long-term relationship, obviously, because you're going to be dealing with each other constantly over a variety of issues over a long period of time. It's easier to trust those folks. You wouldn't burn them and you would expect that they wouldn't burn you because of long-term relationships.

Without a history of working together, breaches of trust can result. Co-aligned organizations with a limited history of advocacy interaction may be *strange bedfellows*,

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which are organizations that ally on a particular issue but have interests that are typically opposed, as described by Baumgartner and Leech (2001) and Mahoney (2007). Examples of strange bedfellow advocacy partners include the hypothetical example I previously described using a general aviation association and the ACLU or the example of a local environmental conservation group aligning with the National Rifle Association on the issue of banning snowmobile use on public lands, which was presented in Chapter 2. An interviewee described an instance when trust can be compromised because of the lack of history working together, "When you have strange bedfellows in a coalition. And you can be in a situation of always worrying that one of your partners will change their minds, or take a different tack, or want to split up." Data showed time spent working with other organizations decreased concerns about lack of trust, which is consistent with ACF.

Communication among groups was important to building and maintaining trust. One interviewee described, "It's all about maintaining relationships, by saying, 'I just can't be with you on this one.'" Another stressed the importance of trust and communication:

It's critical because you don't want to go to the Hill and be talking to a member or their staff and say, "Yeah, XYZ Association is part of this. They've got some credibility with a member of Congress." And then to find out the member has talked to them already and found out that no they're not, they backed out and you didn't know about it. That communication piece is critical.

One interviewee shared an experience with how politicians viewed a coalition that did not appear to be united. The executive stated, "You're severely weakened if there's a perception that you are not unified. Then that gives them a reason to say no because

sometimes good politicians understand that dividing and conquering can be the key to their success." Another interviewee stressed the importance of maintaining trust so that a coalition can be united in advocacy efforts.

> What often works to keep people together is the lesson that if you go to Capitol Hill and you are perceived to be divided, then you will not be effective because they will play one side off the other or they'll say, "Why should we do this at all, we can't get the straight story from you."

Several interviewees told stories of how competition among association-members of coalitions also affected trust. In the beverage industry, for example, competition between the manufacturers of beer, liquor, and wine may create trust issues stemming from each sector of the beverage industry looking out for their own interests. Advocacy competition existed because the products were substitutes. Consumers making travel decisions illustrate another example of competition among tourism businesses. Travel choices may include taking a cruise or a ski vacation, flying or driving to the destination, renting a car or using their own vehicle after deciding to drive, and spending money on shopping or on seeing a show once the visitors arrive in the destination. Businesses that compete for customers can also compete for government resources. Opposition resulting from competitive resource interdependencies is common among the three theoretical frameworks (Advocacy Coalition Framework, Social Exchange Theory, and Resource Dependency Theory), as shown in Figure 2.2.

Trust was also used as a tool to expand a coalition when one organization acted as an emissary to other groups with which trust already existed. An interviewee illustrated the idea

of using one organization to bring in a new organization by capitalizing on the trust between the two organizations, by saying "Another coalition member may have a side relationship with someone outside of the coalition and basically convince them that because of the trust between these two groups that the trust should be extended to the coalition at large." Deviant motivations were typically rare because of the importance of an organization's reputation. Any below-the-board activities could damage trust and limit the mistrusted organization's further involvement in partnerships with members of the betrayed advocacy coalition.

Coalition Crossover

One interviewee paraphrased a lesson learned from another association executive about disagreements with coalition partners: "Don't demonize your opponent. Because whoever it is that you're on opposite sides with today, you may very well be in the same foxhole, so to speak, with them the next day." Disagreement on one issue does not necessarily hinder cooperation among organizations when working on another issue. I use the term *coalition crossover* to describe the phenomenon of two groups working together on one issue but opposing each other on a separate issue because of varying policy preferences. Coalition crossover among the sample supported the statement by Sabatier and Weible (2007) that policy preferences may be "the stickiest glue that binds coalitions together" (p. 195). As groups pursued their own interests, coalition crossover was quite common. The following quote illustrated coalition crossover:

> We have a joke about this within the office that we tell all the time. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays we fight with labor and then on Tuesdays and Thursdays

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we work together. And it's almost literally that kind of relationship because they've

helped us on a lot of other issues. Literally all kidding aside, Tuesdays and

Thursdays we make visits on the Hill working together to defeat an issue and then

we'd say, "It was nice working with you. Now let's go back to our corners." And

we'll be working on another bill at loggerheads Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.

And it's literally been that kind of relationship over the 33 years I've been involved.

Crossing over was a necessity for nearly all interviewees. Although coalition

crossover was common, it could also be uncomfortable:

It's always a little awkward because we know that we have such a strong

disagreement that has manifested itself in magazine advertising, television

advertising, all kinds of media. That's pretty strong. So when you're coming

together on something, I mean you both understand. We're agreeing on this, but I

don't necessarily like you or like what you stand for on other issues.

An organization typically pursued whatever coalition would help it achieve its policy

objectives. Snowmobiling in Yellowstone National Park is an example of policy that puts

organizations that may typically be partners on opposite sides. The International

Snowmobile Manufacturers Association may support allowing snowmobile use in

Yellowstone and the National Parks Conservation Association may oppose the use of

snowmobiles in the park. However, both organizations would likely support the National

Parks Centennial Challenge, a program funding the development of recreation assets in

national parks. At the occurrence of coalition crossover, "Everyone has their big boy pants

on," as one interviewee stated. Another continued, "Everybody understands that (coalition crossover) around here and it works."

Agenda Development and Politics

The fifth research question was *How are tourism policy agendas developed?* In previous research, other scholars have laid the foundation for understanding how tourism policy agendas are developed, as shown in Chapter 2. Within the existing body of literature, Richter (1994) raised questions about tourism policy actors' ability to directly confront political issues and social problems. I structured a portion of the interview protocol to explore the questions raised by Richter. The interview data revealed a variety of activities tourism organizations engaged in to confront political issues when developing public policy agendas. The activities were understanding what politicians want, reflecting on the strengths of the organizations, using research and information, listening to association members, and communicating the advocacy message. The quote below summarized these processes:

> What members of Congress want, they don't want 30 organizations coming and
>
> telling them how this program ought to work. They want us to go figure it out and
>
> come back and tell them. And priorities change, the states need more money for this
>
> or for that. Somebody thinks they should use the money, for this or that. It all gets
>
> horse-traded out and then theoretically if we want to see this thing get passed,
>
> everybody agrees and says, "Here's what we want."

Understanding the Wants of Political Decision Makers

Knowing what motivated politicians helped advocacy groups form policy positions and frame their communications. One government affairs executive said the organization with which the executive was associated played a leadership role in coalitions because, "We know how to play the political game, more than power in numbers and money, we put a lot of emphasis on understanding the right way to work these issues politically." A different individual pointed out that tourism policy advocacy was typically politicized by local geography:

> One thing I have learned is there's no partisanship to any of this (tourism policy). I can point to Republicans who have been great on our issues and Republicans who have been bums. I can point to Democrats who have been great. It's all by geography.

Another interviewee stressed the importance of understanding political motivations by claiming, "What it is that public policy makers want; it's no different for Chicago City Alderman or Senator so and so; they want good issues, votes, and support." The interviewee explained that good issues are workable solutions to real problems that are important to a politician's constituents. Votes are important to a politician so that the politician can get re-elected. Support comes in the form of financial contributions and other assistance to help the politician get re-elected. Understanding the three motivators of politicians – good issues, votes, and financial support – affected the ways some tourism advocacy groups developed and implemented their policy agenda. Policy arguments presented by tourism advocates to political decision makers should be "short, concise and give them what they're looking for,"

as one interviewee described. Another interviewee continued the thought by relating policy

arguments to resources:

> First, what is the cogency of the argument? Second, how many constituents and
> advocates and votes are there behind these policy initiatives. And the third one
> unfortunately is do people care about this, care about it enough to help me (the
> politician) get elected by writing checks or mobilizing people.

As described earlier in this chapter, some unease existed among sample interviewees

regarding the political prowess of US Travel. This consternation was represented by

comments such as the following: "Their agenda is a total waste." "They should be carrying

that (tourism umbrella) message...but they're really not." And, "I'm not sure that there's

ever been anyone over at TIA (US Travel) that understood what government affairs was."

US Travel was the only organization whose political understanding was repeatedly

questioned by interviewees. According to interview data, it was important for organization

representatives to think about how the organization was viewed by outsiders so that the

organization can better understand itself. Thinking about an organization's image is part of

reflecting, which is described in the next section.

Reflecting

External events have created reflection opportunities for tourism organizations. For

example, legislation was passed that provided economic relief for businesses affected by

Hurricanes Katrina and Rita. Certain types of businesses were excluded from the benefits

and placed on a *sin list*. Along with adult entertainment venues and massage parlors, golf

courses and country clubs were also added to the *sin list*. Being considered less than wholesome came as a surprise to some professionals in tourism-related fields. Realizing this, tourism organizations affected by the *sin list* designation became more proactive and began working to change the image of their industry.

Reflection also increased the power of tourism advocacy. For example, an executive stated, "If a proposed tax increase is viewed as an alcohol issue, you're going to lose it every time. But if it's looked at as a job killer for the restaurant industry, then you've got a chance." Part of the approach described in the previous quote was public relations, but serious reflection also involved more than just changing a message. The executives who discussed the importance of reflection stressed the need for an organization to take a larger view of the world than merely looking at advocacy from industry specific issues such as increasing the number of international visitors or simply encouraging people to travel. It appeared as though, tourism advocacy was not always viewed by those I interviewed within the larger political and social realities.

Using Research and Information

According to one interviewee, "Research has become much more significant to policy development and to programs." Analyzing the political environment has been an important activity that helped organizations decide what issues on which they may be able to have an impact. Organizations seemed to get engaged when they understood a proposed policy could impact its members and what viable solutions may be. One government affairs executive said, "I try to monitor the smorgasbord of everything that's out there that could potentially

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affect us. We have 62 pages of bills that we're monitoring right now." Most of the legislative monitoring and understanding occurred before the organization reached out to other groups, as another interviewee described:

It generally starts here with the legislative offices. We might spend some time on an issue internally before we reach out to the others because we're a consensus based trade association of our membership so generally speaking we want to have a position first, and know what our position is before we reach out to the other associations.

Establishing policy positions grounded in fact-based knowledge added to the credibility of an organization. For example, an interviewee from an organization with significant research resources shared that members of Congress sought the organization's opinion because the members of Congress knew of the organization's reputation as a knowledge leader for the industry.

Research was also an important tool used to persuade political decision makers. More than just aggregate data, information drilled down to the local level was necessary. An example of this is making a member of Congress aware of the number of recreational vehicle owners in her district so she will know the importance of RV-related issues to her constituents. As one interviewee described:

Try to make that connection more direct because some cases they just want to know that the industry's there. In other cases, they really need to be moved and they need to know that Joe Smith who owns a motel is a member of our association and Joe Smith's dad contributed to the campaign.

Listening to Organization Members

One of the sampling activities, described in Chapter 3, involved sending letters to government affairs representatives of organizations, in which I asked if the representatives' organization was involved in public policy advocacy. One association executive replied via email stating the executive's organization did not have a formal public policy agenda, but worked on issues on an ad hoc basis, based on "our perceptions of their relevance to our membership, and the available resources."

One interviewee expressed the confidence the organization's members had in the organization's government affairs department. The executive stated, "Our members put a lot of faith in our ability to decipher and determine which are the most important issues and what our advocacy activities will be." Although some members may have faith in association executives' abilities to represent them, asking members what was meaningful to them and how various policy positions might affect them also seemed important.

Most organizations listened to their members in informal ways. For example, an organization's government affairs executive may field phone calls from members who share policy concerns at the local level. Member input was sometimes also filtered to the government affairs department through the organization's board of directors. One organization that published a magazine for members frequently received feedback from members who had read an article that reminded them of, or made them recognize, a policy problem in their community. Producing magazine articles is one activity some sample organizations employed to communicate their advocacy messages. Communicating the message is described in the next section.

Communicating the Message

Some interviewees' believed the meaning of a public policy agenda was diminished if an organization could not effectively communicate the agenda to political decision makers. As one interviewee stated, "This whole game is about influencing members of Congress to think one way or another." Another interviewee used the analogy of a court-of-law when describing how, in advocacy, one must be able to argue the facts and "explain clearly and cogently why your position matters. That takes a fair amount of data and information." Another executive likened advocacy to being a teacher – educating members of Congress and their staff about tourism issues, which may be one of many concerns politicians face in a given day. The executive continued, "Today politicians have to know the emissions that come out of buses, tomorrow it's the tax code, the day after that they need to know about human rights issues in Botswana."

Ways in which a tourism policy advocacy message was communicated by associations included holding in-person or telephone meetings with officials, placing advertisements in newspapers read by members of Congress, writing op-ed pieces in mainstream media (e.g., Bill Marriott's letter in the Washington Post), producing public service announcements for television and radio, and using direct mail to targeted organization constituents. Associations activated their grassroots resources to make phone calls or send letters or emails to members of Congress. Another important communication tool was the media, as one executive described, "It's making sure that we are working the

media the way we need to work the media. We have to get the stories and the priorities out

to the media. We must get the coverage, get the attention."

The messenger is often just as important as the message in effective communications,

as one interviewee explained:

When you create a coalition, it's important to make sure that the best face is the one

doing the most representation. So if it's a larger business concern on a tax issue, for

example, but the coalition collectively decides that this is a positive impact for the

small business community, then it's important to put a small business representative

at the tip of that spear, for example.

Understanding what politicians want was important for successful advocacy.

Framing the communication of the message in a way that addressed the wants of politicians

was also critical. One interviewee explained, "You need to know where that member or

where the president is coming from, so that way you can tailor your message so it's going to

line up with the way they're thinking." The general consensus of those I interviewed was

that the tourism lobby generally does not communicate its message with a sense of

understanding the larger social and political schema beyond tourism.

Policy Preferences

My final research question was *What are the public policy preferences, at the federal

level, of tourism associations in the United States?* The data category *policy preferences* was

the central data category to which all other data were related. *Policy preferences* was

indicated in an organization's public policy agendas by the stances on the issues, or types of

issues, taken by the organization. Sabatier and Weible (2007) stated, "Policy preferences might be the stickiest glue that binds coalitions together" (p. 195). Advocacy coalitions, working together over time to advance common issue positions, comprise policy subsystems. Policy subsystems are comprised of the collections of actors with similar policy preferences who attempt to influence policy on a regular basis. Tourism policy subsystems are described later in this section.

Content analysis of the policy agendas from sample organizations revealed the organizations' public policy preferences. The 30 sample organizations that engaged in advocacy had a total of 320 items on their agendas, representing an average of more than 10 issues for each organization. When printed, the agendas filled a three-inch binder with approximately 600 pages. Of these 320 issues, more than 230 were unique issues – meaning they only appeared on the agenda of one organization. The 320 issues in the sample were contained within 32 Lobbying Disclosure Form (LDF) codes, which I used to organize policy domains.

As described in Chapter 2, policy domains are general categories of related issues and are the foundation for the preferences of policy actors. The complete list of issues and positions (i.e., policy preferences) of organizations in the sample, organized by policy domains, is included as Appendix F. Table 4.1 is a summary of tourism policy domains found in sample data.

Table 4.1 Summary of tourism policy domains in the sample.

Policy Domain (General Issue Area Code)		Within Domain, Number of:		
		Issues	Policy Subsystems	Associations
CSP	Consumer Issues/Safety/Protection	39	11	6
TAX	Taxation/Internal Revenue Code	25	11	10
LBR	Labor Issues/Antitrust/Workplace	24	7	11
ROD	Roads/Highway	24	6	8
TOU	Travel/Tourism	21	4	9
ENV	Environment/Superfund	17	4	7
HOM	Homeland Security	14	4	8
NAT	Natural Resources	14	3	8
AVI	Aviation/Aircraft/Airlines	13	6	2
GAM	Gaming/Gambling/Casino	13	3	3
IMM	Immigration	12	1	8
RRR	Railroads	12	6	2
TRA	Transportation	10	6	5
FUE	Fuel/Gas/Oil	9	2	4
TRU	Trucking/Shipping	9	3	3
TRD	Trade (Domestic & Foreign)	8	2	4
CIV	Civil Rights/Civil Liberties	7	1	6
LAW	Law Enforcement/Crime/Criminal Justice	7	2	2
FOO	Food Industry (Safety, Labeling, etc.)	6	2	1
EDU	Education	5	2	2
HCR	Health Issues	5	3	4
ALC	Alcohol and Drug Abuse	4	2	1
BAN	Banking	4	2	3
BEV	Beverage Industry	4	1	2
MAR	Marine/Maritime/Boating/Fisheries	3	3	2
ANI	Animals	2	1	2
AUT	Automotive Industry	2	1	2
FOR	Foreign Relations	2	1	2
RET	Retirement	2	1	1
CPT	Copyright/Patent/Trademark	1	1	1
FAM	Family Issues/Abortion/Adoption	1	1	1
INS	Insurance	1	1	1
	Totals:	320	104	N/A

The breadth of policy domains with which tourism associations were concerned is a defining characteristic of tourism advocacy. In total, the LDF allows for 77 general issue area codes. Sample tourism organizations were concerned with 32 – more than two-fifths of all policy domains. The LDF includes a coding option for Travel/ Tourism (TOU), which was one of the 32 policy domains in the sample. The remaining 31 policy domains – which

included areas ranging from Immigration to Family Issues and Civil Rights/ Civil Liberties to Banking – show the diversity and disunity of tourism associations' policy preferences.

Data showed the policy preferences of tourism associations involved more than just tourism-specific issues. For example, of the sample organizations' 320 issues, only 21 (6.6%) fell within the Travel/ Tourism (TOU) policy domain. The relatively small number of tourism-specific issues illustrated tourism's diverse policy preferences, as most associations in the sample worked on either general business issues such as immigration and taxes or sector-specific issues such as transportation and aviation. Four codes were used more frequently than TOU. The Consumer Issues/ Safety/ Protection (CSP) domain contained 39 issues. Taxation/ Internal Revenue Code (TAX) contained 25 issues. The Labor Issues/ Antitrust/ Workplace (LBR) and Roads/ Highway (ROD) domains each contained 24 issues. The following quote illustrated the industry specific focus of tourism associations:

> Restaurants tend to be not as active as hotels would be on the travel issues because restaurants' issue priorities are different. But they help where they can in terms of Travel Promotion Act or other big legislation. It may be that the bus industry needs to do a particular thing. Maybe needs of car rental groups are going to be different than what the cruise lines need to do. So all of them had, as they do with their public policy priorities, they have sort of sector specific programs and approaches.

Most agendas analyzed were quite specific, including bill numbers and the exact message the association wanted members to express. Some organizations included many issues, but were less specific about issues and the organization's positions on the issues. For example, the National Recreation and Parks Association's (NRPA) public policy agenda

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included 20 issues, many of which were not specific such as "An environment of highest quality for present and future generations" or "Encourage, create, and support global links which improve the quality of life for all people through parks, recreation and leisure." Although it is clear NRPA supported a healthy natural environment, most of their agenda items could not be tied to any particular legislation.

The wording in some agendas was ambiguous and had to be analyzed more carefully to understand organizations' policy preferences. An example of this, taken from the Cruise Line Industry Association's (CLIA) agenda regarding the Passenger Services Act, follows:

CLIA has not taken a position on any federal legislation that amends the Passengers Services Act (PSA). The decision of whether to repeal or modify the PSA involves complex issues relating to the operation of passenger vessels in the United States coastwise trade. The PSA prohibits non-U.S. flag vessels from providing transportation for passengers in the domestic coastwise trade, i.e. between U.S. ports. That is, a passenger may not join the ship in one U.S. port and depart the ship in a different U.S. port. Since the foreign passenger vessel industry, from its inception, has been engaged in international voyages, modifications to the PSA do not impact our industry's current operations. *Therefore, the members of CLIA have taken no position on proposed reforms to the Passenger Services Act* since we do not anticipate any significant changes in our members' cruise itineraries. *There is a grassroots coalition leading PSA reform efforts which seeks to open new cruise itineraries between U.S. ports.* This coalition is comprised of tourism and U.S. port interests. *CLIA is not a member of this group.* We understand the efforts of this

coalition, but their goal is to help American cities and ports, not the cruise operators. We encourage growth in all segments of the cruise industry, but we do not believe a reformed PSA is necessary to achieve these objectives. While a reformed PSA might add some new U.S. ports to cruise itineraries, most of our members believe that this would not be significant, especially in light of the restrictions that likely would be attached. *Therefore, CLIA is not advocating any change to this law.* (Italics added)

The italicized phrases illustrate the complexities involved in analyzing the content of public policy agendas. While the agenda began by stating the association had not taken a position on the issue of amending the PSA, it concluded with the statement, "CLIA is not advocating any change to this law." Since the issue was amending the law, CLIA therefore held an opposition viewpoint on this particular issue. Therefore, CLIA did have a clear position on the issue, even if the organization claimed that no position was taken. Among other possibilities, the ambiguity could be due to a lack of attention paid to creating a clear and concise public policy agenda. Although I did not set out to analyze the quality of the agendas, poorly crafted agendas could negatively affect the efficacy of some organizations advocacy efforts and perhaps the advocacy efforts of the tourism lobby as a whole. Analyzing the quality of crafted agendas is an opportunity for future research.

In addition to not analyzing the quality of agendas, I am also not intending to criticize any individual organization. However, I will continue to use the agenda from CLIA to illustrate another finding. Since many of the agendas were taken from the organizations' websites, taglines or other organizational information was often included on the actual document I printed and analyzed. In a sidebar on the CLIA agenda appeared the phrase,

"One industry. One voice." This was the same wording used by US Travel to describe its efforts in tourism advocacy, as discussed in Chapter 1.

As stated in the previous excerpt from the CLIA advocacy agenda, the cruise association was concerned with tourism issues. However, amending the Passenger Services Act, which CLIA opposed, would enable the flow of visitors between U.S. destinations, which seemed like an issue that US Travel would support. It can be assumed that CLIA was referring to the cruising industry when using the phrase, "One industry." This example showed the nomenclature used to express tourism policy preferences showed how all tourism-related interests do not fall under just "one industry" and tourism does not have just "one voice", as US Travel was apparently trying to suggest.

Another observation regarding how sample associations expressed their policy preferences was the crafting of the verbiage in some of the agendas to create a positive message out of what could be an unpopular position. For example, US Travel's position on the Western Hemisphere Travel Initiative (WHTI) stated:

> The industry has always supported the need for greater security at our nation's borders and the need for federal officials to examine fewer and more secure travel documents. It is important for WHTI to be implemented, but it must be done in a way that does not halt the free flow of legitimate business and leisure travel.

The language indicated US Travel can support WHTI if it is properly implemented (i.e., does not impede international in-bound visitation). The real concern about WHTI to tourism professionals was the lack of preparedness of government agencies to handle the passport requirement, resulting in severe travel difficulties, thereby discouraging

international visitation. However, the crafting of a policy preference statement could be construed as a controversial position to a sensitive issue. For example, the position of the Western States Tourism Policy Council (WSTPC) can be interpreted as outright opposition to the WHTI policy. Although the WSTPC is not a sample organization, looking at the agenda of another tourism organization helped illustrate the mixed messages sent at times by tourism advocates. The WSTPC agenda stated:

> Tourism and other business and educational organizations continue to charge that the U.S. agencies are not prepared to implement these new rules and the result will be chaos at ports of entry with many discouraged from even attempting such travel, causing a severe negative economic impact.

Even though the two organizations had the same policy preferences toward the Western Hemisphere Travel Initiative, this example showed how the advocacy voice of tourism may not always be unified and mixed signals may be sent to political decision makers and organizations' constituents because of multifarious language in the agendas.

As prescribed by the Advocacy Coalition Framework, policy beliefs and preferences common among organizations are the foundation for policy subsystems. Policy subsystems are the collection of actors who attempt to influence policy on a regular basis. The tourism policy subsystems discovered during my research are presented in the next section.

Tourism Policy Subsystems

Actors within the same policy subsystem may come from different types of organizations, but are interested in policy issues within common policy domains. Advocacy

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coalitions consist of actors within a policy subsystem that work together to advance common issue positions. Members of an advocacy coalition share policy preferences and are expected to present themselves with the same voice on similar issues (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999). Table 4.1 contains information related to the number of associations in each policy domain found in sample data. The domains with the largest number of associations were LBR with eleven, TAX with ten, and TOU with nine. Four policy domains included eight associations each – ROD, Homeland Security (HOM), Natural Resources (NAT), and Immigration (IMM).

Table 4.1 also includes data related to policy subsystems. The research sample included a total of 104 policy subsystems. The domains with the most policy subsystems were TAX and CSP with eleven each, and LBR with seven subsystems. ROD, Transportation (TRA), Aviation/ Aircraft/ Airlines (AVI), and Railroads (RRR) each had six policy subsystems. The domains with the most policy subsystems involved general business or transportation issues, which is not surprising considering the sample consists primarily of business trade associations that rely heavily on transportation.

The greater number of policy subsystems within a policy domain illustrated the diversity and disunity among issues within the domain. For example, the policy subsystems within the CSP domain ranged from automobile passenger safety and bicycle safety to price gouging and amusement park safety. Domains with fewer policy subsystems were generally focused on a small number of issues. For example, the IMM (Immigration) domain included one policy subsystem, which was concerned with protecting the pool of immigrant labor.

The policy subsystem within the IMM domain included eleven sample organizations. This indicated a single issue that was common and important to several associations.

The potential for an advocacy coalition to form exists when policy actors within the same policy subsystem have common policy preferences. My data revealed much overlap in policy preferences among sample organizations. The overlap in policy preferences represented opportunities for organizations to work together in pursuit of common objectives, if the groups were not already working in a coalition. The way tourism is defined by the Travel Economic Impact Model forces the inclusion of industries such as railroads and automobile manufacturers that significantly expand the breadth of policy preferences of tourism associations and lead to apparent disunity. The breadth of policy preferences also created an opportunity for tourism advocates to form new advocacy coalitions with partners that may not typically be considered.

Interview data showed many existing advocacy coalition opportunities were not pursued. Reasons for not pursuing new advocacy coalition opportunities were based on resource deficiencies in most cases. The deficient resources included money, human capital, and time needed to pursue new advocacy coalitions. Other obstacles to forming coalitions included lack of information about other groups' policy preferences and lack of trust among unfamiliar organizations.

Conclusion of Results

The content analysis and in-depth personal interviews revealed data that can be used to theorize about the tourism policy advocacy process. A theory's explanatory power is

increased when data categories are dense. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998),

quantitative data is dense when all properties of a data category have been reasonably

identified. Variability relates to the range of responses within data categories. The density

and variability of data collected in each category was discussed in detail throughout the

chapter and is summarized in the following paragraphs.

Data categories with the most density in my study were *characteristics of policy*

actors, *association resources*, and *cooperation mitigators*. Within the *characteristics of*

policy actors data category, the only major variability in the data involved the interviewees'

perceived effectiveness of US Travel's advocacy leadership. Roughly half of the

interviewees expressed some sort of frustration with the advocacy efforts and leadership

activities of US Travel.

I believe most of the possible variability in responses has been accounted for in the

data related to *characteristics of policy actors*, *association resources*, *cooperation mitigators*,

and *policy preferences* and these categories have reached theoretical saturation. Within the

policy preferences data category, significant variability existed among public policy issues

because of the many tourism-related industry sectors included in the analysis. However,

increasing the number of associations would likely add to the variability because of the

diversity of interests among tourism-related associations.

Some dimensions within the *coalition management* and *agenda development* data

categories may not be fully developed and these data categories are not as dense as other

categories. For example, within the *coalition management* category, data indicated little

variability regarding the formation of advocacy coalitions among the tourism associations

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while more variability existed among sample organizations regarding the maintenance and termination of advocacy coalitions.

The variability related to *agenda development* was due to a range of responses regarding how organizations dealt with political issues. Richter (1994) noted the importance for tourism advocates to directly confront political issues. The activities some organizations engaged in to deal with political issues included understanding the wants of political decision makers, reflecting on organizational strengths and weaknesses, using research, seeking input from organization members, and communicating the advocacy message. Sample organizations did not exhibit consistent behavior regarding activities they engaged in to deal with political issues. For example, all interviewees claimed to listen to organization members, but most organizations developed their tourism policy agendas with limited formal member input. Constraints to engaging in various agenda development activities were primarily related to a lack of resources.

Theoretical saturation may not have been fully reached in the data categories of *coalition management* and *agenda development*. However, findings related to less-dense data categories still added to the theory developed in Chapter 5. Data from categories that are less dense also highlighted areas that can be explored in future research to further develop the theory. The lack of *association resources* – particularly financial and knowledge resources – was the primary factor causing variability in the *coalition management* and *agenda development* categories. Ideas for strengthening *association resources*, *coalition management*, and *agenda development* components of theory are presented in Chapter 5.

You have to be really pragmatic about it and not get into ideological divides, because otherwise you're not going to work in any coalition.

-Tourism Association Executive

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

In this final chapter I answer the research questions posed and developed in Chapters 1 and 2, using the methodology explained in Chapter 3. I also analyze the results presented in Chapter 4. The analysis of results extends beyond description and contributes to theory explaining the behavior of tourism policy actors in the sample. The data and theoretical contributions are tied to recommendations, in the form of Ten Tourism Policy Precepts, that could help tourism associations deal with challenges identified during the research. This chapter also includes a discussion of limitations to the study and recommendations for future research.

Answers to Research Questions

Answers to the research questions are part of the foundation for conceptualizing the tourism policy advocacy process and developing recommendations to confront challenges faced by tourism policy actors. The research questions were: (a) What are the roles and motivations of tourism-related associations that engage in advocacy? (b) How are organizational resources used to develop tourism policy? (c) How are tourism policy advocacy coalitions managed? (d) Under what circumstances do those involved in developing tourism policy cooperate with each other? (e) How are tourism policy agendas

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developed? (f) What are the public policy preferences, at the federal level, of tourism associations in the United States? Answers to each question are summarized in the following paragraphs.

To answer the first research question I detailed the associations involved in tourism policy advocacy and the roles and motivations of those involved. The universe of national-focused tourism-related associations existed in the United States included at least 229 organizations. Of the sample of 54 organizations, more than 55% were involved in federal public policy advocacy. Roles of tourism policy actors within coalitions included leaders, members, and experts. Advancing its own policy objectives was the chief motivation of a tourism policy actor to join coalitions. This motivation is expected considering members of a coalition have common public policy preferences, according to the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF).

Identifying various resources employed by tourism advocacy coalitions led to the answer of the second research question, which was *How are organizational resources used to develop tourism policy?* The resources identified were financial wherewithal, the reputation of an organization and its affiliates, an organization's membership base, an organization's knowledge base, and an association's product and location. Organizations typically used their resources to achieve their policy objectives by partnering with other organizations that offered complementary resources. All organizations experienced resource constraints, indicating more resources could be developed or the allocation of resources could be more efficient. According to Cropanzano and Mitchell (2005), tourism policy advocacy groups would be expected to contribute money to political decision makers. However, data

indicated sample organizations did not typically make political contributions on the same

scale as other industries. Developing new resources and giving more money to political

causes are opportunities related to resources discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

The third research question was an inquiry into how tourism policy coalitions were

managed. Coalition management activities included forming a coalition, maintaining a

coalition, and terminating a coalition. As predicted by Social Exchange Theory (SET),

coalitions were managed similar to the management of intimate personal relationships, where

trust is crucial. A major difference between coalitions and intimate relationships was the

professional nature of coalition relationships. When a coalition partnership went awry,

personal feelings were secondary to professional objectives. According to the data, several

opportunities existed that, if pursued by tourism organizations, may make elements of

coalition management more effective. The opportunities included localizing tourism

advocacy, developing a travel consumer advocacy initiative, reaching out to atypical

partners, and expanding reciprocity. These coalition management opportunities are also

described later in this chapter.

The fourth research question involved the circumstances around which tourism policy

actors cooperate with each other. Organizations with similar policy preferences and

complementary resources formed coalitions. I also looked at circumstances that mitigated

cooperation, which were disagreements, personalities, lack of trust, and occasionally working

in opposing coalitions. My data indicated tourism advocacy coalitions were fluid and

cooperation could be adjusted if resources needed to be devoted to another cause, which aids

in a better understanding of how an interest group will change its cooperation within a

coalition when costs outweigh the benefits – a question raised by Blau (1977). However, the decision to change roles in a coalition was typically not made on a formal cost-benefit analysis of partnership options in order to achieve equity, but instead such decisions were generally based on conserving resources. Hojnacki (1997) purported that if coalition members have little to offer the coalition, then the costs will be too great for members who have more to offer, thus not letting the weaker member become part of the coalition. My data did not support this claim. The executives I interviewed indicated that lack of resources may have kept organizations from being fully engaged in some coalitions. However, as long as trust existed among the groups, any prospective member would be allowed to join because the prospective member would be expected to add one more voice of support to the coalition's position. Another reason an interested trust-worthy partner would not be turned away was because that organization could become a powerful ally on future issues.

The fifth research question concerned the development of tourism policy agendas. A critical aspect of setting an agenda was confronting political challenges. Data showed important activities involved in confronting political challenges when tourism policy actors developed policy agendas included understanding the wants and needs of political decision makers, reflecting about organization strengths and weaknesses, using research and information to make a political case based on policy analysis, listening to organization members, and communicating the advocacy message. Data indicated three particular activities, understanding the wants of political decision makers, listening to the organization members, and using research and information, were typically not strengths of sample organizations. Also, most organizations dealt with policy problems in a reactive fashion, as

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opposed to anticipating policy and advocacy opportunities. Anticipating policy opportunities has not been addressed in existing tourism policy theory. Ideas relating to analyzing impacts of tourism policy, listening to association constituents, anticipating policy needs, and confronting political realities comprise part of the Ten Tourism Policy Precepts presented in a subsequent section.

The sixth and final research question addressed tourism advocacy organizations' policy preferences – an organization's positions on policy issues – and the policy subsystems in which tourism advocacy organizations were involved. Policy preferences among sample organizations were broad in that sample organizations were concerned with 320 issues across 32 of 77 policy domains. The research activities of Zafonte and Sabatier (1998) and Fenger and Klok (2001) raised questions about how much overlap in policy preferences might exist among organizations that depend on each other's resources (i.e., are interdependent). I witnessed strong evidence of overlapping policy preferences among interdependent organizations. Tourism organizations also had common policy preferences with other organizations that did not share common resources. However, lack of association resources often limited opportunities for tourism associations to explore coalitions with organizations they may not share resources with. Ideas to reach out to atypical partners are also part of the Ten Tourism Policy Precepts. Analysis of the data answering each research question contributed to the development of theory, which is detailed next.

Theoretical Contribution and Development

Research is useful when the researcher's etic, or outside, knowledge is applied to the emic, or insider, perspective of the research participants and substantive theory is generated (Henderson, 2007). According to the ACF, SET, and Resource Dependency Theory (RDT) tourism advocacy organizations are expected to be motivated by advancing their own public policy agenda and are expected to form advocacy relationships with other organizations that offer complementary resources, have similar policy preferences, and are trusted. Organizations with more resources relative to other coalition members are expected to have more power within a coalition. Similarly, coalitions with more resources relative to other coalitions are expected to have more power.

Organizations in the sample typically behaved as existing theory predicted. However, gaps between theory and data were discovered. Some gaps involved activities revealed in the data but not predicted by existing literature and theory. Other gaps concerned activities existing theory claimed should be happening but were not exhibited in the data. Analysis of the gaps, detailed later in this chapter, is part of the theoretical contribution of my dissertation.

Development of Theory

Data integrated into theory occurs through various coding processes. Information reported in Chapter 4 was the result of open coding and axial coding, which were techniques used to analyze variability within data categories and link categories with sub-categories.

Relationships are identified as data are reassembled to construct theory through selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Although linkages may be found in the data, relationships do not emerge until recognized by the researcher, which inherently leads to "some degree of interpretation and selectivity" (p. 144).

The first step in integrating data into a theoretical construct is identifying a central data category, or main theme of the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). All data categories relate to *policy preferences*, which confirmed Sabatier and Weible's (2007) construct of advocacy coalitions. According to sample data, *policy preferences* compelled coalitions and *association resources* regulated advancements toward policy objectives.

However, deeper probing in the data revealed another common theme. All interviewees described prospects for tourism advocacy to become more effective in accomplishing policy agenda objectives. This finding is not surprising as all policy actors would presumably hope to achieve maximum success. A more important finding in this research was the serious concern captured in the data about the perceived potential of tourism coalitions to achieve an increase in effectiveness of accomplishing policy agenda objectives.

While opportunities existed for tourism coalitions to advance policy preferences, interviewees were typically not optimistic about tourism actors' ability to capitalize on opportunities. Thus, I use the term *slippery opportunities* to describe the main theme of the data. Achievable opportunities existed, but deficiencies made opportunities mutable and achieving opportunities uncertain.

Deficiencies in the areas of *association resources*, *coalition management*, and *agenda development* were the primary problems in successfully capitalizing on opportunities with

which tourism advocates struggled. For example, a lack of *association resources* was the most common response when interviewees described their inability to expand coalition relationships. A lack of financial resources limited tourism coalitions' perceived power relative to many opposing coalitions. *Coalition management* deficiencies involved (a) not reaching out to the right coalition partners and (b) relationship challenges among current coalition members. Deficiencies regarding *agenda development* of tourism associations were directly confronting political realities and putting forward a proactive, as opposed to reactive, policy agenda.

The model in Figure 5.1 depicts the interaction of data concerning the advocacy activities of tourism associations. The model, incorporating a series of gears arranged to drive tourism associations toward desired policy agenda objectives, shows how *policy preferences* lead associations to pursue coalition partners en route to working toward policy objectives. The interlocking gears represent the data categories of *characteristics of policy actors*, *association resources*, *agenda development*, and *coalition management*. *Coalition management* is the final gear turning the sprocket upon with the chain rides that carries tourism advocates toward the realization of policy objectives. *Cooperation mitigators*, represented by cloud-like shapes in the model, are akin to dirt or grime that might impede the functionality of a gear system, similar to how circumstances mitigating cooperation affected sample organizations.
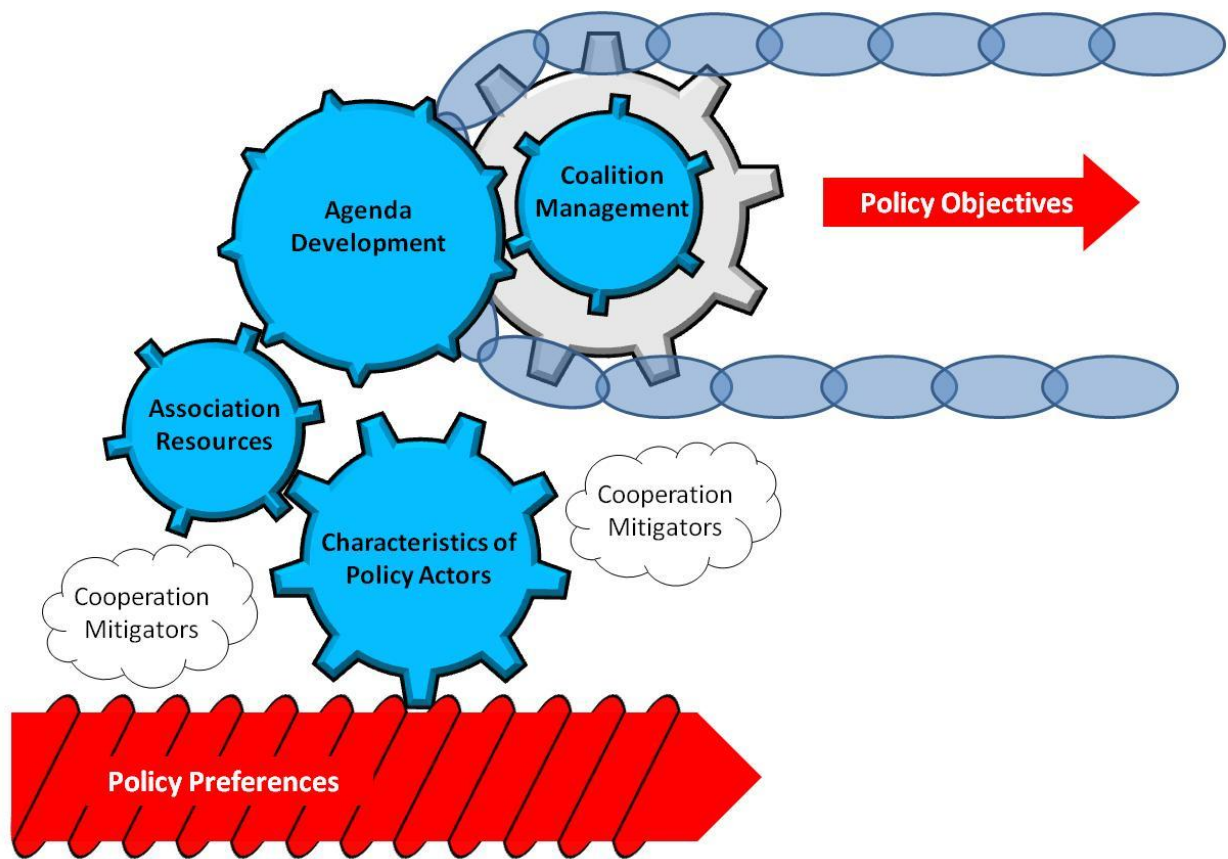
Figure 5.1 Conceptualization of tourism associations' slippery opportunities

A gear consists of teeth that link to the teeth of another gear with which it is engaged. The meshing of gears via the teeth enables the transfer of force without slippage. A caveat of the Figure 5.1 model is the sizes and shapes of the teeth associated with the gears representing *association resources*, *coalition management*, and *agenda development*. The sizes and shapes of engaging teeth are different, which may cause the gears to slip and take away from tourism organizations' ability to realize opportunities. The caveat represents the areas of opportunity to reduce deficiencies, as previously described.

The Ten Tourism Policy Precepts, presented in the next section, address the deficiencies regarding *association resources*, *coalition management*, and *agenda*

development that were found in the data. Conceptually, correcting the deficiencies via the

Ten Tourism Policy Precepts may adjust the incompatible sizes and shapes of the gear teeth

and enable the gear system, and the tourism policy process, to function more efficiently.

Ten Tourism Policy Precepts

Tourism policy actors faced particular challenges related to *association resources*,

coalition management, and *agenda development*. These challenges created opportunities.

The Ten Tourism Policy Precepts, listed below and detailed in the following sub-sections, are

tactics designed to assist tourism associations realize opportunities found in data and theory.

Association Resources

1. Develop association advocacy reputation resources

2. Contribute money to political causes

Coalition Management

3. Localize tourism advocacy

4. Create a travel consumer advocacy initiative

5. Reach out to atypical advocacy partners

6. Expand reciprocity

Agenda Development

7. Understand the will of association members

8. Anticipate policy opportunities

9. Analyze impacts of tourism policy

10. Confront political realities

Association Resources

As described in Chapter 4, a major challenge for all sample associations was a lack of financial, reputation, organization membership, or knowledge resources. This challenge revealed in the data indicated a need to develop new resources. Also, according to existing theory (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005), and also found in the data, a resource-related activity that organizations would be expected to engage in is contributing money to political decision makers. Data showed tourism associations did not typically exhibit this behavior. Developing new resources and giving money to political causes are two precepts that could help tourism organizations mitigate deficiencies involving association resources.

Develop Association Advocacy Reputation Resources

Lack of resources was the most common response when interviewees discussed their ability to expand coalition relationships. Several interviewees expressed the need for tourism advocacy associations to develop additional resources. Developing new resources could increase the power of tourism advocacy coalitions relative to opposing coalitions. According to data collected, organizations typically did not actively develop new resources despite resource limitations and also because of resource limitations.

Instead of developing new resources, organizations facing resource constraints attempted to work within constraints while looking for potential coalition partners that offered complementary resources. Such behavior is explained by RDT (Fenger & Klok, 2001). Although sample organizations behaved as predicted by RDT, the primary reason

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sample organizations were not able to develop new resources was because of a lack of resources, particularly time and money. Dealing with the circular nature of the resource constraint was not explained by the guiding theoretical frameworks.

Data suggested several opportunities to develop new association resources, particularly reputation resources. The opportunities to develop reputation resources involved enhancing the credibility of tourism research, educating tourism professionals, and developing personal relationships with politicians. Each of these activities, described in subsequent paragraphs, could strengthen the reputation of tourism advocates.

Reliable economic research findings added to the perceived credibility of tourism advocacy efforts, according to my data. Once noticing this, I asked about the reliability of tourism economic research in subsequent interviews. No interviewees expressed full confidence in the tourism-related economic research, despite the expressed importance of research quality. Enhancing the credibility of tourism economic research would enhance the reputation of tourism advocates who supply the research to political decision makers they are trying to persuade. Improvements in tourism economic research are needed, according to my data. However, other than policy analysis described later, assessing tourism economic research needs are beyond the scope of my dissertation. Analysis of existing tourism economic research practices continues to be fertile ground for future research.

Another way to develop reputation resources is through education. The data suggested that programs were needed to educate tourism professionals on pertinent policy issues and how to communicate their positions on issues. One key informant described how tourism professionals may not be able to sustain political momentum as a piece of legislation

moves through various processes over time. Continuously educating tourism professionals – through formal training and informal communications – on the issues and important lobbying activities may help tourism sustain its political momentum. Data indicated, albeit with some variability, that the education function could be carried out by tourism policy scholars and advocacy experts.

During an interview near the end of data collection, the most senior of my key informants suggested two additional ideas to enhance the reputation resources of tourism advocates. The first idea of the key informant, who had more than 60 years of tourism advocacy experience, was to develop stronger personal relationships with political decision makers similar to the relationships between tourism professionals and politicians of previous generations. Reportedly, the relationships tourism professionals had with politicians 20 years ago and before afforded tourism interests more attention from politicians than tourism interests received at the time of my research. The second idea put forth by my most experienced key informant was for tourism advocacy groups to contribute more money to political decision makers. The key informant believed the political contributions of tourism advocates has never been adequate. More information on making political contributions is presented in the following section.

Activities related with developing advocacy reputation resources were needs found in the data but not addressed in the theory. Developing resources, particularly reputation resources, may make tourism associations more attractive to non-traditional partners, potentially enabling tourism coalitions to expand their reach. Increasing the reputation of

tourism is part of confronting political realities, which is a tourism policy precept described later in this chapter.

Contribute Money to Political Causes

        The lack of money to make political donations was mentioned by all interviewees as an obstacle to forming successful coalitions. According to SET, financial contributions to political campaigns are necessary to advance a public policy agenda (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005). Political contributions help interests gain prominence with political decision makers, relative to the interests of groups that do not make comparable political contributions (Olson, 1965). As one interviewee stated, "What that does (having a PAC) is it gives us the ability to deliver the mail to Congress when it counts." Another interviewee stressed the need to improve political contributions among tourism advocates by saying, "There are very few travel industry areas that have any kind of Political Action Committees where they can write checks."

        Tourism interests in the United States have been historically low political contributors compared to most industries, according to two interviewees, both with over 40 years of tourism advocacy experience. In 2006, the top three industry sectors or groups that made political contributions were lawyers/law firms, retired people, and those involved in real estate. During this period, lawyers/law firms contributed $65.5 million to political causes, retired people contributed $63.3 million, and real estate firms contributed $40.8 million (Edgell et al., 2008).

Interest groups categorized as lodging/tourism ranked 52nd among all industry groups with contributions of $3.0 million. Other tourism-related industry groupings also made political contributions. The other tourism-related groupings were air transport, retail sales, casinos/ gambling, beer wine and liquor, food and beverage, Indian gaming, bars and restaurants, recreation/ live entertainment, airlines, and cruise lines. These groups ranked between 26th and 65th in total political contributions. However, the combined giving of all tourism-related industry groups totaled $46.0 million, which would have ranked the combined set third among all industries.

The example in the previous paragraph is another illustration of tourism's fragmented nature and with better coordination could have a greater impact on public policy advocacy. According to my data, coordinated political contributions should be encouraged at the local and national levels. Making political contributions can be a mechanism to increase awareness of tourism among politicians. Making financial contributions to political causes is an activity prescribed by theory, the importance of which was mentioned by interviewees. However, evidence of tourism advocacy groups making financial contributions to political causes was limited.

Coalition Management

Activities related to coalition management created another area in which sample organizations faced challenges that did not match exactly with theory. By comparing data to existing theory, opportunities to strengthen the management of various types of coalitions became apparent. Two opportunities to strengthen coalition management were revealed in

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the data but not addressed in existing theory. The first opportunity revealed in the data was the importance of focusing tourism advocacy efforts at the local level instead of the national level. The second opportunity was to develop a travel consumer advocacy initiative.

Two additional opportunities to strengthen coalition management are based on theoretical concepts that were not found in the data. The first opportunity found in theory but not in the data involved reaching out to non-traditional partners as suggested by Lowndes and Skelcher (1998). The second opportunity involved expanding tourism association's willingness to exchange resources. Rijt and Macy (2006), Nakonezny and Denton (2008), and Gwartney, Fessenden, and Landt (2002) developed theoretical concepts concerning the importance of resource exchanges in relationships similar to advocacy coalitions. Precepts associated with each opportunity are presented in the following sub-sections.

Localize Tourism Advocacy

To paraphrase statements by interviewees, all politics and all tourism is local. Thus, a natural connection should exist between local politics and tourism. Interviewees also commented that partisan support was less important than geographic support. Also, once politicians graduated from local offices (e.g., mayors or state representatives) to national offices their focus shifted to issues more important to the nation. Issues such as healthcare reform, immigration, education, and national security took priority. Therefore, if tourism happens at the local level and if the biggest impact and support is at the local level, a concerted effort should be made to strengthen advocacy efforts geared to local politicians and to mobilize the local grassroots resources.

Being in close contact with local tourism professionals may help national tourism advocacy groups gauge the level of support they could assemble from local tourism professionals on particular issues. Local and state groups could reach out to other tourism components that are important in the individual geographies. Off-shore drilling is an example of an issue about which tourism professionals may hold varying views depending on geography because of differences in states' social, political, and economic climate. A national policy position may not be practical on an issue such as off-shore drilling, but a national tourism advocacy group could work with state-level tourism groups that are looking for help on a fight regarding off-shore drilling issues, for example. Some sample organizations demonstrated efforts to localize advocacy in their partnerships with state organizations, such as the National Restaurant Association with state restaurant groups.

One interviewee suggested strongly that national tourism advocacy would be much stronger if larger regional or sub-national tourism association presences existed throughout the country. In the southeastern United States such a presence has been created by the Southeast Tourism Society (STS). In the west is a similar group, the Western States Tourism Policy Council (WSTPC).

A regional organization may be able to accomplish several things a national organization, such as US Travel, might not be able to accomplish. First, a regional organization could advocate on issues that matter to the region, such as coastal issues in the southeast or public lands in the west. Second, the regional group would have a geographically-concentrated membership base that would represent grassroots power that can be mobilized. Third, a regional organization, because of a lower membership dues structure

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than US Travel, may be able to attract members and fill in some of the geographic gaps where US Travel's membership is sparse. Regional organizations could dig deeper into the local supply of tourism professionals, creating more representation in more states and increasing the power of tourism's advocacy voice coming from outside of Washington, DC. If more regional organizations existed, US Travel could focus on general business issues that capitalize on the strengths of their CEO members, as other interviewees proposed.

Because tourism is a local phenomenon and tourism has a large labor force, potential exists for strong grassroots organization of tourism interests throughout the nation. However, according to interview data, existing umbrella-like organizations are not able to create strong coordination from the national perspective across the spectrum of tourism supply components. A series of regional or local organizations may be better at facilitating destination-specific and grassroots advocacy, which data revealed was an important resource for tourism advocates. Instead of an umbrella-like organization, the series of regional or local organizations could mesh to form more of a tarp-like advocacy structure that covers the ground. Organizations part of the ground-covering tarp could create votes, solicit financial contributions, and develop issues that would be meaningful to political decision makers. Votes, financial contributions, and salient issues are important drivers of political support according to existing theory and data collected for this study.

The localization of tourism advocacy was not widespread in the data. However, the data indicated that tourism advocacy should be more localized. The precept is also not found in existing literature. An important component of localizing tourism advocacy is

understanding the power of individuals who travel to local destinations. The next section describes the importance of creating a travel consumer advocacy initiative.

Create a Travel Consumer Advocacy Initiative

Grassroots initiatives are an important part of an advocacy strategy. Travel consumers are a critical stakeholder group that could be an important advocacy partner. Policy preferences important to travel consumers would likely be supporting an airline passenger bill-of-rights, ease-of-entry at international borders, increased rail service, and lower fuel costs. Partnering with those who travel would significantly expand the grassroots reach of tourism on issues that are already on many tourism associations' agendas.

Two of the most powerful advocacy groups in the United States are the American Association of Retired People (AARP) and the National Rifle Association (NRA). Both groups are comprised of individuals with a single-focus. AARP members are individuals concerned with protecting the social interests of older Americans and NRA members are individuals concerned with protecting second amendment rights. Both organizations have considerable influence because they have organized grassroots resources. In the travel space, the American Automobile Association (AAA) may be the best example of a consumer group in tourism. However, AAA is primarily interested in roadway infrastructure and consumer protection issues, according to the organization's public policy agenda.

A travel consumer group, akin to AARP or NRA, could be established to focus on improving the travel experiences of its members, who would be individual travelers. Or, as an alternative to establishing a new association, existing tourism advocacy organizations

could reach out to large consumer groups, such as AARP or the Sierra Club, to get travel-related issues on their agendas. To attain the trust and support of these organizations, the existing tourism advocacy groups must avail their resources such as access to business leaders, political relationships, and PAC money to the other groups and also offer to support the goals of the groups with which they are looking to partner.

As one interviewee pointed out, many political decision makers and their families are members of consumer associations, which helped build credibility and support for the organizations of which they are members. Advocating policy positions that would benefit individual travelers would appeal to political decision makers because they are frequent consumers of travel. Consumers could also be a rich source of political contributions for tourism-related Political Action Committees. Creating a travel consumer advocacy initiative is an example of a contribution my research made that interviewees believed tourism advocacy groups should be engaged in, but were not. Reaching out to travelers as an advocacy strategy was also not directly addressed in existing theory.

Reach Out to Atypical Advocacy Partners

Data showed that tourism associations tended to look for potential coalition partners among a small set of organizations with similar policy preferences. For example, an aviation association may look to an airport association or an aircraft manufacturer to work together on a common issue. Organizations sought out similar groups because of trust that had been established over time and a lack of resources needed to develop new relationships outside of traditional partnerships. Data also showed when groups worked together in non-traditional

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partnerships, such as an aviation group joining with an environmental group, political decision makers are believed to consider the diversity of interests and cooperation among diverse interests as added reason to support the cause.

Alliances among airlines, such as Star Alliance, are examples showing how competitors can work together toward mutual business goals. The Star Alliance consists of 21 airlines, including United States' rivals United Airlines and US Airways and Asian rivals Asiana Airlines and Singapore Airlines. The member airlines compete with each other, but also work together to facilitate global travel by enabling passengers to book connections among the partners and offering proximate terminal locations for easier connections when switching between partners during a trip. Other benefits include reciprocal frequent flyer programs among member airlines. According to existing theory (Lowndes & Skelcher, 1998), such non-advocacy partnerships among competitors can lead to stronger advocacy partnerships.

Tourism business groups could also align with unusual partners to advance some of the lowest common denominator issues important to a variety of groups. For example, tourism business leaders could partner with tourism labor leaders to advance the common objective of increasing tourism demand. Partnering with labor represents a particularly important opportunity for tourism since tourism and travel industries directly employ roughly 5.9 million Americans (Griffith & Zemanek, 2009). Increasing tourism demand should create more jobs for workers and higher revenues for business owners.

When lobbying for the Travel Promotion Act (TPA), one of the arguments presented by tourism business associations was a call to consider how declines in travel demand

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impacted the lives of those employed by tourism businesses. If tourism business groups had aligned with labor organizations and leveraged the labor organizations' grassroots resources in support of the TPA, the bill may have met with easier success during the 111th Congress. Only one of the interviewees indicated having a strong partnership with labor groups on some issues.

On issues such as health care reform, labor relations, or minimum wage on which tourism labor and business advocates may differ, tourism labor and tourism business leaders could go back to their corners and come out to fight against each other. Other issues, such as climate change, land-use policy, and the protection of world heritage sites, may be important to one group but not to the other group. The concerned group can fight those battles with other partners. Working together on some issues and not working together on other issues based on policy preferences illustrates the phenomenon of *coalition crossover*. All interviewees mentioned how the phenomenon of *coalition crossover* is quite common, as I described in detail in Chapter 4.

As advocacy efforts are strengthened through atypical partnerships, the tourism business lobby could focus advocacy efforts on other larger business issues such as health care reform, tax issues, and minimum wage. Unusual partnerships could also be formed with non-tourism organizations, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, that may be working on a similar advocacy issues related to business.

Forming atypical partnerships involves building trust, learning about organizations outside of tourism, and educating the non-tourism organizations about the priorities of tourism interest groups. Tourism organizations can learn about non-traditional partners by

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doing research similar to the content analysis of my dissertation. Analyzing the public policy agendas of other advocacy groups will indicate if similar positions on common issues exist among potential partners.

Once atypical potential partners are identified, another activity is figuring out what is important to them and how tourism groups might be able to help them accomplish their objectives. For example, a potential partner may lack grassroots resources or may have weak relationships with key legislators. Similarly, a potential coalition partner may offer strong resources that can be leveraged. Learning about the resource characteristics of potential partners incorporates elements of SET and RDT. Constantly monitoring the agendas of potential partners and finding ways to work together could strengthen the power of tourism advocacy.

Interviewees described opportunities for atypical partnerships. One interviewee working for an association in the food services component mentioned working in a coalition dealing with alternative fuels because those involved in the coalition wanted to use cooking grease from commercial kitchens. Another interviewee mentioned the potential benefits of partnering with the health care industry because physical activity while traveling, such as hiking in a national park, can make people healthier.

Another association executive in the food category reached out to executives at other food-related associations as well as associations in the accommodations and travel arrangement categories with hopes that the other organizations would partner on tourism and hospitality issues. Being generally unsupportive of US Travel's public policy agenda and

unaware of the December, 2008 initiative by the National Tour Association, this executive felt the need to create a tourism coalition that could put forth salient tourism issues.

Reaching out to atypical partners is a behavior existing theory claimed should be happening. However, data indicated little support for the existing theory's prediction of such behavior among sample tourism advocacy groups. Thus, an opportunity for tourism advocacy groups was revealed. Opportunities for atypical partnerships are many, if association resources can be allocated to pursuing new relationships. Some of the organization executives I interviewed had a clear understanding of the value of non-traditional partners, while others may have been too inwardly focused to be aware of surrounding opportunities. For an organization to seek out partners who are different, the organization should create a culture of cooperation and be willing to exchange resources with potential advocacy partners. The next section describes opportunities for tourism associations to expand their willingness to exchange resources.

Expand Reciprocity

Reciprocity, or mutual exchange, is a tenet common to the ACF, SET, and RDT (Rijt & Macy, 2006; Nakonezny & Denton, 2008; Gwartney, Fessenden, & Landt, 2002). Accordingly, it would be expected that tourism associations would have engaged in the fair exchange of resources with the previously described self-interested intent of achieving policy objectives. However, the data did not indicate strong efforts by tourism policy actors to exchange resources, particularly with groups beyond tourism.

In a critique of the ACF, Lowndes and Skelcher (1998) pointed out that reciprocity may not necessarily be part of the intentions of those involved in a coalition because policy actors may seek control over resources that lessen their dependence on other organizations. However, the opposite may also be true. If policy actors exchange resources with coalition partners, they may be able to increase the other organization's dependency. Important resources of the tourism lobby are grassroots (i.e., organization members and tourism employees) and chief executives (i.e., the former Travel Business Roundtable). More freely exchanging these resources, as prescribed by theory, could increase reliance of other organizations on tourism and thereby increase the power of tourism advocacy efforts.

Several interviewees indicated that a lack of willingness to exchange resources with other tourism organizations may be a function of not understanding how organizations fit into the tourism system. For example, managers at a fast-food restaurant may not be concerned with how far away from home their customers are while dining in the restaurant. The restaurant managers' primary concern is feeding the customer, regardless of wherefrom they came. As previously described, educating all individuals involved in tourism is a continual need. Some interviewees indicated that the more aware tourism professionals are of their place in the tourism system, the more they may be willing to engage in advocacy and exchange resources with potential advocacy partners.

Agenda Development

Data indicated four particular agenda development activities listed in Chapter 4 were weaknesses of most sample organizations. The activities are analyzing impacts of tourism

policy, understanding the will of association members, anticipating policy opportunities, and directly confronting political realities. The activities of understanding the will of association members and anticipating policy needs were found in the data but were not predicted by theory. Analyzing the impacts of tourism policy was an activity prescribed by theory, but its practice was not found in the data. Likewise, directly confronting political realities was mentioned as a need by roughly half of the executives interviewed. The need has been confirmed in previous research (Richter, 1994) but data showed that sample tourism advocacy groups were typically not directly confronting political realities. Four tourism policy precepts associated with agenda development are presented in the following sub-sections.

Understand the Will of Association Members

Data showed most of the sample organizations that collected input from their members did so in informal ways such as by fielding phone calls or emails from concerned members. Problems arose from informally collecting information from members. One problem related to the "squeaky wheel getting the grease." Another problem was members of the same organization may have been on opposite sides of the same issue. Another pitfall of informally collecting input from members was that the members may be uninformed about a policy issue or various positions on an issue.

Some organizations used formal methods to collect member input. The most common formal method was through surveys. Formal surveys also provided information about emerging policy issues or education opportunities, which would ultimately help the

organization be more proactive, according to interviewees' responses. One of the sample

associations had the capacity in the headquarters to implement a telephone survey of their

members in a matter of hours, as needs arose. An organization with which a key informant

was involved has surveyed its members twice in the last four years to identify what public

policy issues were important to them. The organization used the data to formulate its public

policy agenda. The interviewee noticed the need to do this after realizing association

executives were unsure of issues important to their members. My data indicated collecting

input from members may give association members the feeling they are more involved and

may encourage participation.

Understanding the will of association members may also enable the association to

identify where internal communication efforts need to be improved. This is important as

most interviewees mentioned one of the keys to successfully maintaining a coalition was

communicating within the coalition. Utilizing more formal data collection methods could

mitigate the downfalls of relying on informal means to collect member input. This precept

was not found in existing theory but interview data revealed the need for a solid

understanding of the desires of association members.

Anticipate Policy Opportunities

Data collected during the content analysis of sample public policy agendas revealed

many policy positions on the agendas were responsive to threats and did not try to create new

opportunities. Several interviewees also mentioned how tourism advocacy has been

strongest in times of crises, but not as effective during "normal times." For example, as

stated in Chapter 4, major crises such as hurricanes, flooding, terrorism, or economic recession has incited tourism advocates to propose policies that will mitigate the damage. An opportunity was revealed for tourism advocates to be more proactive and less reactive when developing policy agendas.

The economic embargo against Cuba is an example of how tourism advocacy groups can be proactive. Current United States law prohibits American citizens from traveling to and spending money in Cuba. One of the issues on the advocacy agendas of packaged travel associations in my sample was open access to Cuba that would enable Americans to purchase travel packages to the Caribbean nation. The Cuban embargo is an issue of foreign policy, in response to the actions of another sovereign nation's leaders. The issue touches many people personally in politically important areas, such as South Florida.

Writing a letter to the President of the United States asking him or her to lift the ban on travel to Cuba, as some tourism advocates have done, may be a short-sighted approach to advocacy on the Cuban embargo issue. To change the policy toward travel to Cuba, it could be better for tourism to become involved in a coalition supporting a position that would allow investment in telecommunications infrastructure in Cuba. Better communications between Cuban citizens and others throughout the world could lead to regime change in Cuba. Regime change may lead a U.S. president to lift the economic embargo, which would then allow Americans to travel to Cuba. This sort of visionary approach to achieving policy objectives was not apparent in the data.

Anticipating policy needs could mitigate future crises. For example, advocating for investments in levees, dams, and bridges could reduce future tragedies affecting tourism

businesses as a result of failed infrastructure. Advocating for freight rail initiatives may benefit tourism because more freight that travels by rail could lead to fewer trucks and ease traffic on highways. Also, advocating for controlled growth in environmentally sensitive areas, such as coastal or mountain communities may protect and preserve the landscape and culture for future generations. Another example is advocating for investments in tourism research, which could enhance tourism policy and could lead to more effective tourism promotion and development programs. Each of these examples of anticipating policy needs came from the data collected for this study.

Anticipating policy opportunities was an activity that interviewees believed tourism should be involved in. However, data did not reveal strong evidence of widespread involvement in anticipating policy needs by sample organizations. Anticipating policy opportunities involves a deeper examination of the issues to consider how to proactively affect tourism, even if results are not expected in the short-term. The best way to anticipate policy opportunities may be to ask tourism professionals what is important to them at the local level, as described previously. Anticipating policy needs relates to having a clear understanding of politics and directly confronting political realities, described later, and analyzing tourism policy impact, which is described next.

Analyze Impacts of Tourism Policy

Several interviewees described how providing reliable research-based information to political decision makers strengthened advocacy efforts. Part of the research process was analyzing the anticipated impacts of proposed policies or measuring the impacts of

implemented programs. Strong analysis bolstered the advocacy message of tourism associations, not only with politicians, but also with its members from whom associations must garner support, according to the executives I interviewed. Previous research supports the importance of communicating fact-based information to argue policy positions (Tyler & Dinan, 2001a). This claim is also consistent with the ACF and SET. However, data-based evidence of tourism advocates' ability to provide sound public policy analysis was limited.

Absent of politics, cost-benefit analysis can provide a measure of accountability and is the most objective evaluative gauge of a policy's effectiveness. Cost-benefit analysis involves comparing the costs and benefits of a policy to determine feasibility and assess priorities based on policy alternatives. Cost-benefit techniques include sensitivity analysis, net present value, and cost-effectiveness. All techniques have the same four activities in common: (a) defining the project and alternatives, (b) identifying, measuring and valuing costs and benefits of each alternative, (c) calculating cost-benefit values, and (d) presenting the results (Fuguitt & Wilcox, 1999).

Sensitivity analysis is concerned with the effect changes in assumptions or input variables have on the conclusions of a cost-benefit analysis. A range of outcomes can be determined by changing any variable, such as timing or geographic focus. Sensitivity analysis allows the policy analyst to decide between priorities as changes are made to the program (Bardach, 2005). To understand sensitivity analysis, assume a new scenic by-way program will cost 20% more than originally budgeted and generate 15% less traffic than what was forecasted. Using sensitivity analysis, tourism policy analysts could change the variables to determine if the project should still be pursued relative to other alternatives. By

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this exercise, tourism advocates may be able to convince DOT that the project is still feasible. Alternatively, if the project is not feasible, tourism advocates will realize they may be better off pursuing other projects that are feasible.

Another cost-benefit analysis technique is net present value. The net present value of a project is the project's cost in today's dollars subtracted from the benefits in today's dollars. Expected outcomes from most tourism projects typically include new jobs, higher tax revenues, and increases in economic multipliers, such as spending on personal goods. Projects with benefits or costs that cannot be monetized can be treated using cost-effectiveness, which is described in the next paragraph. If the value of the monetizeble benefits in today's dollars (i.e. discounted over the life of the project) is greater than the discounted value of the costs, then the project is feasible. If all decisions were rational and absent of politics, only projects with a positive net present value would be implemented and those with higher net present values would receive priority (Fuguitt & Wilcox, 1999).

Cost-effectiveness allows policy outcomes to be compared when some of the benefits cannot be monetized (Guess & Farnham, 2000). Examples of non-monetizable benefits or costs include changes in the quality of life for members of host communities, enhanced or decreased pride in local communities, and various types of cultural exchanges. The cost-effectiveness value can be compared to outcomes of other projects to determine the most efficient programs and the best investments.

The three policy analysis techniques depend on inputs collected during reliable research studies. The United States needs a more reliable tourism research program, as mentioned by roughly 25% of my interviewees. Beaman and Meis (1994) developed a

comprehensive list of variables that should be included in tourism research. Interviewees

mentioned several variables from the Beaman and Meis list that could be strengthened. The

variables mentioned include visitor behavior and expenditures, details of proposed public

policies or implemented public programs, and non-monetizable benefits.

The research and tourism policy analysis functions could be part of the services

provided by US Travel or another association. The tourism policy analysis team should

include university researchers and private-sector research professionals trained and

experienced in conducting public policy analysis. Team members should understand tourism

and have expertise in subject matter areas of economics, community development, sociology,

historical preservation, and other areas important to tourism development (Gunn, 1994).

Analyzing the impact of tourism policies is an activity that theory claims should be

happening, but limited evidence of this activity was found in the data, although most

interviewees expressed the importance of providing reliable information to political decision

makers.

Confront Political Realities

Richter (1994) stated successful tourism development relies on directly confronting

political and social problems. Richter's hypothesis led to an opportunity to investigate

tourism advocates' understanding of politics. An example showing a misunderstanding of

one's political reality is the automobile industry executives who flew to Washington, DC in

individual corporate jets to ask for economic bailout funds in 2008. Data I collected

indicated tourism advocacy leaders may suffer from a similar lack of political awareness.

The meeting of US Travel and its band of corporate leaders with President Obama in

March, 2009 is an illustration of how tourism advocates may not fully understand their

industries' positions in the political environment. The US Travel contingent was scheduled

to meet with Valerie Jarrett, Senior Advisor and Assistant to the President for

Intergovernmental Affairs and Public Liaison. However, President Obama joined the

meeting unexpectedly for roughly 30 minutes. Although the president joined the meeting

unexpectedly, an audience with an administration official such as Jarrett should have

compelled the group to prepare as if they were meeting with the president since Jarrett is one

of President Obama's top advisors. Figure 5.2 is a photograph of the meeting.

Note. Official White House Photo by Pete Souza.

Figure 5.2 Photograph of tourism business leaders meeting with President Obama.

A portrait of Franklin D. Roosevelt hanging on the wall made it look like the president responsible for the New Deal was witnessing an important component of President Obama's economic relief, reform, and recovery plan. While that was reportedly the intent, much of the meeting focused on encouraging business travel by asking the president to retract comments he made about companies using stimulus money for travel. The result of the meeting was a plain statement of presidential support for "…a strong tourism industry" (Gibbs, 2009). Four different tactics, centered on political awareness, could have made the outcome of the meeting more productive for tourism. The tactics, described in the following paragraphs, were derived from comments made by various interviewees.

First, the group of emissaries representing tourism could have been a better representation of social realities. The list of official attendees released by US Travel includes thirteen men who are upper-level executives at leading travel companies, such as Starwood Hotels and Resorts, Orbitz Worldwide, Carnival Corporation, and Walt Disney Parks and Resorts. As shown in Figure 5.2, the only non-white males at the table are President Obama, Valerie Jarrett (sitting to the left of the president), and Patricia Rojas, a lobbyist for US Travel. The make-up of the group was perhaps more suitable to meet with President Roosevelt than with President Obama. A different compilation of advocates may have struck a more resonating chord with the new President. For instance, the group could have included the president of Travel Professionals of Color, the president of the hotel labor union UNITE HERE!, and the chairperson of the Chicago Convention and Tourism Bureau from President Obama's hometown. Understanding the wants of political decision makers, described in

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Chapter 4, would have helped tourism leaders directly confront political realities and may encourage atypical partnerships such as those described earlier.

The second change that could have improved the outcome of the March meeting is the series of public responses released by meeting participants. An unusual response was the op-ed piece written by Bill Marriott in which he chastised the president for allegedly discouraging people from traveling. The Marriott letter is included as Appendix G. Roger Dow, president and CEO of US Travel, had a different response when he stated, "We are pleased that President Obama recognizes the power of travel to strengthen America's economy. The travel community has an ally in President Obama and we appreciate the leadership he intends to bring to increasing travel" (U.S. Travel Association, 2009). The sharp contrast between the US Travel response and the Marriott letter may indicate that US Travel does not have good control over its coalition members. When a coalition member "goes off the bases," as one of my interviewees described, it could signal a lack of trust, a lack of power, or a lack of political understanding among coalition members.

The issues the group chose to discuss with the president may also indicate a misperception of political and economic realities, thus leading to a third change that could have made the meeting more productive. In March, 2009 when the meeting took place the United States was experiencing an economic recession. The federal deficit was growing as the new administration implemented new programs to curb the economic downturn. In the face of economic crisis, the tourism lobby chose to discuss downturns in business travel because that was important to them, without directly confronting political issues.

The group may not have given proper consideration to the business climate at the time of the meeting. For example, beyond abuses from stimulus recipients, even legitimate business travel can be criticized because it is a tax deductible expense. Some, outside of tourism, have strongly supported repealing business travel deductions to lessen shortfalls in tax collections. Chief executives of luxury hotel brands, such as the Marriott's Ritz-Carlton or Starwood's St. Regis, lamenting about decreases in high-end business travel during an economic crisis could have created open fodder for opponents of increasing deductibility of travel expenses. Such a scenario created an opportunity for hotel executives to be painted with the same brush as automobile executives who flew in three jets to ask for a bailout.

The fourth change that could have made the meeting more successful is what the US Travel group asked for regarding the president's statements about business travel. Reportedly, the group wanted the president to make a public statement about the need for business travel, which could be in contrast to his prior statements. Key informants close to several of the meeting attendees reported the president realized his prior statements may have caused some businesses to reduce their travel activities. However, for political reasons a President of the United States may not easily be able to reverse or alter statements once they are made. Any re-statement could be viewed as waffling or an indication that the president lacks the ability to effectively communicate. Also, such a re-statement would not undo any previous declines in business travel that may have been the result of his statements.

The president's apparent understanding of how he may have had a negative impact on business travel and his support for a strong tourism industry, gave the US Travel team an opportunity to cash in some of their "chits," as one interviewee described. Their chit at that

moment was political capital that might have moved the president to act in a way that could

have had a significant positive impact on United States tourism. They could have said,

"Thank you Mr. President for supporting travel and tourism and for understanding how your

comments can be construed so that they hurt the owners and employees of hotels, conference

centers, and other tourism businesses. Since the past cannot be undone, would you be willing

to help us in the future by making a public statement to citizens of other countries and

inviting them to visit the United States?"

If, in the first year of his administration, Obama was to say to the world, "Visit and

explore the United States. Be my guest," not only would international in-bound travel likely

increase dramatically, but many of the homeland security and border crossing policy issues

on the agendas of tourism organizations would have to be addressed because of the influx of

new visitors and the president's commitment to hosting new visitors via his invitation. An

inexpensive 15-second You Tube video of President Obama inviting and welcoming guests

to the United States could have a tremendous influence on the travel decisions of many

people. Instead of cashing in chits, US Travel may have gambled away their political capital

with the Marriott op-ed piece in the Washington Post the day after the meeting.

As discussed in Chapter 4, several government affairs executives I interviewed made

similar statements about the utilization of US Travel's compilation of CEOs (formerly the

Travel Business Roundtable). Instead of focusing on a narrow agenda of tourism issues,

some believed US Travel should capitalize on the group's power as chief executives to

advance larger business issues such as health care reform, taxes, and tort reform. By being

actively involved with new partners in coalitions on larger business issues, US Travel might

be able to solicit help from some of their new partners on issues related to tourism that will create jobs, tax revenues, and other results beneficial to all Americans.

My intent is not to criticize US Travel or any companies or people associated with US Travel. However, the high-level meeting with the president is an example of some of the shortcomings of tourism advocacy groups in general. What was gained from a public expression of support by the president may have been lost by the behavior of the actors involved in the advocacy exercise. Data indicated difficulty in getting support for tourism issues unless tourism advocates are willing to propose an exchange that will benefit the political decision makers. Such exchanges are supported by SET. My research indicated tourism advocates do not typically demonstrate an understanding of political reciprocity (i.e., a quid-pro-quo). Ways to exhibit reciprocity include making political contributions and expanding reciprocity, as described earlier in this chapter.

While any attention federal legislators and administrators pay to tourism excites professionals, political insiders realize the pittance of consideration provided is frequently political cover and is often inconsequential. John Dingell (D-Michigan), in the mid-1990s, expressed his concern over H.R. 2579, the failed legislation that would have enabled the United States National Tourism Office by arguing:

> This bill is a fig leaf that tries to cover up what Republicans have done to USTTA…It amounts to an apology to the travel and tourism industry…It is designed to make it look like the Congress is doing something worthwhile while trying to hide what Republicans have already done (Dingell, 1996).

The 1996 tourism bill may have been the shuttlecock in the politicians' game of partisan badminton. If so, that would have been a political reality tourism would have had to confront. Consistent with the viewpoints of scholars presented in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, interviewees continue to lament the apparent lack of political respect tourism receives.

The Travel Promotion Act (TPA) succumbed to a similar political fate in June, 2009. Republican and Democratic amendments added to the bill, ranging from energy commodities trading to checking the employment eligibility (regarding immigration) of new hires, stopped the progress of the TPA. In this case, tourism fell victim to political gamesmanship, but a quote by Senator Byron Dorgan (D-North Dakota) indicated tourism's position within the political reality. The Senator stated, "If the Senate has come to the point where it can't agree on tourism, what hope is there for big, controversial and important issues that we will confront later this year?" (Goldman, 2009). It is unclear how successful the TPA may be if the act is enacted because of the lack of unbiased policy analysis. Some concern was expressed about potential declines in demand that may occur as a result of backlashes from international travelers who will be charged additional fees to visit the United States.

Since tourism may not be politically important at the federal level and because tourism happens locally according to interview data, the better strategy may be to focus advocacy efforts at the local level, as described earlier. The potential of focusing on advocacy at the local is an opportunity for future research regarding other industry groups that, similar to tourism, may not be politically important at the federal level.

Confronting political realities is an activity that existing theory claims should be happening. However, my data indicated tourism association advocates are generally not

effectively confronting political realities. In Chapter 1, I discussed the concern of tourism

stakeholders regarding how tourism in the United States can remain competitive with other

nations, in light of the cultural, political, and economic realities the country has experienced

in the early 21st century. The critical issues the nation faced included multiple wars,

increased safety and security measures, threats of terrorism, immigration battles, possible

global pandemics, nuclear weapons in unstable nations, and economic crisis (Obama, 2009b).

Tourism advocates should directly confront this political reality to devise ways that tourism

can be a part of solutions to major crises.

Limitations to the Research

My research was not without limitations. When not acknowledged, limitations

detract from the reliability of the research findings (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Limitations in

this study were associated with resources, credibility, and researcher bias. Resource

limitations, in the case of my research, were time and money. Credibility relates to the

truthfulness of the findings. Researcher bias can limit the confirmability or objectivity of the

research findings (Henderson, 2008). Aspects of each limitation, some more critical than

others, are described in subsequent paragraphs.

An important constraint to my research related to resources of time and money. The

time spent traveling was a limitation as classroom teaching responsibilities limited my time

available for travel during the spring 2009 semester. I was able to limit my time in

Washington by scheduling several interviews for the same day and by traveling to

Washington early in the morning before appointments or home to Raleigh late at night after a

day full of appointments. Regarding financial resources, outside of the Hofmann Forest Graduate Fellowship I was awarded for the first three years of my doctoral studies at NCSU, no external funding was used. I paid for mileage, accommodations, food, and other expenses during my travels to Washington, DC for this research. The proximity of Washington to Raleigh, efficient appointment scheduling, and the occasional gracious accommodation by friends in the national capital area limited my travel expenses. However, the end of my Hofmann eligibility and the tightening economy constrained my personal budget thereby limiting the prospect of conducting more personal interviews. However, as described in Chapter 3, I believe theoretical saturation was reached with the data that were collected.

Three issues with credibility, or internal validity, were also limitations to my research. The first validity-related limitation involved descriptive validity. Descriptive validity refers to the accuracy of the facts reported. One way to limit descriptive validity is through investigator triangulation, which is using more than one researcher to record and analyze the data (Johnson, 1997). While I have confidence in the facts as reported, I may have made mistakes transcribing interviews or coding data. Since I was the only person to review and analyze the data, having another researcher review each interview transcript and public policy agenda, could have further limited concerns of descriptive validity. Similar designs of future research would be strengthened with a more collaborative effort.

The second issue of credibility concerned interpretive validity. Interpretive validity involves the accurate portrayal of what data mean (Johnson, 1997). The interpretation of data regarding several organizations' position on the Western Hemisphere Travel Initiative described in the *policy preferences* section of Chapter 4 is an illustration of how I interpreted

data through careful examination. In addition to careful examination of data, another way to tackle concerns of interpretive validity is to include verbatim quotes in the narrative because verbatim quotes allow the reader to experience the perspective of the interviewee (Johnson). I included many instances of direct quotes in Chapter 4 to better illustrate the perspective of interviewees. I believe interpretive validity is not a critical concern in my dissertation and other researchers should be able to follow my logic even if they approach the research from another perspective, as Strauss and Corbin (1998) described as a measure of good research.

The third issue of credibility involved theoretical validity, which results when data fits the theoretical explanation developed in the research, making the theory more credible. Two methods to deal with theoretical validity are theory triangulation and negative case sampling. Examining phenomena through more than one theoretical lens is theory triangulation. Negative case sampling involves finding cases that do not fit the theoretical explanation and digging deeper through further data collection and analysis to ensure data is not used solely because they fit the developing theory (Johnson, 1997). I employed theory triangulation through the use of the ACF, SET, and RDT. However, the power of the theory I developed could have been strengthened if I had explored negative cases in more depth.

A final limitation to my study resulted from elements of researcher bias. Researcher bias is due to selective inclusion of data and the researcher allowing personal views to affect collection and interpretation of data (Johnson, 1997). As Strauss and Corbin (1998) indicated, researchers carry biases and assumptions, which is not a negative aspect of research unless the intrusion of biases and assumptions into the research go unrecognized. Researcher bias was especially important for me in this study, because I had worked with

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several of the interviewees or had been associated with some of the same advocacy efforts of some interviewees. This involvement and familiarity hindered my ability to distance myself from the data at times.

Several characteristics of my research program mitigated possible researcher bias. The first characteristic of the research program to limit researcher bias involved the duration of the research. Data were collected between November, 2008 and February, 2009. Data analysis and reporting was conducted through December, 2009. I revisited the data several times in the months following data collection and completion of the study. The months devoted to data analysis allowed me to distance myself from the data and helped to partially limit researcher bias. The second mitigating factor was keeping a journal of my research activities, which facilitates reflexivity and "is a useful way in which to keep track of what one is thinking during data gathering and analysis" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 99). Reflexivity, according to Johnson (1997), is an activity researchers should undertake to examine how their predispositions may affect the research. The third mitigating factor was use of key informants, as described in Chapter 3, as a check to ensure I was accurately interpreting data. The fourth activity through which I mitigated researcher bias was conducting interviews over the course of several weeks, which aided in checking validity (Henderson, 2006). Staggering the interviews allowed me to begin initial data analysis and ask clarifying questions to future interviewees as necessary.

The fifth and final mitigating factor of researcher bias was my familiarity of tourism advocacy. While my experience with tourism advocacy added to researcher bias, reflexivity enabled me to limit its effects on the research. I also believe my previous involvement in

tourism advocacy helped me create trust with interviewees. I believe my involvement and experience with tourism advocacy led to a better understanding of interview context and stronger recommendations in the form of the Ten Tourism Policy Precepts previously presented and recommendations for future research, which is described in the next section.

Recommendations for Future Research

My research has raised propositions that were not answered by the data I collected. The unanswered questions represent opportunities for future research. The broadest opportunity for future research may result from my study including only organizations with advocacy agendas, which eliminated the opportunity to learn about the behavior of organizations that did not engage in advocacy. Other opportunities for future research include (a) investigating the behavior of private-sector tourism policy actors, (b) using my dissertation as the basis for a longitudinal study of the behavior of tourism policy advocacy groups over time, (c) analyzing the most effective forum for tourism advocacy, (d) overcoming free-rider problems, (e) public opinion of tourism policy, and (f) others briefly described in this section.

According to the ACF, advocacy coalitions are comprised of agency officials, corporations, legislators, policy analysts, researchers, and journalists, in addition to associations. My research has focused on associations, not other types of advocacy coalition members. Future research could replicate my study but focus on private-sector corporations to identify if differences exist between the behavior of corporations and associations in

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tourism advocacy coalitions. Expanding the research to policy actors other than associations should create a better understanding of the tourism policy process as a whole.

Another characteristic of advocacy coalitions, according to the ACF, is cooperation among members over time, usually a period of ten years or more. Although most interviewees discussed relationships over some period of time, my research could be the beginning of a longitudinal study to analyze how specific coalitions interact over time. A similar study with a focus on private-sector corporations, described in the previous paragraph, could also be used as the basis for a longitudinal study that could compare advocacy relationships of the private-sector and associations over time.

Tyler and Dinan (2001b) and Pforr (2001) showed the importance of targeting government administrative agencies as opposed to legislators when shaping policy because tourism issues generally received lower priority than other issues. Their work focused on nations other than the United States. I found some evidence to support the claim that tourism issues are perceived to have a lower priority than other types of issues in the United States. However, more in-depth study of the benefits for tourism advocates in the United States of targeting administrative officials as opposed to legislators would be worthwhile. Knowing the most effective policy forum would be a great benefit to tourism advocates.

As described in Chapter 4, my data may reveal an investigative opportunity related to the interplay of an association's reputation and their contribution to group efforts. Contrary to Olson (1965) and in addition to provisions mentioned by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999) and Sabatier and Weible (2007), my data indicated another incentive for individual organizations to work for the benefit of the group. Olson believed organizations are

motivated by self-interests rather than by the benefits that may be gained for a group (i.e., free-rider problem of collective action). Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier and Weible put forth exceptions to the free-rider dilemma within the perspective of the ACF. The exceptions were (a) low transaction costs so that potential free-riders are encouraged to contribute more, (b) exaggeration of perceived benefits to co-aligning so that potential free-riders are encouraged to contribute more, and (c) opportunity for potential free-riders to vary their level of coordination within a coalition. According to my data, another incentive for potential free-riders to work toward group goals was to protect the coalition member's reputation so that the association could participate in future coalition activities. In this sense, threats to an organization's reputation regulated free-rider tendencies. Sabatier and Weible suggested their three provisions should be further studied. I believe the incentive to protect future opportunities also warrants further investigation.

The typology of coalition resources created by Sewell (2005) and Weible (2006) included public opinion. I propose the priority given to tourism policy by the general public is rather low and opinions toward the policy area may be ambivalent. Thus, I believe assessing the general public's opinion of tourism as a policy priority is an opportunity for future research and would be valuable in creating policy advocacy strategies.

Several other future research opportunities exist. One opportunity for future research is investigating tourism advocacy activities at the regional and local level, as opposed to the national level, which is the focus of my dissertation. Another research opportunity is to analyze the advocacy efforts of other groups of industries that have a longer advocacy history – such as agriculture, energy, railroads, or education – and make comparisons among those

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groups and tourism advocacy. Conducting interviews with lobbyists in industries with a longer history than tourism could create learning opportunities for tourism advocates. Another opportunity for future research involves the analysis of tourism economic research because of the importance of the reliability and validity of tourism economic research and the concern about quality of tourism economic research expressed by several interviewees. Yet another opportunity involves analyzing the quality of existing public policy agendas from tourism advocacy groups. Lastly, data regarding the phenomenon of *reflection*, as described in Chapter 4, lacked density and could be further developed through additional research.

Conclusion of the Analysis

As stated in Chapter 1, the confluence of concern among tourism scholars, tourism professionals, and tourism consumers about tourism policy is indicative of a major public policy problem. Hall and Jenkins (1995) provided ideas about the nature of tourism policy scholarship claiming, "The majority of studies of tourism policy…are prescriptive studies of what governments should do rather than what has happened and why" (p. 24). Hall and Jenkins believed prescriptive studies lack the power and impact of research involving critical inquiry into how policy decisions are made. My dissertation contributes to the existing body of knowledge in that it is a detailed examination of how a segment of tourism policy actors behave in pursuit of public policy objectives.

My research makes two types of contributions to existing knowledge. The first type of contribution involves opportunities revealed by the data but not addressed thoroughly in the tourism literature or the guiding theoretical frameworks of the Advocacy Coalition

Framework, Social Exchange Theory, and Resource Dependency Theory. Examples include the opportunities to develop resources, localize tourism advocacy, develop a travel consumer advocacy initiative, understand the will of association members, and anticipate policy opportunities. The second type of contribution involves activities existing theory claimed should be happening but were not exhibited in the data. Examples include contributing money to political causes, reaching out to atypical advocacy partners, expanding reciprocity, analyzing impacts of tourism policy, and confronting political realities.

Both types of theoretical contributions are incorporated into Ten Tourism Policy Precepts. The Ten Tourism Policy Precepts are activities grounded in the data that further develop theory explaining how tourism association advocacy groups behave. The precepts are related to *association resources*, *coalition management*, and *agenda development*, which are areas in which sample organizations faced particular challenges.

Data indicated tourism associations engaged in advocacy formed coalitions to advance their public policy agendas. Cooperation among coalitions centered around similar policy preferences. Organizations with similar policy preferences and complementary resources formed coalitions. Financial wherewithal, the reputation of an organization and its affiliates, an organization's membership base, an organization's knowledge, product and location are resources organizations used to complement the attributes of coalition partners. Disagreements, personalities, trust, and occasionally working in opposing coalitions mitigated cooperation among coalition members.

A model conceptualizing the theory of tourism association advocacy behavior was shown as Figure 5.1. According to sample data and supported by existing theory, policy

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preferences compelled tourism policy coalitions while association resources regulated

progression toward policy objectives. The version of the model presented below in Figure

5.3 shows the adjustments to the teeth of the gears representing the three challenged areas of

association resources, *coalition management*, and *agenda development*. The model,

illustrating how tourism advocacy groups could operate, incorporates the Ten Tourism Policy

Precepts. In the model, the Ten Tourism Policy Preferences recalibrate the deficient gears

and eliminate slippage of the gear system.
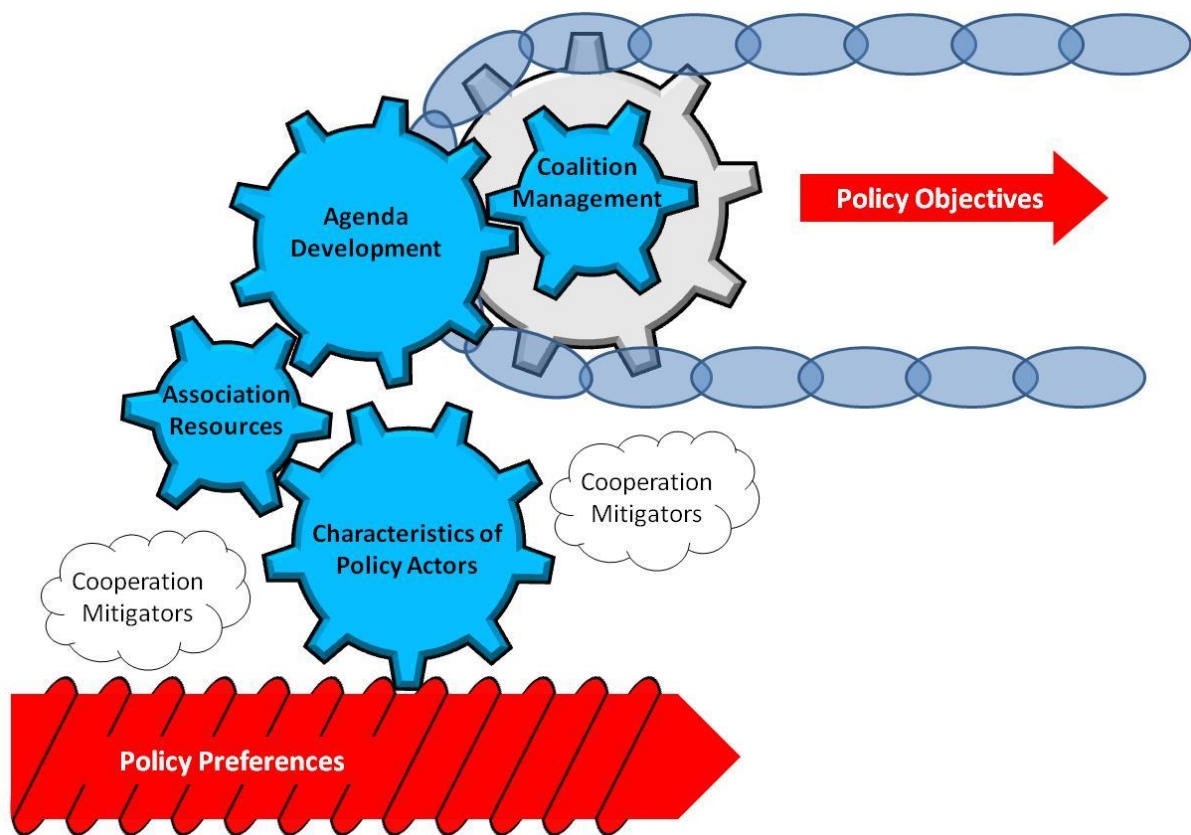
Figure 5.3 Adjusted conceptualization of tourism associations' opportunities

In my view, one of the most striking findings was interviewees' concern regarding the

ability of the United States Travel Association (US Travel) to represent tourism interests. US

Travel's advocacy agenda in the years immediately prior to and during research focused on facilitating inbound international visitation. US Travel could position itself as an umbrella organization for international travel facilitation, but considering US Travel as an umbrella organization representing the interests of all, or even most, tourism industries is not consistent with the viewpoints of government affairs executives from tourism organizations in the sample. Within economic, political and cultural realities, tourism professionals must evaluate the status quo and choose between charting a new course, continuing in the same direction, or perhaps even stalling. Tourism is not one industry with one voice. Tourism is many industries with a chorus of voices. Presenting tourism with only one voice, as US Travel has attempted, instantly limited tourism's advocacy power. For tourism to be successful in the decades to come, all tourism voices must be heard.

At the conclusion of my research I believe tourism policy advocacy should be focused on benefits to be gained by tourism stakeholders associated with local communities. Local tourism stakeholders include members of the host community, tourism businesses, governments in the local communities, and visitors to the local community. If tourism experiences occur in local communities and if tourism is a fragmented conglomeration of disparate industries and if tourism issues are more important to local politicians, then focused efforts are needed to strengthen tourism policy advocacy at the local level. Successfully capitalizing on tourism advocacy's slippery opportunities in the future may not be best achieved from umbrella-like, top-down approaches that appear to have limited effectiveness. Instead, pursuing tourism advocacy opportunities by implementing existing resources through coordinated localized advocacy efforts may be a better approach.

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7. APPENDIX

North Carolina State University
College of Natural Resources
Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management
Campus Box 8004
Raleigh, NC 27695

October 20, 2008

International Association of Airport Duty Free Stores
Jonathan Kent, Government Relations
2025 M Street NW, Ste 800
Washington, DC 20036-3309

Dear Mr. Kent,

I am a Ph.D. candidate at North Carolina State University where my focus is public policy and tourism. Part of my dissertation research involves analyzing the public policy (advocacy) agendas of selected national trade associations that have some connection to tourism or travel. The objective of my study is twofold. 1) To identify areas of overlap and/or conflict among the public policy agendas of associations with similar missions. 2) To uncover possibilities for associations to form coalitions and work together in pursuit of the same advocacy objectives. The purpose of this letter is:

1. To inform you that your organization has been randomly selected, along with approximately 50 others, in the research sample.

2. To request the latest version of your organization's federal public policy agenda. Many associations have a working document that lists public policy or regulatory issues and positions that they are involved in lobbying for or against. I have been unable to locate a public policy agenda on your organization's website.

3. To offer the results of my study and any assistance that you may need in developing or advancing your organization's public policy agenda once my study is complete.

My request of you is quite simple. If your organization has a public policy agenda, please forward it to me in the manner most convenient for you. If your organization does not have a public policy agenda, please email confirmation that you do not have an agenda. My contact information is:

> Jason R. Swanson, Ph.D. Candidate
> NCSU, CNR, PRTM
> Campus Box 8004
> Raleigh, NC 27695
> (404) 822-9358 – cell phone
> (404) 806-6152 – personal fax
> jrswanso@ncsu.edu

Thanks and kind regards,

Jason R. Swanson
Ph.D. Candidate

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

North Carolina State University
INFORMED CONSENT FORM for RESEARCH
Title of Study: Qualitative Comparisons of Tourism Policy Agendas and Investigation of Advocacy Coalition Opportunities

Principal Investigator: Jason R. Swanson, Ph.D. Candidate   Faculty Sponsor: Dr. Gene Brothers, Ph.D.

What are some general things you should know about research studies?
You are being asked to take part in a research study. Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to be a part of this study, to choose not to participate or to stop participating at any time without penalty. The purpose of research studies is to gain a better understanding of a certain topic or issue. You are not guaranteed any personal benefits from being in a study. Research studies also may pose risks to those who participate. In this consent form you will find specific details about the research in which you are being asked to participate. If you do not understand something in this form it is your right to ask the researcher for clarification or more information. A copy of this consent form will be provided to you. If at any time you have questions about your participation, do not hesitate to contact the researcher(s) named above.

What is the purpose of this study?
The purpose of the research study is twofold: 1) To identify areas of overlap and/or conflict among the public policy agendas of association with similar missions. 2) To uncover possibilities for associations to form coalitions and work together in pursuit of the same advocacy objectives.

What will happen if you take part in the study?
If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to discuss your professional experience during a personal interview. If necessary, you may also be asked follow-up questions via telephone or email to clarify statements made during the personal interview. Interviews are scheduled to take no longer than 45 minutes. The time requirement for any follow-up questioning should be minimal. With your permission, the interview will also be audio-taped.

Risks
There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts for research participants in this study.

Benefits
The findings will be used to determine how associations with similar public policy agendas might be able to work together better.

Confidentiality
The information in the study records will be kept confidential. All electronic data (audio files and transcription documents) will be stored securely in electronic format in private computer files. No reference will be made in oral or written reports which could link you to the study. You will NOT be asked to write your name on any study materials. Direct quotes may be used in the report, but they will not be attributed to specific individuals.

Compensation
Other than access to the complete research findings, you will not receive any compensation for participating.

What if you have questions about this study?
If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact the researcher, Jason Swanson, at jrswanso@ncsu.edu or (404) 822-9358.

What if you have questions about your rights as a research participant?
If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or your rights as a participant in research have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact Deb Paxton, Regulatory Compliance Administrator, Box 7514, NCSU Campus (919/515-4514).

Consent To Participate
"I have read and understand the above information. I have received a copy of this form. I agree to participate in this study with the understanding that I may choose not to participate or to stop participating at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled."

Subject's signature_____ **Date** _____

Investigator's signature_____ **Date** _____

Appendix C: Interview Protocols

Interview Questions
Dissertation Research
Jason R. Swanson

I am not interested in the particular public policy issues, your positions on the issues, or how the issues may change. I am interested in the process of how associations advance their agendas, particularly through partnerships or coalitions. You do not have to mention specific organizations if you wish not to.

1. Does your organization work with other groups (i.e. the media, other associations, government agencies, private-sector firms) to advance your organization's public policy agenda?

       If **YES** to question #1:

1. Perceived Benefits of Advocacy Coalition Relationships

    a. What are some of the groups you work with?

    b. Interdependence:

       i. What do other organizations look to get from aligning with your org.?

      ii. What do you expect to get from other organizations?

    c. How do you determine if potential partners have similar goals as your organizations? (i.e. How are potential coalition partners identified?)

    d. What are some of the obstacles to successful coalitions?

2. Management of Coalitions

    a. How do you create trust with organizations with which you form partnerships?

    b. What happens if a coalition member aligns with an opposing coalition on some issues?

3. Power

   a. What makes an association a powerful public policy advocate?

   b. How do you assess the power of organizations with which you may wish to co-align?

If NO to Question #1:

1. Perceived Benefits of Coalition Relationships

   a. Why not?

   b. What sort of assistance do you look for from other organizations?

   c. What sort of assistance do you offer to other organizations?

   d. What are some of the obstacles to forming coalitions?

2. Management of Coalitions

   a. If you are familiar with advocacy coalitions, what are some of the experiences other groups have had in forming partnerships?

   b. How does coordinating with other groups in the advocacy process affect efficiency?

   c. How does your organization communicate fact-based information to legislators and political decision makers?

3. Power

   a. What makes an association a powerful public policy advocate?

Appendix D: Universe of National Tourism-Related Associations

Table 7.1 Universe of national tourism-related associations.

Organization	2003 NAICS	1997 SIC
Accommodations (18)		
Traveler Accommodation (9)		
1 American Hotel and Lodging Association	7211	7011
2 American Resort Development Association	237210	6552
3 Asian American Hotel Owners Association	7211	7011
4 Association of Meeting Professionals	7211	7011
5 Dude Ranchers' Association	7212	7032
6 Green Hotels Association	7221; 7222; 7241	5813
7 Hostelling International-American Youth Hostels	7211	7011
8 Professional Association of Innkeepers International	Uncertain	Uncertain
9 Select Registry, Distinguished Inns of North America	7211	7011
Recreational Vehicle Parks & Campgrounds (9)		
10 Good Sam Recreational Vehicle Club	5615	4729
11 Jayco Travel Club	5615	4729
12 KampGround Owners Association	7212	7033
13 National Association of RV Parks and Campgrounds	7212	7033
14 Recreation Vehicle Industry Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
15 RV Manufacturers' Clubs Association	5615	4729
16 RVing Women	7212	7033
17 Wally Byam Caravan Club International	561599	8699
18 Winnebago-Itasca Travelers	5615	4729
Auto Transportation (10)		
Gasoline Stations with Convenience Stores; Other Gasoline Stations (1)		
19 National Association of Convenience Stores	4451; 4452; 4454	5411
Motor Vehicle & Parts Dealers (5)		
20 Alliance of Automobile Manufacturers	Uncertain	Uncertain
21 Automotive Aftermarket Industry Association	4411; 4412; 4413	5511
22 National Automobile Dealers Association	4411; 4412; 4415	5511
23 National Independent Automobile Dealers Association	4411; 4412; 4416	5511
24 Recreation Vehicle Dealers Association	4411; 4412; 4415	5561
Other-User (4)		
25 American Highway Users Alliance	Uncertain	Uncertain
26 Motorcycle Riders Foundation	Uncertain	Uncertain
27 National Motorists Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
28 Vehicle Traffic Information Coalition	Uncertain	Uncertain

Table 7.1 Continued.

Organization	2003 NAICS	1997 SIC
Entertainment and Recreation (82)		
Amusement, Gambling & Recreation Industries (53)		
29 Adventure Cycling Association	713	7999
30 America Outdoors	713	7999
31 American Association for Nude Recreation	7212	7032
32 American Boating Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
33 American Canoe Association	813	8399
34 American Gaming Association	713	7929
35 American Hiking Society	713	7997
36 American Motorcyclist Association	713	7948
37 American Recreation Coalition	713	7997
38 American Trails	561599	8699
39 Association of Outdoor Recreation and Education	Uncertain	Uncertain
40 Bicycle Ride Directors' Association of America	713	7948
41 Boat Owners Association of the United States	Uncertain	Uncertain
42 Club Management Association of America	713	7997
43 Cross Country Ski Areas Association	713	7999
44 Exposition Service Contractors Association	713	7999
45 Golf Course Superintendents Association of America	713	7992
46 Highpointers Club	561599	8699
47 International Association of Amusement Parks and Attractions	713	7996
48 International Association of Assembly Managers	713	7941
49 International Association of Conference Centers	713	7999
50 International Association of Golf Tour Operators	Uncertain	Uncertain
51 International Association of Tour Managers	5615	4725
52 International Festivals and Events Association	713	7999
53 International Jet Sports Boating and Amer. Watercraft Assoc.	713	7997
54 International Mountain Bicycling Association	813	8399
55 International Spa Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
56 Kansas City Barbeque Society	713	7999
57 National Amusement Park Historical Association	713	7996
58 National Association of Recreation Resource Planners	924120	9512
59 National Association of Sports Commissions	Uncertain	Uncertain
60 National Association of State Park Directors	924120	9512
61 National Carousel Association	713	7999
62 National Council for the Traditional Arts	713	7999
63 National Forest Recreation Association	7212	7033
64 National Indian Gaming Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
65 National Recreation and Park Association	924120	9512
66 National Ski Areas Association	7211	7011
67 North American Trail Ride Conference	713	7948
68 Outdoor Amusement Business Association	713	7999
69 Outdoor Industry Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
70 Paddlesports Industry Association	451110	5091
71 Personal Watercraft Industry Association	7212	7033
72 Rails-to-Trails Conservancy	813	8399
73 Resort and Commercial Recreation Association	7212	7033
74 SnowSports Industries America	451110	5091
75 Sportsplex Operators and Developers Association	713	7941
76 The Naturist Society	7212	7032
77 Trade Association of Paddlesports	453; 44611; 4483; 45111; 45112; 45125	5941
78 United States Air Tour Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
79 United States Tour Operators Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
80 Water Sports Industry Association	451110	5091
81 World Waterpark Association	713	7929

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Table 7.1 Continued.

Organization	2003 NAICS	1997 SIC
Entertainment and Recreation (82) - continued		
Performing Arts, Spectator Sports & Related Industries (8)		
82 Institute of Outdoor Drama	713	7922
83 International Motor Contest Association	713	7948
84 League of American Theatres and Producers	713	7922
85 League of Historic American Theatres	713	7922
86 National Alliance for Musical Theatre	713	7922
87 National Thoroughbred Racing Association	713	7948
88 Theatre Communications Group	713	7922
89 Thoroughbred Racing Association	713	7948
Museums, Historical Sites & Similar Institutions (21)		
90 Alliance of Marine Mammal Parks and Aquariums	Uncertain	Uncertain
91 Alliance of National Heritage Areas	Uncertain	Uncertain
92 American Association of Museums	712	8412
93 American Federation of Arts	712	8412
94 American Folklore Society	712	8412
95 American Public Gardens Association	712	8422
96 Art Services International	713	7999
97 Association for Living History	712	8412
98 Association of Art Museum Directors	712	8412
99 Association of Children's Museums	712	8412
100 Association of College and University Museums and Galleries	712	8412
101 Association of Zoos and Aquariums	712	8422
102 Historic Naval Ships Association	712	8412
103 International Association of Fairs and Expositions	713	7999
104 International Council of Air Shows	713	7999
105 National Assembly of State Arts Agencies	923110	9411
106 National Association for Interpretation	712	8412
107 National Caves Association	7212	7032
108 National Trust for Historic Preservation	712	8412
109 Theatre Historical Society of America	713	7922
110 Tourist Railway Association	488111	9621

Table 7.1 Continued.

Organization	2003 NAICS	1997 SIC
Food (28)		
Foodservices & Drinking Places (20)		
111 American Beverage Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
112 American Culinary Federation	7221; 7222; 7224	5812
113 American Institute of Wine and Food	7221; 7222; 7225	5812
114 Association of Brewers	Uncertain	Uncertain
115 Commercial Food Equipment Service Association	7221; 7222; 7226	5812
116 Confrerie de la Chaine des Rotisseurs	7221; 7222; 7227	5812
117 Convenience Caterers and Food Manufacturers Association	7221; 7222; 7230	5812
118 Council of Hotel and Restaurant Trainers	7221; 7222; 7240	5813
119 International Association of Conference Center Administrators	7221; 7222; 7242	5813
120 International Culinary Tourism Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
121 International Flight Service Association	7221; 7222; 7229	5812
122 International Food Service Executives Association	236, 237	8741
123 International Foodservice Manufacturers Association	7221; 7222; 7228	5812
124 National Association of Bar and Tavern Owners	7221; 7222; 7243	5813
125 National Association of Concessionaires	7221; 7222; 7231	5812
126 National Association of Pizzeria Operators	7221; 7222; 7232	5812
127 National Council of Chain Restaurants	7221; 7222; 7233	5812
128 National Frozen Dessert and Fast Food Association	7221; 7222; 7234	5812
129 National Restaurant Association	7221; 7222; 7237	5812
130 Sommelier Society of America	453; 44611; 4483; 45111; 45112; 45124	5921
Food and Beverage Stores (8)		
131 American Beverage Licensees	453; 44611; 4483; 45111; 45112; 45123	5921
132 Beer Institute	926150	9651
133 CIES, Food Business Forum	4451; 4452; 4453	5411
134 Distilled Spirits Council of the United States	445310	5182
135 Food Marketing Institute	Uncertain	Uncertain
136 National Association of American Wineries	Uncertain	Uncertain
137 National Grocers Association	4451; 4452; 4455	5411
138 Wine & Spirits Wholesalers of America	Uncertain	Uncertain

Table 7.1 Continued.

Organization	2003 NAICS	1997 SIC
Public Transportation (36)		
Passenger Air Transportation; Airport Support Activities (16)		
139 Air Carrier Association of America	Uncertain	Uncertain
140 Air Taxi Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
141 Air Traffic Control Association	481; 4884	4581
142 Air Transport Association	488510, 541614	4731
143 Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association	713	7997
144 Airport Ground Transportation Association	488111	9621
145 Airports Council International	481; 4883	4581
146 American Association of Airport Executives	481; 4882	4581
147 Flight Safety Foundation	481; 4885	4581
148 International Airline Passengers Association	5615	4729
149 International Society of Air Safety Investigators	488111	9621
150 National Air Carrier Association	481; 4881	4522
151 National Air Transportation Association	488510, 541614	4731
152 National Association of State Aviation Officials	488111	9621
153 National Business Aviation Association	488510, 541614	4731
154 Regional Airline Association	481; 4881	4522
Interurban & Rural Bus Transportation (1)		
155 National Bus Traffic Association	4852	4131
Charter Bus (interstate/interurban) (4)		
156 American Bus Association	4855102	4142
157 Family Motor Coach Association	5615	4729
158 International Motor Coach Group	Uncertain	Uncertain
159 United Motorcoach Association	485510	4141
Taxi & Limousine Services (2)		
160 National Limousine Association	488111	9621
161 Taxicab, Limousine and Paratransit Association	4853	4121
Water Passenger Transportation and Excursion & Sightseeing Boats (6)		
162 American Association of Port Authorities	488111	9621
163 Cruise Lines International Association	483112; 483114; 483212; 487210	4481
164 Marine Retailers Association of America	4411; 4412; 4413	5551
165 National Marine Distributors Association	4411; 4412; 4414	5551
166 National Marine Manufacturers Association	336612, 81490	3732
167 Passenger Vessel Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
Other-Multimodal (1)		
168 Reconnecting America	Uncertain	Uncertain
Other-Railroad (2)		
169 Association of American Railroads	Uncertain	Uncertain
170 High Speed Ground Transportation Association	488111	9621
Other-Roadways (4)		
171 American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials	488111	9621
172 Governors Highway Safety Association	488111	9621
173 International Bridge, Tunnel and Turnpike Association	488111	9621
174 Motorist Information and Services Association	488111	9621

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Table 7.1 Continued.

Organization	2003 NAICS	1997 SIC
Retail (7)		
General Merchandise Stores (4)		
175 International Council of Shopping Centers	711310	6512
176 National Association for Retail Marketing Services	452	5399
177 National Retail Federation	452	5399
178 Retail Industry Leaders Association	452	5399
Other Retail Stores (3)		
179 International Association of Airport Duty Free Stores	453; 44611; 4483; 45111; 45112; 45127	5947
180 Museum Store Association	453; 44611; 4483; 45111; 45112; 45128	5947
181 National Sporting Goods Association	453; 44611; 4483; 45111; 45112; 45126	5941
Travel Arrangement (39)		
Travel Arrangement & Reservation Services (39)		
182 Adventure Travel Trade Association	5615	4724
183 American Automobile Association	561599	8699
184 American Automobile Touring Alliance	5615	4724
185 American Society of Travel Agents	5615	4724
186 Association of Corporate Travel Executives	5615	4724
187 Association of Destination Management Executives	5615	4724
188 Association of Retail Travel Agents	5615	4724
189 Destination Marketing Association International	5615	7389
190 GLAMER/Bank Travel	Uncertain	Uncertain
191 Handicapped Travel Club	561599	8699
192 Institute of Certified Travel Agents	5615	4724
193 Interactive Travel Services Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
194 International Association for Medical Assistance to Travelers	561599	8699
195 International Ecotourism Club	Uncertain	Uncertain
196 International Gay and Lesbian Travel Association	5615	4724
197 International Society of Hospitality Consultants	561599	8699
198 International Society of Travel and Tourism Educators	5615	4724
199 International Student Travel Confederation	Uncertain	Uncertain
200 International Travel Writers and Editors Association	5615	4724
201 Loners on Wheels	5615	4729
202 Medical Tourism Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
203 National Association of Commissioned Travel Agents	Uncertain	Uncertain
204 National Association of Cruise-Oriented Agencies	5615	4724
205 National Business Travel Association	5615	4724
206 National Park Hospitality Association	7221; 7222; 7236	5812
207 National Park Trust	561599	8699
208 National Tour Association	5615	4725
209 Oceanic Society Expeditions	561599	8699
210 Opening Door	5615	4724
211 Professional Convention Management Association	5615	7389
212 Receptive Services Association of America	Uncertain	Uncertain
213 Society for Accessible Travel and Hospitality	561599	8699
214 Society of Incentive and Travel Executives	5615	4724
215 Student Youth Travel Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
216 The International Ecotourism Society	Uncertain	Uncertain
217 United States Travel Association	5615	4724
218 Visitor Studies Association	5615	4724
219 World Heritage Alliance	561599	8699
220 World Religious Travel Association	Uncertain	Uncertain

Table 7.1 Continued.

Other (9)		
Other (9)		
221 Hospitality Financial and Technology Professionals	5412	8721
222 Hospitality Sales & Marketing Association International	236, 237	8741
223 International City/County Management Association	921120	9121
224 International Council on Hotel, Restaurant, and Institutional Education	Uncertain	Uncertain
225 International Food, Wine and Travel Writers Association	711510	7383
226 Land Trust Alliance	813	8399
227 Travel and Tourism Research Association	Uncertain	Uncertain
228 Travel Professionals of Color	Uncertain	Uncertain
229 U.S. Conference of Mayors	Uncertain	Uncertain

Appendix E: List of American Recreation Coalition Members

Academy of Model Aeronautics
America Outdoors
American Association for Nude Recreation
American Bus Association
American Council of Snowmobile Associations
American Forests
American Horse Council
American Hotel and Lodging Association
American Motorcyclist Association
American Power Boat Association
American Resort and Residential Development Association
American Sportfishing Association
American Suzuki Motor Corporation
American Trails
Americans for Responsible Recreational Access
APN Media, LLC
Association of Marina Industries
Bicycle Manufacturers Association of America
Boating Trades Association of Texas
BoatU.S.
Bombardier Recreational Products
Champion Fleet Owners Association
CHM Government Services
Clean Beaches Council
Coachmen Industries, Inc.
Colorado Agency for Campgrounds, Cabins & Lodges
Cross Country Ski Areas Association
Dometic Sales Corporation
Employee Services Management Association
Experimental Aircraft Association
Family Campers and RVers
Family Motor Coach Association
Florida RV Trade Association
Good Sam Club
International Association for Amusement Parks and Attractions
International Association of Snowmobile Administrators
International Family Recreation Association
International Jet Sports Boating Association
International Kart Foundation
International Snowmobile Manufacturers Association
Jayco, Inc.
Kampground Owners Association
Kampgrounds of America
Leisure Systems, Inc.
Marinas International

Marine Retailers Association of America
Maryland Association of Campgrounds
Michigan Association of Recreational Vehicles and Campgrounds
Michigan Boating Industries Association
Montana Department of Fish, Wildlife and Parks
Motorcycle Industry Council
Mountain Outdoor Recreation Alliance of Western North Carolina
National Alliance of Gateway Communities
National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics
National Association of RV Parks and Campgrounds
National Association of Trailer Manufacturers
National Boating Federation
National Club Association
National Forest Recreation Association
National Hot Rod Association
National Marine Manufacturers Association
National Off-Road Bicycle Association
National Park Hospitality Association
National Recreation and Park Association
National Ski Areas Association
National Sporting Goods Association
National Tour Association
Paddlesports Industry Association
Pennsylvania Recreation Vehicle & Camping Association
Personal Watercraft Industry Association
PriceWaterhouseCoopers
Recreation Vehicle Dealers Association
Recreation Vehicle Indiana Council
Recreation Vehicle Industry Association
Recreational Park Trailer Industry Association
Recreational Vehicle Aftermarket Association
ReserveAmerica
Resort and Commercial Recreation Association
Seaway Trail, Inc.
SGMA International
Southern California Marine Association
Special Recreation for disABLED International
Specialty Equipment Market Association
Specialty Vehicle Institute of America
States Organization for Boating Access
Texas Recreational Vehicle Association
The Coleman Company
The Walt Disney Company
Thor Industries, Inc.
United Four Wheel Drive Associations
Wally Byam Caravan Club International
Western States Tourism Policy Council

Appendix F: Complete List of Policy Issues and Positions of Sample Organizations

Table 7.2 Complete list of policy issues and positions of sample organizations.

Policy Domain	Policy Subsystem	Potential Advocacy Coalitions	Identifier	Agenda Issue	Position	Issue Count
ALC	Impaired driving					
		Preventing impaired driving is more important than protecting business interests				
			5-6-28	Making drug impaired driving an offense in and of itself	Support	1
			5-6-1	.08 BAC or lower for the legal level of impairment	Support	2
ALC	Underage drinking					
		Only those 21 and older should legally consume alcoholic beverages				
			5-6-30	Monitoring underage exposure to alcohol advertising by the Federal Trade Commission	Support	3
			5-6-52	21 minimum drinking age law	Support	4
ANI	Wildlife management					
		Impacts on business caused by wildlife management should be minimal				
			3-5-2	Potential Shift in Manatee Designation	Support	5
			5-7-9	Management of wildlife hazards to aviation	Support	6
AUT	Vehicle safety					
		Impacts on business caused by safety regulations should be minimal				
			2-1-8	Roof Crush Rulemaking (FMVSS 216)	Oppose	7
			5-1-4	Bus accident research adjustments	Support	8
AVI	User fees					
		The tax collection method (at the fuel pump) on general aviation should not be changed				
			5-3-1	FAA user fee plan (related to S. 3261)	Oppose	9
			5-3-2	New York congestion pricing/slot auction	Oppose	10
			5-7-5	New user fees for General Aviation	Oppose	11
			5-7-1	The Aviation Investment and Modernization Act (S. 1300), regarding user fees	Oppose	12
AVI	Modernization					
		The air traffic control system should be modernized at minimal expense to general aviation users				
			5-7-2	Continued funding of NextGen	Support	13
			5-3-9	NextGen (modernizing the air traffic control system)	Support	14
			5-3-8	Mandated ADS-B "out" equipage by 2020 (this is a part of NextGen)	Oppose	15
AVI	Safety - VLJ					
		Government should clearly communicate safety concerns with VLJs being manufactured				
			5-3-3	Improved policies and communication regarding VLJ certification	Support	16
AVI	Safety - Runway					
		Runway safety requires constant vigilance				
			5-3-7	Make runway safety a 'national priority'	Support	17
AVI	FAA Reauthorization					
		The FAA needs to be funded				
			5-7-8	FAA - AIP Reauthorization (H.R. 5270)	Support	18
AVI	Accessibility and logistics					
		Government should support and facilitate space in air and on land for aviation				
			5-7-3	Essential Air Service program	Support	19
			5-7-6	Non-primary airport grant program (AIR-21)	Support	20
			5-3-4	Air Force's unwarranted airspace grab	Oppose	21

Table 7.2 Continued.

Policy Domain	Policy Subsystem	Potential Advocacy Coalitions	Identifier	Agenda Issue	Position	Issue Count
BAN	Access to credit					
		Credit should be available to businesses				
			3-7-4	Protect the recreation community's access to credit	Support	22
BAN	Credit card merchants					
		Disclosure of fees that credit card companies charge businesses and customers				
			4-2-9	Clarification of the Fair and Accurate Credit Transaction Act of 2003	Support	23
			4-2-8	Credit Card Fair Fee Act of 2008 (H.R. 5546)	Support	24
			4-6-1	Credit Card Fair Fee Act of 2008 (H.R. 5546)	Support	25
BEV	Alcohol control					
		There should be more regulations on alcoholic beverages				
			5-6-27	Lowering alcohol excise taxes, thereby reducing the costs of regulated alcoholic beverages	Oppose	26
		There should be fewer regulations on alcoholic beverages				
			4-1-4	Modified In-bond Transfer Procedures	Support	27
			4-1-5	Section 5010 (recognizes the differential tax treatment and attempts to alleviate some of the inequitable treatment of distilled spirits through component-based taxation)	Support	28
			4-1-3	Exempt distilled spirits from the Hazardous Materials Transportation Act	Support	29
CIV	Americans with Disabilities Act					
		Facilities should be easily accessible to disabled people as long as the costs to businesses are not too large				
			3-16-2	Proposed Changes to the ADA	Oppose	30
			1-4-1	ADA Notification Act (H.R. 728)	Support	31
			3-2-3	Public investment in ADA compliance for recreation facilities	Support	32
			4-2-1	ADA Amendments Act	Support	33
			4-2-2	ADA Notification Act (H.R. 3479)	Support	34
			5-1-2	Reauthorization, extension, and increase of ADA compliance funding	Support	35
			5-4-1-R	Accessibility (there are no mandatory requirements governing passenger vessels, the cruise industry in continuing its pro-active efforts to accommodate and improve accessibility for persons with disabilities.)	Support	36
CPT	Intellectual property rights					
		Intellectual property infringement threatens economic stability				
			3-2-3-R	Prioritizing Resources and Organization for Intellectual Property Act of 2007 (H.R. 4279)	Support	37
CSP	Automobile owners' rights					
		The after-purchase opportunities of car buyers should be limited				
			2-1-4	To amend title 35, US Code, to create an exception from infringement for certain component parts used to repair another article of manufacture	Oppose	38
			2-1-3	Automobile Arbitration Fairness Act	Oppose	39
			2-1-11	Protect the rights of consumers to diagnose, service, maintain, and repair their motor vehicles, and for other purposes	Oppose	40
			2-1-1	To amend chapter 1 of title 9 of US code with respect to arbitration	Oppose	41
		Car buyers should have more freedom to make decisions regarding their vehicles				
			7-8-1	Right to Repair - to ensure that motor vehicle owners have the opportunity to choose where to have their vehicles services/repaired	Support	42
CSP	Truck safety					
		All roadway vehicles should be as safe as possible				
			5-6-4	Additional vehicle conspicuity standards (reflective markings) for low speed vehicles and trucks	Support	43

Table 7.2 Continued.

Policy Domain	Policy Subsystem	Potential Advocacy Coalitions	Identifier	Agenda Issue	Position	Issue Count
CSP	Automobile passenger safety					
		Vehicles should be safe as long as costs to businesses are not too large				
			2-1-22	Cameron Gulbransen Kids and Cars Safety Act	Oppose	44
			5-6-56	Use of three-point belts on school buses	Oppose	45
			5-1-17	Federally funded testing for motorcoach occupant crash protection	Support	46
		All roadway vehicles should be as safe as possible				
			5-6-7	Commercial motor vehicle shippers and carriers should be required to wear seat belts	Support	47
			5-6-37	Primary (as opposed to secondary) seat belt laws in all states	Support	48
			7-8-6	Closing loopholes in child restraint laws	Support	49
			5-6-47	Stronger child passenger safety laws	Support	50
CSP	Driver safety					
		All efforts should be made to ensure driver safety				
			7-8-8	Graduated Driver Licensing (GDL) systems	Support	51
			5-6-19	Banning handheld cell phone while driving	Support	52
			5-6-2	Added safety measures for the mature driver	Support	53
			5-6-3	Additional research into aggressive drivers and effective detection countermeasures	Support	54
			5-6-31	More research to determine the scope and nature of the distracted driving problem	Support	55
			5-6-36	Performance based administration of and incentives for the federal behavioral grant programs	Support	56
			7-8-9	Senior Driver Safety	Support	57
			5-6-10	Continued research and study into the issue of the drowsy driver	Support	58
CSP	Motorcycle safety					
		All roadway vehicles should be as safe as possible				
			5-6-41	Required Motorcycle operator training for minors, novice and re-entry riders by qualified instructors	Support	59
			5-6-50	Use of DOT-approved helmets by motorcycle riders of all ages	Support	60
			5-6-40	Required motorcycle license and endorsement before riding on a highway	Support	61
			5-6-5	An NHTSA study on the causes of motorcycle crashes	Support	62
			5-6-15	Funding for development, implementation, and evaluation of statewide comprehensive motorcycle safety programs	Support	63
CSP	Pedestrian safety					
		Pedestrians should be safe as long as costs to businesses are not too large				
			2-1-5	Pedestrian Safety Enhancement Act	Oppose	64
		All efforts should be made to ensure pedestrian safety				
			7-8-7	Increased school and pedestrian safety	Support	65
			5-6-11	Enabling of children to walk and bicycle to school safely	Support	66
			5-6-38	Raising awareness of and conducting research on pedestrian safety	Support	67

Table 7.2 Continued.

Policy Domain	Policy Subsystem	Potential Advocacy Coalitions	Identifier	Agenda Issue	Position	Issue Count
CSP	Bicycle and personal conveyance safety					
		All efforts should be made to ensure the safety if bicyclists and personal conveyance users				
			5-6-29	Mandatory bicycle helmet laws	Support	68
			5-6-42	Required training for users of personal conveyances	Support	69
			5-6-43	Safety regulations and training for users of personal transporters (Segways)	Support	70
			5-6-25	Licenses for operators of all motorized transport devices (golf carts, ATVs, etc)	Support	71
CSP	Price gouging					
		Price gouging is bad				
			1-1-11	Penalize unscrupulous price gouging and energy speculation	Support	72
CSP	Amusement park safety					
		Safety measures of amusement parks are already strong enough				
			3-2-1-R	National Amusement Park Ride Safety Act (H.R. 2320)	Oppose	73
CSP	Cruise ship safety					
		Cruise ships should be safe and secure				
			5-4-7-R	Safe and secure environment for passengers and crew	Support	74
			5-4-9-R	Vessel Sanitation Program	Support	75
CSP	Insurance					
		Cruise passengers should be protected from bad business practices as long as it does not hurt good businesses				
			5-4-3-R	Passenger protection regarding financial responsibility	Support	76
EDU	Sexual discrimination					
		Discrimination of women in education is bad				
			3-2-18	Full implementation and compliance regarding Title IX	Support	77
EDU	School bus safety					
		School buses should be as safe as possible				
			5-6-33	NHTSA should develop a model driver education/training curriculum and teacher certification	Support	78
			5-6-34	NTSB and NAS recommendations for retiring pre-1977 school buses	Support	79
			5-6-44	School bus safety devices such as stop-arms, cross-view mirrors, crossing control arms, electronic sensors and other devices	Support	80
			5-6-48	Training for children, teachers, parents and school bus drivers in the proper loading and unloading of school buses	Support	81
ENV	Climate, air, and water					
		Innovations in response to environmental concerns should make the industry more competitive				
			2-1-12	Right to Clean Vehicles Act	Oppose	82
			2-1-14	The Safe Climate Act	Oppose	83
			2-1-13	The Climate Stewardship Act	Oppose	84
			2-1-6	America's Climate Security Act	Oppose	85
			2-1-15	Climate Stewardship and Innovation Act	Oppose	86
			5-8-1-R	Lieberman-Warner Climate Security Act	Oppose	87
			4-1-2	Revision of 1990 Amendments to the Clean Air Act	Support	88
		Protecting the environment is important as long as it does not restrict demand				
			3-5-1	Clean Boating Act of 2008 (S. 2766)	Support	89

Table 7.2 Continued.

Policy Domain	Policy Subsystem	Potential Advocacy Coalitions	Identifier	Agenda Issue	Position	Issue Count
ENV	Vehicle pollution					
		Protecting the environment is important as long as it does not hinder business				
			2-1-9	EPA Regulations on Particulate & Ozone NAAQS, and Congressional Oversight	Oppose	90
			2-1-10	CAFÉ NPRM	Oppose	91
			2-1-7	Reducing Global Warming Pollution from Vehicles Act	Oppose	92
			5-1-19	Biodiesel fuel additives	Oppose	93
			5-1-9	Sufficient idling time	Support	94
ENV	Global warming					
		Protecting the environment is important as long as it does not hinder business				
			2-1-16	Global Warming Pollution Reduction Act	Oppose	95
			2-1-17	Global Warming Reduction Act	Oppose	96
ENV	Environmental protection					
		Protecting the environment is important to sustain business				
			3-2-4	An environment of highest quality for present and future generations	Support	97
			5-4-2-R	Improved environmental policies, procedures, and technology	Support	98
FAM	Childcare					
		Quality choices in childcare is good				
			3-2-1	Enhance the availability, affordability and quality of childcare	Support	99
FOO	Safety					
		Consumers must have the highest confidence in the nation's food supply				
			4-2-11	Food Safety	Support	100
			4-2-14	Health and Safety Regulations - works for foodservice operators	Support	101
FOO	Public health					
		Restaurants should have flexibility in what they serve and present in their menus				
			4-2-22	Trans Fat Bans - gradual	Support	102
			4-2-18	Menu Labeling	Oppose	103
		Consumers should take responsibility for what they consume				
			4-2-26	Personal Responsibility in Food Consumption Act of 2007 (H.R. 2183)	Support	104
			4-2-12	Commonsense Consumption Act of 2007 (S. 1323)	Support	105
FOR	Quality of life					
		Recreation and travel is good for international cooperation				
			3-2-6	Encourage, create, and support global links which improve the quality of life for all people through parks, recreation and leisure	Support	106
			3-8-7	Re-Examination of Travel Bans to Some Countries	Support	107
FUE	Renewable energy					
		Innovations in response to environmental concerns should make the industry more competitive				
			2-1-20	Clean Fuels and Vehicles Act	Oppose	108
			2-1-21	Renewable Fuels, consumer Protection, and Energy Efficiency Act	Oppose	109
			2-1-18	National Fuel Initiative	Oppose	110
			2-1-19	Biofuels for Energy Security and Transportation Act	Oppose	111
			4-2-4	Biofuels (as long as it doesn't distort prices in the food supply	Support	112
			1-1-13	Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy	Support	113

Table 7.2 Continued.

Policy Domain	Policy Subsystem	Potential Advocacy Coalitions	Identifier	Agenda Issue	Position	Issue Count
FUE	Foreign oil					
		Drill baby drill				
			1-1-7	Increase domestic oil and natural gas production that will reduce our reliance on foreign sources of energy	Support	114
			1-1-8	Encourage oil and natural gas exploration in new areas and where drilling licenses have already been granted	Support	115
			7-8-15	Establishing objective criteria for release of oil from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve	Support	116
GAM	Internet gaming					
		Gambling on the internet should be regulated to protect traditional gaming				
			3-1-1-R	Internet Gambling Regulation and Enforcement Act of 2007 (H.R. 2046)	Support	117
			3-1-2-R	To provide for a study of the National Academy of Sciences to identify the proper response of the U.S. to the growth of Internet gambling	Support	118
			3-1-3-R	To amend subchapter IV of chapter 53 of title 31, US Code, and section 1084 of title 18 of such Code to clarify the applicability of such provisions to games of skill and establish certain requirements with respect to such games	Support	119
			3-1-4-R	Internet Gambling Regulation Tax Enforcement Act of 2008	Support	120
			3-1-8-R	Internet Gambling Regulation and Tax Enforcement Act of 2007	Support	121
			3-1-9-R	Payment Systems Act of 2008	Oppose	122
			3-1-10-R	Proposing, prescribing, or implementing any regulation under subchapter IV of chapter 53 of title 31 and for other purposes (Secretary of the Treasury and the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System would do these things)	Oppose	123
			3-4-1	Internet Gambling Regulation and Enforcement Act of 2007 (H.R. 2046)	Support	124
			3-4-2	Internet Gambling Regulation and Tax Enforcement Act of 2007 (H.R. 2607)	Support	125
			3-4-3	Internet Gambling Study Act (H.R. 2140)	Support	126
			3-4-5	Skill Game Protection Act (H.R. 2610)	Support	127
GAM	Cruise ships					
		Gambling on cruise ships should be standardized				
			5-4-4-R	Meeting regulatory standards of the Nevada Gaming Control Board or other licensed jurisdiction for payback and internal software for gambling equipment installed on cruise vessels	Support	128
GAM	Indian					
		Measures regarding Indian gaming should not hurt non-Indian traditional gaming				
			3-1-5-R	Land in Trust for Indians	Oppose	129
HCR	Asbestos ban					
		Innovations in response to environmental concerns should make the industry more competitive				
			2-1-2	Bruce Vento Ban Asbestos and Prevent Mesothelioma Act	Oppose	130
HCR	Health care reform					
		Reforms should lead to greater access to affordable, quality health care for American businesses				
			3-2-8	Medicaid reform and community-based services	Support	131
			4-2-25	Market driven health care reform	Support	132
HCR	Health awareness					
		Being aware of health and wellness issues is important				
			3-2-10	Fostering a practical relationship between recreation, health and wellness	Support	133
			5-6-55	State injury control programs	Support	134
HOM	Visa waiver					
		Int'l inbound visitation should be as easy as possible, while still protecting the homeland				
			1-1-20	Visa Waiver Program	Support	135
			3-2-6-R	Expansion of the Visa Waiver Program	Support	136
			7-1-2	Visa Waiver Program	Support	137

Table 7.2 Continued.

Policy Domain	Policy Subsystem	Potential Advocacy Coalitions	Identifier	Agenda Issue	Position	Issue Count
HOM	Facilitating international visitation					
		Int'l inbound visitation should be as easy as possible, while still protecting the homeland				
			5-3-6	New security measures that are reasonable and appropriate to the actual level of risk (related to H.R. 1333 and H.R. 5982)	Support	138
			5-3-5	Transparent and not burdensome security measures for planes entering the U.S. from other countries	Support	139
			7-1-3	Electronic System for Travel Authorization	Support	140
			7-1-1	Western Hemisphere Travel Initiative, so that the free flow of legitimate business and leisure travel is not halted	Support	141
			7-7-3	Reduced visa delays, improved access at ports-of-entry, and combating negative perceptions	Support	142
			3-8-5	The Creation of More User-friendly Visa Regulations and Procedures for Easing U.S. Entry/Exit Systems	Support	143
HOM	Coastal security					
		Visitation and recreation in coastal areas should be as easy as possible, while still protecting homeland security				
			3-5-3	Continued Use of Loran	Support	144
			7-1-4	Model Ports-of-Entry	Support	145
HOM	Ground transportation security					
		Ground transportation should be as easy as possible, while still protecting homeland security				
			5-1-16	Long-term authorizing legislation to support and enhance motorcoach security programs	Support	146
			5-2-12	Freight railroad security risk management	Support	147
			5-1-1	Voluntary Information Sharing & Analysis Centers (ISACs)	Support	148
IMM	Employment					
		Businesses should be able to hire residents of other countries with minimal difficulty				
			1-1-2	H2-B Program, Save Our Small and Seasonal Business Act (SOSSBA)	Support	149
			1-1-14	Reform the immigration system to secure our borders and protect our economic security by creating a guest worker program that: meets the increasing demand for labor, identifies those immigrants already in the country and provides a method for a status adjustment after they are subjected to a rigorous screening process and fined, and allows those who qualify to work in jobs for which Americans cannot be found.	Support	150
			1-1-18	Social Security No Match Letters, which increase a business owner's liability concerning their employees' citizenship status	Oppose	151
			1-4-3	Border Security and Immigration Reform Act of 2007	Support	152
			1-4-4	Renewal of the H-2B Visa Returning Worker Exemption	Support	153
			3-2-2-R	Renewal of the H-2B Visa Returning Worker Exemption	Support	154
			3-14-1	H-2B Visa Program	Support	155
			3-16-1	Proposed Changes to H2-B Program	Support	156
			4-2-13	H-2B Visa extension	Support	157
			4-2-16	Immigration Reform	Support	158
			7-1-9	Immigration Reform as part of the Essential Worker Immigration Coalition	Support	159
			7-3-3	H-2B Program (S. 988, H.R. 1843)	Support	160
INS	Government financing					
		Government should underwrite terrorism insurance				
			1-1-19	Terrorism Risk Insurance Act extension	Support	161
LAW	Traffic laws					
		Traffic laws should be strengthened and enforced				
			5-6-32	More speeding research to be conducted by NHTSA	Support	162
			5-6-6	Automated enforcement in efforts to enforce traffic laws	Support	163
			5-6-13	Federal Highway Administration's (FWHA) Stop Red Light Running program	Support	164
			5-6-18	DUI Information Systems allowing at least a 10-year lookback period	Support	165
			5-6-53	National anti-speeding communications campaign	Support	166
			5-6-14	Front and rear license plates	Support	167

Table 7.2 Continued.

Policy Domain	Policy Subsystem	Potential Advocacy Coalitions	Identifier	Agenda Issue	Position	Issue Count
LAW	Juvenile delinquency					
		Recreation is a good way to combat deviant behavior				
			3-2-15	Recreation and youth development	Support	168
LBR	Card-check					
		The ability of employees to unionize should not be made easier				
			4-2-7	Card-Check Legislation	Oppose	169
			1-1-1	Card Check, Employee Free Choice Act, H.R. 800, S. 1041	Oppose	170
			1-4-2	Employee Free Choice Act of 2007 (S. 1041) aka Card Check	Oppose	171
LBR	Minimum wage					
		Minimum wage should not be increased				
			3-17-3	To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to provide for an increase in the Federal minimum wage (H.R. 2)	Oppose	172
			3-17-2	To increase the Federal minimum wage and to provide an alternative minimum wage as an incentive to an employer to provide health care and child care benefits (H.R. 239)	Oppose	173
			1-1-16	Minimum Wage increases that would dramatically reduce the number of job opportunities for entry-level workers	Oppose	174
			4-2-19	Minimum Wage Increase	Oppose	175
LBR	Safety					
		Workplace safety is more important than standard operating procedures				
			5-6-21	Hours-of-service limits that allow for 12 hours off, including 8 hours of sleep	Support	176
			5-6-39	Renewed emphasis on work zone safety	Support	177
			5-6-59	Workplace safety efforts aimed at reducing traffic crashes on and off the job	Support	178
		Standard operating procedures should not be changed without further research and customization to the industry				
			5-2-9	Tailored fatigue management programs	Support	179
			5-1-8	Bus driver hours-of-service rule changes	Oppose	180
			5-1-13	Mandate requiring Electronic On-board Recorders (EOBR) usage without further testing	Oppose	181
LBR	Training					
		Employees should be well-trained to ensure high safety standards				
			5-4-8-R	Shipboard Workplace Code of Conduct	Support	182
			5-6-57	Alcohol Server Training Programs	Support	183
			5-6-8	Comprehensive driver training program by the FMCSA	Support	184
LBR	Child labor					
		Sixteen-year-olds are old enough to work in most jobs				
			3-17-1	To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase penalties for violations of child labor laws, and for other purposes (H.R. 2674)	Oppose	185
LBR	Worker benefits					
		Business interests are more important than employee concerns				
			4-2-15	Healthy Families Act (S. 910 and H.R. 1542)	Oppose	186
			4-2-20	Paid Sick Leave (S. 1681)	Oppose	187
			5-8-2	Recreational Marine Employment Act (amendments to Longshore and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act	Support	188
			3-4-4	Jockeys Insurance Fairness Act (H.R. 2175)	Oppose	189
			4-6-5	Paul Wellstone Mental Health and Addiction Equity Act of 2007 (H.R. 1424)	Oppose	190
LBR	Discrimination					
		There should be a reasonable statute of limitations on claims of pay discrimination				
			4-2-17	Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act	Oppose	191
			4-6-4	Frivolous Lawsuits/Trial Lawyer Bonanza (H.R. 2831)	Oppose	192

Table 7.2 Continued.

Policy Domain	Policy Subsystem	Potential Advocacy Coalitions	Identifier	Agenda Issue	Position	Issue Count
MAR	Access					
		Boaters should have ample public access to the water				
			3-5-4	Keep Our Waterfronts Working Act (H.R. 3223)	Support	193
MAR	Passenger safety					
		There should be a safe, healthy, and comfortable cruise ship environment				
			5-4-5-R	On-board medical facility guidelines	Support	194
MAR	Cabotage					
		Non-U.S. flagged vessels should not be allowed to provide passenger transportation between U.S. ports				
			5-4-6-R	Amendment of Passenger Services Act	Oppose	195
NAT	Recreation - public lands					
		A variety of recreation, including motorized and human-powered, should be allowed on public lands				
			3-3-4	Revitalize the Recreation program managed by the U.S. Forest Service with the overarching goal of establishing the recreation program as one of the priority programs managed by the agency	Support	196
			3-3-5	Government policies on multi-use public lands preserve the availability and quality of human-powered recreation opportunities	Support	197
			3-3-6	Legislation that reconnects children with nature and encourages youth participation in active outdoor recreation (No Child Left Inside Act)	Support	198
			3-7-3	New programs to expand recreation experiences on public lands	Support	199
NAT	Access - public lands					
		Public lands should be easily accessible (reachable) by users				
			3-7-5	Public land access and acquisition	Support	200
			5-1-12	Expand use of motorcoaches within the national parks and wilderness areas	Support	201
			7-7-4	Ensure equal access, enhance NPS environmental programs, and voluntourism	Support	202
			7-1-8	Funding for federal lands highways	Support	203
NAT	Funding - public lands					
		Public land management agencies should be fully-funded				
			3-3-3	Continued funding of the National Park Service Centennial Challenge budget	Support	204
			3-2-2	Permanent authorization of the Federal Recreation Fee Demonstration Program	Support	205
			3-3-12	Minimizing USFS fire suppression costs so that they no longer negatively impact other important missions of the Forest Service	Support	206
			7-3-1	National Park Centennial Fund Legislation	Support	207
			3-3-2	Increased funding for the Bureau of Land Management's National Landscape Conservation System	Support	208
			3-8-3	Provision of Funding for Federal Lands	Support	209
RET	Older Americans					
		Older adults should be provided with beneficial recreation opportunities				
			3-2-12	Reauthorization of the Older Americans Act	Support	210
			3-2-13	Reauthorization of the National and Community Service Trust Act	Support	211
ROD	Scenic Byways					
		Protection afforded scenic roads from visual and resource deterioration are insufficient				
			3-2-17	Scenic byways programs	Support	212
			3-7-2	National Scenic Byways Program	Support	213
			7-1-6	Increased funding for marketing efforts, visitor information programs and scenic pullouts, and other capital investments for National Scenic Byways	Support	214

Table 7.2 Continued.

Policy Domain	Policy Subsystem	Potential Advocacy Coalitions	Identifier	Agenda Issue	Position	Issue Count
ROD	Funding					
		Highway construction and development should be fully funded				
			7-1-5	SAFETEA-LU	Support	215
			7-8-11	Full funding for FY2009 transportation programs as authorize in SAFETEA-LU	Support	216
			3-7-1	Highway Trust Fund	Support	217
			5-6-9	Continued dedication of the Highway Trust Fund revenues to surface transportation and related activities	Support	218
			7-8-5	Amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to restore the Highway Trust Fund balance	Support	219
			7-8-13	Senate Finance Committee proposal to ensure highway trust fund solvency through FY2009	Support	220
			3-8-6	Passing Highway Reauthorization, including Tourism Development Projects	Support	221
ROD	Highway safety					
		Highway safety is important				
			7-8-14	Safety as a priority in the 2009 transportation reauthorization	Support	222
			5-2-18	Funding of a federal grade crossing safety program	Support	223
			5-6-35	Operation Lifesaver - highway rail grade crossing safety	Support	224
			5-6-26	Crash Outcome Data Evaluation System (CODES)	Support	225
			5-6-49	Uniform data collection and reporting of traffic-related information	Support	226
			7-8-10	Maintaining safe and efficient mobility (highway transportation)	Support	227
			5-6-12	Federal funding for community-level highway safety programs	Support	228
			5-6-58	Funding for traffic-safety improvements such as larger letters on road signs and more visible pavement markings	Support	229
			5-6-54	Section 402 State and Community Highway Safety Grant program	Support	230
			5-6-16	Funding for Highway Safety Grant Programs, Incentive Grant Programs, Injury Prevention Programs, Emergency Medical Services systems	Support	231
ROD	Buses					
		The safety records of busses is good enough to not warrant further regulation				
			5-1-10	Continued exemption from state axle weight limits for buses	Support	232
ROD	Tolls					
		Cars should be tolled to encourage people to travel by bus				
			5-1-18	Tolls and congestion pricing (on cars and not favoring public mass transit)	Support	233
ROD	Rest areas					
		More rest areas and welcome centers are needed				
			5-6-20	Assess the adequacy of public and private rest areas, including public-private partnerships to finance rest areas	Support	234
			7-1-7	Transportation Enhancement (TE) program	Support	235
RRR	Regulation					
		Regulations on railroads should be minimal				
			5-2-1	Railroad Re-regulation "Railroad Competition and Service Improvement Act of 2007" (H.R. 2125, S. 953)	Oppose	236
			5-2-2	Canadian style freight railroad regulation in the United States	Oppose	237
			5-2-14	Performance standards to regulate safety in the railroad industry	Support	238
			5-2-6	Restore consideration of product and geographic competition in Surface Transportation Board railroad rate regulations proceedings	Support	239
			5-2-5	Mandatory binding final offer arbitration	Oppose	240
RRR	Technology					
		Government should allow technological advancements that enhance safety				
			5-2-13	Regulatory or legislative barriers to the use of remote control locomotive technology	Oppose	241

Table 7.2 Continued.

Policy Domain	Policy Subsystem	Potential Advocacy Coalitions	Identifier	Agenda Issue	Position	Issue Count
RRR	Track access					
		Freight trains should have full use of their own tracks				
			5-2-17	Separate tracks for passenger trains than for freight operations	Support	242
			5-2-4	Forced access proposals	Oppose	243
RRR	Passenger rail					
		The Amtrak monopoly is good				
			5-1-3	Amtrak Reauthorization (funding "safeguards")	Support	244
			5-2-16	Intercity passenger rail provided by one entity - Amtrak	Support	245
RRR	Antitrust					
		Freight railroads should have some immunity from antitrust laws				
			5-2-3	Railroad Antitrust Enforcement Act of 2007	Oppose	246
RRR	Infrastructure					
		The public benefits of freight railroading would accrue quicker if more public-private partnerships for freight railroad infrastructure projects were implemented				
			5-2-7	Public-private partnerships for freight rail infrastructure projects	Support	247
TAX	Entitlements (social security/retirement and welfare)					
		The employment tax burden on businesses should be minimal				
			5-2-20	Shifting obligations under Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act from Amtrak to freight rail industry (Amtrak should not be relieved of its retirement obligations)	Oppose	248
			4-2-24	Work Opportunity Tax Credit - extension	Support	249
			1-1-21	Small Business and Work Opportunity Tax Act of 2007	Support	250
TAX	Internet					
		Business growth potential should not be stifled by taxes				
			1-1-15	Internet Tax Freedom Act (H.R. 3678)	Support	251
TAX	Energy					
		Energy conservation should be fueled through tax incentives				
			1-1-9	Provide greater positive incentives through the tax code for development of alternative sources of energy	Support	252
			1-1-10	Provide incentives for businesses that implement greater energy conservation programs, policies or tools	Support	253
			5-1-7	Partial existing exemption from diesel fuel tax for the motorcoach industries	Support	254
			4-2-5	Biodiesel Production Tax Credit Parity Act (H.R. 927)	Support	255
TAX	Gaming					
		Tax legislation should be favorable to business				
			3-1-7-R	Tax legislation affecting casino gaming activities and patrons including Hurricane Katrina tax legislation, depreciation, employee tip tax compliance agreement with Treasure and IRS	Support	256
TAX	Hospitality					
		Tax legislation should be favorable to business				
			4-1-1	Alcohol and Hospitality Tax Increases	Oppose	257
TAX	Restaurants					
		Tax legislation should be favorable to business				
			4-2-6	Business Meal Deductibility (H.R. 2648 and S. 58)	Support	258
			1-1-5	Business Meal and Entertainment Expenses Deduction, S. 58, H.R. 2648	Support	259

Table 7.2 Continued.

Policy Domain	Policy Subsystem	Potential Advocacy Coalitions	Identifier	Agenda Issue	Position	Issue Count
TAX	Real estate					
		Tax legislation should be favorable to business				
			4-6-3	Tax Extenders Bill (S. 3125)	Support	260
			4-2-21	Restaurant Depreciation (H.R. 3622 and S. 2170)	Support	261
			4-6-2	Jobs, Energy, Families and Disaster Relief (S. 3335)	Support	262
TAX	Boating					
		Tax legislation should be favorable to business				
			5-8-1	Elimination of the mortgage interest deduction for boat owners	Oppose	263
TAX	Tax reform					
		Tax legislation should be favorable to business				
			4-2-10	Estate Tax Repeal	Support	264
			3-2-5-R	Estate Tax Reform	Support	265
			4-2-3	Alternative Minimum Tax reform	Support	266
			4-6-6	AMT relief and extension of expiring tax provisions in 2007	Support	267
			1-1-6	Making permanent the reduction in capital gains taxes passed in 2003, that is set to expire in 2010	Support	268
			1-1-12	Making permanent the reduction in estate taxes passed in 2001, that is set to expire in 2010	Support	269
TAX	Aviation					
		Businesses on which taxes are levied should be able to directly benefit from the tax				
			5-7-7	Raising the cap on Passenger Facility Charges to $7.50 and providing airports more flexibility in the use of these funds	Support	270
			5-7-4	Diversion of jet fuel tax revenue from The Airport and Airway Trust Fund into the Highway Trust Fund	Oppose	271
TAX	Rail					
		A railroad trust fund is the wrong way to finance rail infrastructure investment				
			5-2-8	Freight Rail Infrastructure Capacity Expansion Act of 2007 (S. 1125, H.R. 2116)	Support	272
TOU	International marketing					
		The federal government should put out a positive invitation to international travelers considering a visit to the U.S.				
			3-1-6-R	Travel Promotion Act	Support	273
			1-1-4	Travel Promotion Act S. 1661/H.R. 3232	Support	274
			3-2-4-R	Travel Promotion Act of 2007 (H.R. 3232, S. 1661)	Support	275
			4-2-23	Travel Promotion Act (H.R. 3232 and S. 1661)	Support	276
			7-3-2	Travel Promotion Act of 2007	Support	277
			7-7-5	Travel Promotion Act of 2007	Support	278
			3-8-2	Inclusion of the Travel Promotion Act of 2008 (H.R. 3232, S. 1661) in the Next Economic Stimulus Plan	Support	279
TOU	Lodging regulations					
		The regulatory process should be more open, fair, and allow for greater public participation				
			1-1-17	Regulatory Reform (S. 849, S. 1271, H.R. 2235, H.R. 750, H.R. 327)	Support	280
TOU	National tourism office					
		Government offices associated with tourism development should be elevated into higher positions within the government				
			7-7-1	Executive Office of Travel and Tourism	Support	281
			3-2-9	National institution for policy and programs (recreation specific)	Support	282
			3-8-4	Establishment of an Executive Office of Travel and Tourism	Support	283

Table 7.2 Continued.

Policy Domain	Policy Subsystem	Potential Advocacy Coalitions	Identifier	Agenda Issue	Position	Issue Count
TOU	Funding					
		Tourism interests should have autonomous control over the most money possible				
			7-7-2	Increased travel and tourism taxes to go to the general fund	Oppose	284
			1-1-3	FY 2008 Omnibus Appropriations Bill (which includes travel-related appropriations)	Support	285
			3-2-5	Fiscal resources for recreation and park capital investment	Support	286
			3-2-14	Restoration of recreation and park infrastructure	Support	287
			3-2-16	Make recreation and park facilities and resources fully eligible to participate in public works/infrastructure renewal strategies and funds	Support	288
			3-2-19	Authorizing federal matching funds for investment in local public recreation facilities designed and programmed to emphasize specifically public health and wellness outcomes	Support	289
			3-3-1	Increased investment in close-to-home recreation programs such as the stateside Land and Water Conservation Program	Support	290
			3-2-7	Limited purpose accounts, funds and trusts	Oppose	291
			3-7-6	Recreation program funding	Support	292
			3-8-1	Federal Grants and Loans for Travel & Tourism Development at the Regional, State and Local Levels	Support	293
TRA	Buses					
		Charter bus businesses should be used to facilitate ground transportation				
			5-1-14	Rural intercity bus transportation program	Support	294
			5-1-15	Motorcoach solutions to airport congestion	Support	295
			5-1-11	Enforcement of FTA regulation preventing transit agencies from using funds to provide charter bus service or regularly scheduled service outside urban areas	Support	296
TRA	Infrastructure					
		The government is the best financier of transportation infrastructure				
			7-8-12	Cautious approach to private investment in transportation, particularly as it relates to the long-term lease of existing infrastructure	Support	297
TRA	Intermodal					
		There should be more intermodal transportation facilities				
			5-1-5	Dedicated funding for intermodal transportation facilities	Support	298
TRA	Trails					
		Recreational trails should be developed				
			3-7-7	Recreational Trails Program	Support	299
TRA	Public transportation					
		Efficient public transportation is good				
			3-2-11	Adequate local transportation services for all persons	Support	300
			7-8-2	Educate the public on energy and transportation	Support	301
TRA	Innovation					
		Government should establish and support an adequately funded national research and demonstration program to develop intelligent transportation systems				
			7-8-4	Encourage DOT and Congress to focus on a new vision/purpose for the federal transportation program before developing new funding options	Support	302
			5-6-51	Intelligent Transportation Systems	Support	303
TRD	Domestic					
		There should be a free market for recreational products and activities				
			3-2-20	Unfair competition claims from private sector recreation businesses	Oppose	304
			3-3-7	Fair and proper treatment of the outdoor industry's innovative products as they move through the supply chain to retail	Support	305
			3-3-8	Establish a delineation of specialized, innovative performance apparel and other outdoor products from mass consumer goods	Support	306

Table 7.2 Continued.

Policy Domain	Policy Subsystem	Potential Advocacy Coalitions	Identifier	Agenda Issue	Position	Issue Count
TRD	Imports					
		Tariff legislation should be favorable to American businesses				
			3-3-11	Protect the specialty outdoor industry against adverse trade actions	Support	307
			5-1-15	Safe and fair implementation of NAFTA	Support	308
			5-8-3	United Nations Law of the Sea Treaty	Support	309
			3-3-10	Eliminate duties, quotas and other restrictive trade barriers on the import of specialty outdoor products	Support	310
			3-3-9	Relief from high tariffs that are disproportionately applied to outdoor footwear, apparel and equipment	Support	311
TRU	Hazardous materials					
		Risks associated with hazmat transportation should be reduced				
			5-2-11	Proposals allowing state or local authorities to ban hazmat movements through their jurisdictions	Oppose	312
			5-2-10	Accelerate the development and use of safe substitutes for highly-hazardous materials	Support	313
TRU	Size limits					
		Size of trucks should not be increased				
			5-6-23	Increase in current truck size and weight limits	Oppose	314
			5-2-15	Existing federal truck size and weight limits	Support	315
TRU	Safety					
		Large vehicles should be operated as safely as possible				
			5-6-17	Funding for the Motor Carrier Safety Assistance Program	Support	316
			5-6-22	Improved CDL record keeping by the Federal Motor Carrier Safety Administration	Support	317
			5-1-6	National database containing information on all CDL holders	Support	318
			5-6-45	Ban of all speed detection devices (radar detectors, laser detectors) in commercial motor vehicles	Support	319
			5-6-46	Speed governors in commercial motor vehicles over 25,000 GVW	Support	320

Memo to Business: Let's Meet

By J.W. Marriott Jr.
Thursday, March 12, 2009; A19

When the Democrats held their national convention last August, 50,000 delegates, politicians, journalists and others descended on the Mile High City for several days. Forty thousand hotel rooms were booked. Restaurants and entertainment venues were packed. In the end, Denver benefited from more than $260 million in revenue, creating significant tax income for the city and state. Now that's what I call a great meeting.

What would have happened if no one attended the convention? In real terms, a lot of Denver businesses would have suffered -- but their employees would have suffered more. Waitresses would have had no customers. Housekeepers would have had no rooms to clean. Taxi drivers wouldn't have had passengers to ferry. And instead of addressing 84,000 people when he accepted his party's nomination for president, Barack Obama would have been looking out into an empty stadium.

The hotel industry confronts such a scenario today. As many as a million jobs are at risk because of attacks on business travel and meetings by members of Congress, the administration and the media. Companies -- even those not receiving government assistance -- are so afraid of being criticized, they'd rather cancel their meetings and pay the penalty fees. It's time to focus on the unintended consequences of this toxic rhetoric, which threatens not only our industry but also our employees and the communities where we do business.

My company has a hotel and golf resort in Half Moon Bay, Calif., that employs 500 associates. Many of the employees at this hotel used to be seasonal farmworkers. That's right -- working in the fields. We have provided them with training, health insurance and other benefits and the prospect of lifelong careers. In the past few weeks, more than 32 groups have canceled meetings at this hotel. That means we've lost millions of dollars of expected business, the city has lost tax revenue and, sadly, some people have lost their jobs. This story is being played out at hotels across the country in rural and urban areas. The Labor Department has reported a loss of nearly 200,000 travel-related jobs in 2008, and Commerce Department data project a loss of 247,000 travel-related jobs in 2009. That number may well grow if the vilification of business events and travel doesn't stop.

Sure, there have been some flagrant abuses; we make no excuses for the bad actors. But the vast majority of events serve a legitimate business purpose, including professional development and recognition to motivate high-performing employees. Last week, I went to New Orleans to join 1,500 general managers from the Courtyard, Spring Hill Suites and Fairfield Inn hotel brands for our annual meeting. They shared best practices on how to create sales opportunities in a recession, learned about innovations in the design of our services and products, and improved their communication skills. This is how we promote our culture, leadership and teamwork. It is also how we drive revenue. We held this meeting even though the business environment is challenging because it's an investment in the future. We believe it gives our general managers and Marriott an advantage over the competition.

Marriott, like many businesses, is making tough choices. Indeed, we have scaled back on some of our meetings and travel. Making those cuts was the right thing to do. But canceling meetings and events to dodge unwarranted criticism is shortsighted and will have a detrimental effect on the U.S. economy.

We understand that members of Congress are accountable to their constituents and want to ensure that tax money is spent responsibly. The Treasury Department has already required companies receiving government assistance to adopt policies related to business events. Our industry has responded by aggregating best practices and developing model standards they can use. Championing the use of these guidelines, which can be found at http://www.ustravel.org, is a productive way for Congress and Treasury to ensure accountability.

One in every eight jobs in the United States is linked to travel and tourism, the U.S. Travel Association has found. Meetings support 1 million jobs and provide $16 billion in annual tax revenue at the federal, state and local levels. A healthy travel industry is a powerful stimulus and is pivotal to economic activity and growth. Continuing to scapegoat business travel will only hinder recovery. Meetings mean business. Meetings create jobs. If critics want America to lose another million jobs, they should keep talking.

The writer is chairman and chief executive of Marriott International.

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