Tourism-related urban regeneration in two UK city regions.

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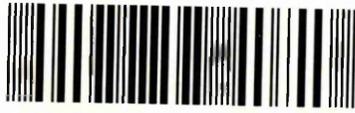
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Tourism-related urban regeneration in two UK city regions

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Abstract

Tourism is widely seen as a tool for urban regeneration and many old industrial cities in the UK incorporate tourism into their regeneration plans. This study explores the people and organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration, including their roles and relationships. The research uses a critical realistic perspective and three theoretical approaches: the regulation, policy network and structure-agency approaches. It explores two urban waterfront regeneration areas in the UK with significant tourism dimensions: The Quays in Greater Manchester and NewcastleGateshead Quayside. Research data for these two cases were collected using semi-structured interviews, document analysis and participant observation.

The study findings indicate that in the case study areas tourism had more of a complementary and supplementary role rather than the lead role. The relationships between the people and organisations involved in tourism-related regeneration reflected resource dependency and they were often conflicting as well as collaborative. There were gaps and a lack of coordination between the actors involved in tourism marketing, tourism development, and urban regeneration. The tourism-related urban regeneration processes were heavily influenced by political and economic structures at the macro level, but the individual actors still exercised personal agency through their individual leadership, personality and commitment. The individual actors played important parts in building the inter-organisational relationships and in achieving tourism-related regeneration.

The study explores tourism-related urban regeneration using a multi-level conceptual framework that connects the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels, and also using a policy network approach that identifies gaps in coordinated policy making. These helped to advance understanding of the degree of integration between the actors and policy networks associated with tourism and with wider urban regeneration. The study also highlights the multifaceted and relational structure-agency relations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration.

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Glossary

1NG	City Development Company for NewcastleGateshead
AGMA	Association of Greater Manchester Authorities
ATP	Area Tourism Partnership
BID	Business Improvement District
BNG	Bridging NewcastleGateshead
DMO	Destination Management Organisation
IWMN	Imperial War Museum North
LDF	Local Development Framework
LEP	Local Enterprise Partnership
MBC	Metropolitan Borough Council
NGI	NewcastleGateshead Initiative
NWDA	North West Development Agency
ONE	One North East
Quango	Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisation
RDA	Regional Development Agency
SRB	Single Regeneration Budget
TPDC	Trafford Park Development Corporation
TTW	Tourism Tyne and Wear
TWAM	Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums
TWDC	Tyne and Wear Development Corporation
UDC	Urban Development Corporation
URC	Urban regeneration Company

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the study

During the 1970s and 1980s, many British cities experienced the decline and loss of their traditional manufacturing industries. For example, Tyneside in the North East of England saw the decline of shipbuilding and Greater Manchester in the North West of England experienced the decline of textile manufacturing. The economic decline was accompanied by many associated social, physical and environmental problems, and these cities were in need of urban regeneration, 'a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of an area that has been subject to change' (Roberts, 2000:17).

In their search for alternative economic activities, cities turned their attention to tourism as a tool for economic and physical regeneration. Since the late 1970s, tourism has been incorporated into urban regeneration strategies in many industrial cities in Britain, particularly in derelict inner city or waterfront areas. The tourism literature interprets this as a policy response to secure urban regeneration by creating employment opportunities, improving the physical environment, and enhancing city image. This study focuses on this process of the incorporation of tourism in the economic and physical aspects of urban regeneration.

Accompanying the process of economic restructuring, there have been significant changes in the governmental regulation mechanisms affecting British cities. The UK national government's market-oriented economic policies and fiscal austerity measures on local authorities during the 1980s meant that the local authorities increasingly had to take on action to tackle the complex socio-economic issues by themselves at the local level, and to compete with other cities for both public and private investment. These economic and political changes also encouraged the so-called shift from government to governance under which the government has become one among many actors involved in policy formulation and implementation rather than the sole dominant actor. This shift can be observed through the prevalence of partnerships and networks between the public, private, voluntary and community sectors in urban planning and policy making processes.

Tourism-related urban regeneration is an interesting field in which to investigate such a governance trend due to the complicated and fragmented nature of its planning and development processes. Tourism planning and development is complex and diffuse as it covers issues across a number of separate policy spheres and involves a variety of actors with different and sometimes conflicting interests. This complexity becomes more distinctive within an urban context as cities

are both complex and dynamic places where tourism cannot easily be separated from other economic and social activities. Urban regeneration is also a distinctively complicated policy field as it needs to address a variety of political, economic, environmental and socio-cultural issues, and it involves partnerships with a range of organisations with different wants and needs.

The interactions and relationships between these actors are therefore fundamental parts of the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration. These relationships are what this particular study tries to investigate, together with consideration of the influence of the broader political economy and the role of individual actors. As the introduction of the study, this chapter outlines the study aims and objectives. It then describes the study context including the theoretical, practical and philosophical contexts. Finally, the contents and structure of this thesis are explained in relation to the study aims and objectives.

1.2 Study aims and objectives

This study aims to explore tourism-related urban regeneration in three key areas: (i) the role of tourism in urban regeneration and the integration between tourism and urban regeneration policy spheres; (ii) the resource dependency and relationships between actors involved; and (iii) the structure-agency relations between the wider political economy and individual actors. This is explored through the application of specific political economy-related theories, including the regulation approach, the policy network approach and the structure-agency relation approach, to the practical case study of The Quays in Greater Manchester and NewcastleGateshead Quayside in North East England. The study aims are supported by six principal objectives which are explained and justified below. Full explanations of these objectives are provided in Chapter 3 where the conceptual framework of this study is explained.

Objective 1 To review existing literature to identify issues associated with tourism and urban regeneration in the context of political economy

The first objective is to lay the theoretical foundation of this study by critically reviewing the existent theories and studies relevant to the study topic. It includes not only tourism literature on the topic but also broader social and political theories that help understand tourism-related urban regeneration in a wider political economy context. Reviewing the literature helps to identify gaps in existing knowledge and understanding of the study topic, which in turn assists in further developing the critical study questions.

Objective 2 To develop a conceptual framework which highlights the key issues identified through the literature review, and to apply the framework to investigate practical case studies

The second objective is to build a framework through which the theoretical understanding gained through the literature review is utilised to investigate the study topic in practice. It also helps visualise the relationships between the theoretical concepts and provides a clear boundary and focus for the study. The conceptual framework acts as a cornerstone by directing the study design and the fieldwork, and it provides coherence and integration between the empirical findings of the study and the theoretical (conceptual) conclusions.

Objective 3 To understand how and to what extent different types of actors are involved in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas.

The planning and development processes of tourism and those of urban regeneration are complicated as they both require an involvement from a wide range of organisations. The third objective serves as a starting point of the practical case study by identifying the organisations and people involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. It investigates the role of tourism in urban regeneration through the perspectives of the actors involved, which have not been discussed often in the existing literature. It also examines the role of the actors in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in relation to their resources and interests.

Objective 4 To understand the actor interactions and to explore the resource dependencies and power relations within policy networks associated with tourism and urban regeneration in the case study areas.

Objective 4 is to investigate how and to what extent the actors identified through Objective 3 work together for planning and development of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. This includes examining why the organisations with different and often conflicting interests work together, and what kind of relationships they have with one another. Objective 4 also focuses on the interactions between actors at different territorial levels and the integration between actors involved in the different sectoral activities of tourism marketing, tourism development and urban regeneration.

Objective 5 To understand the structure-agency relations in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas.

Questions around structure-agency relations are fundamental for social science but they are rarely addressed in tourism research. In tourism research the unit of interaction and relationship that is analysed is often an organisation rather than individuals. Objective 5 is designed to examine how and to what extent the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration are affected by both the wider political economy structure and the individuals involved and their personal attributes. It also addresses how and to what extent the interaction between structure and agency influences the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration.

Objective 6 To assess the practical application and value of the conceptual framework and the contribution of the study to tourism research.

The last objective evaluates the contribution of this study to tourism scholarship and knowledge. Objective 6 calls attention to whether this study fills the gaps in the literature and brings new knowledge to tourism research, how effective the conceptual framework is in practice, and whether the framework is applicable for future studies.

1.3 Study context

1.3.1 The theoretical context of the study

The complexity of the urban environment makes tourism less visible in cities compared to tourism-dominated rural or coastal areas. This complexity has been a big challenge for urban tourism studies, including those focusing on tourism-related urban regeneration. Critics argue that the existing studies are dominated by descriptive case studies and there has been little theoretical development (Page, 2000; Page and Hall, 2003; Ashworth and Page, 2011). In other words, urban tourism studies have paid relatively little attention to the wider urban political economy, and the application of broader political or social theories in tourism studies has been limited.

This study therefore addresses these criticisms and attempts to contribute to the theoretical development of urban tourism studies by investigating tourism-related urban

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regeneration through a political economy perspective. Such a perspective helps understand the broader urban political and economic environment in which tourism-related urban regeneration takes place. After reviewing a range of social and political theories, three theories are chosen for this study, which are the regulation approach, the policy network approach and the structure-agency relations approach.

The regulation approach provides an understanding of the broad political economy environment of the capitalist society in which tourism and urban regeneration take place. The main argument of the regulation approach is that together the market and non-market forces of capitalist society reproduce capital accumulation and maintain the capitalist economy. The approach is particularly useful for this study as it explains changes in the wider political economy and how and to what extent those changes affect the urban economy and the governmental regulation mechanisms in the case study areas.

The prevalence of partnerships and networks is a common feature in both tourism and urban regeneration planning and development processes. However, both tourism studies and urban studies have paid little attention to the integration between actors and networks within these two separate fields. In this study, the policy network approach is applied to investigate the involvement of different actors and their resource dependencies and other relationships in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. A dialectical policy network approach is adopted in this study to examine the interactions between the wider political economy context, policy networks and the organisational and individual actors involved within the policy networks.

The structure and agency relations approach is adopted to compensate for the defects of the structure-centred views of the regulation approach and of the policy network approach. In this study, the approach has a fundamental role in inter-linking the three theoretical approaches and in providing a holistic framework to study tourism-related urban regeneration. This study investigates the influences of structure and agency on one another and how their interactions change and create paths for tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. The theoretical context of the study is fully explained in Chapter 2, the Literature Review.

1.3.2 The case study context of the study

Two UK urban regeneration areas with a significant tourism dimension were chosen for the case studies. They are 'The Quays' in Greater Manchester and 'NewcastleGateshead Quayside' in the North East of England, with both locations sharing some interesting commonalities. Both are located in the North of England, and the decline and loss of their traditional industries have

caused significant economic and social problems. The regeneration of the derelict waterfront areas has been the priority of the local authorities, and tourism, leisure, and cultural developments have been incorporated into flagship regeneration schemes and mixed-use development programmes in both areas. Further, the two areas are both waterfront urban regeneration sites and their development required cooperation between neighbouring local authorities based on either side of the waterfront. 'The Quays' and 'NewcastleGateshead Quayside' are negotiated and shared marketing brands between the two councils in each of the waterfront areas. Along the Manchester Ship Canal, Salford City Council and Trafford Metropolitan Borough Council are involved in the development and marketing of The Quays, whereas along the River Tyne, Newcastle City Council and Gateshead Metropolitan Borough Council work together for the tourism-related urban regeneration of NewcastleGateshead Quayside.

While the two areas have similar backgrounds and approaches toward urban regeneration, they have different local political, economic, and socio-cultural contexts, which gave them distinctive characters. The interactions between the different institutions and actors, such as local authorities, Regional Development Agencies, Destination Management Organisations, developers, and community sectors, determine the specific characteristics of tourism-related urban regeneration in each area. Such local specificity would have made a direct comparison between the two areas unfeasible. This study therefore takes the local contexts of the areas fully into consideration as appropriate for the analysis of the two case studies. The case study areas are explained in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

1.3.3 The philosophical context of the study

This study is philosophically based on critical realism. Critical realists believe the existence of reality beyond our knowledge and understanding, but at the same time acknowledge that social phenomena are intrinsically meaningful and that there are always interpretive or hermeneutic elements in social science (Sayer, 2000). This philosophical position is fundamental for this study as it is very closely related to how the author sees social reality, and it determined how this study was designed and conducted. In particular, the critical realists' view on dialectical relations between structure and agency is a central axis of this study which connects the three core theoretical approaches and the study objectives.

Individuals and groups involved in tourism-related urban regeneration are located within various structured contexts. They are situated not only in the broader political, economic,

and socio-cultural structural context of the social world, but also in the structured conditions of the organisations and networks in which they are involved. Therefore changes in the social world have an influence on the actors, and interactions between actors depend largely on the specific context they are situated in, such as the local socio-economic, political and cultural contexts. Structural changes, such as the emergence of neoliberalism and governance approaches, provide condition where the actors work together, and build partnerships or networks. Once the networks are established, like many other social structures they define the roles of actors and limit their actions and responses. Therefore, an actor's response or action to a specific issue is affected by their institutional culture and past experiences.

While individuals are strongly influenced by structured conditions, they still have at least some degree of independent power to affect events through interactions with one another. 'Groups and individuals interact, exercising their own particular abilities, skills and personalities. Agents will seek to advance their own interests and affect outcomes. Typically, they will engage in processes of conflict and/or consensual negotiation with other agents' (McAnulla, 2002:286). The contradictions and coordinations between actors within a network or in different networks can have impacts on the shape and structure of networks, and on the broader social environment. Based on these philosophical assumptions, this study aims to identify and explain the interactions between actors involved in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration within a political economy context. The author's philosophical position in this study is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, on Methodology.

1.4 Organisation of the thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters and each of them is written to address one or more research objectives as shown in Table 1.1. Following the current chapter, Chapter 2 provides an overview of the main theories adopted in this study, including the regulation approach, the policy network approach and the structure-agency approach, and it explains how and to what extent these approaches have been used in tourism and urban regeneration research where applicable. The chapter also critically reviews the current tourism studies on tourism-related urban regeneration, and it finds gaps in this literature.

Chapter 3 explains the conceptual framework of this study. It examines the evolution of the conceptual framework over time, and it discusses the relationship between the theoretical approaches and their application in the practical case study in order to address the study objectives.

Chapter 4 addresses the research design and methodology. It explains critical realism as the author's philosophical position, the case study as research methodology, and the data collection and analysis methods.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 are results chapters which present and discuss the practical findings from the two case studies. Chapter 5 introduces the case study areas through their historical urban regeneration processes, and it investigates how and to what extent changes in the wider political economy have impacted on tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. Chapter 5 mainly addresses Objective 3, and discusses the roles of market and non-market actors in tourism-related urban regeneration. It also examines the role of tourism in urban regeneration from the actors' perspectives. Chapter 6 explores Objective 4, focusing on the relationships between organisations and the extent of integration between tourism and urban regeneration actors. Chapter 7 investigates the structure-agency relations of tourism-related urban regeneration by examining the influences of structure and agency on one another and the intertwined relationships between the two. It is an integrative results chapter linking the arguments presented in the previous two results chapters.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion chapter which offers a brief summary of the study processes and discusses the study findings and contributions. It discusses the value of the conceptual framework and contribution of the study to knowledge and scholarship in tourism research through three critical questions developed throughout the study. The reference list and appendix follow the conclusion.

Table 1.1 The organisation of the thesis

Chapters	Contents	Main focus in relation to objectives
Chapter 1 Introduction	• Introduction to the study aims and objectives, the study context, and the thesis structure	To introduce the study aims and objectives
Chapter 2 Literature review	• Critical review of relevant theories and existing studies	Objective 1 To review existing literature to identify issues associated with tourism and urban regeneration in the context of political economy
Chapter 3 Conceptual framework	• Development of the conceptual framework and its application to address the study objectives	Objective 2 To develop a conceptual framework which highlights the key issues identified through the literature review and to apply the framework to investigate practical case studies
Chapter 4 Methodology	• Research design processes, including research philosophy, methodology, data collection and analysis methods	

Chapter 5 The political economy of tourism-related urban regeneration	Results chapter 1 • Introduction of the case study areas • Identification of the key actors and their roles in tourism-related urban regeneration. • Discussion of the role of tourism in urban regeneration • Exploration of impacts of changes in political economy in tourism-related urban regeneration	Objective 3 To understand how and to what extent different types of actors are involved in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas And also in part Objective 5
Chapter 6 Actor interactions and networks in the case study areas	Results chapter 2 • Resource dependencies and the relationships between actors, and the integration between sectoral activities	Objective 4 To understand the actor interactions and to explore the resource dependencies and power relations within policy networks associated with tourism and urban regeneration in the case study areas And also in part Objective 3
Chapter 7 Structure-agency relations in tourism-related urban regeneration	Results chapter 3 • The interaction between structure and agency and its effects on tourism-related urban regeneration	Objective 5 To understand the structure-agency relations in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas And also Objectives 3 and 4
Chapter 8 Conclusion	• Summary of the study • Evaluation of the conceptual framework and examination of the study's contributions	Objective 6 To assess the practical application and value of the conceptual framework and contribution of the study to tourism research And also review of all previous five objectives

1.5 Conclusion

The aim of this study is to understand the actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in terms of their roles and relationships in the planning and development processes. Theoretically, the study is based on a political economy perspective and it applies the regulation approach, the policy network approach, and the structure-agency relation approach. This study is philosophically based on critical realism and this had a significant influence on the application of the theoretical approaches and study design, including the data collection and data analysis. For practical application of these theories, this study chose two industrial city regions in the North of England where the regeneration has significant tourism dimensions.

The following chapter reviews the existing literature on the three core theoretical approaches adopted in this study, and it explains how they are relevant to this particular study. It also critically reviews the current tourism literature on tourism-related urban regeneration and it identifies gaps in the literature.

Chapter 2 Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on the three core theoretical approaches adopted in this study and also the literature on 'tourism and urban regeneration', and therefore it provides the theoretical background for the thesis. It introduces the main issues and concepts associated with the three core theoretical approaches: the regulation approach, the policy network approach, and the structure-agency relation approach. It provides an overview of these approaches and their previous application in urban regeneration and tourism literature where appropriate. Each of these core approaches has a vast literature and broad application, and it is impossible to deal with them here in full. The author therefore made a conscious decision in terms of what to cover in this chapter based on the relevance of the approaches to the overall study.

The regulation approach helps in understanding the political economy of capitalist society within which tourism-related urban regeneration takes place. The regulation approach explains the relationships between market and non-market forces in the development of the capitalist economy. The policy network approach is then adopted to explain the complicated planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration within the wider political economy environment. Both tourism and urban regeneration involve a wide range of organisations in planning and development, and the policy network approach is a useful analytical tool to understand the relationships and interactions between these actors. The structure-agency relations approach brings the different approaches together, and it explains the multifaceted and intertwined relationships between structure and agency in tourism-related urban regeneration. The last section of the chapter reviews existing tourism literature on tourism-related urban regeneration, and it identifies gaps in the literature.

2.2 The regulation approach

2.2.1 Overview of the regulation approach

The Regulation Approach originated from work by a group of French Marxist political economists in the 1970s (Jessop, 1997b). Since then, the regulation approach has spread well

beyond its original discipline, economics, to political, social and cultural fields, and it has contributed to trans-and post-disciplinary studies across several academic spheres (Jessop and Sum, 2006). There are several regulation schools and individual scholars with a wide range of research interests. This thesis focuses on general perspectives on the nature and preconditions of the capitalist economy and on concepts and arguments associated with the regulation approach that can be applied to tourism-related urban regeneration.

In very simple terms, the regulation approach distinguishes between the role of economic (or market) and extra-economic (or non-market) mechanisms of capitalist society, and it focuses on the relationships between them. The regulation approach considers a wide range of market and non-market forces, including not only the government but also institutions and organisations, collective identities, shared visions, culture and conventions, etc. (Jessop, 1997b).

The regulation approach provides 'a conceptual framework for understanding processes of capitalist growth, crisis and reproduction' (Tickell and Peck, 1995:359). In this study, the regulation approach is particularly useful to understand the urban regeneration context of the case study areas as it explains how many cities in the UK flourished with industrial development, suffered from the decline of these industries and then sought to revitalise their urban areas through a wide political economy view. As the regulation approach began with the work of Marxist economists, it presumes that the capitalist economy contains potential contradictions and conflicts, and inherent crisis tendencies (Swyngedow, 2000). A crisis refers to 'a rupture in the reproduction of the social system' (Goodwin and Painter, 1996:638), and all complex social systems show signs of crisis tendencies. A crisis could be in a part of the system, or a crisis of the system as a whole (Goodwin and Painter, 1996).

Regulationists reject the orthodox and neoclassical economics perspectives of the capitalist economy on several counts. They maintain that capital accumulation cannot be explained by the orthodox economic models of pure and self-regulating perfect markets entirely driven by the economising and optimising behaviour of predetermined rational 'economic man', behaviour which cannot be found in the real world (Jessop, 1997b). The regulation approach denies the neoclassical assumption of the existence of 'a clearly delimited, socially disembedded sphere of economic relations whose dynamic is marked by a tendency towards general equilibrium' (Jessop, 1997b:294). The regulation approach also refuses the neoclassical focus on the 'allocation of resources at a given moment in time' (Colander, 2000:134). Rather, the regulation approach emphasises the historically and spatially developed and socially embedded nature of capitalist economies.

The two main concepts of the regulation approach are the mode of regulation and the regime of accumulation, originally developed by the Parisian regulation school to explain the

interrelationships between economic and socio-political factors. An accumulation regime refers to 'a complementary pattern of production and consumption which is reproducible over a long period' (Jessop, 1997b:291). An accumulation regime is broadly a macro-economic concept, which deals with issues such as national modes of growth and the international division of labour. A mode of regulation is an ensemble of both economic and extra-economic institutional and organisational forms, social relations and networks, cultural norms and conventions which can stabilise an accumulation regime (Jessop, 1997b). 'The concept of regulation is used to denote a specific local and historical collection of structural forms or institutional arrangements within which individual and collective behaviour unfolds and a particular configuration of market adjustments through which privately made decisions are coordinated and which give rise to elements of regularity in economic life' (Dunford 1990:306). Therefore a mode of regulation defines the rules of the game in capital accumulation, and it allows a dynamic adaptation of production and social demands, and it guides and stabilises the accumulation process in capitalist society (Dunford, 1990).

The regulation approach explains the economic development of capitalism in terms of the relationships between the regime of accumulation and the mode of regulation. Aglietta (1998:54) states that 'capitalism can only achieve progress for society if sets of mediation mechanisms, forming a mode of regulation, establish coherence among the imbalances inherent in the capitalist system. The cumulative effect of this coherence, once it has been achieved, is the establishment of a regime of growth.' In short, Regulationists believe that 'if the regime of accumulation survives (and that is not inevitable) it does so because the relationships between its elements are being regulated' (Painter, 1997:124).

While a mode of regulation helps explain how the capitalist economy sustains its growth despite the inherent conflicts and struggles, the concept is often criticised for its over-simplicity as it suggests that the process of capitalist economic development involves an alternation between stable and crisis-free stages of capitalism interrupted by unstable and conflictual transition periods (Jessop, 1997b). However, the social system consists of complex and contradictory interests and, while regulation can ease such contradictions temporarily and promote the reproduction of the system, it can hardly remove the crisis-tendencies, and a period of stable and sustained economic growth will still express instabilities and tensions (Painter and Goodwin, 1995).

Painter and Goodwin (1995:341) argue that 'most of time, therefore, regulation is neither perfect nor wholly absent. Rather, it is more or less effective, depending on the mix and interaction of the various factors involved'. They go on to develop the concept of the 'process of regulation' which refers to 'the product of material and discursive practices that generate and are in turn conditioned by social and political institutions' (Painter and Goodwin, 1995:342). The

process of regulation helps highlight the 'ebb and flow' of regulatory processes through time and across space (Painter and Goodwin, 1995:342). In other words, the process of regulation represents more clearly the path-dependent and contextual nature of capitalist economic development processes.

2.2.2 Fordism/Keynesianism vs Post-Fordism/Neoliberalism

The most well-known but debatable argument of the regulation approach is the alleged shift from Fordism to post-Fordism and the associated changes in the mode of regulation (regulation mechanisms). This argument is particularly significant for this study as this alleged transition explains the background to the decline of many UK old industrial cities and the governments' attempt to revive them through new approaches in national and urban policies.

Fordism was the dominant capitalist development model in advanced capitalist societies during the post war period, between 1950s and 1970s in the UK. The Fordist accumulation regime is characterised by mass production and mass consumption, and its mode of regulation is typified by a Keynesian welfare regulatory mix and active government intervention (Jessop, 1993). However, during the early 1970s the link between national mass production and national mass consumption was destroyed because of a range of interrelated trends, such as the profitability decline of Fordist sectors, a widespread deindustrialisation and unemployment, an increase of international competition, and the old industrial countries including the UK faced a crisis of Keynesian welfare policies (Brenner and Theodore, 2002).

It is suggested that Neoliberalism came to prominence during the late 1970s and early 1980s as a response to the sustained global economic downturn of the preceding decade (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). The supporters of neoliberalism believe that open, competitive and unregulated markets, liberated from all forms of state intervention, represent the ideal mechanism for economic development (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). They therefore argue for the deregulation of state control, the reduction of corporate taxes, the reduction and/or privatisation of public services, the dismantling of welfare programs, the enhancement of international capital mobility, and the intensification of inter-locality competition (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). The national and local governments in old industrialised countries adopted neoliberal approaches and deployed policies intended to extend market discipline, competition, and commodification across all sectors of society (Brenner and Theodore, 2002).

The earlier mentioned criticisms of the regulation approach could be also applied on the alleged shift from Fordism to post-Fordism, that it is overly simplistic in that it limits the post-war

history to an inevitable transition from stable Fordism to equally stable post-Fordism (Jessop, 1997b, 2001). However, more importantly, the concept of post-Fordism proved to be problematic even within the regulation approach itself. The idea of post-Fordism after Fordism holds its own paradox as it implies that Fordism is definitely over and a new era has succeeded it. At the same time, it also suggests that post-Fordism movements are dependent on its predecessor Fordism, or in continuous revolt against it. It is clearly inadequate to argue that one stable mode quickly breaks down and then becomes quickly replaced by a completely different but equally stable new mode of regulation (Goodwin, 2001). Post-Fordism proves more complicated than Fordism due to the greater complexity and variety of the global economy, and Regulationists responded to this challenge by analysing possible alternative post–Fordist scenarios in different contexts and spatial scales rather than attempting to define one pure form, similar to their analyses of different regimes of Fordism in different countries at different times (Jessop, 1997b, 2001).

Peck and Tickell (1994:318) strongly reject the idea of neoliberalism as a new mode of regulation supporting post-Fordist accumulation. They argue that neoliberalism cannot be a mode of regulation as it is not capable of restoring and sustaining economic growth. Neoliberalism is even referred as 'jungle law', a symptom of, and contributor to, the after-Fordist crisis (Peck and Tickell, 1994). Brenner and Theodore (2002) also argue that, while neoliberalism suggests that self-regulating markets will create an optimum allocation of investments and resources, neoliberal political practice has generated persistent market failures, intensified social inequality and insecurity, destructive inter-local competition and uneven development at all spatial scales.

2.2.3 The regulation approach in urban policy

As the national state loses its power to control multinational money flows, investment takes the form of a negotiation between international capital and local powers, and the local state often tries its best to maximise the attractiveness of its own locality as a lure for capitalist development (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Most local governments are engaged in short-term forms of inter-place competition, place-marketing, and regulatory undercutting to attract investments and jobs (Leitner and Sheppard, 1998).

Neoliberal projects have also been directly interiorised into urban policy regimes, as newly formed territorial alliances attempt to revitalise local economies through a treatment of deregulation, privatisation, liberalisation, and increased financial austerity (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). In this context, cities and their suburban areas have become increasingly important

geographical targets and institutional laboratories for a variety of neoliberal policy experiments (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). Some of these experiments, such as place-marketing, enterprise and empowerment zones, local tax abatements, urban development corporations (UDCs), and public-private partnerships (Brenner and Theodore, 2002), are prominent in the UK government's urban regeneration approaches.

Peck and Tickell (2002) analyse the evolution of neoliberalism in three phases since the 1970s, and they argue that the path-dependent nature of neoliberalism has had to be reconstituted in order to respond to neoliberalism's own disruptive, dysfunctional socio-political effects. During the first phase they identified, the 1970s, cities in the older industrialised countries suffered severely from economic disruption and socio-political struggle, and the post-war Fordist-Keynesian growth regime was being systematically undermined (Peck and Tickell, 2002). The national and urban governments adopted local economic initiatives in order to promote renewed growth, although their approaches remained based on maintaining established socio-political settlements and Keynesian welfare redistributive arrangements (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Jones and Ward, 2004).

During the era of 'roll-back' neoliberalism in the 1980s, the second phase identified by Peck and Tickell (2002), neoliberalism focused on dismantling the Keynesian welfare system. National governments imposed fiscal austerity measures on local government, and consequently local governments adopted various cost-cutting measures, such as tax reduction, land grants, cutbacks in public services, and privatisation of infrastructure facilities, in order to promote a good business climate (Peck and Tickell, 2002). In the UK, the then Conservative national government argued that urban policy was failing because of the state's intervention in the local economy (Jones and Ward, 2004). They instead spread a 'nested hierarchical structure' (Harvey, 2006: 430) by establishing arms-length quangos, such as Urban Development Corporations (UDCs), to manage the urban crisis.

In the third or 'roll-out' period, since the 1990s, the neoliberal approach was focused not only on short-term economic growth but also on the socio-political effects and contradictions produced by the previous forms of neoliberal state intervention (Peck and Tickell, 2002). In response to criticisms that neoliberal urban policy had resulted in 'a patchwork quilt of complexity and idiosyncrasy' (Audit Commission, 1989:4), the state pursued a more co-ordinated approach and introduced national programmes, such as the Single Regeneration Budget (Jones and Ward, 2004: 151). However, despite their intentions, the late-Thatcherite state interventions were far from co-ordinated (Jones and Ward, 2004: 151).

The Labour government that came to power in 1997 led to a consolidation of neoliberalism (Jones and Ward, 2004:151). They retained and modified the Single Regeneration

Budget to ensure coordination and to 'respond to contradictions created by a previous lack of community involvement in redevelopment' (Jones and Ward, 2002:487). They also introduced Regional Development Agencies in 1999 in order to achieve coordination in regional economic development. However, 'the policy messes and tangled hierarchies created by the RDAs' and 'the continual national reorganisation of the state apparatus' (Jones and Ward, 2004:151) could not provide the necessary coordination. During this time, although the dominant political aims for local governments resided in market-oriented capitalist growth, various non-market forms of coordination and cooperation were attempted as part of the conditions for promoting and sustaining economic competitiveness (Peck and Tickell, 2002).

The evolution of neoliberalism can be seen as 'a process of institutional creative destruction' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002:362), where the previous institutional and political compromises that supported Fordist economic development were destroyed through market-oriented reform programmes and a new infrastructure was created for neoliberal economic development. However, this is an uneven, multi-scalar, multi-directional, and open-ended restructuring process rather than a unilinear transition from one clearly bounded regulation system to another (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). It occurs in an aggressively contested institutional setting where newly emergent 'projected spaces' interact conflictually with previous regulatory arrangements. This in turn leads to new, unforeseen and often highly unstable layerings of political economic space (Lipietz, 1992).

2.2.4 The regulation approach in the tourism literature

Research on the political economy of tourism has largely focused on less developed economies, and the more developed economies have largely been ignored (Williams, 2004; Shaw and Williams, 2004; Bianchi, 2002). The regulation approach, as a particular political economy approach, has gained relatively little attention among tourism researchers, although some authors highlight its merits (Ateljevic 2000; Shaw and Williams 2004; Williams 2004).

Williams (2004) suggests that the regulation approach provides a useful analytical approach for a more holistic understanding of tourism and a useful level of abstraction about systems of production-consumption and modes of regulation. He argues that it is important to examine how tourism is shaped by the wider regulatory framework, and he highlights various ways in which national states, the key site of regulation, affect tourism. The ways he identified include the state role in 'mediating relations with the global economy', 'providing a legal framework for production', 'shaping production and consumption through national

macroeconomic policies' 'intervening in local and regional development', 'contributing to the reproduction of the labour force', 'social investment in response to the perceived inability of private capital to ensure its own reproduction' 'providing a climate of security and stability for tourism' (Williams, 2004:68-69).

The application of the regulation approach in the tourism literature is limited as the majority of research focuses on the regime of accumulation, such as the analyses of Fordist/post-Fordist tourism production and consumption. By contrast, tourism researchers have given little attention to various political and institutional arrangements, or the mode of regulation, which govern and maintain a regime of accumulation (Cornelissen, 2011).

Cornelissen's (2011) recent criticisms of the regulation approach, such as the Regulationists forcing homogenisation and declaring the transcendence of post-Fordism over Fordism, overlook more recent attempts by the Regulationists to overcome its supposed over-simplicity and also the debates within the regulation approach about the concepts of post-Fordism. She also overlooks a very important principle of the regulation approach, which is to study the capitalist economy within path-dependent temporal and spatial contexts. Her article itself is largely focused on the regime of accumulation, and she fails to make any comments on the important concept of neoliberalism, which has dominated the governmental regulation approach since the decline of Fordism.

In conclusion, the regulation approach explains how the economic and extra-economic forces of capitalist society reproduce and sustain the capitalist economy despite its crisis tendency. In this particular study, the regulation approach is very useful as it helps to understand tourism-related urban regeneration within a broader urban political economy context. The regulation approach shows that the prevailing regulation mechanism (mode of regulation) adopted by governments has a significant impact on urban policy, including tourism-related urban regeneration. Unlike the majority of existing tourism literature, this study focuses on the mode (or process) of regulation as it intends to investigate how and to what extent the political and institutional environment influences the planning and development of tourism-related urban regeneration.

2.3 The policy network approach

2.3.1 Overview of the policy network approach

With the shifts in the governmental regulation approach, as explained in the previous section, there have been significant changes in governance. Governance is generally understood to involve the development of governing styles whereby the boundaries between and within the public and private sectors have become blurred (Stocker, 1998). Under this governance trend, policy-making processes require 'the complex art of steering multiple agencies, institutions and systems which are both operationally autonomous from one another and structurally coupled through various forms of reciprocal interdependence' (Jessop, 1997a:575). Therefore, understanding the interactions between multiple actors and organisations is key to the study of planning and policy-making processes. This study adopts the policy network approach to investigate the interactions between a wide range of institutional and individual actors involved in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration.

The policy network approach has been widely reviewed (Borzel, 1998; Dowding, 1995; Jordan, 1990; Marsh 1998, Rhodes, 1981; Thatcher, 1998), and the concept of policy networks is defined and used in various ways in the American, British and European literature, and individual scholars also have their different views. This study considers policy networks as an analytical tool for investigating institutionalised exchange relations between the state and civil organisations, and the roles played by private and public sector actors, and both the formal and informal relationships between them (Borzel, 1998). It is assumed that the existence of policy networks, which reflect the relative status or power of particular interests in a policy area, influences policy outcomes (Borzel, 1998). The policy network is regarded as an analytical concept or model to suggest the 'structural relationships, interdependencies and dynamics between actors in politics and policy-making' (Schneider, 1998, cited in Borzel, 1998:258).

Rhodes' work became the starting point for the majority of British literature on policy networks, even though the literature is diverse with a variety of different perspectives (Marsh, 1998). In his study of intergovernmental relations, Rhodes (1981) argues that the structural relationships between political institutions are the important element in a policy network, and he focuses on the existence of networks at aggregated and sectoral rather than disaggregated and sub-sectoral levels. According to him, all governments face a wide range of interests, and the

aggregation of those interests is a functional necessity, and therefore intermediation is a fact of everyday life in the government and policy (Rhodes, 1997).

Rhodes (1986) cities Benson's (1982:148) definition of a policy network as 'a cluster or complex of organisations connected to each other by resource dependencies and distinguished from other clusters or complexes by breaks in the structure of resource dependencies'. Rhodes (1981:98) argues that 'any organisation is dependent upon other organisations for resources', and 'in order to achieve their goals, the organisations have to exchange resources' and the organisations 'employ strategies within known rules of the game to regulate the process of exchange'.

Marsh and Rhodes (1992) highlight the importance of policy networks as they limit participation in the policy process and decide which issues to be included and excluded from the policy agenda. Policy networks also define the roles of actors and shape the behaviours of actors. Moreover, policy networks favour certain interests by granting them access and privileging the policy outcomes. Marsh and Rhodes (1992) developed a typology of policy networks (see Table 2.1) based on Rhodes' (1988) previous distinction between policy community and issue network, which are seen as the polar ends of the continuum. They use the term 'policy network' as the generic term including all types. According to Marsh and Rhodes (1992), a policy community has a limited number of participants, who have frequent and high quality interactions with one another. All members have resources and their essential interaction involves 'bargaining between members with resources' (Rhodes, 1997: 44). There is a balance of power and, although all members may not have equal benefit, they consider it as a 'positive-sum game' if the policy community is to continue.

By contrast, Marsh and Rhodes (1992) suggest that issue networks have a large number of participants, and the interactions between these participants fluctuate in frequency and intensity. There is limited consensus and ever-existing conflicts between the participants, and their basic relationship is based on consultation rather than bargaining or negotiation. As the participants have unequal power, resources and access, their interaction is considered as a zero-sum game. It is difficult to achieve stability and continuity, and the structure of issue networks is likely to be atomistic (Heclo, 1978, cited in Rhodes, 1997).

Table 2.1 Types of policy network: characteristics of policy communities and issue networks

Dimension	Policy Community	Issue Network
Membership:		
Number of participants	Very limited number, some groups consciously excluded	Large
Types of interest	Economic and/or professional interests dominate	Encompasses range of affected interests
Integration:		
Frequency of interaction	Frequent, high-quality, interaction of all groups on all matters related to policy issue	Contacts fluctuate in frequency and intensity
Continuity	Membership, values, and outcomes persistent over time	Access fluctuates significantly
Consensus	All participants share basic values and accept the legitimacy of the outcome	A measure of agreement exists, but conflict is ever present
Resources:		
Distribution of resources (within network)	All participants have resources; basic relationship is an exchange relationship	Some participants may have resources, but they are limited, and basic relationship is consultative
Distribution of resources (within participation organisations)	Hierarchical; leaders can deliver members	Varied and variable distribution and capacity to regulate members
Power:	There is a balance of power among members. Although one group may dominate, it must be a positive-sum game if community is to persist	Unequal powers, reflecting unequal resources and unequal access. It is a zero-sum game.

(Source: Adapted from Marsh and Rhode, 1992: 251)

Several policy network typologies have been developed (Atkinson and Coleman, 1989; Jordan and Schubert, 1992; Marsh and Rhodes, 1992; Rhodes, 1988; van Waarden, 1992). However, such typologies have clear limitations in their applicability as an analytical tool in the real world (Thatcher, 1998). There is no single agreed definition for a policy network or policy community, and different researchers use different dimensions and characteristics to identify and categorise the different types of policy networks. Thatcher (1998) criticises how in empirical analyses the categories of policy networks can be chosen arbitrarily, and these are often neither comparable nor exhaustive. The categories also often appear to be overlapping, and not mutually exclusive, over generalised, lacking in clarity, and short of explanatory elements (Thatcher, 1998).

While Marsh and Rhodes (1992) focus on structural aspects of policy networks, there have been different approaches in the British literature. For example, Dowding (1995) emphasises the patterns of interactions and resource exchanges between actors within a policy network.

According to Dowding (1994), networks themselves have no theoretical or explanatory power, and network structures also have no influence on policy outcomes. Rather, it is the bargaining and resource exchange between the agents in the networks which determine policy outcomes, and 'the explanation lies in the characteristics of the actors' (Dowding, 1995:142).

McPherson and Raab (1988) in their study of Scottish education policy, highlight that networks are based on interpersonal relationships between known and trusted individuals who share beliefs and a common culture. By contrast, Knoke (1990: 8) argues that 'position and relationship are inseparable aspects of a unitary structural phenomenon', and that it is the position and role of actors, and the relationships between these roles which define the network, not the individuals who occupy them.

Most British literature has a narrower focus and it often concentrates on the role of networks in the development and implementation of policy (Marsh and Smith, 2000). While there is general agreement that policy networks exists and operate as links between actors within a particular policy domain, there is less agreement on the nature of networks and the explanatory utility of the concept (Marsh, 1998). A minimal common understanding of a policy network is a 'set of relatively stable relationships which are of non-hierarchical and interdependent nature linking a variety of actors, who share common interests with regard to policy and who exchange resources to pursue these shared interests acknowledging that cooperation is the best way to achieve common goals' (Borzel, 1998:254).

This study adopts policy networks as an analytic tool to examine the interactions between actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration planning and development processes, and the study uses the term policy network as a generic term including different types of networks.

2.3.2 A dialectical policy network approach

Marsh and Smith (2000) suggest a dialectical model of policy network analysis based on three interactive or dialectical relationships between: network and actors, network and context, and network and policy outcome. They define a dialectical relationship as 'an interactive relationship between two variables in which each affects the other in a continuing iterative process' (2000:5).

Firstly, Marsh and Smith (2000) suggest that policy networks and the actors involved within the networks have dialectical structure-agency relations. A network has institutionalised beliefs, values, culture and particular forms of behaviour, and it constrains and/or facilitates the actors within it. A network defines the actors' roles and responses, which reflect past power

distributions and conflicts and shape present political outcomes. However, actors still have skills and capacities to interpret the constraints and opportunities exerted by both the structured context of the network and the broader political and social-structural context. They make strategic calculations to use opportunities and negotiate constraints. The actors can also 'choose policy options, bargain, argue and break up networks' (Marsh and Smith, 2000:7)

Secondly, Marsh and Smith (2000) indicate that dialectical relationships are also found between the network and the context within which the network exists. Policy networks reflect broader exogenous structures, and agents within policy networks are also located in various structural positions. Changes in external environments may affect the resources and interests of the actors within a network and may challenge the certainties and values within particular networks. Despite this exogenous influence, the extent and speed of change in a network clearly depend on its capacity to mediate and often minimise the effect of such change. Networks also have independent structures and interactions within them which are not affected by the external changes.

Lastly, according to Marsh and Smith (2000), policy networks and policy outcomes have a dialectical relationship. They argue that, while policy networks affect policy outcomes, policy outcomes can affect the shape of networks. A particular policy outcome can lead to changes in the membership or the balance of resources within a network. Policy outcomes can strengthen or weaken the structural position of a network in relation to certain interests in the wider society. Furthermore, policy outcomes can encourage the strategic learning of actors in the network based on their experiences.

However, Marsh and Smith's dialectical model is criticised on several accounts. Toke and Marsh (2003) criticise how the model does not distinguish between the groups and individuals as agents. The model overemphasises the influence of 'insider' groups at the cost of 'outsider' groups as it stresses how policy outcomes emanate from the policy networks and it overlooks the instances where outsider pressure may lead to network change or changes in policy outcomes. Raab (2001) argues that Marsh and Smith's framework is incomplete and the conceptual and methodological application of the framework is not fully explained. Evans (2001) also criticises Marsh and Smith for being too conservative in their formulation of the term dialectic and for failing to map out the contours of a truly dialectical approach to the study of policy networks, although Evans himself does not define what a dialectical approach is.

Rather, Evans (2001) adopts Benson's (1977) dialectical approach from organisational studies and he applies it to policy networks. According to Benson (1977), the dialectical approach emphasises the process through which organisational arrangements are produced and maintained, and it explains the processes involved in the production, reproduction and destruction of

particular organisational forms. Benson argues that a dialectical analysis of any field of study should apply four principles: social construction/production, totality, contradiction, and praxis. These four principles are considered in turn.

First, Benson (1977) identifies the principle of social construction/production. Here, the social world is continually constructed by people, and social patterns are built through their interactions and eventually institutional arrangements are established. Social arrangements are then gradually modified and replaced through continued interactions, encounters and confrontations among people. However, 'people produce a social world which stands over them, constraining their actors' (Benson, 1977:3). Some actors reproduce the existing social structure by defending their interests within the established order while others try to transcend their present limits and eventually conflict with the established arrangements and this leads to social change. This social construction/production process can happen without the understandings of the actors.

Second, Benson (1977) also argues that social phenomena should be studied relationally with attention to their multiple interconnections, that is in their totality. Any particular structure is regarded as part of a larger, concrete whole, rather than as an isolated, abstract phenomenon. An established social structure has intertwined components, of which the linkages are neither complete nor wholly coherent. Benson (1977) argues that dialectical analysis should stress the partial autonomy of the components, while looking at the complex interlocking wholes, and that it should highlight social construction as an emergent process and focus on newly emerging social arrangements as well as existing ones.

Third, Benson (1977) indicates that social structures include contradictions, ruptures, inconsistencies and incompatibilities. In any social setting there is a contradiction between the on-going social production and the previously established social formation. The social production process creates multiple and incompatible social forms in differentiated contexts. Social contradictions may cause dislocations and crises, and activate the search for alternative social structures. They may combine and facilitate or prevent social mobilisation, and also define the limits of change within a particular period or within a given system.

The last principle Benson (1977) highlights, that of praxis, refers to 'the free and creative reconstruction of social arrangements on the basis of a reasoned analysis of both the limits and the potentials of present social forms' (1977:5). People can become active agents reconstructing their own social relations and ultimately themselves on the basis of rational analysis. Social science should contribute to the process of reconstruction by questioning the sense of inevitability of established social structures, and uncovering the contradictions and limits of the present order, and by revealing the mechanisms of transformation.

Adopting the above approach and considering a policy network as an organisation, Evans (2001) highlights four aspects required to understand dialectics in policy network analysis. Firstly, in relation to social construction/production, policy networks should be considered as part of the broader social world, and always in a state of becoming. Policy networks should be seen as a site of struggle between competing interests and conceptions of purpose, and the power relations in these networks are dynamic and not static. A policy network survives because of its ability to respond to social and political change and to adapt incrementally. Secondly, Evans (2001) argues that policy networks should be understood within a broader totality of governance, with multiple interpenetrating levels and sectors. A policy network should be analysed as a concrete, multi-levelled phenomenon beset by contradictions which continuously tend to undermine its existing features.

Thirdly, Evans (2001) proposes that, even if the origin of change is exogenous, the forces of change are likely to impact on the behaviour of actors within the network, and this could stimulate ruptures, inconsistencies and incompatibilities in the fabric of the interpersonal relations. Lastly, the actors within network settings have the capacity to introduce new ideas and theories within their activities. The concept of praxis helps to reinforce the argument that networks are a source of power per se, and it explains how networks emerge and why change is likely to be incremental rather than radical. Policy networks are thus the product of an on-going process of social and political construction, which is intertwined with broader systems of governance in complex ways (Evans, 2001).

2.3.3 The policy network approach in the urban regeneration literature

Urban regeneration has been a fertile ground for the governance debate, including debates about the rapid development of partnerships and the rise of urban regime theory (Davies, 2002). In practice, the problems of economic decline, social exclusion and area dereliction have proved too severe and complex to be resolved by any one agency, local government, business or community group acting alone (Carley et al., 2000). Thus, the complex and multidimensional nature of urban regeneration requires integrated, coordinated and multifaceted strategies involving a wide range of actors (Carter, 2000), as suggested by the notion of governance.

Spaans (2002) argues that the implementation of complex projects such as urban regeneration programmes requires a range of actors working in policy networks. These actors are mutually dependent, and each of them has their own goals within the policy process, and there is no single actor who holds a dominant position. This mutual dependency between actors can be

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'symmetric or asymmetric, positive or negative, defensive or offensive', and the networks of organisations are always 'mixtures of competition and cooperation' (Spaans, 2002: 36).

Davies (2002) examines the urban regeneration policy-making processes in Britain using the concept of urban regimes. As a network theory, regime theory was developed by American policy analysts exploring the characteristics of, and stakeholders involved in, urban regeneration policies and programmes in the USA (Davies, 2002). The concept of urban regimes is based on the assumption that the effectiveness of local government is highly dependent on governmental cooperation with nongovernmental actors, together with the combination of its capacity with nongovernmental resources. The resulting regimes operate without a formal hierarchy or a single focus of control or direction (Stoker and Mossberger, 1994: 197). Regime theory claims to explain 'how and why local authorities and business elites collaborate in informal networks to generate economic growth' (Davies, 2002: 302).

Urban regime theory is in parallel with Rhodes' (1996) thesis of 'governing without government' in which governing depends on the interactions of public and private sector actors in networks rather than through the control and influence of the central state. For Rhodes (1996:660), governance refers to 'self-organising, inter-organisational networks'. These networks are based on interdependence between organisations, with trust being the central coordinating mechanism. However, Davies (2002) argues that networks, or regimes, are not the primary mode of governance in the politics of urban regeneration in Britain. He argues that in the mix of market, network and hierarchy, hierarchy is the pervasive trend in the politics of British urban regeneration, and there is an increasing political centralisation instead of growing local autonomy. He concludes that the politics of urban regeneration in Britain are the politics of 'governance by partnership', and he contends that a conceptual distinction should be made between 'governance by network', or regime, and 'governance by partnership'. His comparison of these types of modes of governance in Britain's urban regeneration is shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Distinguishing modes of governance in Britain's urban regeneration

Governance by government	Governance by partnership	Governance by regime
Local authority delivers the welfare state. There are few non-statutory interactions between Council and business leaders.	Local partnerships are bureaucratic conduits of government policy. There is little local autonomy, trust or collaborative synergy.	There is local political autonomy, trust and collaborative synergy in sustainable, self-organising networks.

(Source: Adapted from Davies 2002: 316)

In his research about local government and property-led regeneration in Dublin, McGuirk (2000) shows that the institutional culture of an organisation, such as its conventions, rituals and interpretive schemes, and its capacity to adapt to shifts of urban governance, are very influential in its power acquisition in urban regeneration policy-making processes. He suggests that power is socially produced through actors' networked interactions and that power configurations tend to be changeable rather than stable and deterministic. He also suggests that different departments in an organisation can have different cultures and that these differences can be important factors in their power acquisition.

2.3.4 The policy network approach in the tourism literature

Scott et al. (2008a) argue that tourism research is an ideal context for studying networks due to the fragmented and geographically dispersed nature of the tourism industry and the cooperation and competition between various businesses and organisations involved in the industry. The policy network approach has been used by several tourism researchers to understand the planning and policy-making processes of tourism, and the two main streams of such research are focused on 'inter-organisational business networks' and 'public-private sector policy networks' (Dredge, 2006a: 566).

The first stream of tourism research is derived from the inter-organisational literature and it focuses on the strategic network organisation of firms, and how the nature of social transactions and resource exchanges influence product development, commercial profitability and economic efficiencies (Dredge, 2006a). The second stream of tourism research is derived from the policy analysis literature, and it stresses the nature of public-private sector networks and their influence on tourism policy making and implementation (Dredge, 2006a). Public policy is a crucial feature of tourism as the public sector often regulates the tourism industry and its activities. The public policies for tourism reflect the network approach as they are affected not only by government but also by a number of different participants who interact with each other within various networks (Bramwell, 2006).

Dredge (2006b) highlights how network theory can help in understanding how local tourism policies develop from complex interactions between a variety of public and private sector actors, and from the relationships between government, industry and communities. The network approach recognises 'the overlapping and simultaneous manner in which tourism issues are being dealt with by different policy communities at different scales over time', as well as the situation where 'the distinction between private and public action is blurred'. It is suggested that 'the

network approach sits well with the realities of tourism as a multi-dimensional area of public-private sector policy interest', 'that different levels of political support can exist for different tourism policy issues, which is why some issues receive more or less attention' and 'that stakeholders can have memberships to more than one network and that stakeholder powers, roles, interactions and functions may vary accordingly.' (Dredge, 2006b.279)

Tyler and Dinan (2001) use the policy network theory to explore the relationship between tourism interest groups and government in tourism policy making in England, employing the concepts of policy communities and issue networks. They divided tourism policy networks into three sub-networks, which are: an 'intra-government sub network', including the English Tourism Council, government departments and political parties; a 'commercial tourism policy sub-network', including trade groups and lobbying groups; and a 'public resource management sub-network', including local government. Tyler and Dinan (2001) found that the intra-government sub-network was at the centre of the tourism policy network, although the policy network's links with the commercial sub-network were much stronger than those with the public resource management sub-network. They also highlighted the existence of strong and weak players within each sub-network, with these being 'differentiated by the resources they have and the way that these are deployed' (p.248). Tyler and Dinan (2001) concluded that the tourism policy network in England is rather immature and can be considered as an issue network within a policy arena that is dominated by 'an autonomous government and a fragmented state machinery, and loosely organised industrial and resource management interests' (p. 248).

Bramwell and Meyer (2007) use a relational approach to investigate tourism-related policy processes on the island of Rugen in former East Germany by adopting Marsh and Smith's (2000) dialectical political network approach. The tourism industry in Rugen went through intensive and rapid economic and political restructuring processes as the centrally-planned economy of formerly socialist East Germany was integrated into the capitalist free-market economy of democratic West Germany. This transition in the wider socioeconomic and political environment had an influence on the power relationships among Rugen's actors. People from outside became powerful in the local economy and politics, and the local municipality gained more power by securing more independent authority with regard to land use, development plans and the issuing of permits. As municipalities focused on economic growth, the local policy debates focused around economic development and environmental protection, and the actors and organisations in the policy networks allied or divided in accordance with their positions in this debate. While the tourist board, developers and investors advocated large-scale tourism development, the environmental NGOs, farmers' association and county administration supported environmentally sustainable small-scale tourism development. The promoters of small-

scale sustainable tourism development had more interactions and knowledge- and information-sharing within their network than did their opponents. Bramwell and Meyer (2007) suggest that the large-scale investors and business proprietors did not feel the need to be deeply embedded in local organisations and local policy networks as they already had sufficient capital and property resources to have economic influence in the region. The debates and policies associated with the policy networks had an impact on the shape of those networks, and also the later resulting decisions affected who the actors decided to work with and how they reacted to the issues.

Although the policy network approach has been widely used in the tourism literature, there is no previous research which adopts this approach to analyse the actor integration between two separate policy fields, such as between tourism and urban regeneration, as explored in this particular study.

2.4 The structure-agency relations approach

2.4.1 Dualistic perspectives on structure-agency relations

Another important theoretical perspective applied in this study is the structure-agency relations approach. Structure-agency relations were covered to some extent in the discussion of the dialectical approaches of the policy network analyses. This section explores different theoretical perspectives on relations between the structure and agency, starting with historical dualist approaches.

The relationship between structure and agency has been '*the* central sociological problem from the beginning' (Archer, 1995:1) and 'one of the long-standing and defining controversies of sociological inquiry' (Jessop, 2005:45). The structure-agency question basically concerns to 'what extent we as actors have the ability to shape our destiny as against the extent to which our lives are structured in ways out of our control; the degree to which our fate is determined by external forces. Agency refers to the individual or group abilities (intentional or otherwise) to affect their environment. Structure usually refers to context; to the material conditions which define the range of actions available to actors.' (McAnulla, 2002:271)

Traditional perspectives on structure-agency relations tend to offer dualistic ontological treatments of structure and agency. This is reflected in many types of dualisms, such as structuralism-intentionalism, macro-micro, collectivism-individualism, objectivism-subjectivism

and holism-individualism. However, all such positions give priority to either structure or agency and they have fundamental limitations in studying society (McAnulla, 2002).

On the one hand, structuralism privileges structure over agency and operates with 'a monocausal view of the relationship between structure and agency in which structure is largely seen to constrain and even determine agency' (Hay, 1995:194). For example, Althusser and Balibar (1970:180) argue that 'the structure of the relations of production determines the places and functions occupied and adopted by the agents of production, who are never anything more than the occupants of these places, in so far as they are supports [Träger] of these functions.' In short, structuralists consider that individuals have no autonomous power and they deny any influences or differences that individuals can make. Rather, individuals are simply seen as 'bearers' of structures.

On the other hand, intentionalism privileges the intentions and actions of individuals over social structure (McAnulla, 2002:277). In this view, 'structural properties are simply pushed around by some untrammelled dominant group or placed at the mercy of capricious renegotiation by unconstrained agency' (Archer, 1995:80). The focus of intentionalism lies with the 'micro-practices of social interaction as opposed to the macro-embeddedness of action within broader social and political structures' (Hay, 1995:196) Therefore, intentionalists see structure as if it is 'only ever taken to exist as an effect or outcome of individual actions' (McAnulla, 2002:277).

Both structuralism and intentionalism are equally problematic and limited in explaining structure and agency relations. Archer (1995:80) criticises ontological dualism, as denoted by both perspectives, because

> 'by making agency dependent upon structure, or vice versa, they automatically preclude any two-way interplay between the levels - because in each, one level is rendered inert. Consequently, the dependent element is robbed of the capacity to exploit or to influence the determining element, for it lacks the autonomy and independence to do so. This then blocks an adequate conceptualisation of the processes explaining social stability and change'.

Structuralism is accused of 'encouraging fatalism and passivity' as it treats the human history as ultimately (pre-) determined with some inexorable ending regardless what we do (Hay, 1995:195). On the other hand, intentionalism is also limited as it cannot explain the illogical nature and the unintended consequences of human behaviour and action. It also cannot explain 'the need for a relational conception of rationality - no pure rational action exists outside of, and unaffected by, the situational context and social structure in which it is embedded - hence, an understanding of context is in fact a condition of any notion of rationality' (Hay, 1995:196). In

short, such dualistic perspectives can be 'epitomised as the 'science of society' versus the 'study of wo/man': if the former denies the significance of society's human constitution, the latter nullifies the importance of what is, has been, and will be constituted as society in the process of human interaction' (Archer, 1995:2).

2.4.2 Dialectical approaches to structure-agency relations

More recently, social scientists have sought to overcome this ontological duality, and they have paid more attention to the interrelationships between structure and agency, and three of these contemporary perspectives are explored in this section. McAnulla (2002) identifies three approaches which try to resolve the problems of the ontological dualism of structure and agency and to demonstrate the two-way dialectical relations between structure and agency: Anthony Giddens' structuration theory, Bob Jessop's strategic-relational approach, and Margaret Archer's morphogenetic approach. Here, these three approaches are briefly reviewed in turn.

Giddens' structuration theory

Anthony Giddens (1984), in 'The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration', argues that structure and agency are mutually dependent and internally related. He does not treat structure and agency as 'separate and opposing things in the world or as mutually exclusive ways of thinking about the world' but as 'simply two sides of the same coin. If we look at social practices in one way, we can see actors and actions; if we look at them in another way we can see structure' (Craib, 1992:3-4).

A key concept of Giddens' theory is 'the duality of structure'. He argues that

'according to the notion of the duality of structure, the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organise. Structure is no "external" to individuals: as memory traces, and as instantiated in social practices, it is in a certain sense more "internal" than exterior to their activities...Structure is not to be equated with constraint but is always both constraining and enabling.' (1984:25)

Hay (1995) argues that Giddens' central achievement has been to place the question of structure and agency back at the core of social science. However, Giddens' theory has received considerable criticism in relation to its ontology and practicality. Giddens defines structure and

agency as mutually constitutive, and in some senses actually identical (Jessop, 2005:45). This intimacy (mutual constitution) between structure and agency in Giddens' theory represents their bonding 'as contact adhesion such that structure and agency are effectively defined in terms of one another' (Archer, 1995:87).

However, this consequently implies the temporal conjunction between the two and 'the only way in which structure and agency can be examined "independently" is through an artificial exercise of "methodological bracketing"' (Archer, 1995:87). Jessop (2005:45) criticises that Giddens studies 'structure and agency in terms of an alternating movement in which he brackets (temporarily ignore) one moment of the duality when examining the other within the same time frame'. By temporarily 'bracketing –off' one or the other in his analysis Giddens has failed to resolve dualism (Hay, 1995). Layder (1994:138) also adds that 'in Giddens' theory, structure does not mean anything like the same thing as it does in conventional approaches' as Giddens redefines the terms 'structure' and 'system' as shown in Table 2.3. Therefore, 'no dualism, in fact, ever existed between the concepts that Giddens deploys. The pre-existing dualism between structure and agency (as conventionally defined) is in fact merely displaced... and lives on in the new, and largely unrecognised, dualism between system and agency' (Hay, 1995:198).

Table 2.3 Giddens' definition of structure and system

Term	Definition
Structure	'rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems. Structure exists only as memory traces, the organic basis of human knowledgeability, and as instantiated in action'
System	'the pattering of social relations across time-space, understood as reproduced practices. Social systems should be regarded as widely variable in terms of the degree of 'systemness' they display and rarely have the sort of internal unity which may be found in physical and biological systems'

(Source: Adapted from Giddens, 1984:376-377)

Critical realist approaches to structure and agency relations

Similar to Giddens' structuration theory, critical realists reject the ontological dualism demonstrated in structuralism and intentionalism. However, unlike Giddens who treats structure and agency as different aspects of the same thing (two sides of the same coin), realists consider structure and agency to be 'distinctive from each other and irreducible to one another' (Archer, 1995:14). In other words, realism implies a methodology based upon analytical dualism as opposed to ontological dualism as denoted in the traditional perspectives. They focus on the interrelations and mutual impacts between the two, 'where explanation of why things social are

so and not otherwise depends upon an account of how the properties and powers of the "people" [in society] causally intertwine with those of the "parts" of society (Archer, 1995: 15).

Here, two critical realist applications on structure and agency relations are briefly explained. Jessop's and Archer's approaches are unavoidably similar as they start from the same critical realist point of views on the analytical dualism on structure and agency.

Jessop's strategic-relational approach

Jessop's strategic-relational approach examines 'structure in relation to action, action in relation to structure, rather than bracketing one of them' (Jessop, 2005:48). In his book 'State Theory: Putting the Capitalist State in Its Place', Jessop (1990) stresses the relational character of the state's selectivity, and he argues that 'the form of the state is the crystallisation of past strategies as well as privileging some other current strategies. As a strategic terrain the state is located within a complex dialectic of structure and strategies' (Jessop, 1990:269)'. His application of the strategic-relational approach to structure-agency relations highlights the 'strategically-selective' nature of structure and the 'structurally-constrained and context-sensitive' nature of action, and it highlights both the path-dependent and path-creative nature of social construction.

'Structural selectivity highlights the tendency for specific structures and structural configurations to selectively reinforce specific forms of action, tactics, or strategies and to discourage others' (Jessop, 2005:49). Therefore, strategic-relational analysis would examine how a given structure may privilege some actors, identities, strategies, spatial and temporal horizons, actions over others (Jessop, 2005, 2009). At the same time, the strategic-relational approach suggests that individuals and organisations can reflect on such strategic selectivity, and they can take on strategically calculated actions and tactics based on their understanding on the current constraints and opportunities, depending on their learning capacities and past experiences (Jessop, 2005).

Together the concepts of 'structurally-inscribed strategic selectivity' (Jessop, 2005: 51) and 'structurally-oriented strategic calculation' (Jessop, 2005:49) lead to the reflexive reorganisation of structure, and the recursive selection of strategies and tactics on the part of agents. Continuing interactions between structure and agency can produce a 'structurally coherent, apparently self-reproducing social configuration – marked in some cases by systematic contradictions or patterned incoherence' (Jessop, 2005: 50). Jessop also integrates spatio-temporality of structures, agents and agency into the above concepts. He highlights the spatio-temporal structural selectivities inherent in certain social relations, and actors' capacities 'to reflexively reorganise structures over different spatio-temporal horizons to modify the

selectivities' (Jessop, 2005:53). In short, Jessop stresses the path- dependent and path-creative nature of social reproduction by saying 'structures are never reproduced through self-identical repetition but that the future remains pregnant with a surplus of possibilities' (Jessop, 2005:53).

Archer's (1995) morphogenetic approach

Archer's view on the structure-agency relations is based on a critical realist ontology in which 'structure (as emergent entities) are not only irreducible to people, they pre-exist them, and people are not puppets of structures because they have their own emergent properties which mean they either reproduce or transform social structure, rather than creating it' (Archer, 1995:71).

Archer uses the term 'morphogenesis' to explain 'the process of social structuring; morpho indicating shape, and genesis signalling that the shaping is the product of social relations' (Archer, 1995:166). 'Morphogenesis' refers to 'those processes which tend to elaborate or change a system's given form, state or structure', while morphostasis refers to those processes 'that tend to preserve or maintain a system's given form, organisation, or state' (Buckley, 1967: 58).

The morphogenetic/morphostatic framework is developed based on two propositions. Firstly, 'that structure necessarily pre-dates the action(s) leading to its reproduction or transformation'; and, secondly, 'that structural elaboration necessarily post-dates the action sequences which gave rise to it' (Archer, 1995:15).

Figure 2.1 The basic morphogenetic/static cycle with its three phases
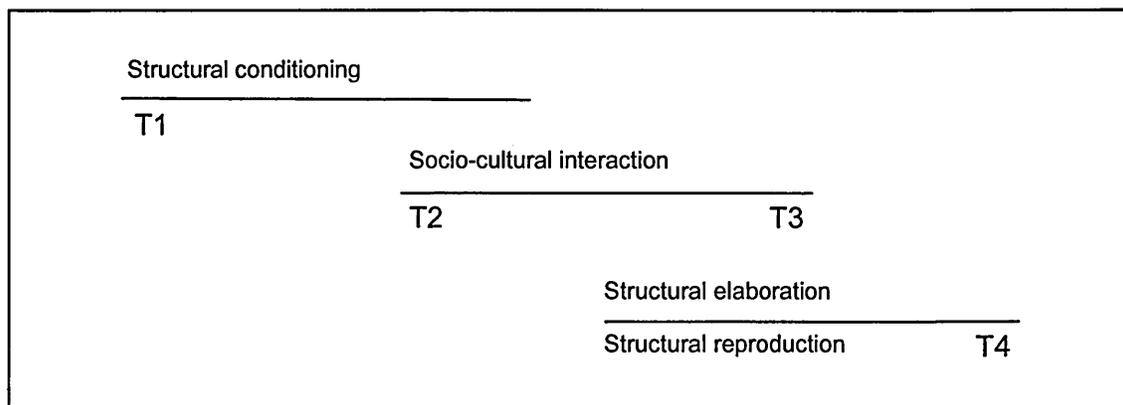
(Source: adapted from Archer, 1995:157)

A morphogenetic cycle presented in Figure 2.1 consists of three analytical phases of structural conditioning, socio-cultural interaction and structural elaboration. Social structure has a

complex set of internal and necessary relations between the parts within it, such that structure exerts influences on social interaction but this is only conditioning and not determining. At the social interaction level, there are causal relationships between groups and individuals. Social interaction then leads to structural elaboration (morphogenesis) or structural reproduction (morphostatis).

Structural conditioning (T1)

The structural conditioning phase is where the pre-existing structure exerts influence on current agents by conditioning and shaping their 'different vested interests according to the positions they occupy in the structures they inherit' (Archer, 1995:90). The pre-existing structure, which is the result of past actions, therefore constrains or facilitates the action of the current actors. Archer highlights that 'the initial structural influence does not peter out immediately, even given a collective determination to transform it' (Archer, 1995:78). It takes time to change any structural property, and therefore structural influences extend beyond the point of T2 (initial social interaction), and during this period the pre-existing structural property does not change because structure resists the force of the change, or remains with the support of the vested interests of the powerful, or are in fact 'psychologically supported' by the population (Archer, 1995:78).

Socio-cultural interaction (T2-T3)

The T2 andT3 period is 'where prior structures are gradually transformed and new ones slowly elaborated' (Archer, 1995:157-158). Action taken by actors at T2 does not occur in a context of their own making. Rather, the actors' knowledge about the situation, their attitudes towards it and their vested interests in changing it or maintaining it have already been conditioned by the pre-existing structure. Within the pre-existing structure, some actors experience frustration and others experience rewards depending on their social position. The former group tries to eradicate the constraints by the structure and pursue structural change, while the latter group tries to retain the structural property and to defend structural stability. Individual and collective actors have their own capacity and they influence the structure in temporal and directional ways. In other words, the social interaction thus can 'speed up, delay or prevent the elimination of prior structural influences' (Archer, 1995:78).

Structural elaboration/reproduction (T4)

Social interaction (T2-T3) modifies the current structural composition and introduces new ones, or alternatively, it reproduces existing internal and necessary structural relations. The

structural elaboration, however, is a largely unintended consequence as it is 'the combined production of the different outcomes pursued simultaneously by various social groups' (Archer, 1995:91). The conflicts and compromises between different groups mean that 'the consequential elaboration is often what no-one sought or wanted' (Archer, 1995:91). Structural elaboration restarts a new morphogenetic cycle by introducing a new set of conditional influences both constraining and facilitating social interaction. Therefore, T4 is the new T1 and the morphogenetic cycle starts again.

Through the three-part cycles, the morphogenetic framework incorporates time 'as sequential tracts and phases rather than simply as a medium through which events take place' (Archer, 1995:89). The distinctive feature of the morphogenetic approach is its recognition of the temporal dimension, through which 'structure and agency emerge, intertwine and redefine one another' (Archer, 1995:76). Jessop (2005:48) criticises Archer's morphogenetic approach, arguing that it suffers from 'a relatively flat spatio-temporal ontology - operating basically with past, present, and future - and hence from associated neglect of the complex spatio-temporalities of structure, strategic contexts, and social practice and their contingent articulation'. However, no temporal analysis can escape from the past-present-future framework, however long or short the time span of a problem is. Archer makes it very clear that the end of the cycle (T4) is the starting point of the next cycle (T1) and the lines in Figure 2.1 are actually continuous. Archer's morphogenetic approach is very similar to Jessop's own strategic-relational approach as it highlights the path-dependence and path-creation of structural reproduction and transformation, and it recognises the capacity and reflexive ability of the agents. Jessop (2005:52) admits that given the common starting point of the critical realist ontological view, there is no reason that the morphogenetic theory will not further develop, and the reason it has failed to have done so is due to 'a limited degree and range of applications so far'.

This explicit temporal dimension of the approach is the main reason why this study adopts Archer's morphogenetic approach. In this study, it is essential to explore tourism-related urban regeneration in a historical context, and to appreciate the interplay between the political economy structure and individual and collective actors through the planning and development processes. The three phase framework helps to analyse the complex interactions between structure and agency in a more manageable and effective way through the practical case studies.

2.4.3 Application of the structure-agency relations in tourism

The debates around structure-agency relations are often found in urban political studies as changes in the urban economy and in urban governance are usually explained in relation to macro political economy changes, such as in relation to globalisation and neoliberalism, and the roles of individual politicians and/or business leaders and their interactions are highlighted. However, such discussion is largely partial and implicit rather than explicit, and the intertwined relationships between structure and agency are not often examined in depth.

On the other hand, the structure-agency issue is rarely discussed in the urban tourism literature. It is common to discuss the impacts of international political economy, and the uneven development between developing and developed countries, but the agency of individual or collective actors is rarely highlighted in tourism development or planning literature. Even in the application of a policy network, which is a meso-level concept linking the macro and micro environment, the focus is very often on the organisational and structural level in the tourism literature, and the interactions between the wider political economy structure and individual agencies are largely ignored. One exception is the earlier mentioned work by Bramwell and Meyer's (2007) which explored structure and agency relations using Giddens' structuration theory through a dialectical policy network approach.

2.5 Tourism and urban regeneration

2.5.1 Urban regeneration in the tourism literature

Urban tourism is a significant and distinctive field of tourism research (Pearce, 2001; Edward et al., 2008), and the existing literature demonstrates various sub-interests, such as marketing, management and planning, cultural agendas, impact assessment, typologies of tourist cities, and urban regeneration (Ashworth and Page, 2010). These diverse subjects are studied at a range of spatial scales, such as individual tourist sites, tourist districts, city-wide, and regional/national/international levels (Pearce, 2001). This study focuses on one of the sub-themes, the incorporation of tourism into economic and physical regeneration in urban areas. This section reviews the development of the tourism literature on this topic, and it discusses the limitations of the existing literature, the challenges of studying tourism in the urban context, and it identifies gaps in the literature which this study is intended to fill.

The political management of cities is usually based on entrepreneurial ideology and it tends to be aimed at providing a favourable environment that will attract capital (Harvey, 1989a).

With the increased attention given to cultural capital, 'cities and regions compete to project an image of offering innovative, exciting, and creative life-styles and living environments' and they build and improve the physical infrastructure and built environments 'to attract and capture circulating discretionary expenditure and investment', and tourism can be a vital element in this process (Britton, 1991:470). Peter Hall (1997) argues that, with the expansion of globalisation and urbanisation, a city's tourism-associated functions, such as its cultural facilities and events, the connectivity of its transport and communication system, and the number of international tourists have become indicators of world cities. These functions demonstrate the attractiveness of the city to the world's capital and talented people.

Tourism started to receive academic attention in the UK in relation to its role in urban regeneration during the 1980s and 1990s. Up until the early 1970s many cities did little to encourage tourism, but this changed as the decline of traditional manufacturing industries encouraged them to find new economic activities and as they started to see tourism as a growth industry (Law and Tuppen, 1986).The 1980s and 1990s witnessed an explosion of interest in the promotion of tourism in British local government (Thomas and Thomas, 1998). 'Tourism has been seen as a tool for local economic development for the first time outside seaside resorts and spa towns, and has generated a somewhat uncritical band-wagon of interest while adding to the regulation approach and functions of local authority departments' (Hudson and Townsend, 1993:50).

The pioneer of tourism and urban regeneration research in the UK was Chris Law. His work on tourism and urban regeneration started with research on urban tourism development in Greater Manchester sponsored by then Greater Manchester Council during the 1980s. During the same decade, there were several case studies looking at tourism in 'difficult areas' (Buckley and Witt, 1985; 1989). The UK central government also financially supported tourism-related projects during the 80s through the Urban Programme, Derelict Land Grant, Urban Development Grant and Urban Development Corporations (Department of Environment, 1990). These early academic studies and the policies on tourism-related urban regeneration highlighted the impacts of tourism on the economic and physical environment improvement of cities, focusing on the inner city or waterfront areas which were then the focus of urban regeneration policy in the UK.

However, since the late 1990s, academic interest and attention has shifted from economic and physical urban regeneration to culture and sports-related urban regeneration and to tourism promotion and marketing. Table 2.4 demonstrates this by examining the number of journal articles on tourism and urban regeneration published in the tourism studies field between 1981 and 2012. The figure was developed through searches of keywords in abstracts on the CABI

Leisure, Recreation and Tourism Abstracts index of journal articles. The terms 'tourism' and 'urban regeneration' was used for the initial search, and then 'event' and 'urban regeneration', 'sport' and 'urban regeneration' and 'culture' and 'urban regeneration' were subsequently used as keywords to check if there were relevant articles without the term 'tourism'. The results were categorised as physical, cultural, sports-related and others, as shown in Table 2.4 with repeated and irrelevant result items being omitted.

Table 2.4 Keyword search in the CABI Leisure, Recreation and Tourism index of articles on tourism and urban regeneration

	Economic and physical (area focused) regeneration	Culture and cultural events-related regeneration	Sports and sports events-related regeneration	Others
1988				2
1989	3			
1990				
1991				1
1992		1		2
1993				
1994	1			1
1995				1
1996				
1997			1	1
1998	1			
1999				
2000		2		
2001				1
2002				
2003		1		1
2004		2		
2005			1	1
2006	1		5	
2007		1		2
2008		2		
2009		1	1	3
2010		3		
2011		1	1	1
2012		1		

The analysis can only provide a partial picture of publications on the relevant topics. The analysis excludes a significant number of books, edited book chapters, and conference proceedings from the tourism studies field as well as other related literature published outside of the immediate tourism boundary, such as in urban studies, policy and planning, culture and other study fields. The analysis is necessarily selective as categories are not completely exclusive from

one another. For example, some works on sports-related urban regeneration deal with the impacts of sports stadia development on local property markets (e.g. Davies, 2005,2008), while others look at the impacts of sports-events (e.g. Ohmann et al., 2006) or planning and policy issues (e.g. Hall, 2006). This reflects the complexity of urban regeneration issues, which cover a wide range of political, economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects of cities. Despite these limitations, such temporal snapshot analysis provides insights into the shifting concerns in tourism research on tourism and urban regeneration between the pre- and post-2000 periods. In particular, Table 2.4 shows that the post-2000 period had a significant increase in the number of publications on culture and sports-related regeneration compared with the pre-2000 period.

This temporal shift or trend in tourism research actually reflects the socio-political and urban regeneration policy changes in the UK over the period. Many large-scale flagship physical and property-led regeneration projects came under growing criticism over the period for encouraging the fragmentation of cities and also the homogenisation of cities, the high urban dependence on the public purse, the vulnerability of cities to economic recession and market change, and the uneven distribution of benefits and the lack of public debate and involvement (Loftman and Nevin, 1995). From the late 1990s and early 2000s, many more cities developed cultural institutions through Millennium Commission projects and many cities also showed their interest in securing the title of European City of Culture (Glasgow 1990, Liverpool 2008). Cities such as Sheffield (1991 World Student Games) and Manchester (2002 Commonwealth Games) which hosted major international sport events also triggered an increasing interest in sports-related urban regeneration among many policy makers and academics.

The tourism literature views the incorporation of tourism as a policy response to secure urban regeneration by bringing tourists and employment opportunities, improving the physical urban environment, improving the image of a city, and boosting civic pride. The earlier studies particularly emphasised the role of the tourism industry as a source of much needed employment opportunities to offset job losses in traditional industries. Law and Tuppen (1986:6) state that 'the main reason why cities wish to promote tourism in their areas is to create jobs'. Peter Hall (1987:130) argued that 'tourism is labour-intensive and generates far more jobs than steel plants or chemical works. Many tourism jobs are low-skill jobs suitable for the unqualified inner-city labour force, including school-leavers'.

The incorporation of tourism in physical urban regeneration is most evident in site-based regeneration projects which expect visitor activities to support new facilities such as cultural, sport and leisure attractions (Aiesha and Evans, 2007). These projects are linked to physical redevelopment, transport and flagship schemes for downtown and waterfront regeneration, and

they usually involve well-known architects and rely on cultural tourism to justify public investment and city repositioning strategies (Aiesha and Evans, 2007).

Tourism has become an important element to regeneration in waterfront and inner city ex-industrial areas, and it is closely related to place-marketing and urban re-imaging strategies (Page and Hall, 2003). Prestige projects in particular provide 'high profile and visible symbolic evidence of success and renaissance which will arrest the spiral of decline in urban areas' (Loftman and Nevin, 1995:303), and in turn they work as 'large advertising hoarding for the area, the implied message being that this is the place for others to spend or to invest' (Smyth, 1994:21). Many urban local areas seek 'the twin benefits of tourism and branding', to stimulate the local economies and achieve various social, economic and environmental improvements (Aiesha and Evans, 2007: 38). By doing so, they try not only to attract inward migration and investment but also to create and increase civic pride among the local populace (Long, 1999). This may be critical for areas 'where economic decline has sapped community spirit and resulted in increasing alienation' (Law and Tuppen, 1986:7).

2.5.2 Complexity and challenges in urban tourism studies

Tourism studies on regeneration share the same challenges and complexity that urban tourism research faces in general. The highly diverse and fragmented nature of tourism becomes more distinctive and intensive when it is immersed with the complicated urban environments. It is very difficult to distinguish a city's tourism and non-tourism functions and activities as tourists share time and space with local residents and other daily urban activities (Aiesha and Evans, 2007). Secondly, it is not easy to identify the types and forms of tourism in cities as they have different demand patterns and market segments (Long, 1999). Many tourists have several reasons for visiting cities and they may put their tourism activities behind other motivations, such as doing business, visiting friends and relatives and studying (Timur and Getz, 2002). As a result tourists and tourism activities are absorbed in the daily urban life and become less visible than those in rural areas or small towns (Timur and Getz, 2002; Ashworth and Page, 2010). This causes a practical difficulty in collecting tourism related data at a local level as businesses have no need to distinguish visitors from their other customers (Carpenter, 1999), as well as a difficulty in acquiring data to assess the impacts of tourism development in cities.

Due to this complexity and fragmentation, many urban tourism studies are inherently case study based and implicitly descriptive in nature (Ashworth and Page, 2010). Page (2000:198) criticises current studies concerned with urban tourism, including those focusing on urban

regeneration, for being 'simple, uncomplicated and well-suited descriptive case studies … one has to question whether sufficiently theoretical and conceptual development has taken place'. Although examining individual cases is important due to 'variations in the impacts of tourism and its multiple meanings, depending on type of tourism and context' (Fainstein and Judd, 1999:16), the majority of urban tourism studies neglect the wider urban political, economic and socio-cultural contexts.

From the early studies, tourism researchers frequently emphasise how 'tourism is one among many social and economic forces in the urban environment' (Edwards et al., 2008:1038). Especially in relation to urban regeneration, early researchers showed a clear recognition that 'many of the developments associated with tourism are multi-objective. Waterfront renewal areas provide land for offices and housing as well as tourism, and many leisure projects are as much for the local population as for the tourist. Tourism therefore must be seen as one component of a revitalisation strategy rather than an activity on its own' (Law and Tuppen, 1986:9). Page and Hall (2003) argue that the complexity of the tourism system and other sub-systems within cities is not readily identified without an in-depth understanding of the interrelationships existing between the constituent parts. Therefore, understanding urban tourism is dependent upon a prior understanding of the urban context in which it is embedded (Ashworth and Page, 2010:3).

In one of the early urban tourism studies, Ashworth (1989: 33) argues that there is 'a double neglect' in the study of urban tourism. He asserts that 'those interested in the study of tourism have tended to neglect the urban context in which much of it is set, while those interested in urban studies…have been equally neglectful of the importance of the tourist function in cities.' However, the same criticism still exists after three decades, as with Ashworth and Page (2010:1) arguing that 'urban tourism has received a disproportionately small amount of attention from scholars of either tourism or of the city, particularly in linking theoretical research to tourism studies more generally'. However, very often tourism researchers in their analysis treat tourism as a separate economic activity from the wider urban economy as they do not engage with wider social and urban theory to explain tourism development in the urban context.

Despite the growing interest of academics and politicians in urban tourism as a catalyst for urban economic and environmental regeneration (Shaw and Williams, 1994), the critics also argue that urban regeneration is a 'highly specialised area of study which sometimes has a tourism or leisure outcome' (Page and Hall, 2003:17). This raises a question about the role of tourism, and more specifically about whether tourism has a leading or a minor role in urban regeneration processes. However, there is very little study of this, and tourism researchers have given relatively little attention to the integration between the two policy fields of tourism and urban

regeneration. This study tries to fill this gap in the literature by investigating the role of tourism and the depth of integration between tourism and urban regeneration policy networks.

2.5.3 Integration between tourism and urban regeneration

Tourism is just one of many economic activities within an urban context. It competes with many other industries for resources, such as land, and for perceived importance from the public and private sectors (Edwards et al., 2008). The planning and policy-making processes of urban tourism require the engagement of a number of agencies, authorities, businesses and communities within a city (Long, 1999). However, existing tourism studies are largely partial in examining the relationship between actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration as they often neglect the role of private developers or land owners and other public or quango actors involved in urban regeneration decision-making processes.

Thomas and Thomas' (1998) work is an exception as they investigated the impacts of the changes in British local politics on tourism development within regeneration processes. Local authorities' increasing interest in tourism in the 80s and 90s took place at a time of extraordinary and radical change in local governance. Local government gained lead responsibilities for tackling a wide range of problems, rather than simply undertaking a collection of tasks defined by central government. Their role changed from direct service providers towards that of an enabling body, which involved active partnerships and networking (Thomas and Thomas, 1998). The increasing importance of agencies other than local authorities in policy formulation and policy delivery at the local level made inter-agency networking and partnerships essential for coherent public policy responses to major local problems (Thomas and Thomas, 1998).

Thomas and Thomas (1998) expected that tourism, a relatively newly emerging topic of local government concern, would be one arena where these changes in local governance would find a place. Two of their three case studies were Cardiff and Bradford, where tourism was incorporated into urban regeneration strategies. Thomas and Thomas (1998) found evidence of public-private cooperation for tourism development in these areas, but the different operational and institutional structures in each area appeared as limitations to tourism development. Their expectations that tourism development would be both a trigger for, and a beneficiary of, local governance change were found to be misplaced.

In Cardiff, one of Thomas and Thomas' (1998) case study areas, although tourism development had an important role in the regeneration of Cardiff's docklands, tourism did not have a designated department in the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation. The division of

responsibilities among departments such as marketing, engineering and development, resulted in no corporation-wide tourism strategy or view of the role and value of tourism. The emergence of spatially defined, task-oriented and multi-disciplinary project groups made tourism development as 'homeless' as ever. The Inner Harbour project team developed inter-organisational cooperation with wider regional and national organisations as well as local business organisations. Although there was a designated tourism development officer, the role was mainly concerned with promotion of tourism, rather than the development of tourism products and of the destination.

The local authority in Bradford, another case study examined by Thomas and Thomas (1998), was motivated by the decline of traditional industries in the locality, and it decided to develop tourism in the late 1970s and 1980s. By the mid 1980s, the promotion of the district and establishment of physical attractions such as the National Museum of Photography, Film and Television (now the National Media Museum) resulted in a significant growth in visitor numbers. However, since the early 1990s, the Council reduced the tourism budget dramatically and withdrew their tourism officer post in response to central government funding cuts. The policy makers also felt that the industry could be self-sustaining, with the main attractions funding their own promotions, and that there was duplication of effort by the Council and regional tourist board. The removal of the tourism officer and the promotional budgets meant that there was little cross-departmental working around tourism or effective networking with other relevant organisations, such as the regional tourist board. With no designated tourism officer, there was no obvious channel for the Council to network with trade associations. These changes in the institutional structure in the Council seemed to be a retrograde step in local governance with regard to tourism as they weakened the networking with private and public organisations.

Thomas and Thomas (1998) concluded from these case studies that, despite changes in local governance bringing a favourable environment for tourism development, as it requires institutional flexibility and cross-institutional cooperation, tourism still remained marginal from politicians' and professionals' key concerns in the local authorities, mainly because it is a non-statutory duty. Therefore, a stronger and better resourced involvement was needed at the regional level through the Regional Development Agencies, which had a statutory duty to promote tourism (Thomas and Thomas, 1998).

In studying the incorporation of tourism into urban regeneration and investigating the interactions between the different organisations involved, the role of Destination Management Organisations (DMOs) needs to be highlighted as they are often formed as public-private partnerships and represent tourism interests within city regions. DMOs have roles to play not only in destination marketing by connecting local tourism suppliers to outside buyers but also as policy advocates and as the voice of the tourism industry in their communities (Sheehan and

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Ritchie, 2005). In their study of Canadian DMOs, Getz et al. (1998) highlight that in practice the planning and product development functions are neglected by most DMOs and that a marketing-planning-development gap exists, as shown in Figure 2.2. This is an important issue because the DMOs are the representative organisations related to tourism in their regions and they receive a large portion of their budgets from the public purse (Getz et al., 1998; Sheehan and Ritchie, 2005).

Figure 2.2 The marketing-planning-development gap in destination management
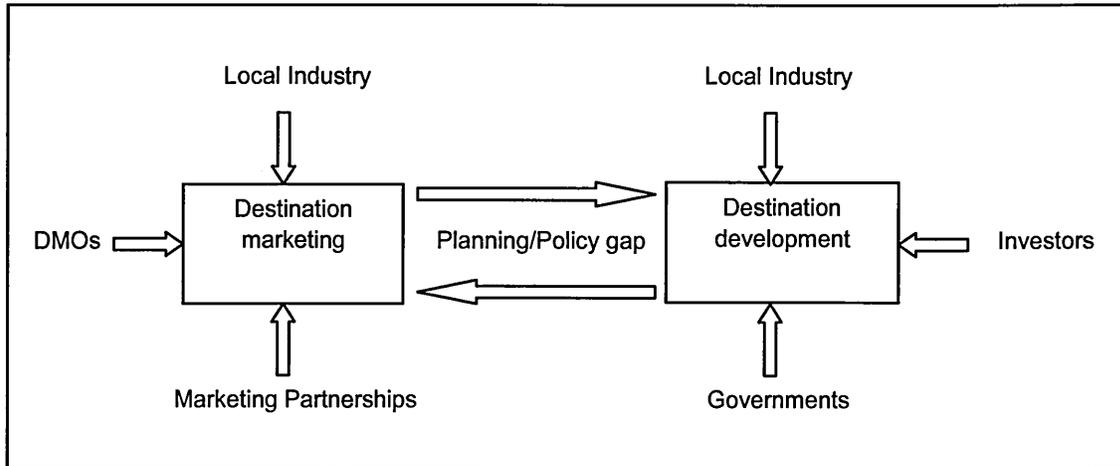
(Source: Adapted from Getz et al, 1998: 339)

Bramwell and Rawding (1994) highlight the advantages and disadvantages of public-private partnerships, based in tourism marketing bureaux, in five industrial cities in the UK. In terms of the advantages, the partnership-based organisations can encourage the coordination of tourism marketing across local authority geographical boundaries and can improve understanding and coordination between tourism businesses and the public sector (Bramwell and Rawding, 1994). On the other hand, the partnership-based tourism marketing organisations have led to 'an organisational separation of tourism marketing from much of the tourism planning and development activities and policy work' (Bramwell and Rawding, 1994: 430). They argue that this organisational separation is likely to make it harder to coordinate tourism marketing not only with tourism development but also between tourism and wider social and economic policies.

While these tourism scholars identify the political gap between tourism marketing and tourism development through the role of DMOs, they provide relatively little explanation about why such gaps exist. This study addresses not only the gap between tourism marketing and tourism development but also between tourism and urban regeneration more generally, doing so by examining the interactions and relationships between the actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration.

2.6 Conclusion

Through the literature review, the need for more holistic approaches to study urban tourism research has been discussed. The three theoretical perspectives of the regulation approach, the policy network approach and the structure-agency relations approach, have been suggested for application in this study to investigate the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration. By using the three perspectives in conjunction, this study aims to develop a holistic approach which advances the current understanding of tourism-related urban regeneration in the tourism literature.

The regulation approach provides a structure-centred view to investigate the relations between non-market and market mechanisms of the capitalist economy. It helps this study explore tourism-related urban regeneration within a wider political economy context. On the one hand, the regulation approach focuses on the macro economy of production and consumption through the concept of the regime of accumulation and it highlights national modes of growth and the international division of labour (Jessop, 1997a). On the other hand, the concept of the mode (process) of regulation investigates how and to what extent the inevitable crisis tendencies of the capitalist economy are regulated and stabilised by 'the changing combinations of economic and extra-economic institutions and practices' (Jessop, 1997b: 288).

This study focuses on the mode of regulation as it aims to understand actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in terms of their roles and interactions with one another. A mode of regulation is considered to be a more meso-level concept which deals with an ensemble of both economic and extra-economic institutional and organisational forms, social relations and networks, cultural norms and conventions (Jessop, 1997b). However, it still largely deals with macro issues, such as the wage relation, the enterprise form, the nature of money, the state, international regimes (Jessop, 1997b), all of which can be seen as part of the structure to the organisations and people involved in tourism-related urban regeneration. Therefore, the regulation approach on its own has limitations in addressing the aims of this study, and to overcome this the policy network approach is applied in this study as a framework which helps in investigating the complicated relationships and interactions between the market and non-market organisations in the case study areas.

The policy network approach focuses on inter-organisational relationships based on resource dependency, and it has been applied frequently in the tourism literature in terms of 'inter-organisational business networks' and 'public-private sector policy networks' (Dredge, 2006a: 566). In this study, the policy network approach is applied to understand the interactions

between organisations involved in the two separate policy spheres of tourism and of urban regeneration in the case study areas. This study adopts policy networks as a meso-level concept based on dialectical policy network approaches (Evans, 2001; Marsh and Smith, 2000). Therefore, it is necessary to consider not only the interactions between organisations, but also the relations between policy networks and the macro political economy, and the relations between policy networks and individual people at the micro-level.

By connecting the policy network approach to the regulation approach, it allows the study to investigate the structural constraints and opportunities in which the organisations operate and how and to what extent the changes in the wider political economy affect the shapes of policy networks. It is important that the policy network approach is used in conjunction with regulation theory as the complex inter-organisational relationships cannot be fully understood without considering the wider political economy within which the interactions take place. The interests and resources of organisations, and their interactions with one another, are conditioned and facilitated by the wider political economy.

However, both the regulation approach and the policy network approach have limitations in explaining the individuals' capacity to influence the planning and policy-making processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. The leadership of key individuals in the policy arena can affect the policy directions and success of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. As organisations consist of individual people, the interpersonal relationships between people involved in tourism-related urban regeneration and their personal characteristics should be also considered in investigating the interactions and relationships between the organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas.

To explore the agency of individual actors and their interaction with the existing political economy structure, this study adopts the structure-agency relations approach, in particular Archer's (1995) morphogenetic approach. People's lives are conditioned by the pre-existing structure but they still have capacity to reproduce or transform social structures and the continuous interactions between the existing structure of the society and agency of individual actors lead to elaboration or reproduction of the society (Archer, 1995). Despite being a central issue in the social science, structure-agency relations have not received much attention in the tourism literature. By applying the structure-agency relations approach, this study explores the wider political economy, the organisations and the individual people involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas as a whole and investigates the multifaceted and relational connections between them. In other words, the structure-agency relations approach works as the overarching theoretical perspective as it links the different levels of analyses. The

structure-agency relations approach also helps in explaining the historically and spatially specific nature of the study of tourism-related urban regeneration through path-dependency and path-creation.

The three theoretical approaches complement each other when applied in conjunction and they provide a more integrated and holistic perspective to the study of tourism-related urban regeneration than as three separate approaches. The next chapter introduces the conceptual framework used in this study and it discusses the relationships between the theoretical approaches and concepts reviewed in this chapter, providing a visual diagram of these. It also explains how and to what extent the theoretical perspectives are used to address the study objectives.

Chapter 3 Conceptual Framework

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided the theoretical background of this study by reviewing the existing literature on the theoretical approaches and concepts adopted in this study. This chapter now explains how and to what extent these theoretical approaches are applied in this particular study to address the study objectives in a practical context. Developing a conceptual framework helps to connect the theoretical approaches and the study objectives, and it provides a clear focus and coherence for the study by building 'the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs and theories that supports and informs research' (Maxwell, 1996:25)

The current chapter first investigates how the conceptual framework for this study was developed and evolved over time by examining and evaluating two earlier versions of the framework. With the final version of the conceptual framework, it discusses the relationships between the three core theories adopted in this study: the regulation approach, the policy network approach and the structure-agency relations approach. It then explains how these approaches are applied to address the study objectives in the case study context. It is thought that presenting the final conceptual framework in the current chapter is more meaningful than displaying it separately in a later chapter of the thesis as the framework signposts the key points of discussion in this study, and it provides integration and coherence between the different chapters of the thesis.

3.2 Evolution of the conceptual framework

Miles and Huberman (1984:33) define a conceptual framework as 'the current version of the researcher's map of the territory being investigated'. Maxwell (1996:25, 37) refers to a conceptual framework, noting that 'a concept map, like the theory it represents, is a picture of the territory you want to study, not of the study itself. It is a visual display of your current working theory – a picture of what you think is going on with the phenomenon you're studying'. The use of word 'current' in these definitions implies that it is very likely that a conceptual framework will evolve as the research evolves (Leshem and Trafford, 2007:95).

The conceptual framework for this study also underwent a continuous evolution as the study progressed. While undertaking the study, the author constantly reflected on the three

theoretical approaches, the study objectives, the practical findings, and the relationships between them. The resulting evolution of the conceptual framework demonstrates how the author's thoughts had developed and how the study became a more coherent whole.

Next, two earlier versions of the conceptual framework are presented prior to presenting the final conceptual framework. The earlier versions of the framework were evaluated using the questions posed by Berger and Patchener (1988:156-159): 'Has the conceptual or theoretical base for the study been clearly described and are they related to the research problem?', 'Is there a theory underlying a research question?', and 'Is there a clear and explicit connection between the theory, earlier findings and purpose of the present study?'.

3.2.1 The earlier versions of the conceptual framework

The three main theoretical approaches - the regulation approach, the policy network approach, and the structure-agency relations approach - were always at the centre of the framework, but there were changes in terms of how and to what extent these approaches were used in conjunction with one another, and also in how and to what extent the visual diagram summarising the conceptual framework clearly and fully explained the relationships between the theoretical contexts and the study objectives.

The first conceptual framework (Figure 3.1) was developed in the first year of the study after an initial literature review. The framework represents the author's understanding at that point about the study topic which was acquired from reading relevant theoretical and practical documents and the author's previous research experience in one of the case study areas, The Quays.

This early version of the conceptual framework had some limitations. Firstly, it lacked a theoretical focus. The framework was more of a list of theoretical concepts which the author found relevant to the study topic, and it did not provide adequate guidance in terms of how and to what extent the theoretical concepts would be applied to address the study objectives. Secondly, the framework also did not clearly demonstrate the relationships between the theoretical concepts. For example, the centre of the framework was dominated by the policy network approach and this overshadowed the regulation approach and the structure-agency relations approach. Furthermore, the study subject was not clearly presented and the territory or boundary of what was being studied was not clearly shown through the framework. It did not indicate the interactions between actors involved in tourism and those involved in urban regeneration, and therefore it failed to address the study aims and objectives in diagrammatic terms. In short,

without a clear theoretical focus and study boundary, the practical application of the framework was very limited and it required major improvements.

Figure 3.1 The first version of the conceptual framework

Society

Regime of accumulation
Mode of regulation
Neoliberalism
Shift from government to governance

Stakeholders

Actors

Public,
Private,
Voluntary,
Community
sector actors

Policy
networks

Policy
community,
Issue
networks,
Partnerships

Policy arena

Discourse
Resource exchange
Power dependency
Negotiation
Consensus building
Conflicts

Policy outcomes

Urban regeneration

Activities

Urban
regeneration

Tourism
development

Tourism
marketing

Cities

Urban regime
Re-valorising the city
Urban restructuring

The first framework was therefore revised to a significant degree prior to the data collection. The second version of the conceptual framework (Figure 3.2) showed the main focus of the study more clearly and indicated the study subject - the interaction between the actors - in the inner circle. The relationships between the three theoretical approaches were also explained in a more overt diagrammatic way, although the approaches still needed better integration with other parts of the framework.

Figure 3.2 The second version of the conceptual framework
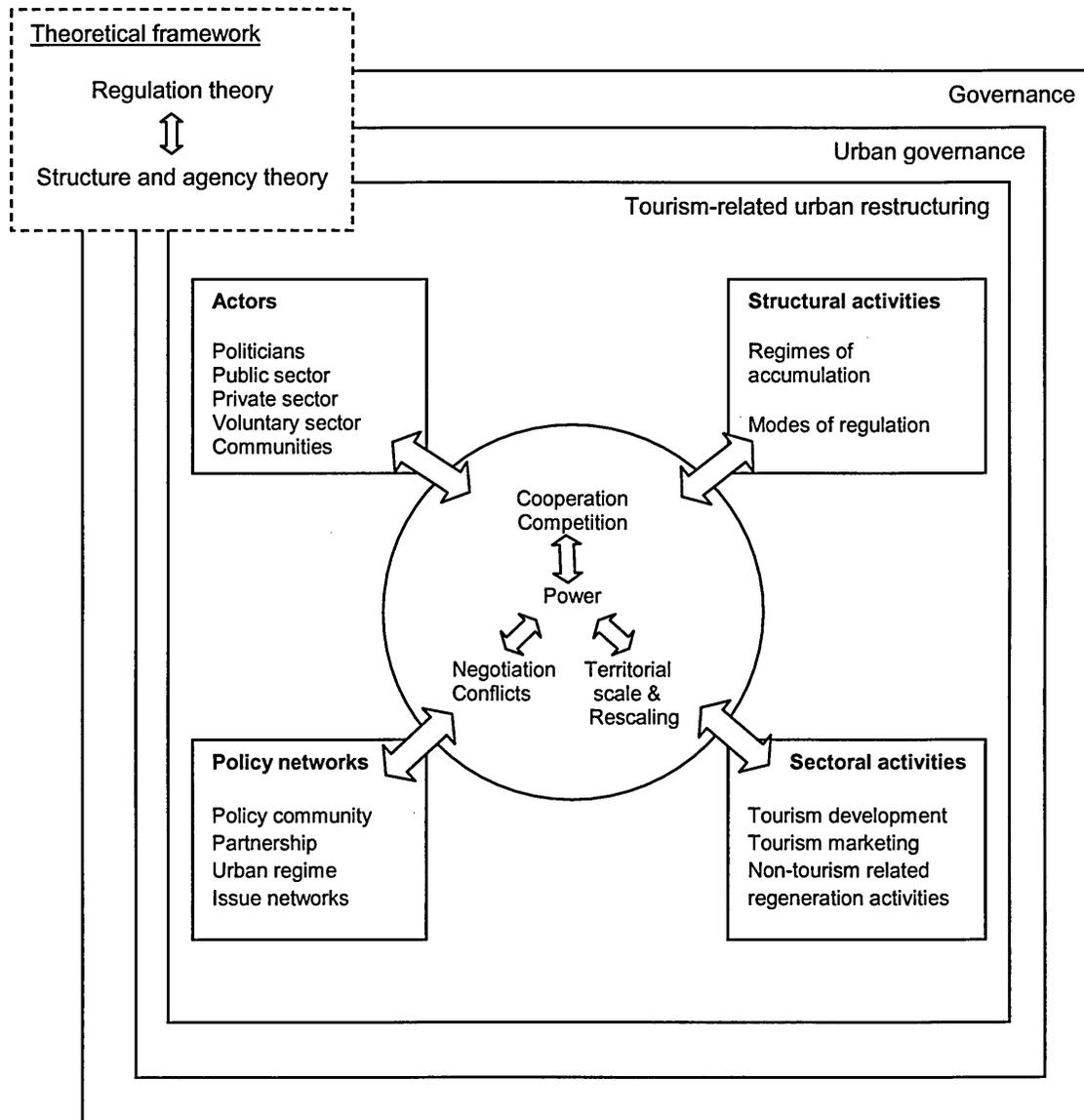
This second version of the conceptual framework provided a direction for the research design and the fieldwork, especially in interview sample selection and interview question preparations. Each of the four boxes - Actors, Structural activities, Policy networks, and Sectoral activities - became a key category in the interview schedule, and both the main questions and sub-questions (Appendix 1) were developed accordingly for the data collection. The case study design and interview processes are discussed in detail in the Methodology Chapter, which follows.

When preparing for the interview questions, the author intended to identify, and also distinguish between, the different types of policy network, such as policy community, issue networks, urban regime and partnerships, as shown in the Policy networks box in Figure 3.2. However, after only a couple of the interviews, the author learnt that each organisation worked with a large number of organisations in tourism-related urban regeneration and their interactions were often like a spider's web. Furthermore, the interviewees struggled to name every organisation they worked with in relation to tourism and urban regeneration.

As this study did not intend to measure the interactions between actors, or to draw an extensive network map using a quantitative method, asking interviewees to identify every organisation they worked with in relation to tourism-relate urban regeneration, and also to categorise these relationships, was thought to be a waste of the limited interview time and to jeopardise the intended in-depth data collection. The author therefore decided to drop the questions in relation to the different types of policy networks and to focus more on the nature of the interactions between organisations and the individuals involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. The final version of the conceptual framework (Figure 3.3) indicates this change.

In comparison to the first version, the second version of the conceptual framework contained the main theoretical approaches and explained how they would be used in the practical case studies. However, the diagram still had limitation in terms of visualising the interaction between the theoretical approaches. The conceptual framework was revised again after the data collection to reflect the practical findings from the case studies. The following section explains the final conceptual framework and how and to what extent it addresses the study objectives in practice.

3.2.2 The final conceptual framework

Overall, the final conceptual framework is more coherent and integrated than the second version, particularly in terms of how it explains the linkage between the three main theoretical

approaches. It is also more effective in visualising the relationships between the theoretical approaches and the study objectives.

Figure 3.3 The final conceptual framework
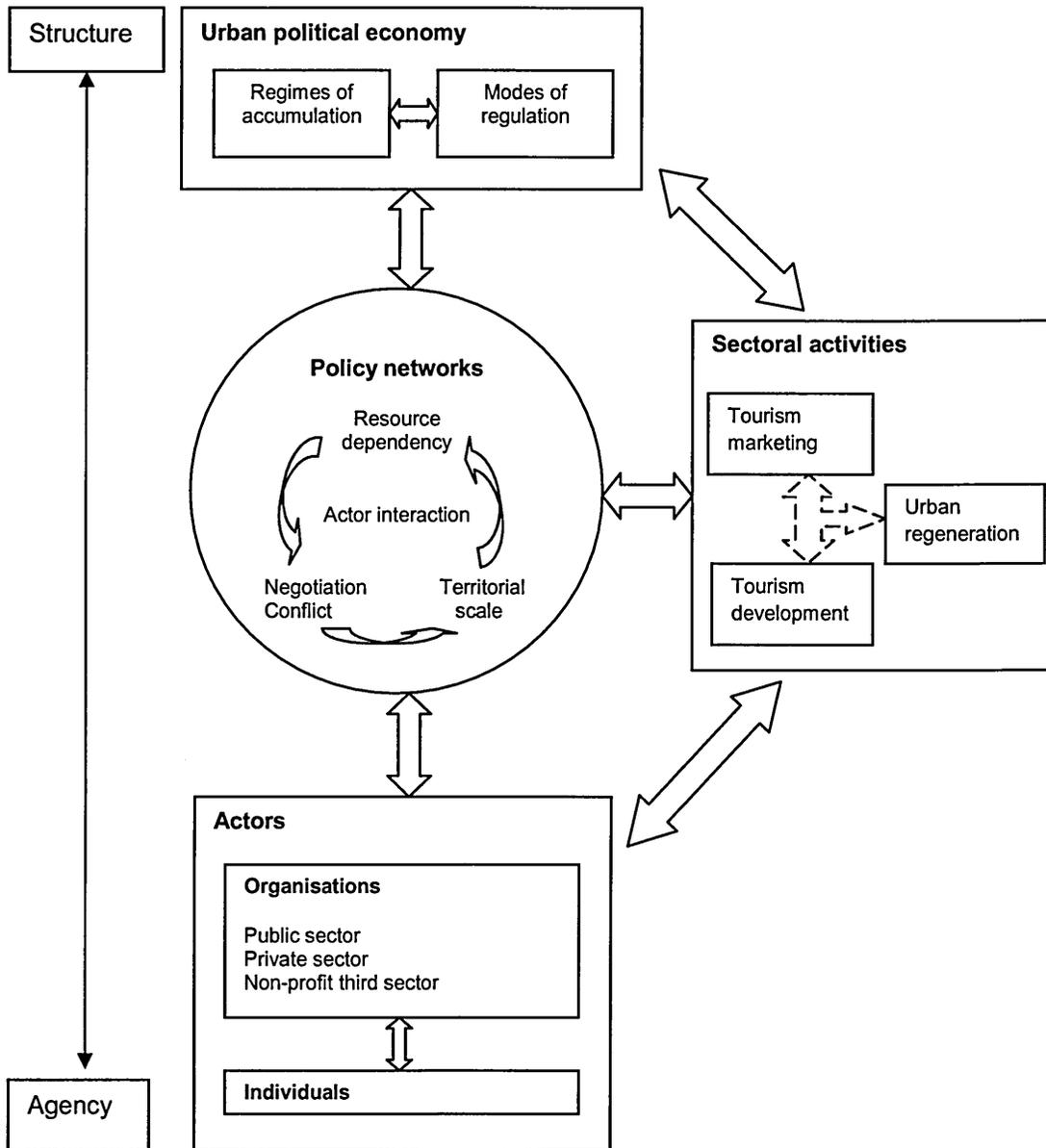
The 'Actors' box in the final conceptual framework was developed to address Objective 3 'to understand how and to what extent different types of actors were involved in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas' and its following sub-objectives:

Objective 3.1 To identify the public, private and third sector organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas and to examine their interests and reasons for involvement.

Objective 3.2 To examine actors' perceptions of the role of tourism in urban regeneration within the case study areas.

Objective 3.3 To examine what the actors considered to be their own roles in tourism and/or in urban regeneration, and the roles of other actors.

Page and Hall (2003) argue that the complexity of tourism spreads throughout the whole urban economy and tends to cut across agency boundaries rather than have a single clear controlling agency. Therefore, the first step of this study is to understand this complexity by investigating the roles and relationships of actors involved in policy-making processes of urban tourism and urban regeneration.

The literature review on the policy network approach and on governance indicates that both the public and private sectors often have key roles in urban economic development. In the case study areas, non-profit third sector organisations also have important roles as many of the cultural institutions were built as flagship regeneration schemes. Objective 3.1 intended to identify these various organisational actors, and these were used to identify potential interviewees and to direct aspects of the fieldwork. The list of interviewees and the organisations they worked for are presented in Tables 4.2 and 4.3 in the next chapter.

Objective 3.2 was developed to learn the role of tourism through the perspectives of people who were actually involved in the decision-making processes of tourism-related urban regeneration, rather than relying on the secondary literature which often explains this in a rather general and descriptive way. Objective 3.3 was designed to understand the roles of different organisations in tourism-related urban regeneration. This study particularly investigates the roles and views of private sector developers in relation to tourism-related urban regeneration, a group of actors that previously has attracted very little interest from tourism researchers.

The central circle 'Policy networks' in the final conceptual framework reflects the main concepts of the policy network approach and it indicates how they were used to address Objective 4 'to understand the actor interactions and to explore the resource dependencies and power relations within policy networks associated with tourism and urban regeneration in the case study areas'. In this study, the policy network approach is adopted as an analytical tool to explore the interactions between different actors, and policy networks are used as a generic term which includes many different types of networks.

Importantly, the notion of policy network is used as a meso-level concept in this study, which connects the wider political economy environments explained by the regulation approach (Urban political economy in Figure 3.3) and individual organisations and people through the structure-agency approach (Actors in Figure 3.3). Marsh (1998) contends that as a meso-level

concept, policy networks have little explanatory utility unless they are integrated with a macro-level analysis dealing with the broader political structures and processes and also with a micro-level analysis dealing with individual actors and their decisions within the networks. Evans (2001) also highlights how the idea of policy networks is very useful as a meso-level of analysis because it recognises that much contemporary policy-making occurs within multi-layered, self-organising networks, whereas macro-level theories are often abstract and frequently applied to concrete situations with little attention to mediating processes, and micro-level theories tend to ignore the impact of broader structural factors on micro-level decision-making and settings.

In studying the interactions between actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas, Objective 4 is divided into more detailed sub-objectives:

> Objective 4.1 To investigate the kinds of skills, knowledge and resources which actors possess and facilitate/exchange in policy-making processes
>
> Objective 4.2 To investigate the nature and intensity of the interactions, resource dependencies and power relationships in the policy networks
>
> Objective 4.3 To examine the extent to which the different territorial scales of actors influence their participation in the policy networks for tourism-related urban regeneration.
>
> Objective 4.4 To identify the actors and policy networks involved in tourism marketing, tourism development and non-tourism specific regeneration activities, and to examine the connections and gaps between them.

The key point of the policy network approach is resource exchange and dependency between different organisational and individual actors. Therefore, Objective 4.1 was developed to identify the resources of actors which they exchange in the planning and development processes associated with tourism-related urban regeneration. Objective 4.2 explores the nature of the actor interactions between the different organisations associated with their resources and interests in tourism and urban regeneration. It is thought that the actors have collaborative relationships with one another as they rely on each other's resources, but at the same time they are likely to experience frictions as they have various, sometimes conflictual interests. Objective 4.3 investigates the relationships between organisations at different territorial scales, such as the regional, sub-regional and local levels. These organisations have different levels of resources and interests associated with their territorial scales, and it was assumed that their interactions with one another are affected by resource dependency.

Objective 4.4 is presented diagrammatically in the 'Sectoral activity' box, which relates to the study's focus on integration between tourism marketing, tourism development and wider urban regeneration. A distinctive element of this conceptual framework is its gap-focused policy network approach, which investigates not only the interactions but also gaps in the interactions between organisations and people involved in these different sectoral activities. Objective 4.4 asks whether there is a gap between tourism development and tourism marketing in the case study areas, similar to those identified in the academic literature in relation to DMOs' roles and involvement in tourism marketing and in tourism development and planning issues (Bramwell and Rawding, 1994; Getz et al., 1998; Sheehan and Ritchie, 2005). It also investigates whether there is a gap between tourism and urban regeneration in the case study areas and it facilitates an assessment as to whether the 'double neglect' (Ashworth, 1989:33) in research between tourism and urban studies also exists in practice in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration. Any gaps identified between these sectoral activities are to be interpreted in relation to the actors' resource dependencies and power relations based on the policy network approach. Objective 4.4 also helps address Objectives 3.2 and 3.3 by examining any different perspectives between people involved in these different sectoral activities in terms of the role that tourism plays in urban regeneration.

The last of the key theoretical approaches, the structure-agency relations approach, overarches the conceptual framework and connects the different parts of the framework. It addresses Objective 5 'to understand the structure-agency relations in tourism-related urban regeneration planning and development processes in the case study areas' and the following sub-objectives:

> Objective 5.1 To investigate how and to what extent changes in political economy, particularly the regulation mechanisms, influence both the planning and development processes for tourism-related urban regeneration in the two case study areas.
>
> Objective 5.2 To explore how and to what extent the structural nature of the policy networks, the actors' institutional characteristics and their past experiences affect their participation in the policy networks and planning and development processes.
>
> Objective 5.3 To explore the role of individual actors in the planning and development processes and policy networks of tourism-related urban regeneration, and to investigate the extent to which individual actors can exercise their agency within the decision-making processes.
>
> Objective 5.4 To examine the extent to which the leadership of key influential individuals have impacts on tourism-related urban regeneration decision-making processes

Objective 5.1 was developed based on the assumption that tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas was affected by the wider political economy environment, such as changes in global trade patterns, national government policies, and the economic cycle. The framework demonstrates that the policy networks and actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration are situated within the wider political economy context (Urban political economy in Figure 3.3) and their actions are influenced by the pre-existing structures and by changes within the political economy. This study adopted the regulation approach to explore the relationships between the political (modes of regulation) and the market (regimes of accumulation) forces of the capitalist economy and to explain their impact on the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. Understanding the macro political economy is also important in investigating the actor interactions at the meso-level and the micro-level as it defines the resources that the actors possess and the opportunities and constraints that they face. It is important to note that the regulation and economic mechanisms of the capitalist system are interlinked and interdependent, and this explains the resource dependency between the actors. Objective 5.2 was further developed to investigate how and to what extent both organisational and individual actors are influenced by their interactions and relationships with one another in policy networks or within their own organisations.

At the same time, the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration are influenced by the agency of the actors involved. Actors have the skills and capacities to maximise the opportunities and negotiate the constraints defined by the environment, individually or collectively, through interaction with other actors. While the policy network approach has been widely used in tourism literature, the focus is usually on the inter-organisational relationships, and the role of individual actors is rarely discussed in tourism planning and policy literature. This study tries to fill this gap in the literature by pursuing Objectives 5.3 and 5.4 because it is necessary to investigate the role of individual actors in order to understand the full picture of tourism-related urban regeneration as a part of urban political economy and of the path dependent and path creative nature of the planning and development processes. For this, this study therefore uses Archer's morphogenetic approach as it helps to explain the intertwined and dialectical relationship between structure and agency over time.

The 'Actors' box visually indicates the attention given not only to organisational actors but also to individual actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration, a feature which was not shown in the previous versions. The role of individual people is important at both inter-organisational and intra-organisational levels. The two-way arrow between organisations and individuals indicates the intra-organisational structure-agency relations — how and to what extent

the organisational structure and culture bring constraints or opportunities to the individual people (in relation to Objective 5.2), and how and to what extent the personal attributes of people impact on their decision-making at work (in relation to Objectives 5.3 and 5.4). Separating the organisations from the people who work for the organisations helps to identify any intra-organisational gaps between the people involved in tourism marketing, tourism development and urban regeneration. Objective 5.4 is developed to address how and to what extent the leaders in the public, private and third sector organisations have impact on the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration through their leadership and personal attributes.

Another distinctive feature of this framework is that it is a multi-level conceptual framework which connects macro-meso-micro level analyses using the regulation approach, the policy network approach and the structure-agency relations approach. However, it is very important to note that such macro-meso-micro distinctions are relational and analytical in this study rather than determining and ontological. Very often, the 'micro' and the 'macro' are conceived as opposite levels of society, the former being the small and interpersonal in contrast to the latter being the large and impersonal (Munch and Smelser, 1987). However, 'micro' and 'macro' are relational terms and what is micro at one level is macro at another level. For example, a local authority is micro to the central government but macro to people or teams working in the authority. Therefore 'this equation of micro with individual is extremely misleading, as indeed, is the attempt to find any specific size correlation with the micro/micro difference' (Alexander, 1987:290)

What this study focuses on is the emergent properties developed through the interrelationship between the social elements, in other words the linkage between two qualitatively different aspects of society, 'the 'people' and the 'parts' of social reality' (Archer, 1995:12). 'Systemic properties are always the ('macro') *context* confronted by ('micro') social interaction, whilst social activities between people ('micro') represent the *environment* in which the ('macro') features of systems are either reproduced or transformed' (Archer, 1995:11). Using the morphogenetic approach, this study attempts to explain the social and systemic features of society in relation to one another in the context of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas.

3.3 Conclusion

Robson argues that 'developing a conceptual framework forces you to be explicit about what you think you are doing. It also helps you to be selective; to decide which are the important

features; which relationships are likely to be of importance or meaning; and hence, what data you are going to collect and analyse' (1993, 150–151). Developing and improving the conceptual framework helped the author continuously to reflect and reassess the study and to keep focused on the study objectives as the study progressed. Reviewing the first version of the conceptual framework helped the author to define a clearer boundary of what was being studied and to be selective and focused in what theoretical approaches were used. The second version of the framework provided a clear direction for the research design, particularly for the data collection in the case study areas.

The final conceptual framework indicates the relationships between the three main theoretical approaches and the practical application of these approaches to address the study objectives. Thus, the conceptual framework introduced 'explicitness with research processes' (Leshem and Trafford, 2007:2011). The final conceptual framework reflects the complexity of studying tourism in the urban (regeneration) context, it indicates the clear boundary to the study topic, and it addresses the study objectives in relation to the theoretical approaches and their relationships with one another. It helps to build a bridge between the theoretical context and the practical context of this study and it binds the study together as a more united whole. The final framework also helped to organise the data analysis and interpretation, and the structure of the results chapters in this thesis. The next chapter on 'Methodology' discusses the research design processes, including the research philosophy, research methodology and data collection, and also the analytical methods adopted in this study.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the methodological design of this study, including the research philosophy, methodology, data collection and analysis methods. It begins with discussion about different ontological and epistemological positions in social science, and it explores positivism and social constructionism as research philosophies. It then moves on to explain critical realism as the research philosophy adopted for this study and how critical realist perspectives are reflected in this particular study. After the philosophical discussions, a qualitative case study is explored as a research methodology. A qualitative approach is suitable for this study as it can help to provide in-depth interpretations of the different viewpoints of the actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the two case study areas. Next, the data collection and data analysis methods are explained. Primary data were collected through semi-structured interviews with actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. Secondary data were collected through studying various related documents and archival information to complement the findings from the interviews. Figure 4.1 shows the research design framework, and each element in the framework is explained in the following sections.

Figure 4.1 Research methodology
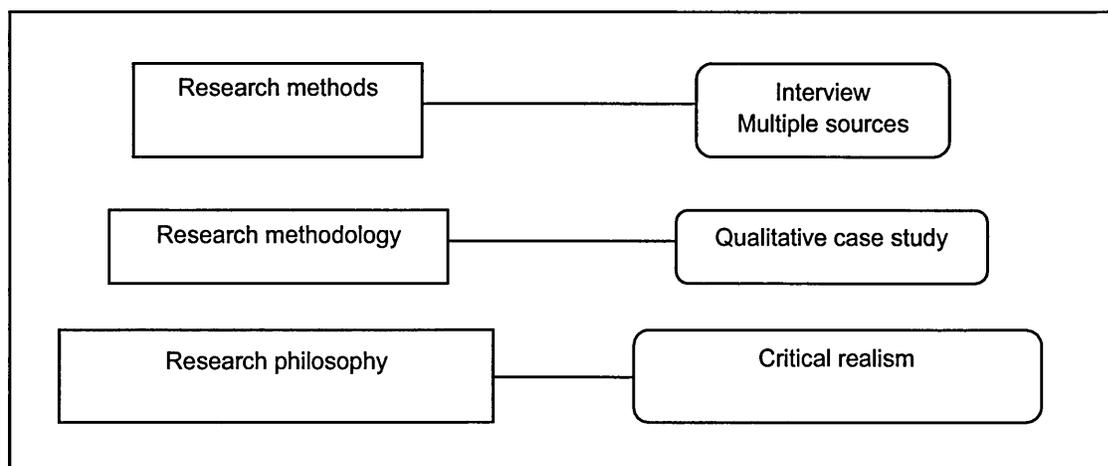
4.2. Research philosophy

4.2.1 Ontology and Epistemology

A researcher's ontological and epistemological stances are deeply related to the research questions and interpretations. Marsh and Furlong state that 'ontological and epistemological positions should not be treated like a sweater that can be "put on" when we are addressing such philosophical issues and "taken off" when we are doing research' (2002:21). They go on to say that 'a researcher's epistemological position is reflected in what is studied, how it is studied and the status the researcher gives to their findings' (2002:21). Understanding these philosophical issues helps the researcher to clarify research designs and recognise which designs work or not, and to improve the researcher's understanding of other research designs beyond their past experience (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002).

Ontology is concerned with beliefs about 'what kind of being is the human being?' and 'what is the nature of reality?' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 22). The central issue of ontology in social science is 'the questions of whether social entities can and should be considered objective entities that have a reality external to social actors, or whether they can and should be considered social constructions built up from the perceptions and actions of social actors' (Bryman, 2008:18). Objectivism contends that social phenomena we confront and the categories we use in everyday discourse are independent from us, beyond our reach or influence, whereas constructionism asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors and therefore they are not only produced through social interaction but also they are in a constant state of revision (Bryman, 2008). The perspectives of objectivism and constructionism are also often described as foundationalist and anti-foundationalist respectively.

On the other hand, epistemology is concerned with ways of knowing and learning about the social world, and questions about 'how can we know about reality?' and 'what is the basis of our knowledge?' (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 13). Epistemological issues are concerned with questions of what is or should be regarded as acceptable knowledge within a discipline (Bryman, 2008). The critical question in epistemology is whether the same principles, procedures, and philosophy of the natural sciences can and should be used in the study of the social world (Bryman, 2008). One's epistemological position is inevitably linked to their ontological position.

The most common classification of epistemological positions is probably 'between scientific (sometimes positivist) and hermeneutic (or interpretist) positions' (Marsh and Furlong,

2002:19). The advocates of the scientific tradition are ontologically foundationalist and they believe that there is a real world out there which is external and irrelevant to human interests. They argue that social science should follow the principles and approaches of natural science and aim to identify and explain the causality of social behaviour. By contrast, the supporters of the interpretist tradition who are anti-foundationalist believe that the world is socially constructed. Their focus is on understanding the meaning of social behaviour, rather than on explaining the causality of social phenomena (Marsh and Furlong, 2002).

The different ontological and epistemological positions discussed above have led to different research philosophical approaches in social science. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009) categorise three overarching philosophies of science as (post-) positivism, social constructionism, and critical realism. The two more traditional approaches, positivism and social constructionism are discussed in the following section.

4.2.2 Positivism and Social Constructionism

Positivism is based on objectivist ontology and scientific epistemology. 'The key idea of positivism is that the social world exists externally, and that its properties should be measured through objective methods, rather than being inferred subjectively through sensation, reflection or intuition' (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002: 28). Positivists believe that the world exists independently of our knowledge of it, and the world is real and not socially constructed. Traditionally, they argued that there is no appearance/reality dichotomy and thus the validity of a theory can be independently tested through direct observation (Marsh and Furlong, 2002). Positivists aim to identify causal relationships and fundamental laws explaining the regularities in human and social behaviours (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002). As positivists need objective measures of social phenomena in order to generalise the regularities, they focus on quantitative data rather than qualitative data (Marsh and Furlong, 2002).

Positivism faces criticism in two broad forms. Firstly, critics of positivism argue that any knowledge we derive from the five senses is mediated by the concepts we use to analyse it, therefore, it is impossible to classify, describe, or to experience it without interpreting it (Quine, 1961). Theory and experiment cannot simply be separated as theory affects both the facts we focus on and how we interpret them. Secondly, according to critics, there are obvious differences between social and physical or natural phenomena. Social structures, unlike natural structures, do not exist independently of the activities they shape or the agent's view of what they are doing in an activity. Social structures change as a result of the actions of agents and the social world varies

across time and space (Marsh and Furlong, 2002). Therefore, social science studies require a different logic of research procedure which reflects this distinctiveness (Bryman, 2008).

Having been aware of these criticisms, post-positivism recognises that normative questions are important and are not always easy to separate from empirical questions. Post-positivists accept that theory and observation are interdependent, and that other traditions have a key role to play in political and social analysis (Marsh and Furlong, 2002). However, they still believe that 'observation must be used in order to conduct a systematic empirical test of the theory that is being posited' (Sanders, 2002:54). Although post-positivism accepts the importance of interpretation and meanings, it still treats interpretation and meaning as intervening variables and it emphasises the primacy of direct observation and explanation rather than of understanding (Marsh and Furlong, 2002).

On the other hand, social constructionism stems from the view that 'reality is not objective and exterior, but is socially constructed and given meaning by people' (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002:29). As social constructionism is very multi-faceted (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009:15), only some of their overarching characteristics are covered here. As they start from a viewpoint which does not assume any pre-existing reality, the aim of research for social constructionists is to explore and understand how these social constructions happen; in other words, how people invent structures to make sense of what they are experiencing (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002) Therefore, the focus of research for social constructionists should be on what people, individually and collectively, are thinking and feeling, and how they communicate with each other, whether verbally or non-verbally (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002). 'This approach is not particularly theory-oriented; rather the focus is on the "disclosure" of how social phenomena are socially constructed.' (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009:15)

Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009) criticise social constructionism for its anti-theoretical tendencies, anti-realism, and anti-essentialism. According to them, social constructionism leads research to descriptivism and a reduction to the individual level of analysis as the only thing they are interested in is how the social construction happens. This limits the scope of research as it makes it impossible to have theories about social phenomena beyond the construction to take part in research. Secondly, Alvesson and Sköldberg go on to say that social constructionists' anti-realism, which sees that 'reality is amorphous, without qualities and is only provided with arbitrary patterns by the researcher' (2009:37) is self-destructive, as it implies that 'social constructionism itself is just an arbitrary pattern, invented by researchers' (2009:38). Lastly, they criticise the anti-essentialism of social constructionism. Essentialism is 'the opinion that various phenomena have some kind of immutable core of properties, their essence' (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009:38), and social constructionists strongly object to the essentialism of other

approaches. However, social constructionism also has the essence, the construction. 'The construction has, in fact, obvious characteristics of a social constructionist 'essence', an inherent, unchangeable, constant property of our reality' (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009:38). Social constructionist anti-realism and anti-essentialism become self-destroying.

The two different philosophical traditions have led to different ways of doing research in social science, and urban tourism is also studied in different ways depending on a researcher's philosophical position. An example of (post-) positivist approach is Plaza's (2006) research on the impacts of Guggenheim Bilbao Museum on tourism and employment. Bilbao, a city in Spain's Basque country, was undergoing major urban regeneration when the museum was built in the 1990s. Although nowadays Guggenheim Bilbao Museum is often referred to as a successful example of culture-led urban regeneration, at that time there were critics opposed to the project who argued that too much public money was spent on 'something so irrelevant and exclusive' (Plaza, 2008:506).

To prove the museum's effectiveness in generating economic and social value, Plaza (2006) adopts a quantitative approach and she analyses statistical data to calculate Return on Investment (ROI) of the museum. Her findings demonstrate that the museum has brought statistically significant and positive impacts on the overnight stays, the employment, and therefore the government's tax income. Her 'conservative' (in her own words) ROI analysis estimates that the museum recovered the initial investment 'in little more than decade, possibly a world record' (Plaza, 2006: 464). Plaza (2006), however, points out that the increase in employment could have other causes, such as the favourable economic cycle and development of other economic activities, as well as the opening of the museum. She also claims that the success of the museum was dependent on the vernacular conditions and on the consistent efforts of the innovative Museum Director to attract visitors. She concludes, therefore, that the example of Guggenheim Museum Bilbao does not legitimise the development of signature architecture or extreme cultural investments.

On the other hand, Selby (2004) adopts a constructionist approach to study the experience and knowledge of urban tourists. He argues that urban tourism research has not paid enough attention to the voice of the people who actually consume urban tourism destinations. He goes on to say that 'the starting point for rather more urban tourism research should be the knowledge of various groups of urban tourists and place consumers generally' (2004:194). Selby's (2004) research is based on a Schutzian conceptualisation of phenomenology which declares that people experience phenomena both first-hand and through second-hand representations in their everyday lives and such knowledge is acquired and shared by groups of people through social relations.

Selby investigates discrepancies between the visitor's actual experience of Cardiff and the image of Cardiff for those who have not been to it before. Selby uses conversational interviews to elicit 'the terms of reference used by place consumer themselves' (2004:194), and he then develops a consensus repertory grid which consists of the most common constructs among respondent groups. He argues that the constructs should reflect 'the frames of reference of place consumers themselves rather than the researcher' (2004: 196). He then uses the constructs in a quantitative survey to increase the research validity. Selby's (2004) findings show that the experience of visitors to Cardiff is considerably more positive than the image that people who have not been to the destination have about it. His results also demonstrate that different social groups have different experiences and images about the destination. He concluded that Cardiff's tourism policy needs to pay more attention to its image in destination promotion and media relations.

These two examples illustrate how a researcher's philosophical position can influence research design, data collection and analysis methods. The next section discusses critical realism as another research philosophy and explains how it influences the author's methodological approach to this particular study.

4.2.3 Critical Realism

This study is philosophically based on Critical Realism, which is a more recent philosophical development compared with the two traditions discussed above. For critical realists, 'both positivism and social constructionism are too superficial, unrealistic and anthropocentric' (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009:16). Critical realists believe that the existence of reality is beyond our knowledge and understanding. However, they are against the positivist tradition of the 'unity of methodology', which can be represented as 'Observation + Correlation = Explanation + Prediction' (Archer, 1998:190). Critical realists are against this kind of 'epistemic fallacy' (Bhaskar, 1978), which is a tendency to reduce ontology (what exists) to epistemology (what we know about it).

At the same time, critical realists acknowledge 'the conceptually-mediated or theory laden character of experience' (Sayer, 2000:11). They acknowledge that social phenomena are intrinsically meaningful, that the meaning should be understood, and that there is always an interpretive element in social science (Sayer, 2000). However, for critical realists this interpretive approach does not rule out causal explanations. This is because there are material changes in

society which need to be explained and because these reasons can be causes of change as they prompt us to do things and think differently (Sayer, 2000).

The person considered as the founder of critical realism is Roy Bhaskar, who has developed the idea of critical realism since the 1970s. In his 'A Realist Theory of Science', Bhaskar (1978) differentiates the 'intransitive' objects of scientific inquiry that exist and act independently of their identification in human knowledge, as distinct from the 'transitive', socially constructed, dimension that allows us to make sense of our worlds. According to him *(1978:24),*

> Any adequate philosophy of science must be capable of sustaining and reconciling both aspects of science; that is, of showing how science which is a transitive process, dependent upon antecedent knowledge and the efficient activity of men, has intransitive objects which depend upon neither. That is it must be capable of sustaining both (1) the social character of science and (2) the independence from science of the objects of scientific thought.

Those intransitive entities may not be observable, and different human agents may apprehend different transitive realities (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). This differentiation between the intransitive and the transitive can be articulated in the 'stratified ontology' of critical realists. They believe that 'the reality is both multi-dimensional and stratified and also open and differentiated' (Bhaskar and Lawson, 1998:5). They distinguish three different domains of reality – the empirical, the actual and the real.

The empirical is the domain of 'things that happen and exist according to our immediate experience' (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009). The actual domain is 'where events happen whether we experience them or not. What happens in the world is not the same as that which is observed' (Danermark et al., 2002:20) The real is whatever exists, regardless of whether it is natural or social, whether it is an empirical object for us, and whether we happen to have an adequate understanding of its nature (Sayer, 2000). The real is the realm of objects, their structures, mechanisms, powers and tendencies. These aspects of reality 'underpin, generate or facilitate the actual phenomena that we may or may not experience, but are typically out of phase with them' (Bhaskar and Lawson, 1998:5).

The aspects of the real, 'whether they be physical, like minerals, or social, like bureaucracies, they have certain structures and causal powers, that is, capacities to behave in particular ways, and causal liabilities or passive powers, that is specific susceptibilities to certain kinds of change' (Sayer, 2000:11). The critical realist approach towards causality is different from the positivist approach. While positivists aim to establish universal and predictable patterns, and the exact relation between cause and effect, critical realists see the social reality as contextual,

emergent and changeable (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009). For critical realists, explanations about social phenomena depend on identifying causal mechanisms and how they work, and discovering if they have been activated and under what conditions, rather than searching for putative social laws (Sayer, 2000).

Therefore, the aim of science for critical realists is 'to explore the realm of the real and how it relates to the other two domains' (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009:40). Critical realism identifies causation by exploring the mechanisms of cause and effect or powers which underlie regular events through the deployment of 'retroduction' (Johnson and Duberley, 2000:154). Retroduction moves from a description of component events or states to the antecedent events or states, in other words, mechanisms or structures of affairs that have produced them or have been the condition for them (Bhaskar, 1978). In short, for Bhaskar, the objective of a critical realist science is to dig deeper to identify these real intransitive essences, or causal powers, which lie behind conceptually mediated, or transitive, empirical patterns (Johnson and Duberley, 2000).

Cruickshank (2004) criticises critical realism for its two mutually exclusive definitions of ontology. 'On the one hand ontology pertains to what critical realists refer to as the "transitive domain" of fallible, theoretical interpretations of reality, whilst on the other hand, ontology is taken to be a direct representation of the "intransitive domain", meaning the reality beyond our knowledge.'(Cruickshank, 2004:567). Cruickshank argues that having such definitions means that 'one would have to make the dogmatic metaphysical claim to have assumed an Archimedean point or God's eye view, from which one could know the essential features of reality beyond our knowledge' (2004:568). This is also related to another criticism over 'the concept of objective reality, as a point of departure, and reference for the knowledge that is produced' (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009:44). In critical realism 'it is the nature of the object under study that determines what research methods are applicable, and also what knowledge claims one may have' (Danermark et al.,2002:70). This claim is in a way read 'as if the object of study discloses itself and then tells the researcher how it is most appropriately studied' (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009:45). This objectivism ignores the fact that different researchers have different perspectives, pre-understanding and interpretation. It is also self-contradictory as critical realists believe that 'all knowledge is conceptually mediated and thus it is impossible to make neutral observations of 'facts' about reality. The observations are always theory-laden' (Danermark et al., 2002:41).

4.2.4 Critical realism as research philosophy

The author's ontological and epistemological positions are those of critical realists in this study. The author believes that reality exists regardless of her understanding of it, while also believing that her interpretation and understanding of it is fundamental to this study. In addition to the above discussion, there are some more critical realist thoughts which are essential to this study, especially regarding structure-agency relations, which was discussed in Chapter 2, the Literature Review.

'The central nature of social realism is that society is an open system and the one factor guarantees this openness is that social systems are consisted of people with reflexivity and creativity about any social context they face' (Archer, 1998:190). In this open system, events are not pre-determined but depend on contingent conditions and things could happen in many different ways (Sayer, 2000). Different causal mechanisms can produce the same outcomes and the same mechanism can produce different results according to context (Sayer, 2000).

Critical realists believe that the world is characterised by emergence (Sayer, 2000). In the social world, people's roles and identities are often related, and what one person or institution is or can do depends on their relation to others. Social systems generally entail 'dependencies or combinations which causally affect the elements or aspects, and the form and structure of the elements causally influence each other and so also the whole' (Lawson, 1997:64). Therefore, new phenomena emerge from the conjunction of two or more aspects, and the new phenomena have properties which are not reducible to their constituents, although the latter are essential for their existence (Sayer, 2000).

According to critical realism, events take place within geo-historical contexts (Sayer, 2000). A mechanism's geo-historical relationships with other objects, which have their own causal powers and liabilities, may trigger, block or modify its action. Considering the complexity and changeability of the contexts of the social world, it is not possible to expect the regular associations between causes and effects. Sayer (2000) states that an actors' discourse should be related to its referents and context in order to interpret what they mean. He also highlights that there are unintended consequences and unacknowledged conditions, therefore what happens does not necessarily depend on or correspond to the actors' understandings.

In short, critical realists believe in a dialectical relation between structure and agency. People's actions are strongly influenced by the society they live in and the changes within the society. However, they still have at least some degree of independent power to affect events and they do this by interacting with others. 'Society is both the ever-present condition (material cause)

and the continually reproduced outcome of human agency. And praxis is both work, that is, conscious production, and (normally unconscious) reproduction of the conditions of production, that is society' (Bhaskar, 1989:34-35).

It is fundamental for this study that people in society ally or divide with others to pursue their interest and achieve their purposes. Tourism-related urban regeneration involves a wide range of people and organisations from the public, private and voluntary sectors and the community. The cooperation and competition, negotiation and conflicts between these different actors have impacts on decision-making about tourism-related urban regeneration, just as the structural changes in society do.

Such interactions between actors largely depend on the specific context, such as socioeconomic, political and cultural contexts. The changes in political economy such as the shift from Fordism/Keynesianism to Post-Fordism/Neoliberalism have rendered different actors, in particular the public and the private sector organisations, to work together by building partnerships or networks. By examining the two case study areas of The Quays and NewcastleGateshead Quayside, the author attempts to understand how, and to what extent, the changes in the political economy structure have had impacts on tourism-related urban regeneration.

These dialectical relations between structure and agency are further explored in this study by looking at the most influential individuals and organisations involved in decision-making for tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. Certain individuals and organisations demonstrate more influence and power than others in the decision-making processes and the author intends to explain the power relations between the different actors and where the power originates from.

In brief, the author intends to find the contextual, emergent and changeable reality which causes the phenomena of tourism-related urban regeneration. She does not believe that the findings of this study provide a universal predictability or a set rule for tourism-related urban regeneration. However, by investigating the two case study areas, the author hopes to advance the current understanding of tourism-related urban regeneration in both tourism and urban regeneration academic fields.

4.3 Research methodology

4.3.1 Case study approach

In this study, a qualitative case study approach was adopted in the research methodology and specific data collection and analysis approaches were developed accordingly. There is no agreement as to whether a case study approach is a research methodology or a method. Stake (2005) contends that case study research is a choice of what is to be studied rather than a choice of a methodology. However, others consider it to be a methodology, a type of qualitative research design, or comprehensive research strategy (Creswell, 2007; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Yin, 2003). The author agrees with the latter and she regards a case study as a comprehensive research strategy which covers the logic of research design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis rather than a mere data collection tactic (Yin, 2003).

Creswell highlights five points which researchers should consider when they conduct a case study (2007:74-75). Each of these points is explained in turn in relation to this study. Firstly, researchers should determine if a case study approach is appropriate to the research question (Creswell, 2007). According to Yin (2003:9), a case study has a distinct advantage in situations when 'a "how" or "why" question is being asked about a contemporary set of events, over which the investigator has little or no control'. Case studies are used 'where no single perspective can provide a full account or explanation of the research issues, and where understanding needs to be holistic, comprehensive and contextualised' (Lewis, 2003:52). Case study designs can build up detailed in-depth understanding by integrating different perspectives on the context or interaction (Lewis, 2003).

The aim of this study is to understand the relationship between actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration. The focus of the study is on why, how and to what extent the actors with a wide range of interests work together for tourism-related urban regeneration. Although tourism is widely incorporated into urban regeneration in the UK, neither the relations between tourism and urban regeneration, nor the interactions between the involved actors, have been clearly explained previously. Therefore, it was necessary to adopt a case study strategy in order to investigate real examples of tourism-related urban regeneration and to collect in-depth data from a wide range of actors with different interests in their involvement in the contexts.

Secondly, researchers need to identify their case or cases (Creswell, 2007). They should consider what types of case study are most promising and useful. When they choose which case or

cases to study, a range of possibilities is available for purposeful sampling. Researchers also need clearly to identify the type of sampling strategy in selecting the case or cases and a rationale for it. This includes decisions about 'who or what should be sampled, what form the sampling will take, and how many people or sites need to be sampled' (Creswell, 2007:125). Purposeful sampling should also be applied to the sampling of information used within the case (Creswell, 2007).

There are three types of qualitative case studies in terms of intent: 'the single instrumental case study, the collective or multiple case study, and the intrinsic case study' (Creswell, 2007:74). In a single instrumental case study, the researcher has an issue or concern, and they then select one bounded case to illustrate this issue. In a collective case study, the researcher focuses on issues or concerns, but they choose multiple case studies, rather than just one, in order to demonstrate the issues. In an intrinsic case study, the researcher has an intrinsic interest in the case itself as the case presents an unusual or unique situation.

This particular study has taken a collective case study approach as it investigates two areas of urban waterfront regeneration. The two case study areas, The Quays in the North West of England (Figure 4.2) and The NewcastleGateshead Quayside in the North East of England (Figure 4.3), were chosen purposefully. They were chosen as they have relatively similar geographical, political and economic contexts. Both areas are water-side urban destinations in northern England, which were once important industrial centres. Since the decline of traditional staple industries, both areas have been pursuing the regeneration of the physical environment and local economy and tourism has been incorporated in the regeneration policies. Interestingly, each case study area is situated on a border between two local authority administrative areas. The Quays is located between Salford and Trafford, and The NewcastleGateshead Quayside is located between Newcastle and Gateshead. It was thought, therefore, that the two case study areas are interesting examples within which to investigate how and to what extent these neighbouring local authorities work together for tourism-related urban regeneration despite their well-known local rivalries.

Figure 4.2 Location of The Quays
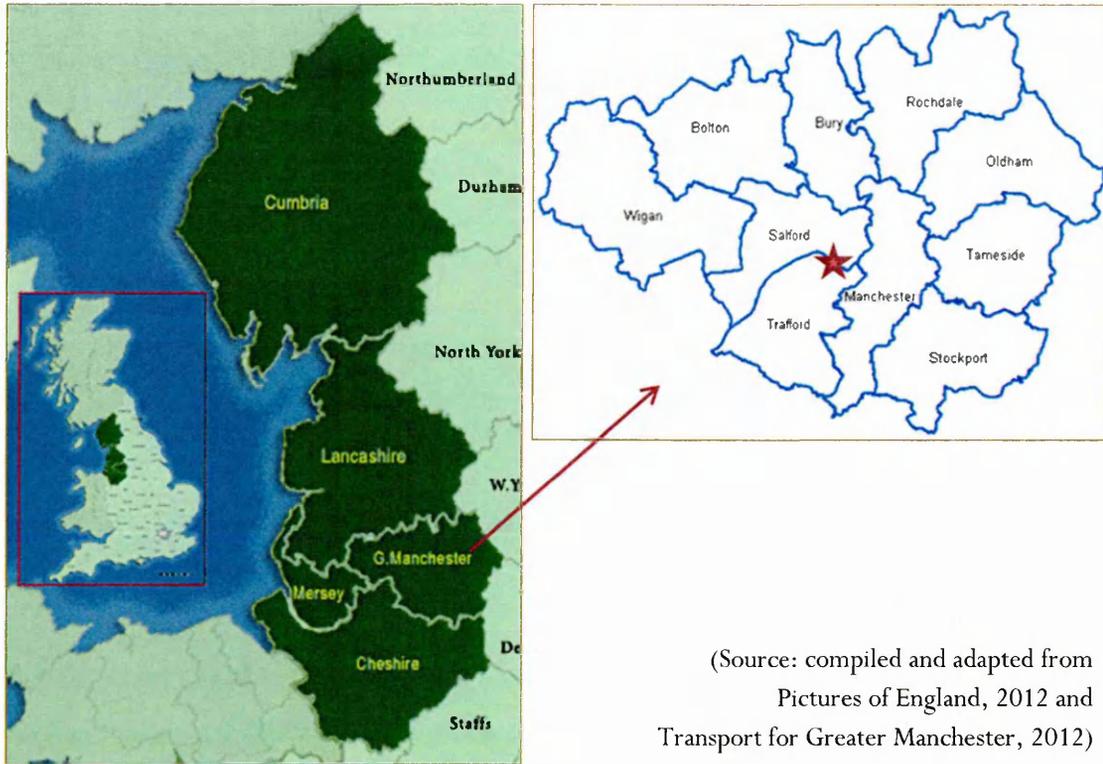
(Source: compiled and adapted from
Pictures of England, 2012 and
Transport for Greater Manchester, 2012)

Figure 4.3 Location of NewcastleGateshead Quayside
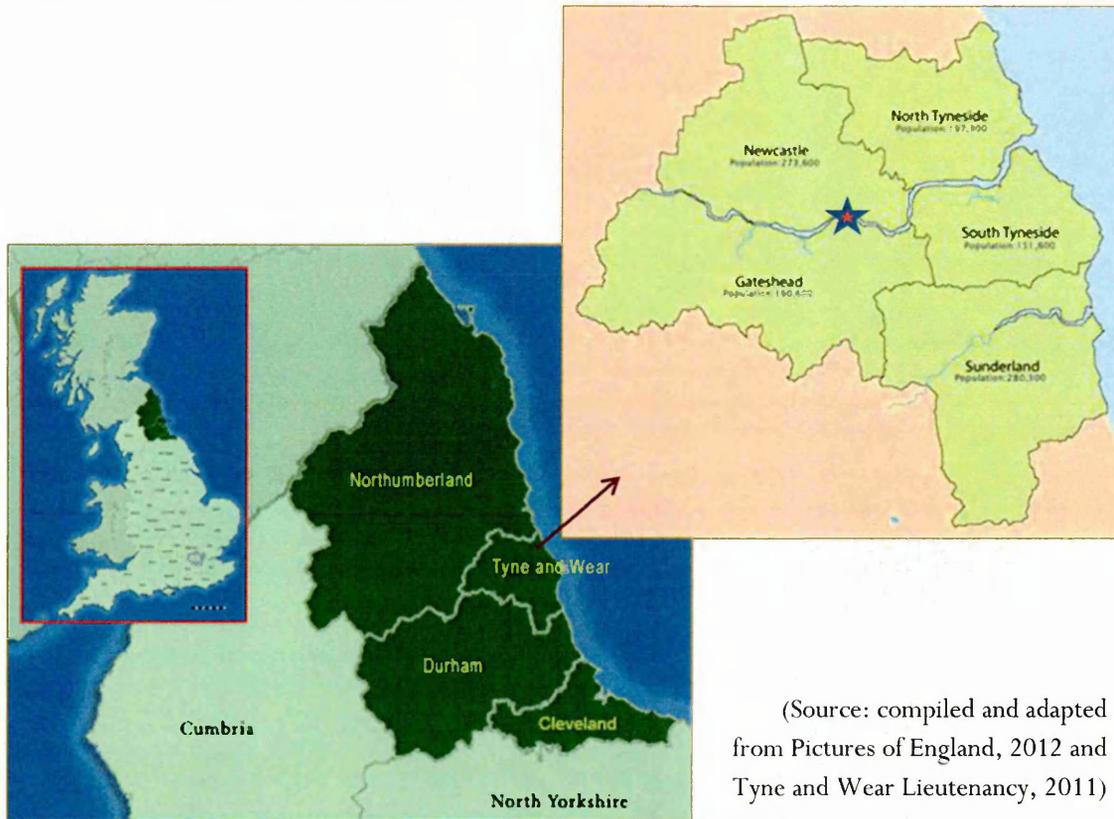
(Source: compiled and adapted
from Pictures of England, 2012 and
Tyne and Wear Lieutenancy, 2011)

Thirdly, the data collection for case study research is typically extensive, drawing on multiple sources of information (Creswell, 2007). According to Yin (2003), the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence is a major strength of case study data collection. He highlights the potential strengths and weaknesses of six types of information that can be collected: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observations, and physical artifacts, as shown in Table 4.1. In this study, four of the above information types were collected: interviews, participant observations, documents, and archival records. This is discussed in more detail in the following section on data collection.

Table 4.1 Six sources of evidence: potential strengths and weaknesses

Sources of evidence	Strengths	Weaknesses
Documentation	• Stable – can be reviewed repeatedly • Unobtrusive – not created as a result of the case study • Exact – contains exact names, references, and details of an event • Broad coverage – long span of time, many events, and many settings	• Retrievability- can be low • Biased selectivity, if collection is incomplete • Reporting bias-reflects (unknown) bias of author • Access – may be deliberately blocked
Archival records	• [same as above for documentation] • Precise and quantitative	• [same as above for documentation] • Accessibility due to privacy reasons
Interviews	• Targeted – focuses directly on case study topic • Insightful – provides perceived causal inferences	• Bias due to poorly constructed questions • Response bias • Inaccuracies due to poor recall • Reflexivity- interviewee gives what interviewer wants to hear
Direct observations	• Reality-covers events in real time • Contextual – covers context of event	• Time-consuming • Selectivity – unless broad coverage • Reflexivity – event may proceed differently because it is being observed • Cost-hours needed by human observers
Participant-observations	• [same as above for observations] • Insightful into interpersonal behaviour and motives	• [same as above for observations] • Bias due to investigator's manipulation of events
Physical artifacts	• Insightful into cultural features • Insightful into technical operations	• Selectivity • Availability

(Source: adapted from Yin, 2003:86)

Fourthly, the data analysis for case study research can be a holistic analysis of the entire case or an embedded analysis of a specific aspect of the case (Yin, 2003). Researchers may identify issues within each case and then look for common themes that transcend the cases (Yin, 2003). In a multiple-case study, it is typical to provide a within-case analysis, which describes the details of each case and themes within the case, followed by a cross-case analysis, involving thematic analysis across the cases as well as assertions or interpretations of the meaning of the cases (Creswell, 2007). Lastly, the researcher reports the meaning of the case, whether that meaning comes from learning about an issue concerning the case or learning about an unusual situation (Creswell, 2007).

This study provides both within-case and cross-case analyses in relation to the two case study areas. However, the purpose of selecting two case study areas was not to compare and/or to contrast them, but to explore the different issues they experience and the different degrees of interactions in two specific local contexts. By doing so, the study triangulates the findings in the two areas and this may increase the scope to suggest wider trends. The three results chapters and the conclusion chapter report the findings and the potential meanings of the case studies.

4.4 Research methods

4.4.1 Semi-structured interviews

The data collection in case study research is typically extensive, drawing on multiple sources of information and the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence is a major strength of case study data collection (Yin, 2003). The primary data for this study was collected through qualitative interviews and was complemented by data gathered through participant observation and document analysis.

Individual interviews are probably the most widely used data collection method in qualitative research (Ritchie, 2003). Individual interviews provide an opportunity to investigate detailed personal perspectives and contexts by focusing on the experiences of the individual. They are particularly suitable for research that involves an understanding of delicate phenomena or responses to complex systems, processes or experiences (Ritchie, 2003). Case study interviews are open-ended, thus the interviewer can ask key respondents about the facts of a matter as well as their opinions about events. In some situations, researchers can even ask the interviewees to

propose their own insights into certain occurrences and use such propositions as the basis for further inquiry (Yin, 2003).

Qualitative interviews can be divided into two categories: in-depth interviews and semi-structured interviews (Arthur and Nazroo, 2003). In-depth, unstructured, or non-standardised interviews include a broad agenda which maps the issues to be investigated across the sample. However, the language, order and ways in which the issues are explored vary significantly between interviews. On the other hand, in semi-structured or semi-standardised interviews, the interviewer asks key questions, but the questioning and probing are narrower than in in-depth interviews (Arthur and Nazroo, 2003).

In a semi-structured interview, the researcher has an interview guide, which is a list of questions or relatively specific topics to be covered, but the interviewees have freedom as to how they answer (Bryman, 2008). Therefore, the interviewer can be flexible in terms of the order in which the issues are considered, and this allows interviewees to develop ideas, elaborate points of interest, and speak more broadly on the topics brought up by the researcher (Denscombe, 2003). This 'willingness', which allows interviewees to use their own words, to develop their own thoughts and to speak their mind, distinguishes them from structured interviews, which have tight control over the nature of the responses and the length of the answers (Denscombe, 2003). Semi-structured and unstructured interviews are on a continuum and aim at 'discovery' about complex issues rather than 'checking' (Denscombe, 2003:167).

In this study, semi-structured interviews were used to collect the primary data. Developing an interview guide and having the questions prepared in advance were very important in order to ensure that the key issues of the study were covered during each interview. As this study intended to explore the various points of views of different actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration, the key questions had to be asked of every interviewee. Having an interview guide also ensured that the author kept the conversations with interviewees focused on the study objectives, and that she controlled and used the limited interview time effectively. However, unlike a structured interview, the author allowed flexibility in terms of the order of the issues covered during each interview, depending on the interviewee's interest and speciality.

Interview questions were prepared with a set of broad opening questions and more specific follow-up questions, as shown in Appendix 1. The questions were developed under six categories based on the second version of the conceptual framework (Figure 3.2 on p.50) and also the study objectives. The first and second themes of 'tourism and urban regeneration' and 'actor identification' were designed to explore Objective 3 'to understand how and to what extent different types of actors are involved in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas'. The next two interview themes of

'relationships between actors' and 'policy networks' were prepared to address Objective 4 'to understand the actor interactions and to explore the resource dependencies and power relations within policy networks associated with tourism and urban regeneration in the case study areas'. The last two themes of 'structure' and 'agency' were designed in relation to Objective 5 'to understand the structure-agency relations in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas'.

In each case study area, a wide range of actors involved in tourism marketing, tourism development and urban regeneration were chosen for the interviews. The total of 44 interviews, 22 interviews respectively in each case study area, were undertaken between April 2009 and July 2010, as shown in Tables 4.2 and 4.3. The author made more than 60 interview requests and Table 4.4 shows the list of people who she contacted but was unable to interview, and the reasons why they were not interviewed. The majority of these people did not respond to the postal and email interview requests and the author was unable to contact them via telephone. Some declined interview requests saying that they were too busy to have an interview, or that they were not involved in tourism and/or urban regeneration.

Prior to the fieldwork, the author spent a considerable amount of time studying tourism-related urban regeneration projects and the organisations involved in those projects in the case study areas, as well as carefully selected potential interviewees. It was very important to cover a variety of organisations from the public, private and third sectors in the interviews in order to get a range of views reflecting their different interests and perspectives on tourism-related urban regeneration, and also to explore their relationships with one another. Out of 44 interviews, 24 were conducted with people who worked for the public sector, including quangos, 8 with people from the private sector, 8 with people from the non-profit third sector, and the rest included two self-employed consultants, one community member and one university lecturer (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3). The overall balance between the sectors was reasonable, although with hindsight it would have been desirable to include a few more private sector tourism businesses and property businesses, as well as local community members.

Organisations at different territorial levels were also interviewed to learn about their involvement and interactions with others in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. The different territorial levels of the interviewees are shown in Tables 4.2 and 4.3. The analysis of territorial scales was to a degree limited to public sector organisations as the majority of private sector and third sector organisations did not have clear territorial boundaries for their business operations. The 24 interviews with public sector organisations involved people from one national tourism organisation, two Regional Development Agencies (RDAs), three sub-regional Destination Management Organisations (DMOs), five local authorities and four local quangos

(two urban regeneration companies, a city development company, and a housing renewal company). Interviewees from local authorities included both councillors and council officers from various departments. The private sector interviewees included property developers, land owners, and a property consultant. Many tourist attractions in the case study areas are third sector cultural organisations, such as theatres, museums, and galleries, and directors and officers for some of these organisations were also interviewed. In The Quays, an academic and a member of the local community were also interviewed.

Table 4.2 Interviews in NewcastleGateshead Quayside

Sector	Organisation	Position	Territorial scale
Public sector	One North East	Tourism Development Manager	Regional
	Hull Forward	Chief Executive (Ex Director For Regeneration and Tourism at One North East)	Local (Ex-regional)
	Tourism Tyne & Wear	Tourism Manager	Sub-regional
	NewcastleGateshead Initiative (NGI)	Chief Executive	Sub-regional
	1NG (City Development Company)	Project Manager	Local
	Bridging NewcastleGateshead (BNG)	Chief Executive	Local
	Gateshead MBC	Major Initiatives Officer	Local
	Gateshead MBC	Tourism Officer	Local
	Gateshead MBC	Head of Libraries and Arts	Local
	Gateshead MBC	Councillor (Portfolio holder for Culture and Sports)	Local
	Newcastle City Council	Culture and Tourism Manager	Local
	Newcastle City Council	Deputy leader	Local
Private sector	JK Property Consultants	Director	N/A
	Sanderson Weatherall	Partner	N/A
	NE1 (Business Improvement District)	Operations Manager	Local
Non-profit third sector	BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art	Chief Executive	N/A
	The Sage Gateshead	Chief Executive	N/A
	Centre for Life	Chief Executive	N/A
	Seven Stories	Chief Executive	N/A
	Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums	Assistant Director	Sub-regional
	Ouseburn Trust	Chief Officer	Local
Others	Self-employed	Consultant (Ex Chief Executive of Northumbria Tourist Board)	N/A

Table 4.3 Interviews in The Quays

Sector	Organisation	Position	Territorial Scale
Public Sector	Visit England	Chief Executive	National
	North West Development Agency	Director of Tourism	Regional
	Visit Manchester	Managing Director	Sub-regional
	Salford City Council	Senior (Tourism) Marketing Officer	Local
	Salford City Council	Assistant Director for Culture & Leisure	Local
	Salford City Council	Community Manager	Local
	Trafford MBC	Councillor	Local
	Trafford MBC	Tourism Officer	Local
	Trafford MBC	Tourism Officer	Local
	Central Salford URC	Marketing and communications officer	Local
	Central Salford URC	Chairman	Local
	Tameside Council	Tourism Officer (Ex Salford Tourism Officer)	Local
Private Sector	Ask Property Development	Executive Director	N/A
	Peel Media	Property Director	N/A
	Trafford Centre	Managing Director	N/A
	Ramada Hotel	General Manager	N/A
	Lowry Outlet Mall	Marketing and tourism officer	N/A
Non-profit third sector	The Lowry	Marketing and tourism officer	N/A
	Imperial War Museum North	Director	N/A
Others	Self-employed	Culture Consultant (Ex-Director of The Lowry Centre)	N/A
	Salford University	Lecturer in Tourism	N/A
	Community member	Local resident of the Ordsall community	N/A

Table 4.4 The list of people who the author could not interview and the reasons for this

The Quays			
	Position	Organisation	Reason
1	Venue Marketing Manager	Manchester United Football Club	No reply
2	Chief Executive	Lancashire County Cricket Club	No reply
3	Chief Executive	The Lowry	No reply
4	Blue Badge Guide	N/A	No reply
5	Lead member of Culture and Sport	Salford City Council	Claimed study subject not relevant to their job
6	Bridgewater Canal Manager	The Bridgewater Canal Company Limited	Claimed too busy
7	Deputy Chief Executive	New East Manchester Limited	No reply
8	Director of Community Regeneration	Central Salford Urban Regeneration Company	Claimed too busy
9	Councillor	Ordsall Ward, Salford	Had to go on leave for personal reasons
10	Community member	Gorse Hill	No reply

NewcastleGateshead Quayside			
	Position	Organisation	Reason
1	City Centre Development Team	Newcastle City Council	Claimed study subject not relevant to their job
2	Director	Gusto UK Limited and Tynehead Property Limited.	No reply
3	Tourism officer	Newcastle City Council	Made redundant
4	General Manager	Hilton Newcastle Gateshead hotel	No reply
5	Managing Director	Bellway Homes Limited (Housing company)	No reply
6	Director	Storeys:ssp (Commercial property consultancy firm)	Promised to call but didn't. No further contact available
8	General Manager	Malmaison (Hotel) Newcastle	No reply
9	Chief Executive	Theatre Royal	No reply
10	Chief Executive	Newcastle NE1 Ltd	No reply

The interviewees were approached by a letter through the post, followed up by a phone call or an email to arrange the interview. Although the author had the organisations and actors that she wanted to interview in her mind, the interviewee selection was open to new opportunities as the interviews went on. The author asked interviewees to recommend other actors who were involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas and who might potentially have been interested in this study. This snowball or chain referral sampling tactic 'yields a study sample through referrals made among people who share or know of others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest' (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981:141). This proved to be a fruitful line of enquiry as it helped the author to interview people who otherwise would have been overlooked. It was also found that when an interview request letter was sent to a potential interviewee with the name of the person who recommended or suggested them, the request tended to be accepted more easily and quickly.

The detailed and extensive interview guide helped the author to prepare for interviews and to keep focused on the study objectives during the data collection. However, it was found to be very difficult and unnecessary to follow the exact wording and order of the interview guide as interviewees were from a wide range of organisations with different interests and degree of involvement in tourism and urban regeneration. There was also a change in the conceptual framework as the author decided to drop the questions about the different types of policy networks and to spend the limited interview time more effectively. Hence, the author researched the interviewees and their organisations thoroughly prior to each interview and adapted and reworded questions where appropriate. This allowed the author flexibility and helped to keep the interviewees interested during the interviews. Many interviewees were more willing to speak about the topics when the author showed knowledge about their organisations and work.

The interviews lasted approximately an hour on average and all the interviews were recorded using a digital audio recorder. Five interviews were conducted by telephone and all face-to-face interviews took place in the interviewees' work places, partly in order to ensure the health and safety of both the author and interviewees. Some interviewees asked the author to send them a list of key questions in advance so that they could consider them in advance. The author was happy with the overall quality of interview materials as she felt the interviewees answered her questions openly and they showed in-depth understanding of the interview topics based on plenty of practical experience.

The confidentiality of each interview was guaranteed to the respondents from the initial interview request letter. In the letter, the author clearly stated that "Any information you give will be treated in strict confidence and it will be used only for academic purposes. Opinions expressed will not be identified with named individuals when the research is written up". This

promise was reiterated again face-to-face when the author asked for permission to use a voice recorder at the beginning of every interview. The confidentiality of interviewees were kept strictly in the writing up of this thesis as the author neither mentions the names of individual interviewees nor uses codes to indicate individual interviewees against the lists provided in this chapter.

4.4.2 Participant observation

Accompanying the interview data collection, participant observation was also adopted to a limited degree as a data collection method in this study. The author attended one monthly meeting of The Quays Partnership after gaining permission to attend as a participant observer. However, her participation was similar to 'interrupted involvement' (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002: 113), as she was not involved in any of the discussions at the meeting but simply observing the discussions between the people present at the meeting and also their behaviour.

Attending the partnership meeting was helpful as this gave the author an opportunity to observe the interactions and relationships between the member organisations in practice. The data from the participant observation, complemented with the data from the individual interviews, helped the author to critically analyse the networks and to find more 'facts' from behind the scenes. Attending the partnership meeting also turned out to be a very effective way to meet potential interviewees. The author arranged three further interviews with people who were at the meeting, and the observation made in the meeting was used as a point of reference in the interviews.

The author attempted to attend further meetings, but the request was declined. The chair of the partnership meeting replied to the author's requests: "After discussion with the Partnership it was felt that it would not be beneficial for the partnership, nor indeed useful to yourself, to attend the January meeting". The author felt that there might have been a confidentiality issue involved in this decision of the Partnership as the January meeting was scheduled to be a full day planning meeting for the Partnership's marketing and promotional activities for 2011, within which they might have discussed sensitive financial issues.

The author decided not to make a further request to attend the meeting. This was partly because the actual discussions at the partnership meeting were mainly around operational marketing issues, which was not particularly relevant to the study objectives. The author felt that it was not an effective way to use the limited time and cost for data collection, and it was decided to focus on interviews.

4.4.3 Document information

Document analysis was also used in this study in order to collect secondary data. It helped in understanding the evolution of local approaches to tourism development and urban regeneration as well as the local politics and regime development in each case study area. Using multiple sources of data, such as documentation and archival records, has several strengths in a case study strategy (Yin, 2003). Information from documentation and archival records is stable and unobtrusive and it can contain exact 'facts' and details. It also covers various events in various settings for a long period of time, and archival records can be particularly precise and quantitative. However, there is the possibility that the information was reported and selected in unrepresentative ways and it may be difficult to access the information (Yin, 2003).

A wide range of document information were used for this study, including policy and planning documents, national and local newspapers, minutes of organisational meetings, documents in local universities and archives, and community magazines. The majority of documents were found on Internet websites, such as those of the RDAs, DMOs, local authorities and other interviewee organisations, as well as news article databases. The author also visited libraries and archives in the case study areas to collect newspaper articles and policy documents over the study period. Examples of key documents used in the study are listed in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Examples of key documents used in this study

Title	Date	Author/Organisation
Good Practice Guide on Planning for Tourism	2006a	Department for Communities and Local Government
Regeneration Through Culture, Sport and Tourism	2006	Department for Communities and Local Government
Salford Quays Milestones: The Story of Salford Quays	Updated 2008	Salford City Council
From Vision to Reality: The Regeneration of Salford Quays	No date	Tony Struthers OBE Development Services Directorate, Salford City Council
The Regeneration of NewcastleGateshead Quays	2009	Eric Morgan
Passionate about Gateshead Quays: The Transformation	2006	Gateshead Council

Many documents were studied before the interviews were conducted in order to ensure that the author understood the context of urban regeneration in each case study area, and also to

prepare high-quality interview questions. As the case study areas had experienced continuous regeneration processes, news and newspaper websites were often used to get historical information, and also to keep up with on-going changes after the interviews.

As previously mentioned, Table 4.5 provides some examples of documents used in this study. The two government departmental policy papers in the table were useful in order to investigate the governmental approach to tourism planning and development, and to the role of tourism in regeneration. The reports from Salford City Council explained the processes of urban regeneration in Salford Quays over time. The book written by Eric Morgan, a property practitioner, helped the author to understand the points of views of property professionals concerning the urban regeneration of NewcastleGateshead Quayside. The report written by Gateshead Council examined the planning and development processes of culture-led urban regeneration in Gateshead Quays, and also the local authority's approach to urban regeneration. These documents were particularly useful for this study in providing a background understanding of regeneration processes in the case study areas as well as quantitative and numeric details which some interviewees struggled to remember.

The document data from Internet websites posed some challenges in the study. Many organisations, such as the RDAs and URCs, were abolished due to changes in the national government and public spending cuts, and the websites of these organisations were closed. Therefore, some information and policy papers the author previously had accessed were no longer available, and referencing the information with accessed dates became an issue at the writing up stage. The author learnt that it is important to keep continued track of the websites she visited, and to record them with accessed dates for referencing.

4.5 Data analysis

The 'framework analysis' method used in this study was developed in the 1980s at the UK National Centre for Social Research (Ritchie et al., 2003). The framework facilitates thorough and transparent data management based on a matrix-based analytic method, and it helps analysts to slide back and forth between different levels of abstraction and to mitigate against losing sight of the raw data (Ritchie et al., 2003). The label 'framework' originates from the 'thematic framework' which helps to classify and organise data according to key themes, concepts, and emergent categories (Ritchie et al., 2003). Once an initial list of themes or concepts has been developed, it is essential to construct a manageable index, which has a hierarchy of main and sub-themes. The next step is to apply the index to the raw data by labelling based on the themes in the

index. After that, materials with similar content can be located together in thematic sets and then summarised and combined at a more manageable level. The summarised data is then collated, reviewed and analysed for the research purpose (Ritchie et al., 2003).

Data analysis in this study followed the processes of the 'thematic framework' analysis described above, but by using software in addition to working manually. As the interview guide was prepared in advance for the semi-structured interviews, the initial topics for the analysis had partially been created before the interviews. The interviews were transcribed and the transcribed data were imported to NVivo (Figure 4.4) for further analysis. During the reading of the transcripts, many new categories appeared in addition to the initial topics, and the main topics and sub-topics were identified and listed by developing the nodes on NVivo. Through this process of developing nodes, similar content was gathered together under the same nodes for further analysis.

Figure 4.4 The use of NVivo for data analysis
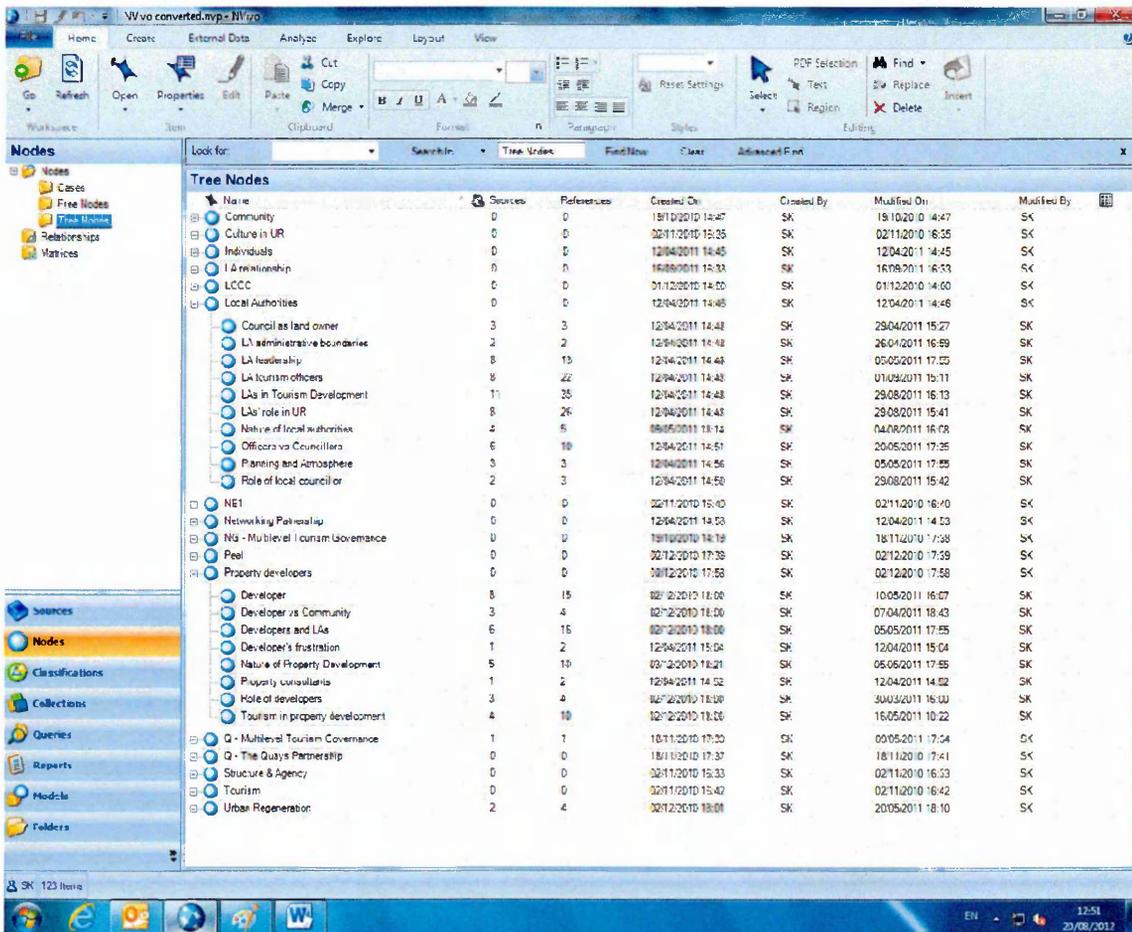
The use of NVivo helped the author to manage the raw interview data more effectively, and to analyse the data in a more systematic way, and to maximise the strengths of the 'thematic framework'. NVivo allowed the author to categorise the raw data into relevant themes and to develop hierarchies without losing sight of the raw data. NVivo provided great convenience in

analysing the large amount of transcribed interview materials electronically, and it helped the author to check the raw data simultaneously while reviewing and analysing the thematic sets. The same materials were frequently put in more than one category and NVivo was able to show these trends visually, which meant that the relationships between these themes were easily identified. In the writing up of this thesis, the author used numerous quotes to ensure that specific aspects of the raw data were explicitly delivered.

The case study inquiry 'copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points' and as a result, it 'relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion' (Yin, 2003:13-14). This study relied on this triangulation. 'Triangulation involves the use of different methods and sources to check the integrity of, or extend, inferences drawn from the data' (Ritchie, 2003:43). Ritchie (2003:43) identifies four different forms of triangulation, based on Denzin's (1978) original conceptualisation.

- Methods triangulation: comparing data generated by different methods (e.g. qualitative and quantitative)
- Triangulation of sources: comparing data from different qualitative methods (e.g. observations, interviews, documented accounts)
- Triangulation through multiple analysis: using different observers, interviewers, and analysts to compare and check data collection and interpretation
- Theory triangulation: looking at data from different theoretical perspectives

The analytic approach in this study involved 'triangulation of sources' by examining both primary and secondary data from the interviews, observation and document information. It was not a multi-method triangulation approach as the author focused on qualitative research methods. The secondary data from document and archival information were used to complement the primary data from the individual interviews and the observation records, and this increased the validity of the qualitative evidence. The use of multiple sources of data allows researchers to develop 'converging lines of inquiry', and any finding or conclusion in a case study tends to be more accurate and convincing if it is based on several different sources of information (Yin, 2003:98). Patton (2002:556) states that triangulation of sources contributes to qualitative analysis by 'checking out the consistency of different data sources within the same method'.

There is no agreement about whether the value of triangulation is to validate qualitative evidence or to extend understanding of a subject through the combination of different types of 'reading', often termed as multiple method research. However, many authors contend that

triangulation has some role in the validation of findings (Lewis and Ritchie, 2003). 'It is in data analysis that the strategy of triangulation really pays off, not only in providing diverse ways of looking at the same phenomenon but in adding to credibility by strengthening confidence in whatever conclusions are drawn' (Patton, 2002:556).

Triangulating the multiple sources of interviews, participant observation and document analysis, brought several benefits to this study. The documentation and archive records were not only useful in the data analysis but also during the data collection as they were sometime referred to in interview questions. For example, the author had read the Area Tourism Partnership Management Plan of Tourism Tyne and Wear prior to the interviews and she asked about the organisation's involvement in the tourism development projects listed in the plan. The author discovered that Tourism Tyne and Wear did not have involvement in the projects, but simply identified the projects as part of the plan. Observations made during The Quays Partnership meeting were also referred to during the interviews with Partnership members, and they supported the author's arguments about the challenges of inter-organisational working.

The triangulation of these different data sources also helped to increase the author's confidence in the study findings and her analysis, and in turn it increased the credibility of the study. An interviewee warned the author about the potential for interview data being a little unrepresentative. She said

"More importantly, you will have to exercise judgement in what people tell you, because I can imagine that some organisations will just give you van loads of 'everything is wonderful, the region is marvellous, we all work together beautifully, it is fantastic'. Well, why have we got all these organisations if everything is so wonderful? I don't think so. I think some people could do with being a bit more frank, so you will have to make your own mind up. Do you believe everything everyone tells you? It is up to you of course".

The triangulation of multiple sources therefore helped the author to retain a more critical and evaluative stance and to develop her own arguments, rather than simply believing what the interview data or other data implied. Triangulation supported the author's emerging ideas, and it made the author feel more confident in her analysis of the study findings.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter provided an explanation of the research philosophy and research process for this study. The author's philosophical position of critical realism has been reflected throughout

this study from the setting up of the study aim and objectives to the analysis and interpretation of the data. The author's philosophical position can be summarised as follows: 'The social world does exist independently of individual subjective understanding, but it is only possible to us via the respondent's interpretations, which may then be further interpreted by the researcher' (Snape and Spencer, 2003:19).

The methodological approach adopted in this study was more of 'intensive research' than 'extensive research' (Sayer, 2000:20). The study examined individual people and organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the two case study areas, and it investigated the causal relationships between them and the qualitative nature of the relationships. The study objectives were primarily concerned with 'what makes things happen in specific cases' rather than 'how extensive certain phenomena and patterns are in a population' (Sayer, 2000:20). The author, therefore, is not searching for absolute truth in the social world. Rather, she hoped that this study generates 'expectations about the world and about results of our actions which are realised' (Sayer, 2000:43).

This chapter explained and justified the methodological choices made in the study. It included the qualitative case study approach and data collection from multiple sources, including semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. It also explained the use of the 'thematic framework' approach to data analysis and the triangulation of the data. The chapter also provided the author's views on how effective the data collection and analysis was in practice. It was argued that the methodological decisions made were practicable and appropriate for this study.

The next chapter is the first of the three results chapters for this study. It investigates how, and to what extent, changes in the wider political economy influenced tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. It identifies the key political and economic actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas, and it examines their roles and interests. It also discusses the actors' perspectives on the role that tourism plays in urban regeneration in these areas.

Chapter 5 The political economy of tourism-related urban regeneration

5.1 Introduction

This chapter deploys the regulation approach to investigate tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. The regulation approach aims 'to study the changing combinations of economic and extra-economic institutions and practices which help to secure, if only temporarily and always in specific economic spaces, a certain stability and predictability in accumulation' (Jessop, 1997b:288). Tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas is subject to changes in the wider political economy, and it requires the involvement of a wide range of economic and non-economic institutions. The practice of tourism-related urban regeneration, therefore, is subject to the roles of, and the relationship between, these institutions.

This chapter provides the background context for Chapters 6 and 7 by exploring the wider political and economic environments in which tourism-related urban regeneration took place in the case study areas. The chapter, therefore, addresses Objective 5.1 'to investigate how and to what extent changes in political economy, particularly the regulation mechanisms, influence both the planning and development processes for tourism-related urban regeneration in the two case study areas'.

Firstly, the case study areas are introduced in terms of their urban regeneration contexts and history, and tourism's incorporation in the urban regeneration processes. Secondly, the role of tourism in the case study areas' urban regeneration is examined, and this addresses Objectives 3.2 'to examine actors' perceptions of the role of tourism in urban regeneration within the case study areas'. Thirdly, it focuses on the political environment in which tourism-related urban regeneration occurred in the case study areas. This includes examining the role of central and local government, and other public sector organisations, in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas, and to what extent changes in political institutions and in their practices had impacts on tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. Lastly, the focus then moves on to the economic environment, the domains of market mechanisms, related to tourism development and urban regeneration in the case study areas. It discusses how and to what extent changes in the economic cycle affected tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. The perspectives of property developers and land owners are explored to understand the private sector's point of view in tourism development and urban regeneration. The examination of the role of these political and economic actors addresses Objective 3.3 'to examine what the actors

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considered to be their own roles in tourism and/or in urban regeneration, and the roles of other actors'. The roles of individual actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas are further discussed in Chapter 7.

5.2 The case study areas

During the 1970s and 1980s, the older industrial cities in Britain experienced a sharp decline in manufacturing due to intense global competition, the migration of jobs and technological advances (Tallon, 2010). Cities of the North of England, the focus of many manufacturing industries, suffered from severe economic problems, particularly the inner city areas (Lawless, 1981). The two case study areas were not exceptions, and they were in a desperate need of regeneration by the late 1970s and early 80s. An interviewee, who once worked as a BBC industrial journalist, recalled the desperate state by saying

> "The 1970s was a period when England, the North of England especially, was going through one of the worst recessions we have ever known. We talk about recession now but I measured recession then in literally tens of thousands of people losing their jobs. Whole families were losing their complete livelihoods. So the impact of that was far, far worse on a human scale than anything we are seeing today".

The Quays and NewcastleGateshead Quayside have undergone dramatic physical transformation over the last three decades, and this was closely connected to changes in the broader political economy of the UK. This section explains the urban regeneration context and history of the case study areas in relation to changes in the wider political economy, and how and to what extent tourism was incorporated in the regeneration processes.

5.2.1 The Quays

The Quays is located along the Manchester Ship Canal, in Greater Manchester in the North West of England. The construction of the Manchester Ship Canal connected Manchester to the sea and made it possible for Manchester to compete with Liverpool (Struthers, 2003). The Manchester Docks opened in 1894, and they stimulated the development of huge industrial estates, exporting and importing industries, and brought prosperity to Manchester and its

neighbouring cities such as Salford (Struthers, 2003). In the 1950s, Manchester Docks became the third largest port in Britain, and at its peak Manchester Docks and Trafford Park Industrial Estate at the opposite side of the water employed 75,000 workers. Working class housing was provided for the dockworkers and their families in the adjacent Ordsall area (Struthers, 2003).

Figure 5.1 Manchester Docks in 1971
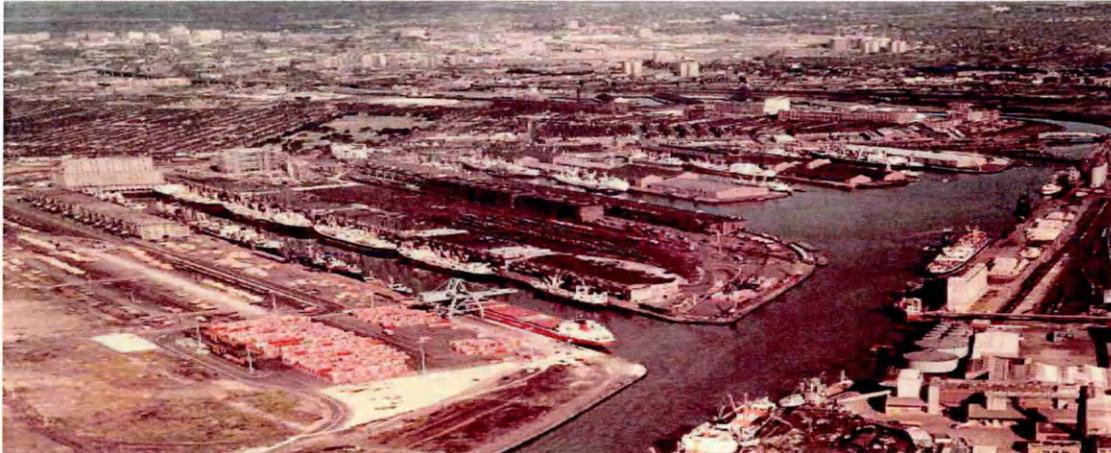
(Source: adapted from Hall Genealogy, 2012)

However, the Docks rapidly declined during the 1970s as a result of containerisation and increase in the size of ships, the transformation of global trading patterns, and the recession in the 1970s. They threatened the existence of the docks, and all the docks were closed by 1982 (Salford City Council, 2008). The Docks handled two million tonnes of cargo in 1972, but this became almost zero by 1983 (Struthers, 2003). According to an urban regeneration company (URC) chairman in Salford,

> "It was also a time of enormous industrial change. Manufacturing industry was
> wiped out, progressively going out abroad, and the patterns of world trade
> here had changed. We no longer looked towards the USA, we looked towards
> Europe as our chief trading partners. So, consequently, this part of the world
> [North West] was on the wrong side of England. The Ship Canal which had
> very much fuelled the industrial revolution, the big manufacturing industrial
> revolution, had rapidly declined because with the on-set of containerisation,
> the big vessel container ships couldn't get up to the Canal".

To tackle the economic problems caused by industrial decline, Salford City Council published the Salford Quays Development Plan in 1985, and the council kick-started the physical transformation of the docks with financial support from the then Conservative central government. This included cleaning the contaminated water and degraded land, demolishing the dock walls and derelict buildings, improving public access and transport, and upgrading the

landscape and quality of open spaces (Salford City Council, 1985). This reclamation programme and infrastructure improvement attracted private sector investment, and from the late 1980s there has been major private sector office, residential, and leisure developments on the Salford Quays (Struthers, no date).

The regeneration of the Trafford side of the Manchester Ship Canal was led by the Trafford Park Development Corporation (TPDC), one of 13 Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) established during the 1980s and early 1990s (Imrie and Thomas, 1999). The TPDC was established in 1987 by the then Conservative government in order to improve the physical infrastructure and environment and to attract inward investment and jobs (Imrie and Thomas, 1999). The role of the UDCs in urban regeneration is explained in more detail in the section 5.4.1. One of the TPDC's key development areas was Wharfside, where the Imperial War Museum North stands now (TPDC, 1998). The TPDC transformed the neglected run-down Wharfside into a mixed-use location consisting of offices, leisure and high-tech manufacturing (TPDC, 1998).

The emergence of The Quays as a visitor destination of the current shape started with the development of The Lowry, a performing arts centre (Figure 5.2), which opened in 2000 as a Millennium Project. The bridge connecting the Salford side to the Trafford side was also built in 2000 as part of the Lowry project. The Lowry Outlet Mall opened in 2001 facing the Lowry, followed by the Imperial War Museum North (Figure 5.3), which opened in 2002 on the Trafford side of the Canal.

Figure 5.2 The Lowry

(Source: a photo taken by the author)

Figure 5.3 The Imperial War Museum

(Source: a photo taken by the author)

MediaCityUK was the most recent and on-going development project in The Quays at the time of data collection. The first phase of MediaCityUK development was completed in 2011 and the key tenants included several BBC departments and The University of Salford. It also contained public open spaces, retail shops, restaurants and bars, a hotel alongside the office spaces

and studies, and residential apartments. The site was connected to Trafford Wharf via a new footbridge, and the waterfront outer space of Imperial War Museum North was also developed. A new tram service to MediaCityUK started to operate since September 2010 (Manchester Evening News, 2010), and a new bus service to The Quays was introduced in 2011 (MediaCity Blog, 2011). Please see Figure 5.4 for the visitor attractions in The Quays.

Figure 5.4 Tourist map of The Quays
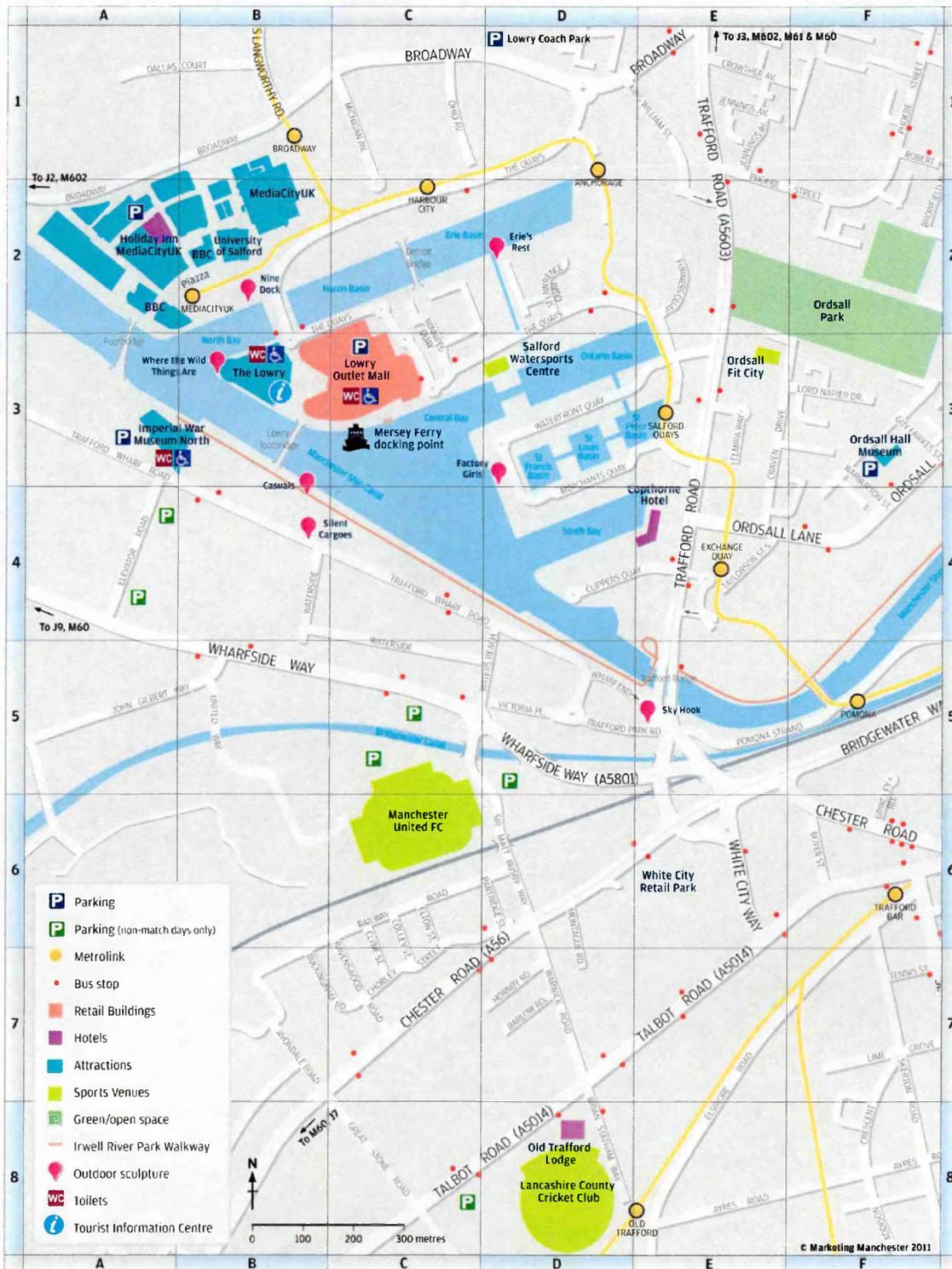
There are no tourism statistics available specifically for The Quays. Therefore, the tourism scale of The Quays can only be assumed based on visitor numbers to Salford and Trafford, and to some key visitor attractions in the area. The Lowry topped as the most visited attraction in Greater Manchester, with visitor number of 872,641 in 2010, Manchester United FC Museum at 7th with 315,713, and Imperial War Museum North at 9th with 245, 726 (Visit Manchester, 2012). The total number of visitors to Salford was 6.7 million in 2010, with total expenditure of £445 million (Personal contact with a Salford Council tourism officer, 2012). With the completion of MediaCityUK, The Quays was expected to experience another transformation with increased footfall and population, new visitor attractions, and an improved public realm (Locumconsulting, 2009) (See Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5 The regenerated Dock 9 of Salford Quays

(Source: adapted from MediaCityUK, 2012)

5.2.2 NewcastleGateshead Quayside

NewcastleGateshead Quayside is located along the River Tyne in Tyne and Wear in the North East of England. The River Tyne was at the centre of the industrial revolution in the North East of England in the 19th century. Along with other areas of Tyneside, Newcastle and Gateshead suffered from the decline of the staple industries of coal, shipbuilding, chemicals and engineering through inter-war depression (Newcastle Local Studies, 2009; Robinson, 2002), and from the 1960s most of these heavy industries disappeared from the river.

The regeneration of Newcastle started in the early 1960s, but it was during the 1980s and 1990s under the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation (TWDC) that the face of Newcastle's waterfront underwent a dramatic transformation (Morgan, 2009). TWDC, which

was set up in 1987, led infrastructure improvement, major office development, and hotel development on the Quayside until its closure in 1998. From the late 1990s, with the increase of the 'buy to let' property market, The Quayside housing developments rapidly expanded until the credit crunch of 2008 (Morgan, 2009).

Gateshead Council refused to be included in the TWDC area as they were concerned about losing control of its land to the Corporation (Gateshead Council, 2006). Gateshead had its own vision and plan for culture-led regeneration, which started with The Angel of the North, an iconic sculpture completed in 1998 by Anthony Gormley (Gateshead Council, 2006). It was followed by flagship cultural regeneration projects on their river front such as the Millennium Bridge, BALTIC Centre of Contemporary Arts, and The Sage Gateshead in the early 2000s. These waterfront developments in turn attracted private sector developments, such as the Hilton hotel, and residential and office buildings adjacent to the waterfront area (See Figure 5.6).

Figure 5.6 Waterfront developments on Gateshead Quayside
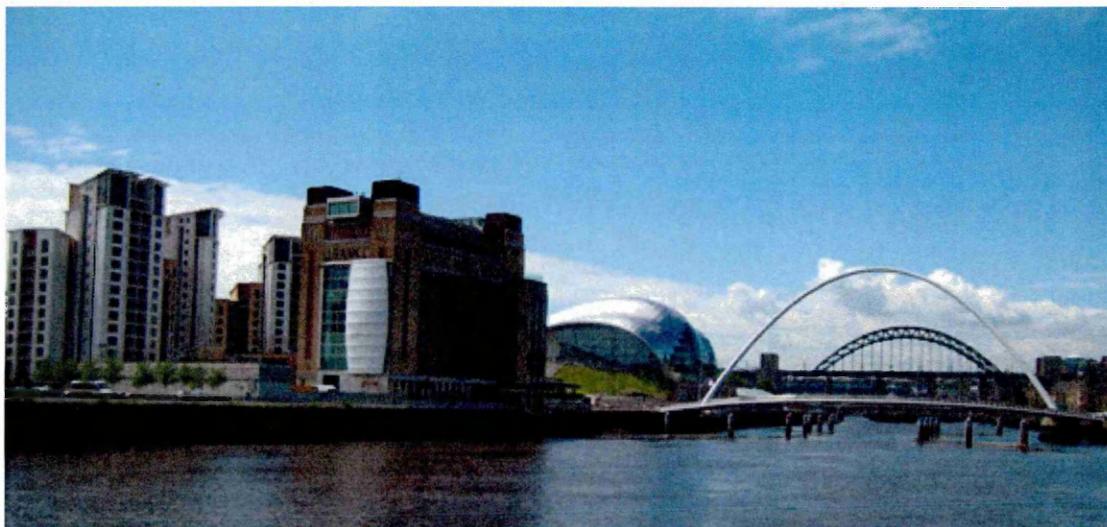
(Source: a photo taken by the author)

Although this study mainly focuses on the immediate waterfront areas of the Quayside, there is no exact boundary for NewcastleGateshead Quayside, and it is very difficult to separate the Quayside from Newcastle city centre and Gateshead town centre as they are situated immediately adjacent to the river front (See Figure 5.7). Newcastle city centre has numerous retail stores, museums and galleries, theatres and cinemas, and restaurants and bars. Many of these visitor attractions, such as Great North Museum, The Discovery Museum, Grainger Market, and Northern Stage, have undergone major redevelopments over the last ten years. New attractions, such as the Centre for Life and The Seven Stories, were built as regeneration projects

in the early 2000s. On the East Quayside, Lower Ouseburn Valley also contains galleries and studios, a stable, a city farm, and restaurants and pubs.

Figure 5.7 Tourist map of NewcastleGateshead Quayside
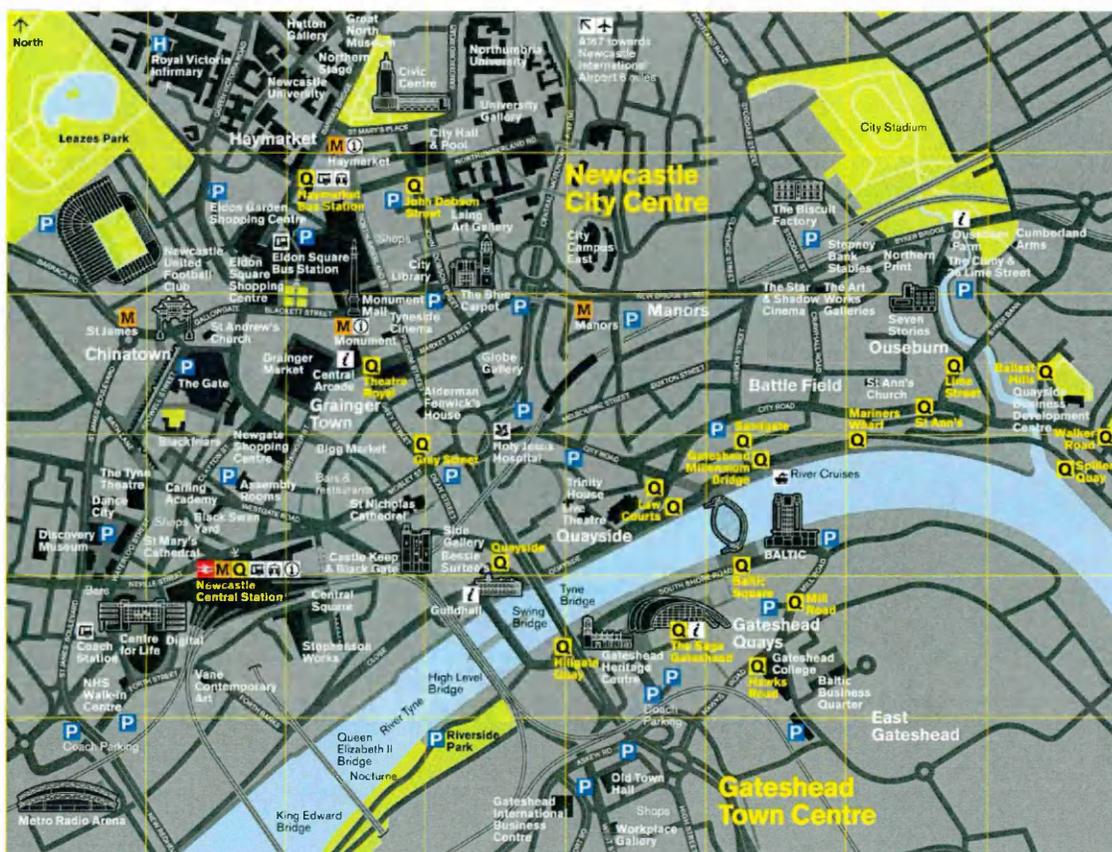
(Source: adapted from Newcastle Gateshead Initiative, 2011)

Unlike Newcastle Quayside, Gateshead Quayside still has potential major development sites available on the waterfront. The town centre has a very limited cultural and leisure offer for visitors compared to Newcastle. 1NG, a joint city development company between Newcastle and Gateshead, designated Gateshead Quays and International Conference and Exhibition Centre as potential development projects on the Quayside (1NG, 2010). Gateshead town centre is undergoing a major retail-led regeneration led by Spenhill, a property development subsidiary of Tesco. The planning proposal includes retail and office units, student accommodations, cafes, bars, restaurants, a Tesco Extra store, and a new town square (Gateshead Council, 2012).

Similar to The Quays, there are no tourism statistics available for Newcastle/Gateshead Quayside, but its central location in both Newcastle and Gateshead means that the appropriate numbers can be assumed based on the statistics for NewcastleGateshead. According to Tourism Tyne and Wear (2010), the visitor number for NewcastleGateshead was 17.19 million in 2008, and tourism brought £1.17 billion worth of economic impacts to the area. Among the top 10

visitor attractions in Tyne and Wear, The Sage Gateshead and BALTIC on the waterfront were second and fourth-ranked attractions in 2009 (Tourism Tyne and Wear, 2010).

5.3 Tourism in urban regeneration

5.3.1 'Visitor' and 'tourist' in policy discourses

Before discussing the role of tourism in urban regeneration, it is useful to discuss the use of the terms 'visitor' and 'tourist' in policy discourse in relation to tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. According to UNWTO's definition, 'a visitor is a traveller taking a trip to a main destination outside his/her usual environment, for less than a year, for any main purpose (business, leisure or other personal purpose) other than to be employed by a resident entity in the country or place visited. A visitor (domestic, inbound or outbound) is classified as a tourist (or overnight visitor), if his/her trip includes an overnight stay, or as a same-day visitor (or excursionist) otherwise' (UNWTO, 2012).

It was noticeable that the term 'visitor economy' has replaced 'tourism' or been used together with 'tourism' in many policy papers as shown in Table 5.1. This trend was also identified in the UK national policy arena, with the government publishing a National Tourism Policy which 'outlines the UK Government's approach to the visitor economy as a whole' (DCMS, 2011:6). The majority of interviewees used the words 'visitor' and 'tourist' in a synonymous manner as they did not differentiate between day and overnight staying visitors. A hotel general manager used the word 'business/leisure tourists' when describing his business, as the business was based on overnight stays.

Table 5.1 The use of the term 'visitor economy' in policy documents

Deloitte (2010), commissioned by Visit Britain	The Economic Contribution of the Visitor Economy: UK and the nations
North West Development Agency (2007)	The Strategy for Tourism in England's Northwest 2003 – 2010: Developing the Visitor Economy, Revised 2007
One North East (2009)	North East England Visitor Economy Strategy 2010 – 2020: Consultation Draft
Trafford Metropolitan Borough Council (2008)	Tourism and the Visitor Economy Draft

There were some interviewees who explicitly pointed out that they preferred the term 'visitor' or 'visitor economy'. One reason for this was that the term 'visitor' is simpler and more inclusive than 'tourist'. A URC chief executive argued that

"Tourism is about people visiting somewhere they don't live in order to enjoy it or to go to see it. They may be people from just down the road, they may be people from the other end of your county or people from the other side of the world. They are all tourists, they are all visitors. That is why we tried to change the terminology recently from tourism to visitor economy, which is not very user friendly but it is much more accurate."

Furthermore, by using the word 'economy', the term 'visitor economy' gives more weight on the importance and seriousness of what is referred to (Reddy, 2006). The economic activity of visitors goes beyond hotels and attractions in the case study areas to the many different urban amenities and facilities of culture and heritage, the retail, sport, and leisure facilities, parks and gardens, business districts, which are shared with the local residents. Reddy (2006) distinguishes 'tourism' and the 'visitor economy' by arguing that tourism is a person-centred concept which focuses on the economic activity of a tourist, while the visitor economy is a place-centred concept which is concerned with the whole destination environment.

Tourism can easily be overlooked as a policy domain in urban areas as it overlaps with many different policy fields, such as economic development, regeneration, environment, transport, culture and education. By using the term 'visitor economy', the economic contribution of visitors to the destination can be emphasised and the need for coordination between the different policy fields can be highlighted. An RDA tourism officer argued that by using the term visitor economy, tourism can be seen more clearly as a part of a wider urban economy. He said,

"the area [The Quays] will essentially be concentrating in terms of using the visitor economy, tourism but we prefer to call it the visitor economy to tile this together....In the Northwest, there are five tourist boards and there are subsector activities like this [MediaCityUK] whereby their entire ethos is to develop the visitor economy. That is everything the visitor touches. That includes business tourism, leisure tourism, restaurants, car parks, litter... all of these things because they have to deliver the total promise."

In this study, no distinction was made between 'visitor' and 'tourist', or between the 'visitor economy' and 'tourism' during the data collection and writing up of the thesis. However, it is noteworthy that this study regards tourism as part of a wider urban political economy and urban regeneration processes in the case study areas, therefore it focuses on the areas' wider urban physical and economic regeneration activities.

5.3.2 Tourism in urban regeneration

Tourism is often described as a tool for urban regeneration and it is believed to bring a wide range of benefits, especially economic benefits, to urban areas. This section examines the role of tourism in urban regeneration in the case study areas. The 'Good practice guide on planning for tourism' published by Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG, 2006a:19) states five advantages that tourism can bring to urban areas. Tourism can 'be the focus of regeneration, or help to underpin it', 'help to increase urban vitality and support linked trips', 'be a key ingredient of mixed-use schemes', 'support important services and facilities', and 'facilitate improved access by sustainable modes of transport'. These advantages of tourism appeared to be true to some extent in both case study areas, although some points should be clarified.

Firstly, it is questionable whether tourism was 'the focus of regeneration' in the two areas. Although The Quays and NewcastleGateshead Quayside are now established visitor destinations, tourism development did not seem to be at the top of the list of the areas' regeneration agendas. Many interviewees recalled that with the closure of the traditional industries both waterfront areas were perceived as dirty and dangerous places, sometimes linked to criminal activities.

> "The riverside and the [NewcastleGateshead] Quayside, which is currently so smart, didn't exist. It was terrible. You didn't go down there for any enjoyment. You avoided the area because it was full of dangerous and crumbling river banks, alcoholics and worse. You didn't go there." (a director of a visitor attraction in Newcastle)

> "… dock sites, which by then were shut and derelict, had no redeeming features. We stood on the quayside [Salford Quays] on a horrible dirty drizzly day and the water was bubbling with all sorts of noxious fumes." (a URC chairman in Salford)

> "It [Salford Quays] was just very derelict, polluted … nobody wanted to go there, nobody wanted to invest there, there was no people employed there." (an ex-Salford Council regeneration officer)

Therefore, the priority for the regeneration was to improve infrastructure and environment, and to achieve the physical transformation of the waterfronts. When asked about the role of tourism in the regeneration of Newcastle/Gateshead Quayside, a local councillor from Newcastle indicated that tourism development was a collateral benefit from regeneration. He said

"It is an interesting question. Which comes first, does the regeneration bring
tourism or tourism prompt the regeneration? In Newcastle it is quite clear that
regeneration came first. It started two decades ago. TWDC concentrated on
the north bank of the Tyne, the Newcastle part, and that started to bring
people onto the Quayside. For many decades people didn't have very good
reasons to come to the Quayside. Buildings were all run down and didn't look
too good. That created surge of interests on the Quayside in Newcastle."

However, tourism, and more broadly leisure, became an important part of regeneration
as the regeneration process was undergoing. The Salford Quays Development Plan published in
1985 clearly suggested a flexible mixed-use development for the area made up of approximately a
third commercial, a third residential and a third leisure (Salford City Council, 1985). The
Development Strategy Review published in 1988 further highlighted the potential of leisure,
culture and tourism opportunities in the regeneration of Salford Quays. The review included a
suggestion for The Salford Centre for Performing Arts, from which The Lowry was developed
(Salford City Council, 2008).

However, it was still doubtful whether tourism was considered as a key focus, even in
the Lowry project. A consultant who led the project argued that tourism was not a catalyst for the
regeneration of The Quays or the development of The Lowry. He stated

"First of all, your question reifies the concept of tourism. You asked me about
the role of tourism, but tourism is a word to describe the interest of people to
visit or enjoy a place and leave again. So tourism itself is not something which
has an effect on anything. Things have an effect on tourism if I may just be
particular about that. The Lowry project was not, in its formation, a tourism
project. It was not aimed at increasing tourism to Salford Quays. It was
politically aimed at raising the aspiration and the quality of life of local people.
In the wider economic context, it was aimed at stimulating the economic
regeneration of the real estate on Salford Quays. Of course, if it was successful,
people would come to Salford Quays but to be honest in my discussions with
the Council, the Regional Development Agency, and other agencies in the
region, none of them expressed a particular interest to draw people into there
from wider than the North West region. It was understood that people might
come, but it was never put to me as we must do this, as far as I remember".

A property director in Salford stated that, although tourism had an important role, it
was not the central agenda to The Quays' regeneration. He said

"I suppose the role of tourism is not, in my view, core of what is going on at
The Quays but it has been an important peripheral cue. I don't think The

Quays' original idea and plans set out to be a tourist destination. The way the original plan has changed and that has been realised over last 10-15 years as tourism has become an increasing part of it. I don't think it set out to be tourism-led but its role has become more important, but still not central to what is going on. I think central to what is going on here is still creating employment and creating somewhere for people to live".

Another interviewee from the North West Regional Development Agency (NWDA) stated that the role that tourism played in the regeneration of The Quays became more important, but tourism was still a secondary activity. He stated that "I think the role of tourism in urban regeneration generally over the last 15, 20 years has been significant. Quite clearly in The Quays it will be not necessarily the defining factor, but it will be a central factor to make The Quays a different place, a special place."

Therefore, tourism in urban regeneration seemed to be understood as having more of a complementary and supplementary role, rather than a lead role, in the case study areas. The interviewees pointed to three main roles for tourism: improving the image of the area and thus assisting in bringing population and investment, increasing the vibrancy and vitality in local areas, and creating employment opportunities, which are explained next.

Firstly, most interviewees highlighted the role of tourism in helping to make the areas more attractive to visitors and investors and thus to increase urban vitality. One of the keys for successful regeneration is bringing people into the area (Morgan, 2009) and tourism helps to achieve this. A NWDA tourism officer stated that "we want it [The Quays] to be a place where people mill around, enjoy the atmosphere, enjoy restaurants, sitting by the waterside. That is urban regeneration in my view. It doesn't do much without animation. You have to animate sites, and actually the visitor economy, tourism, brings animation to the sites." According to a property consultant in Newcastle,

"Leisure in the overall definition helps regeneration as it brings people to the area. Regeneration of an area is not just about simple creation of jobs, but about changing people's perception of the area from a derelict and rundown area to one with vibrancy and vitality, creating an area where people can live, work and play. It [leisure] attracts and brings people, brings money into the local economy. The more new money brought into the economy, the better the added value".

One of the urban attributes attracting visitors is the cultural offer of the city. Many interviewees saw culture and tourism as an important element of 'quality of place' and 'quality of life', and they emphasised that cultural and leisure provision is essential in order to win in the

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competition to attract investment and population from outside the region and country. A sub-regional tourism officer in Tyne and Wear stated that

> "The vocabulary that we use more and more on a daily basis is 'place making'. There is a kind of natural progression between using urban regeneration to make great places that then naturally attract visitors. This idea is that to live in a great place ultimately makes sure that people become great ambassadors for the place, which then delivers [tourism]. We know that word of mouth, personal recommendation, is what drives visitors, not publications or advertised campaigns. You regenerate an area to make great places, to make great places to attract visitors."

In the global competition with other city regions to attract inward investment and population, having high quality culture and leisure facilities can play an important role. Strom (2002:7) argues that 'as cities compete for mobile, skilled workers and the firms that employ them, low taxes may be less important than riverfront parks, sports arenas, and historic districts'. A URC chairman in Salford argued that it was essential for a city to provide a high quality of life in order to attract and retain talented people. She said

> "Tourism [development] attracts and retains talented people. Businesses these days are wholly dependent upon talent. For most businesses, all businesses really, their major asset is people. Particularly businesses which can go anywhere in the world, you know, if you can attract and retain talented people, then you become more attractive to them [the businesses]. That is the big offer that you have. So if you have a great place, and you attract and retain people who want to live there, then you again automatically attract inward investment".

Some interviewees also highlighted that such leisure and cultural provision was particularly important in the case study areas as they are located in the North of England. The areas had to compete with London and the South of England to attract inward population and businesses, and in the case of NewcastleGateshead they also faced competition with major cities in Scotland due to its geographical proximity. A cultural institution director in NewcastleGateshead Quayside explained that the culture and tourism offers of the city region were important when the potential inward population and investors decided where to locate their families and businesses. He said

> "I think when visitors come here, the range of culture, the quality of environment ... they give you a sense that, if you are moving your family from

Hamburg, Tokyo, LA, it will probably be a decent place to move your family. If you think of huge locations like the car industry based in Sunderland, those decisions would have been taken by half a dozen people 15-20 years ago. They would have come around and looked around, and they would have thought 'Would my workforce want to come here?' So I think in a small conurbation like Newcastle and Gateshead, those things [attracting inward investment and population] are probably more important than the notion that the economy is going to be transformed by thousands of people coming here as tourists every day. I don't think that is realistic".

A cultural institution chief executive in Gateshead, who previously led the development of Middlesbrough Institute of Modern Art (MIMA), explained how the cultural provision of a city could attract inward investment and pave the way for the broader "more cultivated and more cultured characteristics of a town or city". He said

> "Middlesbrough is a very challenged town. It has high deprivation. I got there in 2002; one of the first things I said to my colleagues was 'Where do I get a good coffee?' They said you can't really get a good coffee in Middlesbrough. And I said 'Ok, well then where is Costa or Starbucks? That will be fine.' And they said 'Well, there isn't Costa or Starbucks in Middlesbrough.' So I spoke to the man who was responsible for the town centre, the shops and the retail offer, 'Can you not just go and get Costa or Starbucks to come to Middlesbrough?' He said once a year every year, they go to both companies and try to get them to come. Every year they do a mini survey and say, 'I am really sorry but it wouldn't be right for us at the moment, we will think about it next year'. Now that happened every year for about four years and the year that the gallery I developed opened, and part of that institution was to have a nice café and coffee shop. Within about 2 months of that gallery opening there was Costa and Starbucks in Middlesbrough. On the scale of 'should we open, shouldn't we open?', having a very nice gallery tipped Middlesbrough from no to yes. I reckon you can apply this logic more widely".

These interview statements shared the similar arguments with the literature on political economy which suggests an increasing focus on consumption in economic growth and capital accumulation. Harvey (1989a:9) argues that

> 'Gentrification, cultural innovation, and physical up-grading of the urban environment (including the turn to post-modernist styles of architecture and urban design), consumer attractions (sports stadia, convention and shopping centres, marinas, exotic eating places) and entertainment (the organisation of urban spectacles on a temporary or permanent basis), have all become much more prominent facets of strategies for urban regeneration. Above all, the city

has to appear as an innovative, exciting, creative, and safe place to live or to visit, to play and consume in'.

Tourism and cultural elements of urban regeneration therefore helped the case study areas to improve their image from derelict industrial cities to creative and vibrant places. This in turn assisted them to attract not only visitors but also talented people and global businesses to the city. As Zukin (1998:832) contends, 'Strategies of urban redevelopment based on consumption focus on visual attractions that make people spend money. They include an array of consumption spaces from restaurants and tourist zones to museums of art and other cultural fields, gambling casinos, sports stadia and specialised stores'.

The second complementary role of tourism is that at a local level, tourism-related activities can be important elements in mixed-use regeneration schemes. To develop an urban village where people 'live, work and play', a place needs people around day and night, and this requires a good mix of businesses, and tourism and leisure play their part in such industry mix. Hotels, restaurants and cafes are often combined in office and residential development projects. One example was the Trinity Square development in Gateshead town centre where Spenhill, the regeneration subsidy of Tesco, was developing a mixed-use scheme, which includes retail, accommodation, cafes and restaurants, public squares and landscape developments (Gateshead Council, 2012).

Another example of uses of tourism and culture in a mixed-use scheme was found in the Lower Ouseburn Valley, on the east of Newcastle Quayside. The valley has a rich industrial heritage and a unique landscape, and derelict building sites from traditional manufacturing industries have been turned into an urban farm, stables, arts and music studios, a centre for children's books, galleries and live music pubs. An officer of Ouseburn Trust stated that

> "The old Ouseburn Trust strategy had 'live, work and play' as three key themes. More recently that has been expanded a bit to 'live, work, play and learn'. It is an important aspect here. Because of the geographical location, physically, it is in a valley, it has got a river and all sorts of things, which is unusual in a city location. This area is like a space, a gap of space where things can happen. People can develop new ideas in that space as well, it is an intellectual one as well as a physical one".

The last, but more direct role of tourism and leisure in urban regeneration is to provide employment opportunities. Jobs at hotels, restaurants and bars support other important business services and functions of the city. A senior museum officer in Newcastle emphasised that

"I do think tourism and culture are a very important part of our economy, and we shouldn't downgrade the significance of them in the economy, because jobs that are created whether they are museums, arts centres, theatres, restaurants, they are real jobs. They are paying people and those people are paying their rent, mortgages and spending the money in shops in town".

While jobs in the tourism industry are often criticised as low-paid and low-skilled jobs, generating such jobs for a less highly-educated, unemployed urban population is vital for the economic well-being of cities (Hall, 1987; Law and Tuppen, 1986). A local authority tourism officer argued that a lot of people who lived near The Quays were not particularly well educated or trained, and they would be happy to take these jobs provided by the tourism industry. He said

"The issue for many people, there are lots of people in Ordsall and Salford, and indeed all over the country, who don't really want to be other than a cleaner, working in a hotel, or to be a receptionist. That is what they want in life. That is where they are comfortable, that is what makes them happy because they think 'I can achieve this, I am comfortable, I understand it, I have got enough money that I need, I'm very happy. Why would I want to do something that is perhaps outside my comfort zone?' We were pushing people through training schemes to get more involved, to try to reinvent themselves. But, for a lot of people they really just want what you would describe as an ordinary job. If you have a job in tourism, you can have job anywhere in the world because that is a transferable skill".

It was interesting to discover that this more direct role of tourism, of creating employment opportunities for the urban poor and unemployed, which is often highlighted as the main reason for incorporating tourism in urban regeneration (Law and Tuppen, 1986), was mentioned relatively rarely by the interviewees in the case study areas. While the tourism organisations in the case study areas tried to demonstrate the economic impacts of tourism, or the visitor economy, the direct economic role of the tourism industry was not much recognised in the urban regeneration of the case study areas. This demonstrates that the incorporation of tourism in urban regeneration was based on a broader sense of the urban economy, rather than a narrow industry focus, and the central agenda of urban regeneration in the case study areas was to bring in and retain a more highly skilled work force, rather than attempting to solve the unemployment problem directly through the tourism industry.

5.4 The political environment of tourism-related urban regeneration

5.4.1 Urban regeneration and the national government

The regulation approach focuses on 'the complex interrelations, habits, political practices, and cultural forms that allows a highly dynamic and consequently unstable, capitalist system to acquire sufficient semblance of order to function coherently at least for a certain period of time' (Harvey, 1989b:122). The regulation approach considers not only the juridico-political regulation established by the state, but also a wide range of market and non-market institutions and organisations, collective identities, shared visions, culture and conventions (Jessop, 1997b). This section focuses on the role of one of the key non-market institutions, the state. It examines how and to what extent the political and regulatory practices of the national government influenced tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas.

It is often said that the role and powers of the state have become weakened due to globalisation and regionalism. 'The hollowing out of the state' thesis suggests that 'the British state is being eroded or eaten away' due to factors such as privatisation, the prevalence of quango agencies, and the increased capacity of European Union institutions (Rhodes, 1994:138). However, Holliday (2000:175) argues it is very hard to find evidence for Rhodes' arguments that the British state is 'breaking up internally and losing its grip on the other institutions'. He maintains that the state is now 'more substantial and integrated than ever before' (Holliday, 2000:175) and the policy mess of the Thatcher years, on which Rhodes' argument is based, was the result not of the hollowing out of the state but of the misuse of the enhanced and increased power and capacity of the government.

'National state institutions continue to play key roles in formulating, implementing, coordinating, and supervising urban policy initiatives, even as the primacy of the national scale of political-economic life is decentered' (Brenner, 2004:3). It can be argued that while the UK central government has tried to devolve the capacity of the state to lower levels, it is still one of the most centralised nations in the western world, and British urban regeneration policies are still characterised by centralisation and hierarchy (Davies, 2002).

The regeneration of the case study areas began on a full scale in the 1980s, and both areas were significantly influenced by the central government's regeneration funding schemes, initiatives, institutional restructuring, policies and legislation. Urban regeneration was not only a local issue but a national priority as the decline of traditional industries shook the foundation of

the national economy. Here the state has had a key role in assisting the revalorisation of derelict urban land for capital accumulation and there is evidence of this in the case study areas.

Firstly, the central government had huge impacts on urban regeneration and tourism development in case study areas through its funding schemes, such as the Urban Programme and Derelict Land Grant in the 1980s. A property developer stated that the national government had a key role to get the regeneration process started in The Quays. He stated that

> "With a lot of these big regeneration projects, national policies are important to getting things started. Things like the various regimes of grant aids are national policies, and they certainly affected the regeneration of The Quays, where a large amount of government funds were channelled into what had been the docks .... that money came from the central government via local authorities through national policies".

An ex-Salford council regeneration officer also spoke about how funding from national government affected regeneration of The Quays. He explained how

> "When the Docks went into decline, it was in the middle of a period when all of our cities were in decline. The government established the Urban Programme and Inner City Partnership. These were massive amounts of public funding that were available through the local office of the Department of Environment for regenerating our inner cities. .... The Derelict Land Grant, it was 100% funded and that was for removing dereliction. Any subsequent development cost for infrastructure was [funded by] the Urban Programme. That was 75% funded. So we used the Derelict Land Grant to get rid of old buildings, all the old infrastructure; then we used Urban Programme funding to do some development works... Without this funding, the development of The Quays would have been much later".

Secondly, the central government had a significant impact in urban regeneration through institutional creation and restructuring. An example is the Urban Development Corporations (UDCs), which were established in 1987 by the then Conservative government. The UDCs were introduced to facilitate the physical redevelopment of derelict urban land in order to encourage investment by the private sector development industry and to introduce private sector expertise in urban regeneration (Booth, 2005). This was based on the central government's neoliberal philosophy, which sought to reduce state intervention and to encourage private sector involvement in urban regeneration. The 'private-sector-led entrepreneurialism' of the Conservative government was designed to encourage economic regeneration and minimise the local authorities' roles in the regeneration process (Adair et al., 1999:2032). The Corporations were given their own resources and planning authority, which meant they could go ahead with

regeneration projects without consulting the local authorities (Imrie and Thomas, 1999). An ex-employee of TWDC explained the background of the establishment of UDCs. She said

> "Starting in the late 80s, the catalyst that started it all off was Tyne and Wear
> Urban Development Corporation because it was set up with one focus, one
> aim in mind, that was to regenerate the riverside. It was an exciting period. It
> was going to be around for a decade, and it was there to really move the
> councils' planning power and get things done. The Conservative government
> felt nothing much was happening."

The establishment of the UDCs was a means for the central government to by-pass the planning and policy control of local authorities, which were democratically elected (Jones and Ward, 2004). The UDCs were partly privatised development agencies, of which key elements were controlled by central government (Imrie and Thomas, 1999). This inevitably caused tension between the UDCs and local authorities, particularly those with Labour Party councils. Morgan (2009) clearly indicates the tension between the then Labour-run Newcastle City Council and the TWDC as the Council did not agree with the Corporation's regeneration strategy on the Quayside. An interviewee who worked for the TWDC explained the argument of both sides:

> "That was when regeneration was really top of the political agenda under the
> Conservative administration … So that was a good time, a really good time.
> Although the Development Corporations weren't the flavour of the month to
> everyone, because they saw us then as quangos, non-elected, and parachuted
> from the central government, and not being accountable for the local people.
> The truth in our case was quite different because we set up local monitoring
> panels, and we worked a great deal with local communities, and that was very
> significant. It was a great time, you could really have your own planning
> power, you could get on, you could really deliver. So that was a great
> environment to work in".

The planning power and the large amount of money given to the TWDC resulted in the loss of local authorities' planning power and power in general (Morgan, 2009). Although the TWDA achieved improvements of the physical environment in Newcastle Quayside, the Corporation was criticised for its property-oriented approach without 'a general, universalistic, strategic vision' and of having an 'anti-democratic central direction conducted without reference to the political culture of the place concerned' (Byrne, 1999:144).

The Labour government led by Tony Blair took power in 1997 and it abolished the Urban Development Corporations in 1998. The government then introduced Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) in 1998 as part of their strategy for the devolution and

regionalism of the institutional capacity (Bradbury, 2008). 'Directed by 'business-led' boards, appointed by and funded by central government, they were charged with preparing and implementing regional economic strategies (RESs) to meet specific objectives in economic development, social and physical regeneration, business support, skills and employment and contribute to sustainable development' (Pearce and Ayres, 2009:539).

RDAs were influential quangos as they were given the resources and power to achieve their remits. Greenhalgh and Shaw (2003) argue that over half of all spending on physical regeneration in England was channelled through the RDAs. With the funding, the RDAs could 'assemble and reclaim sites, put in infrastructure and landscaping and sell off attractive, manageable, serviced plots to the private sector under tight development agreements' (Greenhalgh and Shaw, 2003:166). The North West Development Agency (NWDA) and One North East (ONE) had significant roles in urban regeneration in the study areas as deliverers of regional strategies and funders of many regeneration projects. A council officer described the RDAs as the "sorting office" of central government funding. A sub-regional DMO officer also added that "the power of the RDA shouldn't be underestimated. It is really the only source of funding for a big capital project. It is vitally important."

When the coalition government between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats came into power, they abolished the Regional Spatial Strategy in June, 2010 (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2010b), and announced the complete abolition of RDAs by March 2012 (England's Regional Development Agencies, 2010). Vince Cable (2010, cited in Stratton, 2010), the business secretary, expressed the position of the coalition government on the abolishment of the RDAs, stating that 'overall we are giving back to councils and local authorities the powers and incentives they need to see a resurgence in civic pride'. The government announced that the RDAs were to be replaced by Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs). LEPs are local authority-business partnerships, which are meant to 'play a central role in determining local economic priorities and undertaking activities to drive economic growth and the creation of local jobs' (Communities and Local government, 2012).

Thirdly, another national policy that influenced urban regeneration in the case study areas, especially in relation to tourism and culture-related urban regeneration, was the National Lottery. The Millennium Commission set up by the government in 1993 received its income from the National Lottery. 'The Millennium Commission invested over £2 billion of Lottery money across the UK from large capital grants for world-class, educational attractions to small grants to individual people for community projects' (Millennium Commission, 2003:10). The most visible work of the Commission was the Millennium Projects, which involved over £1.3 billion of investment from National Lottery money (Millennium Commission, 2003). The initiative

supported significant projects in the case study areas, as shown in Table 5.2. A property developer argued that "The biggest single influence on tourism in terms of the tourism facilities tourists might want is the [National] Lottery".

Table 5.2 Millennium Projects in the case study areas

Projects	Case study areas	Grant awarded	Total project cost
International Centre for Life	NewcastleGateshead Quayside	£33,408,317	£67,060,771
The Lowry	The Quays	£20,951,000	£106,310,000
Gateshead Millennium Bridge	NewcastleGateshead Quayside	£9,753,975	£23,482,500
Discovery Museum	Newcastle City Centre	£454,250	£739,000

(Source: compiled from Millennium Commission, 2003)

The specific public sector funding stream for urban regeneration varied according to the nature of the projects in the case study areas. Other non-departmental public bodies, also known as Quangos (Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisations), had important roles in the tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. Many cultural visitor attractions in the case study areas were funded by quangos, such as the RDAs, Arts Council and English Partnerships (NGI, 2009).

The director of a cultural institution in Newcastle argued that without the public sector support, the major cultural development on NewcastleGateshead Quayside would have been impossible. He claimed that

> "Would this have happened in the private sector? No, I think in Britain it
> wouldn't. £50 million? Who's got £50 million? In America, it might have
> been done. You might have easily found a philanthropist who would pay £50
> m. But in Britain, there isn't a tradition. There was in the 19th century, but
> there isn't now, a tradition of philanthropist putting up these big buildings. So
> I think without the public sector they wouldn't happen, and I think the
> community is the better off having them".

Although the involvement of such quangos indicated the devolution of governance from central government, these organisations were still largely reliant on central government funding and policies, and the national government had a significant role in both urban regeneration and the development of culture and tourism in the case study areas.

5.4.2 Urban regeneration and the local authorities

Local government is responsible for the economic growth and well-being of local residents within their administrative boundaries (Morphet, 2008). Although there is no single legislative document that determines the role and functions of local authorities in the UK (Chandler, 2002), they have a wide range of functions, of which some are statutory and others are discretionary. Statutory services include education, housing, social services, and transport, while leisure, culture and tourism are discretionary.

In the UK, local authorities have often been seen as a delivery body for central government's policies and services as they are heavily reliant on the central government's funding and resources (Morphet, 2008). Central government funding accounted for approximately three-fifths of local authorities' gross income in 2008/2009, with the rest of the local authority income gained from council tax, sales, fees and charges, council rents and capital receipts (Communities and Local Government, 2010a). Although the UK local authorities still heavily rely on central government, the central government's grant had been significantly reduced from the 1980s through the dismantling of the Keynesian welfare system (Hambleton, 1989). Therefore, local authorities in England have had to find ways to attract and retain businesses and population in their boundaries, and the local authorities in the case study areas had several roles in urban regeneration.

The first of these roles was to support and encourage private sector investment. As the private sector held much of the necessary funding for revalorisation and regeneration, the public sector alone could not achieve successful regeneration of the local area. An ex-Salford council regeneration officer stated that "We needed a winning developer. We knew that we didn't have enough money to regenerate the whole of Salford Quays. We couldn't do it as a local authority, but we still had a role. So we saw our function, first of all about getting rid of derelict buildings".

The public sector investment which kick-started the regeneration in both case study areas was aimed to attract private sector investment through improving the physical environment and infrastructure, and offering a suitable and competitive business environment for the private sector. While the regeneration funding was granted by central government, local government had to find ways to tackle various regeneration issues across many different aspects of local authority service delivery. Without the vision and efforts of local authorities, the regeneration could not be successful. A property developer in The Quays said that local authorities had a vital role in urban regeneration. He said

"What I found in my experience, where local authorities concentrate their attention on a particular geographic area, the area will improve ... because the attention is focused on it and the priorities are given to it and spending happens. The Quays have benefitted from that. With Salford it has been a regeneration priority for several years now, it means staff time devoted to the area and local programmes are seen as priority, and so on. .... You can't do anything like this without the support of local government".

On the other hand, secondly, the local authorities in the case study areas had to regulate and control the private sector development as the planning authority. This second role of local government was rather contradictory with the first role. The local authorities had a role to regulate the private sector in relation to the common good and social good of the area, also to regulate orderly development in order to sustain the land and property values in their administrative area in the longer term. A property developer stated that the fundamental difference in dealing with the public sector and private sector partners was that the public sector partners had very varied interests as they are responsible for very varied populations.

The local authorities in the case study areas published Local Development Frameworks (LDFs) and other planning guides to control the planning issues in their local boundaries. These planning documents directed private developers and land owners to follow the vision and broad frameworks of the councils for potential development sites. While the local authorities supported the private sector developers in the planning application processes, they still had the authority to reject planning applications. A property developer argued that

"What is very important to us is that the local authority is wearing two hats. It wears a hat as a promoter of the borough wanting to see the economic well-being of the borough. Therefore, it is very supportive of Lancashire County Cricket Club, and it is very supportive of international sports, its brand, reputation and image. So it works for us on those issues. But it is also the local planning authority, who will make decisions as to whether these plans can be approved. So it has to operate very carefully wearing the two hats. We deal with them on strategy and general support but we have to deal with them in a very different way when it comes to 'here is our planning application, what do you think about this planning application?' It is always like that with local authorities in my experience".

Thirdly, while local government focused on improving the city's external image to attract inward investment and population, they needed to ensure that the regeneration programmes brought benefits to the local communities and that the communities were involved in decision-making processes. As a local authority is the elected representative body of the local residents, they are widely expected to achieve democratic legitimacy through their policy-making

and implementation. For example, when the local authorities in the case study areas financially supported the development of cultural institutions, they needed to justify that the spending met local community needs. While many cultural institutions in the case study areas were popular visitor attractions, they also had a very important role in the local community as they provided a wide range of outreach and community programmes, especially for young people and less privileged local residents.

A chief executive of a cultural institution in Newcastle argued that Newcastle City Council, which was their revenue funder, was interested in the social impacts that the institution had in the city. She contended that

> "The Council wants to know we are very well run and managed. ... I think they are very supportive to the softer impacts we have. More widely, they are interested how we service the children and families that live in the city; particularly interested in the work we do with schools and the impact that we make on the prospects and the lives of children living in the city. ... Their prime driver is what difference we make to children and families in Newcastle. That is the information we need to gather and provide to show our worth to Newcastle".

This legitimacy of local government was also important to the private sector. A property developer in the Quays explained how

> "We are working in the area which they [the local authorities] are responsible for, geographically and administratively. We are not developing in isolation, what goes on around us is important. How and what happens here related to the surrounding community is very important. That is something we can't do without cooperation and partnership with the local authority. So, for example, with MediaCityUK, the local authority has taken responsibility for training and education for the supply of the workforce coming through to suit the industry moving here. We can't deal with these ourselves. We need the local authority to do that".

Fourthly, the local authorities in the case study areas were land owners themselves. Thus, a local council officer explained how land parcels that the council owned could enhance their power as the planning authority in their negotiations with private sector developers. She elaborated further that

> "The council itself owns various bits [of land]. They are bits but they could be very valuable in terms of ... We call them 'ransom strips'. So if a developer wants them, it might give us some ammunition going forward to say 'we want

this to happen, [if you can do that] we will sell you the land in this place'. So it could be quite good for us going forward".

Local authorities can also revalorise urban land in their district through their own purchasing of it. They can make profits by purchasing land cheaply in economically difficult times and then regenerating it in better times (Morgan, 2009). Owning land is also very important when applying for external public funding, and this was demonstrated with the Sage Gateshead development. According to Morgan (2009:38),

> 'One could argue that Council could not have created the Sage project unless they had owned the land. If they had not had control of the land, the owner knowing of the particular public requirement would most likely have demanded a much larger price. It would have taken time. Perhaps more importantly, the ability to lobby successfully for the funds would have been much more difficult as without the land ownership there would be so much uncertainty'.

This section demonstrated the various roles of local authorities in urban regeneration in the case study areas. The next section focuses on the roles and involvement of the local authorities in tourism in the case study areas.

5.4.3 Tourism and local authorities

Most of the services and facilities used by visitors overlapped with those used by local residents in the case study areas. Therefore, many local council services which were not directly intended for visitors still served visitors in the case study areas and local government thus played a critical part in tourism development in the case study areas. An officer of Newcastle Business Improvement District (NE1) claimed that their projects to promote evening economic activities in Newcastle City Centre would have been impossible without the Council's support. He emphasised how the role of the Council was critical as the Council has had to make changes in their services, such as street cleaning, parking and tourism information centre opening hours. He argued that "if the Council says no, we are not going to do that [the project]. Then you have to question 'what is the point of our existing?'".

While the support of local government was central to tourism development in the case study areas, the local authorities often faced challenges in supporting and promoting tourism. The main reason for this originated from tourism not being a statutory service for local government. Given that, local authorities received very little central government funding, and owning and

managing tourism facilities and services at a local level seemed to be seen as a burden on local authorities. A councillor argued that "... Then you get local government, which gets very little government support. We have to do all the direct services to the tourists which all these agencies above us don't do. Tourist information centre, we have to do the signage, brochures, transport running between our different attractions, and so on."

As tourism was not a statutory responsibility of local authorities, it was understandable that tourism was not a priority for every local authority. An RDA tourism officer stated that "with respect to local authorities, tourism is not a statutory service, so I do completely understand that local authorities are often under significant pressure with things like police, fire services and care homes. It's sometimes difficult to make the case for investment in tourism services". This was similar to culture, which also was not a statutory function. The director of a cultural institution stated that

> "[the decision making] very often comes out of one or two people. If you think about basics, like housing and social services, often there are several people, many people, to make it work. But in culture there are often one or two people. Often, it can be the leader of the chief executive person [in local authorities]".

As a non-statutory function, whether or not the political leaders and senior officers understood the importance of tourism and culture had a very significant influence in decision-making around tourism and cultural development. The role of individual actors is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Local councillors were elected representatives of local residents in their wards, therefore their decision-making often reflected what their communities were interested in, and tourism was not usually a perceived community priority in the case study areas. A local council neighbourhood manager stated that the local residents were not interested in things which did not have a direct impact on their daily lives. They were more interested in crime, schools, traffic, and bins, which were statutory functions of the council and not especially in tourism. A property developer who had previous experiences with public consultation confirmed this by claiming that "what concerns them is congestion, over-development, literally not being able to pick kids up from school, being stuck in [football and cricket] match day traffic, concert traffic... that is what concerns them. Car parking, illegal parking in sporting events! That is what most people complained about locally".

With limited resources and many other statutory services to provide, the local authorities needed to decide on the priorities for budget spending, and tourism was often not their priority. A local councillor in Trafford explained how "to be fair, I would have to argue if they [the Council] did promote it [tourism] with lots of spending, that we could actually spend on somewhere else. There are other priorities, so I will forgive them for it". The community support

for tourism and cultural development also depended on how much of their tax was spent on the development. A regeneration officer in Gateshead Council argued that

> "I think this applies to most local authorities. If people get their bins emptied and the social services are good, anything the Council does over and above that, that doesn't cost any money, they are happy to have. At the end of the day, the Council has put money in to have all these things [cultural developments] but the vast money was found from Lottery funding so the residents got something that they weren't expecting".

Tourism and culture not being a statutory function also challenged their development in another way. This was that culture and tourism could be subject to political arguments, especially in a local authority with a weak major party. A chief executive of a cultural institution in Gateshead argued that

> "The other thing that is very important in local government is a strong and clear majority. ... Culture is generally not statutory, and therefore the issue can become a political football. So if the Labour [party] is the ruling group and the Conservatives are in opposition, the Conservatives will never say to the Labour group 'you shouldn't spend money on social care' because obviously they have no choice. But they can say 'why are you building a new art gallery? You could spend that on education.' So often if one party has got all the votes, it is not a problem. But if it is a hung council, these are the worst things for culture."

Another reason why local authority support for tourism could be challenging was the difficulty of providing measurable evidence which could justify their spending on tourism development and marketing. While tourism was claimed to bring economic benefits to the regeneration of urban areas, there was limited quantified evidence supporting this argument. This was not only a local issue, but a more general challenge for public tourism organisations in making their cases. An officer at a sub-regional tourism organisation stated that

> "The thing that makes tourism so difficult is you can't ever prove that people have come as a result of public sector intervention in any way shape or form. A guy I used to work with used the term 'plausible causality'. So it is plausible that people may have come because of something you delivered, but you can't ultimately prove it, and that is what is difficult for all of us as public sector funding gets tighter you are having to make the case and prove the economic impact and worth and stuff".

Although the interviews were conducted before the central government's announcement of major funding cuts in late 2010, the interviewees still expected that public spending cuts would have serious impacts on tourism development at the local level in the case study areas. As the central government cuts the local authority spending, the local authorities would have to concentrate more on sustaining their statutory functions, rather than investing in tourism and culture.

Thus, urban regeneration and tourism development in the case study areas was affected by changes in the political environment at national, regional and local levels. Such political changes were closely connected to changes in the economic cycle and in market conditions. The next section discusses how changes in the economy and the market have affected regeneration and tourism development in the case study areas.

5.5 The economic environment affecting tourism-related urban regeneration

5.5.1 Urban regeneration and the economic cycle

The case study areas had undergone major physical transformation since the 1980s, and the private sector property development had played a central role in these physical regeneration processes alongside the public sector. This was because 'successful regeneration, although not synonymous with property development, requires a tangible outcome in the form of real estate' (McGreal et al., 2000:109-110). This section examines the impacts of changes in the economic cycle and property market on urban regeneration, using the example of NewcastleGateshead Quayside. It also explores the roles and interests of the private sector organisations in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas.

Figure 5.8 The UK's GDP percentage change since 1970
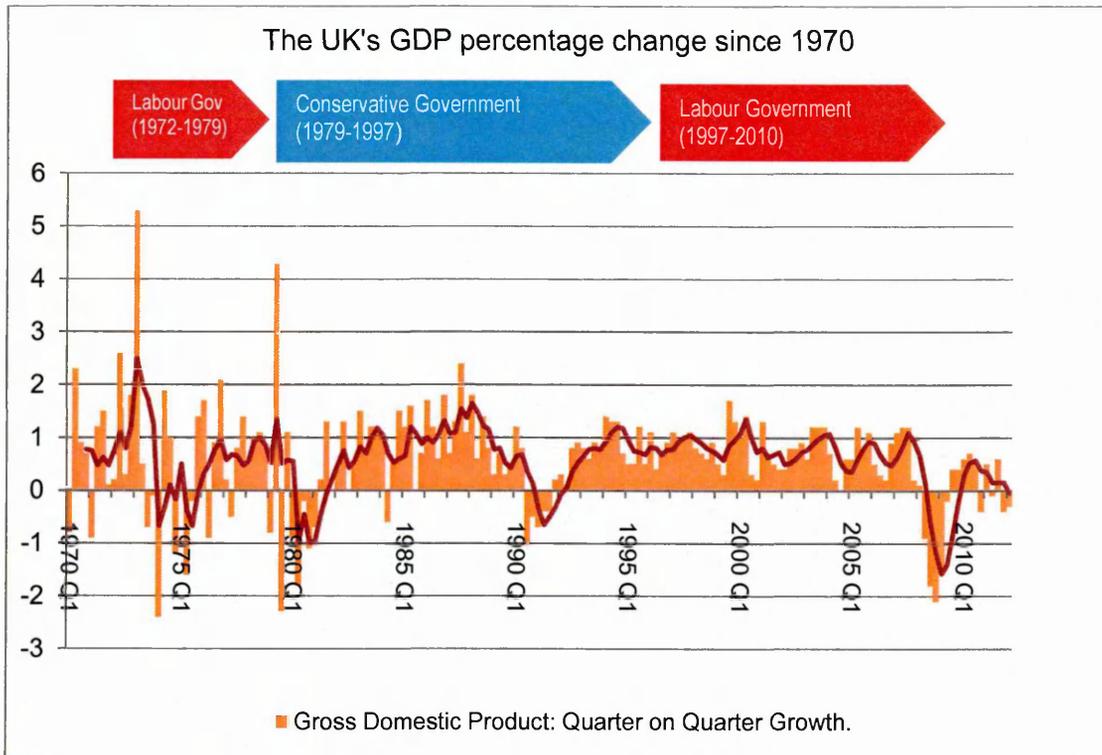
(Source: compiled and adapted from Office for National Statistics, citied in The Guardian, 2012)

Figure 5.8 shows the UK's GDP percentage change since 1970, and it identifies the economic recessions of 1974/75, 1980/81, 1990/92 and 2008/09. The recession in the 1970s was associated with economic stagnation, continuous trade union strikes, and the 1973 oil crisis. The 1980s' recession reflected the decline and restructuring of traditional industries, and the resulting mass unemployment. These two recessions, therefore, provide a key background for urban regeneration in the case study areas. The ups and downs of economic cycle had important impacts on the on-going regeneration of NewcastleGateshead Quayside.

The first development proposal in NewcastleGateshead Quayside, which won the TWDC's public design competition for the Newcastle East Quayside in 1988, focused on festival shopping to attract large numbers of people into the area. Once the competition was won, however, the scheme was soon changed to one with a major office development. Morgan (2009) argues that it is typical for property developers to adjust their schemes, after winning such competitions, as they have to satisfy the existing market, especially when the schemes will take a few years to be completed. There was a two year delay in the scheme as the Development Corporation was acquiring the sites with a compulsory purchase order, and during that time the property market and the developer collapsed in the early 1990s property and stock market crash. Thus the economic cycle meant that the scheme was abandoned (Morgan, 2009).

A new vision for East Quayside was developed in 1992 by another developer, and it was 'essentially an office scheme with hotel and some residential use proposed for the later phases' (Morgan, 2009: 26). The new vision also faced challenges, however, as the office market was very slow in the early 90s after the market collapse. The TWDC had to give a lot of incentives and gifts to the developer for taking risks in the challenging economic climate at the time as they would not have started the scheme unless they could make a profit (Morgan, 2009).

The office market started to recover in 1995 as the national economy began to improve, and by the end of the TWDC era (1987-1998), East Quayside was shaped in its current form, with the major office buildings, the Malmaison Hotel (Figure 5.9), and the Pitcher and Piano Bar (Figure 5.10), and investment in the quality public spaces around the Quayside. Morgan (2009) argues that it was perhaps fortunate that the initial festival shopping concept was never implemented on East Quayside because the difficult development site here could not create major pedestrian flows and the competition with Newcastle city centre and Gateshead's Metrocentre meant that the retail element would probably not have worked.

Figure 5.9 The Malmaison Hotel
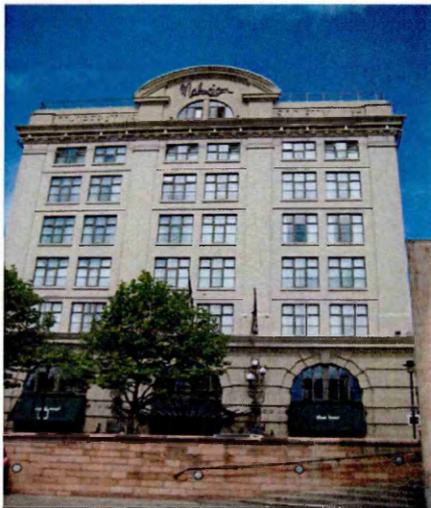
(Source: a photo taken by the author)

Figure 5.10 Pitcher and Piano Bar

(Source: a photo taken by the author)

As large urban regeneration projects usually take a long time to bring to completion, the funders and developers for such projects are at risk of facing the ups and downs of the economic cycle and of the market. Therefore, uncertainty and opportunism were inevitable elements of urban regeneration in the case study areas. An interviewee summarised this by stating that "regeneration is led by the developers who have got the courage and money to do something at the right moment". To understand the nature of physical urban regeneration, which involves a wide range of property development, it is necessary to examine the perspectives of land owners

and property developers. The decision making of private sector developers and investors is influenced by several factors.

According to Adair et al. (1999), the primary factors in the decision-making of private property developers about their investments are the prospects of high profits and low risks, as shown in Table 5.3. It is safer and more profitable for a developer to follow the demand of existing markets and develop in prime property locations as they seek a quick return on their investments and want then to move on to the next project (Adair et al., 1999). Once there is an increasing demand in the market, it is easier for the developers to do similar projects in a high volume. An example of such behaviour by developers is the large number of apartment developments on NewcastleGateshead Quayside, which responded to a large demand from the 'buy to let' property market, that was until the 2008 recession (Morgan, 2009). For property developers, the sales of these residential flats were more rapid than office developments, which usually required a considerable proportion being pre-let before development would proceed (Morgan, 2009).

Table 5.3 Urban regeneration development motives for property developers

Motives for holding current urban regeneration portfolio			
Issues	Minor Influence (%)	Major Influence (%)	Mean Score
Perceived total return	5	70	4.33
Security of investment/spreading of risk	14	33	3.30
New business opportunities	14	16	3.25
Availability of an exit strategy	27	24	3.02
Track record in urban regeneration	23	18	2.95
Relationship with regeneration agencies	24	13	2.85
Company image	36	15	2.57
Social/community reasons	39	16	2.50
Competitor behaviour	55	3	1.93

(Source: adapted from Adair et al., 1999 : 2030)

Considering that developers seek high profit/low risk projects, investing in a regeneration area without the appropriate infrastructure and an existing market is not financially viable for many of them. Therefore, in general, private sector investors perceive urban regeneration projects as high risk, low return investments (Adair et al., 2000). This explains why the public sector needs to intervene to kick-start the regeneration processes and provide developers with substantial incentives to attract them to the regeneration areas. A property consultant in Newcastle argued that

"the private sector will not invest unless they see profit, and then making a decision to invest, they will look at the risks. If there are lower risks and the same or higher profit somewhere else, they will invest there. That may be affected by local people willing to invest in their area, but that is too small and too fragile to have any impact. To change an area, you need investment from the public sector, in terms of infrastructure, strategic development, marketing the region, and using its assets, funds and investment".

This is where risk reduction through subsidy and incentives by the public sector can be vital. In 1983 Salford Council made an agreement with a local developer that the council would transfer the land around Dock 6 to him on condition that he secured at least £4.5 million private sector development (Salford City Council, 2008). An ex-regeneration officer explained how

"Once we [the Council] had put all the infrastructure in, knocked all the building down, we then had a very nice site. We paid £1.7million for all this, and what we then did, we found a developer called Ted Hegan from a company called Urban Waterside. He said 'I can get a developer for this'. And we said, 'Well, tell you what we will do. If you can find a developer, if you can guarantee you will produce an office base, a hotel, a cinema, and housing, we will sell you back this land that we bought for £1.7 million pounds for £1'. One pound! The land would all have been transferred to him once he had finished the developments because only the council could claim the grant. This was the deal that was done".

5.5.2 Private developers' involvement in tourism-related urban regeneration

While private sector property developers have a critical role in urban regeneration, their roles and perspectives have largely been ignored in the tourism literature on urban regeneration. This section therefore explores the involvement of property developers in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas and their views on tourism and leisure development projects. The interviewees involved in property development in the case study areas argued that tourism and leisure projects were less financially feasible and exposed to higher risks, which was against their high profit-low risk strategy.

Tourism-related property development in urban areas was not different from other property development projects for developers in a sense that it required existing market and demand. To develop any kinds of tourism facilities, whether it was a tourist attraction or a hotel, the destination needed to have the market demand for such facilities in the first place. A property consultant in Newcastle explained how

"For example, a hotel development in a mixed-used regeneration development does not lead. A hotel prefers to come at end of the programme. It likes to follow, by which time there is a lot more businesses, a lot more residents, so the local economy is more strongly established and they therefore have a stronger market. … Without the demand, tourism development is very fragile and extremely high risk".

This view explained why tourism had complementary roles, rather than a lead role, in physical regeneration in the case study areas. Without having improved the urban environment and built the market demand first, the case study areas would not have been able to attract private sector tourism development. A property developer who was involved in Lancashire County Cricket Club's redevelopment explained why developers were less keen to take on tourism and leisure projects in relation to the nature of property development. He notes how

"We need to do things in volume in the development community to make efficiencies out of it. So if we are building houses or apartments, we can get a certain skills set and we can transfer it to another site. It is all specialist by nature. So I don't think you will find developers who are just specialised in this sort of stuff [stadium redevelopment] because every stadia is different, every tourism facility is different. Some of our contemporaries wouldn't go near a project like this. They find it too difficult and not enough reward in it. I don't think you will find the developer community taking the lead on these projects, it will just come along and help them happen".

Another developer explained why leisure and tourism projects were often not financially viable on their own, using the example of golf courses. He explained how, if

"You look at the golf courses built in Spain or Portugal, they are not built because people want golf courses on their own. They are built because as a consequence of building a golf course, they get permission to build several thousands of houses to sit around it – in that environment people would like to buy houses. It is the houses and sales of those houses that generate the return, not the golf course. The golf course is merely the complement".

In short, tourism and leisure projects on their own were considered as low return and high risk by developers in the case study areas. This meant that many visitor attractions would not been have built without the public sector support. A regeneration officer in Gateshead Council argued that it was the Council's investment on the Quayside which attracted the subsequent private sector development. In her view

"Developers won't do it, because there is no return. At the end of the day,
they are not going to build BALTIC or The Sage Gateshead, because they
would then have to find an operator. ... A developer will only build things that
can get him a return and that he can then sell on. So what we were working on
is that the Council promoted this public sector building, and then private
sector development will follow. And it did. We have got the Hilton, we have
got the BALTIC Business Quarter, an office development. None of those
would have happened if we hadn't changed the perception of the [Gateshead]
Quays because of what we did. I think the same applies to Salford Quays with
The Lowry and things like that".

However, developers still understood that tourism and leisure projects can have an important role in urban regeneration when it was combined with other more money generating activities, such as office and/or residential developments. The developers believed that tourism and leisure developments bring more people into the area, create vitality and vibrancy, and contribute to the wider economic development of the area. This view is explored in more detail by examining how a major developer and land owner in The Quays used tourism and leisure elements in their long-term investment strategy.

While many property developers seek short-term profit, land owners, in particular long-term land owners, can have different perspectives towards regeneration on their lands. One such land owner in The Quays was the Peel Group. Peel owned a vast amount of land, ports and airports in the UK, especially in North West of England. Peel's land and property holdings consist of 9 million sq. ft. of built out commercial property and 25,000 acres of land (Peel, 2009). Peel was a particularly important private landowner and developer in The Quays as the group owned the Manchester Ship Canal and the land along both sides of the canal in Salford and Trafford, including the sites of the Imperial War Museum North and MediaCityUK. The Peel Group's main asset was The Trafford Centre, a large regional out-of-town shopping centre located in Trafford. The group also owned the land around the shopping centre on which a leisure complex developed. Although the Trafford Centre is geographically located outside of The Quays, it was thought worth studying the development of The Trafford Centre as it demonstrated the group's approach to leisure and property development.

The Peel Group had a clear long-term vision for their investment and lands. On their company website, the group declares that 'We invest for the long term. Regeneration and job creation is an important feature of what we do and is reflected in our track record. This long term ethos is encapsulated in our company motto - determination, perseverance and patience' (Peel, 2009). This long term approach was captured well in the development story of the Trafford Centre and the land around it. The idea of the Trafford Centre was conceptualised in 1984 by

Peel Holdings and the planning application was submitted in 1986 (Peel, 2009). After a series of public inquiry and court cases, the development was finally approved in 1995, and the construction started in 1996, with the centre opened to the public in 1998 (Peel, 2009). It took 10 years from submitting the planning application to the start of the construction. The development would be almost impossible with smaller developers, considering the resources Peel invested in the project, such as the staff time and cost.

While designing and constructing The Trafford Centre, Peel bought the land around the shopping centre. According to the Director of the Centre, the company bought the lands fundamentally to control the land uses around The Trafford Centre and commercially to prevent others from piggybacking on their success. He said

> "I was doing deals to buy land we didn't own around it, so that we controlled all the land around Trafford centre as well as The Trafford Centre itself. That does a couple of things. First of all, it gives us control over the land so that uses don't go there that we feel are incompatible. It gives us opportunities to add things which are compatible, and quite frankly from a commercial point of view it also stops other people from piggybacking on our success so we control it. So we had paid quite a lot of money for some key pieces of land around it, but effectively now we own or control all 500 acres of the land sitting between Bridgewater Canal, the M60, Parkway and Manchester Ship Canal. We refer to that as the golden rectangle".

The interviewee stated that when he was looking for activities for the purchased land, which could complement shopping in the mall, leisure and sports were obvious ones. The Trafford Centre provides customers with a variety of leisure and sports activities rather than shopping alone (see Figure 5.11). The mall contains a cinema, a ten pin bowling valley, a food court, and restaurants and bars. Next to the mall is the Trafford Quays Leisure Village, which was built on the land Peel bought around the centre (Figure 5.11). The Leisure Village consisted of an indoor ski slope, a golf drive range, a tennis centre, a soccer Dome, an indoor skydiving centre and a hotel. The Trafford Centre also opened Barton Square, a home ware retail complex, with the Legoland Discovery Centre. Next to the Barton Square was a new museum, the Museum of Museums, which was once an old tobacco factory and used as a warehouse. The museum was turned into an exhibition centre and named EventCity in March 2011 (EventCity, 2012).

Figure 5.11 The map of The Trafford Centre and Leisure Village
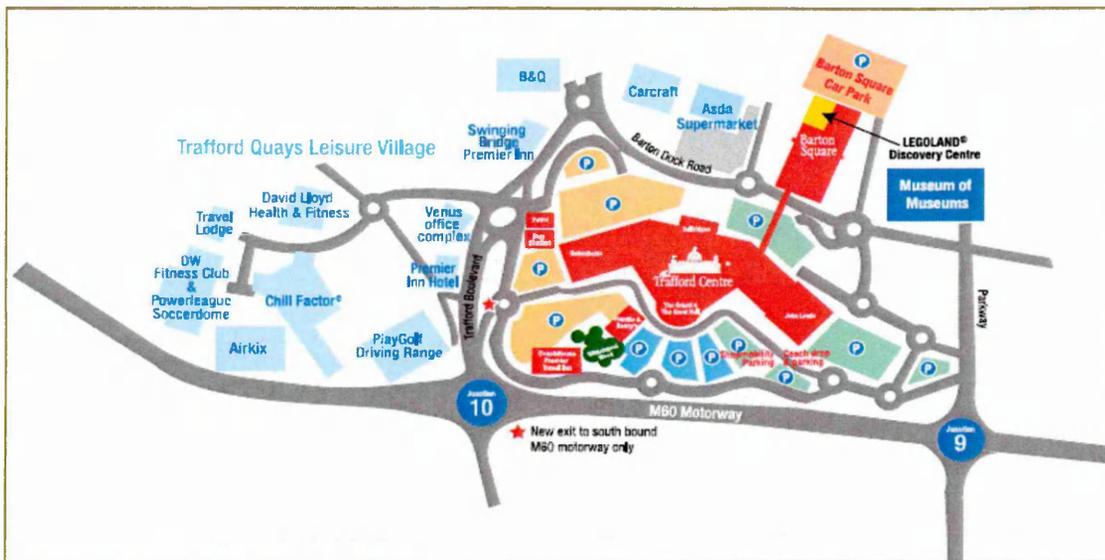
(Source: adapted from The Trafford Centre, 2010)

The interviewee stressed that the key to a successful shopping centre was in part down to the tenant mix, and this was why the company went for leisure development. He explained that the reason for having all these different leisure and sports facilities within and around the Centre was in order to attract more people to come to the shopping mall, while Peel controls the land uses through the lease structure. He said

> "That is back again to this tenant mix. If you provide lots of different reasons for coming, then more people come and they come from further afield, and that is exactly what is happening…. As long as we are keeping the management control through the leases, we can control the uses, so we can make sure nobody decides to do, nobody wants to do tennis there when we have tennis here. We have got to control that to make sure we have got the balance right. We do that through the lease structure. The question of whether we have built the building or invested in it or not is less important as long as we get the right uses and as long as we get a sensible deal for the money we put in to it."

At the time of the interview (July 2010), Peel was also preparing to submit a planning application for the Trafford Quays development next to the centre. Trafford Quays includes office, residential and another hotel development. The interviewee was certain that having a shopping centre and leisure village in an adjacent area would provide a place where people can work, live and play. He went on to state that

> "I will be submitting a planning application in about 3 month time for 300,000 sq. ft. of offices and 250 residential units here, because it is the next stage here. We call this all Trafford Quays where we will see more hotels, offices and

residential, and we have built a water basin, or partly built a water basin, and we will finish that off and connect it to the [Manchester] Ship Canal. Roads can come up here and we can bring the development close to the Centre so that people can live, work and enjoy their leisure time all within the same area."

However, it is very interesting that the interviewee perceived that such leisure development was purely complementary to increase the footfall to the shopping centre, which "generates the money" and to increase the attractiveness of the land they owned. He commented: "Role of leisure? It is purely complementary. It complements in particular what we do here. It creates environments where developments are more attractive. People like to have houses next to water. ... It helps to set the scene where developments are more viable and desirable".

While The Peel Group's development strategy was based on high profit making, they did not always seek to gain short-term return on investment. For example, Peel was involved in the development of The Bridgewater Canal, which they own as part of the Manchester Ship Canal. The Bridgewater Way project was intended to regenerate the historic towpath between Runcorn to Leigh along the 40 mile Bridgewater Canal, to create routes for walkers and cyclists, and to offer community uses (The Bridgewater Canal, 2010). Peel worked with many different local authorities and third sector organisations such as Sustrans for this development (The Bridgewater Canal, 2010). The interviewee made it clear that the company did not make any profit on the canal development as they spent any money they had made to clean up and maintain the canal.

Peel also worked in partnership with Salford Council to build a local rugby club stadium. The interviewee stated that Peel had no expectations of any financial return from this development, but that Peel did a lot of things which were not necessarily done for commercial return. Such investments and developments were seen as part of their long-term strategy, and it was expected to be paid off in the future by building positive relationships with public organisations. He explained how

"We do a lot of things which are not necessarily done for financial short-term gain. We put £10m of cash and £2m of land into the Imperial War Museum North. There was no return on that. That was a gift. But if you want to work with local authorities and the government, it can't always be one way. So we do try our best to stimulate other things in the economy because we think it is the right thing to do."

A property director of MediaCityUK also perceived that the Peel Group's investment in the Imperial War Museum North was a long-term investment to make the land they own more attractive for future investment.

"I think that is something Peel does as a long-term investor. If you are a long-term investor and a big land owner in terms of area, you can afford to look at things in that way. If you only own a single site, then it is difficult to look at it in that way. But if you hold hundreds of acre, then you can allow a small, smallish part of it to be developed as something else, and then you are getting the benefit on the remaining land".

Peel's investment in the Imperial War Museum North has apparently paid off given that the BBC decided to move to Peel's MediaCityUK site on Salford Quays. The property director stated that

"To have a building that is iconic in its nature and unusual provides more diverse land uses, and it helps to create value in the land in which you still have sought development. It attracts interest in the area, it raises the profile of the area. By the nature of the building, it raises people's aspirations and the way they look at the area. So, for example, when the BBC was looking at where they will move in Manchester, the existence of The Lowry and the Imperial War Museum North was a wonderful marketing point for them to get hold of [the site], to want to fit next to, if you like. If those buildings weren't there, if it were simply another office building, I think the site would have held much less attraction to them as a major occupier of the building".

Peel's involvement in regeneration demonstrated the different motives of developers and investors, as also indicated in the research by Adair et al. (1999). The interview with the Director of The Trafford Centre clearly revealed the group's interest in new business opportunities, the company image, its relationships with government, and the wider social and community benefits it can bring through their long term investment approach in urban regeneration. The relationships between the Peel Group and local authorities are further discussed in Chapter 6 within the discussion of policy networks.

5.5.3 Uncertainty about the future political economy

During the data collection period between April 2009 and July 2010, the 2008 economic recession and housing market collapse were having significant impacts on property development in the case study areas. These changes in the economic cycle put many private projects on hold and one of the examples of this was the Gateshead Quays 2 (GQ2) site in Gateshead. A Gateshead Council regeneration officer said that the GQ2 site had been planned to be a residential complex scheme mixed with leisure facilities and public realm elements. However,

the development had been on hold for over three years due to the lack of demand in the housing market. 1NG, the City Development Company, then developed a new plan for Gateshead Quays, including a mixed use scheme with the development of an International Conference and Exhibition Centre (1NG, 2010).

The future of public spending on regeneration and tourism development in the case study areas was very bleak as the public sector organisations at every level had to save a considerable amount of money. All the interviewees understood that tourism and culture could not avoid the impacts of the substantial spending cuts when the main statutory services, such as health, police, and education, also faced the cuts. A property developer stated that "Money is going to be so difficult for the government. In the great order of priorities ... I suspect money for tourism projects in the region is going to be right down in the list. I think we are already seeing that".

At the national level, the government announced a huge spending cut through the Spending Review on 22 November 2010. It was announced that government departments would have to cut both their capital and revenue budgets very substantially. For example, by the 2014/2015 financial year the Department for Culture, Media and Sport will experience 32% and 24% decrease in their revenue and capital budgets respectively from the central government (HM Treasury, 2010). Inevitably, this would mean that there would be less public funding available for tourism and leisure capital projects, and the existing tourism and cultural organisations would have less support for their programmes and administration.

At the regional level, the Regional Development Agencies in England were asked to reduce their budgets before their complete abolition in 2012. The RDAs were one of the biggest public sector investors in capital regeneration projects in their regions. Their cuts in funding were already showing various signs of their impacts on regeneration projects in the case study areas. The North West Development Agency and One North East were told to save £52 million and £32.9m of their 2010/2011 budgets respectively (Carpenter, 2010). The list of programme budget cuts produced by both agencies included a wide range of regeneration and tourism and culture projects (NWDA, 2010; ONE, 2010).

One North East was a partner organisation of and a funder for 1NG along with Newcastle Council and Gateshead Council. However, the funding 1NG received from ONE was cut down from £95,000 to £45,000 in 2010/2011 (ONE, 2010). The funding agreement ended in March 2011 and subsequently 1NG closed its business in September 2011. ONE's tourism marketing funding was also cut by almost 86% from £2,349,000 to £332,000 in the same period (ONE, 2010). The visitor economy growth programme fund and funding for each sub-regional Area Tourism Partnerships were also cut. The NWDA's operational funding for Central Salford,

the urban regeneration company, also ended in March 2011. Central Salford was wound up in March 2011 due to the funding cut from the NWDA and the Homes and Communities Agency (BBC News, 2010).

At the local level, the budget cuts from the central government were expected to have massive impacts on the services provided by local authorities. In the case study areas, Salford, Trafford, Gateshead and Newcastle Council have seen reduction of 8.52%, 3.79%, 7.89% and 7.84% respectively in their estimated 'revenue spending power' for 2011-2012 (HM Treasury, 2010). The local impacts of the public funding cuts were expected to be more severe than indicated by the main announcements as grants from other public agencies were also being reduced or lost. A private sector developer argued that

> "... because of the economic circumstances of the country... I accept that things have got to be done and measures have got to be taken to address things. But when the government comes in and cancels the grants that have been made to people who worked up the scheme and committed themselves to a certain course. And they are cancelling grants, they are looking to cancel grants which have already been offered to people. I mean that is going to have disastrous consequences for somebody".

After the public spending cuts, the public sector has sought to encourage private investment instead for economic growth. A property developer said that "...because of the recession and economic circumstances, there is a political encouragement to find things that can happen notwithstanding the reduction in grants, but there is a desire to make things happen, and that is helpful now". However, it was very difficult for the private sector to get loans from banks, and as a result private sector investments and developments were frozen, with the exception of a few major developments in the case study areas.

A property developer who was interviewed had experienced the challenge of finding additional funding routes for the Lancashire County Cricket Club (LCCC) redevelopment project. Without succeeding in getting any public funds from sporting bodies or private funding from the banks, the LCCC had to go into partnership with Tesco, the supermarket store, for a cross-subsidy to support the development of their stadium. He stated that

> "We have tried so many routes to fund this, and there are not many doors open to us for funding. It is very difficult for the market to raise funding privately through banks and the like. So the cross subsidy from the store [Tesco] is a fundamental part of getting the rest of stadium redeveloped. ... People say to us 'what about the sports bodies?', 'what about the local authority?' They don't have money for it. ... In order to get a major tourism facility redeveloped, we

need to rely on somebody like Tesco. It is bizarre in a way, but that is the option available to us".

At the time of the interviews, the performance of the cultural tourism attractions in the area did not seem to have been much impacted by the economic recession in terms of visitor numbers. Many of them were free entry attractions, such as galleries and museums, and in the case of the Imperial War Museum North, the Director said there was actually an increase in visitor numbers. However, senior officers of these organisations expressed great concern about the public spending cuts as well as in a drop in sponsorships from the private sector.

Many of these institutions were already struggling to keep the balance between their economic contribution and their socio-cultural contribution to society. Some institutions were considering that they might have to reduce the level of their services for school children or charge them for the service or reduce the opening hours. A senior museum officer in Newcastle stated that

> "Whichever government it is, we need to have diversity in our funding, so we need to look at what funding we generate ourselves as well. Whoever is in power, we are going to need to generate increasing amounts of funding ourselves. ... but they [museums] do need a level of public investment to survive".

The director of a visitor attraction in Newcastle said that

> "The RDA's budget has been cut, but it has increased [funding] to help businesses. Whether these cultural institutions would come under the orbit of businesses, I don't think so. I don't think so. The priority in this recession, it is going to be tough for a long time, has to be on jobs, jobs and jobs".

Such concerns were also expressed by destination management organisations as they had received funding from the RDAs and local authorities. A DMO officer voiced her concern:

> "I think it will have an impact on our funding agreement with ONE, there was an acknowledgement when the Area Tourism Partnership was set up, that within a certain amount of time they would become [self-]sustainable. There was a kind of recognition that business would pay for that kind of services we offer. It is becoming more and more apparent that businesses won't pay. They will pay for development of their own business but in terms of wider marketing and being part of destination. ... So I think it will mean organisations like ours will constantly be... we will constantly operate within what is dictated by our funding, rather than by what is relevant to the visitor. Sometimes, well most of the time, those two things aren't the same. That is going to be the biggest thing [challenge]".

These concerns expressed by the interviewees demonstrate that the changes in the political and economic environment have had significant impacts both on urban regeneration and tourism and cultural development in the case study areas.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined the background of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas from a political economy perspective. Since the decline of the traditional manufacturing industries, both case study areas have transformed their physical environment, and tourism and culture became an important part of this transformation. However, tourism had a less prominent secondary role, rather than a lead role in urban regeneration. Tourism was associated with improving the image and quality of place, which helped ultimately to attract inward investment and population.

The political regulatory mechanisms of the multi-level government organisations affected regeneration and tourism development in many ways. In particular, the role of the central government was vital through its funding schemes, development initiatives, and institutional restructuring. Although some scholars argue that there has been hollowing-out of central government, in practice it still retained a major influence on urban regeneration in the case study areas because its capacity only cascaded down the layers of multi-level governance, with the funding and policies still relying heavily on central government.

The local authorities in the case study areas had several different roles in urban regeneration. They had to both encourage and regulate the private sector development, and as a democratically elected body, they also needed to sustain and increase their political legitimacy. The local authorities faced challenges when investing in and supporting tourism and cultural development because they were not centrally funded, statutory functions. With the budget cuts from central government, the local authorities' support for tourism and culture was expected unavoidably to be reduced.

Urban regeneration in the case study areas was also highly influenced by the ups and downs of the economic cycle and the market conditions. The private sector property developers in the case study areas operated based on the high profit/low risk principle, and they expected the public sector support in terms of adequate infrastructure provision and sometimes financial incentives to reduce their risks. Since the recent 2008 recession both public and private sector funding for urban regeneration became much restricted. Many tourist attractions, especially

cultural institutions, which heavily relied on public sector funding, predicted they would face a difficult time ahead.

Chapter 6 Actor interactions and networks in the case study areas

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the interactions and relationships between actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas using the policy network approach. A policy network is 'a cluster or complex of organisations connected to each other by resource dependencies and distinguished from other clusters or complexes by breaks in the structure of resource dependencies' (Benson, 1982:148). A policy network is used as an analytic tool to investigate 'structural relationships, interdependencies, and dynamics between actors in politics and policy-making' (Schneider, 1988, cited in Borzel, 1998:258), and as a meso-level concept which links the wider political economy and agency of individual actors. The current chapter therefore interprets policy networks in the context of the political economy approach applied in the previous chapter. In other words, the meso-level analysis of policy networks is explored through the conceptual lens of political economy at the macro-level. It is a key proposition of this study that the macro-, meso-, and micro- levels cannot be understood in isolation from each other.

The chapter, firstly, identifies the actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in each case study area. Objective 3.1 (to identify the public, private and third sector organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas and to examine their interests and reasons for involvement) is explored by examining the different interests of the organisations, and network maps are used to demonstrate the broad patterns of networking between the organisations.

Secondly, the chapter focuses on the relationships between these actors, and thus it addresses Objectives 4.1 (to investigate the kinds of skills, knowledge and resources which actors possess and facilitate/exchange in policy-making processes), 4.2 (to investigate the nature and intensity of the interactions, resource dependencies and power relationships in the policy networks), and 4.3 (to examine the extent to which the different territorial scales of actors influence their participation in the policy networks for tourism-related urban regeneration). The relationships between the public and the private sector actors, the relationships between the local authorities, and the relationships between tourism organisations at different territorial levels are discussed in relation to their resource dependencies and power relations.

Finally, the chapter addresses Objective 4.4 (to identify the actors and policy networks involved in tourism marketing, tourism development and non-tourism specific urban regeneration

activities, and to examine the connections and gaps between them). It identifies the gaps existing in the different sectoral activities, and it explains these gaps in relation to the resource dependencies and power relations between the actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration planning and development processes.

6.2 Identification of actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration

This section identifies actors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in both case study areas, and it describes the overall pattern of their interactions through network maps. The main organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas were Regional Development Agencies (RDAs), sub-regional Destination Management Organisations, local authorities, private developers, and tourism-related businesses, including non-profit third sector cultural attractions, such as museums and galleries. Their interactions demonstrate various aspects of multi-level governance and public-private partnerships.

6.2.1 Organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in The Quays

Figure 6.1 presents the 'policy community' for tourism-related urban regeneration in The Quays. The organisations in the policy community were the key players from both the public and private sectors involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in The Quays. Solid double headed arrows in the figure indicate that there were interactions between the two organisations at the ends of the arrows, and broken connectors indicate the interactions between the member organisations of The Quays Partnership through the Partnership. The interaction between Peel and The Trafford Centre, and Peel and MediaCityUK are illustrated with straight connecters without arrows as Peel was the parent group of The Trafford Centre and MediaCityUK and it was not appropriate to see their relationship as the same as those between other organisations.

Figure 6.1 Policy community for tourism-related urban regeneration in The Quays
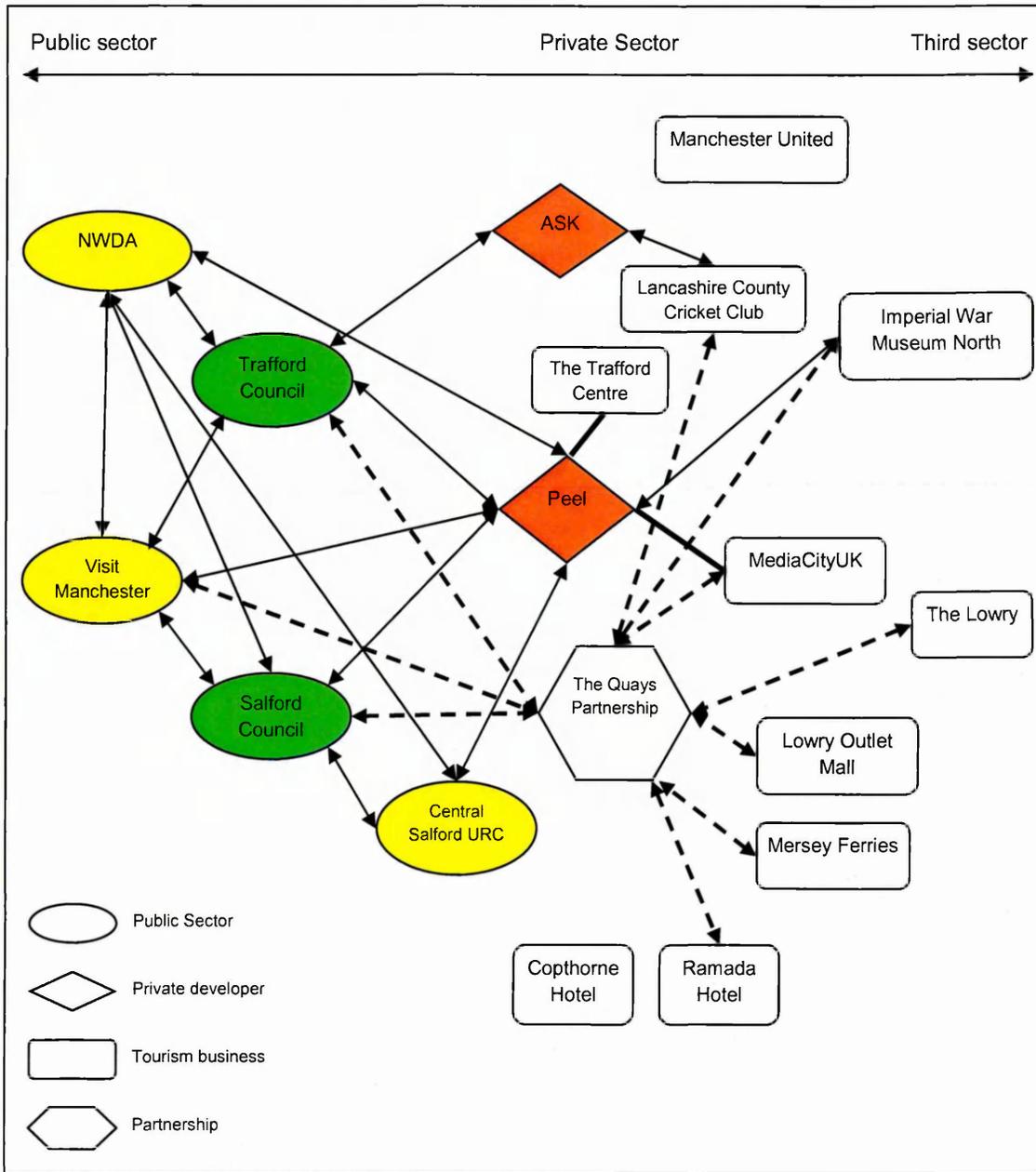
At the regional level of North West England, the Northwest Regional Development Agency (NWDA) was responsible for delivering economic growth in the region since its inception in 1999, and it took the responsibility for tourism development and marketing of the region since 2003 (NWDA, 2010). It published a regional economic strategy and visitor economy strategy to provide strategic leadership for the region (NWDA, 2004). Within the NWDA, North West Tourism network operated as an overarching body of five sub-regional Destination Management Organisations (DMOs), which were Cumbria Tourism, Lancashire and Blackpool Tourist Board, Visit Manchester, The Mersey Partnership, and Visit Chester and Cheshire.

At the sub-regional level, Visit Manchester was the DMO responsible for Greater Manchester. It was a division of Marketing Manchester which was the marketing and promotion

agency for Manchester city region on the national and international stage (Visit Manchester, 2011a). The DMO clarified its four roles: 'to provide strategic leadership to the tourism industry within the city region', 'to promote Manchester as a leading leisure, learning and business tourist destination for national and international visitors', 'to service the visitor with everything they need to research, plan and enjoy a trip to Manchester' and 'to service the city region's tourism industry with a range of tourism development opportunities' (Visit Manchester, 2011b). Visit Manchester published the Greater Manchester tourism strategy and its action plan as a destination management plan (Visit Manchester, 2011b).

In Greater Manchester, with the dismantlement of the Greater Manchester County Council in 1986 under the Thatcher administration, the ten local authorities of Greater Manchester formed the Association of Greater Manchester Authorities (AGMA). The 10 local authorities were Bolton Council, Bury Council, Manchester City Council, Oldham Council, Rochdale MBC, Salford City Council, Stockport MBC, Tameside MBC, Trafford MBC and Wigan Council. The local authorities of Greater Manchester worked together on health, public protection, environment, housing and other core services through AGMA (AMGA, 2011). Tourism officers of the ten Councils also worked together through AGMA tourism forum. A local authority tourism officer who represented the forum sat on the management board of Visit Manchester and the forum contributed to the development of the Visit Manchester Visitor Economy Plan (Visit Manchester, 2009).

At the local level, the two local authorities, Salford City Council and Trafford Metropolitan Borough Council were responsible for regeneration and development in The Quays. Salford had an urban regeneration company, Central Salford, until it was wound up due to public spending cuts in March 2011. Central Salford operated in the partnership with Salford City Council and NWDA, and it was deeply involved in the development of MediaCityUK and Irwell River Park project.

There were two property developer companies that were working on tourism-related urban regeneration projects in The Quays. Peel Holdings had a close relationship with both Salford and Trafford Councils as they owned land on both sides of the Canal and they were developing MediaCityUK in The Quays. ASK property development was leading the Lancashire County Cricket Club redevelopment project and working closely with a number of landowners and Trafford Council on the project.

Tourism officers from both Councils sat on The Quays Partnership, and they worked together with other partners to promote The Quays as a destination. 'The Quays Partnership' was a public-private marketing consortium which was made up of various tourism-related businesses at The Quays, the two local authorities of Salford and Trafford, and the sub-regional DMO, Visit

Manchester. At the time of the data collection, the private members of the partnerships were The Lowry, Imperial War Museum North, Lowry Outlet Mall, Ramada Hotel, Mersey Ferries, MediaCityUK and Ordsall Hall. There were other tourism-related businesses in the adjacent area, which had left the partnership, such as the Copthorne hotel and Manchester United Football Club.

6.2.2 Organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in NewcastleGateshead Quayside

Figure 6.2 illustrates the 'policy community' involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in NewcastleGateshead Quayside. The difference between the policy communities of The Quays and NewcastleGateshead Quayside was that in the latter, there were no distinctively active private developers or land owners involved in tourism-related urban regeneration projects at the time of data collection. The main organisations in the NewcastleGateshead Quayside's policy community, therefore, were public sector organisations including the quangos and the already established visitor attractions. As in the previous figure, solid double headed arrows indicate interactions between the two organisations at the ends of the arrows, and broken arrows indicate the interactions between the member organisations of NewcastleGateshead Cultural Venues.

Figure 6.2 Policy community for tourism-related urban regeneration in NewcastleGateshead Quayside
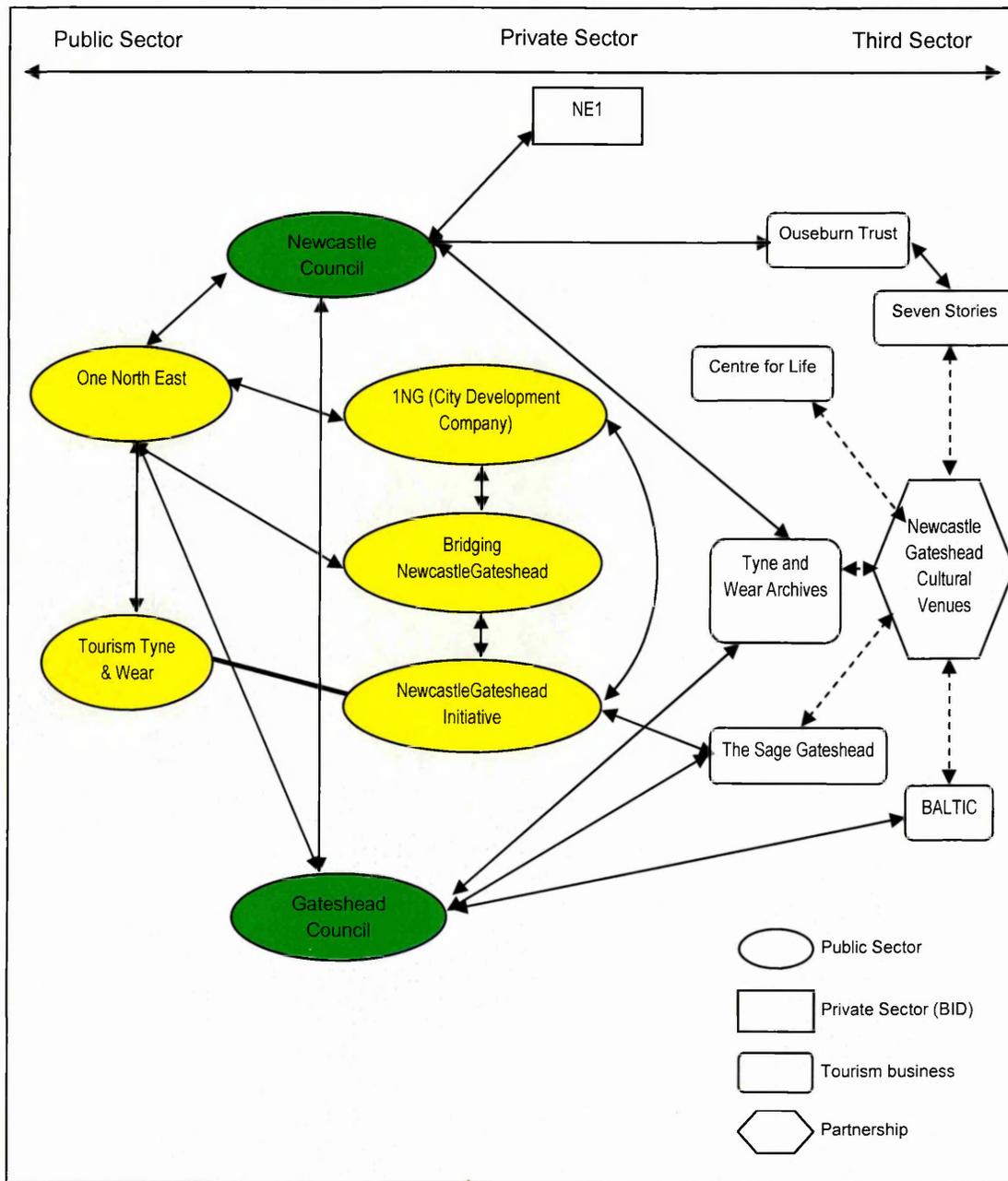
At the regional level, the RDA responsible for regeneration and tourism development of NGQ was One North East (ONE). ONE had a position of strategic leadership in urban regeneration and tourism development in North East England. ONE took responsibility for tourism in 2003 from the previous tourist organisation, the Northumbria Tourist Board (Tourism Network North East, 2005). ONE led tourism development and marketing in the North East region through their visitor economy strategy and by supporting 'Tourism Network North East', the network of Area Tourism Partnerships. There were four Area Tourism Partnerships (ATPs) in the North East, including Northumberland Tourism, Tourism Tyne and Wear, Visit County Durham, and Visit Teesvalley (Tourism Network North East, 2005). These ATPs worked as

Destination Management Organisations (DMOs) with responsibility for publishing Area Tourism Management Plans and dealing with local authorities and tourism businesses (Tourism Network North East, 2005).

At a sub-regional level, Tourism Tyne and Wear (TTW) and NewcastleGateshead Initiative (NGI) were responsible for tourism development and destination marketing for the five local authorities of Tyne and Wear region, including Newcastle City Council, Gateshead Metropolitan Borough Council, Sunderland City Council, South Tyneside MBC and North Tyneside MBC. NGI was originally set up to promote Newcastle and Gateshead, but when the RDA took responsibility for tourism in 2003, it was decided that NGI should expand its remit to promote the whole Tyne and Wear region rather than establishing another sub-regional tourism marketing organisation (TTW officer, 2009). Tourism Tyne and Wear was formed in 2007 as a partnership among visitor economy stakeholders and the board members represented the local authorities, transport providers, accommodation providers and attractions in Tyne and Wear (TTW, 2011).

At the local level, the two local authorities of Newcastle Council and Gateshead Metropolitan Borough Council were responsible for tourism development and urban regeneration for NewcastleGateshead Quayside. The two Councils used the brand 'NewcastleGateshead' in their joint projects, as shown in 'NewcastleGateshead Quayside'. The two authorities established three quangos through their partnership: NGI, Bridging Newcastle Gateshead (BNG) and 1NG. BNG was a Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder[1] and it closed its business in April 2011 due to public spending cuts (BNG, 2011). 1NG was the City Development Company for Newcastle and Gateshead, and it published the joint economic development strategy between the two Councils, 1PLAN. 1NG also closed its business in September 2011 due to public spending cuts.

Newcastle City Centre also had a Business Improvement District (BID)[2] company, NE1. The aim of NE1 was 'to drive forward Newcastle city centre by enhancing its physical and business environments' (Newcastle NE1, 2010). NE1's main activities included Pocket Park developments, Street Rangers and Clean Team, which contributed indirectly and positively to tourism development. It also promoted the businesses in Newcastle City Centre, such as shops, restaurants, bars, visitor attractions, and hotels.

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[1] Housing Market Renewal (HMR) was a dedicated national programme between 2003 and 2011 with the purpose of tackling the problem of declining demand for housing in parts of the Midlands and the North of England (Audit Commission, 2012). There were nine original sub-regional Pathfinders, and Bridging NewcastleGateshead was established in 2002 as one of them (Audit Commission, 2012; BNG, 2011). The programme aimed to deliver long- term sustainable changes in the areas with weak housing markets over a large spatial scale, irrespective of local authority boundaries (Audit Commission, 2012; BNG, 2011).

[2] A Business Improvement District is a partnership between a local authority and the local business community to develop projects and services that will benefit the trading environment within the boundary of a clearly defined commercial area (UKBIDs Advisory Service, 2012).

The major visitor attractions on NewcastleGateshead Quayside were run by non-profit third sector cultural organisations. Ten of the cultural venues located in Newcastle and Gateshead formed NewcastleGateshead Cultural Venues (NGCV), an association of non-profit organisations, to develop and promote the cultural offers of the North East and to achieve collaboration in practical operation by sharing expertise and intelligence in the areas of human resources, facilities and finance (Mission Models Money, 2010). The ten venues were BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art, International Centre for Life, Dance City, Live Theatre, Northern Stage, Seven Stories, Theatre Royal, The Sage Gateshead, Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums, and Tyneside Cinema.

Although the term 'policy community' is used as a label to describe the networks of key organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the two case study areas, the use of the term does not follow the exact typology of 'policy community' as defined by Marsh and Rhodes (1992:251). Marsh and Rhodes's typology of policy networks has limitations in explaining the different nature and dynamics of public-private sector relationships at the local level as it originates from Rhodes' (1981) typology of policy networks, which he developed through his investigation of central-local government relationships. The use of the term 'policy community' followed Rhodes' (2006:428) claim that 'one can only fully understand the characteristics of a policy community if few compare it with an issue network'.

When such a comparison was made, the policy network in The Quays and NewcastleGateshead Quayside shared a lot more characteristics with those of a policy community, than those of an issue network. This is explained through the case of The Quays below. According to Marsh and Rhodes (1992), policy communities are characterised by their very limited membership, frequent and high quality interactions between members, the continuity of the membership, values and policy outcomes, and the resource exchange-based relationships, their hierarchical structure, and a balance of power among members. On the other hand, an issue network involves a large number of participants, fluctuating interaction and access, ever-present conflicts, consultation-based interaction, unequal powers and resources between the participants.

Tourism-related urban regeneration crosses over many different policy domains and involves a wide range of organisations with various interests. In The Quays, the key organisations had varied interests and values, and they often experienced conflicts. The relationships between the organisations were not always based on resource exchanges. For example, the relationship between the members of The Quays Partnership was based on achieving synergy by putting together their resources, namely money and staff time, rather than directly exchanging them. There was no clear hierarchical structure between organisations either. The public sector organisations and agencies were characterised by multi-level governance, but the relationship

between the public and private sector and between the members of The Quays Partnership was horizontal. Despite these differences, the network is still labelled as a policy community because it was clear that all member organisations shared a general interest in successful tourism-related urban regeneration in The Quays, and they brought their resources together to achieve and support this overall aim for the area. These organisations were well established in the area, and they had on-going interests in the successful development of the area.

The mapping exercise is helpful in order to summarise the broad pattern of inter-organisational interactions, such as interactions between the public sector and the private sector organisations and also the partnership working between different organisations. However, the above network maps are not in themselves explanatory in terms of the interaction between organisations as they cannot explain the intensity, nature or frequency of such interactions. The network maps are also static pictures of the interactions, and they cannot depict the ever-changing aspects of inter-organisational interactions. Furthermore, it is acknowledged that the maps cannot represent the complex, multifaceted and multi-layered relationships between these organisations. Therefore, it is important to note that the mapping exercise was necessarily restricted to identifying the key organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. The rest of this chapter discusses the interactions and relationships between these organisations in prose in order to more fully reflect the complex and dynamic nature of their relationships.

6.3 Actor interactions for tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas

This section focuses on how and to what extent the organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration worked together in the planning and development processes in the case study areas. Networks of organisations are essential features of the social structure of advanced industrial societies (Benson, 1982). Rhodes (1981:98) argues that 'any organisation is dependent upon other organisations for resources' and 'in order to achieve their goals, the organisations have to exchange their resources'. The basic unit of analysis in this section is the interaction between organisations rather than that between individuals. The role of individual people in such networks is investigated in Chapter 7.

This section examines three types of relationships between the organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. Firstly, it examines the relationships between the local authorities and private developers, based on their resource dependencies. It

then moves on to investigate both collaborative and conflictual relationships among the local authorities in the case study areas. Lastly, the section explores the vertical relationships between the multilevel tourism organisations, such as the RDAs, DMOs and local authorities.

6.3.1 Resource dependency between the local authorities and the developers in the case study areas

A policy network can be described as a set of organisations which depend on each other's resources. In the case study areas, such resource dependency existed in the public-private partnership working between local authorities and property developers. The resource dependency between them represents 'a political economy concerned with the distribution of two scarce resources, money and authority' (Benson, 1975:229).

As shown in the previous chapter, the local authorities and property developers had different interests in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. Local authorities led and controlled urban regeneration in their administrative areas as the planning authorities, and they had the legitimacy and responsibility to do so as the elected representatives of local residents. Their main resource was hence 'authority', which is 'the legitimation of activities, the right and responsibility to carry out programs of certain kind, dealing with a broad problem area or focus' (Benson, 1975: 232). The local authorities in the case study areas thus could decide what could be and could not be developed in their areas, and they could ensure that development brings not only economic but also broader socio-cultural benefits to the district. A developer in The Quays showed his acknowledgement of the role of local authorities, describing how

> "We are working in the area where they [the local authorities] are responsible
> for, geographically and administratively. They have control over planning issues,
> licensing and all the other things we have to deal with carrying out the
> development, so we have to have a good relationship with the administration of
> the area to ensure we can deliver all those things".

On the other hand, the main resource of the developers was money. The developers and land-owners tried to maximise their financial gain through regeneration projects, and they were not much concerned about the socio-cultural dimensions of projects. The local authorities funded regeneration projects to some extent and they also often initiated the process, but they needed private sector investment to achieve wider urban regeneration. A Gateshead Council officer explained that "...the Council very much push and lead development but we are dependent upon private investment as well as Council investment into what we actually take forward. If we can't

get people who actually want to invest in the area, there will be a limit to what the Council can do in isolation".

Despite their different interests, therefore the local authorities and developers inevitably had to work together in regeneration schemes as this brought the maximum benefits to both. A local council regeneration officer stated that it was important to understand that they had different points of view and needs:

> "It is important because we come from different perspectives: the Council has social elements, and the developers just have the profit element. So we have to acknowledge that they need profit, but they need to understand that for the Council to work with them, the council has to get some social benefits, that may be money, that may be affordable housing, it could take various forms".

However, the boundary between the local councils' authority and the developers' money was not always clear. For example, the local authorities had the authority to purchase private land through a Compulsory Purchase Order, and they often also invested in the land they owned for urban regeneration, and this meant they had increased authority. Private landowners and developers could hold a significant power in urban regeneration decision-making, depending on how much land they owned in the local authorities' administrative areas. In other words, 'money and authority are interrelated in that there is a generalised expectation of balance or correlation between the two' (Benson, 1975:232).

The local authorities and private sector developers in the case study areas tried to influence each other's decision-making in an active way rather than sitting passively. To attract the potential investment, the local authorities usually developed and published their vision and planning guides for potential regeneration areas, hoping these documents could persuade land-owners and developers to invest and achieve their vision for the areas. Having an attractive vision was thought to be especially important when the councils did not have much money to take the regeneration forward themselves. A local council officer stated that

> "[It is very difficult] when the Council itself hasn't got any money and you are trying to get other people to deliver what you want. It is easy if you can just throw in money and say 'that is what we want and here is the money'. But we haven't got the money to do so, we have to influence developers who are interested hopefully to deliver the vision that we have. That is where it is important we have the right policy in place. So we can say 'We have already said what we want for this area'. Planning is very difficult, what you can say no to, or how you influence. ... Having these policies in place even though we don't have money to deliver it, it is about having articulated what we want in this area so we can point people at it".

The private sector land-owners and developers knew the importance of these planning documents, and they tried to represent their interests in the planning policy when they were written. Especially for land-owners, commenting on these documents was very important as they could affect the land value and development potential of the land that they owned. A council officer confirmed the involvement of private sector developers in the policy-making process in this way:

> "Obviously they are very keen to comment on these [planning] documents we are producing because it affects different land allocations and land values in this area. ... We have just done our new economic assessment, and obviously everybody is commenting on that at the moment to see if they actually reflect their own aspirations for that area".

A private land-owner and developer also stated that

> "We comment on government planning policy and local planning policy. We have a team of people for whom that is their job. We spend, I'm guessing, over a million pounds a year, in tracking various plans and policies and commenting, objecting to things we don't like, supporting things we like. We have a major department that deals with that".

Despite the local authorities' hard work to provide a vision for their district and to attract investment, development was fundamentally up to the market and private investors who decided where to put their money. A museum director claimed that

> "... all regeneration, nobody really has any complete control of it, because it is led by the developer who's got the courage and money to do something at the right moment. ... There are plans but they are not fully formed and they are not funded. Somebody comes with different ideas with lots of money and it could change. So Trafford [Council] can sit there and say 'we would like this, we would like that' ... but they won't necessarily get it. They will get what they get".

Although the success of both the local authorities and private developers was intertwined through the regeneration process, the public and private sector partnership did not seem to be easy to achieve. There was mistrust and prejudice between the local authorities and the developers in the case study areas. A developer in The Quays claimed that the local authorities saw developers as driven by self-interest, and that they ignored the developer's views. He added that the planning culture in local authorities did not always encourage private sector development. He showed his frustration in dealing with local authorities by saying

"Quite understandably people look at us as land owners and developers with our own self-interest in mind. I think our comments are read in the context of our own self-interest, and to that extent get disregarded sometimes. What happens when they ignore you and don't give you any reasons? It is very difficult but we try. The planning system - sometimes you feel it is set up. You know if you go to the local authorities and you go into their planning department. It is usually titled 'development control'. It would be better if it is called 'development encouragement' or something like that. They start off, or they seem to start from the position where the answer is no, whatever is the question. They start off with a presumption against your scheme, whereas they ought to be more proactive and encouraging it. There should be a presumption in favour".

At the same time, developers did not always trust what the local authorities said. This was an issue related to the intra-organisational relationships within local authorities. Developers usually dealt with the council's planning officers and worked with them very closely. However, the planning decision-making was ultimately down to a committee of councillors and the relationship between the officers and councillors sometimes affected the urban regeneration decision-making processes. A local council regeneration officer said

"If you talk to any developers they will say that Council A and ourselves are completely different. We will be absolutely straight with them, they might not like what they will hear from us. But we will say if we like it or we don't like it, or we will support this or we won't support that. In that respect, we are easy to deal with. We have a planning team who are very good with pre-planning applications, so that works very well. The officers have good relationships with the members [councillors], and we tend to look at things from the same perspectives. If you look at Council A, this is hearsay, because obviously I am not a developer, they would sometimes find they are told one thing one day, something different the next day. Sometimes officers will say something, then they talk to a councillor. It may not always be consistent".

For private sector organisations, getting involved in these power relations and the bureaucracy that exists in the local authorities was seen as an obstacle in working with local authorities, which they claimed they did not experience in the private sector. A property developer argued that developers had to understand the power relations between different local politicians and officers in order to achieve successful development. He explained how

"There is a lot of politics in the public sector that clearly you just don't get in dealing with the private sector. [In the private sector] you get in to see the chief executive and he tells you what he wants and what he doesn't want, and you can

deliver it or you can't deliver it. In the public sector, you can spend a good proportion of your working day trying to work your way around the politics. It is not really our jobs to do that. That is the job of councillors and officers. But we have to understand this, otherwise we could very quickly tread on lots of sensitive toes".

Another difference in the working culture of the private sector and the public sector in general was that, whereas the private sector in general relied on quick decision-making and a rapid outcome delivery, the public sector often operated based on hierarchy and it involved a lot of bureaucratic processes. This caused challenges in the cooperation and collaboration between the public and the private sectors. A council officer said "As people can imagine, sometimes there is a lot of red tape [in the Council]. Some teams just get told what to do". Another interviewee who was involved in a public-private sector partnership argued that "there are some people, mainly I have to say council-led, who prefer a set way of working because it is easy to balance against a budget and tick a box". A DMO officer further argued that

> "Small businesses are very anti-anything they view to be bureaucratic: local
> authorities, the RDA, us [the DMO]. They think we don't understand the needs
> of small businesses. Business Links has a terrible reputation in this area because
> they pile form upon form upon form..., you know form filling on to small
> businesses! I think across the country you will see that the development of
> public-private partnerships is just very difficult to ever achieve because on the
> one hand we have businesses say 'uh...nobody understands us', 'what a load of
> rubbish', and we have the public sector which is hand-bound because they are
> spending public money by whole levels of regulation. And the two will never
> meet or understand each other".

Therefore, the private sector actors tried to figure out who held the decision-making power and authority within the local authorities as they wanted to make speedy progress on their projects. A BID officer stated that

> "you need to be quite patient, and you have also got to know what the routes
> are, through particular bureaucracies like the council so that someone at a
> lower level, not being obstructive because people are not obstructive, they are
> supportive, but if something needs to happen quickly, you need to know who
> someone's boss is in order to make sure people understand this is a priority".

In summary, the relationships between the local authorities and developers in the case study areas showed a clear resource dependency as they needed one another's resource to achieve successful regeneration and bring benefits to their own organisations. However, their varied

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interests and different working cultures meant that it was not always easy for them to work together in urban regeneration projects.

6.3.2 Collaborative relationships between local authorities

The relationships between local authorities in the case study areas were different in nature from the relationships between the councils and the private sector property developers. The local authorities and developers had different interests, but they knew that their success was intertwined and dependent on each other's resources. While the local authorities acknowledged that they needed to work together with neighbouring authorities to compete as a region on the national and international stages, their relationships involved a lot of politicking and competition. In the case study areas both collaborative and conflictual relationships existed among the local authorities. The collaborative relationships are discussed here first.

In Tyne and Wear, Newcastle City Council and Gateshead MBC had worked together for over ten years in a partnership for tourism, culture-led regeneration, housing renewal and economic growth (NGI, 2009). With the establishment of 1NG in 2007, the two authorities formed the Gateshead and Newcastle Partnership, 'a partnership of councillors, including both Leaders of the Councils, to provide strategic direction and oversee the economic improvement of NewcastleGateshead' (Gateshead Council, 2010:1). A Newcastle councillor said that in their partnership, they had "joint organisations not only for tourism and marketing, but also for housing and renewal, the economic development of the area".

Partnership working for tourism development and regeneration of NewcastleGateshead Quayside seemed very natural as the Quayside was where both authorities' mutual interest lay. The Quayside was a strategic location for both Councils as their district centres are within walking distance of the Quayside, and it was also where the Councils tried to demonstrate their will and appetite for regeneration and progress. An interviewee working in a cultural institution argued that it would have been "daft" if the two Councils had not worked with one another considering their geographical proximity. He said

> "If you sat in Gateshead you are looking at Newcastle, and if you sat in
> Newcastle you are looking at Gateshead, so you have got to work together
> particularly on the Quayside. Each one is looking at the other so you both have
> got to join up and get the benefits. It can't be natural [not to work together]".

Furthermore, Newcastle and Gateshead needed one another in order to compete and establish their position on the national and international stages because the two districts were very small in terms of territorial size and population compared to other major cities in England. A property consultant argued that "Tyne and Wear is too small as a region for the individual local authorities to compete individually". Another interviewee, a cultural institution chief executive, stated that "I think what people often don't appreciate is Newcastle and Gateshead are quite small. Even put together, they are still tiny compared to Sheffield, Liverpool, Manchester, and to Leeds as well. Together we look like a proper city, but in our two parts we are not big enough".

Figure 6.3 Comments supporting the positive relationships that existed between Newcastle and Gateshead

"It's kind of maturing all the time." (a DMO officer)

"They are behaving like adults rather than like children." (a cultural institution chief executive)

"Much more positive and much stronger ... realisation through working together." (a museum officer)

"Surprisingly good considering they are separate parties... I think they are working really well together...There is a sort of calmer approach to doing businesses here." (a cultural institution chief executive)

"It is very good, it is getting better. At one time we were both fighting for development, but now because we are sort of seen as NewcastleGateshead, we tend to think about things more, and what is best for NewcastleGateshead rather than what is best for Newcastle and what is best for Gateshead. At the end of the day, if we put facilities in the right place, whether it is Newcastle or Gateshead, people will come." (a council officer)

The relationships between the two Councils were seen as positive and constructive, as the comments from the interviews shown in Figure 6.3. The interviewees highlighted how political leadership in the two Councils had a crucial role in establishing this positive relationship, especially when the two Councils were led by different political parties, Newcastle City Council by the Liberal Democrats and Gateshead MBC by the Labour Party. The heads of the two Councils realised the advantages of working together through their experiences, and they encouraged and expanded collaboration and cooperation between each other. A cultural venue director added that "You will see the leaders of the two Councils on the same platform all the time. When Newcastle and Gateshead bid to be the capital of culture, it was one bid. Recently, the two Councils bid to host the football World Cup and that was one bid". A visitor attraction chief executive in Newcastle agreed, arguing that

"This business of NewcastleGateshead would not happen if they [the leaders of the two Councils] weren't behind it. I think they have been behind cultural programmes, and they are starting to look at a joint framework for planning, strategic development. So I would say the Councils at the senior level are promoting it [partnership working]".

The joint working between Salford City Council and Trafford MBC was not as comprehensive as was the case for Newcastle and Gateshead. Although they worked together, through AGMA and The Quays Partnership, their collaboration was limited to ad hoc projects, especially those on the waterfront areas along the Manchester Ship Canal, where development could affect both sides of the canal. In 2007 Salford and Trafford Councils jointly developed planning guidance for the areas of Salford Quays and Trafford Wharfside (Salford City Council and Trafford MBC, 2007). In 2008, the two Councils with Manchester City Council also produced planning guidance for Irwell City [now River] Park (Manchester City Council, Salford City Council and Trafford MBC, 2008). These joint documents were developed because they covered the areas where these different Councils had mutual interests.

However, a Trafford Council officer said that this kind of cooperation and collaboration with Salford Council was rather rare, and that it only happened because both Councils wanted high quality developments on the waterside. She noted that

"Salford and Trafford both agreed on a planning guide in relation to the Irwell City Park, which is quite unusual. So, we say if you relocate to this area, you have to do this and this, which is creating a high quality environment along the river. We have our own Local Development Framework (LDF). ...Salford will develop their own LDF and they will consult with us. It is where we all try to ensure we reflect what we, both of our aspirations are for this area. They are reflected in those documents".

6.3.3 Competitive relationships between the local authorities

Although the local authorities in the case study areas worked relatively well with one another, there were still underlying tensions between them. The authorities tried to attract as much inward investment, both public and private sector funding, as possible to their own districts, and this led to inevitable competition among neighbouring authorities. For example, when there was public funding available, such as Single Programme, "the local authorities had a lead role in that, and there were competing projects in Tyne and Wear" (a museum senior officer). Greater

Manchester areas received many planning applications for private sector hotel developments, and "all the individual districts want the best there is for their districts" (a local council tourism officer).

The partnership working between Newcastle and Gateshead started with the regeneration of The Quayside when some major iconic cultural venues in Gateshead were being developed. A DMO officer claimed that it was "really the development of The Quayside that has led to this partnership", and without the iconic developments on Gateshead, such as the BALTIC and The Sage Gateshead, the partnership might not have happened. The two Councils used the brand NewcastleGateshead for the first time to bid for the 2008 European Capital of Culture (NGI, 2009).

However, there was a view that Newcastle was intending to steal the glory of Gateshead by working together under the joint brand. A visitor attraction chief executive in Newcastle was somewhat cynical about the brand 'NewcastleGateshead' and about Newcastle Council's intentions in the joined-up working. She suggested that

> "I think it is called NewcastleGateshead because, quite frankly, Gateshead has
> got The Sage Gateshead and BALTIC and Newcastle hasn't. Gateshead town
> centre is the pits. It is awful and really pretty dreadful. So it is a selective
> isolation of some of the stars on Gateshead riverside. I think Gateshead has a
> reputation for having a very go-ahead, lively and imaginative local authority,
> and it has managed to get something of magnitude of The Sage Gateshead, it has
> got BALTIC, it has got the Metrocentre, which is buzzing in the evening with
> shoppers when Newcastle is dead. I guess Newcastle needs Gateshead more
> than Gateshead needs Newcastle, so I suspect".

This view was also shared by some Gateshead local residents, who argued during a BBC interview that Newcastle was trying to 'take over' Gateshead, as shown in Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.4 Interviews with Gateshead residents on the BBC Politics Show

I think it is appalling. I think Gateshead has come a long way over the last 20 years or so, and Newcastle just wants to take us over. Even when the Millennium Bridge was being built, they were very obstructive when it got to the other side.

The river has been regarded as the border by many people. ... There was an attempt several hundred years ago to merge the two places, and it didn't work then and I can't see it working now.

They are just trying to take us over and try to show us who is the boss, and Gateshead people don't like being bossed around. We really don't. We are a very independent town with very independent people.

(Source: transcribed and complied from Moss, 2010)

Many interviewees pointed out that Newcastle was seen as a regional capital of Tyne and Wear, and many visitors did not realise the other side of the river was actually Gateshead. The major cultural icons of Gateshead, therefore, were often regarded and featured as those of Newcastle, and understandably Gateshead Council was protective of these icons (Newcastle City Council, 2009). A DMO officer illustrated this through the results of their visitor survey:

"It is very interesting. When we do perceptions research we ask people what they think when they think of Newcastle. They talk of The Angel of the North, Metrocentre, the Millennium Bridge, The Sage Gateshead, and BALTIC, all of which are in Gateshead. So Gateshead understandably feels quite protective of their assets, and what they have invested in, because all this stuff wouldn't have happened without visionary leadership from Gateshead Council".

It was interesting to note that Gateshead Council deliberately tried to avoid direct competition with Newcastle Council. A Gateshead planning officer stated that Newcastle being the regional capital had an impact when the Council was formulating their regeneration strategy. She said

"Because what you need to remember is we are connected to Newcastle, which is recognised as the regional capital, and therefore we had to do something that is different for two reasons. One, so that it happens; two, so that Newcastle doesn't object. Obviously, if we were doing something that Newcastle thought they wanted, they could have objected in planning terms, so just make life that much easier".

In The Quays, there was fierce rivalry between Manchester City Council, Salford City Council and Trafford MBC. The rivalry caused serious conflict between them around urban regeneration as each council tried to attract the best development options within their

administrative boundaries. The local authorities always kept an eye on developments in other districts and sometimes strongly resisted them because of the possibility of them having a negative impact on their own districts.

Manchester City was seen as the regional capital of Greater Manchester by many interviewees and it seemed to have a 'big sister, little sister' relationship with other councils in Greater Manchester, including Salford and Trafford Councils as illustrated in Figure 6.5. However, the perception was that Manchester City Council tried to extend its influence on development issues in other authorities by trying to attract the best investment opportunity into their own districts and by often objecting to development activities in other local authority territories. For example, "Manchester City Council did not want The Trafford Centre to happen because they saw it is taking businesses away from Manchester City" (a developer). A landowner and developer argued that "Manchester City sees themselves, quite rightly you may think, as the leader authority, as one who should be taking control. They see it that way, and they would like to extend their authority over the rest of it [Greater Manchester]".

Figure 6.5 Relationships between Manchester, Salford and Trafford Councils

"It is very much a sort of 'big sister, little sister relationship'. They are trying to make an equal relationship these days. That's going to have twinning problems because Manchester isn't used to having equals, it is used to having a little sister. Salford is used to being told what to do. And now it is finding its own feet and struggling a bit with newly found authority, I suppose. We are in an interesting transition. Looking at it from a developer or inward investor's point of view, or what is best for the city region, I think it would be to have one city region and call it Manchester." (a developer)

"There is a big boy and small boy relationship between Manchester and Trafford. We know that. For instance, when MUFC was in the Euro Championships, Manchester, even though it is in Trafford, took the lead. Suddenly Old Trafford stadium is Manchester stadium as opposed to Trafford. A few of our councillors... I can remember one person particularly saying, 'How dare they!' My view is 'Get real. Manchester is the strategic player'". (a Trafford councillor)

"Oh, definitely Manchester see it that way [big sister little sister]. Some other local authorities are resentful about it but they seem to go along with it because of politics." (a developer)

A director of a property company argued that the local authorities were often driven by self-interest and that the political competition between them affected the private sector development. He contended that

"Local authorities have different approaches, quite often driven by self-interest.
We are regularly at odds with Manchester. We don't have a lot of property in
the [Manchester] city centre but we have a lot of land in Salford and quite a lot

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of land in Trafford. Trafford is appreciative of what we do. Manchester City Council is wary, they generally are. They have been very good at creating developments within the city, and I take my hat off to that. But they take it too far. Their idea of promoting their own interests extends to trying to stop others from promoting theirs. They want it all in the city centre and I think that goes too far"

Such rivalry was very fierce between Manchester and Salford City Councils because they were both cities with strong local identities. A developer noted that "[Greater] Manchester is very unusual in that Manchester is a city and Salford is a city. There is no other place like that in the UK. Newcastle and Gateshead is similar, but Gateshead isn't a city. So you have got two big metropolitan authorities that aren't used to working together". Manchester and Salford Councils competed for the same developments on many occasions in the past. Sometimes these competitions were for political reasons rather than for the common good of their districts or the region. A local councillor criticised this crude rivalry by saying

"I find the authorities competing against each other when they should be working with each other, particularly in Greater Manchester. That is normal when it is Liverpool vs. Manchester or Birmingham vs. Manchester but when it is within Greater Manchester I think that is really a problem. None of them will admit to it but it goes on. … Salford will bid for something it doesn't really need to simply because it needs to bid for everything against Manchester City. So it bid for a casino and an airport. We really need to be thinking together so I think it is a big issue over here. And Manchester City will not give The Quays its support. It hasn't encouraged the Metrolink to The Trafford Centre, it hasn't. In fact it has put its foot down quite firmly, and it is acting as Manchester City as opposed to Greater Manchester. …If it [Manchester City Council] can do something, it will compete against it and it is happy to".

The mistrust between Manchester and Salford Councils has developed over the years. Some interviewees indicated this through their experiences.

"The Leader of the [Salford] Council used to say to me 'when you go down there to see them bastards, you just watch they don't slip the bloody ferret in'… Manchester was famed for slipping a ferret in, for being less than honourable and something to be watched. We would make arrangements with Manchester Council on a number of projects only to find out they were making arrangements with the Department of Environment on something completely different from what we had already agreed. So there was at that time a great deal of competition between ourselves and Manchester… we were always very, very wary of Manchester." (an ex-Salford Council officer)

"Salford and Manchester distrust each other profoundly, it was put to me almost everyday, 'Oh, Manchester! Don't believe a word they said!' It was absolutely fearsome." (A consultant)

A more recent example, which showed the fierce competition between Manchester and Salford Councils, was the MediaCityUK development which both Manchester and Salford Councils bid for. A developer who was involved in Manchester's bid said

"There was a very big battle over the BBC, MediaCityUK. Manchester had started those discussions … and Salford popped up… Salford ended up winning them out at Salford Quays. That is good for the region. It doesn't matter to us at all. But Manchester felt they had lost that investor to Salford. So the relationship will perhaps take another generation before we get used to being equals [rather than being big sister, little sister]".

The competition between the two authorities was intense and even when the BBC, the leading tenant, decided their future location would be at The Quays, Manchester City Council did not easily accept the decision or support the project as a neighbouring council in the same region. A developer of MediaCityUK argued that the stance of Manchester City Council could be an obstacle for MediaCityUK in achieving its full potential as a hub of the media industry in the future. He stated that

"It can be a bit tedious at times, the local rivalries between the councils. It came when we were trying to lure BBC away from Manchester to Salford. To us it didn't matter, it is all part of Manchester. But the local authorities were not as cooperative as we would have liked them to be. There are still issues as well with Manchester trying to develop itself a bit of a media industry elsewhere in Manchester. Whilst they made a public announcement, a statement about supporting MediaCityUK here in The Quays, their actions as a council are different. We have a fear, a concern is probably a better word, that if too many spreading bits of media development take place before this [MediaCityUK] is properly established itself, the potential of the MediaCityUK will be lost a little bit."

The local authorities in the case study areas had both collaborative and conflictual relationships regarding urban regeneration issues. As each local authority tried to attract the best development option to their own district, their competition was inevitable. However, their interactions involved a lot of complexity and politicking and particularly between Manchester and Salford Councils, mistrust was prevalent.

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6.3.4 Competition in tourism marketing

The rivalry between the local authorities was also found in tourism development and destination marketing. Marketing and branding is an area where this rivalry can be a particular problem as it is where many local authorities want to demonstrate their local pride and identity. Between Salford and Trafford, a major issue in tourism marketing was the name of the destination 'The Quays'. Although The Quays was promoted as a destination for over ten years through The Quays Partnership, the two councils still had an underlying tension over the brand. Salford Council understandably insisted on calling it 'Salford Quays' as they had put a lot of effort and investment into regenerating the derelict docks. However, some of the Partnership members were located in Trafford, and Trafford Council resisted the name 'Salford Quays'. The name 'The Quays' was agreed but the tension still existed.

There was a clear imbalance between the two Councils in terms of their investment in The Quays area. This was related to the strategic position of The Quays in the two districts. A museum director pointed out that

> "Trafford is a very big borough and we are just on the top end of it. …it has very wealthy and important areas down there. We are almost a little bit out of sight, whereas for Salford this is their showcase. Their city is around it and this is one of their real showcase projects. So sometimes I get the feeling that we are on the edge of Trafford thinking, whereas The Quays is at the heart of Salford thinking. And that shows in terms of the amount of money they put in".

Even a Trafford councillor admitted that there was an imbalance between the two Councils' investment on The Quays, and he was sympathetic to Salford. He stated that

> "In so many ways, we haven't done so badly without putting a lot of commitment into it. We have been lucky we sailed in the wind of Salford, and that has been a real help. Salford has been the driving force and we have had some pay-off. Maybe Salford will resent that we haven't put in so much commitment. But in terms of money, we haven't got any".

While Salford Council and Trafford Council clashed over the brand issue, many interviewees claimed that, by contrast, neither visitors nor the attractions cared about the administrative boundaries between the two districts. The Quays is situated very close to Manchester City Centre and was promoted as 'Manchester's waterfront' at the sub-regional level. Visitors from outside the region would not know where each district of Manchester, Salford and Trafford started and finished, and there was no reason why they should know about such

boundaries. Many interviewees argued that this conflict between the two Councils was 'petty politics' and did not consider the points of view of visitors or businesses. A developer argued that

"For you and I wandering in the street, we don't know really when and where we are in Salford. If you watch football, you will often hear presenters saying things like here 'we are in Manchester'. I heard the other week somebody saying, 'actually we shouldn't say here we are in Manchester because we are not, we are in Salford'. In fact, they are not. They are in Trafford! It really doesn't matter for the global brand [Manchester United Football Club] but it does matter to the local politicians".

While the local authorities tried to develop and promote a certain brand for their destination, there was a limitation in terms of how and to what extent they influenced on the visitors' point of view. A consultant argued that the quarrel between Salford and Trafford Councils was a waste of time because it was up to people what to call it:

"I think it is a really interesting lesson because when it comes down to it whether you call it Salford Quays, Manchester Docks, The Quays, all these other things, they are subtleties. What will happen is people will call it something and that is what you have to call it. It is very difficult to create and insist that the public refer to it as something in particular. So I think they are wasting their breath. Whether people call it The Quays or Salford Quays is beyond the power for local authorities to influence".

A director of a museum in Trafford similarly argued that

"I'm getting so used to that [the conflict between the two Councils over the brand]. I don't really care about it much. Trafford would like me to keep fighting that corner, and I have been fighting that for seven years to say 'No, remember! It's Trafford as well!' The last thing that Trafford would probably want to do - this is an expression of how councils do or don't work together – is to have it called Salford Quays, because that will be like surrender, wouldn't it?"

Even a local politician in Trafford Council agreed that it was unimportant what the destination was called. He argued that considering the industrial heritage of Manchester Docks and Salford Quays and the huge investment by Salford Council, it should be called Salford Quays. He said

"The brand, it is fine. It has stock. You will get people on the Trafford side saying they don't like being called Salford Quays. I have to tell you I think they are just a bit precious. It is Salford Quays. I don't have a problem with

that. Let's call it Salford Quays. People don't care, it is just the authorities. ... It is Salford Quays and people recognise it nationally. It is only a few in the Council [who resist it]. ... It came from Salford Docks, that shouldn't be forgotten. Salford has been the driver here anyway".

The conflict between the two Councils was seen as purely political and it did not bring any strength to the destination. Many interviewees argued that 'The Quays' was not a strong brand in the first place, and although the Partnership put a lot of money to promote it as a destination, many people still do not recognise it after 10 years of promotion. Unlike 'NewcastleGateshead Quayside' which at least tells people where they were located, The Quays did not even tell them where it is located. A member of The Quays Partnership stated that "it was always a fudged name, because it doesn't' tell you where it is. It has always been a problem".

The name 'The Quays' was very confusing as it was a collection of the attractions of The Quays Partnership rather than a name of an area with a clear geographical or administrative boundary. It was an artificial name given by The Quays Partnership and agreed on by the two Councils, so this meant that "The Quays is a consortium of members. Things may be at The Quays but they are not necessarily part of The Quays [Partnership]. To the outsider, to tourists, it is just a destination, just a place" (a member of The Quays Partnership). As The Quays was not a very strong brand, this caused further problems with new developments around the destination. With the development of MediaCityUK and Irwell City Park, there was discussion about changing the name of the destination. A Trafford Council officer said

> "What we still haven't managed to do after all these years is branding up the
> area. But this is again how it sits in this hierarchy of Irwell City Park and
> MediaCityUK. So there is going to be a whole branding strategy developed, and
> we will get some external branding we don't have in that way at the
> moment. ... Everything is up for grabs at the moment and it could definitely
> change".

However, as it is ultimately the politicians who make decisions on branding, the conflict over the destination brand seemed inevitable. A local council tourism officer showed her concern over the branding of Irwell City Park in relation to the involvement of the three Councils of Manchester, Salford and Trafford. She said

> "The main conflicts will be between the three Councils [Manchester, Salford
> and Trafford]. Branding and naming, when you have councils involved, is
> terribly political. This is why we ended up with that fudged name, The Quays,
> in the first place. That is just what worries me because ultimately politicians
> will take a decision on the branding for ICP, or whatever that name, brand is.

The logical thing will be having Manchester somewhere in it. I just don't see that working politically. We will have to see. So it is a crucial thing going forward now, so let's get this right".

At the same time, the MediaCityUK visitor economy partnership led by NWDA and Visit Manchester suggested the change of the brand from The Quays to MediaCityUK. A NWDA tourism officer said "it is highly likely that The Quays will be subsumed to this brand". However, the members of The Quays Partnership expressed much resistance to this suggested change. They argued that MediaCityUK did not sound like a visitor destination at all as it was instead very "businessy" (a Lowry Outlet Mall officer), and also they argued that MediaCityUK did not tell people anything about the destination, for example, that it is a waterfront area (A local authority tourism officer).

Another issue regarding the brand occurred when Peel Holdings tried to develop an area called 'Trafford Quays' near The Trafford Centre and the Leisure Village. This posed a threat to the brand 'The Quays'. A museum director argued that developers had a very influential voice in branding, and this opened the whole discussion about the brand The Quays again. He stated that

"We have got a slight problem which you get with developers. Developers are very, very strong and they want to develop their own brands. So actually the developers are trying to develop Trafford Quays down at The Trafford Centre. So, whereas we thought we were Trafford Quays, that is now up for the discussion. But I think we need a very clear and powerful brand for here. I don't think The Quays is a very powerful brand".

A member of The Quays Partnership showed the members' bitterness and frustration against the developer's behaviour, saying that

"When we discovered that it was Trafford Quays, there was a bit of huffing and puffing, various people wondering what they want, what they are doing, calling it Trafford Quays.. It feels almost a bit cheeky when we are at Salford Quays. But I think it is very much Peel Holdings, isn't it? This is the sort of thing they do".

There was also a view that these confusing and competing brands in adjacent areas could cause confusion among visitors. A developer argued that "I personally think that weakens the whole, the overall brand, if you have Salford Quays and Trafford Quays. If you don't know the city, you would be thinking which is where.... whereas if you are in The Quays in Manchester, [it would be very clear]".

It was interesting that even the members of The Quays Partnership often called the destination Salford Quays rather than The Quays. Many interviewees agreed that the destination

needed a stronger brand which could solve this confusion and appeal to visitors. A museum director stated that

> "We need something that has a very strong resonance for visitors, that sounds exciting before they even get the brand statement, so that they know what is about. That runs off the tongue very easily. So everybody would say 'have you been to...?' That needs some major work to do. Unfortunately, that discussion is not funded at the moment. And it is something The Quays consortium has got to address. If they are not careful, it will be a question of pushing and shoving and who gets the strongest voice. But it needs to be decided collaborately what will work best for the destination".

6.3.5 Multi-level interactions between tourism organisations

The interactions between public sector organisations with tourism functions at the regional, sub-regional and local levels in the case study areas demonstrated multi-level governance based on hierarchical relationships. In this section, the roles of the RDAs, the DMOs and the local authorities in tourism are examined, and their interactions and relationships within the multi-level structure are investigated.

At the regional level, the RDAs in both case study areas had a number of different roles in relation to tourism as they were "the government agency for tourism in the region" (A NWDA officer). Firstly, they were the substantial funders for many capital developments in these regions, including tourism and cultural projects. An RDA officer claimed that

> "our remit from government is to drive economic development, and we do that as well as influence policy, through investing capital and revenues in a wide range of investments that will range from reclamation of land, to building a business unit, and to culture investments such as The Sage Gateshead, and the BALTIC".

As shown in Chapter 5, the role of an RDA as a major public funder at the regional level was seen as critical for tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. They also provided strategic leadership for tourism through their regional economic strategies and visitor economy strategies. This role "to champion the strategy and consider the approaches to tourism" (a NWDA officer) was regarded as vital in the region because the RDAs enabled tourism to be developed in a more coordinated way, such as through conversations with other regional partners. A senior RDA tourism officer said

"We could allow tourism to develop on an ad hoc basis, but we wouldn't meet the full potential of the sites' tourism value unless we brought these partners in. As a regional body we can bring other bodies around the table. It's funding, cooperation, coordination and it's insight, it's foresight, and it's direction!"

In addition to these funding and strategic roles, the RDAs also to some extent took the role of a regional tourist board, depending on how tourism was structured at the regional and sub-regional levels. For example, ONE had a role as a regional tourist board in the North East as they delivered public sector services for tourism businesses. A tourism officer of ONE said "We have some of the functions in-house, what other areas would call a tourist board. That is a regional team which is the hub of the network of the four Area Tourism Partnerships".

At the sub-regional level, the DMOs such as Visit Manchester, TTW and NGI, were responsible for tourism, and these DMOs acted as a link between the local authorities and the RDAs in the case study areas. They each produced a sub-regional tourism strategy and worked for tourism development and destination promotion. The Chief Executive of Visit Manchester claimed that

"We probably have a two-fold role really. As a tourist board we are very much about developing the tourism offer. Our role there is to influence and lobby, to work with the key stakeholders, to work with the NWDA to ensure the visitor experience is clear. ...We also have a very clear marketing role to play, which probably is the other part of the organisation".

An officer from TTW claimed that their role was to identify tourism development opportunities at the local level, to pass them over to the RDA, and to help them with tourism development. She said

"We are responsible for something called the Area Tourism Management Plan. Through that we are supposed to highlight priorities for Tyne and Wear. So very reasonably the development of the conference centre, World Heritage Sites, Legible City project, and coastal regeneration. ... We are not responsible for those projects. We are kind of custodians of the plans. So it is my job annually to pull together all the projects, anything kind of tourism capital projects, together, and then we submit that to the RDA. We kind of have a routine with them. They would ask us our opinions on tourism. It is always advisory. It is not statutory in any way shape or form. But we can influence projects and development in that way".

The DMOs in the case study areas were public-private sector partnerships as they had both public and private sector stakeholders. While they were heavily dependent on public sector funding from the RDAs and the local authorities, they also received membership fees from their

private industry members. Therefore, they had to reflect the interests of such businesses, and provided services and support for them. The role of the DMOs in tourism development and tourism marketing in the case study areas is further discussed in section 6.4.1.

At a more local level, the local authorities worked for tourism development and marketing in their administrative areas to various degrees. In both case study areas, tourism was fed into the Local Development Frameworks (LDFs), and some authorities, such as Trafford and Salford, had a separate tourism (marketing) strategy as well. They all had designated tourism officers who dealt with a wide range of tourism issues in the local authorities. The local authorities had important roles in tourism development and marketing through their provision of visitor information and support services, their investment into urban infrastructure and the environment, and their financial support for the sub-regional DMOs. Chapter 5 explained that, although the local authorities did not have a statutory responsibility for tourism, tourism was understood to have a role in improving the quality of life and image of cities, and in assisting the local authorities in achieving their regeneration aims, which were to bring economic prosperity to their local areas.

The structure of these multi-level tourism organisations was seen as "complicated", "fragmented", and "overlapping" by the interviewees. These multi-level tourism organisations, especially the ones at the regional and sub-regional levels, were criticised as "unnecessarily duplicated publicly funded bodies and therefore a potential waste of public money" (a visitor attraction chief executive). An interviewee in Newcastle criticised the overlapping marketing activities of ONE, NGI and the local authorities, as all these organisations tried to promote their territorial area on national and international stages. She stated

> "The RDA has responsibility for tourism and they have been spending what must
> be millions of pounds on image campaigns. Their image campaign focuses on
> 'Passionate people, Passionate places'. Then you have got local authorities who
> do some advertising. It tends to be directed at economic development rather than
> image building type activity. Then you have NGI, which is principally a marketing
> body which is there to highlight the delights of NewcastleGateshead".

A senior museum officer argued that there was confusion between the roles of One North East, Tourism Tyne and Wear and NGI, and about how they were different from one another. He said that

> "Things could be clearer. It is not always clear what the role of the Area Tourism
> Partnership is versus destination marketing, and tourism teams in the RDA.
> Sometimes those teams are not visible enough to the public. I think they need to
> be more visible and there is more work to be done".

In both case study areas, the sub-regional DMOs, Visit Manchester and NGI, had existed before the RDAs took the responsibility for tourism in 2003. The two DMOs had already been promoting their sub-regions nationally and internationally, and with the RDAs taking up their new responsibilities for tourism, they also started marketing their region nationally and internationally. The restructuring of tourism governance resulted in inevitable overlaps between the functions of the RDAs and sub-regional DMOs. A sub-regional tourism officer admitted that

"Because of the network, and the way it works, there is a certain level of duplication, the Area Tourism Partnership (ATP) duplicating the stuff that the local authorities want to do. The ATPs are undoubtedly duplicating stuff that are happening at the RDA level. With NewcastleGateshead, the particular problem was that NGI was also doing an excellent job internationally in terms of marketing and the RDA also chose to market internationally. Duplication on everything is kind of inevitable because of the nature of what you are dealing with and the players involved".

This multi-level structure of tourism governance gave more power, in other words, money and authority, to the regional and sub-regional tourism organisations in tourism policy-making, and left the local authorities with little support, and this caused tensions between them in both case study areas. Despite the fact that the local authorities did not have statutory responsibilities for tourism development and marketing, they were expected to take on these functions with very little financial support. A sub-regional tourism officer criticised the expectations of the RDAs for local authorities to invest and work on tourism provision as unrealistic because tourism was not a statutory responsibility and therefore not a priority of local authorities. She stated that

"The other thing the RDA is slightly guilty of is saying 'oh, we attract people, we attract people here and we can do this', and then 'oh, it is up to local authorities to make sure the street is clean and the beach is clean or people couldn't find their way around or provide tourism information provision'. There is almost a bit of disconnection between what the RDA says is the role of a local authority and what actually a local authority delivers because of tourism being a low priority, not statutory. It is not something like school dinners, hospitals or anything else".

The local authorities argued that there should be more support for tourism development at the local level. A local authority councillor implied that the organisations at the regional and sub-regional levels were wasting government resources with their overlapping strategic functions, while the local authorities, which actually directly provided tourism products and services, received no support. He argued that

"There are too many levels of institutions involved in tourism. You have the national institutions, set policies, you then have the RDA, which sets the regional policy. 30-40 people all doing policy, research and strategy, not delivering any tourists. Then you have the Area Tourism Partnership. In the case of Tyne and Wear, we have been very economical. By grafting on to the NGI, we delivered it more economically than anyone else. But it is still largely strategy and marketing. Then you get local government, who get very little government support, we have to do all the direct services for tourists. With all these agencies above us who don't do much. We have the tourist information centre, the signage, brochures, transport running between our different attractions, and so on. So my view is there are far too many organisations involved in tourism, and the one that does the most practical work, the local authorities, does get the least support in my view".

Some interviewees at the local level further argued that the role of the local authorities was overlooked in the multi-level tourism governance structure, and that there should be more recognition in terms of local government's role in tourism and more collaborative working between the organisations at the different regional levels. A local council officer said

"One of the issues that has been raised is the recognition of the importance of local authorities within the tourism structure, which may be to some extent has been over-shadowed or pushed down on the back of the new structure. I am certainly picking up on the concern that local authorities have about being more recognised in the structure, and a need for more joined-up working. So it is an issue on the back of the new structure we have got. As these things have gone through, some local authorities might think they have become second or third league partners, whereas they would regard themselves very much up there... with a very, very important valid role".

A councillor claimed that the local authorities' contribution to tourism was very important as they invested their limited budget to develop and maintain visitor offers in their urban centres and they deserved more power within the multi-level structure of tourism governance. He stated that

"I think we [local authorities] should be given far more powers than we have now. I think a lot of the money spent by the organisations that deal with strategies and so on, a lot of that money can be spent better by local authorities in providing better services. We, for example, could spend more money, if we have it, on signage in the city. ... We always have to balance resources between different budgets. Also of course the city of Newcastle is the regional capital and that involves additional costs. We spend a lot of money on running our theatres, we have to provide parking facilities for everybody who comes and visits the city, we have to make sure we have a strong retail offer and the

Council puts money directly into that. All of these support tourism. Tourism only exists if you have a really good quality environment. You need to treat your heritage sympathetically and make it easy and accessible to the people. You also need very good retail and restaurants, club and bar offers. The Council is the main body who is responsible for coordinating all of that. So I think the Council is the heart of tourism. If the Council neglects all those things, tourists will probably go elsewhere".

Another problem in the relationship between local authorities, and RDAs and DMOs in the case study areas was that the regional and sub-regional organisations worked on regional agendas, which did not always meet the needs of local authorities. The hierarchical ways of working and the lack of support for tourism at the local level meant that local authorities could not always take on opportunities to develop visitor offers at the local level. A local authority tourism officer asserted that there should be a bottom-up approach in tourism research and policy-making so that regional and national tourism strategies could better reflect local needs. She stated that

"It is very much chicken and egg, isn't it? As a region, our RDA wants statistics and research done, but they don't in sub-regions. From a local level, that is no good to me. I need to know what is happening specifically in Gateshead, not just in the Quayside. I need to know what is happening up in Derwent Valley and what the economy is like there. I think it is very, very difficult to find the funding to do additional work because you are paying into the partnership [NGI]. We do visitor research but the sample sizes aren't big enough to actually base any great decisions on. To me, national statistics need to be done from the local level and fed upward, not downwards. We need to know what the local authority needs, and then it goes to the next level, and then all meets together nationally, you can have some sort of baseline year on year".

According to the multi-level structure, the local authorities were supposed to work with the sub-regional DMOs, which acted as a link between them and the RDAs, rather than having direct contacts with the RDAs. However, it was claimed that, while the DMOs pushed regional tourism agendas down to the local level, they did not always represent local needs to the regional level. This was thought to be because they were heavily funded by the RDAs, and so were more likely to represent regional tourism approaches. A local authority tourism officer showed her frustration on the DMO's marketing approach by saying

"We go around and around that argument. But then as the RDA has proposed that approach so what can we say? Although we sponsor them [the DMO], they get the majority of their funding from the RDA. The RDA sponsors that, agrees

with that approach. They say this in their own strategy - this is the way we will work. We will hook people in using Manchester and it is up to us, who haven't got any money to get them to come out for us [local authorities]".

As implied in the above quote, the regional and sub-regional marketing campaigns usually promoted their (sub-)regions using core brands such as Manchester and NewcastleGateshead to attract visitors, and expected these visitors to then spread out to the rest of the region or they expected the local authorities to lead them out to their local areas. Some interviewees said that

> "In this region, the way we market is to attract and disperse. We use main brands, NewcastleGateshead, Durham, Hadrian's Wall, to pull people into the region, and then we are responsible for dispersing those visitors around the place. If you look at our pocket guide, it is all about NewcastleGateshead. But under topics of museums and galleries, we promote other attractions and that kind of thing." (a DMO officer)

> "We have to use those places and experiences which have the high profile in the market place currently, we have to do that. When we have done that we need to use visitor information to disperse these visits around the region." (an RDA officer)

However, this approach did not benefit everyone, and less centrally located local authorities claimed to experience real difficulties in attracting visitors to their areas, especially when they had very little resource to do so. A local authority tourism officer stated that

> "They use Manchester as a hook to bring people in, then people will see what else there is and come and look at it. We are lucky because this area is still perceived as being Manchester from a visitor perspective. So we sort of benefit from that in some ways. People further out don't get that benefit... Rochdale...They really feel that they don't particularly benefit from using Manchester as a hook. ... What we are here trying to do is trying to get people to come out and visit us. But it is hard!"

Other council officers added that such a centre-periphery marketing approach deterred the potential marketing and development of tourism products at the local level as the limited local resource for tourism was locked in DMO's marketing activities thus reducing the local authority's ability to work on tourism.

> "I think what is interesting with any partnership, certainly with NGI, is that it is where your funding actually goes. From a promotion and marketing point of view, really Gateshead and Newcastle Councils' funding is very much going into that. That is great, but then it limits the flexibility you can have as far as, if we

have that money, we might do a huge amount more on Gateshead Quays or Derwent Valley, for example. But the fact that funding and the resource go through NGI, then it does become a much wider package." (a council officer)

"From the destination point of view, the marketer's point of view, you would use your strongest icons. The difficulty is there is so much more here. But as marketers we look at the strongest brand. [As a result] Our countryside, and what we have got to offer, heritage and walks, aren't promoted particularly to any great strength." (a local authority tourism officer)

Another interviewee expressed his frustration at the hierarchical ways of working between the local authorities, the sub-regional DMOs and the RDAs, especially in bidding processes. He argued that

"I do think it is always very difficult for a local authority when responsibility is taken away from you. When access to funding is via a third party. I am never going to be comfortable with that because it is not very natural. ...I should have access to funds based on my ability to demonstrate to those people how good I am and that I can deliver. Whereas a blank piece of paper goes in with a list of projects, and that goes to Visit Manchester's short list, then it goes to the RDA, without me having the opportunity to stand up and say this is what it means to me, this is what I am passionate about it. I feel that I could have had much more funding if I had been at the table, in the trough in order to secure those funds. It means more to me. To others who aren't actively involved in the project, how can they be passionate about it?"

The relationships between the RDAs, the DMOs and the local authorities in relation to tourism development and marketing in the case study areas demonstrated that the concentration of resources at the regional and sub-regional levels caused tensions between them and the local authorities, while the latter were expected to provide visitor services and infrastructure despite the fact that tourism was a non-statutory function. The resource concentration allowed the RDAs and DMOs to push their agendas downwards, but such approaches did not always reflect the local tourism marketing and development needs.

6.4 Gaps in networks

6.4.1 Gaps between tourism marketing and development in the case study areas

While tourism network studies focus on the interactions between organisations involved in tourism policy-making in destinations, there has been little attention to any interaction gaps existing within such networks. In the case study areas, gaps were found between the sectoral activities of tourism marketing, tourism development and urban regeneration. The gap between tourism marketing and tourism development is discussed first, followed by the gap between tourism development and urban regeneration.

The tourism marketing/development gap existed between different organisations and also within organisations, in the case study areas. The gap was associated with the underlying perceptions about tourism marketing and tourism development, the market-oriented nature of physical development and intra-organisational structures and working cultures. Firstly, interviewees in the case study areas claimed that too much attention was given to destination marketing rather than to tourism product and infrastructure development. A sub-regional tourism officer argued that some organisations and people involved in tourism, especially the local authorities, did not regard tourism development as important compared to tourism marketing, and that they were simply interested in whether they received as much publicity as possible through their DMO's marketing activities. She said

> "People get upset about marketing all the time. But actually marketing is not really that important. If you get the place right, then people will come whether you market it or not. The emphasis placed on marketing, what features what, and what you talk about, is massively out of portion compared to the discussion around development. I think it is because marketing itself is so high profile. Whatever you do, it is a constant battle we have with our local authorities who paid money into this. They go 'oh, we are not into this, we haven't done this'. I can say 'yes, but we have provided you with X amount of research, we have supported X many of your businesses improving their quality, encouraging them to sell online...' But that is never seen as a credible alternative [to marketing]".

A local tourism officer added that marketing was a self-indulgent and self-satisfying activity for the people and organisations involved, and they tried to justify themselves by producing top-end marketing materials rather than paying attention to the real visitor experiences. He said that "Marketing has always been strange, sometimes I wonder whether we are trying to

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satisfy ourselves with very high quality documents pandering to our egos with beautiful text and photography more than actually getting to the customers".

Many interviewees criticised this imbalance of attention given to tourism marketing and tourism development, and they argued that tourism development and marketing needed to exist side by side, as illustrated in Figure 6.6. Some interviewees argued that visitors would not come to the destination, however good a marketing campaign is, if there was not a good product. At the same time, it was also highlighted that prior to tourism product development, there should be market research to ensure that there was a potential target market for a product, and the product development should be followed by marketing to attract the potential visitors.

Figure 6.6 Arguments for a better balance between tourism marketing and tourism development

"Marketing is a strange thing. A really good marketing person could describe hell in such a way that you would look forward to making that journey. That is the problem. ... marketing is one thing, about getting the right target audience who spend money. But at the end of the day, if you get the right target audience and you get them to a bad product, you are not going to get a repeat visit. There is too much money poured into marketing." (a local authority tourism officer)

"Marketing is about delivering the promise. Development has to be right so the marketing delivers the promise." (an RDA officer)

"You know, it is not right or wrong, you merit both sides. You can't take an approach to physical development in which 'we are not going to do any marketing, we are going to stick to tourism development and in 10 years of time we are going to tell people about it' ,that would be ridiculous." (an RDA officer)

RDA tourism officers in the case study areas strongly argued that the role of the RDAs and the DMOs was not, and should not be, just concerned with marketing destinations, rather it was also about developing potential tourism products and destinations. A ONE tourism officer emphasised that the RDAs' role in tourism went beyond promoting currently high profile destinations, to developing and realising the tourism potential in less developed visitor destinations. He said "we are not just backing those currently strong in the market place. In turn, we have to help and assist, work and invest, so that in the areas currently without a high market profile that potential can be achieved".

A senior tourism officer of NWDA also emphasised that tourism organisations should provide full services covering both marketing and development, even though this was not always the case. He stated that

"I'm absolutely convinced with the idea that a tourism organisation has to be a full service organisation. So it is about marketing, it is about product development, it is about customer satisfaction, service delivery. You divorce the two, and you lose it. So in this instance marketing and product development absolutely has to be in hand in hand. I wouldn't say that it is the case in all tourism development".

The RDAs in the case study areas tried to expand their influence on tourism product and infrastructure development by providing funding and support for place shaping and business development projects, leading "joined-up working" with other organisations at the regional level, and encouraging the involvement of sub-regional DMOs in tourism development. Some interviewees (see Figure 6.7) recognised these attempts of the RDAs, although the perception was that the RDAs should do more for tourism development.

Figure 6.7 Interviewee perceptions of RDAs' involvement in tourism development

"ONE, to be fair to them, have tried to address that, have quite a lot of resource into place shaping, and business development and investment, that kind of shaping projects. ... But at the same time, they pour millions and millions into marketing" (a DMO officer)

"A has tried while he has been running things at NWDA. He has been trying to influence the product side as much as he could, but I think those conversations, and the joining up of that, doesn't happen as much as it should." (a museum director)

"The development side is more a public sector interest and more a public sector role. Area Tourism Partnerships are designed specifically not just to be destination marketing organisations, but destination development organisations. They deliver that responsibility primarily through preparation of area management plans, which set out not just how the destination is branded and marketed, but what actually needs to be happened in order to make them more attractive to visitors. I think actually that have been pretty successful so far. Early days, but I think they have made a good progress into that." (an RDA officer)

The RDAs had only a limited influence in tourism development in the case study areas because tourism development did not occur on its own, but as part of wider urban property development and regeneration. An RDA officer admitted that there were inevitable limitations in terms of what they could do as a public sector organisation for tourism development when the investment decision-making was fundamentally down to the market. While they highlighted the tourism development potential in their regional strategy, until the development opportunities arose from the market, the RDAs focused more on marketing the existing visitor destinations. He said

"There needs to be a balance in maintaining the promise made in marketing and how that is delivered by the physical experience. That is actually a tension I have

felt a lot through tourism policy. There are places which have aspirations and ambitions for tourism so they need to be marketed, and yet there isn't a lot of offer. At the moment we are capturing these potential developments as part of our tourism strategy, but we have to use those places and experiences which have the high profile in the market place currently, we have to do that. When we have done that we need to use visitor information to disperse visits around the region. That potential [for tourism development] is largely determined by market conditions and how much can be invested in an area".

Unlike the RDAs, the DMOs in the case study areas did not have the financial resources to initiate or support any physical tourism product or infrastructure development. As a result, NGI and Visit Manchester tended to get involved in marketing activities once a tourism product was established. This reflected the academic criticism that tourist boards, that were formed as public-private partnerships, experience 'an organisational separation of tourism marketing from much of the tourism planning and development activities and policy work' (Bramwell and Rawding, 1994: 430). In the case study areas, tourism product and infrastructure development was largely down to the local authorities and private sector developers, and the DMOs were seen as the "destination marketing organisations" (a Newcastle councillor) rather than as destination management organisations. A council regeneration officer claimed that

"NGI are more interested in how many hotels are here to do weekend breaks. They are working on what is already there. They have product that they are selling. We [the Council] are the people who are perhaps creating the product. I think the marketing people will use the product once it is created, so I think it is different perspectives".

The Chief Executive of Visit Manchester admitted that they had limited involvement in tourism development. He stated that

"I suppose this [MediaCityUK] is the first time we are involved at such an early stage. We tend to get involved once the attractions are built in terms of promoting them. The Lowry, we have been marketing since the day they opened, not before the day they opened, and it is similar for IWMN."

Another reason why the DMOs paid more attention to marketing in the case study areas was that their fee-paying private business members demanded a focus on destination marketing. An RDA officer argued that

"The thing most valued by the business community is collaborative marketing. 'How are you going to take my business to market, how are you going to help me

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to tell people in London that I'm here?' That is how you get compensation from businesses, and that is why tourist boards often had that [marketing] emphasis."

At the local level, the local authorities in the case study areas were involved both in tourism marketing and tourism development. They supported the sub-regional DMOs for destination marketing and also promoted the local attractions by themselves. The local authorities published leaflets for local visitor attractions and ran the TICs. Their involvement in tourism product and infrastructure development was through publishing planning documents, attracting and dealing with private sector developers, financially supporting cultural attractions and maintaining and improving local infrastructure, such as roads, signage systems and public transport.

However, the work of tourism teams or tourism officers in the local authorities varied from one authority to another, depending on the different intra-organisational structures of each council and where the tourism teams fitted into those structures. Some interviewees explained how across the country, tourism officers or teams sat in various different departments (see Figure 6.8). In the case study areas, tourism officers sat in departments, such as Marketing and Communications (Salford), Economic Development (Trafford), Culture, Libraries and Lifelong Learning (Newcastle), and Libraries and Arts (Gateshead). The work of tourism officers and teams in the local authorities therefore "depends on how the council wants their teams to be set up" (a Salford tourism officer). It was felt that they wore "a lot of different hats" (a Trafford tourism officer).

Figure 6.8 Various positions and roles of tourism officers in local authorities

"When you get down to local authority level, tourism sits with too many different services, it is not very joined up. You don't know whether it should be libraries and arts, development, or leisure and sports, I have heard of other bizarre areas of a council. ... I think it is very confusing." (a council tourism officer)

"Each local authority is different. Some are in education, some are in libraries, some are in economic development, some are in planning, I am in arts and events. I was previously in marketing. I have been in the Chief Executive [Directorate]." (a council tourism officer)

"We have five local authorities, the one in Newcastle has just been made redundant and now it is a culture, art and tourism post. So they added tourism into culture and art, but before that post was created, the post in Newcastle was very much about managing tourist information centres. In Gateshead, it is very much about business development and support and running tourist information centres. In North Tyneside it is all about delivering events for the local community, and in South Tyneside they just produce leaflets. And in Sunderland it is tourism development, it is big capital projects, making things, dealing with planners and all that, working with staff [in other Council departments]. But the tourism manager there also has responsibility for the coast, resort, and the life guards stuff." (a DMO officer)

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For example, in The Quays, Salford City Council had its tourism marketing team within the Marketing and Communication team under the Chief Executive Directorate. There were about 15 permanent members of staff, including the tourist information centre officers (a Salford tourism officer). On the other hand, Trafford MBC had their tourism officer within the Economic Development and Regeneration Department. There was only one tourism officer, excluding tourist information centre officers, who sat in the department and oversaw any tourism aspects of Trafford (a Trafford tourism officer). Therefore, the main activities of Salford tourism officers were marketing and promotion, whereas Trafford Council's tourism officer was inevitably involved in a lot of development activity.

A tourism officer in Salford Council emphasised that their remit was not tourism development, but promoting Salford as a visitor destination. This left a gap for the role of tourism development within the Council, and this caused confusion among other stakeholders involved in tourism. He said

> "That is what gets a little bit confusing for maybe some stakeholders who work with us, and people within the Council as well. They think we are the product development, tourism development. Obviously there are some areas we can get involved in and help out, but it is not really our remit".

The Trafford tourism officer had a very different job compared to the tourism officers in Salford Council, not only because she sat in a different department but also because she had to get involved in every aspect of tourism on her own as the single tourism officer in the Council. She stated that

> "I possibly get involved in many more different things than my opposite numbers in Salford. They are much more of a marketing team and don't really get involved in development things. I do because I am in Economic Development, not Marketing, that is where I sit. And there are not many of us, so I have to get involved … it is great for me, it is very interesting. But it also means you are spread very thin, and it is hard to do a good job on everything. … Because we are part of Economic Development, it is more and more about economic benefits and business support and regeneration. That is me. I do tourism, everything about tourism, literally from what marketing we do to the strategic stuff, commenting on our Local Development Framework, interacting with developers. There isn't enough of me to go around".

This diversity of tourism officers' roles and responsibilities was also found in Newcastle and Gateshead. Newcastle's tourism officer sat in Culture, Libraries and Lifelong Learning services under the Adult and Culture Services Directorate. At the time of the data collection,

Newcastle's tourism officer had just taken responsibility for tourism a couple of weeks previously, in addition to his role as the culture manager. He unfortunately could not tell how and to what extent the tourism team worked with other departments within the Council. However, he was involved in a lot of capital investment programmes in the city, such as developing and refurbishing theatres, dance spaces, galleries, and museums, and he had a lot of experience of working closely with planning officers and other stakeholders, such as the Arts Council.

Gateshead Council, like Trafford Council, had only one tourism officer in the Council and she worked in cooperation with different departments of the Council, depending on the projects she worked on. She described her job as

> "A lot of what we do around tourism is small business support, but we would
> work with the economic development team on funding packages, we'd work with
> ONE and the Area Tourism Partnership on funding packages, and would work
> together on white and brown signage to put a strategy in place. I'd work with the
> transport section in the Council on planning applications for small businesses and
> working with them to make sure they get it right on quality ensurance and all the
> basic things".

This diversity of job roles could be a barrier for local tourism officers to work together at sub-regional level because they all did different jobs within their local councils and did not always share the same interests or agendas. It caused difficulties for sub-regional DMOs when they tried to deliver sub-regional wide messages through the different local authorities. A sub-regional tourism officer said "they have all got totally separate roles and jobs, not necessarily the same with the agenda that I am trying to pursue though".

While the RDAs and DMOs in the case study area tried to influence both tourism development and marketing, separation between these two activities was found even within these organisations. This was mainly because tourism marketing and tourism development were seen as two separate activities which required people with different skills. An RDA tourism officer explained how

> "Physical development requires long-term planning, thinking and implementation,
> which ranges over a number of years. Marketing has a culture around here, which
> is quite responsive. Last year the recession hit. Our marketing team quite rightly
> had to think about tactics to address that, do special offers and all the rest of it. So
> that appeals to a certain skill set. There tends to also be a different focus,
> obviously people with marketing expertise are taking, presenting best possible
> offers, stories to consumer. On the physical development side, it is often about
> fixing some of the problems or providing some of the things visitors do
> experience in the first place. So it is very different".

Interestingly, the interviewees did not regard this separation between tourism marketing and tourism development to be problematic in the case study areas. Rather, they believed that it was important to leave these activities with people who had specific skills suitable for these activities. A local tourism officer, however, emphasised that it was very important for the two sets of people to communicate and work together through partnership working.

> "I don't think it is problematic because everybody has their own skill set. You have got to have people with specific skills. It is ensuring that flow of information, and you are communicating with all your partners. So you get your partners on board, and bring them along with you, rather than say we have done this. Because people tend to be more alienated when they are given a fait accompli. If that is like 'this is what we are looking at doing, what do you think, how does it fit with what you are doing'. It just works so much better. So I don't think it is an issue at all. You have to have the right people doing things".

Having different sets of people with different skills to deal with the separate marketing and development issues separately was not an issue as long as the two groups had cooperative and collaborative relationships. However, it was clearly problematic when there was a lack of communication and understanding between the two groups of people involved in tourism marketing and tourism development. In such cases, the different nature of the two activities was described as a "different language" (an RDA officer), and was considered to be a barrier for the two sets of people to work together and to create a gap between the two parties and activities.

A sub-regional tourism officer criticised the lack of communication between the tourism marketing and tourism development teams in their RDA. She argued that "I don't think they ever really talk to each other. You can see that very strongly in our RDA. The development team and marketing team are separate. A sits in the development, but the marketing team is run by a different person. They totally need to interact with each other". She went on to say that this gap also existed in her own organisation at the sub-regional level.

> "It is the same here. We employed someone about a year ago to manage our research, monitoring and evaluation. We had massive difficulties getting the marketing team to take a note of that and to actually think at the beginning of a marketing campaign that it needs to be researched so we can feed back into the destination and future campaigns. That cycle is very hard to get into the psyche of marketers".

At the local authority level, the collaboration between tourism officers and other officers from different council departments and local politicians was considered to be vital for tourism development and marketing. There were a number of departments responsible for different

services within the local authorities and the policies and plans made by these departments had both direct and indirect relevance to tourism. A senior culture officer in Salford Council argued that these various council departments should be involved in the making of tourism strategy. He said

> "What we haven't got in Salford is a tourism strategy. There is no body responsible for leading the development of tourism strategy for Salford as far as I'm aware. That is probably a key thing, there is an issue. There are various parts of the City Council that actually need to be involved in the development of tourism strategy. The fact that we have got tourism marketing in the Chief Executive Directorate, culture and sports in Community and Social Care, for me isn't a particular issue. We have got Sustainable Regeneration, Economic Development, they also do a lot of countryside stuff, we have got Environmental Services running country parks. The fact that the roles and functions are dispersed across the Council isn't per se a problem provided that there is some sort of framework that the Council and others agreed to for tourism holding it together".

A local authority tourism officer described how a tourism officer's job was difficult because tourism crossed over so many different policy domains and departments within the council. She said that "It is a quite difficult role because tourism crosses over so many areas of local authorities. It is about building those relationships within the local authority, so that you get the support and you are able to work as well as you can". Another interviewee argued that local authority tourism officers should be flexible and adaptable so that they could work with many different departments within the council. He stated that "It doesn't really matter where you are. What is important is that there is belief in what you are doing, and flexibility to work across departments because really a tourism officer crosses all those departments for education, lifelong learning, environment, health, licensing, economic development, investment, planning, recreation, events, libraries".

However, how and to what extent a tourism officer worked with other departments within a local authority was largely dependent on whether the local politicians and senior officers in other departments understood the importance of tourism and culture as a policy issue, and whether the structure and working culture of local authorities encouraged joined-up working between tourism and other departments of the council. This was again related to the fact that tourism was not a statutory function of a local authority and was not high on local authority agendas. A DMO officer argued that many local authorities did not regard tourism as an important policy issue, and tourism officers usually sat lower down on the management line and they did not have a say in the major development decision-making processes. She stated that

"The principle when the Area Tourism Partnerships were set up was that we go into the tourism team and then they disperse that information through local authorities. In reality, that doesn't really happen. a) because tourism is not very high on people's agendas, b) because tourism in terms of management is usually quite low down so they don't have the clout or ability to be able to influence other agendas".

A DMO chief executive stated that

"One of the challenges for tourism in local government is that often the tourism person is very low down and they are not necessarily hooked into some of the higher level development things going on. ... So this afternoon I am meeting a hotel developer, who probably has got £40 million to spend in the city. There has not been a tourism officer anywhere near that discussion. It is a discussion with property, economic development and regeneration, and ourselves as people who know the tourism market".

This left a gap between tourism officers and who actually made decisions about tourism-related development within a local authority. The intra-organisational gap between tourism marketing and tourism development was also found between people working at different levels within an organisation. Whereas development issues were dealt with by the directors or chief executives, marketing issues were dealt with by staff at a lower level. An example was found in The Quays, where a new partnership was developed to discuss issues around the development of MediaCityUK and the surrounding area. People involved in this new partnership were on a director or chief executive level of the key organisations, and they met separately to discuss development issues in the area (see Figure 6.9).

On the other hand, people who attended The Quays Partnership meetings were usually marketing officers from the member organisations, and with the exception of the tourism officer of Trafford Council who dealt with any tourism issues in the Council, they were not involved or even informed about this new partnership. The tourism officer confirmed that people involved in marketing were not involved in the development discussion which happened at the very senior level of organisations. She stated that

"Development people are usually higher up in the chain of the development. People like A, he is very much engaged in what's happening in terms of development of the museum. The marketing team works on it, when it goes out to consultation, things like that, but they are not involved in the nitty-gritty of what the nature of the development should be, or how that is going to funded. They are two different sets. You have access to these people and you know what is going on because you have got partnership".

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Figure 6.9 The intra-organisational gap between people involved in marketing and development

"We have yet to get to the stage where we are working on how that could happen. We just started a new Quays consortium on Monday with directors of different part components, and we are trying to push forward on that front." (a museum director)

"Our Centre Director A goes to these [development] meetings. He knows all about the development of MediaCityUK, things like that." (a shopping mall marketing officer)

"I'm not part of that [development partnership]. Is it a marketing committee or a development committee? It is probably at the chief executive level at this stage." (a marketing officer of The Lowry)

In short, there were several underlying issues around the gap between tourism marketing and development in the case study areas. Destination marketing attracted a lot more attention from the people and organisations involved than did tourism development. Destination marketing was dealt by the regional and sub-regional tourism organisations, and the local authorities to some extent. Marketing activities involved short-term planning and quick decision-making, whereas tourism development required long-term planning. The involvement of the RDAs and the DMOs had a limited role in tourism development as the decision-making for physical development and investment was largely down to the local authorities with other public sector support and the private sector developers. The two activities required people with different skill sets, and therefore the existence of the divide between them was thought to be natural. However, interviewees highlighted that there should be good communication and understanding between people involved in the two activities, as a successful destination requires a balance between the two activities.

The tourism marketing/development gap was also found within organisations in the case study areas. For example, tourism officers in the local authorities had a wide range of roles depending on the intra-organisational structure in their organisations. At the local authority level, the joined-up working with tourism and other council departments was essential to incorporate tourism agendas in the wider urban policy-making and planning. The gap also existed between people at different management levels. While the major development issues were discussed at a very senior level, marketing activities were dealt with by people at a lower level.

6.4.2 The gap between tourism and urban regeneration

Although tourism development accompanied urban regeneration processes in the case study areas, there was a gap between the people and organisations involved in tourism and those involved in urban regeneration. Urban regeneration generally took place in an opportunistic and uncertain market environment, and usually there was no coordinated way to involve tourism actors and organisations in the decision-making processes. Tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas happened partially by chance, although developers and organisations were well prepared to grasp these opportunities. Just as with the tourism marketing/development gap, there were also a number of underlying issues around the gap between tourism and urban regeneration.

Firstly, urban regeneration projects in the case study areas did not always have tourism aspects within them. Some regeneration projects in the case study areas were purely industrial, commercial and/or residential, and there were specialised developers who only dealt with such developments and who did not consider tourism or tourists at all. Chapter 5 showed that the developers' involvement in tourism development depended on their development portfolio and specialities based on high return/low risk investment. For example, The Peel Group had a wide range of businesses, and some of these, such as airports, shopping centres, leisure village and a conference centre, were directly and indirectly associated with tourism. Therefore, Peel understood the importance of leisure elements and the visitor economy in developing and regenerating the land they owned. The Chairman of the Salford URC claimed that the owner of Peel understood "the power of the visitor economy... far better than many people either in government or local authorities. He understands that sports, culture, shopping, beautiful places, beautiful environment are all part of the destination experience". On the other hand, Brixton, a major land owner and developer in Trafford Park, adjacent to The Quays, was solely specialised in industrial property development and "they are not interested in leisure and visitors really. They sell their land allocations related to more traditional businesses" (A Trafford tourism officer).

A chartered surveyor, who worked on various types of development, explained how his involvement in tourism and leisure altered depending on the particular project. He said

> "Recently, particularly with the conference centre, I feel as if I am more
> [involved in tourism development] now than I ever was. In my earlier days, when
> I worked with commercial developments, pure industrial and office-based
> commercial developments, I didn't feel that at all. I think the more I got involved
> in retail, the more this idea developed around kind of clone town environments

and to try to get a point of difference, and in that sense you do begin to feel like a tourist generator".

Secondly, urban regeneration processes in the case study areas were often unpredictable and opportunistic, and tourism development within the regeneration processes shared these qualities. There was a view that in an urban environment a visitor destination tended to develop more opportunistically rather than by intention or plans. A consultant claimed that "You can't do it by intent. You certainly can't do it through governmental processes by intent. I don't believe it would ever be possible to sit down and say 'we will make a tourist attraction' intentionally". An urban visitor destination is a collection of individual visitor attractions and amenities with linked infrastructure and services. A museum director claimed that "Tourism development, other than creating the infrastructure and linking, it doesn't exist in its own. It exists as a series of components which are built for their own reasons and which join together". This is more likely to be true in an urban context where space is built up and these visitor facilities were not always built as visitor facilities.

Visitor attractions or tourism businesses did not have much influence in urban regeneration decision-making processes because it was mainly down to the market and private sector investors, who were actually involved in the physical development of urban land. Established visitor attractions did not always know what was going to be built next to them, and they did not have a say in development of the urban area within which they were located, especially if it was a commercial development. A museum director said

> "It may look very glamorous spending hundreds of millions of pounds. But in
> terms of the next [regeneration] bit around, the next [regeneration] bit around in
> the area, you are at the bottom of the chain in terms of choices. We have lots of
> glamour, power and style in terms of what we have done, but as we [The Quays]
> expand 'oh, I don't know where that's coming from', 'I don't know who's got
> anything there.' We try very hard when somebody comes up with a very mad
> idea, so we say 'no way, you will destroy The Quays, you will ruin the brand'.
> We are trying to influence it. But it ultimately comes down to who has got the
> money with a reasonable idea at the right moment. ...So what we have to do is
> try and make sense of when an opportunity arises. When somebody steps
> forward, we should say 'you should use style, you should think about the brand
> The Quays'. Actually it is like throwing things in the air. That is the way
> regeneration works, you have to grasp very big opportunities on a very big scale
> very quickly. And that can lead you into some strange places in terms of
> components."

This was certainly the case in the development of The Quays as The Lowry, Lowry Outlet

Mall, and MediaCityUK were individually developed for their own reasons rather than according to a pre-existing grand vision to develop the area as a visitor destination. These developments demonstrated the frequently opportunistic nature of urban regeneration. An interviewee said "it is necessarily opportunistic because you have to able to seize the opportunities when they come".

In retrospect, it can be stated that the development of The Quays as the current destination started with the flagship development of The Lowry. The idea of building an international art gallery and theatre on Salford Quays was conceived among only a few people and partly by chance. One of those few people recalled that

> "In 1989 it was Peter Hunter who called me as soon as I got back and presented me a partially regenerated picture of the [Salford] Quays. On the end of Pier 8, Peter Hunter had superimposed the picture of Royal Albert Hall. I remember saying 'you have got to be crackers, opera house on the quays?' And they said, 'why not?' and that was the beginning of The Lowry. … It was a few years after that, that Salford rang me and said would I chair a little group to go for the Lottery money to build this international something or rather; they weren't at all sure what it was".

Lowry Outlet Mall provided an important retail offer in The Quays as there had been only few shops or restaurants available in the area before the MediaCityUK was developed, and the Mall attracted many coach trips and group visitors. However, the development of Lowry Outlet Mall was not intended either. At that time when The Lowry was being built, Salford Council was desperate to sell the land around The Lowry as they needed money to support the Lowry project, and a developer very timely came up to buy the land opposite The Lowry. An ex-Salford Council officer recalled that

> "There was never going to be enough money to make this [the Lowry project] work unless we could find another developer to develop the rest of this site. And developers were saying that in order to get enough added value from this site, in order for them to provide significant amounts of funding for the development of The Lowry, there wasn't enough land. It would never work, under the current planning guidance and the only way this would work was if it was a mixed development including massive retail and a sky scraper building with blocks of flats. The problem was that we already had a planning principle for all these people who bought houses had based on, that nothing above 3 stories to be built here. And all of a sudden the Council grants itself a planning approval for it, after massive consultation by the way…"

Although The Lowry received financial benefit through a cross-subsidy from the shopping centre, this meant that the masterplan for The Lowry had to be changed and the

residential towers blocked the distant view of The Lowry. Some people from the Lowry project strongly advised the Council not to sell the land because they believed the land value would go up further in the near future, and the Council would be able to attract higher quality development than the shopping centre (A consultant). The decision made by Salford Council to sell the land might have been the best option available at that time, but the outcome, the Lowry Outlet Mall, was criticised by many interviewees for its poor quality and standard as illustrated in Figure 6.10. A property developer argued

> "No, it [the standard of the Outlet Mall] is seconds. It was a bit of a mistake, that shopping centre. It will look a more of mistake in few years [once MediaCityUK is established]. But you know these decisions are difficult. At that time they brought that forward, probably in the last recession when nothing was happening, they were under pressure to stimulate some activity and that was the best they could best at that time."

Figure 6.10 Criticism about the Lowry Outlet Mall

"I personally don't like that, the Lowry Outlet Mall - it is like post holocaust". (a councillor)

"I am not so sure about Lowry Outlet Mall really. I think that does struggle a bit in a way. I don't think it's got the retail brands they need to have". (a DMO chief executive)

"The best thing they could possibly do is knock down the bloody shopping centre. It is ghastly, really ghastly. I did wonder whether it would be for the long term benefit, they should bite the bullet and take it down. It is very poor. I think they know it now. I occasionally get word back, and people are increasingly saying, 'yes, you were right to try and stop it'. But being right in retrospect is no pleasure". (a consultant)

MediaCityUK development was also a case where Peel, the landowner and developer, grasped the development opportunity on their land. A director of Peel Media, who developed the MediaCityUK, explained how they got involved in the project. He said

> "It is very straightforward really. We received a letter from a firm of commercial agents in Manchester in 2005 simply asking whether we had a site for 300,000 sq. feet of office building. They didn't say who the potential tenant was. We, like about 20 other land owners, put our site forward. About three month later, we had an email from the Head of Property from the BBC saying 'you put your site forward and you are on a short list'. It was 10 or 15 sites at that time, and they invited us to submit some further information about what we could do. And it went on from there. We had already submitted a planning application for the whole site for commercial development. It hadn't been determined at that time, but we were able to as the process of the bid grew and we had adapted the submission we made for planning to the BBC's requirement. So, before we got selected as a preferred bid, we actually had the planning permission on our site.

That was through cooperation with the local authority, who, like us, knew that it is important to clear any planning huddle before the BBC made their final decision. We think that genuinely did help them to make the final decision."

A museum director in Trafford argued that urban regeneration in The Quays changed very quickly with the MediaCityUK development.

"MediaCityUK was not even upon plans three years ago. It was one of the possibilities. If they hadn't won the bid, if the Manchester city centre had won the bid, MediaCityUK would not be coming here. It changes as fast as that. It changes in six month. No regeneration I have ever seen has a clear plan that is stuck to. They all change all the time".

Thirdly, a tourism-related urban regeneration project involves a large number of people with a wide range of expertise and skills, such as a planner, architect, developer, and facility operators. This means that not everyone involved understands the tourism aspects of the project. People who build visitor and cultural attractions might not necessarily understand the nature of tourism business and of visitors, and at the same time people who run tourism businesses are not likely to have the appropriate knowledge to lead a construction programme. A museum director claimed that

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"The people creating infrastructure are not the people operating it. Obviously, when the bid document or masterplan is created, those things will come together. But when it starts to be built, they move apart again. You have got property developers building MediaCityUK, but they are not necessarily the people who understand tourism software and needs - what can be regarded as typical visits, tourism journey, what the visitor journey is going to be. They tend to bring specialists who work on that".

Tourism-related urban regeneration projects thus required people with different skills to work together in the case study areas. For example, ONE's tourism team worked with their in-house capital development team by exchanging their knowledge and expertise in tourism-related projects. An RDA tourism officer said

"We work jointly in capital development projects which have a culture and tourism element. We have some culture and tourism expertise, but we don't have the expertise we need which you have in a capital development team around quantity surveying, contracting and mediation... We don't really know the details of bricks and mortar. If a proposal comes to us, we work with them and develop a project together. .... all these things have different technical expertise going in. So when someone said 'we are going to rebuild

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our visitor centre or extension', we must work with the capital development
team, so we know the cost... But at the same time we have to give them an
idea what the building is for, delivered to visitors".

As a regeneration project progresses, it requires different skill sets, and therefore it is very important to find the right people with the right skills at different stages of development. A cultural attraction director explained how the people involved in the project changed since they had won the funding. He said "basically there was one team that essentially raised all the money. When they got the money, a new team made that happen. They did a great job in raising the money, but they weren't the best people to run it".

Tourism development and urban regeneration professionals also had different ways of doing things, which were again associated with the opportunistic nature of urban regeneration projects. An RDA officer stated that

"There are slightly different cultures in teams. Our tourism team has a strong
planning and strategic mind set about what is the right thing that should happen
here. I think regeneration teams, nationally not just ONE, they tend to have a
mind set, which is very pragmatic 'right, there is better we can do with this
place but we just couldn't do it'. And, of course, there are some of the cultural
differences you get from marketing professionals and development professionals.
It is quite complicated."

Urban regeneration occurred opportunistically by nature, and developers and local authorities in the case study areas had to grasp the opportunities as they arose and had to make pragmatic decisions. Tourism organisations at the regional and sub-regional levels had an inevitably limited role in urban regeneration in the case study areas because some urban regeneration projects did not include tourism elements at all, and even if there was a tourism aspect, the organisations did not have control over the development as the decision-making was largely down to the local authorities and private investors.

Despite these limitations, there were still a couple of ways through which tourism organisations at the regional and sub-regional levels tried to extend their influence in planning and decision-making processes of urban regeneration. The RDAs and DMOs tried to help investors and developers to understand the potential tourist market in their regions, and to attract the investment to their regions, by providing market research. RDA tourism officers emphasised that

"Marketing isn't just about the selling, it is also about encouraging those who
are going to develop the visible development to make sure there is a market
then. If you built something that people don't want to see, no matter what you
sell, they will never come. So marketing have to inform the developers that

there is potential for those products. I am dead against anything that splits marketing off from development. Absolutely, completely dead against that".

"We have worked hard on improving market intelligence, evidence for guiding investment. Particularly about market trends and target markets, because there has been a tendency sometimes all over the UK for the public sector to invest sometimes not clearly with who it is in mind. If it is an issue to bring expertise together, that is something we have worked hard to do to make it clear who are the visitors throughout the region and what they need in terms of experience".

The DMOs also had a role to promote urban regeneration projects to potential investors. A senior officer of Visit Manchester stated that

"Branding is hugely, hugely important. We again as Visit Manchester and Marketing Manchester can take the marketing role on, and we are doing that within and across numbers of regeneration projects in Manchester. Apart from The Quays and MediaCityUK, we are also working with The Manchester Corridor and involved in the branding of that".

Unlike the regional and sub-regional tourism organisations, the local authorities in the case study areas were always involved in urban regeneration projects as their regeneration and planning officers regularly dealt with developers and landowners for the planning application and the planning permission was made by the authorities. Therefore it was again considered to be very important that the local politicians and officers understood the importance of tourism, and made planning decisions that helped their districts as a visitor destination. A local councillor highlighted that it was not a problem that people involved in tourism and urban regeneration were different in the local authority as long as people who made policies on urban regeneration recognised the tourism issues. He said

"They are different people, but people make decisions about urban regeneration fully aware of the importance of tourism. We would not take part in developing projects that would disadvantage our tourist offer. I don't think nowadays it is conceivable for people to say 'I am going to build a big factory at NewcastleGateshead Quayside' or something like that. As long as you are aware where your economic development is going to happen, then you can protect the areas that are important for your services, tourism and economy. And that is what we are doing".

However, incorporating tourism agendas into other public policy and planning issues of urban regeneration did not appear always to be easy. The lack of cross-departmental working and collaboration on tourism in the local authority was highlighted as an issue. Tourism-related urban

regeneration projects required good cross-departmental working relationships between different departments within a council. A DMO officer argued that collaboration should go beyond the local authorities and should involve private sector developers who actually invest and develop the area so that they understood the potential and importance of the visitor economy. She stated

> "I think it is very difficult to keep and infiltrate other agendas with tourism. We have strategies for tourism coming out of our ears. I am very much of the opinion that that isn't the best way to play it. What we need to be doing is making sure that tourism impacts on planning agendas and economic development agendas, and that the people that are forming those policies and strategies are thinking about the visitor and visitor experience. Not only with local authorities, but the same with developers. When they are developing buildings, working with local authorities to develop whatever that might be, that kind of commitment to visitors should always be there. That is hard. NGI does really a great job of ensuring that tourism and the profile of the city is reasonably high, especially in the politicians' minds. It is reasonably high on most people's agendas, but it is that cross cutting, cross local authority departments where politicians wouldn't necessarily make the connections and officers certainly wouldn't at this stage".

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined the interactions and relationships between the people and organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. It highlighted the relationships between the local authorities and the private developers, the collaborative and conflictual relationships between the local authorities, the conflicts between tourism organisations at the different territorial levels in relation to their resources and decision-making power.

The chapter furthermore highlighted the gaps between the different sectoral activities of tourism marketing, tourism development and urban regeneration in the case study areas. Such divides seemed inevitable as these activities required people and organisations with specific skills and resources, and there was no single organisation which could effectively deal with all the issues related to tourism and/or urban regeneration. The gaps demonstrated the need to involve more diverse actors with different expertise in tourism-related urban regeneration, and to encourage inter-organisational collaboration among them, especially not only between the public sector organisations but also between the public and private sectors. The next chapter highlights the relationships between structure and agency in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas.

Chapter 7 Structure-agency relations in tourism-related urban regeneration

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 demonstrated how and to what extent the changes in political economy at the macro-level affected tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. Chapter 6 then examined the interactions and relationships between different organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. The discussion was focused on policy network and inter-organisational relations at the meso-level. Now Chapter 7 moves on to investigate structure-agency relations in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. The chapter links the discussions at macro- and meso-level in the previous chapters to micro-level analysis by examining the roles of individuals and exploring the interactions between the different level analyses.

Firstly, it explores the extent to which the macro-political economy structure influenced individual lives, using the example of the Ordsall community in The Quays. It extends Objective 5.1 (to investigate how and to what extent changes in political economy, particularly the regulation mechanisms, influenced both the planning and development processes for tourism-related urban regeneration in the two case study areas) into the spheres of individual people and the community.

Secondly, it discusses the extent to which inter-organisational relations and intra-organisational structure impacted on individuals involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. This addresses Objective 5.2 (to explore how and to what extent the structural nature of the policy networks, the actors' institutional characteristics and their past experiences affected their participation in the policy networks and planning and development processes).

The chapter then turns its focus to the agency aspects of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas, and addresses study objectives 5.3 (to explore the role of individual actors in the planning and development processes and policy networks of tourism-related urban regeneration, and to investigate the extent to which individual actors exercised their agency within the decision-making processes) and 5.4 (to examine the extent to which the leadership of key influential individuals had impacts on tourism-related urban regeneration decision-making processes). This includes examining the roles and agency of influential actors in

the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration and also the impact of the personal characteristics and educational background of individual actors.

The last section of the chapter explores the complexity of structure-agency relations in tourism-related urban regeneration by examining the development of the Ouseburn Valley in NewcastleGateshead Quayside. It demonstrates how social structure and individual agency are intertwined and also how their interaction shapes tourism-related urban regeneration in the Valley.

The question of structure and agency relations is one of the most fundamental issues in social science as it determines how we see society and how we study the nature of social reality. In this study, Margaret Archer's (1995) morphogenetic approach (Figure 7.1) is used to explain the structure and agency relation. Archer (1995) refutes the ontological dualism of both collectivists and individualists as they prioritise one and elide the other. Her model focuses on the interaction and interrelationship between structure and agency, as the interrelations between these encourage the reproduction and transformation of the shape of society and, in turn, individual lives. Figure 7.1 shows Archer's morphogenetic framework, which was presented and explored in Chapter 2. This chapter takes each of the elements from T1 to T4 in turn to explain the impact of structure on individual lives (T1), how and to what extent the inter-organisational and inter-personal relationships influence individual organisational and individual actors (T2-T3), and finally how these interactions reproduce or transform social structure (T4).

Figure 7.1 The three-phase cycle of the morphogenetic approach
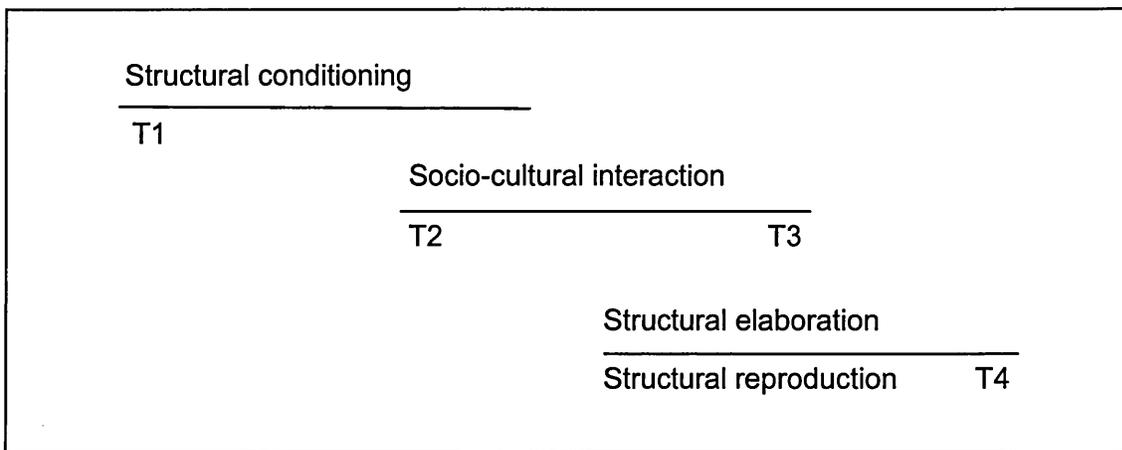
(Source: adapted from Archer,1995:157)

Judd and Parkinson (1990b) note that the 1980s studies of global restructuring described how the systemic forces in the international economy pushed older industrial cities into decline. They treated cities as 'helpless pawns of international corporate elites' and paid little attention to

'the role of human agency in accelerating, retarding, or reversing the processes of economic change' (Judd and Parkinson, 1990b:14). Such studies can be seen as dualist as they focused on structure and their analyses omit agency of individual actors. Using Archer's model, this chapter pursues a more complete picture of tourism-related urban regeneration by investigating the relations between structure and agency in the case study areas.

7.2 Structural conditioning (T1)

The structural conditioning (T1) phase relates to how pre-existing social conditions influence individual lives. 'As a result of past actions particular conditions emerge (for example, climate change, globalisation, the structure of political institutions). These conditions affect the interests people have – for example, in terms of jobs, educational opportunities and lifestyle. Action takes place within a set of pre-existing, structured conditions' (McAnulla, 2002:286).

During the 1970s and 1980s, the case study areas experienced the decline of traditional heavy manufacturing industries, and this change in macro-economic conditions had a great influence on individuals' lives. This was particularly apparent in the case of the Ordsall area of Salford, where the majority of the population relied on jobs at Manchester Docks (Struthers, 2003). However, the inner city of Salford had a long history of deprivation even before the closure of the Docks. An interviewee claimed that people who worked and lived in Salford did not share the benefits of the industrial revolution but lived in serious deprivation, which the 1931 hunger march by Salford's unemployed demonstrated (Working Class Movement Library, 2011). This interviewee stated that

> "Salford had been a place which inspired Marx and Engels to write Das Capital - poverty was that order of magnitude. It got the worst end of the industrial revolution and it didn't get the benefits. It got all the social deprivation and fall-out of people moving in from the countryside into jobs which were not particularly well-paid jobs. In many households there wasn't enough money to put food on the plate, there wasn't even enough clothes to clothe every member of the family. There were still hunger marches in Salford between the wars. It sounds incredible, but there were hunger marches. I met the leader of one of those hunger marches even when we were doing the Lowry; in the early stages, one of the leaders of the hunger marches was still alive. Quite remarkable".

An ex-Salford Council officer remembered that, even when Manchester Docks was in its heyday, people had to cope with a poor working and living environment. He stated that

"At the time we were dealing with Salford Quays [the 1980s], there was a lot of romantic rhetoric about the docks, about how wonderful the docks were, ships coming in from all over the world.... Yes, it was the time of great interest, but I would say that there was a very, very dark side of Salford Quays, which were then Manchester docks. There were some elements of obscene, long hours, dangerous and dirty jobs; unlike the modern quays you see today where everybody is protected by employment law..."

In the 1970s the docks rapidly declined due to containerisation and the increasing size of ships. This was also compounded by the shifts in trade patterns away from North America towards continental Europe, and the location of Manchester Docks in England's North West became a disadvantage (Struthers, 2003). Over 3,000 people in the docks lost their jobs, the area became derelict and the remaining docks were finally closed in 1982 (Salford City Council, 2008). The closure of the Docks left serious economic and social problems in the inner city areas of Salford. A large number of people were left unemployed for a long time, and social problems associated with education, health and crime became major issues in Ordsall ward, a neighbourhood adjacent to the old Manchester Docks. Even 35 years after the Docks were closed, Ordsall is one of the poorest wards in England and Wales (Salford City Council, 2010).

Although the local authority managed to regenerate the waterfront of Salford Quays and attract new population to the newly regenerated area, the long-established local communities did not feel that they had shared the benefits of the regeneration, and according to interviewees there was a clear tension between the old and new communities. A local resident argued that the lack of political action to tackle problems related to long-term unemployment and deprivation had led to political apathy among Ordsall's local residents.

"In Ordsall particularly, you have high unemployment with the closure of Salford docks. In some instances you are on the third generation of unemployment within a particular household, which creates apathy as a kind of social problem. In the early 90s, it was a high crime area, well, it is still... With that, if you look at political engagement, we had an election last year for the local Council, I think the turn-out was about 20% for those elections. So you have a great deal of apathy, and because of what I would argue is a history of neglect of Ordsall, they are very dubious of all the claims that are made about regeneration and redevelopment and about bringing money into the area. They don't really perceive the regeneration being for them".

This suggests that the community's past experiences had formed their negative perceptions about their local authority. A Salford University lecturer highlighted how the past experiences of poor consultation had left a strong sense of mistrust between the local communities and Salford Council. He stated that

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"Generally, the local communities don't trust the Council. That is the key issue. Because they have been burned in the past, they have been consulted but they feel that the consultations paid lip service to their views, but haven't really taken the views on board when they developed particular things. The Quays is included in that".

An ex-Salford Council officer criticised the Council for not having engaged the old-established community enough in the urban regeneration processes in the 1980s and 90s. He argued that the Council encouraged new housing development and brought a better-educated, better-off new population to The Quays, and in the process, the old community was isolated and their views were not listened to. He argued that the Council pursued quick and easy results rather than trying to tackle the real local problems.

"There was a lot about quick wins, picking the raw fruits - that was a problem at that time. It was about getting very, very quick wins in order to secure investments and government patronage in terms of future funding, rather than perhaps dealing more realistically with some of the grass-roots problems. ... I can certainly say, with a hand-on-heart, that there wasn't in my view enough going into engaging local communities. We had liaison groups with the local communities, but they were dominated by, as you would imagine the people who are more articulate. ... those who have low education attainment, low self-esteem, unemployed, nonetheless good people, meeting with the people in the same environment on a consultation, who are very articulate, well educated, have lot of fixed assets, lots of wealth, having a different life style.... It's almost the form of bullying by default because they have the skills to operate in public forums and get what they want. So these people [the old community] always were disadvantaged".

Another interviewee added that, even when the Council carried out consultations with the old community, the overall process was top-down and very few of the community perspectives were actually reflected in the planning processes. He asserted that

"The Council probably would argue that the local communities have had opportunities to be involved in planning processes with respect to the Quays. Yes, they can go along to planning meetings or public meetings, but the vast majority would never go there. It is seen as fairly exclusive. You may get community leaders voicing opinions, but you couldn't really argue that that has given the local community a voice in the planning process. And how far it has been fed back, how far they have been allowed, how far their views have been taken on board. OK, they have been consulted at some stage, to a certain extent, but I am not sure whether those views have been actually built in and they can see it through the process into the end design of

work... I am not aware of any sort of in-depth community consultation with issues like what the local communities would have liked to have on The Quays, that sort of thing. There has been a more top-down, lip service approach to it."

An Ordsall local resident who was interviewed argued that there had been "consultation fatigue" from the local authority, the social housing companies and nearby universities, and "people are sick of being interviewed about their area, what they think about the regeneration". The local community may have felt disappointed and angry that, despite so many consultations, nothing had been changed or done for them. Considering these pre-existing conditions, it is understandable why the local community felt antagonistic about the Council's regeneration approach and its claimed impacts to the local area.

Such hostile feelings were clearly revealed in an article published by the Salford Star, a community magazine. The article criticised how even The Lowry, which was often mentioned as the symbol of Salford Quays' regeneration, was not for the community, but for outsiders. The Salford Star took six local 'lads' to The Lowry who were wearing black tops with their hoods up and they were stopped by security staff. This magazine recorded and taped this incident, and it was clearly heard that the staff at the Lowry told the boys that they were not allowed to come in, and he said 'I don't have to give you a reason' for not letting them in (Salford Star, 2009). Figure 7.2 is an extract from the interview with the boys recorded by the Salford Star. Although this incident indicates more complex social problems, and it probably does not represent The Lowry's community relations, it is evident that the community magazine wanted to demonstrate how at least some of the local community felt about The Lowry.

Figure 7.2 'Sunday afternoon at The Lowry'

Afterwards, the Star spoke to the six lads again about their experience.
Josh: I knew they were going to kick us out straight away, because we are a local group.
Would you ever go back?
Carl: No, because it's rubbish
What did you think about the Lowry's attitude towards you?
Kane: It was really bad, just because we had our hoods on.
Rees: They said it wasn't open to the public and it was.
Do you get treated like that all the time?
Rees: It happens everywhere.
Do your parents pay council tax that funds The Lowry?
Carl: Yes - they shouldn't have to pay towards it if we're not allowed in.
Do you feel like you're discriminated against?
Anthony: Yes - just because we wear black ...

(Source: extracted from Salford Star, 2009)

Such antagonistic responses from the community were rather different from the views of people who were involved in the development of The Lowry. They believed that The Lowry brought not only significant benefits to the local economy but also inspiration and aspiration for local people. One interviewee even mentioned how they overcame the initial opposition of the local community, and won their votes. She recalled how

> "When we came up with the idea of The Lowry, local people naturally said 'hang on, we are very poor, we need jobs, we need roads, schools and houses. What would you go on and build an international arts centre for?' And we said, 'yes, we understand that, but this is potentially, if we get this right, this is a key to unlock opportunity'. And the Lottery money was not an offer for the kind of things they needed in any case. They were tough on us. They questioned us very hard, quite rightly. And they made us think hard, and reassess some of our ideas. But at the end of the day, we formed a partnership with the local community and they said, 'right, get on with it.' … The Lowry today will have brought in, in excess of a billion pounds of private sector investment and created indirectly something around 20-25 thousand jobs. Now, in fairness, not all of those jobs went to local people".

Another interviewee claimed that, even if the local community did not or could not get involved in cultural activity at The Lowry, it still benefitted the local community as it gave a landmark architectural inspiration to the people and the urban built environment that they lived in. In response to the story in the Salford Star, the interviewee stated that

> "It is a very interesting comment because it wasn't like that at the beginning. There was a very strong enthusiasm from the local community. I'd say from a cultural point of view… There is culture as participation in creative and intellectual activity. … But there is another layer of cultural activity which they are the beneficiaries of, even if they are not conscious of it. That is the built environment. … For the people that architecture [of The Lowry], the power of it, is not only enhancing in the sense of human spirit, but it is also enhancing because it is bringing in other buildings like the BBC next door. And that brings jobs, that brings money, that brings people who spend money, and so on and so on. So the local community, even if they are not participants in that traditional cultural insight, are nevertheless beneficiaries of cultural change in a wider sociological meaning".

These views by the people who led the Lowry project indicated that there was a significant gap between the views of the community and the decision-makers of urban regeneration. The regeneration of Salford Quays included housing development on the waterfront,

and this seemed to have worsened such community feelings about regeneration. Figure 7.3 shows that there was a significant difference in wealth between the regenerated waterfront of The Quays and the old communities in Ordsall. There seemed also to be a clear social segregation between the new community on Salford Quays and the old-established community in inner Ordsall. A local resident argued that "There is this kind of antagonism on the part of the old community against these new-comers coming in, changing the demographics".

Figure 7.3 Deprivation in the Ordsall ward, Salford

Salford City Council. Licence No. 100019737.2009

	Wards
	Within the 30-100% most deprived nationally
	Within the 20-30% most deprived nationally
	Within the 10-20% most deprived nationally
	Within the 7-10% most deprived nationally
	Within the 3-7% most deprived nationally

(Source: Index of Deprivation 2007, Department for Communities and Local Government, citied in Salford City Council, 2010)

In addition to the tension between the old and new communities, a Salford University lecturer argued that there was also tension between the local communities and visitors to The Quays. He argued that

"The local communities do feel excluded because of the nature of the
development on The Quays. Because they can't afford housing down there,
and they don't feel it has been for them. Even when they can go down and
they go into the outlet mall, but they wouldn't go naturally into The Lowry,
because it is a higher order of leisure activity I suppose. … Just the whole of
The Quays development … is for designing particular types of activities. Ok,
they [the local communities] can go down there, but it is almost like
unauthorised to them. Sometimes you go down there, you can see groups of
children from the local community, and the visitors keep away from them.
It is a collision of two different worlds really. They [the local communities]
don't feel they fit down there. Tourists and visitors don't really want them
there. It is almost a security issue when they are around, and it isn't a happy
marriage between two communities".

Some interviewees expressed concern that the new MediaCityUK development would
compound the segregation and social tension between the old community and the new
community in Salford. With the BBC and Salford University moving to MediaCityUK, Salford
hopes to attract the 'creative class', such as high-tech workers, artists and musicians (Florida,
2002). However, such a surge of this 'creative class' in the area will reinforce the sharp contrasts
with the old Ordsall community in The Quays. According to the lecturer,

"There is a part of the university moving down as well, which only
exacerbates the problem. It is an 'us and them' situation. It is because you
have got the flagship iconic development and the immediate surrounding
area is the poorer communities. They start to contrast each other, and that
highlights the problem. The local communities do feel they have been
excluded, and they don't feel that development is benefitting them
particularly. So I am not sure what the solution is, but perhaps more could
have been done to make sure more of the employment went to local people.
I am not sure if there was any deliberate policy in that way".

A local resident argued that people felt that the regeneration on Salford Quays was for
people from outside, and not for them. He stated that

"They [the Ordsall community] are quite antagonistic towards the whole
regeneration, especially claims made about job creation, economic impacts. ….
there is even a feeling in the local community that the only jobs created for the
locals are security guards or cleaning. There is no developing programme to
get people skilled to be tour guides or to be involved in more creative or high-
end work. It is development for people from outside. The local Council does
not really care whether development like this will provide jobs for the existing
community as long as they increase the number of jobs. People from outside
will come and get them. The Council gets the tax".

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The example of the Ordsall community illustrates the first phase of Structural Conditioning (T1) in Archer's model, and it indicates how strongly individual lives were influenced by the path-dependent and historical conditioning of the political economy structure. The closure of the Manchester Docks left generations of Ordsall residents unemployed, and it resulted in many related social problems. These long-term impacts of global economic restructuring showed the great extent to which pre-existing conditions affected people's lives in the case study area. The local community's mistrust and hostile attitudes towards the local government regeneration strategy was also conditioned by their past experiences of poor consultations and limited community involvement in the planning and policy-making for the urban regeneration of Salford Quays.

7.3 Socio-cultural interaction (T2-T3)

7.3.1 Inter-organisational interaction

While individuals are socially conditioned, this does not mean that they are determined by structure. The second phase of Social Interaction (T2-T3) therefore explores how individuals and groups of individuals interpret and respond to the social structure within which they interact on a daily basis. Individual agents are not passive animals but seekers after their own interests. They express 'their own irreducible emergent powers relating to intentionality, rationality, personal psychology, consciousness or unconsciousness' whilst socially conditioned (McAnulla, 2005:33). Individuals pursue their interests by engaging 'in processes of conflict and/or consensual negotiation with other agents' (McAnulla, 2002). Such negotiations and conflicts at the organisational level were demonstrated in Chapter 6. This section highlights the interactions between organisations and individuals analysed through a structure-agency perspective, and it focuses on the extent to which inter- and intra- organisational interactions have impacts on individual organisations and people, and how the personal agency and characteristics of individual actors have impacts on the inter-organisational interactions. Although organisations and individuals form networks to achieve common benefits, such networking and partnerships not only bring benefits and opportunities but also impose constraints on the actions of individual organisations and agents. This is because once the networks are established they too develop structural and regulatory characteristics which cannot be reduced to individual attributes.

The Quays Partnership was an example which showed the characteristics of structural constraints of a policy network. The Partnership operated on formal agreements between the members and each member organisation paid an annual fee to keep their member status. Any important issues were discussed and voted amongst the members and any organisations that wanted to join the Partnership must have been voted for by the existing members. Although these rules were established by the member organisations, each member became obligated to these rules once they were in place and they experienced the structural constraints imposed by them. The constraints were mainly based on the need to consult every member before making any decision.

Each member organisation sent their individual staff to attend the monthly Partnership meetings. These individuals sat at different levels of management in their own organisations and the majority of them did not have authority to make a decision on their own and they had to go back to consult their seniors. A general director of a hotel who frequently attended the partnership meeting showed frustration about the fact that the meetings were not attended by more senior managers who could actually make decisions there and then. He stated how

> "I find it a bit funny because there are no more senior managers there. It is
> senior management and that is why things sometimes don't get [done quickly]
> because we will say, 'let's do it' and then [other organisations will say] 'we'll have
> to go back and check'. I think there are wrong people at the partnership
> [meeting] but that is personal view… There is a case when sometimes there are
> people missing, oh yes, we will have to go back and check and I'm like 'just get
> on with that!' It's like the Christmas package we talked about. It is too late now.
> There should have been a decision made, if that doesn't happen, make it happen,
> and off we go! I get frustrated sometimes".

The individual staff who attended the meetings had different roles within the Partnership, such as group booking, social media, and budgeting. These were add-on roles to their daily jobs in their own organisations, so when there were changes in their workload or intra-organisational staff changes, this also had impacts on the partnership working in terms of the Partnership work allocation and completion. A Partnership member described how

> "Then someone in Mersey Ferry took over groups, but they were too busy, so
> now I and X do groups. We have only done it for a couple of months and I am
> going on my maternity leave soon, so I am not sure whether we are carrying on
> doing groups, whether X has too much work to do or maybe able to".

The need for further intra-organisational consultations and the impacts of intra-organisational changes were contributors to slow decision-making and follow-up actions within

the Partnership, and this sometimes resulted in missed marketing opportunities for the Partnership. A Partnership member showed his frustration about the slow decision-making and action-taking within the Partnership.

> "Because the amount of the time [taken] you'd meet one month, agree on something, then you meet a month later, and perhaps some had done the work, perhaps they hadn't depending on their time constraints. If they had, we all had to agree it, and in the following month you'd see proofs, and it could go on and on. This is ridiculous. So actual achievements, things like getting print organised, at one point, it took so long to get some print made, by the time it was there and ready, one of the partners had already left. So, it was already out of date".

While most interviewees highlighted the benefits of partnerships and collaboration, partnership working also imposed constraints on the individual member organisations and individual actors. Some of the challenges for individual organisations were related to the time-consuming nature of partnership working, and the varied values and interests of organisations within the policy network. Organisations in policy networks often had different priorities or expectations in terms of what they wanted to gain from the partnership. A Business Improvement District (BID) officer argued that because people had different priorities, coping with their daily workloads at the same time, it was not always easy to acquire timely support from other organisations.

> "It is probably getting other people to do things at the pace that we would like. Because our priority, we need other to people help us to do stuff. I might want something done tomorrow, and I ask you 'I need your help with such and such', and you say 'yes I will help you', but actually I am not going to give you that help because I am busy with my own work, it is going to take a couple of weeks. It is trying to sort of get people to work on our projects with the same energy and enthusiasm that we have got, and that practically does not always happen because people have got their own things to do and they have got their own priorities".

Partnership working was also said to be very time-consuming, and organisations often had to make a decision about which partnership they were going to invest their staff time in. Such a decision was down to the leaders and senior officers of individual organisations. A senior museum officer argued that he tried hard to identify the partnership which could bring real benefits to the organisation.

> "We try to be very clear about which one is worth it. We will not do things that are not worth it. We will say 'Keep us on the circulation list for minutes and

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copy and email us', but we are not going to come to these meeting because you can't be everywhere. You also have to decide what is relevant to your organisation. It might be something very interesting but may not be relevant. So we have to think where the benefit will come for our users, our organisation and our stakeholders".

Cultural institutions were often under pressure from partnership working as they had to interact with a large number of organisations at different geographical levels, and this required staff time and effort. A chief executive explained that

"If we look across the organisation, I mean we look at partnership immediately at the local, and the regional, national and international level. So that you have to keep the flag flying in all those areas, you can't just look at the region you are in. I would think between our senior team, [we are involved in] easily about 20-25 [partnerships]. Not all me, some of which take regular amounts of time, and some which don't really take much time at all. But, generally speaking, I try to keep the number down. If something is achieved at the end, that is fine. But, frequently these things just meet for the sake of meeting, I think. .... Everyone is talking about partnership and collaboration, and sometimes I think it is the process that is engaged in without necessarily thinking about the outcomes, because nobody wants to upset anybody".

Another Chief Executive of a cultural institution argued that it is necessary for organisations to seriously consider the values and culture of each other before they actually formed a partnership.

"We've had a couple of experiences which really brought us short about partnership working because of what you said, but also it is more fine grained than that. Partners don't always have the same values, expectations, outcomes, and ways of working. The cultures of organisations are different. All of those things you really need to understand before you enter into the partnership. I have learnt to ask serious questions: 'is this a right partnership for us?' It might seem like it, but let's ask all these rigorous questions. .... There are lots of positives for partnerships but sometime it is seen a panacea of goodness. But I don't think it is always is".

It was clear that inter-organisational interactions in the policy networks created constraints on the organisations and individual actors involved in the case study areas. Furthermore, individual people were bound to the organisation they worked for, and to the financial funders of their organisations, and thus they experienced intra-organisational constraints. It was not uncommon, for example, for the interviewees to try to avoid particularly sensitive issues related to their organisational policy during the interviews. Figure 7.4 illustrates some of

the responses to this. This was more apparent among people at lower levels of management and working in the quasi-public sector.

Figure 7.4 Organisational constraints and openness in interviews

"I can't talk about politics." (a national tourism organisation chief executive)

"I think you have to forgive me in a sense that you are talking to a, I'm a civil servant, I won't, can't say anything." (an RDA officer)

"this [question] is a dangerous one" (a DMO chief executive)

"I need to be careful here. ... That is my personal view, not the view of the organisations." (a DMO officer)

"I'm not allowed to say anything on that." (a cultural institution marketing officer)

"We are committed as a Council to certain ways of working and basically you just need to get on and do that." (a local authority officer)

"When you have to report to local authorities, get funds from the central government, you should be careful [in what you say]. I think we should be more frank." (a cultural institution chief executive)

It has been shown that inter-organisational interactions imposed constraints on individual organisations and actors. However, much of inter-organisational relationships were down to the interpersonal relationships between individual agents involved in the policy networks. The following section discusses the roles of individual actors and the extent to which their personal agency influenced the decision-making of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas.

7.3.2 Individual interactions

To understand the role of individual actors, interviewees were asked to name the most influential individuals in tourism-related urban regeneration decision-making processes. Although some interviewees named organisations rather than individuals, there were some people who were repeatedly named, such as local council leaders and chief executives, a chairman of a prominent property development company, and a chief executive of a destination management organisation. This section explores the roles and attributes of these influential individuals in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas.

Leadership was seen as one of the most essential requirements for successful urban regeneration in the case study areas by many interviewees. Judd and Parkinson (1990b:22) state that 'if we speak of the capacity of cities to respond to external threats or opportunities, we actually are referring to the success of local elites in projecting a coherent interpretation of a city's intentions and of its economic and political environment – in other words, its image'. Put simply, the capacity of a city to regenerate depends on the capacity of leaders. Their personal agency with ability to use resources around them can make a real difference in getting funding for regeneration projects and building relationships. The interviewees highlighted how the leaders had pivotal roles as they provided a vision for urban regeneration, brought different people and organisations together, and showed positive determination.

Visioning and Risk-taking

Local political leaders in the case study areas had very important roles in urban regeneration as they provided a vision and direction for urban regeneration, and at time they take great risks. Figure 7.5 shows some of the interviewees' responses on local political leadership.

Figure 7.5 Local political leadership and urban regeneration

"Salford was blessed, they were blessed with a few courageous and visionary, both councillors and officers, not a huge number but just enough. And they really were courageous and visionary, both. That is what made the differences. It is about the leadership." (A URC chairman)

"All this wouldn't have occurred had it not been for the Council's vision, forethought, hard work, incredible staff who would die for the city..." (an ex-Salford Council officer)

"I was around when we went through the whole Angel thing, and I heard how it was being dealt with. Quite clearly the reason the Angel happened was not least of all because we very much had members prepared to make a line." (a council officer)

Leach et al. (2005:4) identify four leadership tasks for local political leaders in England and Wales: 'maintaining a critical mass of political support', 'developing strategic policy direction', 'seeking to further leadership priorities outside the authority', and 'ensuring task accomplishment'. These tasks were observed in the political leadership of Gateshead Council through their regeneration approaches. The decision made by Gateshead Council not to join Tyne and Wear Development Corporation entailed real leadership and initiative as it was very risky to give up the investment of the Corporation. However, the Council was reluctant to lose the planning power and therefore the control of its land (Morgan, 2009). They were also concerned that possibly they would have ended up only with industrial uses on their quayside (Gateshead

Council, 2006). This had led to regeneration being slow on the Gateshead side of the Quayside, and in the late 1990s the difference between the two sides of the River Tyne was very acute. A local newspaper article described this contrast

> 'In the closing years of the 20th Century, as millions of pounds went into transforming the Quayside on Newcastle's side of the river, the difference between modern offices, flats and entertainment venues on that side with the hangover of old industry on the south side became increasingly stark' (The Journal, 2002).

However, 'Gateshead Council had an eye for the long game, which is generally an anathema in politics and equally had the self-confidence to go it alone' (Gateshead Council, 2006:15). The Council's culture-led regeneration strategy successfully achieved the creation of The Angel of the North in 1998, the Millennium Bridge in 2001, the BALTIC in 2002 and The Sage Gateshead in 2004 in Gateshead.

The Angel of the North did not take off without a struggle and controversy. It was a rather 'difficult birth' (Gateshead Post, 2000). When the design of the sculpture was announced, there was a huge protest against the project in the district. The councillors of the opposition Liberal Democrat party spearheaded a concerted campaign to block the project, and they collected a 4,000-name ('Stop the Statue') petition against it (The Northern Echo, 1996). They also called for a referendum, but the ruling Labour Party stood firm behind the project. It was very brave of the then political leaders of the Council as the issue could have impacted on electoral popularity. If the project had not been accepted so well, they could have failed to maintain their political support, which was the first task of local political leadership, as highlighted by Leach et al. (2005). The success of The Angel of the North gave confidence to the leaders of Gateshead Council and it showed their capability to lead such cultural projects to the funders of their future projects (NGI, 2009). Borrowing the terms of Leach et al. (2005) again, Gateshead Council developed a clear culture-led regeneration strategic direction, and it strengthened their position by successfully building The Angel of the North. Through the successful external networking with funding agencies they attracted further cultural investment to their side of the Tyne, and the ruling Labour Party maintained their political support within the district.

A chief executive of a cultural institution in Newcastle stated that the risk-taking culture-led regeneration approach of Gateshead Council also established a firm foothold for cultural investments in the region. He said

> "I would say also the leadership in Gateshead Council has probably over the last 20 years been the most important driver. Just because of their bravery and

resolve to do what they did, and I am constantly in awe and appreciation of what they did to build The Angel of the North, to not be part of Tyne and Wear Development Corporation, and to do things differently. I think they were immensely brave and immensely committed and single minded about what they were going to do and how they were going to do. I have immense admiration about what they did. If it weren't for them, we wouldn't have been here, even though we have nothing to do with them [Gateshead Council]. It actually upped the game and confidence around in investing in new and risky initiatives".

Bringing resources and people together

Leaders should have the personal drive and ability to bring in resources to achieve their regeneration objectives. There is no single actor who has the resource capacity or knowledge to act unilaterally (Kooiman, 1993) and tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas required collaboration between many different people and organisations. Organisations involved in collective action are dependent on one another, and they have to exchange resources and negotiate to establish common purposes in order to achieve the collective goals. 'Leadership capacity is affected by the skill with which leaders exploit the resources available to them. Those resources include such things as the strength and durability of the public and private sectors and political relations between them; the availability of national resources like money, goodwill and legislation; the local social structure, that is class relations, social solidarity, and entrepreneurial traditions' (Judd and Parkinson, 1990a:295).

One of the important roles of a leader in tourism-related urban regeneration is bringing different parties with varied, sometimes even conflicting, interests together, and persuading them to work as one. A chief executive of an urban regeneration company described her role as to bring people and resources together and persuade them that there was a benefit in working together. She stated that

"It [my role as a chair person] is about making deals, about having vision and showing leadership, and bringing parties together. Leadership is about getting people to work together. What I do is to bring people together, including both different individuals and different organisations. That is what the URC is, it is a deal maker. We have no powers of our own. We have no money of our own. We use other people's powers and other people's money. But we are successful because we persuade people to work together, to come together around a very exciting and business worthy end".

To bring the different organisations and individuals together for urban regeneration projects, leaders should be able to provide them with a clear vision and to make them see the

benefits of working together. Each party should be able see that there is something for them when they bring their resources and achieve synergy. A property consultant stated that leaders should be able to identify "a vision which will be successful and supported not only by your friends but also your enemies". Another interviewee highlighted that everyone in a partnership should feel that there is something for them, although it might be different for everyone. She stated that

> "It is about demonstrating, in any deal, everybody has got to walk away from it thinking they have got something worthwhile. A good deal means everybody feels they have got something worthwhile. Bad deals are where somebody feels let down, and they got the poor end of the bargain. Those are not good deals and they will never sustain. So good deals is where everybody feels they have got something out of it".

Determination and commitment

Another important aspect of leadership in tourism-related urban regeneration is determination and commitment. An ex-Salford Council regeneration officer recalled how determined a Labour councillor was when he put away the conflictual political ideology and negotiated with the then Conservative national government to acquire funding for the regeneration of Salford Quays. The interviewee recollected

> "He was an absolute grass-roots Labour councillor, when he met Michael Heseltine on this dock, when there was nothing there. He landed in a helicopter, and he came across and said 'Mr. A. what do you want?' and the councillor turned around to me and said 'bugger off, lad'. So I had to go away along with Heseltine's civil servants and other Council officials and the deal was done for £10 million. We had a Conservative government at the time. You imagine a grass-roots Labour councillor from the Labour heartlands being prepared to get in to bed with Conservatives in order to deliver for people in Salford a wonderful visionary scheme. The councillor said to me 'I would get in bed with the devil if it would make those people at that bus stop better off than they were last year'. Those were the words that stuck with me forever. You also have to look at what else was happening at that time. We had the Royal Ordinance factory closing, structural changes in engineering and chemicals [industries], we had the miners' strike… there were lots of other things happening. The Council stayed focused, it was determined to deliver this".

The determination of individuals was fundamental for successful regeneration as regeneration projects tended to take a very long time to complete in the case study areas. The Lowry took almost ten years from Salford Council developing an idea of having an international performing arts centre to completing the development. An interviewee who led The Lowry

project claimed that a leader of urban regeneration projects should be very determined so that they can provide a long-term vision and encourage and inspire people to work towards the vision, even when giving up seems easier. She said

"If I take it in my role, the biggest challenge is always to keep people focused on the big prize, because the temptation is to give up half way through or to take an easy route out, or to scale it back, or to cut corners, or simply to get dispirited. With these big projects, when you are trying to transform places, if you stop keeping that big vision in mind, you risk losing everything. Because you may, let me use an example, when we built the Lowry, if we had got cold feet half way through it, as we could very easily have done, or if we had scaled back to just build a sort of ok regional theatre, a) it would never have got funded, I don't think, but if it had by accident, it would have been bust inside in a year, being closed, shut, it would have been a lame duck. But keeping people focused on this big aspiration at a very difficult time, because in the early 1990s, we were still in recession up here, at a very, very difficult time, the key thing was to keep everybody focused on the big prize, and to say 'yes, we can do this, we really can do this, this is not being stupid. Yes, of course, we do risk assessments, we have to put feet firmly on the ground, but you have got to keep focused on the big prize and the big scale of ambition. That is the most challenging, but also the most rewording, part of my job, really".

A consultant argued that individuals who led flagship cultural regeneration projects should have great courage and determination to say 'no' to funders to maximise the potential of the project and accomplish the goals. He argued

"To get these projects through and make them work, you have to be very, very strong minded and clear sighted. That does require denial of the funders' demands on occasions. You have to be very, very strong, which means you need strong trust, a strong chairman, you have got to have people around prepared to stand together and say 'no, we are not going to do that, we think you are wrong'. That is not always easy because the funders make all kinds of threats. 'We won't give you the money.' So there is a big game to play, it is a tough game. I know that there are certain leaders of these projects who do it with tact and charm. I'm afraid I personally probably didn't possess either. I was rather more aggressive than that. But whatever, however you do it, you have to hold on to the project you have got, not allow it to become the funders' project. That is absolutely important. The principle we always came back to is 'we proposed this project and you said you would fund it. Now go way, because that is the project we are doing. So don't interfere in that'. Of course, it is full of tensions and difficulties. There is a need to be strong minded and single minded about it, whatever they ask for".

Determination and perseverance of individual leaders is very much needed in urban regeneration projects as the success of a project is often down to how they respond to the uncertainty and changes in the market. When MediaCityUK won the bid for BBC's move to the North in 2006, the timing of it was near to the last discussion about the level of licence fee between the BBC and the government. Having agreed on the move to Salford, BBC's Director General 'threatened to pull the plug on the move if the licence fee settlement was too low' (Butt, 2006). A Peel Holding's director said "the BBC were using the move to Salford to try to blackmail the government to increase the licence fee to pay for the move. A bit of politics we kept ourselves away from, that was between them and the government". However, the Chairman of Central Salford URC made it clear that they put a lot of effort to persuade the BBC and make the move happen. She stated that

> "After we won the bid for the BBC, we then found ourselves in the awful
> situation of the BBC saying 'well, unless we get the license fee settlement, we
> won't, we might not be able to build it'. So then I had to swing into action to
> ensure the BBC didn't go back on their word. I am not going to share with you
> how we did that. But we played quite dirty on that one. A lot of hard work went
> into making sure they went ahead with the deal. A lot of hard work".

Networking

Leaders also needed to develop and maintain networks with other organisations and leaders, as such networking and interactions were essential in tourism-related urban regeneration which required collaboration among a range of organisations and people. A senior local politician who had held a tourism portfolio within Newcastle Council stated that his role was networking and promoting tourism across many different parties. He argued that

> "Me personally as a councillor, I tried to act as a champion of tourism in the
> City Council to make sure people think it [tourism] is important, it is valued
> and understood. I tried to act as a link between the city Council and the other
> sectors, businesses sectors, restaurants, bars, hotels and retailers, all which
> benefit from tourism. They are the two main things: the linking job and the
> promotional job. Obviously, I wanted to promote Newcastle, but recently
> Newcastle is promoted in association with Gateshead. You have to promote
> your region as a whole so you have to be knowledgeable about the wider region.
> You can't just say 'I am only interested in my patch', otherwise you will find
> the areas just competing against each other quite wastefully. We know many
> people come to Newcastle, but they also spend time on the coast, and walk on
> the [Hadrian's] Wall. So, promoting Newcastle and also being knowledgeable
> about the wider region".

MediaCityUK development also showed the significance of the connections between a small number of individual leaders. An URC Chairman used her personal contact to persuade the chairman of Peel Holdings to take a risk with MediaCityUK.

> "Quite frankly, there are very few developers who would have listened to this idea of using the BBC as a catalyst and creating a globally significant MediaCity. I flew across my contact from MIT to come and make a private presentation to the Chairman of Peel Holdings, John Whittaker, and John saw the big idea and that is why we got the MediaCity. We could not have done it without John and he has taken a big risk! Because building the studios is a big risk and he had to do that to win the BBC. Ultimately you know, the vision was one thing, but you have to deliver all the other things. So they are a very unusual developer, they can be very controlling because as you said, they own the land, they have the money. Therefore, they can be very controlling, but the flip side of it is if you can persuade them that something is in their business interest they move like lightening and they do things very well. So once they have been persuaded that this concept was in their business interest, they were wonderful partners. Absolutely wonderful! … They kept their word and they have done everything they said they would do".

Then a small team of political leaders and the Chief Executive of Salford Council, the Chairman and Directors of Peel Holdings, the Chairman of Central Salford URC led the development of MediaCityUK and negotiated with the BBC for their move to MediaCityUK. The URC Chairman recalled that they worked very closely together to develop the vision for MediaCityUK and to persuade the BBC to move to Salford Quays. She said these few individuals had authority to give a go-ahead to the project and having these people contacted all the time was the key for winning the BBC contract. She recalled that

> "When we went to negotiate it, we were a very small team negotiating with the BBC; we were very, very 'can do'. So the BBC would say, 'we want X' and we as a team looking at each other, 'ok, fine'. … We literally crafted the whole vision for MediaCity in these offices with us all sitting around a big communal table. The guys from Peel, the Chief Executive [of Salford City Council] who was designated at that time, she hadn't even taken up the post at the City Council, and myself, and a couple of consultants we brought in to help us. We literally wrote it together and I would look across the table and say 'I think we should have whatever it is'. Director A from Peel Holdings would say 'do it', or pick up the phone to John Whittaker personally and say 'we need to do this, will you wear it?' and the answer will be 'do it'. Similarly, we had a hot line to the Leader of the Council on the other side as well. That enabled us to move very, very quickly. You couldn't do that with most developers".

As illustrated in the above quotes, many of these leadership qualities proposed by Leach et al. (2005) were shared by many leaders in politics, business, and cultural sectors in the case study areas. Their bravery, ability to provide a vision, capacity to utilise resources and power of persuasion and determination all contributed to the success of tourism-related urban regeneration. These were found to be central in winning public and private sector funding for the regeneration and in achieving the regeneration visions and goals in the case study areas.

7.3.3 Individual characteristics

In the case study areas, the personal characteristics and background of individual actors had a significant impact on the interactions between organisations within the policy networks for tourism-related urban regeneration. Such individual attributes included individuals' personal interests, personality, passion and commitment. An interviewee pointed out that, although an organisation is often treated as a single body, it should not be forgotten that there are a wide range of people in an organisation. He said

> "Well, the tendency is to, as I have been doing, refer to the Council as if they are a single body with a single view. Of course, they are made up of people of a vast range. Some are highly educated, very skillful, and some are completely pragmatic businessmen, some are absolutely dense and uneducated... So it is a big variety of people".

Personal interests

Individuals' personal interests were often associated with individuals' social, educational and career backgrounds. For example, a Chief Executive of a cultural attraction in Newcastle argued that how a person valued culture and art in their personal life had an impact on their decision-making at work. He argued that individual staff within ONE did not always value culture, and this resulted in a lack of their support for cultural development in the region. He stated that

> "In speeches, they will say they value it [culture]. Mainly these people are not very cultural people. They don't go to theatres, they don't go to concerts, plays, dances, they don't go to museums. It is often if they don't themselves value it in an ordinary day-to-day human domestic sense, it is quite hard to go to work and say this is terribly important. They might not buy expensive motor cars, but they can see the value of having a car plant in the region. It is

very obvious. The value of having a really great opera company isn't so obvious".

On the other hand, the Chief Executive of NGI was regarded as the opposite because he had a rich background in the cultural sector. He was a senior officer of the Arts Council and he had a significant role in developing and promoting NewcastleGateshead as a cultural destination.

"We work with NGI a lot, and they are very good. Interestingly, that is a very interesting example of the almost opposite of the ONE. It is run by a guy who used to be the Chief Executive of the Arts Council in this region. You could get a destination marketing agency chief executive who is just an ordinary place marketing guy. But because A has a culture background he absolutely sees the importance of culture when promoting NewcastleGateshead. I think, to be honest, that has had a lot to do with businesses getting investment together in the last ten years to do things. He has always been projecting NewcastleGateshead as a place with a strong cultural identity".

Passion and commitment

Passion and commitment are also very important individual characteristics in tourism-related urban regeneration. Many interviewees showed passion and commitment for their region and local areas, and had a belief in what they did. For example, people who worked in the non-profit sector demonstrated a strong belief in social justice, and this was clearly reflected in their career choice. A senior officer of a community charity believed that working in the third sector gave him more satisfaction than the commercial sector. He stated that

"I have been doing all sorts, youth training, co-operative development, disability organisation.... I saw this job and the culture and heritage aspects of it looked very fascinating, much more than a lot of other jobs. I like working in the third sector. I think it's much more rewarding. You get much more out of it than the normal commercial aspect, so I liked the work really".

Interviewees in cultural organisations showed a strong belief in the role of culture in not only physical regeneration but also social regeneration. They emphasised the importance of their outreach programmes in community development and education. A director of a museum argued that "I am absolutely committed to making the Tyne and Wear area and wider North East region successful. I have got something to contribute, and I believe in what I am part of".

A cultural organisation chief executive explained how he first connected with the arts when he was at school. He expressed a very strong feeling that he was trying to give back what he was given to the society and the young people. He recalled that

"So there is a huge amount of what I do and why I do this job by the day...
when I was about 16 in Doncaster, when a teacher put me on a mini-bus,
drove me from Doncaster to Leeds and took me to an art gallery when I didn't
even know where we were going. I walked into the building, by the time I left
that building a couple of hours later my life was completely transformed, and
every single day since it has affected me. And I reckon if that can happen to
me that can happen to anyone else. I used to feel I had been lucky, I had
connected with art. In this job I get to see 400-500 thousand people through
the door every year, I have got a chance to make an impact on their lives. It is
all a wonderful opportunity, so I suppose I have got to be a bit evangelical. I
feel like I am in a great position to share this passion, I've got all this facility
and I totally believe it is worthwhile".

Another Chief Executive of a cultural institution explained that she changed her career
path from planning to charity because she was very disappointed in planning as it was not what she
expected to be, a tool for social justice. She stated that

"When I started working in planning, we were almost at the end of 10 years
of Thatcher government, and the Conservatives during the 1980s had really
reduced planning powers with Development Corporations and so on. And I
think a lot of my learning, my choice to take a career in planning had been
[down to] probably a lot of academics in my geography first degree.
Planning had been a very exciting profession when it was formed by the
town and county planning act, recognition of impacts on environments,
social issues and creating opportunity. I think it had been very exciting in the
1960s and the 1970s with housing policy, and so on. I think that is what
inspired me, because I am an environmentalist. Natural environment and a
strong sense of social justice, the profession of town planning seemed to
bring these two passions I had together. I think what I experienced in the
town hall, in the civic centre, wasn't what I aspired the planning to be.
Regeneration did, subsequently initiatives like City Challenge and SRB.
Some people in planning found a real place in that. Some people didn't.
[You did] if you have that belief in involving people, in a regeneration
company from the bottom up. I thrived certainly in the 1990s in that
environment with colleagues. A holistic approach that regeneration has
about working in a very multidisciplinary way".

The above two quotes clearly show how someone's career and belief is shaped by their
educational background, in other words the pre-existing social structure (T1). They also illustrate
how individuals take opportunities and pursue their own paths to make a difference in the society
(T2-T3) hoping that the changes they make in return will help someone else's future (T4). The
latter quote also demonstrates how people react differently to structural changes. Some see such
changes as constraints, and others turned them into opportunities.

Individuals' personalities also had a significant impact on inter-organisational and/or inter-personal working relationships. For example, whether someone had positive thinking and a 'can do' attitude could make a big difference in achieving regeneration goals as regeneration projects often face uncertainty. An interviewee said that

> "If you are not a 'can do' personality, you can't do this sort of stuff [regeneration]. Many times I have been called mad, probably bad as well, but certainly mad. You have got to. People tend to be either that sort of people who think the glass is half full or half empty. I'm a half-full person. I can usually see the upside. That is what you need, because none of this stuff is easy. It is not. It is very difficult and very challenging. … It is a very real danger. If you have somebody who is just not very, has no vision perhaps, or is very controlling, only wants to do thing their way, it becomes very difficult".

A leader's personality can shape the culture or ways of doing things in an organisation. The Chief Executive of NGI was said to have had a very positive attitude, and this consequently developed a can-do culture in the organisation. A TTW officer said

> "I think what TTW and NGI does is they stop us talking about the kind of bureaucracy working in the public sector, it frees you from that a bit. The Chief Executive of NGI is also my Director. He is an incredibly positive person, he never says no. It is exhausting because he never says no (laughing). The organisation is one very much of 'can do', this can work, rather than my experience of working in other areas. I worked very much in the public sector. You always look at why you can't do something first, what is stopping something to be delivered, rather than the other way around. We, kind of, float in the middle of the local authorities and the private sector. We can afford a bit more of freedom and ability to deliver than we perhaps would be had we been based on local authorities".

The involvement of personal attributes made the inter-organisational working within policy networks more complicated because, although on the surface the interactions were formed between organisations, much of their interactions and relationships depended on personal relationships between individual members of these organisations. Many interviewees argued that good personal relationships were essential for successful partnership working. An interviewee said

> "Partnership is built on personal relationships. You get on well and find someone you kind of hit it off with, 'Yes! Yes! We can work together'. Different personality, people from different places, then there can be

completely different relationships. You find that with staff changing, all of
sudden what you thought was a match made in heaven turns a bit sour".

A property consultant said that when bringing different individuals together for an urban
regeneration project, it was essential to identify each individual's strengths and weaknesses, and
establish a team with people who could build strong and good personal relationships. He stated
that

> "It is very important in regeneration that you identify members of the team
> with strengths and weaknesses, develop a team in a way, a strong team with
> good relationships amongst its members. Again it comes down to human
> behaviour, human psychology, how to get the answer yes, by encouraging
> people to address issues [rather than telling them what to do]".

Other interviewees also emphasised that the personal relationships between individuals
were so important that when there was a problem at the personal level, the entire inter-
organisational relationships within the policy networks could suffer. A senior officer for a charity
argued that

> "It [individual personality] can make or break it. When you talk about good and
> bad partnerships, a lot of it is down to the key individuals as to how they
> behave and how they work with you. I think you can get people seriously
> blocked, be in positions with power and influence, they can stop you doing
> things and have a really big block on it".

A consultant described his experience of how a poor personal relationship caused serious
difficulties in a tourism-related urban regeneration project. He emphasised that the problem was
down to individuals, rather than the organisation they belonged to. He remembered that

> "We had different responses from the funding bodies. Some of them, I
> would say, Funder A were unhelpful. Although they awarded the money,
> during the project, and creating the vision for the project, they were quite
> obstructive. That is really to do with people who were allocated to the job,
> who regarded their power as officials as being of primary importance. These
> people were not collaborative. So it became quite adversarial. I played my
> part in that adversarial game. I was as adversarial as they were in the other
> direction, so it wasn't a happy relationship. … There was a famous occasion,
> where one of the consultants on the design construction process, came to
> me and said rather apologetically that I ought to know what he had been told,
> or what he overheard. He heard the people from Funder A in a recent
> meeting saying 'to go out and find the shit on the project'. It was part of an
> extremely aggressive attempt to dominate through bureaucracy. It was very

unpleasant. That is something I have said to them many times.... I think afterwards, after the project finished, bit by bit relationships, that knot, sort of untied itself. ... And then after it opened, slowly there were attempts by it to repair all this at a senior level. I think the people, the officers responsible, had been released from their work. It was a long and unpleasant thing, very difficult".

The personal characteristics and attributes of individual actors involved in policy networks had a considerable impact on the interactions between organisations both in a positive and negative way. This illustrates that policy networks and partnerships should be studied not only at an organisational level, but also at an individual level.

7.4 Structure and agency relations (T1-T4)

The previous sections in this chapter have focused on the impacts of structure and agency on one another in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. This section explores the three-phase cycle of structure and agency relations through the example of the regeneration of 'the Lower Ouseburn Valley' in Newcastle. The exploration of the last phase of Archer's (1995) model, Structural Reproduction (T4), firstly requires an investigation of the historical and spatial structural conditioning (T1) and socio-cultural interactions (T2-T3). The Lower Ouseburn Valley is thought to be a suitable example as it is a relatively well-defined area on NewcastleGateshead Quayside with specific and unique characteristics. This section examines the development and regeneration of the Valley in terms of how the industrial revolution and decline of heavy industries shaped the area (T1), how individuals and groups acted together for regeneration in the area (T2-T3), and the extent to which these actions transformed the social structure (T4).

The Lower Ouseburn Valley (Figure 7.6) is located on the East Quayside of Newcastle, just two miles east of Newcastle city centre, and a 10 minute walk from Gateshead Millennium Bridge on the Quayside. With a rich heritage and unique landscape, the valley is home to many visitor attractions, such as Ouseburn Farm, Stepney Bank Stables, Victoria Tunnel, Seven Stories and many workshops and galleries such as The Biscuit Factory and 36 Lime Street.

Figure 7.6 Tourist map of the Lower Ouseburn Valley
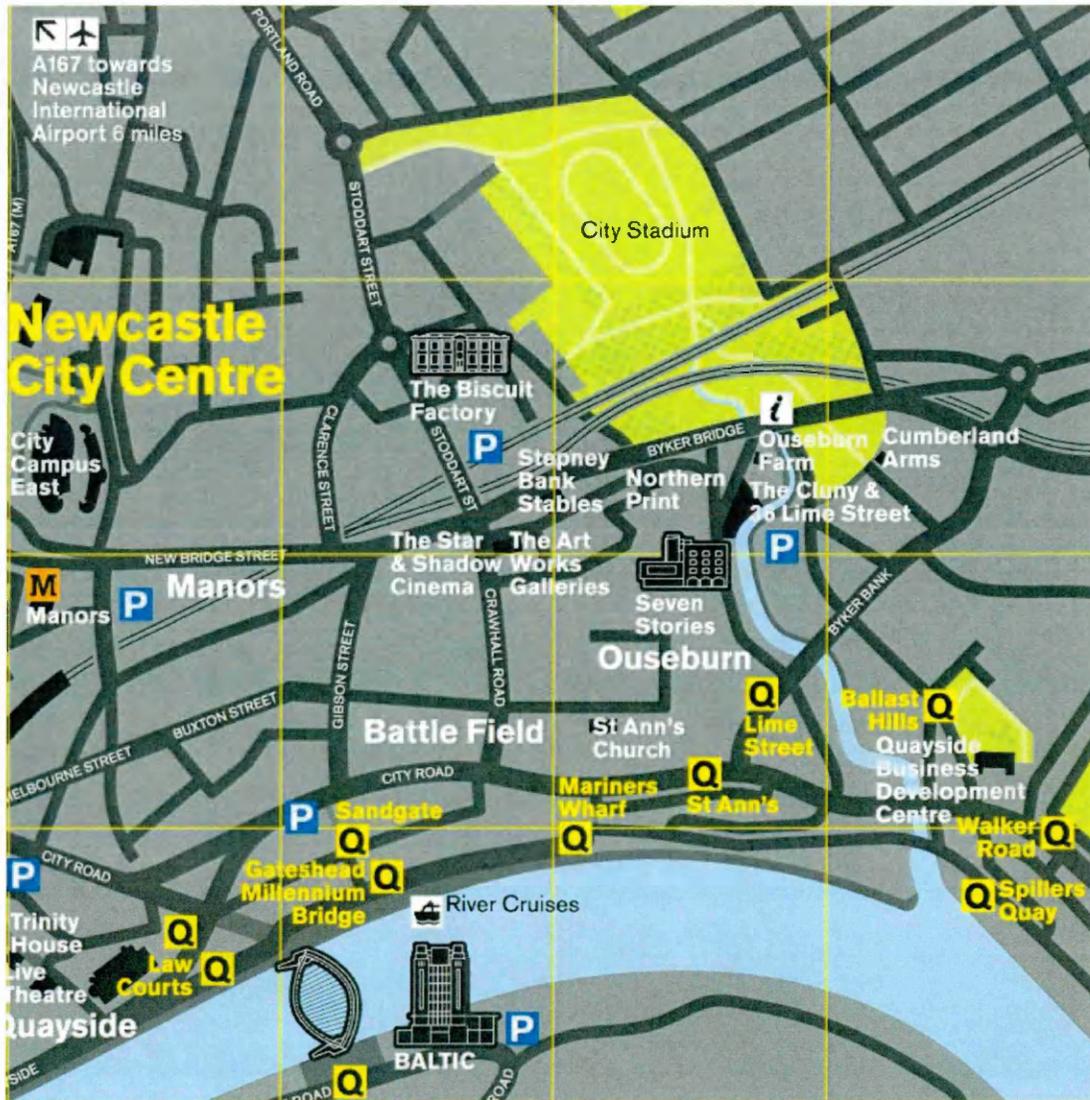
(Source: adapted from Newcastle Gateshead Initiative, 2010)

7.4.1 Structural conditioning (T1)

The industrial development of the Lower Ouseburn Valley was heavily influenced by the dominant geographical feature, namely the River Ouseburn. It was the River Ouseburn which made the Lower Ouseburn Valley's industrial development possible throughout the 17th to 19th centuries (NCC, 2005). The River is the longest and largest of Newcastle's watercourses, and it provided an effective transport route as well as a power source for many businesses in the Valley. The river's tidal nature and connection to the River Tyne allowed for the effective delivery of raw materials and export of the finished products for the businesses located in the valley (NCC, 2005). As a result, the Valley, which was originally agricultural land, became a hot spot for the industrial revolution. Starting from the glassmaking and mills in the 17th century, the Valley's industrial

commercial activity expanded to shipbuilding, masonry, tailors and shoemakers, along with an increasing population by the end of the 18th century (NCC, 2005). In the 19th century, the Valley was an industrial epicentre, with the development of lead works, iron foundries, paints, tanners, sawmills, corn mills, and flint mills. The interlinked nature of these businesses formed a trade network system within the Valley, and the Valley provided substantial employment and infrastructure to support the development of a self-contained community (NCC, 2005).

The decline of the Lower Ouseburn Valley resulted from improvements in the transport system. Due to the development of roads and rail networks, the significance of the River Ouseburn as a transport route became less prominent, and much of the traditional industry of the valley had become redundant by the end of the Second World War (NCC, 2005). During the 1940s and 1950s, the Valley experienced de-population and the majority of buildings were demolished in the 1960s. The heavy industry of the past was replaced by smaller businesses, mainly related to the car industry, arts and crafts workshops, redundant open spaces suitable for redevelopment, and green sites, with the Byker City Farm dominating the northern end of the valley (NCC, 2005).

Despite its proximity to the city centre, the valley did not receive much attention from the local authority and private developers, and the 1980's property development boom bypassed the area (Gonzalez and Vigar, 2008). Such disinterest consequently encouraged alternative uses of the redundant industrial buildings and sites throughout 1990s, such as live music pubs, arts and music studios (Gonzalez and Vigar, 2008). An interviewee argued that the derelict state of the area and lack of interest from the government and the market, meant urban land in the Lower Ouseburn Valley provided cheap working spaces for many artists within the city. She stated that

> "In the Ouseburn area, the creative sector has been important for the last 30 years. There aren't any projects in the Ouseburn Valley that have been strategically located here by policy makers, or people working on strategies in the local authority. There is place for that. The BALTIC and The Sage Gateshead are fantastic examples of that. But that wasn't what we have been in Ouseburn. Because what we have seen in Ouseburn is a very entrepreneurial culture, I think it reflects the nature of the place. An artist is looking for very, very cheap work space and they are not going to get a cheap work space in sexy, prime city centre location. It is going to be somewhere a little bit grubby, it sits by scrap dealers and car workshops, kind of dirty... not even industries, kind of firms all sitting next to each other. And it creates an interesting place to be. Pubs down here are real ale, if you look for live music, you come here. Musicians who are looking for a very, very cheap recording place [can find a place here]. I think that kind of thing created an exciting and interesting place to be. So subsequently working with the

Ouseburn Partnership, it was great programme, with festivals down here, because you have such a creative community".

7.4.2 Socio-cultural interaction (T2-T3)

The community's involvement in the regeneration of Lower Ouseburn Valley illustrated how the individuals reacted to the imposing social conditions by interacting and forming coalitions with one another. The regeneration process also demonstrated the intertwined relationships between the agency of individuals and the social structure, such as the political agendas and the economic and market conditions.

The Tyne and Wear Development Corporation (TWDC), established in 1987, played a very important role in regenerating the quayside of Newcastle. East Quayside of Newcastle, including the Lower Ouseburn Valley was identified as one of their flagship projects (TWDC, 1989). The Corporation's intention was to develop a mixed-use scheme with an emphasis on corporate office and residential development. 'East Quayside is an excellent location for high-quality corporate offices, and speciality shops are considered essential to generate activity and ensure the success of the site. Homes will be built in the area, using the waterfront to create an attractive place to live. Homes can be developed to the east and to the north, where scope exists to create a 'village' at Ouseburn.' (TWDC, 1989:53)

Facing TWDC's market-centred property-led regeneration approach, a group of local and church representatives realised that such regeneration projects could endanger the unique character and heritage of the Ouseburn Valley. This group established the East Quayside Group (EQG) in 1988, and the EQG promoted the values of sustainable development and small mixed use schemes against the TWDA's dominant emphasis on market-driven large property development (Gonzalez and Healey, 2005). A senior officer of Ouseburn Trust said

"A number of local people got together who didn't want the regeneration happening at the quayside, that sort of pulling everything down and rebuilding new stuff. They didn't want that to happen in Ouseburn. They wanted a bit more character. They wanted to preserve the best of what they could so a group of local people got together and set up the Ouseburn Trust".

In 1995, the EQG founded the 'Ouseburn Trust' as they felt the need to formalise their voice and gain legitimacy (Gonzalez and Vigar, 2008). This charitable trust developed a vision for the lower valley of the Ouseburn River involving local people and businesses in the decision-making processes for the future development of the area, while protecting the unique

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environment of the valley. In 1996, the Trust formed 'the Ouseburn Partnership' with Newcastle City Council to apply for its own Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), and it successfully received a SRB Round 3 grant in 1997 of £2.5 million (Gonzalez and Vigar, 2008). An Ouseburn Trust officer stated that, although the Ouseburn Partnership was unique as a voluntary-sector led SRB programme, it still had to work with Newcastle Council in the bidding process. He said

> "In order to secure SRB and to deliver that programme, the structure was you need to work in partnership with the Council. Well, various partnerships, but mostly with the Council, to apply for that type of money. But in this case, it was Ouseburn Trust who applied for the fund as a third sector charity organisation, which was quite different. ... The Trust took the initiative and the Council accepted the legal responsibility, should something go wrong, because they [the Council] have more resources. The people who gave the money away were quite happy with that".

Following the end of the Ouseburn Partnership and SRB (1997-2002), the Ouseburn Advisory Committee was formed in 2003, and Newcastle City Council published the 'Regeneration Strategy for Lower Ouseburn Valley'. During that period, the regeneration in Ouseburn Valley was funded by the Single Programme by ONE through Tyne and Wear Partnership. At the end of 2007, the Ouseburn Management Board and the Byker Ouseburn Project Board were formed (Gonzalez and Vigar, 2008).

The establishment of the EQG and Ouseburn Trust illustrate how individuals and groups of individuals responded to the pre-existing economic and political structure, and acted against the imposed constraints. The Ouseburn community created their own path and transformed the regeneration approach for the Lower Ouseburn Valley and attained the support of the local government and the RDA through subsequent funding processes and policy formulation.

The development of many visitor attractions in the Ouseburn Valley also illustrates the Socio-Cultural Interaction (T2-T3) phase. Visitor attractions such as Ouseburn Farm (previously City Farm), Stepney Bank Stables, and Ouseburn Heritage Group were all set up by individuals and groups of individuals who wanted to make a difference for their community. It could be said that Ouseburn had a history of bottom-up community involvement in the development and regeneration of the area. An interviewee stated that

> "The City Farm was founded in the 70s locally by people who were worried that their children won't get to the seaside or countryside. So again it was bottom up. So there was a need, there was a place down here and no one else was doing anything else, with it being landscaped and the City Farm was founded, similarly to Stepney Bank Stables, and similarly to the groups down here who appreciate our [the Valley's] industry heritage".

Seven Stories, the Centre for Children's Books, was opened as a flagship regeneration project in 2005. Seven Stories was also a bottom-up development project led by two individuals who had interests in children's literature. The Centre for Children's Books was founded by Mary Briggs and Elizabeth Hammill in 1996. Their goal was to set up an organisation that would not only offer exhibitions and activities related to children's literature, but would also develop a substantial archive of its own (CABE, 2010). The Chief Executive of Seven Stories stated that

> "In Ouseburn, it felt like a quite natural place to be because Seven Stories likewise [the City Farm], wasn't something that had been recognised. It was two women who said there was no institution in Britain doing this and we want to change that, we want to do something about it. So always pushing upwards and lobbying and so on".

The Chief Executive of the Seven Stories was deeply involved in the regeneration of the Ouseburn Valley, as she was the regeneration manager of the Ouseburn Partnership. It was she who introduced the founders of Seven Stories to the owners of the property they are now located in. She recalled that the owners of the Grade 2 Victorian warehouse very much welcomed the ideas of having a centre for children's literature. She stated that

> "I introduced Mary and Elizabeth to the owners of this building. Because I knew that the owners will probably be receptive to it being sold to something that had social purpose. I knew that they would be really against it being sold to some sort of capitalist game. They didn't want it to go housing. They had a very strong sense of social justice, particularly for education and children and young people. So there was a real fit with the owners of the building and the use of the building we proposed for it".

The building in which Seven Stories is housed had a long industrial and social history. The building was originally built to store flour in 1872 and used by various small businesses until the 1970s when the building fell into disrepair and was left derelict (Seven Stories, 2012). In 1982, the Workers Revolutionary Party purchased the building with the intention to develop a centre for education and young people. In 1988, parts of the building were restored and occupied by the Trade Union Printing Service (TUPS). TUPS was established by retrained miners and they specialised in printing labour movement and social history literature (Seven Stories, 2012). The TUPS had a very strong sense of social justice and were keen for it to be put to a new social use through Seven Stories (CABE, 2010).

7.4.3 Structural reproduction (T4)

The regeneration of the Lower Ouseburn Valley was accompanied by changes in the government's regeneration approaches, such as the encouragement of community involvement, sustainable development, and the creative industries. The importance of culture and tourism was recognised by both national and local government, as shown in the policy document extracts in Figure 7.7. The heritage and characteristics of Ouseburn were acknowledged by Newcastle City Council and it was designated as a conservation area in 2000. An interviewee argued that Ouseburn was very fortunate to meet the regeneration objectives of national and local government and this brought much investment for the regeneration in the valley to date. She said

> "If you look wider, the strategic commitment to regenerating Tyne, particularly
> in Newcastle and Gateshead, using culture has meant that places like Ouseburn
> can thrive because we are meeting a lot of objectives, so it is good for the
> Ouseburn Valley. And it has been quite a transformation over the last 10 years.
> Some of the small firms are still here. Some of the car repairers are still here.
> But some of the really dirty stuff that was pouring battery acid into the Valley
> when I started working here, burning things… those not good environmental
> businesses have gone. So the environment down here is much better, but I don't
> think the character of Ouseburn has changed".

An Ouseburn Trust officer argued that gaining the political support for the regeneration of the Valley was as important as achieving community involvement.

> "I don't think most people are bothered about it really. To be honest (laughing)
> some people absolutely thrive on it, some people love it. Other people find it a
> real bore and don't want to get involved. But the people who are activist just
> absolutely love it. So you have got to care of a bit of both. But you also have
> got to have the political backing as well. You can't completely disengage with
> the political processes because if you do, you don't get anywhere, you don't
> get the resources, you don't get the political support you need. If you don't
> have the political support then you really know about it because it gets a real
> uphill struggle. But if you get the backing of a few key individuals within the
> local authority, it makes such a difference".

Figure 7.7 The role of culture and tourism highlighted in the government documents

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2004), *Our Cities Are Back*
'Quality of life. Skilled workers and their families make informed choices about where they will live. ....distinctive environments, architecture, culture and housing options are successful in attracting a critical mass of highly qualified knowledge workers.' (p.15)
Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2004), *Culture at the heart of regeneration*
'Culture drives regeneration in many ways from inspiring landmark buildings through to reviving the decaying centres of market towns to bringing a community together around an arts event.' (p.5) 'Cultural regeneration can bring economic benefits by providing employment and generating revenue. It also attracts people and businesses. The economic and cultural well-being of an area can be assessed by measures such as inward investment, job creation, tourism, retention of graduates and increased property prices.' (p.6)
Department for Communities and Local Government (2006b) *Regeneration through culture, sport and tourism*
'Councils are being encouraged to adopt the more inclusive term culture rather than leisure in the strategic planning for regeneration. Culture includes: arts, media, sports, libraries, museums, parks, play, countryside, the built heritage, tourism and the creative industries. Culture, sport and tourism offer major opportunities for regeneration. Economically they are growth sectors and are part of the new economy based on services. They create jobs and wealth. Because they are growth sectors culture, sports and tourism are particularly beneficial to restructuring industrial and agricultural areas that are seeking to diversify their economic bases. The wider environmental benefits (new facilities, creative use of redundant space and buildings, and improved infrastructure) and image change (lively, animated and cosmopolitan ambience) can positively alter outsiders negative mental maps of post-industrial towns and cities and help reposition them as more attractive places for inward investment.'(p.4)
Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2011) *Government Tourism Policy*
'Boosts Regeneration... Tourism is a particularly effective vehicle for regenerating run-down neighbourhoods, using relatively small amounts of new investment to revitalise existing assets. ... in urban neighbourhoods it could be disused waterfront, iconic buildings or revitalised cultural venues such as museums and art galleries too. The leverage effect isn't limited to physical assets either – festivals and cultural connections can be equally powerful.' (p.12)

The regeneration of the Lower Ouseburn Valley demonstrated that structure and agency were intertwined and their interaction reproduced and transformed the local social condition. Although the author has attempted to separate the three phases in the analysis, it was to some extent arbitrary as the interaction between structure and agency occurs constantly and continuously, in keeping with the morphogenetic cycle of T1- T4.

The heritage and characteristics of the Lower Ouseburn Valley were protected to some extent as the community's interests lay in line with national, regional and local government regeneration strategies and policy objectives, especially with the cultural regeneration approach in NewcastleGateshead. They were also lucky because the property market turned out to be favourable for them. Ouseburn avoided the high-density housing development on the Council-owned land in the early 2000s not because the community won the battle or the Council accepted the community's view, but because at that time the housing market for flats fell due to the over-supply in city (Gonzalez and Vigar, 2008). Gonzalez and Vigar (2008) argued that it was a learning and co-opting process for the members of Ouseburn Trust as they had to learn how to speak to politicians and professionals in their engagement with the formal governance structure.

However, as seen in the past, governments' approach towards urban development and regeneration can always change, and there were in fact concerns about the future development of culture in the Valley and the wider Newcastle and Gateshead. Leaders of cultural institutions in NewcastleGateshead criticised that local government thought they had now "ticked the culture box" (a cultural institution chief executive) and tried to shift its regeneration focus to something else, in the case of Newcastle, to science. Many cultural organisations in Newcastle and Gateshead acknowledged that the national and local governments' investment in culture would cease in a recession.

> "The spotlight was on physical regeneration and it went on to cultural regeneration, and now the spotlight has gone onto science. And it goes around, depending on what is the flavour of month. At the moment science is very high on the agenda [in Newcastle]. ... I almost get the feeling that they have their days in the spotlight, and they need to be nurtured, because you can't give birth to these places and forget about them. There is a big question mark for future sustainability, and they have to be looked after and cherished. They get older and they are going to need cash - where it is going to come from? I really do not know. I don't think it has been thought through. But I think Newcastle is possibly more interested in its economic well-being, it has moved away from traditional industries, which were here for so long which when it went, it tore the guts out of the place. Previous recessions have been painful. The region has diversified, it has got the areas of excellence and I think this is where the emphases are now. The RDA's budget has been cut, but it has been increased to help businesses. Whether these cultural institutions would come under the orbit of businesses, I don't think so. I don't think so. To the priority given it is recession, it is going to be tough for a long time, it has to be on jobs, jobs and jobs".

The regeneration of the Lower Ouseburn Valley was favoured by the culture-led regeneration approach by the government. However, future support from the government is not

guaranteed and with market forces trying to penetrate the Valley with commercially viable developments, the nature of the future path for the regeneration of the Lower Ouseburn Valley cannot be predicted.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed how, and to what extent, structure and agency influenced each other through their intertwined relationships and continuous interactions. To the Ordsall community in The Quays, the decline of Manchester Docks still had a significant impact on individual people's lives. The lack of community involvement in the regeneration planning and development processes worsened the social tensions between the old-established Ordsall community and the newcomers to the waterfront area. The organisations in the case study areas formed policy networks or partnerships to achieve their own or shared objectives, but such inter-organisational interactions also brought constraints on the individual organisations and people.

Despite the constraints from the wider political economy and inter-organisational relationships, individual people had a significant influence on tourism-related urban regeneration through their personal attributes and agency. The leaders particularly had important roles in tourism-related urban regeneration as it was they who developed a vision for regeneration, took risky decisions, brought people and resources together through networking, and proceeded with the regeneration projects with determination.

The regeneration of the Lower Ouseburn Valley demonstrated the intertwined relationships between structure and agency. Social structure clearly had a significant impact on shaping the heritage and characteristics of the Valley, but individual agency had fought to protect such characteristics against the imposed constraints by the politics and markets.

It was very clear that people and organisations experienced constant changes within society and such changes were seen as part of their daily life. The interviewees were used to the structural changes and constraints imposed on them. At the time of the interviews, the 2010 general election of the UK national government was approaching. The interviewees' responses to the potential change of government were rather interesting because they were less worried about the government changes than about the anticipated subsequent spending cuts. A community charity officer argued that, while there were always political attempts to change, very often the fundamental issues did not change. He said

"They get renamed, re-jigged, or given a slightly different emphasis, the basic work is still there. Whatever people say, if you look back over the past, however many years, unemployment is still there and a core for all governments to react to, no matter who is in power. It just continues to be a core, there is always a core, of unemployed people. And that rises and falls a little bit. It is the same with a lot of other topics and subjects".

An RDA officer argued that he experienced many political changes and restructuring, and became accustomed to such changes. He said, "There is always a temptation to re-order, reorganise, and that happens. It is changing continuously. How things are arranged, and how organisations are constructed, that is always subject to political ebbs and flows and you, sort of, get used to it".

Structure and agency were intertwined and their relationship was multifaceted and relational in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. There was no individual person or organisation that could be completely independent from other people and organisations in society as their lives are inter-related with one another. Organisations and people that can be seen as agency at one time, can be seen as structure in other contexts. The following quote from an interviewee summarises this complicated relationship.

"They [local governments] have got to get the best economic consideration. They are governed by national legislation that says unless there is some particular good reason they can demonstrate why they are able to get less than the best economic value [for land they own], that is what they have got to go for. Sometimes it is hard to prove that case. We don't have all that, but we have got other things that sort of bound us though. We are bound by the Charity Commission, we have got to make the best use of our assets, we have got to be seen maximising our assets and maximising the return from that. Everybody is bound by somebody else. If you are a sole trader and you have got an overdraft, you are bound by the bank and what they say. I suppose everybody has got some strings. If you don't have any of these things you are bound by your customers and what they want. So your customers dictate to you. So there is always somebody else!"

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This study aimed to understand the people and organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in terms of their roles and relationships with one another in the planning and development processes. Two UK urban regeneration areas, The Quays and NewcastleGateshead Quayside, were chosen for the case studies. Both areas included significant tourism dimensions in their regeneration processes, and each of them involved two neighbouring local authorities in the planning and development processes. Therefore, the case study areas were appropriate to study the relationships between actors involved in tourism and those involved in urban regeneration and also the relationships between the authorities. The study employed three theoretical approaches: the regulation approach, the policy network approach and the structure-agency relations approach, to investigate the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas based on a critical realist research philosophy.

The previous three chapters discussed the empirical findings from the case studies in relation to each of the theoretical approaches. However, the attempted separation of the findings based on the three theories could be argued as arbitrary as the theories can only be fully understood when they are explained in relation to one another. Therefore, the purposes of this chapter are to further undertake cross-conceptual analysis between the empirical findings and the conceptual framework, and also to evaluate the value and contribution of this study to tourism knowledge.

The conclusion chapter starts by revisiting the study objectives to examine how they were addressed in this thesis. The key theoretical approaches and the conceptual framework are then reassessed in terms of how and to what extent they were utilised in this study. Next, it examines the key empirical findings of the research in relation to the conceptual framework and draws conclusion from them. The value and contribution of the framework are also highlighted in terms of its holistic, integrative and original nature for the study of tourism-related urban regeneration. Some reflections are also given on the limitations of the study and challenges faced during the study. Lastly, the chapter offers some recommendations for future tourism studies based on the theoretically-informed findings of this study.

8.2 Review of the study objectives

Figure 8.1 presents the six principal study objectives outlined in Chapter 1. Each chapter of this thesis addressed one or more of these objectives.

Figure 8.1 The study objectives

Objective 1 To review existing literature to identify issues associated with tourism and urban regeneration in the context of political economy.

Objective 2 To develop a conceptual framework which highlights the key issues identified through the literature review and to apply the framework to investigate practical case studies.

Objective 3 To understand how and to what extent different types of actors are involved in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas.

Objective 4 To understand the actor interactions and to explore the resource dependencies and power relations within the policy networks associated with tourism and urban regeneration in the case study areas.

Objective 5 To understand the structure-agency relations in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas.

Objective 6 To assess the practical application and value of the conceptual framework and the contribution of the study to tourism research.

Objective 1 (to review existing literature to identify issues associated with tourism and urban regeneration in the context of political economy) was addressed in the Chapter 2 Literature Review in which secondary literature on tourism and urban regeneration, the regulation approach, the policy network approach, and the structure-agency relations approach were examined. Through the literature review, the author explored the existing knowledge and understanding of tourism-related urban regeneration and she critically reviewed wider social and political literature to understand the political economy context within which tourism-related urban regeneration takes place. Objective 2 (to develop a conceptual framework which highlights the key issues identified through the literature review and to apply the framework to investigate practical case studies) was met in the Chapter 3 Conceptual Framework. The chapter explained how the theoretical approaches and concepts discussed in the literature review were further developed to address the study objectives. It also described how the conceptual framework had been evolved and refined during the study. Chapter 4 Methodology then demonstrated how the framework was applied to the practical case studies through the study design, data collection and analysis.

Objective 3 (to understand how and to what extent different types of actors are involved in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas) was explored in Chapter 5, where tourism development and urban regeneration in the case study areas were explained within the wider political economy and urban restructuring contexts using the regulation approach. The roles of the public and private sector organisations involved in tourism related urban regeneration were examined as non-market and market forces of the capitalist political economy. The role that tourism played in urban regeneration in the case study areas was also discussed through these different actors' perspectives. Objective 4 (to understand the actor interactions and to explore the resource dependencies and power relations within the policy networks associated with tourism and urban regeneration in the case study areas) was met in Chapter 6, where the key organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the two case study areas were identified and their interactions were presented both in network maps and more detailed analyses. The chapter highlighted the resource dependency and power relations between organisations through their collaborative and conflictual relationships. It also examined the actor and policy network gaps between the different sectoral activities of tourism marketing, tourism development and urban regeneration.

Objective 5 (to understand the structure-agency relations in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas) was addressed in Chapter 7, which discussed the relational and intertwined relations between structure and agency using Archer's morphogenetic approach. It also observed the impacts that structure and agency had on one another and on the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. The wider political economy environment and policy networks brought both structural constraints and opportunities to individual organisations and people. At the same time, the individual people facilitated personal agency to pursue their interests within such constraints and opportunities. Finally, the current chapter explores Objective 6 (to access the practical application and value of the conceptual framework, and the contribution of the study to tourism research).

8.3 The theoretical basis of the conceptual approach

8.3.1 The regulation approach

In this section, the three main theoretical approaches adopted in this study are revisited to highlight their application to this study, starting with the regulation approach. The application of

the regulation approach in the tourism literature is limited (Cornelissen, 2011; Shaw and Williams, 2004; Williams, 2004). The majority of literature on the political economy of tourism focuses on less developed economies, and even when the regulation approach is adopted, the focus is largely on the regime of accumulation, in terms of production, consumption and distribution of tourism products and services (Cornelissen, 2011). However, the usefulness of the regulation approach in tourism studies is potentially far wider than that of the regime of accumulation.

The regulation approach focuses on 'the complex interrelations, habits, political practices, and cultural forms that allows the highly dynamic and consequently unstable, capitalist system to acquire sufficient semblance of order to function coherently at least for a certain period of time' (Harvey, 1989b:122). The Regulationists argue that the capitalist economy can sustain and reproduce despite its inherent crisis tendency 'because the relationships between its elements are being regulated' (Painter, 2001:124). To stabilise an accumulation regime, it needs a mode (or process) of regulation, which is an ensemble of both economic and extra-economic institutional forms, social relations and networks, cultural norms and conventions (Jessop, 1997b). The application of the regulation approach in this study paid more attention to the mode of regulation rather than the regime of accumulation by examining the regulation mechanisms of the different tiers of government and their relations with private sector market actors, such as property developers.

Neoliberalism explains how and to what extent the alleged transition from Fordism to Post-Fordism, and the associated governmental regulation mechanisms, influenced the urban policies, specifically those relating to regeneration. The UK national government under the Thatcher administration in the 1980s took a neoliberal approach in order to deal with the problems caused by the shifts in global trade patterns and the decline and loss of traditional industries. They focused on dismantling the previous Keynesian welfare system, and they imposed fiscal austerity measures on local government (Peck and Tickell, 2002). The government's urban policies concentrated on the physical redevelopment of derelict land and property-led regeneration (Booth, 2005).

However, the neoliberal approach of the UK central government has had to be reconstituted in order to respond to its own disruptive, dysfunctional socio-political effects (Peck and Tickell, 2002). During the 1990s, urban policies highlighted the socio-political effects and contradictions produced by the previous neoliberal state intervention (Peck and Tickell, 2002) and a previous lack of community involvement (Jones and Ward, 2004). This shows that the neoliberal urban policies have been path-dependent and path-creative at the same time as the

policies have had to respond to conflicts and problems caused by the previous policies. They also create a path based on which the future urban policies are developed.

As the national state loses its power to control multinational money flows, the cities are now engaged in inter-place competition to win over international capital to their local areas. Cities try to maximise the attractiveness of their own locality by undercutting regulation and by providing a favourable environment for businesses, and by actively promoting their cities. In this process, a city's tourism-associated functions, such as its cultural and leisure offer, have become much more important in urban regeneration strategies as 'the city has to appear as an innovative, exciting, creative, and safe place to live or to visit, to play and consume in' (Harvey, 1989a:9).The regulation approach therefore helps to explain the contexts of urban regeneration in the case study areas, and the incorporation of tourism into the wider urban economic restructuring in the old industrial city regions.

The regulation approach is a structure-centred perspective which examines the macro political economy. This study adopted the regulation approach to a local level to understand how and to what extent the relationships between political and economic forces of capitalist society influenced tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. However, the approach has limitations in its ability to explain and analyse how people and organisations react to constraints imposed by the wider political economy, and in explaining how they maximise their opportunities by interacting with one another and deploying their limited resources. To explore the interactions and relationships between actors, this study adopted the policy network approach, which is revisited below.

8.3.2 The policy network approach

Accompanying the shift in the governmental regulation approach, there have also been significant changes in governance. The boundaries between and within the public and private sectors have become blurred (Stoker, 1998) and policy-making processes require interactions between multiple actors and organisations. Therefore, in order to understand the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration, it is necessary to investigate the interactions between the people and organisations involved. Both tourism and urban regeneration engage a large number of organisations with varied interests in the planning and development processes due to their complex and multidimensional nature. This study applied the policy network approach to investigate the interaction between organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas.

The policy network approach is frequently adopted in tourism studies in discussions of inter-organisational business networks and public-private sector policy networks (Dredge, 2006a). Despite its broad usage, there is no universal agreement on the definition and typology of policy networks, and this study therefore looked at these issues in a generic way. Benson (1982:148) defines a policy network as 'a cluster or complex of organisations connected to each other by resource dependencies and distinguished from other clusters or complexes by breaks in the structure of resource dependencies'. The policy network is regarded as an analytical concept or model to suggest the 'structural relationships, interdependencies and dynamics between actors in politics and policy-making' (Schneider, 1998, cited in Borzel, 1998:258). In this study, the term 'policy network' was used as a generic term to include all different kinds of interactions, such as partnerships, issue networks and policy communities.

This study treated a policy network as a link to connect the wider political economy environment and the spheres of individual people. It therefore shares commonalities with more dialectical policy network approaches (Evans, 2001; Marsh and Smith, 2000). Marsh and Smith (2000) explore the dialectical relationships between the policy networks and actors involved within the networks, between policy networks and the context within which the network exists, and between policy networks and policy outcomes. Evans (2001) adopts Benson's (1977) four principles of a dialectical analysis: social construction/production, totality, contradiction, and praxis. Evens (2001) argues that policy networks are the product of an on-going process of social and political construction, and a site of struggle between competing interests, which is intertwined with the broader systems of governance in complex ways.

As a meso-level concept, the policy network approach helped to understand the relationships between different organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. The approach helped to investigate the resource dependency and power relations between organisations in the case study areas. However, the policy network approach also had limitations in effectively exploring the role of individual people and their interaction with one another. For this, the structure-agency relations approach was adopted as reviewed below.

8.3.3 The structure-agency relation approach

The questions around structure-agency relations are fundamental in social science as they are closely related to the researchers' ontological, epistemological, and methodological positions. The structure-agency question basically concerns to 'what extent we as actors have the ability to shape our destiny as against the extent to which our lives are structured in ways out of our control;

the degree to which our fate is determined by external forces' (McAnulla, 2002:271). Traditional views on structure-agency relations, such as structuralism and intentionalism, give priority to either structure or agency, and fail to consider the other in studying society. Structuralists argue that structure constrains and determines agency, and individuals have no autonomous power to influence structure. On the other hand, intentionalists consider that structure only exists as an outcome of individual actions and it lacks autonomy (Hay, 1995)

More recently, social scientists pay attention to the interrelationships between structure and agency in order to overcome the ontological dualism presented by the above traditional views (McAnulla, 2002). Giddens (1984) argues that structure and agency are mutually dependent and internally related. However, this mutual constitution of structure and agency means that structure and agency cannot be examined within the same time frame, without temporarily ignoring one another, and therefore dualism still exists in Giddens' structuration theory (Archer, 1995; Hay, 1995; Jessop, 2005).

Jessop's (2005) strategic-relational approach and Archer's (1995) morphogenetic approach are based on critical realism. Critical realists believe that the existence of reality is beyond our knowledge and understanding, but they also believe that 'society is an open system and the one factor guarantees this openness is that social systems are consisted of people with reflexivity and creativity about any social context they face' (Archers, 1998:190). In other words, critical realists argue that structure and agency have a dialectical relation.

Among the two critical realist structure-agency relations approaches, this study chose Archer's (1995) morphogenetic framework for its practical applicability in this particular study. Her morphogenetic framework was based on two propositions, that 'the structure necessarily pre-dates the action(s) leading to its reproduction or transformation', and 'the structural elaboration necessarily post-dates the action sequences which gave rise to it' (1995:15).

Archer (1995) divides structure-agency interactions into three phases of 'social conditioning', 'socio-cultural interaction' and 'structural elaboration/reproduction'. The social conditioning phase is where the pre-existing structure exerts influence on current agents by constraining or facilitating the agents' action. The second phase, of socio-cultural interaction, is 'where prior structures are gradually transformed and new ones slowly elaborated' (Archer, 1995:157-158). Although actions taken by agents occur in the pre-existing conditions, individual and collective actors have capacity to influence the structure by trying to eradicate constraints imposed by structure, or to defend their favoured interests and maintain the structure. The last phase, of social elaboration, is where the current structural composition is modified and new ones are introduced. Structural elaboration restarts a new morphogenetic cycle by introducing a new set of conditional influences. Archer's morphogenetic approach incorporates time explicitly in

examining the inter-relations between social structure and individual agency through the three phases. This incorporation of time in the analysis of structure-agency relations meant that it was easier to apply to the practical case studies as it helped to break the analyses into the three phases in a more manageable way.

The debates around structure-agency relations are rarely found in the urban tourism literature. It is common to discuss the impacts of international political economy or the different organisations involved in policy networks in the tourism planning and policy-making literature. However, the agency of individuals or collective actors has gained little attention in this area. This study deployed the structure-agency relations approach in order to link the wider political economy (which was explored through the regulation approach), inter-organisational analysis (which was examined through the policy network approach), and the agency of individual actors.

8.4 Key Theoretically-informed findings

8.4.1 Theoretical development

The previous three chapters discussed the empirical findings of this study in relation to each of the three theoretical perspectives: the regulation approach, the policy network approach and the structure-agency relations approach. However, the attempted separation of the findings could not fully demonstrate the theoretical implication of this study. This section focuses on what the empirical findings tell tourism researchers about the three theoretical perspectives: the regulation approach, the policy network approach, and the structure-agency relations approach. It will discuss each theoretical perspective individually and then the three together.

The regulation approach offered a wider political economy perspective to understand tourism-related urban regeneration in this study. The regulation approach aims to understand how the capitalist economy is reproduced despite its crisis tendency through the mode of regulation. In this study, the regulation approach helped investigate how the changes in the wider political economy environment provided a condition and a need for tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. Tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas was a result of the changes in the global economy and the subsequent changes in the UK central government's regulation approach. By applying the regulation approach at the local levels to the case study areas, this study also demonstrated that the specific local and historical structural forms and institutional arrangements made an impact on tourism-related urban regeneration.

This study showed that the UK national government did not lose its power as in the conventional Regulationist argument of the transition from Fordism/Keynesianism to post-Fordism/Neoliberalism. Although the national government has devolved its authority to arms-length quangos and encouraged private sector involvement in the planning and policy-making processes, it still controlled the institutional structure and the public money flows. Therefore, the regional and local public organisations heavily relied on the national government for tourism-related urban regeneration. The study findings also demonstrated that tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas was subject to ever present, if hidden, changes in the market, and the mode/process of regulation could not always effectively regulate or stabilise market crises. Therefore, the conventional Regulationist suggestion of the transition from one stable and crisis-free stage to another equally stable stage could not be supported. The empirical findings showed that 'most of time, therefore, regulation is neither perfect nor wholly absent. Rather it is more or less effective, depending on the mix and interaction of the various factors involved' (Painter and Goodwin, 1995:341).

The policy network approach helped in examining the resource dependencies and power relations between the organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. The resource dependencies between the organisations were explored in terms of authority and money in this study, mainly between local authorities and private developers. The study also identified the cooperative and competitive relationships between local authorities, and the multi-level interactions between tourism organisations and the tensions between them around resource distribution, representing challenges in the inter-organisational interactions. The fragmented and multifaceted interactions and relationships between the organisations demonstrated that the simple typologies of policy networks cannot fully explain the nature of inter-organisational relationships. The study also highlighted the gaps between tourism marketing, tourism development and urban regeneration by focusing on the lack of interaction between and within the organisations involved in these activities. The study demonstrated that it is important to investigate any interaction gaps between the organisations and the reasons behind them in order to fully understand inter-organisational relationships. The findings of the study indicated that a policy network can be a useful framework to explore different policy fields in inter-disciplinary tourism research, such as tourism and urban regeneration.

This study adopted the structure-agency relations approach to explore how and to what extent the structure, the agency of individual actors and their intertwined relationships affect tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. Although this study was limited in incorporating the temporal element in the analysis, it still demonstrated that it was the interaction between structure and agency at many different levels which led to tourism-related urban

regeneration in the case study areas. The findings showed that people were situated in the wider political economy environment and their interests and resources were conditioned and defined by it. However, the individual actors had very important roles in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas as it was the people who were in the centre of the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration. Without the leadership of the political and market leaders, the personal commitment and the passion, and the inter-personal relationships between people, tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas could not have happened.

Although the individual theoretical perspectives had important roles in this study, it was the integration between them which provided a more holistic approach to explore tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. The structure-agency relations approach offered an overarching framework by linking the political economy at the macro level, the inter-organisational relationships at meso-level and the individual people at the micro-level. This study showed that to fully understand tourism-related urban regeneration, it was necessary to explore the wider political economy under which tourism and urban regeneration took place. The political economy environment conditioned and facilitated the interests and resources of the people and organisations who were involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas, and these different interests and resources were the basis of their interactions and relationships with one another.

Although the roles and attributions of individual people were conditioned by the structure, through their education and career background, their personality and commitment made an impact on tourism-related urban regeneration by building relationships with one another. In the case study areas, it was demonstrated that the successful inter-organisational relationships at the meso-level were often down to the interpersonal relationships between the people involved at the micro-level. In particular, the close relationships between the political and market leaders, who held the money and/or authority to make a decision regarding tourism-related urban regeneration, and their collective decision-making power were key to the success of tourism-related urban regeneration.

By linking these three levels of analysis, this study showed that the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration had multifaceted and relational structure-agency relations between and within the different levels of analyses. The relations between structure and agency were path-dependent and path-creative, and this was key to understand the organisations and people involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in terms of their roles and interactions with one another in the case study areas.

Chapter 7 adopted Archer's morphogenetic framework for structure-agency relations and provided an integrative analysis linking the macro, meso, and micro levels. The rest of this section attempts further to integrate the conceptual framework and empirical findings of the study in a more focused and condensed way, looking for wider relevance for other researchers who study tourism and urban regeneration, and indicating the contribution to tourism knowledge. For this, the following is based on three core questions which emerged during the study; 'Is there integration of the policymakers and policy networks involved in tourism and in urban regeneration, or are they relatively separate?', 'Who are the decision-makers in planning and policy-making for tourism-related urban regeneration? What gives them the decision-making power? What is the nature of their relationships with one another?' and 'What are the relations between structure and agency in the context of tourism-related urban regeneration?'.

These questions always underlay the study but became very clear once the empirical findings were analysed. The questions helped to refine the integration between the theoretical approaches within the conceptual framework, and to sharpen the empirical findings in order to fill the existing gaps in the tourism literature. These questions are thought to be critical in urban tourism research as they examine tourism within the wider urban political economy setting. Although the author tried to separate the application of three theoretical approaches by addressing them in separate result chapters, such separation was a structural device to assist the study analysis. The core questions demonstrate that the three theoretical approaches are interconnected and that in achieving the aims of this study, they cannot be fully explained without one another.

8.4.2 The integration between tourism and urban regeneration

Core question 1: 'Is there integration of the policymakers and policy networks involved in tourism and in urban regeneration, or are they relatively separate?'

During the 1970s and 80s, many cities in Britain experienced the decline and loss of their traditional heavy and manufacturing industries. The changes in the global trade patterns saw such industries move from the then developed countries to developing countries, and this ruptured the national economy of the UK, which was until then had been based on Fordist mass production and consumption. In the case study areas, The Quays saw the closure of the Manchester Docks, and NewcastleGateshead Quayside suffered from the loss of traditional shipbuilding, engineering and chemical industries. As a response to this profound difficulty and restructuring adjustment, the central government shifted their mode of regulation from strong state intervention through Keynesian welfare policies to a more market-driven neoliberal approach. With less money given by the central government, local government in the UK found themselves in great competition to attract both public and private investment to their localities in order to regenerate their derelict urban environment and recover their local economy.

Tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas was triggered by the changes in political economy and the planning and development processes were considerably influenced by the mode of regulation of the central government and the regime of accumulation of the market. The regeneration funding schemes and initiatives, policies and legislation, and the institutional restructuring led by the central government, had a huge impact on tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. The regeneration of Salford Quays was kick-started with the central government's funding. The Tyne and Wear Development Corporation, an Urban Regeneration Corporation established by the central government, had a leading role in physical regeneration of the NewcastleGateshead Quayside. Many cultural flagship projects in the case study areas, such as The Lowry and The Sage Gateshead, were built by public funds and became popular visitor attractions.

The changes in the economic cycle and market also had critical impacts on tourism-related regeneration processes in the case study areas. Although the public sector pumped in the initial investment and kick-started the regeneration, urban regeneration in the case study areas could not have happened without the private sector investment. The ups and downs of the market posed risks and uncertainty to the urban property and land market, and both case study areas experienced market booms and collapses throughout the last three decades, including the most recent period of economic downturn which began in 2008.

The role that tourism played in urban regeneration in the two case study areas was less prominent than it is often assumed by tourism academics. It was clear that tourism development was not core to their urban regeneration strategies, but a secondary support for regeneration as the areas tried to improve the quality of place and quality of life so that they could attract the much needed inward investment and population. Although they acknowledged that tourism development attracted visitors and provided jobs through the tourism industry, both areas did not intend to regenerate their waterfront areas as exclusive tourist destinations or to develop their local economies based on tourism. Tourism rather supported the development of other economic activities in the areas.

The study identified a gap existing between actors involved in the different sectoral activities of tourism marketing, tourism development and urban regeneration in the case study areas. The gap between tourism marketing and tourism development is highlighted by some tourism academics in relation to the role of DMOs (Bramwell and Rawding, 1994; Getz et al., 1998; Sheehan and Ritchie, 2005). They argue that the DMOs largely focus on tourism marketing and have limited involvement in tourism planning and development. The tourism marketing/development gap was confirmed in the case study areas, where the DMOs were largely seen as destination 'marketing' organisations and their influence on physical tourism development was limited.

Unlike the previous studies, this study went further than simply identifying the gaps as it explored the reasons why such gaps existed. It was not simply because the DMOs neglected their role for tourism planning and development. The DMOs in the case study areas actually acknowledged and tried to expand their influence but they did not have the resources, either money or authority, to deploy at the planning and development decision-making table. They were also under pressure from the local authorities and private business stakeholders, who saw the DMOs as marketing organisations and wanted them to focus on marketing and promotion of the destination. Unlike the DMOs, the RDAs in the case study areas had an influential role in tourism-related urban regeneration through their funding and regional strategic leadership. However, the physical tourism-related urban regeneration decision-making was largely down to the local authorities and developers, apart from some flagship projects on which a considerable amount of the public money was spent.

There was also only modest integration between the actors and policy networks of tourism and those of urban regeneration in the case study areas. This was because the market-oriented and opportunistic nature of urban regeneration did now allow a systematic integration of tourism actors in the planning and development processes. Tourism was not a priority of either local authorities or developers, who were the key decision-makers for physical urban regeneration.

Tourism was not a statutory function of local government in the UK, therefore the local authorities did not have to invest in tourism, which was not an assessment criterion of local authority performance. For developers, tourism and leisure projects were seen as high-risk and low-profit investments because they could not make a quick return on investment. They were especially reluctant to invest in an urban regeneration context where there was no existing demand for tourism. Therefore, it was not always necessary for local authorities and developers to involve tourism actors in the planning and development processes for urban regeneration, especially when the decision-making needed to be quick.

This study therefore confirmed the gap between actors involved in the different sectoral activities of tourism marketing, tourism development and urban regeneration in the case study areas. It revealed that the gap between tourism marketing and tourism development was not simply an issue about the role of DMOs, but a more complicated and broader issue related to the resource dependency and power relations in the decision-making processes of physical tourism development and tourism-related urban regeneration.

Such divides between sectoral activities were discovered not only between organisations but also within an organisation in the case study areas. There was a lack of interaction between people responsible for tourism marketing and those for tourism development in some of the RDAs and DMOs. The lack of intra-organisational interactions between tourism and urban regeneration was also identified in the local authorities, where the tourism officers did not have much influence on the decision-making of tourism-related urban regeneration. The intra-organisational gaps were closely associated with different management levels. The senior politicians and officers of local authorities and the directors and chief executives of the private and third sector organisations were deeply involved in discussion around physical development and planning issues, whereas staff at lower levels were not necessarily involved in those discussions but largely dealt with marketing and daily operational issues.

8.4.3 Resource dependency and power relations in policy networks

Core question 2: 'Who are the decision-makers in planning and policy-making for tourism-related urban regeneration? What gives them the decision-making power? What is the nature of their relationships with one another?'

The relationships between the organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas demonstrated a clear resource dependency, and multifaceted and dialectical structure-agency relations in the case study areas. Every organisation in the case

study areas had finite resources, which was conditioned by the wider political economy, such as the political structure and circulation of capital in the market.

At the local level, the resource dependency between local authorities and developers demonstrated the relations between the two core resources in capitalist society: authority and money. This reflected the two main concepts of the regulation approach: the mode of regulation and the regime of accumulation. Their interactions were essential for the reproduction of the capitalist system at the local level as they relied on each other's resources. However, they inevitably experienced challenges in working together, mainly because of their different interests and working culture. The main interest of the developers was profit-making and their business operation required quick decision-making. On the other hand, local authorities had more complicated interests as they represented various groups of local communities and their working culture involved a lot of bureaucracy and politicking.

Local authorities in the case study areas had both collaborative and competitive relationships with one another. They worked jointly with neighbouring authorities when they shared the same interests, such as the regeneration of waterfront areas, but competed with one another to attract regeneration investment to their own districts. Their relationships involved a lot of politicking rooted from mistrust built over many years. Such conflicts and tensions were profound in The Quays, where Salford and Manchester Councils competed for many regeneration projects, including the recent MediaCityUK. Tourism promotion in The Quays was also a political issue as Salford and Trafford Councils could not agree on the name of the destination, and they tried to boost and raise the profile of their own localities and assets through tourism.

The multilevel tourism governance showed a clear resource dependency between the organisations at the different territorial scales. The tourism-related urban regeneration processes in the case study areas demonstrated that local authorities were heavily dependent on central government and on other public agencies for regeneration funding. The RDAs were established by central government policy and funded by the central government departments. The sub-regional DMOs were greatly dependent on funding from the RDAs and local authorities.

The tourism multi-level governance was criticised for the fragmented and overlapping functions of the RDAs, the DMOs and the local authorities, and there was a clear tension between these organisations around resource distribution. The resource dependencies between them, and the fact that tourism was a non-statutory function concentrated more tourism policy-making power with the RDAs. The duplication and complexity in the tourism governance structure caused complaints from the local authorities, who provided many direct and indirect services for visitors, despite not getting any funding support for it. This study explored the conflicts within

the multi-level tourism governance structure based on resource dependency and resource concentration.

This study also presented the policy network maps (Figures 6.1 on p.132 and 6.2 on p.135) to show the overall interactions between organisations involved in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. However, the mapping exercise was not a key focus of the study, unlike several other studies of tourism governance and tourism policy networks (Scott et al., 2008b; Shih, 2006). The network maps only indicated that there were some kinds of interactions between the organisations, but they could not explain the nature or the intensity of the inter-organisational relationships. The contextual and qualitative analyses in this study demonstrated the multifaceted and complex relationships between the different organisations in the case study areas, which was not easily captured in simple network diagrams.

The key decision-makers in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration were the local authorities and private sector developers, who had the necessarily interdependent resources, namely authority and money. This study paid particular attention to the perspectives of private sector property developers and land-owners. Although they have very important roles in the urban economy and property market, their roles and perspectives have received little interest from tourism researchers. Another insight provided by this study is the competitive and conflictual relationships between local authorities in tourism-related urban regeneration and tourism marketing.

8.4.4 Structure-agency relations in tourism-related urban regeneration

Core question 3: 'What are the relations between structure and agency in the context of tourism-related urban regeneration?'

The study findings from the case study areas showed that the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration entailed multifaceted, multi-level and relational structure-agency relations. The local authorities' struggles and endeavours to regenerate the case study areas can be seen as agency as the authorities tried to overcome the constraints imposed by the global and national political economy and to maximise their opportunities. The deprivation issues in the Ordsall area in Salford showed that changes in social structure had significant long-term impacts on individual people's lives. The community's negative perspectives of The Quays' regeneration were formed based on their previous consultation experiences with Salford Council, which built significant mistrust. This illustrated that the social relations between the community and the Council were path dependent.

Following the more dialectical perspective of the policy network approach (Evans, 2001; Marsh and Smith, 2000), this study highlighted structure-agency relations within policy networks. Policy network studies often pay more attention to policy outcomes which are achieved in the wider political domain, or their relationships with one another. However, this study took an inward looking policy network approach, and this led to another interesting finding, which was that policy networks associated with tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas developed considerable structural characteristics, and imposed regulations and limitations on the member organisations and individuals.

While the wider political economy structure and inter-organisational policy network structure imposed constraints and opportunities, they did not determine the actions of individual actors. The agency of individual actors still had significant influences on decision-making around tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. The success of regeneration schemes was dependent on the strong leadership and relationships between the leaders. The political and business leaders in the case study areas had pivotal roles in bringing together the necessary resources for regeneration, providing visions and directions, and displaying determination to achieve the regeneration goals. The close cooperation between these leaders was essential in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration, as they held the authority and power to make urgent decisions, which were often required in urban regeneration projects.

The influence of agency was not restricted to these leaders. The personal attributes of individuals, such as personality, passion and commitment, and personal interests, contributed to a successful tourism-related urban regeneration. The personal attributes also mattered at the policy network level because good personal relationships and 'getting along' at the personal level were key to establishing collaborative inter-organisational relationships. However, it is important to note that the separation of structure and agency in this study was necessarily arbitrary for practical analyses. Ontologically it is not possible to separate them as leadership, personality, and other personal attributes are developed through the person's education and career backgrounds and individual perspectives are also bound by the organisations they work for and represent.

The regeneration of the Lower Ouseburn Valley was an example to demonstrate the complicated inter-relationships between structure and agency in tourism-related urban regeneration. The regeneration of the Valley was considerably influenced by the actions of the local community members, who opposed the top-down market-driven regeneration approach of the TWDC and formed a community group to represent their interests. The history of community involvement and bottom-up development in the Valley created its own path for tourism-related urban regeneration. The interaction between these individuals, and the wider

political and economic structure transformed the Valley from a derelict industrial urban land to a unique visitor destination with the combination of many different types of culture-related businesses.

The study findings indicated that individual actors had essential roles in the planning and development of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. It showed that the individuals had key roles in utilising and exploiting the resources around them on their own or through networking with other people. This fills a gap in tourism literature where very often the unit of the network analysis is an organisation whose interactions with others are frequently treated as a monolithic relationship. The role of individuals was more important in tourism development because as a non-statutory function of local government, the decision-making was largely down to a small number of people who were often at the senior level, as well as whether they perceived tourism as an important element of their local economy.

## 8.5 Conceptual framework contributions

8.5.1 A review of the conceptual framework

A conceptual framework is 'the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs and theories that supports and informs research' (Maxwell, 1996:25) and it helps researchers by introducing 'explicitness with research processes' and offering 'a self-audit facility to ensure cohesion and appropriate conceptualisation for research conclusions' (Leshem and Trafford, 2007:101). The conceptual framework of this study evolved continuously as the study progressed, and developing and improving the framework helped the author to reflect on the interrelationships between the study objectives, the theories, the practical case study, and the findings of the study, and bring cohesion and wholeness to the study.

The first version (Figure 3.1 on p.51) of the framework had several limitations, but reviewing and further developing that version much helped the author in the early stage of the study to draw a clear boundary to the study subject and to decide how and to what extent the theoretical approaches and concepts were to be used to address the study objectives. The second version (Figure 3.2 on p.52) of the framework guided the fieldwork design, especially the preparation of the semi-structured interview questions. It also assisted the author to keep focused on the study objectives during the data collection and analysis. The final version (Figure 8.2) of the framework demonstrates changes made during the practical case study work, and it indicates

the relationships between the study objectives, the theories, the case study and the study findings in a more diagrammatic way.

Figure 8.2 The final conceptual framework
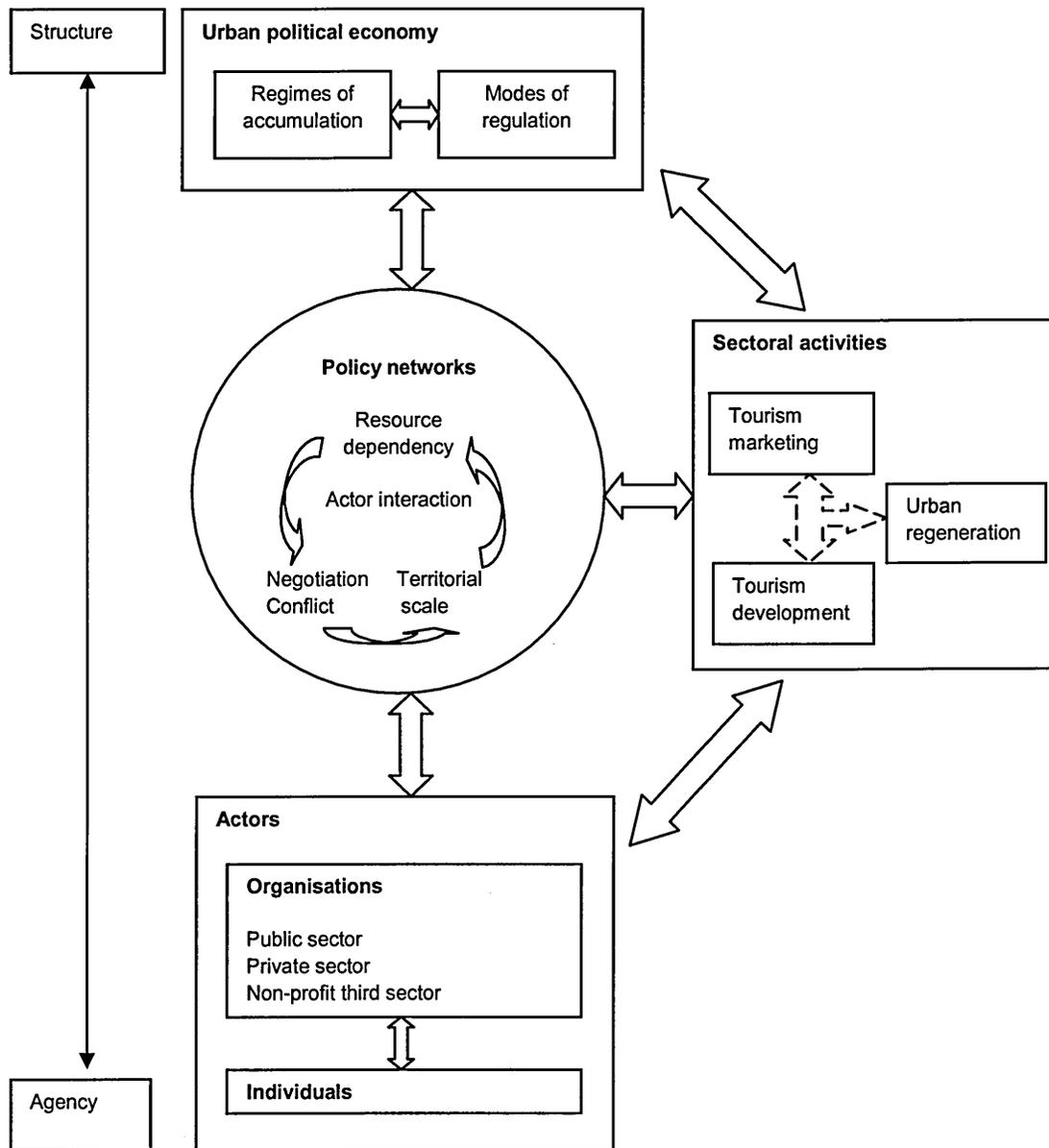
The final framework linked the regulation approach, the policy network approach and the structure-agency relation approach in a multi-level form to explore the macro, meso and micro issues of the political economy of tourism-related urban regeneration. The study explored the relationships between the market and extra-market mechanisms in tourism-related urban regeneration by deploying the regulation approach (Chapter 5). This then provided a context in which the interactions between organisations were analysed through a policy network approach (Chapter 6). In other words, the policy network analysis of this study at the meso-level was contextualised by the wider political economy analysis at the macro level. The urban political

economy provided conditions under which the organisations operated and interacted with one another, and it shaped their varied interests and resources depending on their position in the political and/or economic structure. The final conceptual framework also indicated the gaps between the sectoral activities of tourism development, tourism marketing and urban regeneration, which were examined in the wider political and economic contexts of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas.

The wider political and economic environment at the macro-level and the inter-organisational environment at the meso-level set conditions within which the interactions between individual organisations and people took place. Although individual organisations and people operated within the pre-existing condition, individual actors still exerted their agency and influence on the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas. Their personal attributes and agency were crucial in developing good inter-organisational relationships and they contributed to achieving tourism-related urban regeneration in the areas.

8.5.2 Contributions of the conceptual framework

Section 8.4 demonstrated how and to what extent the conceptual framework actually worked for the practical case studies by highlighting the key findings of this study and their theoretical basis. The final conceptual framework shown in Figure 8.2 proved to be a valuable tool in this study and the author did not feel any need for further change beyond this model. The framework provides a flexible model which is not context-specific and therefore the model can be used by other researchers in urban tourism studies or interdisciplinary tourism studies. This section now focuses on this study's conceptual contribution by investigating the value and contribution of its conceptual framework.

Firstly, the conceptual framework presented a holistic approach to studying tourism by breaking away from a narrow tourism-centred view and setting tourism in relation to the major urban issue of regeneration, within a wider political economy context of society. The framework overcame the criticism that tourism researchers tend to neglect the urban context (Ashworth, 1989; Ashworth and Page, 2010), and it treated the urban setting as a fundamental part of the investigation. The application of the theoretical approaches from wider social and political sciences helped the author constantly to reflect on the wider political, social and economic issues in the urban environment.

Secondly, the conceptual framework provided an integrative model to study tourism in a political economy context by developing the linkages between the three key theoretical

approaches of the regulation approach, the policy network approach and the structure-agency relations approach. Together, these approaches formed a multi-level framework which connects the macro, meso, and micro level analyses. They complemented each other's limitations and presented a dialectical way to study planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration. With the application of the structure-agency relations approach, the conceptual framework also spotlighted the often ignored role of individual people in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration, and it demonstrated that the interactions between structure and agency are multifaceted and relational rather than singular and absolute.

Thirdly, the conceptual framework of this study was original in terms of studying the interactions and integration between the two separate policy fields of tourism and urban regeneration. The interdisciplinary nature of the conceptual framework proved to be effective in this study as it placed tourism within a wider urban political economy context. The framework was also original as it investigated the role of tourism in urban regeneration through the perspectives of people who were actually involved in the decision-making processes of tourism-related urban regeneration, of which many were not seen as typical tourism stakeholders.

Another original contribution of the framework was its gap- or issue-focused policy network approach. The framework highlighted not only the interactions between actors but also the lack of interactions between the different sectoral activities of tourism marketing, tourism development and urban regeneration in the case study areas. This gap-focused approach was particularly useful for revealing issues that would not have been uncovered through the simple mapping activities of interactions between the organisations. The network maps (Figures 6.1 and 6.2) provided an overview of inter-organisational relationships in the case study areas, but they could not provide a fully enriched understanding of the nature and intensity of their relationships.

The gap-focused approach also found both inter-organisational and intra-organisational gaps between the different activities. In tourism research, the unit of network analysis is often an organisation, and the interactions between the different departments or people within an organisation are rarely discussed. The conceptual framework provided insights into the tourism marketing/development gap, and the tourism development/urban regeneration gap within organisations by enquiring about the gap between activities, rather than organisations. The conceptual framework was effective as it discovered what was happening in the real world by investigating issues, problems and gaps. The approach showed both links and breaks in the integration in tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas, and it provided more in-depth analyses of the interactions in policy networks.

In summary, the conceptual framework for this study presented a holistic, integrative, and original model to study the actor interactions in the planning and development processes of tourism-related urban regeneration. The conceptual framework demonstrated how effectively the different theoretical approaches fit together within a political economy context, and it proved its practical usage through the case study of The Quays and NewcastleGateshead Quayside. This framework can be of use not only for those who study tourism in urban contexts but also for those who study inter-disciplinary subjects related to tourism.

8.6 Limitations of the research methodology

While the study was largely successful in meeting its study objectives, the author faced some challenges during the fieldwork and accordingly the study has at least a couple of limitations. The challenges faced were closely associated with changes in the political and economic environment in the UK since the 2008 recession. These changes impacted on tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas during the fieldwork.

The study focused on the physical tourism related regeneration projects, but due to the recession there was not much property development happening in the case study areas in general. This became a challenge in arranging interviews as the study originally intended to highlight the role of developers, landowners and real estate agents in tourism-related urban regeneration. This resulted in a limitation of this study as it included only a limited number of interviews with these actors from the property development sector.

Furthermore, some public sector organisations underwent institutional restructuring hand in hand with the economic climate. This also posed difficulties for the fieldwork and data collection. The Arts Council had major restructuring and closed their North East office. Newcastle Council also went through restructuring, and it reduced the number of managers in the Council. This meant that the tourism manager of Newcastle Council left between the time the interview was arranged and the scheduled interview date. The author managed to interview the new manager, who became responsible for both culture and tourism. Although the interview contents were inevitably limited in terms of tourism issues, it was fortunate that the interviewee had a lot of experiences in cultural regeneration in Newcastle and could give more enriched opinions about regeneration issues.

The author also faced 'a double neglect' (Ashworth, 1989:33) from both tourism and urban regeneration practitioners while arranging interviews. Some tourism officers in a local council rejected the interview request saying that they had nothing to do with urban regeneration

or development. A local politician, who held a local authority cabinet portfolio position for Culture including tourism, replied to the interview request saying "I think you have got the wrong person I am lead member for Culture and Sport. I think you need Planning" (An email correspondent). These could have been 'any old excuse' for avoiding interviews, but considering the gap identified between tourism and urban regeneration in the case study areas, it suggests that the double neglect exists in practice. It was a frustrating but intriguing experience for the author as it confirmed that the double neglect appears to exist not only as an academic concept but also as a practical issue, even two decades after Ashworth originally pointed it out.

This study was somewhat limited in representing the local communities' perspectives on tourism-related urban regeneration. Community involvement is considered to be essential in both urban regeneration and tourism planning and policy-making processes. However, the community interests in tourism in the case study areas were not as apparent as in other more tourism-centred destinations because the local economy in the case study areas was not dominated by tourism. Unlike the organisational actors who were contacted through their jobs, the first point of contact for communities was not obvious. The author wanted to interview more community members, but interviewing members of the public in the case study areas was not viable, firstly due to the time and cost constraints, and secondly, due to the difficulty of getting in-depth views of community members in relation to planning and development issues. Therefore, the author tried to collect and use secondary information sources to illustrate the community's point of view. The author was also concerned about her health and safety as she was not familiar with the local areas, and some localities within the case study areas were renowned for crime.

8.7 Recommendations for future research development

It can be easy for tourism researchers to overemphasise the role of tourism in urban contexts and to treat tourism as a central economic activity in cities. Yet tourism is just one of many economic activities in urban areas, and it cannot be understood on isolation of wider urban development processes. This study demonstrated that tourism had more of a supplementary and supporting role than a lead role in urban regeneration in the case study areas. In conjunction with other economic activities, tourism could contribute to successful regeneration in the case study areas. This is not to be generalised in every city because the role and value of tourism as an economic activity varies from place to place, for example, between old industrial cities like the case study areas and more traditional tourist cities, such as York and Bath. However, it still

indicates that tourism should be understood within the specific local political and economic contexts and as part of the wider urban political economy.

Urban tourism research has been parochial as tourism researchers have tended to focus on the label 'tourism' and to treat it as a separate policy field from other urban policies. However, this study showed that the tourism decision-making processes were part of the wider urban policy-making processes. For example, the DMOs did not have much influence on the decision-making processes of tourism-related urban regeneration in the case study areas, despite the fact that they were the representatives of the tourism industry. The tourism officers in the local authorities also had very little say in the local tourism development decision-making processes as they sat lower down in the local authority management structure.

The real decision-making power lay with the local authority planning decision-makers and the private sector developers, more precisely the senior officers and politicians from the local authorities and executive and director level individuals from businesses. Tourism decision-making processes are part of much wider political decision-making processes, in which people and organisations with certain resources, namely authority and money, bring and exchange their resources at the negotiation table. Considering that tourism is not a statutory function of local government in the UK, the key senior politicians and officers of local authorities have a crucial role in securing a more integrative tourism planning. This opens up a whole new research direction for tourism studies. Tourism researchers need to investigate where the real power lies for tourism development and planning issues, and they need to change the ways of looking at the topic. They need to break away from the myopic and narrow tourism-centred view, and consider tourism as part of a much wider political economy context.

The study also suggests that future research is needed on the efficiency of political decision-making to incorporate tourism into urban regeneration. Some interviewees admitted that the alleged economic and social impacts of tourism development were very difficult to measure in the real world, and their decision-making was based on the positive presumptions and expectations that tourism will bring those positive benefits. However, this study demonstrated that such presumptions did not always turn out to be true. For example, the Ordsall community in Salford felt excluded from the regeneration of The Quays and unwelcomed in the regenerated areas, which was on their door step. They showed strong hostility towards the local authority's regeneration approach and the new community on The Quays. This indicates rich opportunities for future tourism researchers to investigate the efficiency of political decision-making in tourism-related urban regeneration from different angles, not only from the physical or economic perspectives but also from the socio-cultural.

The frequent lack of continuity in tourism planning and policy-making regeneration should also be highlighted in future tourism studies. The diverse and fragmented nature of the tourism industry is a challenge for tourism planning and policy making. This study also demonstrated that because tourism was not the priority of either local authorities or developers, this led to the neglect of tourism as an integrated policy issue in the case study areas. In addition to this, constant changes in the policy realm and through the economic cycle meant that tourism was incredibly difficult to plan or manage. The changes in political institutions, such as the abolition of the RDAs, unavoidably bring a major shift to the tourism multi-level governance structure in England. With the regional public agency with responsibility for tourism development and marketing now gone, tourism planning and development is now in the hands of multiple, non-governmental organisations in England (Dinan et al., 2012). Tourism studies therefore need to pay attention to the changes in the wider political economy in relation to the continuity of tourism policies.

8.8 Reflection

The author has always been interested in the relationships between tourism and urban regeneration. The author's hometown, Busan, South Korea is an international port city with a large tourism industry, located at the south east tip of the Korean peninsula. Busan attracts a large number of tourists to its several beaches every year. Since the late 1990s, tourism has become a key element in the economic and physical regeneration of the city. Busan is home to the annual Busan International Film Festival, and it has also held many international events, such as 2002 World Cup, 2002 Asian Games, and 2005 APEC Summit. These events were accompanied by the development and improvement of physical infrastructure in Busan. More recently Busan became a popular destination for 'aesthetic tourism', and the city has also designated a central street as a 'medical tourist street'. Growing up in such a tourist city shaped the author's interest in tourism and urban regeneration, and it encouraged her to think about the role that tourism plays in the economic development and physical regeneration of the derelict old core of her hometown. This study was an extension of her desire to understand the relationships between tourism and urban regeneration in more depth.

When the author decided to take on a PhD study on tourism-related urban regeneration, she naively believed that everything would happen according to her plan and she was confident in finishing the study on schedule. By the end of her second year of study, however, it was clear that this was not going to happen as the fieldwork was taking a lot longer than she expected. The

author originally planned to complete the interview data collection in four months but subsequently it was stretched to a year and three months. Arranging interviews was the most difficult part of the study, mainly because there were a lot of factors involved which were out of the author's control. However, the author showed her determination and perseverance by chasing and persuading the potential interviewees persistently. On the other hand, the most enjoyable part of the study was actually interviewing people. Many interviewees showed their interest in the subject and gave their insights into their work and challenges more openly than the author had originally expected.

It is very difficult to describe the overall study experience in a few words. For the author, she experienced the full three phases of Archer's morphogenetic cycle through this study. Her original interest in the subject was shaped by witnessing tourism-related urban regeneration in her hometown (T1), and the study question was developed based on pre-existing theories and knowledge (T1). The author interpreted these theories in her own way, developed an original conceptual framework and applied it to address the study objectives (T2-T3). Despite the limited time and cost for the study, the challenges caused by changes in the UK political economy and the double neglect that existed between tourism and urban regeneration fields (T1), the author overcame the challenges and addressed all the study objectives (T2-T3). The study fills several gaps in the tourism literature and the conceptual framework demonstrated its effectiveness. Thus, it is believed that the study contributes to knowledge and gives valuable suggestions for future tourism research (T4).

8.9 Conclusion

This final chapter of the thesis called attention to the value and contribution of this study to tourism research. The overall study was successful in meeting the study objectives and the study findings filled several gaps in the existing tourism literature, and therefore it has made a contribution to knowledge. The conceptual framework provided a holistic, integrative and original way to study tourism-related urban regeneration, especially through a multi-level analysis and a gap focused policy network approach. The framework's proven effectiveness in studying the integration of two separate policy domains can be of use to other tourism researchers who study inter-disciplinary subjects. In short, the study overcame a theoretical weakness in many urban tourism studies by positioning tourism in the wider urban political economy context and by applying broader political and social science theories into the subject of tourism-related urban regeneration.

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Appendix

Appendix 1 Interview Guide

Preamble questions	
A. Can you tell me about your organisation?	A1 When was it established? For what purposes?
B. Can you tell me about your job?	B1 Tell me about your career background. B2 How long have you been doing it? B3 What does your department do in your organisation?
1. Tourism and urban regeneration	
1.1 What are your views about the role of tourism in the wider urban regeneration and economic development of the area?	1.1.1 Do you think tourism has become more or less important over the years in terms of policy issues in the area? What has influenced that? 1.1.2 Do you think tourism has been taken seriously enough in the area? Should it be given a greater or lesser priority? Why? How?
1.2 What are your views about the role of your organisation in tourism and/or urban regeneration of the area?	1.2.1 Do you think your organisation is involved in tourism in the area at all? 1.2.2 Do you think your organisation is involved in urban regeneration in the area at all?
1.3 Which organisations and individuals do you consider are important to tourism in this area?	1.3.1 Do you think that all the organisations and individuals think they are involved in tourism activities? / Do you think that all the organisations and individuals think they are involved in urban regeneration activities? 1.3.2 What sort of roles do developers and real estate agents have in tourism development in this area, if any? 1.3.3 What sort of roles do the voluntary and community sectors have in tourism development and urban regeneration in this area, if any?
2. Actor identification	
2.1 Are you involved in any kinds of tourism and/or urban regeneration activities in this area?	Tourism-related activities 2.1.1 What kind of tourism-related activities are you involved in? 2.1.2 In what ways are you involved in that activity? 2.1.3 Why are you involved in that activity? Urban regeneration related activities 2.1.4 What kind of urban regeneration-related activities are you involved in? 2.1.5 In what ways are you involved in that activity? 2.1.6 Why are you involved in that activity?

2.2 Do you think the organisations and individuals involved in tourism development differ from those involved in tourism marketing in the area?	2.2.1 Which organisations and individuals are involved in tourism marketing and which organisations and individuals are involved in tourism development in the area? 2.2.2 How and why are they different? 2.2.3 What do you think of the differences between them? Are the differences problematic in any way? If so, what sorts of problems do you think these differences can cause for the area's tourism development?
2.3. Do you think the organisations involved in tourism differ from those involved in other urban regeneration programmes in the area?	2.3.1 Which organisations and individuals are involved in urban regeneration in the area? 2.3.2 How and why are they different from the organisations and individuals involved in tourism? 2.3.3 What do you think of the differences between them? What sorts of problems do you think those differences can cause in the tourism development in the area?
3. Relationships between actors	
3.1 Which other organisations and individuals do you work with in relation to the development and marketing of the area?	3.1.1 Why do you work with them? 3.1.2 What sort of relationships do you have with them? – negative/positive 3.1.3 What sort of difficulties do you experience in working with them, if any? –negotiation/conflicts 3.1.4. How do you overcome the difficulties?
3.2 Which organisations and individuals are most influential in relation to the development and marketing of the area? – Power	3.2.1 What do you think enables them to have such a big influence? Which organisations might have more influence in the area's development, including tourism, but currently do not? Why? Why do they deserve having more influences?
3.2 Are there any differences in your relationships with organisations and individuals related to the area's development that are found in the city, and those found at the regional and the national scales?	3.2.1 Which organisations and individuals from the city, region at national level are involved in the area's development? 3.2.2 Why are there differences in your relationships with them, if any? 3.2.3 What are your views about the relationships between the two local councils?
4. Policy networks	
4.1 Are you involved in any informal connections or more formal partnerships with other organisations or individuals for	4.1.1 With which other organisations and individuals are you involved in joint activities related to the area's development? 4.1.2 Which are the most influential organisations or

tourism or urban regeneration activities in the area?	individuals in those joint activities? How do they have this influence? Why? 4.1.3 With which organisations and individuals do you work most with in these activities? Why? 4.1.4 Are there any other organisations and individuals who you could work with more closely in relation to the area's development, but you do not? Why? (inside and outside the network)
4.2 How have these connections and partnerships developed over time? For what purposes?	4.2.1 Who were the original members? 4.2.2 What was the original purpose of the connections and partnerships?
4.3 Have those connections and partnerships continued to operate in the same way as they did originally, or have they changed?	4.3.1 Do you think the original purpose of the connections and partnership has changed over time? If so, how and why? 4.3.2 Have there been any changes in the membership and in the interactions among the members involved? If so, how and why?
4.4 Have there been any particular incidents which had a big impact on the relationships and on the partnership development? For example,…	4.4.1 What happened? Who was involved? How did it happen? Why did it happen? 4.4.2 What sort of impacts did that event have on the development of the relationships and on the partnership? What sort of changes did that event result in for the relationships and for the partnership?
5. Structure	
5.1 To what extent do you think that national political and economic changes have influenced the policy-making processes and the nature of decision-making in this area?	5.1.1 To what extent do you think tourism and/or urban regeneration policies have been affected by changes in national government policies, economic cycle and in funding levels? Have there been changes in EU funding and influence on the area? 5.1.2 To what extent has the current economic down turn impacted on the development of the area and on the role of tourism?
5.2. To what extent do you think that local political and economic changes have influenced the policy-making processes and the nature of decision-making in this area?	5.2.1 To what extent do you think tourism and/or urban regeneration policies have been affected by changes in local government? 5.2.2 Do you think the development of The Quays is similar to other regeneration area or distinctive? To what extent do you think the development area has been affected by the local character of the city – e.g. industrial heritage? 5.2.2 Can you think of any other local factors which have

	impacted on the policy-making processes for tourism and/or urban regeneration in the area?
5.3 To what extent has being involved in the various connections and partnerships you mentioned earlier influenced your action in relation to the area's development?	5.3.1 Has being involved in the connections and partnerships you mentioned earlier affected your relationships with other organisations and individuals? 5.3.2 Has being involved in the connections and partnerships mentioned earlier ever restrained or put limitations on your action? 5.3.3 (NETWORK AS AGENCY) To what extent do you think the connections and partnerships have impacted on the tourism and/or urban regeneration policy-making processes in the area?
5.4 To what extent do you think the character and the way of operating of your organisation have had impacts on your actions in relation to the area's development?	5.4.1 Has being a member of your organisation affected your relationships with other organisations and individuals? 5.4.2 Has the character and ways of operating of your organisation ever restrained or put limitations on your action in relation to the area's development?
6. Agency	
6.1 Which individuals and organisations do you think have been most influential in the tourism and/or urban regeneration decision-making processes for the area?	Are there any individual people who have made a 'real difference' in shaping the area's development? If so, what did they do that made a 'real difference'? Are there any individual people who did something quite surprising that has affected the area's development? If so, what did they do that surprise you, and why did it surprise you? 6.1.1 Who are they? 6.1.2 To what extent have they influenced the ways in which policy-making and management has happened for this area? 6.1.3 What do you think enables them to do take the role?