Tourism and community resilience in the Anthropocene: accentuating temporal overtourism

Joseph M. Cheer [1] [*] Claudio Milano [2] Marina Novelli [3]

[1]*Centre for Tourism Research (CTR), Wakayama University, Wakayama, Japan*
[2]*Ostelea School of Hospitality & Tourism, University of Lleida, Barcelona, Spain;*
[3]*School of Sport and Service Management, University of Brighton, Brighton, UK*

[*]CONTACT Joseph M. Cheer josephmcheer@gmail.com Centre for Tourism Research (CTR), Wakayama University, Sakaedani 930, Wakayama 640-8510, Japan

ABSTRACT

Global tourism growth is unprecedented. Consequently, this has elevated the sector as a key plank for economic development, and its utility is deeply embedded in political, economic and social-ecological discourse. Where the expansion of the sector leverages natural and cultural landscapes, this applies pressure to social and ecological underpinnings that if not reconciled, can become problematic. The way this plays out in Australia's Shipwreck Coast and the wider Great Ocean Road region, especially the implications for community resilience, is the focus. Emphasis is placed on the vulnerability of peripheral coastal areas to development that withdraws from destination endowments, yet fails to provide commensurate economic yield as a suitable trade-off. This is obvious where tourism intensification has led to concerns about the breach of normative carrying capacities. Temporal overtourism driven by seasonal overcrowding is countenanced as emblematic of tourism in the Anthropocene where focus tends to be largely growth-oriented, with much less attention given to bolstering social-ecological resilience, especially community resilience. At stake is the resilience of regional areas and their communities, who in the absence of garnering commensurate economic returns from tourism expansion find themselves in social and ecological deficit.

Introduction

The essence of the Anthropocene is captured by Walker and Salt's declaration that "humanity has been spectacularly successful in modifying the planet to meet the demands of a rapidly growing population" (20, p. xi). With that in mind, that the Anthropocene has become embedded in the contemporary and critical tourism discourse is unsurprising; after all, the human-in-nature dimension central to the unfolding of the epoch is very much exemplified in global systems (Crutzen & Stoermer, 2000; Zalasiewicz & Waters, 2016), especially concerns that it represents a "threshold marking a sharp change in the relationship of humans to the natural world" (Hamilton, Gemenne & Bonneuil, 2015, p. 3). Unprecedented expansion underlines the global tourism status quo and coincides with a long period of unparalleled economic growth and affluence. The implications of this is greater global mobility (Brown & Wittbold, 2018) and the opening of new destinations, as well as improved access to more established ones.

With consideration to the scaffolding of this paper from a theoretical standpoint, "The Anthropocene has become a differential lens through which disciplines across the academy are reviewing, debating and reinventing their conceptions of humanity and nature" (Bauer & Ellis, 2018, p. 209). Tourism and the Anthropocene is framed by Gren and

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Huijbens (2014, p. 7) as "a geophysical force that is part of the relationship between humanity and the Earth". Apropos to that, the upshot of travel as a marker of the experience economy in the Anthropocene is manifold

and includes implications for destination development, triple-bottom line impacts, policy and planning and natural resource management (Gren & Huijbens, 2016). The Anthropocene is accentuated by concerns regarding climate change, resource depletion, increased securitization and momentum shifts to the digital environment (Steffen, Crutzen & McNeill, 2007). This leads to questions around how practicable the pursuit of sustainable tourism in the Anthropocene might be and the extent to which it undermines the resilience of tourism dependent communities (Bec, McLennan & Moyle, 2016; Calgaro & Lloyd, 2008; Cheer & Lew, 2017; Lew, 2014; Lew & Wu, 2017).

Antarctica and the Arctic, once out of reach, are more accessible today and doubtless driven by so-called last chance tourism (Lemelin, Dawson, Stewart, Maher, & Lueck 1020). This is a clarion call to reinforce that more than ever, tourism must align more closely with sustainability concerns (Bramwell, 2006; Saarinen, 2013). Moreover, this dovetails neatly into the Anthropocene that speaks of humans making hitherto unprecedented change to earth systems (Hamilton, Gemenne & Bonneuil, 2015), and as Gren and Huijbens implore, "For the first time in history, humanity is confronted with the task of having to carry the Earth on its shoulders" (2014, p. 15). Growth in tourism, as personified in visitation to Antarctica, is at the vanguard of the emergent contemporary mobility that emphasises the dilemma of the Anthropocene (Schillat, Jensen, Vereda, Sánchez, & Roura, 2016).

This prompts the question: what are the limits to tourism growth (O'Reilly, 1986)? Fundamentally, the link between tourism and the Anthropocene concerns the extent to which global travel undermines earth systems and raises the question: under what circumstances can this development be better positioned for more sustainable and resilient outcomes (Lew & Cheer, 2017; Hall, Prayag, & Amore, 2018)? Ushered in are broad considerations regarding how tourism growth elevates concerns about the provisioning of social and ecological systems for tourism (Mosedale, 2015; Mostafanezhad, Norum, Shelton, & Thompson-Carr, 2016; Nepal & Saarinen, 2016; O'Reilly, 1986).

Accordingly, of particular focus here is community resilience to tourism-induced transformations at the coastal periphery (we link community resilience with social resilience and assume the two to align). While we engage with the Anthropocene, reconceptualising the epoch and arguing its finer theoretical and ontological threads is beyond the scope of this undertaking. Instead, we make fundamental and precise connections between tourism and the emergent concept, overtourism and examine how this impacts the resilience of peripheral coastal communities. Stonich's (1998) stridence that "unbridled tourism development" represents a real risk for communities is acknowledged. The risk alluded to here is what Hall et al. (2018) refer to as change and disturbance in the tourism system. The principal question we pose asks: to what extent are tourism impact concerns shaped by community resilience as exemplified by tourism in peripheral coastal contexts in the Anthropocene?

In the main, we zero in on community resilience and leverage qualitative data that is community stakeholder focused and extracted via a longitudinal study between 2015 and 2017 in the Shipwreck Coast region of southern Australia. Fittingly, we employ social-ecological systems (SES) resilience as a broad theoretical framework from which we examine community resilience and argue that it is central to the Anthropocene and enmeshed in political, economic, social and ecological dimensions, which, in turn, impinge on and help shape nascent institutional structures (Gren & Huijbens, 2014; Hall et al., 2018). Importantly, we overlay this discussion with the master planning process, specifically the Shipwreck Coast Master Plan (Parks Victoria, 2015).

Overtourism is now part of the popular and scholarly lexicon; emblematic of tourism in the Anthropocene where the capacity of destinations to cope has reached tipping points (Milano, 2017; Sheivachman, 2017). In particular, we hone in on temporal overtourism which occurs in response to concentrated, occasional (e.g. special events), daily or seasonal visitation spikes (Gössling, Ring, Dwyer, Andersson, & Hall, 2016). Such situations are ubiquitous when management regimes fail (McKinsey & Company, 2017), and overtourism occurs when destinations breach tolerable thresholds that communities can absorb (Milano, 2018; Milano, Cheer, & Novelli, 2018). Also, overtourism raises objections against tourism that has outgrown its initial conceptualisations (Papathanassis, 2017; Seraphin, Sheeran, & Pilato, 2018). As Papathanassis (2017) argues, the problem is about governance and not tourism itself, and about planning and management and the extent to which communities remain amenable to tourism (Cheer, Coles, Reeves, & Kato, 2017; Rifai, 2017; Saarinen, 2013, 2018).

Case study

> The 28-kilometre Shipwreck Coast study area, from Princetown to the Bay of Islands, is a magical place. The spectacular limestone stacks and coastal formations, including the Twelve Apostles and Loch Ard Gorge, are among Australia's best- known features, drawing millions of visitors each year. This narrow, fragile environment encompassing the Port Campbell National Park, the Twelve Apostles Marine National Park, The Arches Marine Sanctuary and the Bay of Islands Coastal Park is also home to a rich and diverse natural and cultural heritage, townships and their communities.

> *The Shipwreck Coast Master Plan* (Parks Victoria, p. 4, 2015)

The Twelve Apostles Marine National Park and the Twelve Apostles drive visitation to the Shipwreck Coast region (Figure 1) (Cheer, 2018). As alluded to in the above quote from The Shipwreck Coast Master Plan, growing visitation sits awkwardly alongside pressures to maintain the region's natural values while also expanding tourismdriven economic development (Parks Victoria, 2015). Awareness of the region is centred on The Twelve Apostles, one of the most iconic images of the state of Victoria. The Twelve Apostles, a grouping of limestone stacks that lay adjacent to the coast at Princetown and 19 kilometres from the township of Port Campbell, is the main drawcard because of the high natural values *in situ*, including the Otway Ranges National Park, Port Campbell National Park and the Twelve Apostles Marine National Park (See Figures 2 and 3), and it is the most visited region in the state and third most in Australia (Parks Victoria, 2015).

Figure 1. Aerial view of the Twelve Apostles and Twelve Apostles Marine National Park boundary (Inset map – excerpt of south and south-eastern Australia). (Source: Google)
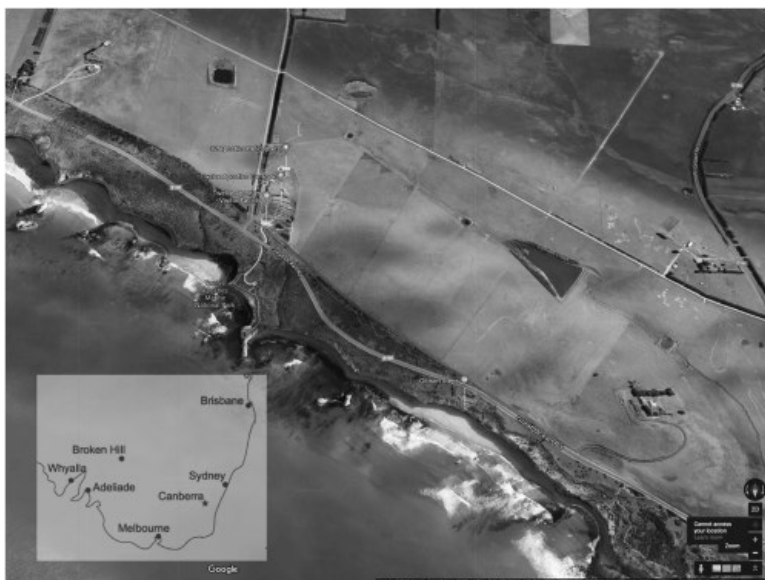

Figure 2. The Twelve Apostles Marine National Park with Twelve Apostles in the background – circa 2016 (Used with permission from Tourism Australia Image Library).

Figure 3. The Twelve Apostles Marine National Park with Twelve Apostles in the centre and top left – circa 1940s. This photograph suggests noticeable and gradual decline and erosion occurring over the course of the last 70 years (Used with permission from Matt O'Kane).

The Great Ocean Road and, in particular, the Shipwreck Coast's early settlement dates back to colonial Australia and vessels that sank offshore. Stretching for a few hundred kilometres in the southwest of the state of Victoria, the Shipwreck Coast is a 3-to-4 hour drive from the capital, Melbourne (See Figure 3). Large-scale agriculture, sheep and dairy farming, cattle and wheat frame are the economy of the region. This harks back to its early establishment where the region relied on agriculture and logging, and fisheries once had a strong presence. Akin to many small, regional coastal towns, peripherality introduces constraints to social and economic development, including depopulation, corporatization of family farms, vulnerability to natural disasters including bush fires and droughts, and infrastructure shortcomings, especially public transport, roads, and communications (mobile telephone coverage is unavailable or compromised in some places) (Cheer, 2017; Green, 2004).

Tourism is the key economic impetus, and with close proximity to Melbourne, the Shipwreck Coast has become a day trip destination (Cheer, 2017; Han & Cheer, 2018). The failure to optimise tourism growth for greater local level benefit lies in reconciling competing priorities of economic expansion versus preserving sense of place, as well as adapting to the shifts away from agrarian livelihoods to a service-driven economy underlined by tourism (Ibid.). The constraints to optimising tourism are found in the bottlenecks that detract from the expansion of tourism infrastructure, especially related to funding of critical infrastructure (roads especially), plus ongoing perturbations that occur including bush fires, landslides and rockfalls along the Great Ocean Road (Pearson, 2017). At June 2017, the Great Ocean Road region of which the Shipwreck Coast is central, generated over 6 million unique visitations with more than $AU1.3 billion (Warrnambool City Council, 2018). Moreover, this unprecedented growth is expected to increase by over 50% to 2025.

The development of tourism infrastructure, including commercial accommodation (hotels and resorts), has lagged growth in visitation (Parks Victoria, 2015). Consequently, this has stymied efforts to increase overnight stays and curtailed tourist expenditure. The paradoxical circumstance that arises is framed by high seasonal visitation in the Australian summer (November to February), with much comprised of groups and individuals passing through the region en route elsewhere. Unsurprisingly, this has raised local-level angst where expenditure spent on maintaining public amenities such as toilets and public areas exceeds direct returns to local stakeholders. Visitation is presently characterised by growing international tourist presence, especially Chinese tourists, and has amplified infrastructure and tourism service deficiencies (Cheer, 2017; Han & Cheer, 2018; Pearson, 2017).

All of this raises questions about the resilience of the region's social and ecological backdrop to cope with increased visitation, especially during seasonal and daily peaks and whether the government agency charged with the protection of National Parks, Parks Victoria, can cope with the impact of growing visitation (Koob, 2017). Of note is the clash between efforts from the tourism sector to drive further expansion and local community angst over the low rates of economic return (Tyler, 2016; Cheer, 2018). This highlights the paucity of strategic governance where visitation is the key performance indicator, with less attention given to yield per visitor and length of

stay (Koob, 2017; Zwagerman, 2016). The Shipwreck Coast Master Plan acknowledges the aforementioned tensions; however, its implementation has been stymied by politicking and stakeholder contention about ways forward.

Conceptual framework

Preceding the emergence of the Anthropocene in the tourism patois, the employment of nature to service growing leisure classes had already raised concerns. As Christaller opined in the 1960s, "tourism is drawn to the periphery of settlement districts as it searches for a position on the highest mountains, and in the most lonely woods, along the remotest beaches" (1964, p. 95). The human desire to be in and among nature remains intrinsic to the touristic endeavour, and in the 1960s, there was little to suggest that this was problematic. The 1960s ushered in the beginning of mass travel and the full-packaged holiday, and as Christaller (1964, p. 105) exclaimed, "Thanks to airplanes and thanks to our prosperity, destinations in Africa, in west and south Asia and in the Caribbean Sea are competitive to the countries in Europe". Christaller (1964) was prescient in advocating caution and offered a caveat suggesting that "helping induce the passage of such regions along the same path of former islands or forgotten places…" might actually not be so laudable.

In the 1970s, as mass tourism hastened, the use of nature for tourism intensified, creating new utilities and exigencies for what were once mostly adaptable contexts. As Overton critiques in his 1973 depiction of the opening up of national parks for tourism, this led to the creation of a "new set of social relations which is *[sic]* imposed creates conflict and only marginal development" (Overton, 1973, p. 34). The social relations mentioned were centred on the political, economic and social ramifications of turning nature into commoditized touristic experiences. The idea to "save" natural areas led to what Overton (1973, p. 35) describes as "necessary to neutralize discontent and respond to protest from the many groups which make up the ecology movement".

Moore's exposé of tourism in the Anthropocene argues that "contemporary relations of nature and culture" are central to understanding the Anthropocene in tourism, and that tourism must transform and recalibrate to adapt to the evolving status quo (2015, p. 191). Moore's thesis is framed by adaptation and guided by the question: "To what extent do emergent ventures green wash their involvement in global assemblages of socioecological exploitation" (2015, p. 195)? Ultimately, as Stonich outlines, political ecology drivers demand "integrative policy approaches" that "ensure equitable and environmentally conservative development" (1998, p. 50). This conundrum is evident in the Shipwreck Coast where the competing and conflicting priorities of development and tourism sidle up against the desire to protect natural values and sense of place.

While the Anthropocene hastens the urgency for sustainable development, "there are significant limitations in the extent to which societal actors can respond to the challenges of environment resource management and sustainability" (Knight, 2015, p. 153). This is discernible in tourism, especially where disparities in stakeholder influence and agency over the scope and nature of development occur. For example, local-level capacities to deal with externally driven tourism interventions are very often curtailed (Seraphin et al., 2018). This calls for "a different kind of global social-politics" (Knight, 2015, p. 156) to underline sustainable tourism in the Anthropocene, characterised by an understanding that destinations have tipping points beyond which diminishing returns occur.

Globalisation and neoliberalism loom large in the Anthropocene and underlines global economic systems that enforce downstream impacts at the micro-level. As Soriano (2017, p. 5) argues, "environmental degradation is essentially a material problem", one that stems from consumptive practices tied to resource use and depletion. Related to this are global flows of capital and predicated on exploiting destination endowments. This relies on the provisioning of elements within the tourism system and whether a balance between profit optimisation and social and environmental integrity can be negotiated is central to sustainability concerns. Soriano sees this as "a sort of vicious cycle that grows as a snowball and shows the inherent unsustainability of this production mode" (2017, p. 9).

Whether enquiries into the Anthropocene–tourism nexus display "a panicked political imperative to intervene more vocally and aggressively in an earth transformation run amok" (Robbins & Moore, 2013, p. 9) bears consideration, for within tourism, amenity decline is evidence of system failure. This is obvious where overcrowding is evident, where the dominance of the built environment overwhelms the natural and

where social-ecological transformations are characterised by amenity decline. For Autin, the Anthropocene introduces multiple dichotomies where processes in tourism are part of a "culture war about the recognition of environmental process" (2016, p. 222). This mirrors advocacy for more resilient and sustainable tourism and against tourism that diminishes adaptive capacities (Lew & Cheer, 2017).

Tourism as a production process is profoundly connected to transformative elements; for example, if the most obvious enabler of global tourism is the burning of fossil fuels, tourism must confront "decisions about production systems and investment priorities intermeshed with political maneuverings in an increasingly artificial, crowded and changing biosphere" (Dalby, 20, p. 34). That tourism and social-ecological resilience is tied underlines that planning and management regimes for sustainable tourism must negotiate the dual spheres effectively (Saarinen, 2018). The notion of a good or bad Anthropocene is symbolic of concerns over the selection of modes of tourism that best enable sustainable tourism.

The term overtourism is an intrinsic hallmark of the Anthropocene and emerged because of what Milano refers to as "unsustainable mass tourism practices" (2017, p. 5). This describes the rapid and unprecedented growth of global tourism and particularly in marquee destinations where adverse impacts on local communities is evident (Goodwin, 2018; Seraphin et al., 2018). Novy amd Colomb argue that this emerged because "tourism is fundamentally political" and that "the way tourism is accounted for and made sense of locally, for instance, has usually been shaped by the hotel industry and associated businesses" (2017, p. 6). The sense that local level agencies are very much diminished underlines the overtourism movement where the argument is not for a diminishment or removal of tourism, but more about governance that prioritises local well-being.

Fundamentally, overtourism references carrying capacity in a twofold manner (O'Reilly, 1986, p. 254): (1) "the capacity of the destination area to absorb tourism before negative impacts of tourism are felt" and (2) "levels beyond which tourist flows will decline because certain capacities as perceived by the tourists themselves have bene exceeded". The former relating to destination capacities prevails, whereas global tourist flows continues to surge despite overcrowding, hyperinflation and the frenzied industrialization of tourist experiences. This calls for "the restructuring of processes of recent decades" (Novy & Colomb, 2017, p. 11) where the emphasis has been top-down and focused on growing visitation. Much of the nascent discourse on overtourism is focused on city contexts with cities such as Barcelona and Venice struggling to adjust rapid tourism growth (Milano, 2017; Misrahi, 2017; Sheivachman, 2017).

In defining temporal overtourism, this is most evident when seasonal variations arise as in the case of the Mediterranean summer and Golden Week in China, and during peak holiday periods and hallmark events such as the Olympics. This temporary state overwhelms local infrastructure and services, resulting in mass overcrowding and diminishment of sense of place. This is problematic because such temporary surges can have damaging social and ecological consequences (Cheer, 2018). Temporal overtourism, if driven externally and led by global tourism supply chains, is difficult to plan for and sudden visitation surges, while welcomed by local authorities, can lead to social-ecological stress. This is acute where ecological assets support visitation such as in National Parks, coastal and marine sanctuaries and small islands, and where human interactions with animals are integrated (Nepal & Saarinen, 2016; Saarinen, 2018). Hall (2016) refers to this as typical of the Anthropocene where "loving nature to death" has become more obvious in tourism systems. As Hall points out, "the extent to which tourism contributes to biodiversity loss through tourism urbanization, habitat loss and fragmentation and climate change is also dramatic" (2016, p. 66).

Temporal overtourism varies in its impacts with Goodwin (2018) arguing that it provides ideal support to struggling peripheral economies. Conversely, Seraphin et al. (2018) contend that overtourism manifests as overcrowding leading to the diminishment of sense of place. The emergence of overtourism and what to do about it is underlined by governance and management and effective policy formulation (Milano, 2017). Former UNWTO Secretary General Taleb Rifai argued that overtourism is not about tourism per se, but more about the way it is managed: "It's the failure of management not of the sector" (Rifai, 2017). Consequently, current policy responses include demarketing, redirection of tourist flows, new planning regimes, capping of tourism numbers and price hikes (Misrahi, 2017).

Community resilience concerns are intimately linked to SES that are described variously and meditates on striking a balance between social and ecological concerns, and related to the extent to which communities

adapt and respond to shocks that test their capacity to adapt (Cheer & Lew, 2017; Hall et al., 2018). Resilience has its genesis in ecology, and more specifically, "ecological and social resilience may be linked through the dependence on ecosystems of communities and their economic activities" (Adger, 2000, p. 347). SES also references human-in-nature concerns, as exemplified by the Anthropocene, and locates the extent to which human induced change on SES undermines adaptive capacities of communities (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011).

In general terms, resilience is the ability of systems to bounce back after perturbations and/or disturbances that destabilise the steady state (Davoudi, 2012). Indeed, when characterising resilience, Holling (1973) demarcated between engineering and ecological resilience; the former related to returning to equilibrium after turbulence, while the latter concerns adaptation within critical thresholds arguing that there is capacity for systems to flip or morph into other stable states. Espiner and Becken's (2014) benchmarking for the examination of social-ecological resilience in protected areas surrounded by small tourism-centred communities argues that there are inconsistencies present in the way resilience is defined, conceived of and applied. That vulnerability and resilience are two sides of the same coin is not lost on Espiner and Becken (2014), who assert that returning to previous equilibria might not be possible.

In setting an agenda for building resilience in SES, the Stockholm Resilience Centre suggests moving "beyond viewing people as external drivers of ecosystem dynamics and rather looks at how we are part of and interact with the biosphere" (2016, p. 3). In particular, the call is for polycentric governance systems that leverage traditional and local knowledge that are linked to social and political processes. This emphasizes urgencies in the Anthropocene toward what Cleveland describes as "the unresilient epoch humans have created" (2014, p. 2).

Adger infers that "Social resilience is an important component of the circumstances under which individuals and social groups adapt to environmental change" (2000, p. 347). This is an important nod drawing on the changed conditions that underline the Anthropocene, and the capacities of communities to adapt and respond to changing social and environmental conditions, especially that generated externally. Social resilience is at the forefront of how policy-makers and broader stakeholder groups institute and construct frameworks for adaptation to climate and non-climate-related transformations. At a local level, the extent to which destination communities exercise agency and influence at developing resilience capabilities is questioned (Boonstra, 2016). This is evident where tourism expansion rides roughshod over local coping and control mechanisms.

That humans are testing the upper limits of the social-ecological ceiling in the Anthropocene is obvious, thus, calling for adaptive and resilience measures is pressing. As Adger argues, "Both sustainability and resilience recognise the need for precautionary action on resource use and on emerging risks, the avoidance of vulnerability, and the promotion of ecological integrity into the future." (2003, p. 1). This underscores provocations about what must be done to cope with unprecedented earth system changes. After all, the catch cry for greater social-ecological resilience centres on not only halting further change, but instead assessing how the human-in-nature might best adapt to and mitigate the rate and pace of change. This is vital for tourism communities, especially where tourism intensity is heightened (Lew, 2014)

If transformation underlines the Anthropocene, resilience as a framework to assess responses to perturbations must recognize that "people and their institutions are integral components of ecological systems" (Chapin et al., 2004, p. 344). This underlines how social-ecological resilience thinking is essential to transition processes and where sustainable transitioning to evolving steady states is fundamental (Lew & Cheer 2017). Hence, the question of resilience to what and for whom resounds for as Cretney argues, "it makes sense to tackle the root causes of social and environmental issues rather than perpetually react to disaster and crisis events" (2014, p. 636). Thus, linking overtourism in the Anthropocene to human-in-nature systems outlines that system harmony is at stake. Questions about whether the global tourism system is net contributor or net extractor from earth systems are heightened in the era of peak tourism. Where disjunctures arise, they contradict attempts at sustainable tourism and question governance regimes preoccupied with maximising visitor numbers and query how to make way for proportionate focus on social and ecological inheritances.

Methods

The empirical focus is the Shipwreck Coast region of southern Australia and the hugely popular Twelve Apostles Marine National Park. Longitudinal fieldwork from 2015 to 2017 frames the wider project underscored by mixed methods comprising of international visitor surveys ($n = 780$), in-depth interviews ($n = 72$), stakeholder focus groups ($n = 6$) and observational fieldwork as well as content analysis of the Shipwreck Coast Master Plan. Particular focus in this paper is given to industry, government and civil society views and aligns with that adopted by Espiner and Becken (2014) where the nuanced perspectives of tourism stakeholders were leveraged to understand the *in situ* dynamics of tourism expansion.

Overall, data collection and in-field participant observation employed is drawn from two initiatives: (1) longitudinal fieldwork related to a postgraduate field school conducted annually in September–October from 2015 to 2018 and (2) formal research conducted by final year graduate students (Tyler, 2016; Zwagerman, 2016). The base for this field school between 2015 and 2017 was the Shipwreck coast hamlet Port Campbell, with research activities based out of the Port Campbell Surf Life Saving Club. This experiential learning initiative comprised of in-field lectures over three days, stakeholder consultations and tourism sector and local government lectures.

The selection of tourism and community stakeholders was underpinned by the extent to which they were considered to be key informants (Espiner & Becken, 2014). This comprised of tour operators, accommodation providers, food and beverage businesses, local councils, community groups, park rangers, transport providers and allied tourism sector organisations. During the period 2015 to 2017, six phases of fieldwork were undertaken in October–November and March–April each year. These periods were chosen partly out of convenience to align with the teaching semester, and partly because it occurred outside of the school holiday periods when visitation is characterised by a seasonal influx of holiday or second home owners rather than tourists. Allied to this research but not included here was a large-scale survey of international tourist satisfaction in the region (Cheer, 2017; Han & Cheer, 2018).

For the broader project, frequency analyses utilising SPSS was used with quantitative data, while NVivo was employed to undertake deductive thematic analysis of qualitative data. In this paper, we place particular focus on qualitative data derived from in-depth interviews ($n = 72$) and focus groups ($n = 6$) with tourism stakeholders and contextualized this with the Shipwreck Coast Master Plan enacted in 2015. Interviews were not audio recorded, and instead, detailed transcriptions were noted at the time of interview. This was done to align with university research ethics requirements and to avoid potentially compromising participants given the smallness of the sector and that audio recordings would have been easily identifiable. This is why we draw only from in-depth interviews and not the focus groups as it would be difficult to provide anonymity from the latter.

The construction of emergent themes adhered to conventional coding approaches and follows Espiner & Becken's (2014) approach to contextualize stakeholder feedback in an environment where vested interests can potentially overwhelm the narratives embedded in data collected; the use of leading words such as "Anthropocene", "community resilience" and "overtourism" was not used at any point during the research. Instead, neutral and well-understood terms such as "sustainable tourism", "destination management", "sense of place" and "regional development" pervaded the interview discourse. Appleton's (1995) approach adopted from Miles and Huberman (1984) emphasising three key stages in regard to data analysis was applied: (1) data reduction, (2) data display and (3) conclusion drawing. Data reduction is framed around selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming emergent themes, and then repeating the process several times to outline the reliability and consistency of thematic categories. This enabled the data display phase to advance where articulation of emergent themes was established and conclusion drawing was facilitated. Bazeley's (2009) point that analysing qualitative data is more than just highlighting themes is acknowledged alongside Strauss' (1987, p. 5) insistence that "the making of constant comparisons and the use of a coding paradigm, to ensure conceptual development and density' is vital in analysis of quality data" – this was central to the approach taken to data analysis throughout the wider project. Moreover, to ensure intercoder reliability, the main author assumed responsibility for the development of the code book and allied category development.

Results

In juxtaposing temporal overtourism alongside community resilience, the inference is that within sustainable tourism development processes, both frameworks integrate the human-in-nature dimensions that characterize tourism in precarious contexts. Where the Shipwreck Coast is concerned, seasonal and daily overtourism has discernible longterm effects (Baum & Hagen, 1999). Drawing from the Master Plan process for the region, and empirical data collected for the broader longitudinal study, several key themes in the dual frameworks of social and ecological resilience emerged with implications for community resilience. In drawing from in-depth interviews only ($n = 72$) in this instance, emergent themes articulate strong links between temporal overtourism and community resilience perturbations.

Temporal overtourism

Intense overtourism occurs in the Australian summer school holidays from the beginning of December to the end of January and coastal destination populations can swell to over 10 times the average population in the region (Cheer, 2017). Seasonal overcrowding while not unprecedented has intensified in recent years as both domestic and international visitations have increased. While those who rely on tourism support heightened visitation, the so-called out-oftowners who own holiday houses and play a large role in decision-making reject expansion: "I bought a holiday house here because of the peace and quiet and reject any attempt to increase tourism here". (Holiday house owner)

Temporal overtourism also occurs on a daily basis where up to 90% of all visitations occur between 11AM and 3PM. This coincides with the drive duration from Melbourne to the Shipwreck Coast. This has the impact of peak time overcrowding, impacting visitor satisfaction, contributing to site hardening (walkways and roadways) and intense traffic volumes on a single-lane dual carriageway road. A common refrain underlined by a key stakeholder cited: "The way tour companies structure their itineraries is daft and impacts the quality of experience, especially when 90% of all visitors come here between 11am - 3 pm. This means long lines at the toilet, crowded car park and diminishing the desire to stay longer" (Local tour operator). Public amenities such as toilets, parking, walkways and viewing platforms are constructed and maintained with little financial return because visitation is free of charge. Combined, these factors contribute to the low economic yield and limited length of stay: "The local councils and parks agencies spend millions of dollars providing public toilets, signage and waste management. What we get in return is a pittance and fails to cover the costs we incur". (Local tourism association member)

Occasional overtourism is especially notable during the Chinese Lunar New Year that occurs in the first quarter of the New Year. During this time, the number of tour buses and mostly independent Chinese travellers slow traffic to a trickle and coupled with poor cross-cultural road signage and variable driving conditions, risks to motorists and pedestrians are intensified. For local residents coming to grips with the changed traffic conditions, concerns are heightened: "It is getting increasingly dangerous on the Great Ocean Road – tourists are either parked on the road to take photographs or driving on the wrong side. Something has to be done before serious accidents start occurring" (Local resident). Similarly, sentiments of the commercial transport sector, vital to tourism and life in the region, suggest that: "Expanding the road network here is essential if we are to be able to cope with larger numbers". (Local bus driver)

Visitation data unreliable

Data used to estimate tourist visitation is extracted from the Australian Government's International Visitor Survey (IVS) and National Visitor Survey (NVS). This is derived from macro-level surveys of international and domestic travellers at national and state-wide levels and then extrapolated to the local level. An ongoing refrain is that the annual estimated visitation of 2.6 million tourists underestimates visitation to the region. This has serious implications for national and state government budgetary support and allocation of infrastructure maintenance and development funding. As reflected by representatives of the local tourism association: "The data at national and state level are so far removed from what is happening at a local level – it vastly underestimates visitation" (Local tourism association member). Another participant argued: "Unless we're collecting data at a local level, there is no way we can truly challenge the data that assumes to know what is going on - numbers visiting the region are far greater than we are led to believe". (Local tour operator)

Sense of place

In assessing sense of place, some of the key themes included maintaining seaside idyll of a quiet coastal town, limiting overcrowding in National Park and beachside areas, keeping the development of tourism modest with built structures restricted to no more than two levels, limiting traffic volumes and regulating the extent to which houses in the region are used for tourist letting in the peak summer holiday period. Sense of place accentuates the local and is what distinguishes one place from another (Kerstetter & Bricker, 2009). Here, sense of place is linked to maintaining the distinctive local character of towns – whenever new developments are proposed, especially at a large scale, this receives strong local opposition. Consequently, this stymies investment in tourism in the region. As one of the largest hospitality enterprises in the region lamented: "If we are to make the most from growing tourism demand, we need to ensure that our towns maintain their character – any development must be in sympathy with our identity and heritage and consider residents priorities first" (Local publican). Excess visitation is considered a detraction from the fundamental sense of place that underlines the costal idyll and with long-term enduring impacts. One of the most common grievances is the loss of access to lifestyle and leisure opportunities because of tourist generated overcrowding in the peak holiday periods – this is noticeable in National Parks and beachside locations. The extent to which the region's nature natural values are maintained is considered under threat: "The whole idea of a National Park is to enjoy nature in solitude – how can you do this when there are dozens of tourists milling around, taking photographs and talking loudly"? (Local Park Ranger)

Community resilience to natural hazards

The risk of natural hazards occurring is a constant threat in the wider region, and at a localised level in the Shipwreck Coast, this is more obvious (ABC, 2016; Pearson, 2017). Bush fires are a constant threat given that the intensity of land enclosed in National Parks is a feature of the region. Much effort to mitigate the impacts of natural hazards is undertaken at a community level through the volunteer firefighting services organisation, Country Fire Authority (CFA) and local-level community organisations such as the Committee for Lorne. However, the changing demographics at a local level tips the balance away from permanent residents to second home owners as a result of tourism expansion and the transience of seasonal workers is withdrawing from social cohesion and the resulting whittling down of community resilience: "As tourism increases, I see the social networks within the community declining as well. In the last bushfires, we had to rely on external assistance and that leaves us vulnerable". (Local store owner)

Humans social networks and social capital

The transformation of relational spaces is underscored in the Shipwreck Coast with the demarcation between tourist and local spaces blurring. This is more intense in smaller communities where the fracturing of human social networks has seen a steady decline with younger townsfolk moving to the capital city for education and employment, while older generations becoming deceased or transition to institutional care. The decline in social capital has also withdrawn from key community bodies including the local Surf Life Saving Club and volunteer organisations such as the Country Fire Authority (CFA). These organisations are the "glue that binds" and pivotal towards communities reorganizing in times of crisis (Cheer, 2017; Green, 2004). The severing of feedback loops undermines human social networks and social capital and the question remains: How can tourism led transformations and wider socio-demographic dynamics be shaped to enable strengthening community resilience? One participant articulated this succinctly: "In small towns, we rely heavily on volunteers to help support the vulnerable in our community and to deal with bush fires and other crises - the new settlers don't value these relationships in the same way". (Country Fire Authority volunteer)

Master plan inertia

The Shipwreck Coast Master Plan reveals discernible tensions between economic growth aspirations and the preservation of the social-ecological setting, including the safeguarding of social capital and sense of place, as well as optimisation of the region's national parks. As the State's Minister for Environment, Climate Change and Water
(Ibid.) exclaimed: "The Master Plan will guide investment in facilities and infrastructure over
the next 20 years to enhance the liveability of local communities, develop international quality visitor opportunities, and conserve and restore the region's biodiversity and landscape character". The region's extraordinary natural values are a drawcard, although concurrently, this is also its Achilles heel preventing

the expansion of tourism infrastructure and services to support growth. This is evident in the shortage, quality and range of accommodation, and adversely affects overnight stays. "The Shipwreck Coast suffers from low economic yield from the considerable number of visitors each year. People visiting the area place significant demands on infrastructure and the environment, but leave little in the way of a contribution to the local regional economy" (Parks Victoria, 2015, p. 4). Master planning is tied to political processes and it is acknowledged that the status quo is unworkable and unsustainable. The call is not solely about expanding the visitor economy; the appeal is for tourism that strikes a balance between economic expansion, economic yield and protection of social and ecological inheritances. This is evident in the Ministerial statement: "The environment and the economy go hand in hand in this Master Plan" (Ibid.). The Shipwreck Coast Master Plan demonstrates the embeddedness of community concerns, most of which acknowledges that optimisation of sectoral growth has failed to translate into enduring local gains (Cheer, 2018) and the capacity to cope with growing visitation (Han & Cheer, 2018).

Discussion and conclusions

Importantly, the Shipwreck Coast Master Plan calls for caution: "The future of this unique region for tourism, local communities and the environment is at a point of reinvention and necessary change" (Parks Victoria, 2015, p. 5). The interlinking of tourism, local well-being and the environment coalesces to highlight the unavoidable links and with vast implications for processes that shape policy and planning (Espiner & Becken, 2014; Holladay & Powell, 2013). This highlights the vulnerability of peripheral coastal areas to economic and political processes outside the region, reinforcing typical centre–periphery dynamics where central government prevarications come at a cost to peripheral area resilience against external shocks (Lapointe & Sarasin, 2017). Parks Victoria (2015, p. 6) describes the region as a "linear, fragile and vulnerable cultural landscape. A priority of the Master Plan is to protect and conserve this fragile coastal ecology in response to visitor usage and ongoing erosive natural processes" and it is stated: "The environment strategy takes a 'whole of landscape' approach to repair the parks, improve habitat, increase biodiversity and raise environmental awareness" (Ibid. p. 7). This suggests close alignment to the ideals of nature-based tourism and, if employed optimally, as an agent for the betterment of community resilience in the region.

Political processes that guide tourism development in fragile cultural and natural landscapes are highlighted, as well as the way government exercises overarching influence (Mosedale, 2015; Stonich, 1998). Recent Ministerial pronouncements reinforce urgency for political action: "The region attracts 2.6 million visitors a year but the average visitor stays less than 40 minutes and spends only 18 cents" (Pulford, 2017). A top-down, interventionist approach to planning is evident and excerbates the problematic process of regional cooperation (Cheer, 2018); regional actors compete for the same pool of tourists; consequently, individual self-interest takes precedence. The shift from growthoriented priorities to non-economic impacts such as community well-being, environmental integrity and natural resource conservation is embedded in the Shipwreck Coast Master Plan. The inherent constraints that encumber tourism in peripheral areas and occur here are related to distance, duration of travel, tourism product or experience quality and density, and infrastructure capacity limitations. Where peripheral areas are hindered by economic stagnation, growing tourism inevitably becomes a mantra (Gössling et al., 2016; Lapointe & Sarasin, 2017). Yet, this is hindered by political processes that pit stakeholders against each other (Cheer, 2017).

Overtourism, and particularly temporal overtourism, is a fundamental theme that characterizes the interrelationship between community resilience and tourism growth in peripheral coastal locations where high natural values are normative (Lapointe & Sarasin, 2017). Temporal overtourism is increasingly evident as tourism becomes more entrenched in the region's economy. While the effects of temporal overtourism are palpable as seen in the intensification of crowding and escalation of traffic volumes, as well as impact on natural values, this has not carried over into commensurate economic gains (Cheer, 2017). This confirms stakeholder sentiments that the primary beneficiaries from tourism growth are not within the local area and instead in the travel supply chain beyond the region. Simultaneously, the costs of provisioning for tourism fall on local communities.

Temporal overtourism raises two key concerns: firstly, while human social networks and community resilience are impacted by temporal overtourism, no trade-off is attained leaving the local context in deficit (Cheer, 2017). Secondly, governance of tourism fails to negotiate more favourable approaches to tourism expansion through the political and planning processes (Bramwell, 2006; Gössling et al., 2016). This can be attributed to seemingly immovable structural constraints – how do you get the tourism industry to agree on reforms required? How do you influence the travel supply chain to see the region as something more than a day trip? This suggests that monumental reorganisation is required, but for this to occur, policy regimes must prioritise the discrepancies between economic return and costs of visitor servicing (Milano, 2017; Mosedale, 2015). This underlines wider concerns in the Anthropocene that speak of finding the "sweet spot" between developing and utilising social and ecological endowments for tourismdriven economic development with fundamental concerns about who foots the bill for the upkeep of social-ecological integrity (Stonich, ; Gren & Huijbens, 2016). Furthermore, how might tourism expansion privilege the building of social-ecological resilience within tourism communities to protect and conserve fragile ecological assets? Unless fundamental structural deficiencies are addressed, the rapidly growing tourist trade will underserve local stakeholders (Cheer, 2017; Green, 2004).

In returning to the central question framed at the outset: to what extent are tourism impact concerns shaped by community resilience as exemplified in tourism in peripheral coastal contexts in the Anthropocene? Moreover, the overarching line of enquiry essentially asks: What are the limits to tourism growth (Bramwell, 2006; McCool & Lime, 2001; Saarinen, 2013)? As global tourist numbers lurch towards the 1.5 billion visitor arrivals threshold by the end of 2018, evidence whereby testing of the upper limits of destination development is occurring has become all too common (Lemelin, Dawson, Stewart, Maher, & Lueck, 2010; Mosedale, 2015). In many ways, overtourism in the Anthropocene is a consequence of the growth orientation of tourism industry policy-makers and their industry counterparts (Novy & Colomb 2017 2016; Milano, 2017; Seraphin et al., 2018). As Béné et al. (2016, p. 166) are quick to point out, "resilience does not simply reflect the effects of tangible factors, but also has subjective dimensions". The subjective dimensions relate to how to come to terms with carrying capacity limitations and reconciling this with overall triple-bottom line considerations (Bramwell, 2006; Mostafanezhad et al., 2016; Saarinen, 2013).

The interplay between community resilience and the tourism system is of critical concern and is embedded in the question of limits to growth (Saarinen, 2013; Tobin, 1999). The bind is between optimizing economic returns and establishing the extent to which adopting growth strategies might diminish the cultural and natural values of the area, and by implication, community resilience (Kerstetter & Bricker, 2009; Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011). The political inclination is conservative and shapes attitudes towards economic development exigencies. This aligns with Espiner and Becken's assertion that peripheral areas accentuated with high natural values hold "multiple ecological and sociocultural functions and are increasingly a focus for regional development" (2014, p. 646). If this is so, then the call is to ensure that a balance is struck between functions that serve economic urgencies and tourism expansion, and others that relate to strengthening of human social networks and community resilience (Cheer, 2017; Holladay & Powell, 2013).

This raises the question of whether community resilience is socially constructed and the roles that local stakeholders play in coastal periphery contexts where tourism expansion is more or less assured (Béné et al., 2016). This is a pressing enquiry given that so often tourism expansion impinges on extant community relations and networks vital to small peripheral communities. As Espiner and Becken (2014) point out, when tourism in small peripheral communities reaches a "non-return point", it is incumbent on all stakeholders to overcome such path dependencies and move toward adaptations that lead to new steady states. This has to be underpinned by tourism policy and planning that shapes tourism trajectories rather than be subject to the whims of the market. The Shipwreck Coast Master Plan seeks to do that but without political will and stakeholder cohesion, "non-return" points may become all too familiar.

The use of resilience thinking to assess the extent to which tourism is enhancing or detracting from more productive legacies is an ongoing refrain (Hall et al., 2018; Cheer & Lew, 2017). As Hooli (2017, p. 114) argues, "discovering the resilience of communities in the context of global tourism is a useful tool to analyse and reveal the challenging nature of the complex and relational transformation processes". Similarly, Herrschner and Honey (2017) point out that connectivity among tourism community members is vital in times of crisis yet very often this is compromised in tourism systems. The nature and scope by which the reproduction of tourism space takes place, and the implications this has for cultural and ecosystems

embedded in relational spaces are related to reducing vulnerabilities within tourism systems (Espeso-Molinero, 2017; Lapointe & Sarasin, 2017).

Finally, we argue that discourse and praxis should place emphasis on the way political processes not only hoist ecological concerns as priority, but also consider how economic yields are commensurate with the costs associated with a given activity; in this case tourism (Stonich, 1998). As Hall et al. (2018, p. 42) affirm, "tourism as a socioeconomic activity, is a major contributor to some of the markers of the Anthropocene", and while the sustainable tourism narrative predominates, the continuing global tourism juggernaut is at odds. As the Shipwreck Coast exemplifies, at stake is the resilience of regional areas (inclusive of communities and natural endowments), who in the absence of garnering adequate economic returns from the exploitation of their assets through tourism, will likely find themselves in social and ecological deficit. This signals implications for research that examines SES resilience, and by association community resilience within tourism systems.

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