Smartmentality in Ljubljana: Power and Governance amongst the City's Smart Tourism Stakeholders

Abstract

Smart tourism has been advocated as a concept to drive co-produced, technology-based design of tourism-related experiences. Whilst it promises interactivity amongst supply networks, evidence of this outcome is limited. The aim of this paper is to understand how governmentality and power mediate stakeholder engagement and the processes through which smart tourism initiatives become embedded within destination design. To investigate this, the paper draws on Foucauldian governmentality and discourse analysis to examine the technologies of power that serve to position organisations and inhibit or facilitate stakeholder engagement within Ljubljana, Slovenia. As a result, the paper extends resource dependency and collaboration theory in smart tourism.

1. Introduction

Once heralded as the future of tourism, smart tourism was to revolutionise the ways people engage in and with places, creating value for residents and visitors by bridging the digital and physical realms, enhancing collaboration between businesses, the public sector and consumers in an open system, and leading to better designed co-created experiences. However, many of the attempts to develop smart tourism initiatives have resulted in limited success and even some high-profile disasters. For example, in Copenhagen, the City Data Exchange, launched in May 2015, comprising a platform that fostered stakeholders' decision-making, was closed in March 2018 due to lack of engagement (Copenhagen Solutions Lab, 2018). In Amsterdam, the Rijenradar virtual queuing system was designed to mitigate congestion in the city and better manage visitor flows at attractions. At the start of the initiative in April 2017, ten attractions had signed up, but numbers decreased so quickly that it was closed by June. It is perhaps reasonable to conclude that a lack of stakeholder engagement might be a major impediment to the success of

such initiatives, and that collaborative aspects of smart destination projects therefore warrant further investigation.

While research on smart tourism highlights the significance of collaboration (see Gretzel, Werthner, Koo & Lamsfus, 2015a), scenarios such as Copenhagen and Amsterdam raise questions as to how collaboration unfolds in this context and what drives stakeholder participation. One important perspective in the thinking around smart tourism is that successful collaboration is driven by stakeholders "aiming to interact and exchange resources with other actors for value co-creation" (Gretzel, Sigala, Xiang & Koo, 2015b, p. 183). Hence, actors or firms engage with other organisations in order to obtain benefits for themselves. This perspective is rooted in theories of resource dependency (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Casciaro and Piskorski, 2005) and organisational collaboration (Wood & Gray, 1991), which are both predicated on the nature of the power relationships and characteristics of the relevant parties. Indeed, many studies have examined power dynamics in tourism collaboration contexts, yet these have mostly focused on community planning (Reed, 1997) and policy-making (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999), rather than in loose organisational networks that characterise smart tourism. This paper analyses the role of power in smart tourism initiatives, through an investigation of stakeholder perspectives on the European Capital of Smart Tourism (2019, 2020), Ljubljana, Slovenia.

A number of studies have accounted for power by identifying how top-down leadership and management dominate smart tourism initiatives (Zhu, Zhang & Li, 2014, Boes, Buhalis & Inversini, 2016). However, Gretzel et al. call for a more critical approach that "scrutinises smart tourism assumptions" (2015b, p.186), suggesting that there remains much to discover about the various influences on stakeholder engagement, participation and collaboration as destinations design and develop smart tourism systems. Following previous studies of power in smart contexts, we apply Foucault's conceptualizations of power to analyse stakeholder perspectives on smart tourism initiatives in Slovenia. Vanolo (2014) and Ho (2016) employ this approach to illuminate the complexity of power relations that exist in smart cities. Applying the concept of governmentality to uncover government/local partnerships with citizens and businesses, Shelton and Lodato (2019) find this represents *appearances* more than actual collaborations, since locals are either not recognised or not included in the decision-making process. In order to examine

power as decentralised and omni-present, as per Foucault's conceptualization, we draw upon recent scholarship which advocates for greater participatory, bottom-up approaches (Wang, 2017; Islam, Ruhanen & Ritchie, 2018). As these approaches can facilitate greater interconnectivity and interoperability in smart tourism, we argue this renders them particularly relevant to understanding stakeholder engagement and collaboration in smart tourism contexts.

The aim of this paper is to examine Ljubljana's award-winning smart tourism development, whilst tracing how power influenced stakeholder engagement in its associated projects. By applying Foucault's idea of governmentality, the paper seeks to uncover the technologies of power that contributed to the development of smart tourism and shaped the actions and attitudes of local tourism businesses leading to the inclusion and exclusion of different stakeholders. The paper does not focus on the components of smart city initiatives (Boes et al., 2016) but on the underlying mechanisms that aided the functioning of these components for smart development to take place. From this, the paper not only reveals governance mechanisms but also sheds light on their influence on stakeholder engagement in the design process. Thus, going beyond Mach and Ponting's (2018) recent application of governmentality to a tourism context, this paper argues that power is productive, a point Foucault often reminds us of in his writings:

> "What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse" (Foucault, 1980, p. 119 and see also Arnold, 2003; Beckett, 2012).

While smart tourism is driven by the assumption of resource dependency for stakeholder engagement, this paper engages the concept of power to highlight that governance mechanisms also serve as facilitators and inhibitors of smart tourism engagement and development. In order to further develop this argument, the paper first examines the literature on smart tourism before drawing on Foucault's explication of power and governmentality concepts and how these have been developed towards 'smartmentality'. According to Vanolo, "smart city discourses […] sustain a new urban identity, functioning as a discipline mechanism that can be defined as a 'smartmentality'", achieved using tactics, known as technologies of power, that influence the

conduct of individuals in order to manage involvement in smart activities (2014, p.889). We aim to demonstrate how governmentality operates in both overt and subtle ways, including the spatial design of the 'smart' area of the city, fostering a culture of collaboration and instituting data collection systems for monitoring efficiency and progress. As a result, these technologies of power produce diverse engagements with the city's smart initiatives and expand our understanding of the mechanisms that inform stakeholder engagement.

SMART TOURISM AND POWER

Although there is no universally accepted definition of smart tourism, it is sometimes considered an extension of the smart cities concept (Buhalis & Amaranggana, 2014; Del Chiappa & Baggio, 2015). A smart city includes technological infrastructure for interoperability, people who will collaborate and institutions for governance (Nam & Pardo, 2011). Komninos, Pallot & Schaffers (2013) state that there are three components that facilitate the development of smart cities: human intelligence, real-time information as well as infrastructure and applications, which are:

> "are characterized by a mix of top down and bottom-up initiatives, leading to networking and collaboration among stakeholders, which eventually are extending to real innovation communities. Increasingly, citizens, advanced companies and local governments act as proactive catalysers of innovation, shaping cities as 'agents of change'" (Komninos et al. 2013, p.121).

Nevertheless, different authors have attempted to develop definitions, with interpretations varying to include smart tourism as a destination management approach (Gretzel & Collier de Mendonca, 2019), and, most commonly, the application of information technologies to tourism (Jeong & Shin, 2019). Focussing on this latter interpretation, Li et al. (2017) define the concept as an information system that generates data for the use of stakeholders. While e-tourism focuses on the technological aspect of tourism, Gretzel et al. (2015b) states that, distinctively, smart tourism is supposed to deliver interactive destination experiences through technologies that utilise both virtual and physical components. In particular, these are often advanced technologies such as cloud computing and the Internet of Things. This has resulted in artificial intelligence

and mobile applications for gamification, as well as virtual and augmented reality experiences being labelled as smart tourism (Chung, Han & Joun, 2015).

More broadly, Buhalis and Amaranggana (2014) draw on characteristics of smart city design, namely intelligence, instrumentality and interconnectivity, to define 'smart' within a destination context. Within smart destinations, transfer of knowledge is possible among multiple and diverse stakeholders (Del Chiappa & Baggio, 2015). These stakeholders can be categorised as being dynamic, such as hotels, restaurants, sharing economy platforms, or stable, such as social media (e.g. Facebook) or online travel business platforms, such as Expedia (Koo, Park & Lee, 2017). Gretzel et al. (2015b, p.181) develop the concept further to recognise the role of organisations in coordinating smart tourism, defined as:

> "tourism supported by integrated efforts at a destination to collect and aggregate/harness data derived from physical infrastructure, social connections, government/organisational sources and human bodies/minds in combination with the use of advanced technologies to transform that data into on-site experiences and business value-propositions with a clear focus on efficiency, sustainability and experience enrichment".

Through smart tourism, collaboration among destination stakeholders is possible, which theoretically results in greater equality (Civelek, 2018), increased shared resources and mutual benefits (Polese, Botti, Grimaldi, Monda & Vesci, 2018). Good governance in smart tourism is focused on achieving equity, inclusion and diversity (Gretzel & Jamal, 2020). These benefits are found as underlying assumptions within tourism studies that draw upon a collaborative approach. Theorising in this field rests upon the premise that by engaging stakeholders in tourism, collaboration can solve problems of imbalances in power relations due to openness of information and flat structure (Reed, 1997). The collaborative process in smart tourism is necessary to ensure exchange and integration of resources and information for developing solutions to problems (Jovicic, 2017; Polese, et al., 2018). This all contributes to a conceptualisation of smart tourism having "a very utopian view of happy collaboration among various actors and a self-regulating ecosystem" (Gretzel et al., 2015b, p.185). By extending beyond cognitive theories and positivist paradigm, information technology and tourism studies

can challenge knowledge claims and address a paucity of theoretical and methodological advancements in the research field (Cai, McKenna, Wassler & Williams, 2020).

The extent to which this utopian view in smart tourism can become reality is somewhat tempered by theories of collaboration and power. Collaboration is a decision-making process that engages stakeholders of a destination in order to address a problem (Getz & Jamal, 1994; Wood & Gray, 1991). A collaboration process involves stakeholders who have an interest in the problem being attended to and have some degree of independence when making decisions, interactive exchanges as well as a structure or norms that guide stakeholders' behaviour (Wood & Gray, 1991). However, within a collaboration process, stakeholders may not fully represent their respective groups due to insufficient consultations (Bramwell & Sharman, 2011). There can also be an imbalance of power based on the possession of resources by the stakeholders involved. Resource dependency theory, for example, argues that power is concentrated amongst those who have control over the resources being distributed (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Though greatly acknowledged in tourism literature, resources are not the only source of power imbalances in collaborations.

The complexities in power relationships and their dynamics in tourism and destination networks can be examined in for example through, critical research (Bramwell & Lane, 2011), and political theory (Fyall, Garrod & Wang, 2012). These perspectives are applied to a lesser extent in destination collaboration literature. For instance, Moscardo (2011) conclude that there are social representations that dominate development process and affect how stakeholders react to tourism planning. Tourism plans are based on economic approaches that influence the activities and interests that are pursued within a destination. Using discourse analysis to examine power relations, Xue & Kerstetter (2018) illustrate that while a mediator may be put in place for ensuring an amicable coexistence between the locals and private organisations, stakeholders may only play that role in some, rather than all instances.

Studies have found that top-down leadership and management styles still dominate collaboration between and participation amongst government and suppliers in the design and development of smart tourism, (Zhu et al. 2014; Boes et al. 2016). There are managerial activities that are

necessary in addition to resources to ensure the development of smart tourism (Buonincontri & Micera, 2016). Zhu et al. (2014) suggest that various roles should be adopted by different actors at distinct points: during the design stage, government leads and businesses contribute resources, whereas during the operational phase, government should collect data and monitor the initiatives while businesses provide and maintain the initiatives. There is a dominant representation of small and medium-sized businesses in some smart destinations (Ivars-Baidal et al., 2017).

In addition to more conventional analyses of power, Hunter, Chung, Gretzel, et al. (2015) call for further exploration of soft power in smart tourism. This can be achieved by extending the range of actors involved to include tourists, in acknowledged that power no longer only rests in the hands of destination marketers but also in tourists since the latter are connected and can interact with other stakeholders on smart tourism platforms (Hunter et al., 2015). Tourists can have more control over customising their experiences, thereby reaping some of the benefits of tourism, namely personalisation and real-time engagement. In smart destinations, stakeholders can provide real-time data and interact with tourists through smart tourism (Buhalis & Amaranggana, 2014). Tourists are recognised as key stakeholders in smart tourism since they are active co-creators of value (Wang, Li, Zhen & Zhang, 2016). As a form of soft power, therefore, smart tourism also influences the way in which a destination is experienced, for example via technologies such as virtual reality. Hence, it can influence the destination image and by extension its appeal to prospective visitors (Hunter et al., 2015). However, few studies have examined power in detail in smart tourism contexts, particularly in the areas of collaboration and governmentality.

Foucault (1979) recognised power as not being a possession or resource but as something that is omnipresent in practice and serves to control and produce varying subjects. He drew upon the concept of governmentality, which is "the ensemble formed by the institutions, analyses and reflect, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power" (Burchell, Gordon & Miller, 1991, p.102). Rather than there being a sovereign society that is based on a singular form of governance, society functions as a plurality of forms of governance, which signify disciplinary power at work governing the conduct of individuals. According to Foucault (1979, p. 215), discipline is "a type of power, a modality for its exercise,

comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets, it is a 'physics', or an 'anatomy' of power, a technology". These technologies of power can influence actions and dictate behaviour within societies (Foucault, 1979).

A variety of mechanisms can be used to examine disciplinary power. Disciplining of individuals (or conducting the conduct of individuals) starts with the assignment of spaces with associated enclosures – physical or symbolic (Foucault, 1979). Spatial arrangements represent power, as this is the setting in which practices occur and shape individuals' actions (Foucault, 1979). Through the mapping of space, individuals can also be separated, marked as included or excluded (Foucault, 1979), while other technologies of power, such as timetables and rhythms, define movements. These programmes do "not need to be explained or formulated; it must trigger off the required behaviour and that is enough" (Foucault, 1979, p.166). Most notably, Foucault (1979) drew upon Bentham's concept of the panopticon to illustrate how the architectural layout of the prison made prisoners engage in the act of imprisonment, as the spatial design facilitated continuous surveillance. The layout with its hierarchical observation of a single gaze was a form of power. "Governable spaces are not fabricated counter to experiences; they make new kinds of experience possible" (Rose, 1999, p. 32).

Societies and social institutions are also sites of governmentality, through people's practices, roles and participation. Participation "is always part of an operation of power, governing people to behave themselves in a particular determined way" (Quaghebeur, Masschelein & Huong Nguyen, 2004, p.154; see also McKay & Garratt, 2013). Governmentality and its associated technologies and spatialities of power have been observed in a number of forms in smart cities and smart tourism destinations. For example, Vanolo (2014) finds governance at work in Italian smart cities' implementation of programmes and standardised ratings systems, such as urban charts and benchmarking analysis. While these systems are useful for tracking progress, they can also lead to businesses adjusting their agendas to meet externally driven goals, which were not previous organisational concerns.

For example, Madrid has employed sensors for gathering data about residents' sustainability practices and directing more efficient behaviours and resource use, which Gabrys (2014) terms

environmentality. Further, Ho (2016) notes the rise of smartmentalities in the city of Singapore and concludes that mechanisms not only include opportunities for citizen participation but also the installation and use of smart homes and elderly monitoring systems. That these tools both enable citizen involvement and instruct them on the idea of "smartness" signify a smart transformation through governmentality (Ho, 2016). Our study extends this understanding within the tourism context. It includes a spatial analysis as essential in the exercise of power and the effect of these mechanisms in constructing various subjectivities.

According to Foucault (1979), the individual is transformed into a subject through discourses and power mechanisms. Within smart city contexts, governmentality works through a number of technologically-driven programmes to influence both individual (Arnold, 2003) and collective practices (Ho, 2016) towards smartmentality. These technologies of power can influence the conduct of stakeholders and their engagement with smart initiatives (Argento, Grossi, Jaaskelanminen, Servalli & Suomala, 2020). Drawing on the concepts of smart tourism and Foucault's governmentality, this paper examines the underlying power mechanisms that influence stakeholder participation in Europe's Capital of Smart Tourism (2019, 2020), Ljubljana.

METHODS AND DATA

In Foucault's writings, discourse is not to be treated as simply textual data. Discursive "texts" can take the form of speech or the physical environment, as discourse is not a structure but a practice (1974). One of the benefits of discourse analysis is that it illuminates how rhetoric can shape practices (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007). However, while Foucault developed a comprehensive and robust theory of discourse, his writings are absent of a clear method for applying analytic techniques to it. As a result, other scholars have adapted his theories in order to articulate methodological approaches. In the context of our study, this centred on the analysis of practices, rather than institutions, to focus on the socio-historical context in which the practices occur and to analyse the social-spatial dynamics of those practices.

1. *Practices*

Interpreting Foucault's first principle, Burchell et al. explain:

> "The target of analysis wasn't 'institutions', 'theories' or 'ideology', but practices - with the aim of grasping the conditions which make these acceptable at a given moment…to analyse 'regimes of practices', means to analyse programmes of conduct" (1991, p. 75).

Discourse is considered to constitute practices that influence actions and levels of interactions (Hook, 2001). By analysing practices, Foucault illustrates how over time an act can become normalised (Burchell et al., 1991). Towards this end, this study undertakes a multi-modal study of the discursive practices underlying smart tourism in Ljubljana, Slovenia.

In order to examine the practice of smart tourism development, particularly from the perspective of suppliers, the tourism businesses within Ljubljana's tourism industry were the focus of analysis. To begin, a purposeful interview sampling technique was employed through which a list of potential stakeholders was developed by reviewing the list of smart initiatives Ljubljana submitted for the European Union smart tourism competition. A snowball sampling technique was then used to facilitate exposure and connections to other stakeholders, as participants identified other relevant members in the ecosystem (Timur & Getz, 2009). Additionally, connections and referrals were also garnered through stakeholders at international travel tradeshows. The study's interview participants were from hotels, attractions, destination management organisation, transportation sector, educational institutions, technology company and the municipal government (see Table 1). These individuals were mainly responsible for forging and developing marketing programs with other businesses, of which engagement in smart tourism is just one aspect. Some of these participants provided further materials regarding their engagement in smart initiatives and Ljubljana's tourism industry, including company documents, promotional material and semi-structured interviews.

Table 1

Organisations Interviewed

Organisation Type	Number
Attractions	8
Destination Marketing and Services	3
Educational Institutions	2*
Lodging Facilities	9
Restaurants	4
Technology Companies	1*
Tourism Consulting and Services	1
Transportation Service Providers	3
Total	31

*Participants from that business can be categorised as being involved in other types of organisations due to their multiple affiliations

2. Socio-historical context

According to Foucault, it is only possible to analyse the operation of power and governmentality by examining the social and historical context, which in our case is the municipality of Ljubljana as a tourism destination, and the process by which smart tourism initiatives have been developed. The destination has 45 smart initiatives that are considered sustainable in nature. Discourses on smart tourism can be found both online and offline in the city of Ljubljana. For the online content, data was gathered from local organisations' websites while offline information was collected from the physical sites of the participants in Ljubljana (see Table 2).

In order to make the analysis more manageable, initiatives were chosen based on examples garnered from the smart tourism literature. Whereas Li et al. (2017) conclude that smart tourism initiatives are information systems for tourists, Gretzel et al. (2015b) state that smart tourism involves the use of sensors and smartphones and suggest that smart initiatives bridge the gap between the digital and physical environments. Thus, the following initiatives were chosen for consideration in the study: green supply chains web platform, Taste Ljubljana, Ljubljana by wheelchair mobile application, multisensory museum guided tours, mobile audio guides, mobile parking, digital city guide, electric car sharing, tourist card Urbana and bike sharing scheme. These initiatives were examined using data gathered from fieldwork. Documents and webpages

were chosen based on their applicability to specific research questions, which make up a broader research project. The data was uploaded and analysed on NVivo.

3. Socio-spatial dynamics of the practice

Foucault (1979) asserted that in order to understand how power operates, one must examine the socio-spatial dynamics of the practice. Specifically, he explained that an architectural apparatus can act as "a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it" (1979, p. 201). As such, the architectural layout of the city as well as the boundaries, routes and locations of the smart initiatives were examined as a form of discipline and in relation to governmentality. As a result, maps, both offline in the brochures and online via the platforms, were examined additionally, as they provided a physical context for the smart initiatives. Additionally, these topics were explored during interviews.

Data and analysis

Data were collected during the period of February to September 2019. Fieldnotes were made alongside the interviews, comprising observations of the city and of participants' organisations. A total of 24 semi-structured interviews were completed, which represented 31 separate businesses. Among the 24 participants, some managed the marketing and management practices of more than one business. As a result, these participants were able to provide insights into multiple businesses. The interviews were conducted in person in Ljubljana and on the work premises of each participant during office hours. They lasted from 20 minutes to one hour and were digitally recorded. The interview questions focused on the participant's affiliation with the business, general information about the organisation, Ljubljana's tourism development and the company's involvement in smart activities. Documents and online pages were also obtained from participants (see Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2

List of Documents

Document Type	Document Name	Year of Document
Conference	Smart Cities Conference Proceedings	2019
Planning Documents	Development Plan and Policies of Slovene Tourism	2007
	Destination Ljubljana Tourism Strategy	2014
	Strategy for the Sustainable Growth of Slovenian Tourism for 2017- 2021	2017
Presentation	Mobility Practices in Ljubljana and Surrounding Areas	2016
Promotional Material	Tourist Guide and Map of Ljubljana	2015
	Ljubljana- European Green Capital Leaflet	2016
Report	Ljubljana Forum Agenda and Report	2019
	Slovenia Tourism in Numbers	2017
Speech	Smart Ljubljana: Are Attractive Smart Cities More Successful?	2018

Table 3

Online Pages

Page Type	Organisation / Name of Platform	Number
Webpage	Attractions	14
	Destination Marketing and Services	16
	Lodging Facilities	2
	Local and National Government	9
	Restaurants	2
	Regional Institution	1
	Transportation Provider	2
Smart Platform	Bicycle Sharing	11
	Electric Train	1
	Green Scheme	1
	Nexto	2
	Taste Ljubljana	1
	Urbana Card	7
	Wheelchair Application	21
Total		90

Data were uploaded, transcribed and analysed using the qualitative data software NVivo. Analysis was informed by Willig's (2011) steps for conducting Foucauldian discourse analysis and following Arribas-Ayllon and Walkderdine's (2008) guidelines for uncovering governmentality through technologies of power. While Foucauldian discourse analysis has been applied in a number of fields, including sociology (Kendall & Wickham, 1999), education (Bourke & Lidstone, 2015), politics (Hajer, 2006) and even tourism (Wight, 2018), Willig's (2011) psychologically informed method focuses on connections between the constructions, individuals and behaviours as applied in other tourism contexts (see Hanna, Johnson, Stenner & Adams, 2015; Hanna, Scarles, Cohen & Adams, 2016). After the data were transcribed and sorted, Willig's FDA method was applied (see Table 4).

Table 4

Steps of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (Adapted from Willig 2011, p.131-136)

Steps	Application of Steps to the Study
Discursive Constructions /Technologies of Power	Texts that directly and indirectly referred to smart tourism were reviewed to understand the discursive constructions of smart tourism. Examples include buzzword, trend, promotion, quality of life and tourism experiences. Technologies of power include data and space.
Discourses	The constructions that were found from the previous step were located within social discourses such as promotion and product development, which were placed within destination marketing discourse.
Action Orientation	This step allowed the authors to examine why certain constructions were being promoted at various times.
Positioning	The subject positions that arose from various discourses were highlighted at this stage, for example, the position of the passive smart tourism stakeholder.
Practice	The positions were further examined to understand how it affected one's actions and others within the group.
Subjectivity	The subject positions were further observed to understand engagement in smart tourism.

In order to examine governmentality more specifically, we applied mechanisms proposed by Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2008), who suggest that technologies of power, like discursive constructions, operate at a distance. These mechanisms include "instruments, persons, buildings and spaces […] act on human conduct from a distance" (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008, p.116). In order to locate such technologies, one must focus on issues which result in the formation and regulation of the individual, organisation or object. This can be done by examining texts that match one of the following criteria: construct the object, illustrate the object's description or show how the object is regulated. Thus, Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine's (2008) recommendation that technologies of power that may exist were taken into account while following the steps proposed by Willig (2011). While this paper is part of a larger study of stakeholder engagement in smart tourism in Ljubljana, themes specifically related to governmentality, which is the focus of this particular paper, included spatiality, culture of collaboration and data and assessment procedures. It is this discussion to which we now turn.

GOVERNMENTALITY TOWARDS SMARTMENTALITY

Following Ljubljana's award as "Green Capital of Europe" in 2014, it is possible to observe an integration of smart technologies into the city's and country's plans for future sustainability. Examining tourism development plans from 2017, the word "smart" first appeared in the Strategy for the Sustainable Growth of Slovenian Tourism for 2017- 2021 under the heading "smart mobility" and described as:

> "including public passenger transport in Slovenian tourism, developing urban smart cards, projects for calming traffic in tourist destinations and the development of alternative solutions."

This integration into Ljubljana's sustainable tourism plans resulted in the city's inclusion amongst the 10 finalists for the 2019 inaugural European Capital of Smart Tourism competition. The competition is a European Commission initiative that is designed to promote "best practices" of smart tourism in Europe (Smart Tourism Capital, 2020). Ljubljana won the 2019

European Capital of Smart Tourism award due to its smart sustainability initiatives, and most recently, the city has expanded its "smart" prowess by winning the 2020 award in the category of digitalisation.

Noting this recognition and increased integration of "smart" into Ljubljana's sustainable tourism plans, questions arise as to the governance structures that support and encourage this transition, or even coerce participation. Our analysis reveals power and governmentality operating in both overt and subtle ways, including the spatial design of the "smart" area of the city, fostering a culture of collaboration and instituting data collection systems for monitoring efficiency and progress. As a result, these technologies of power produce diverse modalities of positioning of stakeholders in relation to the city's smart initiatives. For example, interviews with tourism suppliers revealed a spectrum of participation types. This suggests that suppliers occupy varying positions and experience differing forms of engagement when collaborating in smart tourism. One tourism supplier listed amongst the city's smart tourism initiatives stated that "we are not stakeholders". Others drew the distinction that instead of stakeholders, "we are partners [but] we are indirectly involved" (Participant 9), while another went on to explain that, "we know what's it about and we cooperate but not very strongly" (Participant 10). The power mechanisms that produce these disparate degrees of participation are explored in what follows.

Spatiality and Power in Smart Ljubljana's Design

Disciplinary power often starts with defining the space of operation (Foucault, 1979). As such, Kothari (2001 p. 142) argues that "the very act of inclusion, of being drawn in as a participant, can symbolise an exercise of power and control over an individual". In terms of tourism suppliers participating in and engaging with smart tourism, the spatiality and boundaries of Ljubljana's smart tourism district became a palimpsest of the municipality's technologies of power (see also Cheong & Miller, 2000; Mach & Ponting, 2018).

The municipal government had constructed a well-defined boundary that allowed for the implementation of smart (mobility) initiatives, such as electric vehicles, bicycle sharing system and tourist Urbana card. This boundary was formed in 2007, 10 years prior to the official use of

the term smart in the tourism development plan. The boundary extends from the city centre to about a 15-minute walk from the centre wherein a pedestrian zone was constructed, and which was then surrounded by the Urbana and electric train routes (Figure 1).

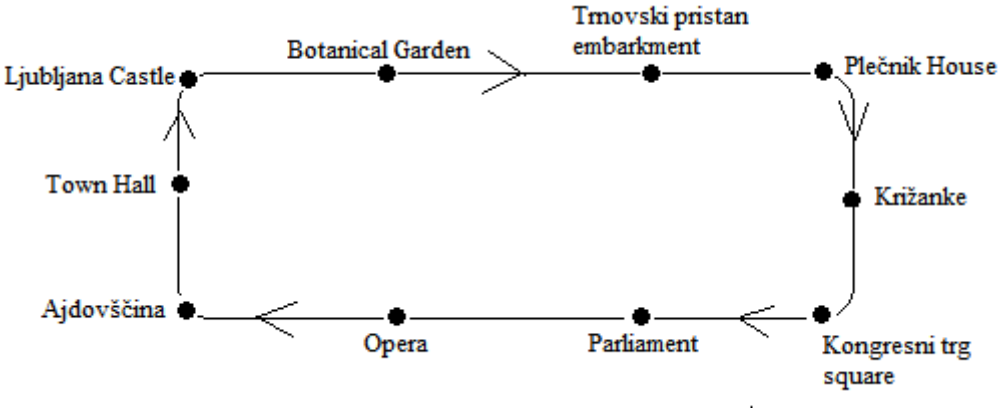

Figure 1: Electric Train Route (Adapted from Visit Ljubljana 2019, n.p.)

While the spatial agglomeration of tourism attractions in this area of the city was a major motivation for the boundaries established, their specific locations along with the subsequent changes to the functional space demonstrate the after-effects of technologies of power. For example, the mayor did more than establish a smart tourism zone, he altered the use of the space with an eye to improving efficiency. The area went from one that was heavily congested with motorised vehicles to one that is mainly designated for pedestrians and attracted visitors to the range of facilities that subsequently emerged. Participant 11 commented that:

> "He actually closed the whole city centre like pedestrian zone, from the old stadium on is just one pass going to the city centre. The right line is for the buses, for the taxi drivers. This was before, like a double lane, we actually, with this, he reduced the traffic in the city centre. Alot of bars open. Alot of restaurants open on the pavement and so."

Thus, the space acts as a functional mechanism (Foucault, 1979) contributing to efficiency in planning and execution of destination activities for tourists. Tourist maps highlight this central, smart zone in the city and direct them to related applications and further technologies. These smart initiatives are the new experiences that Rose (1999, p.32) speaks of when she states that "governable spaces are not fabricated counter to experiences; they make new kinds of experience possible, produce new modes of perception". Indeed, Participant 3 noted when tourists enquired

about tourist activities in Ljubljana, hotel representatives first recommend smart initiatives before suggesting other experiences.

> "We have electric stations there for electric cars and also the first thing that we offer to guests is electric rent-a-car and also we have this package that includes you know the electric car" (Participant 3)

However, the smart initiatives within the space also functioned as an in/exclusionary mechanism for participation. For instance, the electric train was introduced in 2016 as an offering for tourists, which operates within a "circular tourist trail" (Website- LB). The electric train route (see Figure 1) enabled access to specific city attractions such as the Town Hall, Ljubljana Castle, Plecnik House and National Gallery that had different agreements with the destination management organisation and municipality. Some businesses were able to benefit from the initiative based on their inclusion within the perimeter. They garnered exposure and generated business from tourists who used the electric train. Participant 5 stated that:

> "The electric train that is going around Ljubljana including centre and to the castle and so on. One station is near the attraction so you can also hop off and hop on. So these kinds of things are very important for us to be part of."

The municipality owns many of the properties along these routes, which made it convenient and gave further authority for them to place smart infrastructure in particular locations. Indeed, other participant interviews and documents suggest that this was part of the municipality's strategy of encouraging engagement by bringing individual businesses into the smart initiatives.

Yet, while most of the attractions along this route were already involved in the smart initiatives, the boundaries then excluded some tourism suppliers from participation. Thus, this architectural layout established the city's smart tourism space and the stakeholders involved in the production and consumption of smart tourism initiatives. The rationalisations as to the degree of their involvement are expressed in terms of power, or lack thereof, specifically in terms of land ownership and decision-making abilities. For instance, participant 12's organisation was listed as

a supplier engaged in the bicycle sharing system. However, when discussing their rationale for being involved, the response was that "we are not technically involved" because it was "not our land". Being included in the smart initiative was a benefit for that participant, but it was not a "choice" to be involved:

> "Well we are not technically involved. It's not what we decide to do. It's not our land. It's the municipality deciding where it would be useful to have the stations. So, it's good for us it's there but it's not our decision." (Participant 12)

Because of the establishment of clear boundaries within the city's centre, along which the smart infrastructure was concentrated, there was an implication of participation and non-participation amongst those stakeholders. These boundaries were first set by the municipality, in alignment with Schein's (1999) assertion that landscape is discourse materialised. Indeed, in many ways, the spatial design of Ljubljana's smart city centre set the conditions for stakeholder engagement in the city's earliest initiatives. The space itself delineated who was expected to be involved, as well as who was excluded. However, other technologies of power are at work in this smart destination, namely the fostering of a culture of collaboration.

Culture of Collaboration

Participation is a governance mechanism that enables smartmentality (Vanolo, 2014; Ho, 2016), Similar to Vanolo's (2014) findings from smart cities in Italy, our study reveals that there is a dominant group encouraging Ljubljana's collaborative culture, which influences who can participate. Further, in agreement with Boes et al. (2016), a figurehead-type person driving smart collaboration can be identified, since they appear to be municipality-led initiatives, with participants often using the phrase "our leader" and making specific reference to "the *current* government of the city". The municipality is considered to be an agent responsible for directing the undertakings within the city's development (see also Cheong & Miller, 2000).

However, unique to Ljubljana is the notion that a culture of collaboration was present prior to the introduction of smart tourism. In fact, several participants affiliate this with past ideology of

unity associated with socialist Yugoslavia (Bakic-Hayden & Hayden, 1992). This idea emerged after Yugoslavia transitioned from being a communist government. Participant 13's response highlighted unity as being a part of local residents' history:

> "I remember that when we were Yugoslavia, still it was communistic country really so it was, it was very close but nevertheless it was ahh you know, mhhm, like Cuba is in my head. Yeah. I remember how funny it was that we didn't have bananas and we needed to go to Austria to second country or we didn't have chocolate and we go there. Now, there is always a possibility and there was always money and I know that it was like this. This mentality. What we earn, we divide….Parents taught us like this that whenever, doesn't matter where you worked, it was not like this, like the managers took the money but they always split it and gave to everybody and they, this was something, you know, it connected."

Collaboration was seen as a governance mechanism that was responsible for shaping individuals into local Slovenians, which meant they were considered as local Slovenian businesses that connected with each other. Based on participant 13's response, this collaborative culture was constructed and normalised over a period of time through various discourses of family and employment. This attitude has continued to manifest in their handling of tourism-related activities as participant 13 continued to say:

> "We are going together to some business trips, you know and uhmm I cannot sell the hotel only. I have to sell destination and that means automatically collaboration, so if I go, I don't know to Italy, I sell Ljubljana, I sell, I dont know, from my colleague 4 star hotel, cause you know, he's not here and I know that some guests need it, I sell the venue, so yeah".

Nevertheless, other participants stated that this collaborative culture was built upon and further promoted by the leader of the municipality. According to Participant 14,

> "Our leader definitely wants to collect and combine all these services under one big roof I would say, all the services which a citizen might need. He has this interest to have this inside one big family."

The fact that most of the tourism suppliers involved in smart initiatives were in fact affiliated with the municipality through ownership of and access to funding, further facilitates a collaborative atmosphere:

> "It's much easier to plan between the public institutions. This cooperative mode is very strategic for the current government of the city." (Participant 15)

At the same time, fostering a sense of collaboration extended beyond businesses and public institutions to the citizens themselves. The Ljubljana city government saw the smart tourism initiatives as a means to encourage public participation which was implemented through open calls for ideas and innovations. In this way, the public served as active resource integrators providing information through public, municipality-controlled feedback platforms contributing to the development of several smart initiatives, including the wheelchair smartphone application. And while engagement, in this instance, is more similar to a one-way communication channel where there is little opportunity for interactivity, suppliers nonetheless characterised this as a "partnership":

> "The public-private partnership means you give something to the city and the city gives something to you. So we give the city all the hardware, all the shelters, everything and they give us the land, the city land with permission to make advertising on this land." (Participant 16)

> "The partnership is something that we very strongly develop or get involved with." (Participant 9)

Smart tourism relies on the exchange of resources in order for solutions to be developed (Jovicic, 2017; Polese et al., 2018). Engagement of individuals and organisations is assumed as being a

solution for power distribution (Reed, 1997). However, this was not apparent in this case, as most stakeholders spoke of having very limited involvement beyond the initial implementation phase of the collaboration process. Furthermore, final approval of these ideas as smart initiatives was given by those who were considered to be leaders of smart development in Ljubljana, resonating with the analysis from earlier studies (Zhu et al. 2014; Boes et al. (2016).

This culture of collaboration contributed to the creation of suppliers who considered themselves to be included or excluded as well as unequal power relations occurring in smart tourism. While this facilitates the formation of smart initiatives due to involvement by a number of publicly owned stakeholders, to an extent, it excludes private entities. Shelton and Lodato (2019) conclude that partnership within the smart cities' domain is a façade, since inequality exists in terms of representation of locals and their concerns. While collaboration encourages private interests in on participation in the schemes, the problems being attended to are specific to various municipality departments in Ljubljana.

Indeed, generally, there is a dominance of small and medium-sized tourism suppliers participating in smart tourism initiatives (see also Ivars-Baidal et al., 2017). Yet, when these issues were examined and deliberated at conferences and forums in Ljubljana, they excluded the city's tourism businesses. Such events, seen through the lens of governmentality, can be conceived as spaces that control the nature of the conversations on the smart design elements. This point challenges the assumption that equality and mutuality are possible through increased collaboration in smart tourism (Komninos et al., 2013; Civelek, 2018; Polese et al., 2018) since the interests of tourism suppliers were not represented during smart discussions and the event spaces served to define smart agendas. Furthermore, this act of categorising and separating businesses is common within sites of discipline (Foucault, 1979). As a means of control, it enables optimum performance (Alves, Oliveira & Jansen, 2018) while maintaining stability by control of the types of stakeholders involved in the system (Wareham, Fox & Cano Giner, 2014).

Data and Assessment Procedures

Data collection, efficiency monitoring, performance measurement systems, and benchmarking methods are all common smart tourism strategies employed to optimise performance and produce a smartmentality (Gabrys, 2014; Vanolo, 2014; Alves et al, 2018; Vanolo, 2014). In Ljubljana, the destination marketing organisation has its own database that has allowed it to collect and manage information as well as reclassify and target suppliers. One participant noted that businesses could participate in smart initiatives, but they had to meet specific criteria, which was not clearly explained to them. As technologies of power, databases more specifically act as surveillance mechanisms (Foucault, 1979):

> "I mean actually all that are interested and up to a certain level […] We know who works, has to develop a bit more." (Participant 17)

Participant 17 perceived their organisation as being "active partners" in smart tourism, specifically noting that "we know who works", signifying that leaders of Ljubljana's smart development have details of the different tourism organisations. By storing and using information on individuals and organisations, this can enable control (Foucault, 1979).

Classification systems and measurements are then used as a means of standardisation (Vanolo, 2014). While the DMO's ratings are not openly available or disclosed, they are apparently put to use when deciding which tourism suppliers are considered in the development of the city's smart initiatives and which are excluded. As Participant 18 explained, while their business was initially considered, the DMO ultimately decided not to include it due to its ratings on different databases:

> *"*They [DMO] told me they have better reviews on the TripAdvisor and because of that they [DMO] put them on the Taste [a smart initiative] and because of that we are not in." (Participant 18)

Hence, suppliers' involvement in smart developments was directly linked to these technologies of performance, thereby illuminating the point that behaviour in smart tourism is influenced not

only by leadership, as seen in Zhu et al. (2014) and Boes et al. (2016), but also through technologies of power (Burchell et al., 1991).

Not all of the databases and monitoring systems were developed by the DMO itself, but rather are externally generated and opted-in by the city. Examining the list of smart initiatives, it is evident that some were based on the theme of sustainability. In order for businesses to participate in these initiatives, they had to comply with the sustainability indicators and certifications that were set forth by various international organisations approved by the national tourism organisation. According to Participant 19, businesses:

> "have to choose one of the international labels like Green Globe, TravelLife, Green Key, whatever. We embrace seven different labels, so they have to get one of those, and once they get that, they would get Slovenia Green Accommodation, for example, on top of that."

Engagement in smart tourism is not an open process where stakeholders are free to participate. Rather, their engagement is subject to their data being included in the databases and their rankings within these systems. External programmes can limit actions since these technologies of power serve to trigger behaviours among suppliers (Foucault, 1979). As Foucault (1979, p. 166) noted, "the order does not need to explained or formulated; it must trigger off the required behaviour and that is enough." As these technologies of power direct stakeholders' behaviour, we find that participation is as a result of power, supporting Quaghebeur et al.'s analysis (2004). Moreover, governance, in this form, helps to lessen constant evolvability and maintain stability through controlling the type of stakeholders involved in the system (Wareham et al., 2014).

Indicators, which are also forms of technologies of power, reshape the conduct of individuals in smart cities since it causes business operators to alter their business' operations by incorporating efficient and effective resource conservation methods (Argento et al., 2020) as was evident with some restaurants and hotels in Ljubljana. Participant 3 stated that over a six-month period, their hotel had to make adjustments to its operations by implementing practices and rules, informing staff and providing tourist experiences that were in conformance with the sustainability

indicators. The participant noted that conformance to assessment has become the norm. This also resulted in reshaping the property and its differentiation from other hotels that were a part of the same chain regionally and globally and contributed to the recognition of the business' brand:

> "What is also very important is that we are you know a 3-star hotel and ahh before that we were not somehow very, very cool for let's say the journalists come from abroad you know." (Participant 3)

The procedures served to govern and normalise the organisation as a smart supplier. Foucault would consider this as control or discipline through procedures (Foucault, 1979).

Conclusions

Governmentality can be evidenced in the design and development of smart tourism initiatives. The smart concept encompasses technological and social aspects that highlight the importance of stakeholder engagement to generating value. However, in agreement with previous studies including Kothari (2001), Moscardo (2011) and McKay and Garratt (2013), this paper examines what stakeholder collaboration means specifically from local tourism suppliers' perspectives. The paper notes the usefulness of the resource dependency view that underpins smart tourism understandings, but also proposes the use of Foucault's perspective on power to examine smart tourism collaboration for destination practitioners to develop smart initiatives. To our knowledge, this paper represents the first to extend Foucault's theory of power to the smart tourism domain.

The study advances our understanding of the concept of smart tourism by illustrating that power in the form of authority is not the only means through which stakeholder collaboration is achieved. Extending the limited research to date regarding the development in smart tourism through the lens of leadership (Zhu et al., 2014; Boes et al., 2016), this study concludes that governance mechanisms enable smartmentality and position stakeholders in relation to Ljubljana's smart initiatives. These mechanisms include space, culture of collaboration and data and assessment procedures, serving to shape, facilitate and inhibit stakeholder participation while

contributing to the development of smart tourism and its benefits, such as efficiency and design of tourism experiences.

Space functions as a disciplinary mechanism controlling the tourist gaze through promotion and delivery of experience as well as setting the conditions for (non) participation in smart tourism initiatives. The culture of collaboration facilitates smartmentality by encouraging different stakeholder groups to engage in smart initiatives and development. While some stakeholders referred to this as a "partnership", unequal power relations exist in smart Ljubljana as seen in the limited interactivity, the dominant representation of publicly owned organisations and agendas followed that were not tourism-driven. Through Foucauldian analysis, this serves as a means of enabling optimum performance and control of the collaboration process. Databases and assessment procedures also serve as technologies of power in smart tourism. They serve as mechanisms of control connecting stakeholders' involvement to classification databases and evaluation systems that were sometimes not disclosed to suppliers. Indeed, in some cases, such indicators led to the transformation of business operations.

These power mechanisms shape the behaviour of the suppliers involved in smart tourism and allow us to have a better understanding of what it means for an organisation to become a 'participant'. Unlike the smart tourism literature that captures these suppliers as generally participants/resource integrators, this study recognises that there are varying positions and engagement types for suppliers, which are related to specific technologies of power. Despite the overarching claims made in practice regarding the positive impacts on those involved in smart tourism, this study illustrates that within the engagement process, there is exists dominant groups and agendas, which can buffer benefits.

This paper fosters a critical perspective on smart tourism, which can have implications on future design. Yet, it has several limitations that highlight areas for future research. In particular, further work should be done to examine the aspects of identity and resistance alongside power in smart tourism development. Research might also explore smart tourism operating as a tool of governance for tourists and other stakeholders.

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