



Overcoming structural lock-in: strategies for enhancing the co-existence between tourism and the resources sector

Gladstone and Roma Final Report

Dr Char-lee McLennan
Dr Brent Moyle
Ms Alexandra Bec

Griffith Institute for Tourism Research Report Series
Report No 4
February 2015



OVERCOMING STRUCTURAL LOCK-IN: STRATEGIES FOR ENHANCING THE CO-EXISTENCE BETWEEN TOURISM AND THE RESOURCES SECTOR

Gladstone and Roma Final Report

Dr Char-lee McLennan

Dr Brent Moyle

Ms Alexandra Bec

Griffith Institute for Tourism Research Report No 4

February 2015

ISSN 2203-4862 (Print)

ISSN 2203-4870 (Online)

ISBN 978-1-922216-60-1

Griffith University, Queensland, Australia

Industry Reference Panel or Peer Review Panel

- Professor Susanne Becken, Director, Griffith Institute for Tourism, Griffith University
-

Acknowledgments

The researchers would like to thank Ms Rebecca Brown for her assistance with data collection and preliminary analysis.

The researchers would also like to acknowledge the residents and stakeholders from Gladstone and Roma for their time and expertise.

© Griffith Institute for Tourism, Griffith University 2014

This information may be copied or reproduced electronically and distributed to others without restriction, provided the Griffith Institute for Tourism (GIFT) is acknowledged as the source of information. Under no circumstances may a charge be made for this information without the express permission of GIFT, Griffith University, Queensland, Australia.

GIFT Research Report Series URL:

www.griffith.edu.au/business-government/griffith-institute-tourism/publications/research-report-series

Organisations involved

Dr Char-lee McLennan, Research Fellow, Griffith Institute for Tourism, Griffith University

Dr Brent Moyle, Research Fellow, Griffith Institute for Tourism, Griffith University and Adjunct Fellow, School of Tourism and Hospitality Management, Southern Cross University

Ms Alexandra Bec, Research Assistant, Griffith Institute for Tourism, Griffith University and Research Assistant, School of Tourism and Hospitality Management, Southern Cross University

About Griffith University

Griffith University is a top ranking University, based in South East Queensland, Australia. Griffith University hosts the Griffith Institute for Tourism, a world-leading institute for quality research into tourism. Through its activities and an external Advisory Board, the Institute links university-based researchers with the business sector and organisations, as well as local, state and federal government bodies. For more information, visit <http://www.griffith.edu.au/griffith-institute-tourism> .

About Southern Cross University

Southern Cross University is a world-class contributor to global knowledge concerning tourism and hospitality, and is nationally and internationally recognised for the excellence of its teaching and research in these fields. Based at campuses in Northern New South Wales and South East Queensland, Australia, the School of Tourism & Hospitality Management is a pioneer of tourism education in Australia. The School also enjoys long-standing professional relationships with the tourism industry at regional, state and national levels. For more information, visit www.scu.edu.au/tourism-hospitality-management/.

1. Executive summary

The resources sector and tourism have long been the drivers of economic growth in Australia, particularly in regional areas. Both have been identified as instigators of significant structural change, with each being accompanied by their own social, cultural and environmental challenges. Often observed to crowd out or replace each other in regions undergoing structural change, the resources sector and tourism have a well-established history of conflict.

The last decade has seen Australia's economy undergo significant transformation, with a rapid resurgence in mining. Consequently, the resources sector has increasingly encroached on the tourism sector resulting in increased conflict between the two sectors (McLennan, et al., 2014a; Pham et al., 2015). Despite this recognition of a negative relationship between the two sectors, few studies have investigated how the sectors interact (Huang et al., 2011), particularly in terms of key conflicts and synergies in a regional context. More importantly, there is a shortage of research suggesting strategies for the successful co-existence of the two sectors in a regional economy in order to build resilience and sustainable regions. Consequently, this research explores conflict and synergy between tourism and the resources sector and identifies strategies for their successful co-existence in the Gladstone and Roma regions in Queensland, Australia. Specifically, the objectives of this research were:

1. To explore how the resources sector interacts with and impacts on tourism;
2. To explore points of synergy between tourism and the resources sector and identify strategies for enhancing successful co-existence.

The results of this research suggest that both regions have undergone significant institutional change, resulting in a structural shift towards the resources sector to the detriment of the tourism industry. Consequently, the regions have become “locked-in” to an economic path dependent on the resources sector. Regardless, key synergies exist between the two sectors in both regions that can be enhanced through strategies aimed at enhancing the co-existence of the two sectors, including:

1. Develop trust, communication and partnership between the two sectors
2. Develop a joint long-term vision and strategy for the two sectors
3. Develop a memorandum of understanding between the two sectors to facilitate the implementation of the long-term strategy
4. Reduce red tape and legal restrictions to facilitate the implementation of the long-term strategy
5. Have tourism representatives involved in regional resources sector initiatives to ensure that the resources sector is exposed to and considers tourism policy and planning
6. Develop capacity and streamline tourism and government organisations who work with the resources sector
7. Improve the industrial tourism product
 - a. Improve and develop the industry tours
 - b. Improve information on the resources sector and have it available for tourists

8. Incentivise the resources sector to be involved with the tourism sector and become a member of the regional tourism organisation:
 - a. Tourism sector to provide a service to the resources sector e.g. provide 'famils' for resources sector employees
 - b. Highlight how joint marketing projects will leverage the resources sector social marketing dollar and improve the sectors image
9. Tourism to:
 - a. Improve leadership, planning, strategy and policy relating to tourism
 - b. Capitalise on improvements made by the resources sector to regional infrastructure by targeting new tourist markets
 - c. Better promote the economic impact of tourism and educate local stakeholders and residents on the definition of a tourist
 - d. Aim to educate the resources sector on tourism policy
10. Resources sector to:
 - a. Improve transparency of their operations and impacts
 - b. Contribute to City beautification and ensure their operations are aesthetically pleasing where possible
 - c. Reduce its impact on tourism resources where possible, specifically in terms of staffing, accommodation and key infrastructure
 - d. Take long-term joint ownership of industrial tourism products

Contents

1. Executive summary	1
2. Introduction	4
3. Case Study Regions	6
3.1. Gladstone.....	7
3.2. Roma	8
4. Method	10
5. The impacts on tourism from mining transformation.....	11
5.1. Institutional shifts.....	11
5.1.1. Roma	11
5.1.2. Gladstone.....	13
5.2. Impacts and conflict of structural lock-in	14
5.2.1. Two speed economy.....	15
5.2.2. Accommodation	16
5.2.3. Impact on infrastructure and support services.....	18
5.2.4. Impact on tourism products and promotion	19
6. Synergy and Strategies for Co-existence	22
6.1. Synergy.....	22
6.1.1. Resources sector investment	22
6.1.2. Resources sector economic and travel multipliers	24
6.1.3. Formal and informal partnerships	24
6.2. Strategies for Improving Co-existence	25
6.2.1. Reduce the negative impacts	25
6.2.2. Improve the industrial tourism product	26
6.2.3. Develop trust, partnership and a joint vision.....	27
7. Conclusion.....	30
8. References.....	32

2. Introduction

The resources and tourism sectors are core to the future economic prosperity of Australia. Both have been identified as instigators of significant structural change, with each being accompanied by social, cultural and environmental challenges (Connolly & Lewis, 2010; McLennan et al., 2012). Often observed to crowd out or replace each other in regions undergoing structural change, the resources sector and tourism have a well-established history of conflict (Moyle et al., 2014; Pham et al., 2013). Conflict often arises between the two sectors in circumstances where mining is impacting on the natural assets that tourism is dependent on. As a result, previous research suggests that tourism and resources sectors perform better economically when they are separate (Huang et al., 2011).

Australia is an excellent example of how a booming resources sector interacts with tourism. While Australia has witnessed four previous mining booms over the last 150 years, the current one is of particular importance (Measham et al., 2013). This is due to mining's significant role in the overall economy, the improved technology that allows increased extraction of resources without increasing labour input, and the impacts on a fully floated exchange rate (Battelino, 2010). Indeed, the current mining boom has had a massive influence on the Australian economy, driving trade balances, gross domestic product and interest, inflation and investment rates (Cleary, 2011; Peck, 2013). However, some researchers have argued that the Australian Government has been overly focused on the resources sector to the detriment of other sectors, such as tourism (Hughes, 2012).

The current mining boom has seen industries, like tourism, struggle under a high exchange rate and strong competition for labour, amongst other factors. Indeed, tourism has become less competitive, resulting in the emergence of a 'two-speed' economy (Pham et al., 2013). Some commentators attribute this effect to the so called 'Dutch disease' (Corden, 2012; Pham et al., 2015), which describes the adverse effects that occur when one industry rapidly expands at the expense of other industries in an economy (Nowak & Sahli, 2007). While much research has been undertaken investigating the impact of this economic transformation on tourism at the national level (Pham et al., 2015), there is limited research investigating the phenomenon at the regional level. Yet it is at the regional level that such economic changes can have a significant impact as the change process is often mismanaged due to short-term development perspectives (McLennan et al., 2014b).

Australia's resources sector boom has seen the expansion of mining into areas with iconic tourism attractions and protected areas, increasing the risk of the region losing assets that attract tourist visitation (Moyle et al., 2014). In addition, resource dependent regions often have a low attractiveness to visitors and developing a viable tourism product can be expensive and difficult (Edwards & Coit, 1996). A resources boom can also increase the cost of travel and reduce the availability of accommodation (Hughes, 2012). Moreover, the expansion of the resources sector can result in increased conflict between tourism and the resources sector (McLennan et al., 2014a; Pham et al., 2015). While keeping resources and tourism sectors separate would reduce instances of conflict, such a situation is not always possible or desirable. This is especially true in regional Australia where sustainable economic growth requires appropriate diversification strategies.

Previous research has investigated the issue of a two-speed economy and its social impacts in the context of resource dependent towns in North America (Leatherman & Marcouiller,

1996; Markey et al., 2008). However, there is relatively little research investigating similar issues at a regional level in Australia (Tonts et al., 2012). In addition, research has generally given little consideration of the impact of the resources sector on other industries in an economy. Understanding the interaction between the resources sector and other industries, such as tourism, is critical as mining in a region is often transitory (Peck, 2013) and having or maintaining a diversified economy can ensure more resilient regions (Wilson, 2010). Yet very few researchers have specifically investigated the interaction between the resources sector and tourism (Huang et al., 2011), including how these two sectors can best work together to build resilient regional economies.

It has been observed that the boom and bust nature of regional economies, particularly those dependent on mining, has been accelerating, a trend attributed to path dependency and lock-in (Hanlin & Hanlin, 2012). Path dependence occurs when historical decisions limit the choices available for the future. This is often the result of 'lock-in', where historical events and self-reinforcing effects lead to a region becoming focused on a particular economic sector, while also undermining the development of other sectors and the resilience of the economy (David, 1994; Martin & Sunley, 2006). Not only does lock-in and path dependence make regions vulnerable to decline, but it restricts the regions ability to restructure (Hanlin & Hanlin, 2012). To date there has been limited research investigating the impact of a deliberate regional economic transformation towards mining on tourism. Such research is critical in Australia where many regional areas have previously been reliant on tourism as a source of income and are likely to be again if the resources sector activity subsides.

Consequently, the aim of this research is to explore the interaction between tourism and the resources sector in two regions in Queensland, Australia, that have become resources sector dependent. Two key objectives drive this research, specifically;

1. To explore how the resources sector interacts with and impacts on tourism;
2. To explore points of synergy between tourism and the resources sector and identify strategies for enhancing successful co-existence.

3. Case Study Regions

The comparative case studies selected for this research were the Gladstone and Roma regions in Queensland, Australia. This research occurs at a point in time when several significant projects aimed at converting coal seam gas (CSG) to liquefied natural gas (LNG) for exportation are being constructed in the two regions (see Table 1). With LNG being considered a cleaner and more sustainable energy than traditional sources, such as coal, there is increasing demand nationally and globally for the energy source. Regardless, there is significant debate over whether the benefits of CSG outweigh the environmental impacts. The Roma region has a number of gas fields from which CSG is extracted and transported via a gas pipeline to the Gladstone refineries for processing into LNG. Figure 1 presents a map of the GLNG project, depicting the pipeline through the Surat and Bowen basin en route to Curtis Island (where CSG is refined into LNG) off the coast of Gladstone.

Table 1. Key Major LNG Projects underway at June 2014

Project Name and Company	Details	Status	Construction Value and Jobs
Australia Pacific LNG (Origin / Conoco / Phillips / Sinopec)	Sources gas from Walloons Gasfields in Central Queensland and transports it via a gas pipeline to Curtis Island near Gladstone for processing.	Underway	Value: \$20 Billion Construction jobs: 3,300 Operational jobs: 140
Gladstone LNG (Santos / Petronas / Total / KOGAS)	Transports CSG from Comet Ridge and Roma region to Gladstone where it is refined into LNG.	Underway	Value: \$20 Billion Construction jobs: 3,300 Operational jobs: 140
Queensland Curtis LNG (BG Group)	Sources CSG from the Surat Basin and transports it to refineries at Gladstone.	Underway	Value: \$20 Billion Construction jobs: 3,300 Operational jobs: 140

Source: Adapted from Gladstone Regional Council LNG Related Projects Website Page: <http://www.gladstone.qld.gov.au/web/guest/lng-related-projects>

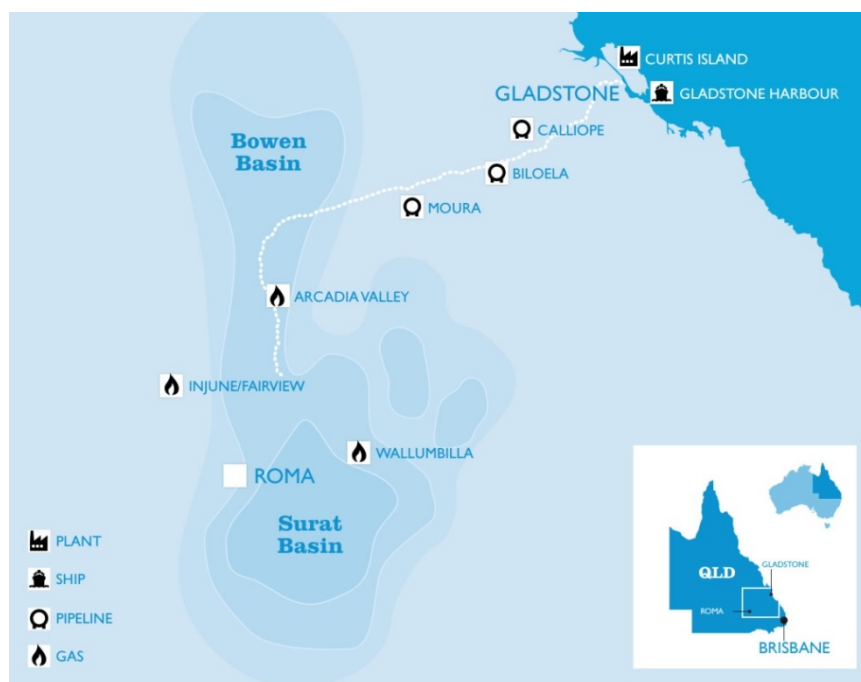


Figure 1: Map of the Santos Gladstone LNG Project (Santos GLNG Project, 2014)

3.1. Gladstone

The Gladstone region is located approximately 550 kilometres north of Brisbane. The region is an industrial hub and home to Queensland's largest multi-commodity port and the world's fifth largest coal exporting terminal – the Port of Gladstone (Gladstone Ports Corporation Limited, 2011). The region has a rich history of resource booms and has been inherently linked to the resources sector since it was surveyed in 1853. In the 1960s, Gladstone underwent rapid industrial expansion as a result of the development of an alumina refinery in 1967 by Queensland Alumina Limited (QAL). This led to Gladstone's existing, but modest, port facilities being expanded (Heritage Australia, 2014). The increase in the port's exports, especially coal, soon led to Gladstone becoming Queensland's main export port on a tonnage basis (Heritage Australia, 2014).

The Gladstone region has since become a major industrial cluster, with strengths in the exportation of resources, engineering, construction and manufacturing (Gladstone Ports Corporation Limited, 2011; Gladstone Area Promotion and Development Limited [GAPDL], 2010). Most recently, Gladstone has had strong investment in the LNG industry as it seeks to establish itself as a hub for processing and exportation. The rapid implementation of several LNG projects has stimulated significant population growth. In 2013 the Gladstone Region reached a population of 63,955, up from 47,860 in 2003. LNG has also altered the region's economic structure towards being more reliant on the resources sector. Continued development and investment in the LNG industry is expected to maintain Gladstone's strong industrial growth.

With the ever increasing dominance of the resources sector in Gladstone, there is concern that its rapid growth may be hindering other industries. For example, it has been suggested that with the increased economic focus on the resources sector activity, there may be a decline in the region's agricultural production (Grudnoff, 2012). Traditionally Gladstone harbour has supported a thriving fishing industry, but recent dredging of the harbour and increased exporting activities has raised concerns over the health of marine life near Gladstone (Department of Environment & Heritage Protection, 2013; The Economist, 2012).

There is also evidence that tourism in Gladstone is struggling. For instance, there has been a decline in visitors to the region, from a peak of around 460,000 overnight visitors in the year ending June 2003 to an average of 368,000 overnight visitors per year between 2009 and 2012 (GAPDL, 2010; Tourism and Events Queensland [TEQ], 2014). Further, while most industries (particularly professional, business and technical services and mining) had growth in employment of local residents in the 10 years to 2006, accommodation, cafes and food services and transport, postal and warehousing employment declined (GAPDL, 2010).

Despite such issues, Gladstone is promoted as a region that has been successful in managing the coexistence of diverse industries (Pattison-Sowden, 2013). This may be true, as the Gladstone region remains underpinned by agriculture, which produces more than \$25 million worth of beef, horticulture and crops each year (AgForce Queensland, 2010; GAPDL, 2010). In addition, the region's small, but dynamic tourism sector was reported to be worth \$270 million to the region in the year ending June 2010. Gladstone is a gateway to the World Heritage Listed Great Barrier Reef (GBR) being located on the southern tip of the Reef with direct access to a number of GBR Islands, such as Heron Island. Its central coastal location makes Gladstone an attractive destination for many domestic leisure visitors who seek direct

access to some of the best known dive sites, as well as the most northern surf beaches on the east coast of Australia (Tourism & Events Queensland, 2009; TEQ & GAPDL, 2012). Gladstone's unique and diversified industrial base also attracts a lucrative business market, as well as a substantial number of fly-in fly-out (FIFO) employees to service the resources sector. Consequently, recent tourism development has been predominantly focused on catering for business clientele, with a number of accommodation providers changing their services to cater for long-stay workers (GAPDL & TEQ, 2014; Pham et al., 2013).

3.2. Roma

Located in South West Queensland in the Maranoa region, Roma is a rural town approximately 515 kilometres west of Brisbane. For a rural area, Roma has a reasonably diverse economy, with its economic base being built on the resources sector, agriculture and tourism. In 2008, the former Councils of Bungil, Bendemere, Booringa, Warroo and Roma Town were amalgamated, forming the Maranoa Regional Council (Maranoa Regional Council, 2014). Since the amalgamation, the Maranoa region has recently undergone a massive expansion in its coal seam gas (CSG) industry, which has driven local economic development (Maranoa Regional Council, 2014). Conversely, while tourism has previously been a pillar of the economy, more recently it has been struggling.

Roma is considered to be the Maranoa region's key centre, acting as a hub for primary industry. Roma has a long history with agriculture, with it originally being settled for its potential for livestock grazing. Today, Roma has a strong agricultural industry with beef, grain and wool being core commodities. It is home to the largest cattle saleyards in Australia, which sells over 400,000 cattle each year (Maranoa Regional Council, 2009). Agriculture, represents some 51% of businesses in Roma's economy, compared with just 17% in Gladstone. Yet agriculture represents a far lower proportion of employment and economic value; approximately a quarter of employment and a quarter of GDP (Maranoa Regional Council, 2009). Regardless, agriculture represents the majority of businesses in the region and the sector delivers \$225.0 million to the regions GDP.

Mining, on the other hand, contributes \$240.6 million to GDP, which is the industry with the highest economic value in the region (Maranoa Regional Council, 2009). Roma was the first site at which gas and oil were discovered in Australia and as a result is widely regarded as the cradle of Australia's oil and gas industry (Maranoa Regional Council, 2009). The first gas field was discovered in 1900 when a team drilling for water struck natural gas. As more reserves were discovered, the gas industry near Roma expanded (Maranoa Regional Council, 2014). However, sustained gas production did not begin until the 1960s which represented Australia's first commercial gas project. Since then, the resources sector, particularly gas and oil, has underpinned Roma's economy.

The recent LNG projects have significantly stimulated the region's economy, which has resulted in a rapid increase in population. Mining in the Maranoa shire consists of more than seventy small to medium gas fields and several small oil fields, as well as being inextricably connected to projects in neighbouring towns (Maranoa Regional Council, 2014). The Maranoa region is undergoing massive expansion in CSG exploration and mining, with thousands of CSG wells to be drilled in the region in the next 20 years. In the five years to

2007/08, the mining sector recorded an average annual growth rate of 22.3% per annum, with mining industry employment and economic value doubling (Maranoa Regional Council, 2009).

In addition to agriculture and resources, Roma also has a latent tourism sector that has been identified as a “key growth industry” for Roma (Roma Tourism Association, 2010). In 2006, tourism was estimated to have employed 700 people and contributed \$14.8 million directly to the Roma region's economy, which was a decline from \$18.8 million in 2005 (The Western Downs Regional Development Corporation, cited in Maranoa Regional Council, 2009). Roma's geographical and cultural characteristics, such as being within close proximity to Carnarvon Gorge in the Carnarvon National Park, offer the basis for a sustained tourism industry. Anecdotal evidence indicates that almost 30% of enquires to the visitor information centre is in regards to the Carnarvon Gorge (Maranoa Regional Council, 2009). Industrial tourism attractions are also evident, including The Big Rig (an Oil and Gas Museum), and the Roma Saleyards. The Big Rig Interpretative Centre presents the history of the oil drilling and exploration to visitors (Roma Tourism Association, 2010).

Domestic tourists are the main visitors to Roma, particularly the ‘grey nomads’ who are retirees passing through on their caravan tour of Australia (Economic Development Committee, 2011). However, there is a small international backpacker market and a growing business tourism segment. Domestic tourists mainly originate from surrounding regions, with cars being the main form of transportation to the region due to its close proximity to two major highways. However, recent growth in the resources sector has led to upgrades for Roma's airport, a facility that can now be increasingly used by the tourism industry with commercial freight and charter flights using the facility. Flights also operate daily between Brisbane and Charleville, enhancing Roma's accessibility. This has increased the number of visitors originating from other Australian regions, particularly business tourists.

4. Method

This research undertook semi-structured in-depth interviews with residents and key stakeholders in the Gladstone and Roma regions between July and December 2013. Participants from the regions were recruited through a two tiered approach. Initially random sampling of the White Pages Residential Directory was used to identify local residents and obtain their phone numbers. Whether a respondent was a local resident was determined by whether they lived in either the Maranoa Region or the Gladstone Region as defined by local government areas in the Australian Statistical Geography Standard (ASGS) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012). In total 200 contact details were collected for Roma and 250 for Gladstone. Approximately 15% of people contacted in Roma and 13% of people contacted in Gladstone answered their phones when the contact numbers were dialled during the late afternoon and early evening period of the day. Of those contacted, 90% of the Roma respondents and 84% of the Gladstone respondents agreed to participate in the research and completed the interview over the phone.

Key stakeholders of the region, particularly those involved in either the tourism or resources sector were identified for face-to-face interviews through snowball and purposive sampling. Approximately 14 key stakeholders in the Roma region were contacted, with 13 agreeing to participate in the research and completing the interview face-to-face with the researcher (a 93% response rate). In Gladstone, 17 key stakeholders were contacted, with 11 agreeing to participate in the research and completing the interview face-to-face with the researcher (a 65% response rate). In total, 40 interviews were achieved in Roma, with 27 being residents and 13 being key stakeholders. A further, 38 interviews were achieved in Gladstone with 27 being residents and 11 being key stakeholders.

The interviews were structured around six key topics: demographics, resident place attachment, the historical development of the region, perceptions of tourism, perceptions of the resources sector and the points of conflict and synergy between the two industries. Place attachment was elicited through four questions surrounding why the respondents chose to live in the region, what they valued most about the region, what they felt made the region unique from other regions and what places in the region were particularly special for them. Residents in each of the regions were also asked a series of questions relating to their perceptions of the resources sector, of tourism and of the changes the regions and industries had undergone. This block of questions were coded together by respondent (that is, if the respondent mentioned the value once, it was only code once) to elicit regional values and perceptions of development/impacts.

Both residents and key stakeholders were asked very similar questions; however the key stakeholder interview transcript also probed into more operational aspects of co-existence between the two industries. Interviewing continued until a point of saturation was reached, at which point the interviews were coded for emergent themes using open, axial and selective coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). In addition, to the thematic analysis a spreadsheet was designed to collect descriptive statistics related to each of the core themes which emerged from the data. Finally, pseudonyms were developed to preserve the anonymity of research participants, and will be used throughout the presentation of the results.

5. The impacts on tourism from mining transformation

5.1. Institutional shifts

Respondents in both Roma and Gladstone recognised the regions have had a long association with the resources sector but they highlighted that the regions are currently in a boom period as a result of the recent LNG developments. Respondents generally felt that the resources sector was a unique and valuable source of economic development for their region, although they recognised that this growth was not stable or sustainable due to the “*boom and bust*” [Glad_Stake_10] and “*up and down*” [Roma_Stake_13] nature of the sector. When considering tourism, respondents generally viewed the sector positively. Most believed it plays an important role within the regions’ economies as a diversification strategy that could generate economic development and offset declines in other sectors, particularly the resources sector.

In both regions respondents described a deliberate institutional shift towards the resources sector and, in Roma respondents also described a recent move away from tourism. In Gladstone, the strong policy shift towards the resources sector had occurred in previous resources sector booms, rather than the current boom, whereas Roma’s shift had occurred with the recent LNG boom. As a result, respondents in Roma often had stronger opinions and more to say about the institutional shift and economic transformation towards the resources sector as the changes were more recognisable and front of mind.

5.1.1. Roma

Roma respondents identified that “*Roma always has been a centre piece of the gas activity*” [Roma_Stake_2], but they were able to clearly describe a structural change that had occurred within the region’s economy since the start of the movement into CSG. As one Roma Stakeholder highlighted “*...the town has really come a long way in the last five years as far as the CSG industry and its ancillaries go ...*” [Roma_Stake_10]. However, while respondents noted that the resources sector had been developing rapidly, they described a decline in tourism: “*Before the gas took off, they were right into tourism and The Big Rig*” [Roma_Res_22]. Indeed, given the focus on the resources sector, some Roma respondents were “*surprised tourism is as strong as it still is...*” [Roma_Stake_10]. Respondents attributed this apparent decline in tourism to a deliberate shift in policy focus by the regional council during the 2008 regional council amalgamation process:

“Prior to the amalgamation the Roma Town Council saw the need for tourism and that’s when the Big Rig came into being, the Big Rig Museum for the oil and gas industry. They employed a very experienced tourism manager and he got tourism up and running here and after amalgamation there was a little bit of a change, I guess the Council feeling its way and not sure where tourism was heading.”
[Roma_Stake_13]

As one Roma stakeholder explained, this shift in policy focus resulted in a loss of tourism skills and advocacy from the region:

"A lot of people left, we lost a lot of skills. Then their focus on tourism was not strong because they didn't understand it – a lot of the local councillors don't understand the benefits and the value of it, so it just lost its momentum ... and they totally restructured tourism and they got rid of the tourism coordinator..."

[Roma_Stake_12]

The deliberate policy shift away from tourism towards the resources sector resulted in a structural change in the economy. This structural change then reinforced the institutional shift resulting in the attention of Council becoming even more focused on the resources sector to the detriment of tourism. As a result, one stakeholder lamented: *"...we seem to have lost the tourists... the town was so flat out looking after the resources boom, we forgot about the grey nomads and the tourists..."*

[Roma_Stake_9]. Consequently, some respondents felt that the institutional shift away from tourism towards mining had been a mistake: *"This amalgamation of councils has been a bit of a disaster... It's quite simple: get rid of the mining"* [Roma_Stake_4].

While many Roma residents recognised that *"tourism is very important financially to the town..."* [Roma_Res_3], a number of stakeholders indicated that *"some businesses don't really realise how tourism impacts a town"* [Roma_Stake_13]. In addition, respondents attributed the decline in tourism funding during the amalgamation to difficulty with *"...quantifying the economic benefits from the tourism industry"* [Roma_Stake_5]. Stakeholders indicated that this was because the financial benefits are often embedded within other sectors and not easily identifiable, along with an apparent decline in the sector since the resources sector boom. In addition, there was limited understanding among residents and stakeholders surrounding what actually constitutes tourism activity, with many respondents being unclear if business and events was tourism related. A number of respondents did not perceive business travel associated with the mining boom as being tourism related. Once this was factored in, respondents were able to recognise the substantial contribution of tourism.

Respondents in Roma recognised that the resources sector boom may be coming to an end and that tourism could potentially fill the economic void that would be created if mining companies withdrew: *"There'll be a big push for tourism over the next couple of years as the construction phase of mining decreases..."* [Roma_Stake_5]. Indeed, Roma stakeholders indicated that there was already a renewed government focus on tourism, particularly centred on leveraging the strengths of the resources sector by developing industrial tourism attractions. In addition, stakeholders recognised that facilities that were being developed for the resources sector, such as the airport expansion, could also benefit tourism by increasing visitation. Further, many events in the region such as the Food and Fire Festival are sponsored and promoted by the resources sector companies. Some Roma respondents believed that tourism would be there for Roma *"to fall back on"* when the resources sector declined: *"...unlike Murrumba, Wandoan and other places, which will probably be ghost towns after the boom, at least Roma has something to fall back on"* [Roma_Stake_5].

All the same, Roma stakeholders recognised that tourism wasn't currently a core focus of the region and that there was a need to develop the sector: *"I don't think we're embracing that enough and we have got plans to improve the Big Rig."*

[Roma_Stake_9]. Residents' expressed concern that once the resources sector boom slowed, the region would struggle economically because tourism had been allowed to

decline. Indeed, it was indicated that there is *“a lot fear amongst residents that once the oil and gas winds up then we will have lost an industry that was quite a healthy industry to begin with and that that industry has, in a lot of ways, died and gone.”* [Roma_Res_23]. Residents’ indicated that the Council was beginning to recognise the need to focus on tourism, but some did not feel this was a suitable strategy as the tourism sector had declined in the region: *“Our Mayor seems to think that tourism’s the saviour again, but the tourists don’t pull up”* [Roma_Res_1]. However, most respondents acknowledged that it was important for Roma to build its tourism industry but it would be a difficult process due to a lack of tourism product and natural beauty. Nonetheless, respondents felt it would be important to develop the tourism sector once the resources boom slowed, which many portrayed as being inevitable.

One stakeholder indicated that to rejuvenate tourism in Roma there would be a need to target different tourist markets beyond the grey nomads, such as international visitors. However the stakeholder indicated that it would be difficult to develop such target markets: *“you’d have to go softly, softly... and you’d have to be fairly focussed on it for something fairly special to happen”* [Roma_Stake_8]. Yet respondents highlighted that there was currently not a clear strategy for tourism, with Council currently considering if *“it’s better for us to promote to the eastern seaboard area or whether we go for the outback tourism area and promote the people on their way through”* [Roma_Stake_9]. Ultimately, stakeholders indicated a need for strategic focus, creativity and investment in the tourism industry in order for it to rejuvenate.

5.1.2. Gladstone

Many Gladstone respondents struggled to identify a structural economic change towards the resources sector. This was primarily because the resources sector had been the core strength for the region for many years, with the structural change towards the resources sector in Gladstone having occurred during a previous boom period. Regardless, some long-term residents were able to describe the resources sector transformation of Gladstone as having occurred in the City’s past. In addition, many could identify additional crowding out of sectors such as tourism, since the advent of the LNG projects, which further strengthened the region as a resources sector hub. As the structural shift towards the resources sector had occurred many years ago, most respondents had not witnessed the full extent of the significant change that had occurred in the region, thus did not comment on the change. In addition, Gladstone is a processing and export point, rather than a region in which mining extraction occurs. Consequently, Gladstone respondents were less directly impacted by mining and more often connected with, and gaining an economic benefit from, the resources sector; thus they generally had a positive perception of the sector. Nonetheless, there were several strong opponents to the resources sector activity, particularly Curtis Island residents who were being directly impacted by the construction of the LNG refineries on their island.

Those Gladstone respondents who were able to identify that there had been a structural shift away from tourism within the region, recognised that this had occurred many years previously. The shift towards the resources sector had forced the town to change and adapt. As one long-term Gladstone resident discussed, the resources sector had had an impact on the tourism sector over time:

"Mining has changed tourism. Gladstone was basically tourism when I was growing up - fishing and tourism were the main industries in this town. Basically the mining has pushed it out and ruined our fishing industry and ruined our meatworks, ruined our grain exports and ruined our butter exports. It's just gone and ruined all the good, clean economy we had." [Glad_Res_21]

Gladstone respondents recognised that the region had undergone major economic transformation and as a result of a population explosion, the community was changing. One long-term resident pointed out the extent of the population growth since the initial industrial development began in the region: *"From when I was a kid in the early '50s, there were 3,000 people in Gladstone – we've now got about 68 to 70 thousand or something"* [Glad_Res_21].

As a result of the structural change occurring many years prior, most residents were unaware of the regions early tourism sector and often thought the region had nothing to offer visitors. As one Gladstone resident indicated: *"...it's not like we have much to see really unless you were working"* [Glad_Res_13] and a Gladstone stakeholder reinforced this sentiment: *"Gladstone has never been a strong tourist town, because of the fact that it's an industrial city"* [Glad_Stake_5]. Residents struggled to see the tourism product available in the regions: *"There's nothing here for tourists. There really isn't..."* [Glad_Res_5] with many respondents attributing this to the region being *"an industrial place"* [Glad_Res_10]. Regardless, Gladstone residents tended to support an increase in tourism and indicated that greater attention needed to be given to the sector: *"Oh I reckon we could do with a bit more tourism in the area"* [Glad_Res_18].

In addition Gladstone stakeholders identified that the shift towards the resources sector had created procedures for coping with future adaptations towards the resources sector and had forced an institutional lock-in towards the sector:

"Gladstone was originally reliant on meatworks and a butter factory, and then the meatworks shut down. QAL's coming started a new era, but there were difficult times as the town adapted. It provided the impetus for EIS/IAS procedures for coping with future similar situations. QAL's coming showed that Gladstone had potential for the establishment of other industries and these have followed..." [Glad_Stake_3]

5.2. Impacts and conflict of structural lock-in

The interviews elicited points of conflict between tourism and the resources sector. One key theme that was identified in both of the regions was that the two industries cannot exist together: *"You can't mix the two"* [Glad_Res_11] and *"You're trying to draw two extremes together, aren't you?"* [Roma_Res_1]. In Roma many respondents were able to identify a number of areas of conflict that was occurring between the two sectors, however, there were a few respondents who found it hard to identify ways in which the two sectors were interacting. As one Roma resident stated *"I wouldn't have really seen them as having much impact on each other... you're looking at totally separate, different groups of people..."* [Roma_Res_3]. Similarly a Roma stakeholder indicated: *"they're not really impacting on each other to a great extent at all"* [Roma_Stake_5]. In Gladstone, however, respondents

were able to clearly identify that the resources sector was negatively impacting on tourism and generally believed that these two sectors could not exist together: *"I don't believe tourism is working here with the gas. I think up until July, we'd lost 90 small businesses in this town and it's supposed to be a boom town"* [Glad_Stake_4].

5.2.1. Two speed economy

Respondents from both regions identified that a key source of conflict between the two sectors was the disparity between the sectors in terms of economic value and staff remunerations. The resources sector was viewed as a wealthy, and sometimes overpowering, industry. In Roma, respondents identified that the imbalance between the two sectors had reduced the tourism industry's ability to attract and retain staff as the wages offered by the resources sector were too lucrative: *"People all just go with them because they're worth so much money. I don't blame them for going but it's not fair to the whole town"* [Roma_Res_23]. The shift towards the resources sector was also impacting staff working in tourism, who were *"being forced out because they couldn't afford the rents, unless they actually owned the house"* [Roma_Stake_5]. Further, the rising costs in the region as a result of the resources sector boom had reduced visitation: *"...the cost of fuel has stopped a lot of the tourism"* [Roma_Res_26].

The rising costs were not only impacting individuals, but also tourism businesses by reducing their profitability:

"...we're not seeing a doubling of income, whereas I know the cost of our wages in the last three years has doubled. Plus rates, plus land tax. The biggest impact has just been cost." [Roma_Stake_6].

As a result a number of tourism businesses had closed down: *"...it's bad – like in the last couple of months we've seen at least two businesses shut down in town due to high rents and high wages"* [Roma_Stake_6]. However, these closures would often leave tourism operators displaced, without a source of income: *"We had a small business in town that closed because of mining and the gas. First they took the workers, then they cranked all the rental prices... When we tried to get a job in the gas, we were told we're too old..."* [Roma_Res_22]. Consequently, respondents often viewed the profitability of the tourism sector as inferior to the resources sector: *"...we'll never be able to make money out of tourism that mining can make out of the land"* [Roma_Res_7].

Conversely, in Gladstone some respondents were sceptical about the resources sector's economic contribution to Gladstone due to the crowding out of other local businesses. As one respondent indicated, *"Now I know the LNG industry love to pull out figures and they create thousands and thousands of jobs. But what they don't tell you is that they actually take jobs away from small business and other people. They're not really creating jobs"* [Glad_Stake_4]. This perception extended to a loss of local jobs, as fly-in-fly-out workers make up a large proportion of the industry's employment within the region:

"The locals are not too happy because obviously the fly-in fly-out people are earning big bucks and the locals are working in supermarkets, stores and cafes and they're only getting a fraction of what these fly in fly outs are getting. I can understand how frustrated they are." [Glad_Res_2]

The impact had been a loss of service sector staff, as well as key professional staff such as police, teachers and healthcare workers:

"You can see a really big gap around housing affordability... people in the service sector are not able to afford to live in it." [Glad_Stake_8]

In Gladstone stakeholders recognised that the wealth of the resources sector was impacting on the tourism sector. As one respondent described: *"... it's the inequality in the wages... When you've got two totally different levels of pay rates, it makes it hard."* [Glad_Stake_5]. Some residents and stakeholders identified that the resources sector has had a significant negative impact on other local businesses particularly in terms of staff attraction and retention. Many local businesses were struggling to compete for qualified staff due to wage disparities, as highlighted in the following excerpt:

"A lot of the local small businesses have been just raped by the industry, because all their qualified staff can earn two to three times the amount of dough if they go and work for the big guys." [Glad_Stake_11]

The increased costs in Gladstone associated with the resources sector boom had also resulted in many retail and service sector businesses closing down and indirectly losing what would be an attraction for tourists:

"I don't know what it is, but the town just hasn't developed. It doesn't have a proper CBD, and Goondoon Street, which should be the heart and soul of Gladstone is just a skeleton. The retail's gone from it." [Glad_Stake_11]

Respondents also indicated that rising costs associated with the boom had stopped the Grey Nomads' visiting the region: *"We had a good Grey Nomad tourism industry going here... I don't think that's here anymore because it was so expensive."* [Glad_Stake_4]. Indeed, one Gladstone stakeholder indicated that *"...the town is now very expensive to live in and visitors often comment on this"* [Glad_Stake_2].

5.2.2. Accommodation

One area in which Roma has become "locked-in" to the resources sector was in terms of accommodation. The lack of affordable accommodation due to the resources sector monopolisation and the increased prices, were having a significant impact on leisure tourists and restricting visitation. The result was that many leisure visitors now avoid or drive straight through the town: *"...people tend to go through Roma now rather than stay..."* [Roma_Res_24]. Another resident indicated: *"...I don't think there'd be any accommodation because the oil and gas just take over the caravan parks and motels"* [Roma_Res_5].

In addition, the accommodation providers had adapted their facilities to cater for the resources sector employees, rather than leisure visitors. One Roma stakeholder stated that the changes in the accommodation sector were *"pretty much a direct result of CSG"* [Roma_Stake_10]. It was indicated that the caravan parks had *"got rid of their caravan spaces to put in mining accommodation..."* [Roma_Stake_4]. Discussing the impact of the changing accommodation sector, one Roma resident highlighted that there were increasing *"complaints from the caravanners who used to always come out here... They can't access*

the caravan parks like they could because the caravan parks have had a splurge to build dongas for the miners” [Roma_Res_12].

Respondents noted that to capitalise on the sector, many accommodation providers now marketed to miners and had even changed the type of accommodation provided to better suit the more lucrative market. As one stakeholder discussed:

“For the last five or six years the motels in particular have been going gangbuster. They’ve built more of them and they’ve provided better and better services or upmarket services which are just totally alien to what we used to have here in Roma, they’re magnificent motels and restaurants...” [Roma_Stake_2]

The impact of accommodation providers shifting their product towards the resources sector rather than catering to the traditional tourists had resulted in impacts on other tourism related businesses, resulting in the closure of a number of tourism products such as the local winery.

Similarly, a key source of conflict between the two sectors in Roma was over the availability of accommodation: *“...tourists can’t get anywhere to stay because all the miners have booked everywhere out” [Roma_Res_10].* As a result the region was being bypassed by potential visitors due to the resources sector activity: *“If people wanted to stay in motels and caravan parks they would have to bypass the town because it just isn’t there” [Roma_Res_5].* Consequently, respondents identified that the lack of available affordable accommodation for visitors had resulted in a number of tourism businesses closing down or have reduced visitation: *“The Big Rig was a tourism puller, and it still does pull tourism. People do stop to see it, but they can’t stay... because no one can afford to come out here and stay in the motels” [Roma_Res_22].*

Likewise, the conflict between the two industries in Gladstone was particularly evident when it came to a lack of affordable accommodation and the rising cost of living associated with the boom. Accommodation availability was recognised as having a significant impact on the tourism sector, as there is limited affordable accommodation available for tourists visiting the region. As one respondent pointed out *“Tourism’s half died in town because of the lack of accommodation. A couple of caravan parks have turned into just cabins” [Glad_Res_8].* Similar to Roma, another resident also identified the reduced availability of accommodation and higher prices in the region had resulted in visitors bypassing the region:

“The fact that the mining has come here in such a big way now, it’s sort of people bypass us now because of the cost of accommodation and that here. We don’t have a caravan park. Well, we have one, but it’s always full.” [Glad_Res_23]

Indeed, one Gladstone stakeholder indicated that previous leisure based caravan parks had restructured their business to capitalise on the resources sector related business traveller market. This respondent noted that this had impacted the leisure market:

“The caravan parks - a couple of them have turned them into just cabins. It’s only really one caravan park in Gladstone that you can get a caravan site at, so the tourists tend to miss Gladstone a lot... They’ll camp out of town and perhaps come in for the day” [Glad_Res_8]

5.2.3. Impact on infrastructure and support services

Respondents often discussed the impact of the resources boom on infrastructure and support services also used by the tourism industry. Respondents highlighted that the increase in mining and subsequent population growth had strained the regions infrastructure: *“The detriment of mining and the development of coal seam gas in the region has been the stress on infrastructure...”* [Roma_Res_2]. Roma residents also indicated that the impact had been on services often used by tourists, such as local supermarkets and healthcare. Several respondents highlighted the impact on waste and sewerage services due to the rising population in the region associated with the boom: *“Our sewerage works and our rubbish tips are 300 per cent over capacity* [Roma_Stake_6]. In addition, respondents also noted that traditional tourist services were changing due to the increasing needs of the resources sector:

“The Information Centre has certainly changed as well with the oil and gas here, lately it's getting more workers in... that's changed the face of the Information Centre a little as well.” [Roma_Stake_13]

Roma stakeholders attributed the impact on facilities and services as being a result of poor government planning for the resources sector boom: *“The level of growth has been exponential to the point where local government as a planning body, has been playing catch up”* [Roma_Stake_5]. The leisure tourist market was not valued by some stakeholders as it was seen as increasing *“pressure on infrastructure and services”* [Roma_Stake_11], which were already strained by the resources sector and associated population growth.

Perhaps the key infrastructure impact was on the road infrastructure, with several respondents commenting on how increased traffic (particularly trucks) had led to increased time delays, road accidents, and a deterioration of the roads and associated facilities: *“The roads have deteriorated a lot because of all the increased heavy traffic. There's a lot more traffic on the road, more traffic accidents and incidents.”* [Roma_Res_5]. Respondents noted that the increased traffic created additional negative impacts for the region including more noise, congestion and greater safety risks for road users, which included tourists: *“...the grey nomads are a bit more stressed driving backwards and forwards”* [Roma_Stake_4]. As many Roma tourists are ‘grey nomads’ travelling to the region with caravans, the poor road conditions, conjoined with heavy traffic, were believed to be deterring tourists from visiting the region. Indeed, some respondents felt the impact on the roads was the main source of direct conflict between the two sectors: *“To be honest I only see the conflict on the roads, the big trucks and the ‘fluoro touros’ out on the road battling the grey nomads with their caravans”* [Roma_Stake_2]. To resolve the deteriorating roads, the Council had been investing in road maintenance, but it was recognised that *“we're having trouble keeping up with the problems of the roads”* [Roma_Stake_9].

As with Roma, Gladstone respondents also felt that infrastructure development had not kept pace with population growth: *“I don't think that services have really kept up...”* [Glad_Res_6]. Respondents indicated that not enough new retail and services had been developed and those that were available had deteriorated. This was indirectly impacting on tourism as there are a lack of services and attractions to appeal to and service potential tourists. Generally, respondents attributed this to a lack of planning for the influx of people as a result of the

resources boom: *"I don't think they planned ahead properly for the amount of work that's going on at the present stage..."* [Glad_Res_10].

5.2.4. Impact on tourism products and promotion

A key source of conflict identified in the Roma region related to the resources sector's sponsorship of tourism events. Respondents identified that this had impacted local cultural events which had to be modified to suit the resources sectors demands. It also impacted their viability when the resources sector companies pull their funding at the last minute. A Roma stakeholder suggested that sponsorship was often driven by selfish motives, *"They do tend to throw a few dollars at token events, but it's also with their own best interests"* [Roma_Stake_4]. Another stakeholder described the impact the resources sector's sponsorship was having on these events:

"At Easter in the Country last year, Origin in the last minute, a few weeks out, pulled all their sponsorship because of the rodeo, so they forced – the traditional goat races that they have here, they influenced with sponsorship to have that removed for the animal... well, supposed animal cruelty. Then at the last minute, they pulled all their sponsorship again because of the rodeo. So they pulled it from Easter in the Country, but the rodeo runs separately..." [Roma_Stake_4]

Respondents noted a number of other potential inhibitors to the development of tourism in Roma, including a lack of viable tourism products: *"there's really no tourist attractions"* [Roma_Res_2]. In addition, it was noted that tourism products were declining: *"We need products... like the winery's now gone, Queensland's oldest winery..."* [Roma_Stake_11]. Roma respondents also indicated that the resources sector had impacted the aesthetics and attractiveness of the region, due to increased waste and noise pollution: *"...there's litter everywhere, Macca's papers thrown out of the mining vehicles and God knows what."* [Roma_Res_12] and, *"We don't live that far from the airport and the noise and the sound and stuff that's changed over the last umpteen years is pretty incredible"* [Roma_Stake_8]. In addition, respondents felt the resources sector had impacted the tourism product in the region and as a result, many Roma respondents did not think the region had much to offer visitors as a tourism destination. Although respondents did recognise that there was a need for better promotion of tourism activities, events and attractions: *"... it needs to be promoted and expanded I suppose wherever it can be to keep those people coming"* [Roma_Stake_6].

Gladstone respondents noted similar impacts on tourism stemming from the resources sector to those that were identified in Roma. The aesthetics of the region were a significant source of conflict impacting on tourism. Gladstone respondents felt that the resources sector was potentially degrading the tourism product by destroying the region's natural assets and impacting on the aesthetics and presentation of the region and its tourism products. As one resident noted, *"you can see all the destruction to the mangroves and that where they're building the LNG plants"* [Glad_Res_6]. The resources sector's impact on regional aesthetic was emphasised by a number of Gladstone respondents. As one Gladstone stakeholder stated: *"The beautiful places here are all now out of Gladstone.... If you take away the fun and the beauty that tourism needs to attract people, you edge away your tourism market..."*

Gladstone is a very dusty dirty city now... You only have to look at the reef here that was perfect... it's becoming too industrial to be a really top tourist attraction that it used to be [Glad_Stake_4]. This was supported by a Gladstone resident: *"...it's not really good when people fly in and the flight path is straight over the QAL red mud dam. That's not a very pretty thing to see. I don't think things like that look very good for tourism"* [Glad_Res_6]. Gladstone resident also noted how the resources sector had impacted the presentation of the City: *"...Gladstone won the Tidy Town, a few years back now, a few times.... but industry has sort of over-packed it now"* [Glad_Res_14]. Despite these strong arguments, there was some denial by one Gladstone tourism associated stakeholder that the resources sector was impacting the aesthetics of the region:

"There's that perceived idea of the industry and people not wanting to come here because they think it's stinky, and it's gross, and it's dirty, and it's this and that. There's also a perception that people that live in the region are giving out..."
[Glad_Stake_7]

Roma also noted resources sector sponsorship to be a dominant source of conflict and a significant impact on the tourism industry. While issues surrounding sponsorship were not as apparent in Gladstone as they were in Roma, some respondents still did not feel as if they were able to trust the underlying reasons why the resources sector choose to sponsor certain things within the region: *"...it's just the gas plants will give little bits and pieces of donations to pacify different groups around the town. It's all just to keep them quiet"* [Glad_Stake_21].

In Gladstone there were also several points of conflict between the two sectors identified that were not apparent in the Roma region. In particular, respondents identified that the resources sector restricted the accessibility of visitors to tourism products. As one Gladstone respondent mentioned the restrictions that had been placed on tourists' access to certain areas of the region: *"Curtis Island is starting to get closed down because of the gas, which is an island that a lot of people used to go over to"* [Glad_Res_3]. A Gladstone stakeholder further elaborated on this impact: *"In the future after all the disruption is finished, they'll probably settle down and it may be okay. But the Federal Government policy with the access to wharves and security and that, won't allow people to go near their areas to fish. You're not supposed to go within one kilometre of their structures and whatever. So that narrows it down – tourism can't even have a look-in anyhow"* [Glad_Stake_2].

In addition, Gladstone respondents described how the resources sector activity restricted and undermined the tourism sectors ability to remain viable. For example respondents described how the coal dust resulted in health issues, corrosion of infrastructure and unpresentable tourism businesses that detract from the appeal of the region for visitors. For example, one resident indicated *"...the coal dust creates a lot of hassle for people... it's over all their ships ... It's not good. Miners die from it, so they'll probably die from it too"* [Glad_Res_21]. However, residents indicated that they were also concerned about the potential unknown impacts of the LNG projects: *"Coal has been around for a long time and they know all about it. The gas, I'm not quite sure"* [Glad_Res_4]. Many described the negative imaging of the region over the recent resources sector boom and commented that it would not be favourable for the tourism industry as it would possibly discourage leisure visitors. Similar to Roma, Gladstone respondents highlighted that tourism was poorly

promoted: *"I don't think it's promoted enough. It's not promoted and people don't even know what Gladstone offers"* [Glad_Res_9].

Furthermore, the environmental impacts of the resources sector activities on the harbour from dredging were highlighted, including a potential decline in the number and health of local marine life. As one Gladstone stakeholder indicated: *"Now I'm not a scientist but I've got eyes and I know that our harbour is not the same harbour that it was four years ago"* [Glad_Stake_4]. One resident indicated: *"We used to go down and watch the dolphins and everything, well not even that's in the harbour no more..."* [Glad_Res_24]. Another resident was adamant that the resources sector had 'destroyed' the Gladstone harbour and impacted the local fishing industry: *"...They've destroyed the Gladstone Harbour here...very seldom can buy fresh fish here."* [Glad_Res_11]. Residents also noted the environmental damage occurring from export ships running aground: *"we've had two run aground here in Gladstone Harbour and one out on the Reef there. They fine them but it's too late, the damage that's spread is enormous"* [Glad_Res_12]. Respondents were very concerned about the potential for shipping to result in a catastrophe and dramatically impact the GBR.

6. Synergy and Strategies for Co-existence

6.1. Synergy

Several themes relating to existing synergies between the sectors could be identified. These themes focused around the resources sector's investment, the resources sector's economic and travel multipliers, and formal and informal partnerships.

6.1.1. Resources sector investment

In both regions the residents felt that the resources sector was: *"a necessary evil"* [Glad_Res_22] for the economic benefits the sector provides. In particular, respondents from Roma often felt that the resources sector companies had *"not been too bad with their sponsorship"* [Roma_Stake_13]. Many were able to identify resources sector investment in tourism products and events, including the industry tours, The Big Rig, the Food and Fire Festival, Easter in the Country, Roma races and football and cricket events. As one resident noted, *"...the gas companies put quite a bit of money into the town backing cultural happenings"* [Roma_Res_6]. Respondents recognised that these were important developments designed to show case the history of the region, provide a tourism product and could provide a lasting tourism legacy for the region: *"It's a good opportunity for people, for travellers to come here and instead of just looking around the town, they have the opportunity to actually get out and learn a bit about this industry..."* [Roma_Stake_2].

One Roma respondent also discussed the importance of the free industry tours available in the region as it provides an additional tourism product as well as information about the resources sector:

"Certainly a lot of them run their own tours in the area so there is information days and they're generally free for anybody who wants to go and have a look. They certainly run that and it's good for people to see because I think it opens up a few eyes although they'd only see certain aspects." [Roma_Stake_8]

Even so, the existence of industry tours was questioned by some residents as being nothing more than a public marketing exercise. All the same, stakeholders from the mining sector emphasised that tours were a genuine attempt to educate residents and tourists about the mining operations in each of the respective regions.

Besides the funding of tourism products, such as industry tours, the resources sector was also recognised as investing in other facilities in the region, which was also reported to directly and indirectly benefit the tourism sector. Perhaps the main infrastructure development that the Roma stakeholders pointed out as being contributed to by the resources sector was the airport expansion. Airport developments had improved accessibility to Roma by enabling larger planes to be landed in Roma and increased the airport's capacity from 50,000 to 250,000 passengers. The development and expansion of the Roma airport was funded in part by the resources sector in conjunction with government. A greater range of flights had improved the accessibility of Roma as a destination for tourists and presented an *"opportunity to use that airport to service the whole of the region for a different type of*

tourism" [Roma_Stake_2]. In this way, the resources sector has paved the way for the tourism industry to develop new products and markets, such as short stay visitors from capital cities and other regional centres. It was recognised that the airport is "*a fantastic piece of infrastructure for the future*" [Roma_Stake_5], which would allow the Roma region to attract new tourist markets: "*if there is a slackening off in the resource industry...*" [Roma_Stake_9].

Both stakeholders and residents recognised the benefits to Roma and the long term legacy of the airport expansion, with one respondent indicating that it is: "*important for access for us to go away to see our children...*" [Roma_Res_7]. This expansion resulted in a lot of residents having a more positive perspective of the resources sector: "*you've got a brand new airport there but, it's only happened because Origin and Santos threw in so much money for it to happen...*" [Roma_Res_1]. Buultjens et al. (2010) have also recognised this synergy between the two sectors, noting that the resources sector investment in the Weipa airport had benefited the tourism sector in the region.

The resources sector companies were also identified as investing significantly in the roads, both through financial investment as well as contributing to the building of new roads. Although this was primarily due to the resources sector recognising the impact it was having on the roads and local traffic conditions. Despite being attributed with causing degradation to the roads, the resources sector investment in the road infrastructure was also viewed as benefiting tourism by encouraging more tourists to use the roads: "*That's one way where mining is helping tourism, because if they fix the roads up, the tourists will be able to travel on it a bit better...*" [Roma_Res_11].

Besides the airport and roads, the resources sector was also improving other facilities that could be used by locals and visitors, such as libraries, educational facilities, leisure facilities and local art galleries. In addition, respondents also pointed out that the resources sector had invested in and contributed to community projects, especially during times of crisis and disaster: "*Santos and Fluor get behind the local community and helped out in the flood restoration areas, and road building, and accommodation and emergency accommodation*" [Roma_Stake_7]. However, it was recognised that to some extent this was an attempt at social marketing and public relations in order to manage locals and visitors perceptions of their operations.

Similarly, Gladstone respondents also identified investment and donations by the resources sector as beneficial to tourism. For example, the resources sector often sponsors events in Gladstone that attract visitors to the region: "*Earlier in the year the gas plant funded an outdoor modern opera in the Marina... that brought a lot of people in to have a look.*" [Glad_Stake_5]. Respondents recognised that the resources sector boom had resulted in additional infrastructure and services was also highly regarded by respondents as being beneficial to the community and attracting tourism: "*They're doing the town up – they're having pedestrian only areas...*" [Glad_Res_2] and "*we're finally getting a new shopping centre and there's a few more restaurants coming on board...*" [Glad_Stake_10]. In addition, respondents recognised the significant direct investment of the resources sector into regional facilities, such as the Gladstone Green Belt park and sporting facilities development, East Shores development, Spinnaker Park and the Marina development. As one stakeholder highlighted: "*They've put money back into the community. They're*

redeveloping the whole waterfront. They're spending something like \$40 or \$50 million to turn it into a public precinct..." [Glad_Stake_5].

Industrial tourism was another synergy between the two industries in Gladstone, similar to that of Roma. The resources sector invested in industrial tourism opportunities, such as the free industry tours, coffee cruises and the Harbour Festival which are regarded as critical local tourism attractions and activities. One stakeholder indicated that the free industry tours have *"helped the tourists out, in that they can get in and have a look. It's also helped the industry out by showing to the public what they are..."* [Glad_Stake_6]. In addition, another Gladstone stakeholder acknowledged that the resources sector has developed visitor information about the industry and was providing these for free as a way to improve the image of the resources sector: *"QAL have got a visitor's information centre and they encourage people to go there so they can tell their story"* [Glad_Stake_9].

6.1.2. Resources sector economic and travel multipliers

In Roma, a key synergy noted by the respondents was that many tourism businesses were capitalising on the increased number of visitors to the region associated with the resources sector boom, including the pubs, restaurants and accommodation providers. This had resulted in a greater variety of shops and food outlets now being available: *"The setting up of some of the retail groups like Subway, KFC, and McDonalds that probably in a small country town aren't going to be there. They've been set up on the back of the vibrancy."* [Roma_Stake_9]. This was also having a flow on impact for the economy. As one Roma Stakeholder pointed out:

"I know pubs do extremely well here, all the local pubs. A lot of the workers stay in the rooms here. They all eat and drink in whatever pub they stay at. So the workers directly are putting money back into the local economy, be it the innkeepers' back pocket, via accommodation, meals, drink." [Roma_Stake_7]

With the increased number of resources sector workers in the region, a new visitor market was identified as having emerged, which was the friends and relatives visiting the miners: *"... our families and friends coming up to see us and they are obviously tourists that the region wouldn't have had prior."* [Roma_Stake_11].

6.1.3. Formal and informal partnerships

In Gladstone, the local government and industry are attempting to bring the two sectors together with the establishment of formal and informal networks. As a tourism representative indicated *"We actually have partnerships with [the resources industry]... we have a close working relationship with those industrial organisations around the region"* [Glad_Stake_6]. Additionally, a respondent from the resources sector indicated that the two sectors were attempting to work together: *"there are a few non-formal connections. Heron Island, for example, always flicks deals through to the local industries"* [Glad_Stake_8]. In addition, some new Gladstone residents felt that the resources sector boom had helped increase the standards within the hospitality sector: *"Our hospitality industry has come ahead in leaps and bounds I personally think in the past three years"* [Glad_Stake_8].

6.2. Strategies for Improving Co-existence

In both Gladstone and Roma, respondents recognised that there was a need to ensure that tourism remained an integral part of the regions' economy as stakeholders recognised that *"once the construction is all finished, things are going to quieten down and there's got to still be some employment"* [Glad_Stake_5]. The importance of tourism to the regional economy was highlighted by one Gladstone stakeholder: *"Everything relies on tourism, whether they think that it does or not."* [Glad_Stake_7]. Consequently, respondents identified a number of strategies for tourism and the resources sector to work together in order to overcome structural lock-in and build more resilient regional economies.

6.2.1. Reduce the negative impacts

In Roma, one stakeholder suggested that the resources sector was limiting the growth of the tourism sector: *"Well there's an opportunity and the tourists are there, but it's the mining, oil and gas that aren't making the most of the opportunity and they're forcing the divide just because they think they're God's gift to the creation of everything..."* [Roma_Stake_4]. Roma residents identified that the town was becoming too industrial to be attractive to tourists, suggesting a need to improve the appeal of the region. It was noted by one respondent that there were some initiatives in place to try to improve the aesthetics of Roma: *"I've just got myself on a committee to try and beautify the town..."* [Roma_Res_21].

Respondents also noted that the resources sector was aiming to reduce their impacts on local accommodation by establishing out of town camps for their employees: *"it's been good for the motels and it's freeing up a bit of rental accommodation for the service sector..."* [Roma_Stake_5]. In addition new motels were being built to provide accommodation for tourists and miners. It was also noted that the council had opened the showgrounds up to caravanners in order to provide them with somewhere to stay and alleviate the accommodation issues. However, it was indicated that there was a need to improve access to accommodation for the important 'grey nomad' caravan tourist market: *"...our main supply of tourists is the grey nomads... so they might be able to work in by developing some camping areas for the caravanners..."* [Roma_Res_12]. Furthermore, it was suggested that offering free caravan access or camping sites similar to what is offered in nearby regions would also increase the competitiveness of the region's tourism industry, as *"Roma is pretty much the only place that doesn't have completely free caravan access"* [Roma_Stake_5]. In addition, one strategy proposed by respondents to overcome conflict over the road infrastructure was to encourage tourists along a tourist trail that was less utilised by the resources sector trucks.

In Gladstone, residents suggested that the resources sector should contribute to city beautification and aim to make their operations more aesthetically pleasing: *"as you're driving in, all you see is all this mining... some of these plants look bloody awful... They should hide them behind trees so that when you're driving in you get the feeling of you're coming to a nice place"* [Glad_Res_4]. In addition, the resources sector companies in Gladstone were attempting to alleviate the impact the sector was having on accommodation and tourism by setting up accommodation camps out of town: *"a lot of fly-in, fly-out workers live on Curtis Island now and they also have single-men camps out of town with a few thousand in each"* [Glad_Res_8].

Most Gladstone stakeholders believed that tourism would rebound following the slowing of the resources sector boom: *“Probably once things settle down with the gas industry and a lot of that construction stops and accommodation frees up a bit, I think it will pick up again. People will want to come and see all that”* [Glad_Stake_5]. Indeed, respondents within Gladstone viewed the co-existence of these two sectors to be a cyclical process, suggesting that when the boom slowed, tourism would pick up: *“Things are just coming down the other side of the peak, so I think it will be better to the future”* [Glad_Stake_9].

6.2.2. Improve the industrial tourism product

Roma respondents indicated a need to develop and improve the regions industrial tourism product and industry tours, particularly in terms of frequency and having knowledgeable tour guides explaining the resources sector activities: *“They’re doing a bit of work in the resource tourism space, but I think they can push them a bit better. They don’t happen very often...”* [Roma_Stake_5]. Several Roma respondents also indicated that there is a need for the resources sector to be more involved in tourism by providing more information about their operations. Respondents noted that many tourists were interested in learning about the resources sector and that there was a real opportunity to increase industrial tourism in the region. Several respondents suggested that the resources sector and tourism should work together to develop an industrial tourism product that could promote the positive aspects of the resources sector, thereby facilitating a greater understanding of their operations and impacts within the broader community.

One key strategy for co-existence between the two sectors identified by the Roma stakeholders was resources sector investment in the Big Rig rejuvenation project. As one Roma stakeholder pointed out:

“There’s a great opportunity there for the industry to actually get involved in the Big Rig for a start, update some of the facilities there and make an investment that’s going benefit tourism in the longer term” [Roma_Stake_2]

Several stakeholders pointed out the value for the resources sector in investing in the Big Rig as it would educate visitors about the sector and improve their profile in the broader community. In addition, the Big Rig rejuvenation project was considered by many respondents as a leveraging opportunity that would allow them to maximise their marketing dollar, as well as responsibly contribute to the region.

One respondent also emphasised a need for the oil and gas companies to have *“information available for people”* [Roma_Stake_12] about their activities as a lot of people would ask the information centre for details but they did not have any available information: *“a lot of people come to the information centres to really find out what the go is and what’s happening, what effect it has on communities and all that sort of thing”* [Roma_Stake_12]. In particular, this stakeholder noted there was a need for more visual information sources that provide details on the resources sector activities, as well as their positive and negative impacts on the community and environment. They also suggested that the resources sector could provide temporary exhibitions at the Big Rig that could show case particular projects or aspects of their activities. This respondent also noted that the resources sector was starting to become involved with the Big Rig by donating old machinery that could be used as exhibits at the museum

and along the roadside, but they noted that there was a need for the sector to continue to support the exhibit by ensuring the machinery is maintained as it is a significant financial burden on the local Council.

A number of suggestions were made for Gladstone's industry tours, in order to increase their appeal to tourists and ensure their availability. Stakeholders recognised that the industry tours and visitor information could allow the resources sector to gain *"the support of the community"* [Glad_Stake_9] and improve the image and profile of the resources sector. Recommendations relating to the industry tours focused on increasing their frequency in order to meet demand from the community and visitors. Despite this, stakeholders were concerned that the tours were being scaled back due to rising costs: *"The bus drivers are earning such good money and there's such demand, they can put their prices up... the industry are getting those bills and then they're trying to see what are they getting back for that other than goodwill, community engagement and getting their name out there"* [Glad_Stake_6]. While there is opportunity for a user pays approach to the industry tours, residents believed that the resource industry should be *"putting some of their profits back into Gladstone to promote tourism"* [Glad_Res_16] as well as the industry tours. Another respondent indicated that the industry tours tend to be poorly advertised: *"I only found out by word of mouth"* [Glad_Res_19].

6.2.3. Develop trust, partnership and a joint vision

One Roma resident suggested that if there was currently a good relationship between the resources sector and tourism in the region, than it had only been established as a result of luck rather than strategic action: *"I don't think tourism is high on the agenda of the resource industry. So from that point of view, they haven't been working together at all. It's just been sheer luck that they can coexist to a certain extent"* [Roma_Stake_4]. In addition, some Roma stakeholders felt that the resources sector was not particularly interested in tourism as they were aiming to maintain a low profile: *"...there's a fairly anti-fracking, anti-gas lobby that's fairly strong here, so they don't really want a lot of tourists in. They'd rather just keep it low profile. Do the mining, do the damage, make their money and then get out"* [Roma_Stake_4].

The conflict and criticism that surrounds the way the tourism and resources sectors currently co-exist within Roma highlights the need for more strategies that encourage greater synergy and co-existence of these two sectors in the region. Similar to Gladstone, some respondents found it difficult to see how the two sectors could co-exist in Roma. Despite a number of synergies already existing between the two sectors in the region, several community members were unaware of these synergies and could not see how they were working together. This indicates that the synergies between the two sectors are not easily identifiable or not adequately communicated, suggesting there is opportunity to promote the synergies and improve awareness of how the two sectors can co-exist. Clearly there is opportunity to improve the profile of the resources sector by enhancing synergies between the two sectors and using tourism as a means to promote the resources sector.

One respondent from the local Council in Roma also presented strategies that would give greater attention to tourism and encourage the sectors to coexist: *"I think we as a community and as a council could improve the way we embrace tourism. I don't think we probably are*

spending enough money financially and resource wise to promote tourism" [Roma_Stake_9]. In addition, the stakeholder suggested that there is a need to improve some of the tourism practices in the region, particularly in terms of having adequately trained tourism employees and a supportive community that ensure visitors to the region are welcomed.

Ultimately it was indicated that there is a need to ensure that the resources sector was gaining value from working with the tourism sector and that they could clearly see the benefits for working together. In particular, one stakeholder noted: *"At the end of the day they're a business out to earn money"* [Roma_Stake_6]. One tourism stakeholder noted that to improve how tourism and the resources sector work together it is necessary to develop a strategy, particularly in terms of identifying key projects for the resources sector to invest in and their involvement in these projects. However, respondents indicated that there is a need to identify key contacts in both sectors that could make decisions regarding project investments: *"probably the biggest barrier would be getting someone to speak to you"* [Roma_Stake_13]. In addition, it was indicated that there is a need for contracts to formalise the relationship and ensure long-term more strategic support, thereby overcoming issues with trust and negative perceptions of the resources sector: *"They'd drop you in a second if it really wasn't worth their while..."* [Roma_Stake_8].

Respondents often considered the regional Council's focus was too short-term and focused on immediate economic rewards, rather than planning for long-term economic development. When asked to identify barriers to co-existence of the two sectors, one stakeholder indicated that there was a need to remove: *"red tape, legal restrictions, liabilities, that sort of stuff"* [Roma_Stake_3]. Another suggested that the resources sector investment in community and tourism projects was reduced due to the high development fees that the resources sector is being charged by council: *"The council have been a bit rude with development fees that they're charging them... just the application fees on something industrial is now \$30,000 to \$50,000 dollars"* [Roma_Stake_4].

Comments by resources sector stakeholders in Roma indicated that there is a lack of understanding of tourism policy and activity amongst the resources sector: *"I don't know what the local tourism group's doing so I can't answer that"* [Roma_Stake_8]. Another respondent indicated that there was opportunity for the two sectors to work together through the Toowoomba and Surat Basin Enterprise (TSBE) group: *"I think the setting up of the Surat Basin Enterprise Group which council has a strong involvement in... I think that's one initiative that we can get them to work together"* [Roma_Stake_9]. This group is an "independent, business driven advocacy organisation focused on linking businesses with opportunity" (TBSE, 2015). The respondent suggested that the tourism sector should have a stronger representation in this group, because *"While the Surat Basin Enterprise Group is aimed more at industry I think along the way tourism is going to finish up as a beneficiary of it"* [Roma_Stake_9]. This could be a key mechanism the tourism sector could use to expose the resources sector to tourism policy and activity, as well as ensure the sectors are working together more effectively.

In Gladstone it was also recognised that there is a need to *"develop a bit of trust"* [Glad_Stake_6] between the sectors in order to build strong sustainable partnerships between key stakeholder groups based on communication. As a tourism stakeholder indicated, there is a need to have *"an open and transparent relationship with [the resources*

sector]" [Glad_Stake_7]. The stakeholders suggested that there is a need to devise a joint long-term vision to overcome the key barrier to the two sectors co-existence: "*short term thinking*" [Glad_Stake_3].

Stakeholders from the resources sector suggested that there was a need for greater initiative and leadership from Gladstone Area Promotion and Development Limited [GAPDL] in order to improve the co-existence between tourism and the resources sector. Resources sector representatives questioned the competency of key bodies in the region, highlighting a need to improve the RTO and government:

"Opportunity is plenty, but organisations like GRC [Gladstone Regional Council] and GAPDL are incompetent – they have no foresight... there is a need for these organisations to get the right people in with the relevant experience and energy to drive growth... There's a need to improve the competency and leadership of GRC [Gladstone Regional Council] and GAPDL" [Glad_Stake_1].

This sentiment was echoed by other resources sector respondents "*I just hope at some point we can get the people in place with the right vision on how best to develop Gladstone. In the last 30 or 40 years I think that's been missing and Gladstone is where it is now along the back of that mismanagement.*" [Glad_Stake_11]. Another resources sector respondent suggested that there was a need to develop GAPDL's strategic focus, capacity and partnerships: "*it links back to their capacity, knowing what their core business is and being really good at it... that can easily be changed by thinking more strategically and partnering with organisations similar to them*" [Glad_Stake_8]. In particular, respondents noted a need for GAPDL, the Chamber of Commerce and the Gladstone Engineering Alliance to work together more closely or combine in order to leverage opportunities and present a single vision for the region to the resources sector.

In addition, stakeholders identified that there were issues surrounding GAPDL membership, with the resources sector being reluctant to become members of GAPDL due to a lack of incentive: "*GAPDL actively works to gain memberships to their organisation. Currently we're not a member because we don't see value... From a resources industry perspective, we're not interested in their networking opportunities or the promotion of our business. We don't need to further sell LNG... So it's what services they can then provide us...*" [Glad_Stake_8]. When asked what could incentivise the resources sector to become members of GAPDL and what services would be of value, this respondent elaborated "*if part of our membership included a regional orientation for our new staff and clients... if local familiarisations were one of the services that came out of that partnership, I think we'd sign on straight away*" [Glad_Stake_8].

7. Conclusion

Tourism and the resources sector have both been significant drivers of economic growth in Australia, particularly in regional areas. Mining has cyclically been the engine of Australia's exports since the early Gold Rush era, while tourism has been marketed based on the Australian outdoor lifestyle and recreational activities available in iconic locations. Previous studies on the co-existence of tourism and mining suggest that there is often conflict due to their dependence on similar resources and the impacts each has on an economy (Hughes, 2012; Ironside, 2000). This conflict can make it difficult for decision makers to set appropriate policies for the two industries and to resolve issues. This report presents the results of a study that aimed to investigate the conflict, synergies and strategies for co-existence of tourism and the resources sector in two resource dependent regions: Gladstone and Roma in Queensland, Australia. Specifically, this research sought to explore:

1. How the resources sector interacts with and impacts on tourism;
2. Points of synergy between tourism and the resources sector and identify strategies for enhancing successful co-existence.

Seventy-eight (78) in-depth interviews with residents and key stakeholders (38 undertaken in Gladstone and 40 conducted in Roma) provided evidence that the impact of the resources sector on tourism has been mainly associated with the speed of the resource boom. Both Gladstone and Roma have undergone significant structural economic change towards the resources sector, which has been to the detriment of tourism. Consequently, local residents and stakeholders have polarised perspectives of the economic change. Many felt that the boom had not been appropriately planned for in terms of its impact on the region and other industries. The result has been increased competition for labour, resources and infrastructure, as well as a decline in certain tourism products. Respondents indicated that a key negative impact had been the widening inequality gap within the two regions, brought about by rising costs associated with the boom. In particular, housing, accommodation and food and beverage prices had increased significantly and while the well paid resources sector employees were able to accommodate these rising costs, lower paid service sector staff were struggling under the financial burden. This is obviously a significant problem and causes key conflicts between the resources sector and service industries, such as tourism.

In both regions, key decision-makers recognised that tourism is a valuable source of future income, particularly if the resources sector boom were to end. However, due to the structural shift away from tourism that had occurred in both regions, there were a large number of respondents who felt that their region had little to offer tourists. In addition, respondents felt that the resources sector was limiting tourism growth by reducing accommodation availability, straining road infrastructure and impacting on the regions natural assets upon which tourism depends. Alternatively, the incorporation of industrial elements within the tourism product in both regions, such as industry tours, was viewed favourably and a benefit to the tourism sector.

Importantly, respondents provided evidence that both regions had become "locked-in" to a resources sector economic structure and that it would be difficult to rejuvenate the tourism sector in the regions. Specifically there had been a deliberate shift away from the tourism sector in both regions. In Gladstone, this was identified as having occurred in a previous boom, with each subsequent boom reinforcing the structural lock-in by improving institutional

procedures that facilitated the adaption towards the resources sector. In addition, this lock-in effect strengthened the widening income gap, impacting both residents who worked for the tourism sector as well as visitors to the region. The resources sector employees subsequently became a substitute market for the accommodation, retail and food and beverage providers in the region, resulting in changes to the tourism sector, thereby reinforcing the shift away from the leisure tourism market.

In Roma, the structural shift towards the resources sector had occurred in the most recent boom. The region had previously had a steady tourism market, but with the amalgamation of the Regional Council, there had been a deliberate decision to shift away from tourism, towards the resources sector. The result had been a decline in advocacy, skills and policy relating to the tourism sector, thereby undermining its ability to develop. At the same time the resources sector had gained strong strategic support, which had seen the sector boom in the region. There was evidence of self-reinforcing effects occurring in the Roma region with respondents noting that the resources sector capacity to do business, chase larger contracts and expand their operations had improved. The boom had also resulted in inflated costs and wages and resulted in scarcity of accommodation. This had undermined the tourism industry's ability to access accommodation and staff. In addition, it had impacted the attractiveness of the region to visitors, particularly in terms of cost, ease of access and aesthetics. Consequently, there had been a clear decline in tourism activity in the region, which had resulted in a declining tourism product as previously tourist focused providers changed their operations to appeal to new resources sector related markets.

Respondents highlighted that to shift the regions back, even slightly, towards tourism would be very difficult, although necessary should the resources boom end. In both regions respondents indicated there were three reasons why increasing tourism visitation would be a challenge: 1) the region is too expensive; 2) there is a shortage of accommodation; and, 3) tourism is poorly promoted. The lack of development and promotion of tourism in both of the regions was a consequence of the dominance and strategic focus on the resources sector. Despite recognition that it would be hard to overcome the institutional and structural lock-in, respondents were able to identify a number of synergies between the two sectors and recommend strategies for the co-existence between the two sectors that would facilitate this change. Already synergies were apparent including informal partnerships, such as the free industry tours and increased visitation to tourist facilities by resources sector employees and families. In addition, the resources sector investment in the regions is indirectly benefiting the tourism industry, such as developing infrastructure and sponsoring events.

However respondents identified a number of strategies and initiatives that could be implemented in order to improve the co-existence of the two sectors by building on their synergies. Importantly these strategies focused on developing trust, communication and partnership through a joint vision and strategy for the two sectors. In addition, this study points to several areas for future research. One key question that arises is whether it is possible for tourism to rejuvenate in resource dependent regions following the decline of the resources sector. In particular, whether there are particular tourism products or markets that could thrive in a previously resources sector dominated region. Another question that arises is whether rapid tourism growth can also result in structural lock-in within a region, thereby limiting the resources sector growth. In addition, there is a need to investigate how to build resilience within communities undergoing rapid structural change induced by the tourism and resources sectors.

8. References

- AgForce Queensland. (2010, March 18). *Agribusiness leads the way in 'region of choice'* [Press Release]. Retrieved from <http://www.agforceqld.org.au/file.php?id=421&open=yes>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (2012). Australian Statistical Geography Standard (ASGS): Volume 3 – Non ABS Structures, July, 2012. Retrieved online on the 10th of August 2012 from, <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/allprimarymainfeatures/A8013348B3F8A44BCA257BB000118812?opendocument>
- Battelino, E. (2010). Mining Booms and the Australian Economy. *RBA Bulletin*, March 63-69.
- Buultjens, J., Brereton, D., Memmott, P., Reser, J., Thomson, L., & O'rourke, T. (2010). The mining sector and indigenous tourism development in Weipa, Queensland. *Tourism management*, 31(5), 597-606.
- Cleary, P. (2011). *Too much luck: The mining boom and Australia's future*. Collingwood: Black Inc.
- Connolly, E., & Lewis, C. (2010). Structural Change in the Australian Economy. *RBA Bulletin*, September 1-9.
- Corbin, A., & Strauss, J. M. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Corden, W. M. (2012). Dutch Disease in Australia: Policy Options for a Three-Speed Economy. *Australian Economic Review*, 45(3), 290-304.
- David, P. A. (1994). Why are institutions the 'carriers of history'? Path dependence and the evolution of conventions, organizations and institutions. *Structural Change and Economic Dynamics*, 5(2), 205-220.
- Department of Environment and Heritage Protection. (2013). *Gladstone Harbour Integrated Aquatic Investigation Program: 2012 Report*: Queensland Government. Retrieved from <http://www.ehp.qld.gov.au/gladstone/pdf/integrated-aquatic-investigation-program-report.pdf>
- Economic Development Committee (2011). Inquiry into developing Queensland's rural and regional communities through grey nomad tourism. Retrieved online 14th January 2014, from <http://www.savannahway.com.au/resources/greynomads.pdf>
- Edwards, J. A., & Coit, J. C. L. (1996). Mines and quarries: Industrial heritage tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23(2), 341-363.
- Gladstone Area Promotion and Development Ltd. (2010). *Prosperity 2030: Gladstone Region Economic Development Strategy*. Retrieved from <http://www.gladstoneregion.info/Portals/3/DOCUMENTS/Resource%20Docs/GR EDS%20Final%20March%208%202010.pdf>
- Gladstone Area Promotion and Development Ltd, & Tourism and Events Queensland. (2014). *Gladstone Region and Banana Shire Destination Tourism Plan 2014-2020*. Retrieved from <http://www.gladstoneregion.info/Portals/3/Business%20Centre/Gladstone%20Region%20Banana%20Shire%20-%20Destination%20Tourism%20Plan,%20Final%20July%202014.pdf>
- Gladstone Ports Corporation Limited. (2011). *History of GPC*. Retrieved from <http://www.gpcl.com.au/AboutGPC/HistoryofGPC.aspx>

- Grudnoff, M. (2012). *An analysis of the economic impacts of Arrow Energy's Gladstone LNG Plant* The Australia Institute, University of Canberra.
- Hanlin, R., & Hanlin, C. (2012). The view from below: 'lock-in' and local procurement in the African gold mining sector. *Resources Policy*, 37(4), 468-474.
- Heritage Australia. (2014). *Gladstone*. Retrieved from <http://www.heritageaustralia.com.au/search.php?state=QLD®ion=83&view=1121#a>
- Huang, G., Zhou, W., & Ali, S. (2011). Spatial patterns and economic contributions of mining and tourism in biodiversity hotspots: A case study in China. *Ecological Economics*, 70(8), 1492-1498.
- Hughes, M. (2012, 7-9 February). *Tourism and the mining boom: Golden age, or golden shower?* . Paper presented at the Council for Australasian University Tourism and Hospitality Education Conference (CAUTHE), La Trobe University, Melbourne
- Ironside, R. G. (2000). Canadian northern settlements: top-down and bottom-up influences. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B Human Geography*, 82(2), 103-114.
- Leatherman, J. C., & Marcouiller, D. W. (1996). Persistent poverty and natural resource dependence: Rural development policy analysis that incorporates income distribution *Journal of Regional Analysis and Policy*, 26(2), 73-93.
- Maranoa Regional Council. (2009). *Maranoa Regional Economic Development Strategy Background*. Retrieved from, http://www.maranoa.qld.gov.au/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=996b3f5a-7cb8-40ac-a277-a63fa7239d7f&groupId=4292453
- Maranoa Regional Council. (2014). *Business and industry in the region*. Retrieved June 23, from, <http://www.maranoa.qld.gov.au/business-and-industry-in-the-region>
- Markey, S., Halseth, G., & Manson, D. (2008). Closing the implementation gap: a framework for incorporating the context of place in economic development planning. *Local Environment*, 13(4), 337-351.
- Martin, R., & Sunley, P. (2006). Path dependence and regional economic evolution. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 6(4), 395-437.
- McLennan, C., Pham, T. D., Ruhanen, L., Ritchie, B., & Moyle, B. (2012). Counter-factual scenario planning for long-range sustainable local level tourism tranformation *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(6), 801-822.
- McLennan, C., Becken, S. & Moyle, B. D. (2014a). Framing in a Contested Space: Media Reporting on Tourism and Mining in Australia, *Current Issues in Tourism*
- McLennan, C., Ritchie, B., Ruhanen, L., & Moyle, B. (2014b). An institutional assessment of three local government-level tourism destinations at different stages of the transformation process. *Tourism Management*, 41(0), 107-118.
- Measham, T. G., McKenzie, F. H., Moffat, K., & Franks, D. M. (2013). An expanded role for the mining sector in Australian society? *Rural Society*, 22(2), 184-196.
- Moyle, B., McLennan, C., Becken, S., & Brown, R. (2014). *Learning to play nice: Conflict, synergy and strategies for coexistence between tourism and the resource sector*. Paper presented at the CAUTHE, The University of Queensland: Brisbane.
- Nowak, J.-J., & Sahli, M. (2007). Coastal tourism and 'Dutch disease' in a small island economy. *Tourism Economics*, 13(1), 49-65.

- Pattison-Sowden, M. (2013, October 14). Gladstone well placed with three super growth industries. *The Observer*. Retrieved from <http://www.gladstoneobserver.com.au/news/gladstone-well-placed-super-growth-industries/2050055/>
- Peck, J. (2013). Polanyi in the Pilbara. *Australian Geographer*, 44(3), 243-264.
- Pham, T. D., Bailey, G., & Spurr, R. (2013). *The economic impact of the current mining boom on the Australian tourism industry*. Canberra: Tourism Research Australia.
- Pham, T., Jago, L., Spurr, R., & Marshall, J. (2015). The Dutch Disease effects on tourism – The case of Australia. *Tourism Management*, 46, 610-622.
- Roma Tourism Association. (2010). *When in Roma*. Retrieved from <http://wheninroma.com.au/community-guide/social/>
- Santos GLNG Project. (2014). Retrieved from <http://www.santosqlng.com/the-project/overview.aspx>
- The Economist. (2012, June 2). *The impact of fracking: Great Barrier Reef*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/node/21556296>
- Tonts, M., Plummer, P., & Lawrie, M. (2012). Socio-economic wellbeing in Australian mining towns: A comparative analysis. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 28(3), 288-301.
- Toowoomba and Surat Basin Enterprise (TSBE) (2015). Overview - Toowoomba and Surat Basin Enterprise. Available online 17/2/2015 at: <http://www.tsbe.com.au/about/overview.html>
- Tourism and Events Queensland. (2009). *Central Queensland Tourism Opportunity Plan 2009–2019*: Tourism and Events Queensland. Retrieved from <http://teq.queensland.com/~media/Corporate/Plans%20and%20Strategies/Tourism%20Opportunity%20Plans/Central%20Queensland%20Tourism%20Opportunity%20Plan.ashx>
- Tourism and Events Queensland, & Gladstone Area Promotion and Development Ltd. (2012). *Gladstone Region: Destination Tourism Strategy 2012-2016*. Retrieved from <http://teq.queensland.com/~media/Corporate/Plans%20and%20Strategies/Destination%20Tourism%20Strategies/Destination%20Strategy%20Gladstone.ashx>
- Wilson, G. (2010). Multifunctional 'quality' and rural community resilience. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 35(3), 364-381.