<u>Title</u>

Polity, Policy and Destination Management: An exploratory study of political systems and management of tourism with special reference to the GCC Countries

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Abstract

Tourism, the dynamic and viable industry that it is in a country, is dependent upon the adoption of an approach to strategic planning and formulation of policies. Major attribute of such an approach has been the structure of governance in conformity with the political system of the country. This study with review of existing literature on the subject, theorizes upon the concept that the political system of a country influences the structure of tourism governance and tourism development policies. The study thereafter, attempts to investigate and analyze the nature and structure of tourism governance in a few selected countries with different political dispensations and the six Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries viz. Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Oman, Qatar, Kuwait and Bahrain. These GCC countries practice various forms of monarchies as their system of state governance. The study examines the role of state in developing and nurturing tourism in the light of tourism development policies within their respective countries. With review of relevant literature, critical analysis of the scope and function of the national tourism organizations, this paper tries to evaluate its objective that- tourism achieves its perceived success in a country within a structured policy framework and in consonance with the political philosophy of the country. The study is conceptual in nature with exploratory case study method being used for a comparative analysis of tourism management in the countries of the GCC. The study notes, that political environment of a country plays a major role in management

of tourism. A federation like UAE has a devolved structure of tourism management and each state unit is responsible for its own development while the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has a centralized format where it largely promotes domestic tourism for the objective of preserving unique values, traditions and identity of the Saudi society.

Key Terms

Political System, Tourism Management, Governance, Policy, Destination Management Organization, Gulf Cooperation Council

1. Introduction

Effective development, operation and management of tourism require certain institutional elements that provide direction to tourism of a country. Political environment and prevailing political system bear significant influence on the organization of tourism in a country. Tourism policies provide the framework within which tourism in a country works, it relates to the structure of the industry and is concerned with the issues involved in, and approaches to, tourism. The priority which a country accords to tourism in the national economy, and its assessment of the potential value of tourism to the economy, in relation to other industries, also determines the character of its organization of tourism. In countries which have a unitary constitution and or centralized government, tourism is controlled by the central government. On the other hand, in countries with a federal constitutional form, the tourist organization comprises one or more cooperative bodies at the national level and individual provinces enjoy a great deal of freedom in tourism matters. However, even in some countries with a federal system tourism is central and subordinate only to the central government. Some countries have two parallel systems- one central system and several state or regional tourist organizations, which may be subordinate only to state authorities, forming a provincial or local network, or both may be subordinate to the central government and the local authorities.

National Tourist Organizations (NTO) and or Destination Management Organizations (DMO) in most countries, are structured as government departments, semi government organizations and even private associations. Having the potential of earning precious foreign exchange and

generating employment, governments in general are unable to resist the temptation to keep control of policy directions to NTOs/DMOs (Wanhill et al 2008). Political interference in management of tourism is seen to be increasing whereas tourism is playing a significant role towards diversification of national economies. In the recent past there have been some significant attempts in tourism scholarship to analyze changing dimensions of political management of tourism, tourism policy implications and destination management and governance (Beritelli, Bieger, & Laesser, 2007; Bramwell, 2011; Pechlaner, Beritelli, Pichler, Peters & Scott, 2015). Scholarly studies available in tourism literature have experimented with political science, business management and other social science approaches to examine tourism governance paradox that invariably shows a subtle but substantial dependence on political systems (Ruhanen, Scott, Ritchie, & Tkaczynski, 2010; Pechlaner & Volgger, 2013). There are strong indications in various studies that the political system of a state plays an influential role in the way tourism is managed within the state (Webster, Ivanov, & Illum, 2009).

The political, economic and cultural environment of a country largely influences its official tourism organization. Tourism development, management, marketing and promotion should be managed within an integrated structure. The two aims of the study therefore, are to (1) explore the effect of a political system on organizational structure and governance of tourism in a state, and (2) to examine the governance structure of tourism in monarchies of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries. Since tourist destination is the fundamental unit that forms the basis for an assessment of relationship between tourism system and tourism management (Pike, 2008) this study proposes to explore the symbiotic relationship between political systems, tourism policy thrusts and destination management. It is hypothesized herewith, that political systems with a particular form will have an impact on the policy paradigms that a destination management organization follows. The theoretical construct of the study has been derived from studies in political-science to understand political systems on one hand and explore tourism literature to comprehend operational concepts of destination management in a country.

2. Literature Review

Destination while defined as a geographical region, is understood by its visitors as a distinctive entity, with a political and legislative framework for tourism marketing and planning. With several inherent attributes of a tourism destination having accepted, it is natural to perceive a management organization to oversee the variety of functions within a destination. This definition enables Destination Management Organizations (DMOs) to be accountable for the planning and marketing of the region and to have the power and resources to undertake action towards achieving its strategic objectives. The destination experience is essentially comprised of regions, resources and amalgams of tourism facilities and services, which often do not belong to individuals. Instead they represent a collection of both professional and personal interests of all the people who live and work in the area (Buhalis 2000).

Tourism being essentially a cooperative venture requires coordination of various activities at a particular destination which is provided by the tourist organization at different levels. With the expansion of international tourism, states realized the necessity of getting involved with tourism. Their interest in tourism development resulted in creation and recognition of a body which would be responsible at the national level for tourist information, promotion, research, and representation of tourist interests. This organization is generally termed as the National Tourism Organization (NTO). Many a countries have this organization in form of government departments or as statutory bodies or semi-governmental organizations. There are voluntary organizations in a few countries with responsibilities and terms of references similar to those of the governmental organizations, particularly as regards promotional activities, representation abroad and participation in international meetings. As early as 1963 the 'UN Conference on International Travel and Tourism' noted that, in order to ensure the coordinated and well planned operation of tourist activities, it was important to leave to governments the ultimate management of tourism. The Conference considered it "incumbent on the governments to stimulate and coordinate national tourist activities", and was convinced that the "task can, in the main, be carried through the medium of National Tourist Organization". Further the Conference recommended that "in order to be able to carry out their proper functions, the NTO should be awarded wider competence, increased responsibilities, and endowed with necessary authority and larger resources". An NTO thus is the designated organization and remains the focal point of

destination management and it can be assumed that an NTO is actually the major Destination Management Organization (DMO) in a country or region. UN World Tourism Organization in 2004 attempted to clarify the ambiguity surrounding the nature of NTOs and defined it as a DMO that is generally responsible for management and marketing of destinations. It classified DMOs as National, Provincial and Local tourism organizations. The same UN WTO report highlights the important role of the public sector in destination management and marketing. It further advocates, based on the survey, of DMOs around the world the need of public private partnership to promote and organize destinations. There was also a very high level of agreement amongst participating DMOs, the report notes, that tourism development, management, marketing and promotion should be managed within an integrated structure (World Tourism Organization 2004). In Europe which has by far the most developed tourism infrastructure most of the countries have an NTO. Some of these such as France and Spain and several Eastern European countries have their NTOs as part of government, according tourism a high priority while others may have an independent NTO like in the UK supported by Government Grants (Cooper, Fletcher et.al 2008).

Morrison (2013) believes that destination management is a professional function whereby all efforts are directed towards coordination and integration of the destination mix which includes attractions, events, hospitality, facilities, transportation, and infrastructure in an essentially economic activity. "Destination management organizations (DMOs) are teams of tourism professionals that lead and coordinate all tourism stakeholders. Effective destination management involves long-term tourism planning and continual monitoring and evaluation of the outcomes from tourism efforts (Morrison 2013 pg. 2-4)".

It is interesting to note the analogy of a tree given by Beritelli (2011) who observed that the first attempts in the eighties by authors such as Inskeep (1991) were focused on planning, recognizing the destination as a composite tourist product. This is what was considered the root of the concept while the next stage was destination-management compared with the 'stem' whereby various enterprises, organizations and institutions operating within the destination were to be coordinated to achieve strategic objectives, hence a management approach (Murphy, Pritchard, & Smith, 2000 and Buhalis, 2000). This concept grew into destination competitiveness (Ritchie &

Crouch, 2003) leading further to the 'branches' in the analogy bringing in the concept of governance.

The concept of destination management organization as a central body that will perform all the functions specified and designated to it at a tourist destination has now come under severe scrutiny. A number of writers have criticized the functioning of DMOs in its present form which, it is believed, has failed to grasp the real implications of the consumer experience perspective (Morgan, Elbe & Curiel, 2009). Also, the role and functions of a DMO, prescribed currently, are too broad to actually be fully achieved as perceived. According to Swarbrook (2001) a DMO is typically supposed to perform a minimum of four broad functions namely (1) planning and development, (2) local impact management, (3) operational issues and quality control, and (4) Marketing inclusive of promotion. Except marketing and coordination of tourism industries in a destination, none of these functions are fully under the command and control of the official NTO/DMO of any country. The role of DMO however, has recently received a great fillip due to mass usage of information communication technologies (ICT) and the practice of maintaining and offering bookings and reservations through a DMO website. This is an extension of the marketing function and venture of e-commerce rather than a control over national planning and development. It is also noteworthy that the DMO seems quite helpless during a crisis situation at the destination. Generally DMOs do not have any standardized contingency plans and regularly find themselves dealing with the situations in a mode of panic, taking ad hoc measures and remain in denial prolonging recovery after a crisis. There are a few though who handle the situation immediately and professionally (Beirman 2003). It is not out of place thus, to suggest that the DMO in its present form, seems a redundant concept and its nomenclature as a management organization needs to be reviewed.

Tourism literature has seen a positive progression wherein issues of destination management bring with them issues of governance of tourism at a higher level of polity. As such, "governance research of tourist destinations looks at the norms and rules and consequently the conditions which help explain why decisions and actions are taken or not, and why events in tourist destination communities occur or not (Beritelli, 2011 pg. 9)". Models of urban governance, in western liberal democracies, have been structured with the inclusion or exclusion of different

actors and the selection of instruments that were not value neutral but embedded in political values above and beyond urban partisan division advocated Pierre (1999). Tourism studies however have mostly remained fixated with the exploration of the traditional models of governing and governance (Jenkins, Hall, & Mkono, 2014, p. 542). Hall (2011), believes that tourism governance is multi-scaled. It is also argued that most of these traditional market led governance models such as network creation, public-private-partnerships and statutory corporations have generally promoted parochialism where governance arrangements and resultant policy directions are perceived to benefit some interests more than others (Dredge & Pforr, 2008; Hall, 2008; Jenkins & Dredge, 2007, Beaumont & Dredge 2010). Interest in the system of governance in tourism management, has lately been receiving more attention and scholars have sought to understand how the state acts to mediate contemporary tourism related social, economic, political and environmental policy issues (Bramwell, 2011; Hall, 2011). Hall (2011) has been suggesting that the overarching concept of governance in public policy is due to the relationship between state intervention/public authority and societal autonomy or self-regulation.

The concept of governance has now been further stretched to the idea of meta-governance and it is believed that governance actually is further governed by the political masters and the government of the day domineers governance. It may also be construed as a symptom pointing to the failure of the concept of traditional management and governance. This position brings back the argument taken by Hall (2011) that it is all about 'power', whoever wields the power of getting-things-done in a particular political format, governs the governance structure. Amore and Hall (2016 p. 118) have emphasized how "the governance of governance is not just a 'technical' issue; instead, meta-governance illustrates how the shadow of hierarchical power serves central state and other interests (and their values), is connected to power relationships at various scales, and provides for different sets of winners and losers depending on the intersection between growth interests and central government. The state sets the 'rules of the game' of governance. All of these elements affect what happens in destination governance. These issues are not new, but there is a need to ensure that the lack of ideological or distributional neutrality of governance modes and policy interventions is made explicit". Expanding further the concept

of 'meta-governance' Amore & Hall (2016-111) argue that it "(1) enables the political and economic changes associated with governance to be positioned within the context of changes of state power, strategy and intervention; and (2) tends to break down the arbitrary divide that is sometimes constructed between government and governance". This is an extension of the explanation of governance as a 'complex pattern of consumer-oriented public policies' (Salet, Thorney, & Kreukels, 2003, p. 3) that emerge from 'governing activities of social, political and administrative actors' (Kooiman, 1993, p. 2).

3. <u>Methodology</u>

The design of this study is exploratory, conducted with mainly secondary sources of evidence. The objective of exploration is to know the existing position without overt expectations. Exploration is investigation which is systematic and rigorous and remains the main-stay of qualitative research (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Scholars who have advocated exploratory research include but are not limited to Glaser and Strauss (1967), Glaser (1978), Lofland & Lofland (1995), Hoepfl (1997) and Schutt (2006). Quantitative researchers, Hoepfl (1997) believes, seek causal determination, prediction, and generalization of findings, qualitative researchers on the other hand look for illumination, comprehension, and extrapolation to similar situations. The present study in its first part uses exploration for conceptualizing a model of tourism governance. The study also applies case study method to explore the tourism organizational structure, tourism priorities and policies in the GCC countries. Case studies have been recognized in business study literature in several forms and formats. Eisenhardt (1989 p. 746) for example, "creates a legitimate role for the case study by casting it as the natural complement to deductive theory-testing" while Yin (2009) believes that case studies can be used for explanatory rather than exploratory purposes. Welch, Piekkari, Plakoyiannaki, & Paavilainen-Mäntymäki (2011), proposing a typology of theorizing through case studies, suggest the method of contextualizedexplanation wherein, the causal explanation gets contextualized. This approach fits effectively with the comparative case analysis presented in the study.

4. Political System & Governance of Tourism

The relationship between politics and tourism has been a relatively small sub-field of the social science of tourism. Political change has affected the patterns, processes and directions of tourism development (Hall 2010). Any direction that tourism development and promotion takes in a country is charted by the political system under which the state is governed. The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between the political philosophy, political system and form of government and its impact on the development and management of tourism in a country. Politics, arguably, remains the key in understanding the dynamics of tourism development, since the tourism planning process is actually value selection and thus is political in nature (Zhao & Timothy 2015). Hall (1994) believed that the political analysis of tourism traditionally has been a by-product of social or economic research. There is however a considerable body of research on the political dimensions of tourism, it is mostly about what should be done rather than what is done and how it is arrived at (Hall, 1994; Timothy, 2007). Since tourism is a product of complex and interrelated political, economic, and social factors its study cannot remain conservative, non-critical, and value-free (Peck & Lepie, 1989).

There are several political systems under which countries are governed in the world today. Webster, Ivanov, & Illum (2009) believe that these typologies can be divided into three to four main categories. Keenes & Gilpin (1987) categorizing political economies in three different paradigms of Realism, Liberalism and Marxism, offered one of the earliest typologies which may no more be very suitable in the current world order, in its original understanding. Gilpin (2011) in a later study offered a more comprehensive explanation of international political economies and elaborated upon the terminology with a 'state-centric approach'. In a recent attempt of classifying political economies O'Neil (2007) offers Liberalism, Social Democracy, Communism

and Mercantilism as the four broad categories. In a more recent classification that is drawn from political science is that of Dickerson, Flanagan & O'Neil's (2009) modern typology. In their study Dickerson, Flanagan & O'Neil (2009) classify governments in three ways the first based on relationship of state and society, the second on relationship between executive and legislative powers, and third according to the degree of centralization and decentralization. The first which is based on relationship between state and society is a simple but very effective classification of political systems and serves the purpose of this study well. This classification categorizes political systems in three types namely (1) Liberal Democracies, (2) Transitional Democracies, and (3) Autocratic; that is further sub-divided in two categories of (a) Authoritarian and (b) Totalitarian. As such, liberal democracies may have established parliamentary or presidential form of government in unitary or federal setup while transitional democracies may be experimenting with similar forms having transitioned from a more rigid or autocratic form. Transitional democracies are in the process of establishing democratic principles at several levels of governance as well as society which is getting used to exercising decisive power of franchise. The autocratic governments as divided in two forms of authoritarian and totalitarian may include brute dictatorships on one extreme and benevolent kingdoms on the other.

According to Pfeiffer (1992) organizations can be viewed as a political system drawing a parallel between political rule such as democracy, autocracy or even anarchy to the functioning of an organization. This, Pfeiffer believed, is the overriding principle of governance, whatever the declared organizational structural model be. Lasswell (1958) echoed similar view when he said that politics is about 'who gets what, when and how' and added that tourism organizations too function in accordance with the political rule of the state. As such, there is direct correlation between the political system prevailing in a state and governance of tourism. "The belief that politics and administration in government can be separated is a myth that should die a quiet death" opined Henry Mintzberg (1996) while Jon Pierre (1999) writing on institutional dimensions of politics had suggested that 'governance processes are not value neutral but reflect and sustain political values......comparing managerial, corporatist, pro-growth, and welfare governance models of urban governance, he argued that nation-state factors play an important role in shaping urban governance; different forms of urban politics display different models of

governance'. Political stability remains an important precondition for the prosperity of tourism in any destination besides the influence it may have on the organization and management of tourism development (Dwyer, Edwards, Mistilis, Roman, & Scott, 2009).

It can be deduced from the discussion above that tourism flourishes with the support of policy and planning initiatives taken by governments wherein policy is inseparable from politics. Thus, the priority accorded to the sector of tourism by the government of a state plays a major role in development and growth of tourism. In this context it shall be appropriate to study a particular type of political system and its practice of governance of tourism to substantiate this assumption. This study is attempting to test the hypothesis that the form of government in a country has a direct bearing on its structure of governance including governance of tourism through a case of comparative analysis of the six countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). A figurative depiction of the concept as discussed herewith is given below highlighting the sequential corollary of the bearings of a political system over management of a tourist destination (Figure 1).

A comparative analysis of a few selected political models of state governance, structure of their tourism organization, tourism policies and priorities were undertaken that correspond to and substantiate the illustration in Figure 1. This exploration formed the basis of the premise and the theoretical construct of the study. Selection of the countries for this theoretical analysis was selective sampling that suits the purpose being representative to the nature of the study and corresponds to the Dickerson, Flanagan & O'Neil's (2009) modern typology of political systems. Table- 1 below, captures this comparative picture with the political system, DMO structure and policy priorities, displayed succinctly. The source of information, illustrated in Table-1, mainly are DMO/NTO websites of the listed countries and extensive review of literature. Major studies that were referred to, include Zhao & Timothy (2015); King (2014); Taylor & McGlynn (2009); De Moya & Jain (2013); Thapa (2004); Lawoti (2007); Bhandari (2010); Rogerson (2014); van Wyk (2014); Cameron (2014); Dieke (1991, 1994); and Makaya & Prasad (2012). The terminology used in illustration of Table-1 corresponding to Figure-1 is listed and explained below:

• Political Systems, DMO Organization & Governance

- *Structured* there is an established tourism organization structure including a DMO working towards achieving stated objectives.
- *Semi Structured* tourism organization structure including a DMO is evolving and objectives for tourism management are being worked out.
- *Reliable* there is political stability and management of tourism has been fairly regular
- Intermittent- political stability is questionable and management of tourism has been erratic
- Priorities, Policies & Practice
 - *Consistent High* tourism has received reasonable priority in plans and favorable tourism development policies pursued sincerely over time
 - *Consistent Moderate* tourism has received reasonable priority in plans and tourism development policies get fair attention
 - *Consistent Low* tourism is not a priority and policies may not find major place in plans
 - Consistent Low to High- tourism was not a priority and policies may not have fond place in plans over a specified long period but now has become a high priority policy area taking a considered new direction
 - Inconsistent High- irregular mention of tourism in plans and policies with sporadic high priority witnessed
 - Inconsistent Moderate- irregular mention of tourism in plans and policies with irregular priority accorded

Figure 1 System of Tourism Governance

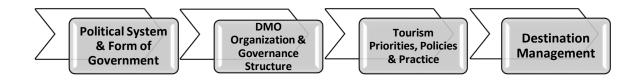


Table 1- Comparative Political Systems and Organization of Tourism

Country Name(s)	Political System*	DMO Organization & Governance	Tourism Priority, Policies & Practice
Spain	Liberal Democracy	Structured Reliable	Consistent High

Mexico	Transitional democracy	Structured Reliable	Consistent High
France	Liberal Democracy	Structured Reliable	Consistent Moderate
Italy	Liberal Democracy	Structured Reliable	Consistent Moderate
China	Totalitarian	Structured Reliable	Consistent Low to High
Cuba	Authoritarian	Semi Structured Reliable	Consistent Low to High
Kenya	Transitional democracy	Structured Intermittent	Inconsistent High
Nepal	Transitional democracy	Structured Intermittent	Inconsistent High
South Africa	Transitional democracy	Structured Reliable	Inconsistent Moderate

*Dickerson, Flanagan & O'Neil's (2009) Typology

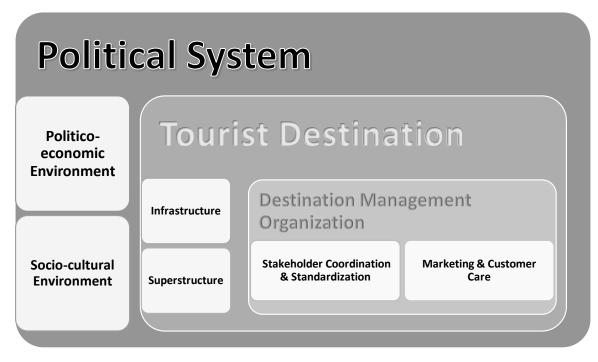


Figure 2-The National Tourism Governance Model (Author's Conceptualization)

Based on the discussion above and related overview taken on impact of the political system on governance and management of tourism in the selected countries, a notional conclusion can be drawn as summarized in Figure-2. As such, the governance of tourism in a country works within a larger political system wherein the politico-economic environment (political-economy) and socio-cultural environment drive the development of destination infrastructure and superstructure. The DMO, in turn, is a result of the larger tourism governance scheme and is organized in line with the overall political philosophy of the country and is best suited to perform marketing and industry coordination functions. To further evaluate this theoretical construct the next part of this study reviews the political system and resultant tourism governance models in the six countries of the Arabian Gulf bound by an arrangement named the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). This a comparative case analysis that on the one hand boasts of a tourism success story of the 21st century in Dubai and on the other hand, a near neglect of any such ambitions in Kuwait despite the shared political and cultural philosophies and locational proximity.

5. GCC and Tourism

The Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf also known as the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), is a political and economic union of the Arab states bordering the Persian Gulf and located on or near the Arabian Peninsula, and includes Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. Jordan and Morocco have recently been invited to join the council. The GCC occupies approximately 2400 square kilometers in land area with a population just over 50 million. On one hand, the GCC is a continuation, evolution and institutionalization of old prevailing realities while on the other, a practical answer to the challenges of security and economic development in the area. It is also a fulfillment of the aspirations of its citizens towards some sort of Arab regional unity. (www.gcc-sg.org; www.gulfmigration.eu)

The GCC with its history of peaceful coexistence has emerged as a cognizable and potent bloc of middle-eastern countries in the last few decades. Most of the member countries have large reserves of fossil fuel and export oil to many major economies of the world. To avoid dependency

on oil and in pursuit of alternative resources of national income, member countries have been experimenting with various models but the common thread that binds them all together is their brand of Arab culture and landscape which offers immense potential for development of tourism as an alternative to oil income especially in the current world economic order where oil prices have fallen down to all time low levels. Despite commonalities of history, culture, polity and economy there are inherent differences in outlook of member states in what should be the priority accorded to tourism as a state policy.

Except for the Hajj pilgrimage in Saudi Arabia, tourism as a modern industry in the GCC countries was practically nonexistent until a few decades ago. In some of these countries tourism development was avoided for fear of widespread illegal labor immigration (Mansfeld & Winckler 2007). Besides immigration issues, Jafari & Scott (2014) believe that there has been a concern over likely negative cultural impacts on these conservative societies. Dubai and Bahrain were the first to diversify into tourism development in the 1980s while Oman and Abu Dhabi followed it during the 1990s. Qatar was next to go into massive and rapid tourism development in the 2000s and Saudi Arabia too modernized its infrastructure of religious tourism about the same time. The development of the tourism sector was part of these countries' chief objective to develop the non-oil sectors. Mansfeld & Winckler (2015) in a recent study divide the GCC history of tourism industry of the non-oil Arab countries was, to a large extent, the gain of the GCC tourism industry".

Country Name	Political System		GDP [PPP] Million USD and Rank**	
	Traditional form of	Typology*		
	Government			
Saudi Arabia	Absolute Monarchy	Authoritarian	646,002	20
United Arab Emirates	Federal Monarchy	Authoritarian	370,293	30
Qatar	Constitutional Monarchy	Authoritarian	166,908	54

Table-2 Countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council

Kuwait	Constitutional Monarchy with Parliamentary System	Authoritarian	112,812	57
Oman	Absolute Monarchy	Authoritarian	70,255	67
Bahrain	Constitutional Monarchy	Authoritarian	32,221	95

*Political System-Dickerson, Flanagan & O'Neil's 2009 Typology

** GDP& Rank-World Bank 2015

Table-3 SWOT Analysis of the Tourism Sector of GCC Countries

Strengths Winter sun, sand and sea Safe Tourism Destinations Ethnic Modern Cocktail/the Arab cultural experience 	 Weaknesses Lack of Skilled Manpower Language Barrier Lack of effective intra-regional transport system
 Opportunities The 'business and pleasure' combination Health/Medical Tourism Development of attraction clusters/domestic tourism 	 Threats Intraregional Competition Perception of disturbed/politically unstable area Strict visa regime

Source: Mansfeld & Winckler (2007) / Euro-monitor (2014) / Author

Table-4 Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)-Economic Indicators 2000–17 (percentage of GDP)

Average	2013	2014	2015	Projection	
2001-12				2016	2016

Real GDP	5.1	3.2	3.5	3.3	1.8	2.3
(annual						
growth)						
Current	17.1	21.3	14.5	-1.0	-7.0	-4.1
Account						
Balance						
Overall Fiscal	10.8	10.2	3.3	-9.9	-12.3	-10.8
Balance						
Inflation, p.a.	2.8	2.8	2.6	2.5	3.3	1.9
(annual						
growth)						

Sources: National authorities; and IMF staff calculations and projections

5.1 Political System and Organization of Tourism Sector in the Countries of the GCC

5.1.1 Saudi Arabia is a monarchy with modern and well-developed infrastructure and facilities for travelers. The maximum number of tourist arrivals in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is that of pilgrims while the Saudi Commission for Tourism & Antiquities (SCTA) continues to manage tourism within the country as its highest tourism organization. The official position of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on tourism is for development of 'domestic' tourism to preserve the unique values, traditions and identity of Saudi society (Burns 2006). This position has recently seen a revision and the new ruling dispensation under the current King Salman (became King in January 2015), equal importance is to be accorded to international tourism too, though it is too early to observe any noteworthy change in the situation. The following table summarizes key tourism indicators:

Saudi Arabia	2015	2015	2016
	USD million	% of total	Growth
Direct	15,891.7	2.5	4.4
contribution			
to GDP			
Total	50,736.5	8.0	4.2
contribution			
to GDP			
Visitor exports	8,749.7	3.7	2.8
Capital	21,625.2	12.1	4.2
investment			

Table-5 Saudi Arabia	Tourism Data
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5.1.2 United Arab Emirates (UAE), is a federation of seven kingdoms and has been in last few decades, at the forefront of tourism growth in the entire Gulf and the Middle-East region. Three of its major constituents namely Abu Dhabi (Abu Dhabi Tourism & Culture Authority), Dubai (Dubai Tourism & Commerce marketing) and Sharjah (Sharjah Commerce & Tourism Development Authority) have a long history of tourism management and their tourism management organizations designed in the classic mode of Destination Management Organizations, have been fairly successful. In 2009 the UAE government set up the National Council for Tourism and Antiquities (NCTA) as the federal tourism coordinating body. All these tourism authorities are well organized and fall in the 'structured reliable' category as discussed above.

United Arab	2015	2015	2016
Emirates	USD million	% of total	Growth
Direct contribution to GDP	17,661.5	4.2	4.2
Total contribution to GDP	36,442.0	8.7	4.4
Visitor exports	26,007.4	6.5	3.3
Capital investment	7,447.6	7.3	2.8

Table-6 UAE Tourism Data

Source: WTTC Economic Impact 2016

5.1.3 Qatar is a Monarchy too and follows the Sharia as its guiding principle. The current Emir (ruler) took over the reins from his father in 2013. Despite some claims of being a Constitutional Monarchy, Qatar remains to be an absolute monarchy with hereditary rule by the Emir. The role of the Qatar Tourism Authority (QTA) is to organize, enable, and supervise the tourism industry development in Qatar, as well as to represent and promote Qatar as a quality tourism destination for leisure, business, education, and sport. Qatar tourism authority's new tourism development strategy is

focused to grow the tourism industry in by 20% in the next five years (www.qatartourism.gov.qa; www.visitqatar.qa). The FIFA world-cup of 2022 slated in Qatar promises to further boost the tourism industry. In 2015, Qatar generated USD 9.4 billion in visitor exports. In 2016, this is expected to grow by 3.2%, and the country is expected to attract 3,107,000 international tourist arrivals. By 2026, international tourist arrivals are forecast to total 6,139,000, generating expenditure of USD 13.4 billion, an increase of 3.3% per annum (WTTC 2016).

Qatar	2015	2015	2016
	USD million	% of total	Growth
Direct	5,174.3	2.8	4.3
contribution to			
GDP			
Total	13,330.5	7.1	5.9
contribution to			
GDP			
Visitor exports	9,364.1	9.4	3.2
Capital	1,775.7	2.2	17.5
investment			

Table-7 Qatar Tourism Data

Source: WTTC Economic Impact 2016

5.1.4 Oman being yet another monarchy in the GCC, possesses good tourism infrastructure including a wide range of international hotels and a variety of attractions & activities. The government of Oman realizes the importance of tourism and thus established its ministry for tourism in 2004. Most of the decisions at the highest level in Oman are taken through royal decrees. Professionally structured on the pattern of liberal democracies the tourism ministry has chalked out elaborate tourism development

plans and interestingly has one of the objective of increasing the employment level of Omani nationals in the sector from current 37% to 90% (www.omantourism.gov.om).

Oman	2015	2015	2016
	USD million	% of total	Growth
Direct contribution to GDP	1,812.5	2.5	6.6
Total contribution to GDP	4,145.2	5.7	6.0
Visitor exports	1,768.2	4.5	5.4
Capital investment	638.5	3.1	4.6

Table-8 Oman Tourism Data

Source: WTTC Economic Impact 2016

5.1.5 Bahrain receives two million tourists a year, a large number of which visit due to its comparatively liberal environment. The 'Bahrain Authority of Culture and Antiquities' was set up in 2015 as an attempt to streamline tourism organization and its significance can be gauged by the appointment of the Crown Prince of the kingdom as the President of the authority. Besides the mandate of preservation and conservation of culture and heritage the authority is also responsible for tourism promotion and attracting visitors for museums, folklore, and other cultural components within Bahraini society. After seeing tourist arrivals fall dramatically in last few years in the wake of the political unrest in the country, Bahrain is hoping that the return of the Formula-One race proves to be a catalyst that will help revive the country's tourism sector (www.ameinfo.com-travel/bahrain).

Table-9 Bahrain Tourism Data

Bahrain	2015	2015	2016
	USD million	% of total	Growth
Direct	1,237.0	4.3	5.3
contribution to			
GDP			
Total	3,015.2	10.6	5.1
contribution to			
GDP			
Visitor exports	1,683.4	9.7	4.6
Capital	280.0	5.3	15.8
investment			

Source: WTTC Economic Impact 2016

5.1.6 Finally Kuwait, a prototypical oil-rich monarchy of the Gulf region, having more than ten percent of the world's estimated oil reserves is a leading exporter of petroleum. Tourism is not a priority as evident from allocation of a Tourism Sector (read department) in the 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry'. The official position in regard to development and promotion of tourism in Kuwait is to provide a framework for sustainable tourism that can contribute to the economy of the state besides common good for social and cultural development of the people of Kuwait. Three objectives have also been enumerated by the department for achieving sustainable tourism sector, (2) marketing Kuwait as a tourism destination, and (3) forging effective partnerships with relevant government bodies and stakeholders (www.moci.gov.kw).

Kuwait	2015	2015	2016
	USD million	% of total	Growth
Direct	2,599.8	2.1	6.7
contribution			
to GDP			

Total	5,881.8	4.9	5.6	Table-
contribution				Kuwait
to GDP				Raware
Visitor exports	723.9	1.1	8.7	Tourism Data
Capital	414.4	1.4	10.8	
investment				

Source: WTTC Economic Impact 2016

6. Comparative Analysis

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The six GCC countries have several commonalities, most importantly the monarchical political system, besides being similar in their Arab heritage and culture. The practice of monarchy though, in each one of these countries may not be similar and the line between traditional and modern principles of governance is quite blurred which implies that the rulers are walking a very tight rope in balancing modern liberal principles of administration and personal diktats. Applying the Dickerson, Flanagan & O'Neil's (2009) typology of political systems to these monarchies will put them into the category of 'autocratic- authoritarian', however in a more traditional way these seem to be benevolent monarchies following a model of public administration akin to welfare-states. Policies for tourism development in the GCC countries however, are not similar and the choice and preference of leadership played a major role as also discussed above. UAE and Dubai in particular could realize the potential very early; soon after the British rule ended in late sixties and the formation of federation in early seventies. This preference for tourism development as an alternative to fossil fuel in the future, gave Dubai a head-start making it a leading tourist destination and a role model for others to follow. Qatar and Bahrain tried to emulate the Dubai

model within their perceived limitations and the bid for FIFA world cup in Doha and Formula-One racing in Manama were major attempts in that direction. Recent political unrest though, has given a big blow to the Bahrain Formula-One and efforts to revive it are afoot. Oman went the traditional way in commissioning a UN WTO appraisal leading to tourism development plan for Oman. This led to the formation of tourism ministry that is now promoting Oman tourism with reasonable success, most importantly as a generator of employment for the nationals. Saudi Arabia the traditional conservative home of world Islamic pilgrimage has extensive experience of hosting foreigners which now is being directed for the other type of tourism as well. It is a clear change of course and a realization of the forex potential of tourism. Kuwait continues to experiment with its political system and is the only GCC country which has established a parliament with elected legislators (after the 1990 Iraqi invasion) and seen regular turmoil in governance. This is reflected in the indecisiveness towards development and promotion of international tourism.

It is very apparent that the countries of the Gulf region have come to terms with tourism as a potent force for development and a source of much needed revenue in the tax-free/low-fee Islamic Monarchies. It is also quite evident that they have variety of assets both in terms of experience and tourist attractions. The polity has been the guiding force, the policies are conducive and the DMOs active; it won't be out of place to suggest that the region has the potential to forge a unified bloc that can develop and promote regional tourism successfully to orient bound visitors looking for traditional Arab hospitality. Single visa, intra-regional railways, development of historical and religious tourism clusters, and encouraging domestic tourism within the bloc can lead to a successful cooperation model that assures of a safe Arab experience to tourists from all over the world. The GCC countries already have a highly developed air travel infrastructure and a few very successful international airlines in Emirates, Qatar Airways and Etihad besides the no frills leader of the pack Air Arabia.

The table below (Table-11) gives a snap-shot comparative view of the changes in policies and priorities that were brought about in the GCC countries towards development and promotion of tourism, pre and post the economic downturn of world economy, experienced in 2009 that brought oil prices drastically down. This, along-with the futuristic realization of exhaustibility of

oil reserves has prompted the countries of this bloc to explore tourism as a viable alternative. The comparative changes listed in Table-11 below have been noted in the pre and post 'Arab Spring' of 2010 time period as suggested by Mansfeld & Winckler (2015).

Country	Tourism Governance as of	year 2010	Additional Measures after 2010	
	Tourism Organization Structure And its Guiding Principles	Tourism Development Policies and Priorities	Polity, Policy & Priority	International Tourist Arrivals*
Saudi Arabia	 Saudi Commission for Tourism & Antiquities (SCTA) Islamic Values, Culture, Heritage, Arab Hospitality 	 Protection of Monuments, Antiquities, Architectural Heritage, and Museums Sustainable development to be economically diverse, socially enriching and creating employment opportunities for citizens Priority to domestic tourism 	 New King takes over in 2015 and governance modernized Priority to develop International Tourism announced 	• 20,198,000
UAE	 National Council for Tourism and Antiquities (NCTA) Sustainable Tourism, Heritage & Antiquities, Unification of constituent Emirates, Cultural & Moral Values 	 International Tourism Hub Meeting needs of visitors, locals and employees Social, economic and environmental considerations Coordination and regulation of industry 	 NCTA becomes part of Ministry of Economy 2016 Innovation and Creativity thrust in tourism developmental policies becomes pronounced 	• 15,763,000
Qatar	 Qatar Tourism Authority (QTA) Image, Safe and Welcoming Destination, Culture 	 Organize, enable, and supervise the tourism industry development Represent and promote Qatar as a quality tourism destination for leisure, business, culture, education, and sport 	 New Emir took over in 2013 Massive Infrastructural development / FIFA 2022 Boost to quality international tourism 	• 3,107,000
Bahrain	• Ministry of Culture	 Tourism marketing, promotion, 	 'Bahrain Authority of Culture and 	• 6,453,000

Table-11 GCC Countries-Tourism Priorities, Policies and Practices: Qualitative Change 2010-2016

Oman	Safe, Modern, Ancient Heritage • Ministry of Tourism	 Licensing, quality assurance, research & statistics Product development Community tourism Antiquities' established in 2015 Efforts to bring Formula-One back to Bahrain 	• 1,813,000
	Cultural Integrity, Environmental Protection, Historic Cultural and Natural Heritage, Traditional Hospitality	 development nationals Conservation of environment, culture and heritage Government and private sector cooperation for increasing visitation 	
Kuwait	 Ministry of Commerce and Industry Traditional Values, Arabian Hospitality 	 Planning, directing and managing the tourism sector, Marketing Partnerships government bodies and stakeholders Exploring possibilities of tourism development 	• 385,000

*WTTC 2016 Estimates

7. Conclusion

The study in its concept, review of literature and case examples finds some interesting conclusions, foremost amongst it is the fact that countries across political hues have realized the potential of tourism as an economic benefactor that helps generate employment and foreign exchange besides numerous other possibilities. This realization though, is a recent phenomenon and seems to have caught the imagination of ruling elite all over the world that good economics remains to be good politics!

A significant contribution of this study is the wide range exploration of a variety of political systems and their models of tourism governance. In all, fifteen political economies from around the world were studied, out of which six are the monarchies of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries. The study offers a cogent appraisal of various types of political systems and their impact on management of tourism in a country, thereby establishing the construct that political

systems do have direct and meaningful influence on management and governance of tourism in a country.

Exploration of randomly selected political systems could be a limitation to the study, as any generalization may find certain exceptions still being practiced and may contradict the proposed concept. The study can however, be a precursor for possibilities to future researches, which may include larger empirical dataset for broader and focused findings.

Further to the objective of the study, it is can be concluded that there are policy implications on management of tourism depending upon the form and format of political system under which destination management organizations function. It is observed that even those countries that were totalitarian and closed to the outer world for a long period of time after the Second World War, moved towards favorable tourism policies albeit in a colored style of their own political philosophies. Monarchies are guided by the personalities of the rulers; democracies remain obsessed with liberal ideas; totalitarian federation will concentrate authority and decision making at the center while democratic federation will have the states asserting themselves in matter of local development and promotion. It may not be a revelation though but the idea gets further strengthened, that the NTO versus DMO distinction is superfluous and academic in nature since the role of DMO is shrinking back to being a marketing organization rather than a management organization. It is also quite evident that governance means power play; if judiciously applied, tourism governance can bring in the desired prosperity to the polity. Irrespective of the political system tourism governance remains the prerogative of the ruling elite. There is still scope for further research with a larger sample of country cases to further explore and expand the concept of governance.

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